

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
LYRASIS Members and Sloan Foundation

Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 15

January, 1943

No. 1

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



—Original photograph by Fred Baker—Copy by H. Brayer

SWAN, WYOMING, OCTOBER 1892—GUY NICHOLS STORE AND SALOON

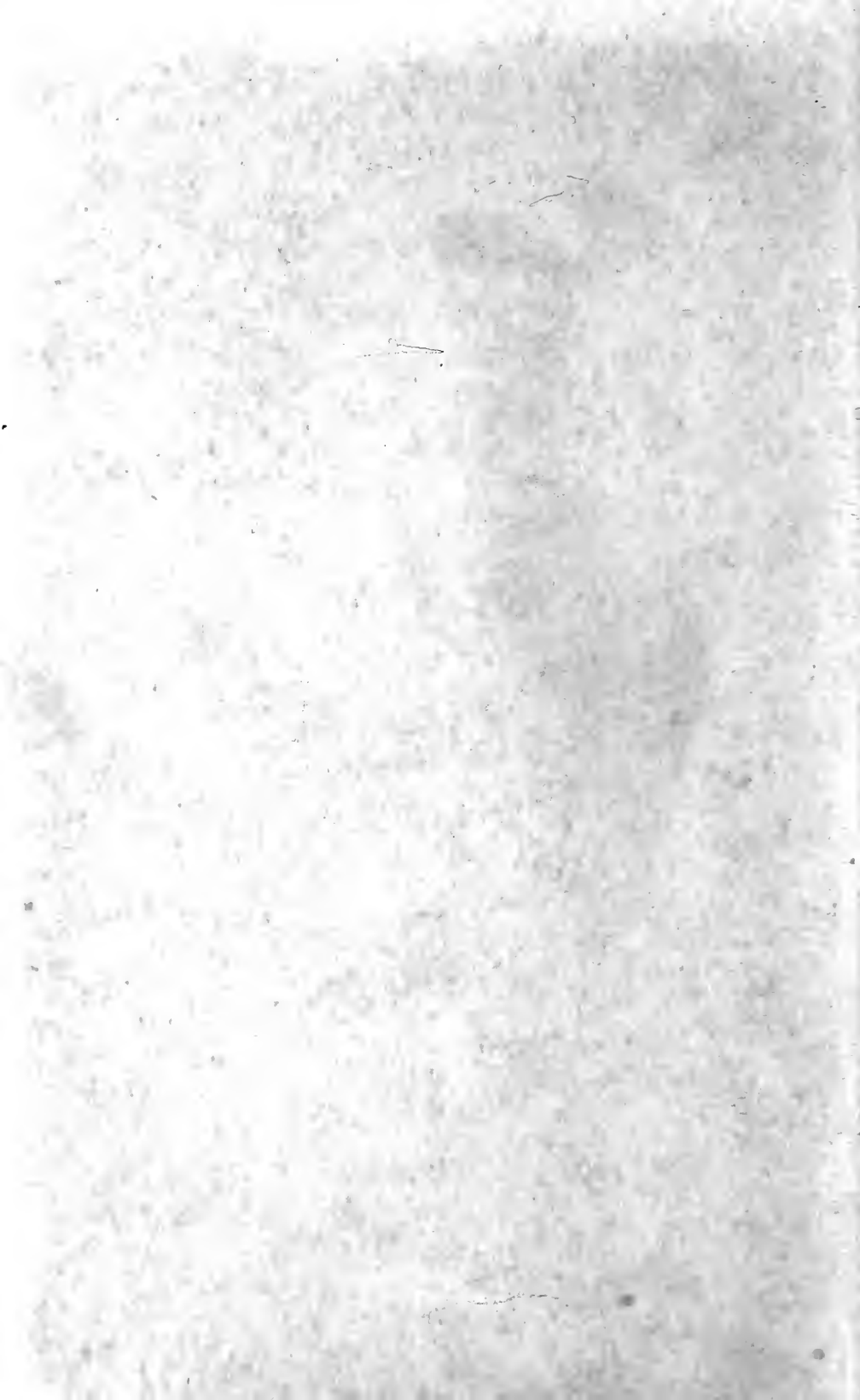
Four miles north of present Encampment on George Peryam's ranch. Joseph Doggett, clerk, standing in doorway; Pierce Culleton on sled; Henry P. "Doc" Culleton on horse. Nichols was appointed postmaster when Swan was created a postoffice in 1884. All that remains today to mark the site is the excavation which formed the cellar of the store.

Published Quarterly

By

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

Cheyenne, Wyoming



Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 15

January, 1943

No. 1

Contents

F
756
A67
v. 15-16
1943-44

	Page
THE L7 RANCHES.....	5
By Herbert O. Brayer	
DO YOU KNOW THAT.....	37, 67, 84
FADING MEMORIES.....	38
By Judge A. C. Campbell	
ROBERT FOOTE.....	50
By Mrs. Charles Ellis	
A TIMELY ARRIVAL.....	63
By J. Elmer Brock	
LOOKING BACKWARD.....	68
By H. B. Henderson, Sr.	
WYOMING STATE MUSEUM—1943.....	70
THOMAS MORAN'S JOURNEY TO TETONS.....	71
By Fritiof Fryxell	
WYOMING PLACE NAMES.....	85
INDEX TO ANNALS OF WYOMING.....	91
COLLECTION AND PRESERVATION	
OF WYOMING WAR RECORDS.....	92
ACCESSIONS	93

ILLUSTRATIONS

SWAN, WYOMING, OCTOBER 1892—	
GUY NICHOLS STORE AND SALOON.....	Front Cover
WILLIAM FRANKLIN SWAN.....	4
L7 RANCH BUILDINGS	10
SKETCH, SNAKE RIVER RANCH.....	16
ROUNDUP ON THE NORTH PLATTE IN THE EIGHTIES.....	28
WYOMING STATE MUSEUM—1943.....	70
THOMAS MORAN	76
BEAVER DICK (RICHARD LEIGH) AND HIS FAMILY.....	78
TETON MOUNTAINS, WYOMING.....	80

Published Quarterly by
THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
Cheyenne, Wyoming

The State Historical Board, the State Historical Advisory Board and the State Historical Department assume no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the ANNALS OF WYOMING.

The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The historical magazine, ANNALS OF WYOMING, is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the ANNALS should be addressed to Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

This magazine is sent free of charge to all State Historical Board members, the State Historical Advisory Board, Wyoming County Libraries and Wyoming newspapers.

It is published in January, April, July and October. Subscription price, \$1.50 per year; single copies, 45c.

Entered as second-class matter September 10, 1941, at the Post Office in Cheyenne, Wyoming, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Copyright, 1943, by the Wyoming Historical Department.

STATE HISTORICAL BOARD

Lester C. Hunt, President Governor
Mart T. Christensen Secretary of State
Wm. "Scotty" Jack State Auditor
Earl Wright State Treasurer
Esther L. Anderson Superintendent of Public Instruction
Gladys F. Riley, Secretary State Librarian and Historian

STATE HISTORICAL ADVISORY BOARD

Mrs. Mary Jester Allen, Cody.	L. B. Howard, Rock Springs
Frank Barrett, Lusk	Mrs. Mary E. Hunter, Gillette
George Bible, Rawlins	Mrs. Joseph H. Jacobucci, Green
Mrs. T. K. Bishop, Basin	River
C. Watt Brandon, Kemmerer	P. W. Jenkins, Big Piney
J. Elmer Brock, Kaycee	E. V. Knight, Laramie
Struthers Burt, Moran	W. C. Laurence, Moran
Mrs. Elsa Spear Byron, Sheridan	E. A. Logan, Cheyenne
Mrs. G. C. Call, Afton	Howard B. Lott, Buffalo
Oliver J. Colyer, Torrington	Mrs. Eliza Lythgoe, Cowley
J. L. Cook, Sundance	R. E. MacLeod, Torrington
Mrs. Esther Crook, Fairview	James L. McIntosh, Split Rock
William C. Deming, Cheyenne	A. J. Mokler, Casper
Dr. William Frackelton, Sheridan	Mrs. Elmer K. Nelson, Laramie
Paul Frison, Ten Sleep	L. L. Newton, Lander
E. A. Gaensslen, Green River	R. I. Olinger, Newcastle
Hans Gautschi, Lusk	Charles Oviatt, Sheridan
Burt Griggs, Buffalo	Mrs. Minnie Reitz, Wheatland
G. R. Hagens, Casper	E. B. Shaffner, Douglas
R. H. Hall, Lander	Mrs. Effie Shaw, Cody
Jack Haynes, Yellowstone Park	Mrs. Tom Sun, Rawlins
D. B. Hilton, Sundance	John Charles Thompson, Cheyenne
	Russell Thorp, Cheyenne

STAFF PERSONNEL

of

The Wyoming Historical Department

and

State Museum

Gladys F. Riley, Editor State Librarian and Historian
Lola M. Homsher, Co-Editor Assistant Historian



WILLIAM FRANKLIN SWAN
Taken in the '80s

The L7 Ranches

AN INCIDENT IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN CATTLE INDUSTRY

By Herbert O. Brayer*

With the construction and completion of the trans-continental railroad in 1869, the "Great Western Cattle Industry" entered upon its first, and perhaps most colorful, period of expansion. In the development of the live-stock industry, the two and one-half decades from 1870 to 1895 might well be labeled as the "Era of the Public Domain" for there can be but little doubt that the vast grass-covered but unfenced and unsettled western ranges made possible the first phenomenal expansion of cattle ranching.

While it is true that the typical cattle ranch utilized thousands of acres of range upon which to graze its stock, it should be noted that during this early period the largest part of almost every ranch was actually public domain—land owned by the nation but freely utilized by the rancher. The basis of the average "spread" was a small tract of patented land, sometimes as small as a quarter section but usually amounting to a section or two. In frequent instances, such as those to be found in the following account of the L7 ranches, even this basic tract was actually part of the public domain to which no patent had been issued.)

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Dr. Herbert O. Brayer, born June 1, 1913, in Montreal, Canada, obtained his Ph.D. degree at the University of California. For several years he taught Latin-American History at the University of New Mexico, from which position he was called to become State Director of the Historical Records Survey. He was also director of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial celebration in New Mexico.

Dr. Brayer is now on leave from his present position as archivist and historian for the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad at Denver, Colorado, and is engaged in special research for the *Committee for Research in Economic History, Social Science Research Council, Rockefeller Foundation*. He is preparing for publication a work on the life of William Blackmore, English entrepreneur of the Southwest. Dr. Brayer is the author of numerous articles and books including *To Form a More Perfect Union, Pueblo Indian Land Grants of New Mexico* and *Inscription Rock*.

(An adequate water supply and good grass were the two fundamental necessities of cattle ranching: Water for the stock and headquarters, and to foster the growth of hay in the bottoms; grass for the grazing of the stock. With this principle as a guide the rancher usually selected a location along a stream or near a spring as the site for his headquarters. Located in the bottom land along the stream or below the spring was the "hay lot," used to produce a small quantity of hay for the horses, and, in periods of crisis, winter feed for the cattle. In the latter instance, however, few ranches raised sufficient hay to feed a large herd during the winter.)

The unfenced public domain was freely used by the ranchers—freely in the sense that no payment was made for the use of the tens of thousands of acres upon which a herd ranged. In actuality, as will be pointed out later in this study, the ranges were closely regulated by the ranchers through cooperative action. This regulation, it is true, was in the interest of those most concerned, and when later threatened with the loss of their ranges—the economic basis of their livelihood—this regulation served as the basis for cooperative action against the "nestor," sheepman, and farmer. The advent of the latter and the opening of the public domain to homesteading, abetted by a series of disastrous winters, heralded the end of the "Era of the Public Domain" in the history of the livestock industry.

The L7 ranches in southern Wyoming and northern Colorado were representative of the period. From various sources, some admittedly fragmentary, it is possible to trace the organization, development, and eventual decline of the L7. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to outline in a specific instance, the economy of a typical western cattle ranch during the initial period in the founding of this industry—an industry of vital importance in the development of the West.

William Franklin Swan

William Franklin Swan, the son of Henry and Clarissa Fuller Swan, was born June 4, 1848, on a farm near Carmichaels, Greene County, Pennsylvania. In 1854 his parents moved to a farm near Mount Vernon, Ohio, and a short time later to Mount Pleasant, Iowa. In addition to attending the public schools, William Swan spent one year at the Eastman Business College, Poughkeepsie, New York.

In 1873 he married Miss Mary Ruth Evans of Malvern, Iowa, and shortly thereafter went with his father to Cheyenne, Wyoming, where the elder Swan became a member of the firm of Swan Brothers, the other members being Alexander H. Swan and Thomas Swan. During this period William Swan operated a stock ranch at the head of the Chugwater under the name "W. F. Swan and Son."¹ Although his father had withdrawn from the company on April 6, 1878,² William Swan became a member of Swan Brothers in 1879. The arrangement was short-lived, however, for on January 8, 1880, the newspapers at Cheyenne carried a formal notice of the dissolution of the firm as of the sixth of January and of the retirement of W. F. Swan from the co-partnership.³ Although the *Ell Seven Cattle Company* was not organized until 1883, Swan continued to be active in stockraising. In February 1882, he purchased the "Hat Ranch" on Pass Creek in the North Platte Valley,⁴ and within one year was listed as "one of Carbon County's cattle kings."⁵

He was a member of the Laramie Cattle Growers Association from its inception in 1873, and served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Association. When, in 1878, this association was reorganized as the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, Swan continued to take an active interest in its affairs. He was elected a member of the Executive Committee in 1885, representing Carbon County,⁶ and in that year served on the committee to equalize assessments. This committee was composed of representatives from Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Dakota, and Montana. Swan and Ora Haley represented Colorado.⁷

Although engaged in cattle ranching, first on the

1. *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, July 31, 1878, 4:3; *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 15, 1879, 4:4.

2. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 6, 1878, 4:3.

3. *Ibid.* January 8, 1880, 4:3.

4. *Carbon County Journal*, February 11, 1882. The transcripts of the *Carbon County Journal* used by the writer did not contain page and column references; because of the condition of the volumes, the owner of the only set available did not desire them to be further handled, which accounts for the incomplete citations used herein when referring to this newspaper.

5. *Ibid.* July 8, 1882.

6. Report of Mr. Russell Thorp, Secretary-Chief Inspector, Wyoming Stock Growers Association, Cheyenne, Wyoming, to Mr. Henry Swan, Denver, Colorado, January 28, 1942.

7. *Carbon County Journal*, April 11, 1885; John Clay, *My Life on the Range*, p. 252.

North Platte River in Wyoming and subsequently on the Snake and Bear Rivers in northwestern Colorado, Swan moved his home to Denver in 1882, leaving his ranches under the management of John Wilcox, and, after 1883, Emmet C. Green. In 1888, to recoup his fortunes after the disastrous winter of 1886-7 on the North Platte, Swan went to Chicago and became a buyer for Nelson Morris and Company, subsequently moving to Mississippi where he had a substantial body of timber land. He died in Biloxi, Mississippi, June 17, 1932.⁸

Ell Seven Cattle Company Founded, 1883

After severing his connection with Swan Brothers on January 6, 1880,⁹ William Swan apparently operated independently until the founding of the *Ell Seven Cattle Company* in the Fall of 1883.¹⁰ According to the certificate the purposes of the company were:

"... The buying, selling, grazing and breeding of live stock in the Territory of Wyoming and in the other States and Territories of the United States, as the successful prosecution of the business may require, and also to hold, purchase, sell and convey real estate, ranches, ranges, water-rights and privileges in the Territory of Wyoming, and in other States and Territories of the United States as may be necessary or conducive to the interests of the said company; also to acquire by purchase or otherwise any interest in the capital stock or other property of other corporations having like objects with this corporation; also to purchase, sell, ship export and import and otherwise dispose of dead meats or any of the products of manufacturers of live stock; also to establish a butcher shop or shops, or any other manufacturing establishment for the purpose of handling in any form any of the products of live stock and to operate and conduct the same . . ."

Capital stock of the company was placed at one million dollars, consisting of ten thousand shares of a par value of one hundred dollars each. In addition to Swan, John Cudahy, one of the noted organizers of the Cudahy Packing Company; George Adams, Wyoming cattleman; Emmet C. Green, Chicago stockman; William W. Corlett, Cheyenne attorney, were listed as trustees of the new company. The official headquarters of the *Ell Seven Cattle Company*

8. Biographical material supplied by Mr. Henry Swan, Denver, Colorado, from family records. He is the son of W. F. Swan.

9. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 8, 1880, 4:3.

10. While the "Certificate of Incorporation" was not notarized until March 7, 1884, it would appear from Swan's official report in 1885 that the company operations actually began on September 1, 1883.

was established at Cheyenne, although it was stipulated in the certificate of incorporation that, "A part of the business of the said Company is to be carried on outside of the Territory of Wyoming, to wit: in the City of Chicago in the State of Illinois."¹¹

One year after its founding the company paid a 12 per cent dividend on \$530,100 in paid up stock—6 per cent in cash and 6 per cent in stock. The annual report of January 1, 1885,¹² summarizing activities of the company from September 1, 1883, showed:

Total sales	\$96,851.02
Total expenses	29,321.34
Total net proceeds	\$67,529.68
Reinvested in cattle	\$31,199.10
Cash dividend paid	31,812.00 63,011.10
Cash on hand	\$ 4,518.58

No other annual reports or summaries have been found for the period subsequent to 1885. Emmet Green, who also served as manager until 1888, severed his connection with the L7 in that year.¹³ The remaining members of the company, Adams, Corlett, Cudahy and Swan continued their association until the company ceased operations in 1895.

Snake River Cattle Company

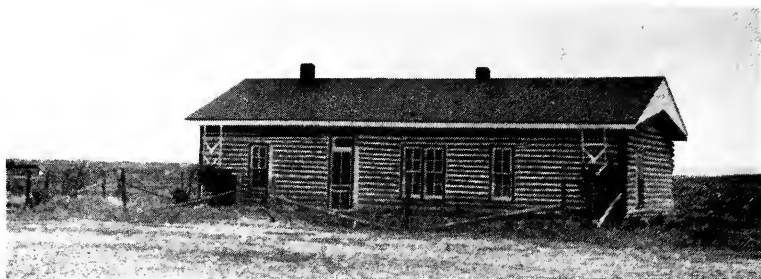
On October 13, 1883, Swan filed articles of incorporation in Cheyenne for the *Snake River Cattle Company*. Capital was placed at \$200,000 and was divided into two thousand shares of a par value of one hundred dollars each. According to the certificate the company was to engage in stock growing within Laramie County and was to maintain offices at Cheyenne, Denver and Chicago. Named as trustees of the new company were George Adams, Emmet C. Green, George Baggs, former New Mexico rancher, W. F. Swan, and Samuel Rosendale, Wyoming stockman and broker.¹⁴ Unfortunately additional records of this company have not been found. It is also apparent from official county records that Swan's later activities on the Snake were under the

11. *Corporation Record No. 19*, Laramie County, Wyoming, pp. 195-197.

12. William F. Swan, "Report L7 Cattle Co. Jan. 1/85." Hand-written original in possession of Henry Swan, Denver, Colorado.

13. *Carbon County Journal*, October 12, 1889.

14. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 16, 1883, 4:1.



L7 RANCH BUILDINGS

Top to bottom: L7 Lake Creek Headquarters; Cow Creek Ranch "71", Foreman John Wilcox on horse, L7 prize bulls; L7 Headquarters at Baggs, Wyoming; remains of L7 bunk on Snake River Winter Ranch, "Maggie's Nipple" in background.

auspices of the *Ell Seven Cattle Company* rather than the *Snake River Cattle Company*.¹⁵

The Ranches

HAT RANCH

In February of 1882 William F. Swan, whose legal address was given as "Fort Steele,"¹⁶ purchased for \$30,000 the so-called "Hat Ranch" from the *Jones and Hawley Cattle Company*.¹⁷ Headquarters of the outfit was in the North Platte Valley on Pass Creek, near the base of Elk Mountain, about twenty-four miles from Saratoga, Wyoming. As in so many other instances, this purchase carried no land title of any description, as the ranch was then located on public domain. Swan merely purchased the improvements, a small log cabin, and the hat "H" brand which went with the herd.

With the development of the ranch several new, small, dirt-roofed, log buildings, including a log barn and horse corral, were constructed under the direction of Foreman Johnny Wilcox. In the bunkhouse the men slept on wooden bunks, although there were a few bedsteads made out of boards or poles. Slough grass was used as padding for mattresses. The usual cowpuncher's bed was his own blankets or quilts and a tarpaulin. Almost all the furniture used in the buildings was homemade. Wood for buildings, furniture and fuel was cut in the nearby woodlands where there was plenty of pine, cedar and aspen, as well as cottonwoods in the bottoms. Coal oil and candles furnished light at night. The only fence on the ranch was that around the hay meadow near the headquarters, where from five to seven tons of hay were cut annually.¹⁸

From a headgate on the Hat Creek, a mile-long ditch—"Hat Ditch"—was constructed during 1883 and the

15. County tax records: Routt County, Colorado; Carbon County, Wyoming. See chart, pp. 23 and 24.

16. *Assessment Record, Carbon County, 1882.* (Unpaged).

17. *Brand Record* (original, not numbered, lettered, or paged), County Clerk's basement vault, Courthouse, Rawlins, Wyoming; A. D. Jones, partner of ex-sheriff William Hawley, resided in London, England, *Carbon County Journal*, May 29, 1880; "Consideration thirty thousand dollars, the location of the range was selected some years ago, and is considered one of the best in Carbon County." *Carbon County Journal*, February 11, 1882.

18. Charles W. Neiman, "Recollections," p. 2, (cited hereafter as *Neiman*); Mrs. John Wilcox, "Brief Sketch of the Life of John Wilcox, L7 Foreman," p. 1, (hereafter cited as *Wilcox*).

water appropriated for use at the headquarters and for irrigation of a small hay lot.¹⁹ As this water was insufficient and too uncertain, a second ditch—"Hat Ditch No. 2"—was constructed in October of 1883, and the waters of Pass Creek were carried one mile from the headgate to the headquarters.²⁰

Improvements on the ranch during 1883 increased the value of the property from five hundred to fifteen hundred dollars, and the County Assessor recorded that the ranch possessed two carriages or wagons worth fifty dollars each. As yet, however, the official name of the company was still that of its owner, "W. F. Swan," and his official residence had now been changed from Fort Steele to Cheyenne.²¹

In the fall of 1883 Swan and his associates incorporated the *Ell Seven Cattle Company*, and Emmet C. Green became manager for the company. By the end of the year Manager Green and Foreman "Johnny" Wilcox had built the second largest outfit in the area—being surpassed only by the *Swan Land and Cattle Company*, the latter owned by the uncles of William F. Swan.²²

Water, always a problem to the Wyoming ranchers, again troubled the L7 in 1885. During November, Foreman Wilcox directed the construction of a third ditch—"The Swan Ditch"—the three-mile narrow channel of which tapped the waters of Pass Creek.²³ Swan recorded his water right claims to the three ditches, "Hat Ditch," "Hat Ditch No. 2," and the "Swan Ditch" in November 1886.²⁴

Although Swan had occupied the "Hat Ranch" since its purchase from Jones and Hawley in February 1881, no title to the property had ever been issued by the federal government. In the fall of 1886, Swan appeared at the office of the Registrar of the General Land Office at Cheyenne and filed a desert claim to the land upon which the ranch and hay fields were located. On January 19, 1887, a patent to part of section 10, township 19, "north of range 83," amounting to 560 acres, was issued and registered in the Recorder's Office of Carbon County. The

19. Book "L," p. 9, County Clerk's Office, Rawlins, Wyoming.

20. Book "L," p. 8, County Clerk's Office, Rawlins, Wyoming.

21. *Assessment Record, Carbon County, 1883*. (Unpaged).

22. *Ibid.*

23. Book "L," p. 8, County Clerk's Office, Rawlins, Wyoming.

24. *Ibid.* pp. 8-9.

original patent, or a recorded copy, has not been located, but a record of the patent can be located in the "Range Book" in the office of the County Clerk at Rawlins. Following the disastrous winter of 1886-7 Swan decided to sell the Platte ranches and move his remaining stock to the Snake River ranges near Baggs. The patented portion of the "Hat Ranch" was sold to George Brenner for \$2,500 on October 19, 1888.²⁵ According to county records Brenner mortgaged the ranch to the *Ell Seven Cattle Company* ten days later, October 29, 1888, for \$1,900.²⁶ Of interest is the fact that, according to the official records, this mortgage was never paid off or released and therefore constitutes a cloud on the present title of the property.²⁷

A second patent for the "Hat Ranch" holdings, issued to William F. Swan, was signed by President Benjamin Harrison on March 20, 1889, and granted a title to 560 acres described as "... the East half: the North West quarter, and the North half of the South West quarter of Section ten in township nineteen, North of range Eighty Three, West of the Sixth Principal Meridian, in Wyoming Territory . . ."²⁸ This tract was also sold to George Brenner for an unspecified amount, on January 18, 1890.²⁹

COW CREEK RANCH, "71"

In 1884, Swan purchased the improvements on a small tract of land along Cow Creek, between Encampment and Saratoga. This ranch subsequently became known as the "71" ranch. There is some doubt as to the title to this property. According to county records no formal ownership existed until a patent was issued in the 'nineties—some years after Swan had moved to the Baggs ranch on the Snake. Mrs. John Wilcox, wife of the L7 foreman and a contemporary owner of a ranch below the "71", states that the ranch was obtained in 1884 from Grout and Lee, Eli Lee—one of the partners—remaining with the L7 as foreman of the Cow Creek place under "Johnny" Wilcox.³⁰ Henry P. "Doc" Culleton, also a contemporary, agrees with Mrs. Wilcox as to the date, but is certain that "Will" Swan purchased the place from Lang and Ryan,

25. Book "R," p. 31, County Clerk's Office, Rawlins, Wyoming.

26. *Range Book*, County Clerk's Office, Rawlins, Wyoming.

27. Miss Ruth Petersen, Deputy County Clerk, Rawlins, Wyoming.

28. Book "W," p. 268, County Clerk's Office, Rawlins, Wyoming.

29. Book "26," p. 38, County Clerk's Office, Rawlins, Wyoming.

30. *Wilcox*, p. 2.

whose stock Swan had bought in 1881 when they were ranging on the Cow Creek property.³¹

From all available accounts this ranch was used by Swan to produce hay, and for late fall and winter pasture. A log house and corral had been constructed by 1886. It was on this property that "Will" Swan kept a number of fine registered bulls which attracted the admiration of the neighboring stockmen.

The Cow Creek ranch was sold by Swan in 1888 to "Bob" Pilson, jovial 350-pound cattleman.³² Swan had no title to the land and therefore the sale included only the improvements. This ranch was later acquired by Ed Sears who obtained a patent to the land,³³ and was later purchased by its present owner "Andy" Anderson, who combined the property with his own adjoining "A-Bar-A" ranch. A brush fire along the creek destroyed the L7 log cabin and other structures several years ago.³⁴

LAKE CREEK RANCH

Below Saratoga some four and one-half miles on Lake Creek, and a half mile above the United States fish hatchery, is the Lake Creek Ranch, principal headquarters for the L7 Cattle Company from 1886 to 1888. "Will" Swan bought this property from Fred Wolf in 1884, and within a few weeks Foreman Wilcox had constructed the most elaborate of the several L7 ranch headquarters.³⁵ It was at this ranch that Swan, Green, and Wilcox entertained eastern visitors. The L7 occupied the Lake Creek Ranch until 1888, when the headquarters and livestock were transferred to the Baggs ranches on the Snake.

In the late summer of 1888 the Lake Creek property, which was still part of the public domain as no patent had been issued by the federal government, was sold to Fred Geddes, Platte Valley stockman.³⁶ The old bunkhouse, part of the original corral and the headquarters building, the latter completely renovated, are still intact and oc-

31. Interview with Henry P. "Doc" Culleton, July 24, 1942.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Wilcox*, p. 2; the Wilcoxs' purchased an adjoining ranch on Cow Creek.

34. Interview, A-Bar-A foreman, July 24, 1942.

35. *Carbon County Journal*, July 26, 1884. The sale included the Wolf cattle; the *Journal* mistakenly credited the purchase to the Swan Land and Cattle Company instead of to W. F. Swan, a frequent but understandable error.

36. *Carbon County Journal*, August 11, 1888.

cupied.³⁷ At present the ranch is operated by the Newman family but the property is owned by the Thomas Cook estate.³⁸

THE BAGGS RANCHES

(Sometime early in 1880 George Baggs, a New Mexico cattle rancher, entered the Snake River valley with a small trail herd and established a ranch and headquarters at the partially deserted community of "Old Dixon." The settlement soon became known as Baggs, Wyoming.³⁹ Baggs was quite successful and his herd soon numbered (officially) around fifteen hundred head of cattle.⁴⁰ During the summer and fall the cattle pastured near the headquarters, ranging on the plateaus bordering the Snake. In winter the stock was driven to a range forty-two miles south of Baggs on the Snake River in Colorado.)

(Domestic difficulties beset Baggs in 1882, and the following year he sold the ranch improvements for something around \$350 to the *Ell Seven Cattle Company* and returned to New Mexico.⁴¹) Although Baggs had filed a desert claim to his headquarters ranch and to that in Colorado used as a winter ranch, the government disallowed his claim, and no title to the land passed from Baggs to "Will" Swan or the *Ell Seven Cattle Company*.

The Snake River headquarters was considerably more improved than the Platte River outfit. Baggs, the former owner, had been a hospitable individual, putting up all who passed the ranch and desired a night's lodging. The buildings at Baggs were built of logs with dirt roofs. "Store furniture" purchased at Rawlins gave the Baggs headquarters a comfortable and prosperous appearance. A Concord stage coach, drawn by from four to six horses, brought daily mail to Baggs from the railroad at Rawlins. There was little if any fencing on the Snake River when the L7 bought the Baggs ranch. According to Foreman Charles Neiman, in 1884 there were only two corrals on the entire Snake and Bear River ranges.)

37. Identified as the original structures by Mrs. Johnny Wilcox, for whom the house was built and who lived on the Lake Creek ranch with her foreman-husband from 1884-1888.

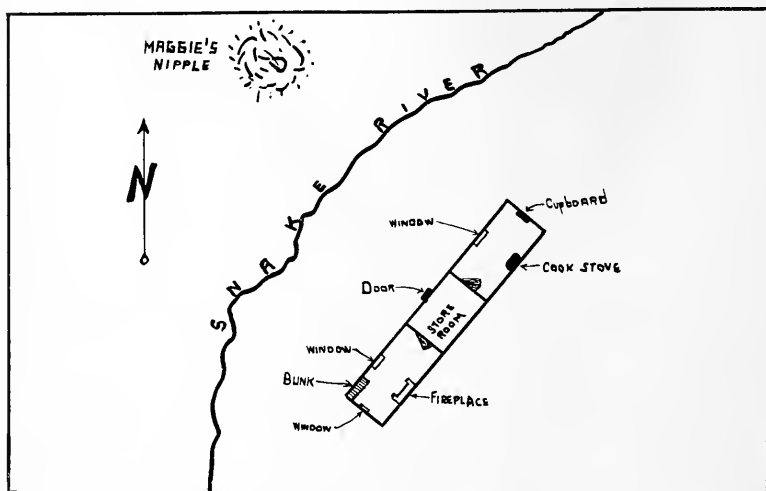
38. Interview with Mrs. Newman, July 24, 1942.

39. H. F. Burch, "The L7 at Baggs, Wyoming," p. 1, (Hereafter cited as *Burch*).

40. *Tax Assessment Roll*, 1883-1887, p. 1, Routt County, Colorado.

41. M. Wilson Rankin, *Reminiscences of Frontier Days*, p. 120.

At the winter ranch located on the Snake some forty miles south of Baggs, and practically at the foot of "Maggie's Nipple," there was a small log building which served as both bunkhouse and storehouse. This building was actually two small log cabins connected by a middle addition which served as the storeroom, thus making a three room building. Each room was about twelve by fourteen feet and had a puncheon floor. Only one entrance was provided, and this was by a door in the center of the storeroom, doorways from the other rooms opening only into this storeroom. In the room on the northeast there was one window facing northwest toward the "Nipple." The cook stove stood against the southeast part of the room, and a cupboard was built into the end of the room. The southwestern room contained two windows, one at the end of the room and the other facing toward the "Nipple." This was the bunkroom and had a bunk in the west corner. A fireplace was constructed into the south wall.



After Baggs met "Maggie," a dancer in a Chicago dance hall, he brought her out to Wyoming. Maggie rode everywhere with her "husband" and soon visited the lower or winter ranch where the cabin described above was located. She thoroughly disliked the bare log walls of the cabin and soon set about papering them. The only available paper was a number of copies of the "Police Gazette," brought from Chicago, and these soon covered the room in

which the fireplace was located. The somewhat lurid pictures adorning the walls were enjoyed by both the cowboys and the Indians—the latter visited the place frequently. The Indians, however, were interested almost entirely in those picture showing horses, horse races and hunts. Maggie Baggs also had a large flagstone laid in front of the cabin entrance to try to keep the mud and dirt from entering.

The storeroom was used to good advantage to store food for winter and enough to carry through the spring roundup. The freight teams didn't work in winter and therefore it was necessary to "lay in" sufficient supplies for from three to four months.

(Provisions, usually purchased at the general store of Hugus and Company, were freighted from Rawlins to Baggs and the "winter camp." Sufficient provisions were bought in the fall after the cattle were shipped to last until the following fall.) The foreman was responsible for purchasing the supplies. Food was basic on the ranch and the menu was very regular. Major supplies purchased included flour in hundred-pound sacks—the sacks were very useful on the ranch; thick slab salt side bacon—cooked for lard as well as meat; sacks of white (navy) beans; canned corn and tomatoes; twenty-five pound boxes of dried peaches; apples; apricots; prunes and large cans of baking powder. Coffee was purchased in whole bean form and came in large sacks. The principal brands of coffee used on the L7 were Arbuckle's and Lion's. The beans were ground in special coffee grinders, one of which was always fastened to the side of the grub wagon.⁴²

Just north of the Snake River crossing at Baggs, on the west side of the present Rawlins highway, is the location of the old Baggs and L7 ranch headquarters. Only one building remains, and, unfortunately, it too is rapidly disintegrating. On the old winter ranch south of Baggs no visible reminder of the L7 bunkhouse remains. According to legend a hewn-log cabin standing on the east bank of the Snake, about a quarter of a mile below the site of the old L7 winter headquarters, is part of the old bunkhouse. It was supposedly moved to its present site by a "shepherders outfit" in 1920 or 1921.⁴³

42. *Neiman*, pp. 3-5, 11.

43. Interview with J. Toole, Baggs, Wyoming, July 22, 1942. Mr. Toole guided me over the former L7 property. A close examination of this deserted cabin leads me to question seriously the accuracy of the story.

(The severe winter of 1889 was disastrous to the L7. Approximately seventy-five per cent of the herd died in the snow on the Snake River range.) Swan managed to remain in business, however, but the "L7" never fully recovered from this setback.⁴⁴ (In 1895, with only 450 cattle reported on the ranch, Swan sold his interests in the "L7."⁴⁵ The headquarters ranch at Baggs was sold to "Bob" Temple for less than four hundred dollars, and the winter ranch south of Baggs, in Colorado, was sold for a reported \$150 to Charles E. Ayer.⁴⁶)

(As was the case in the Platte River valley ranches, except for the "Hat Ranch" after 1887, the Swan title to the Baggs property in Wyoming and Colorado was nebulous.) Baggs, having no title to the land, could sell only the improvements, and possibly his "squatter's rights." Though the government turned down his early desert claim filings,⁴⁷ a patent was issued on March 31, 1888, in the name of George Baggs, to the winter ranch in Colorado, describing the property as 160 acres in Sec. 23, T. 10, R. 96.⁴⁸ Since Baggs had sold his interest and departed in 1883, the patent was of dubious value, and was not recorded until April 5, 1906.⁴⁹

("Bob" Temple "proved up" on the old headquarters property at Baggs and received a patent to the property from the United States.⁵⁰) The winter ranch, sold to Charles E. Ayer, has a more complicated record. Despite the "Baggs patent" of 1888, no legal ownership of this property, except as part of the public domain, was recorded until 1906. Swan evidently sold Ayer the improvements, as indicated by three factors: (1) No deed or other title instrument to the land bearing the name of Swan or *Ell Seven Cattle Company* was ever recorded in Routt or Moffatt Counties, Colorado, or Carbon County, Wyoming; (2) Ayer never claimed title through sale from Swan; (3) the plat and range records in the aforesaid counties show no settlement of title until 1906.

44. See chart, p. 24.

45. *Assessment Roll*, 1895.

46. *Burch*, p. 2. Burch lived next to Temple and had intimate knowledge of the transaction.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Book "28," p. 371, Routt County; Book "G," p. 109, Moffatt County; described as E $\frac{1}{2}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$, E $\frac{1}{2}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Burch*, p. 2; *Range Book*, County Clerk's Office, Rawlins, Wyoming.

There is little doubt, however, that Ayer claimed the use of the property. Probably because of the dubious character of title under the 1888 Baggs patent, Ayer determined to obtain title through a tax sale. Aware of the patent, though it had not been recorded, the Routt County Assessor put the property on the tax roll in 1901. Ayer failed to pay the taxes and the property was sold in 1906 for the 1901 taxes. Ayer bought the property at the tax sale and obtained a Treasurer's tax deed on February 5, 1906.⁵¹ On April 5, 1906, Ayer recorded the "Baggs patent" of 1888 and thus extinguished any cloud on the title that may have existed because of this instrument.⁵² A year later, July 6, 1907, Ayer sold the old "L7" winter ranch to the *Willow Creek Land and Cattle Company*.

L7 Operations

MANAGEMENT AND PERSONNEL

After the organization of the *Ell Seven Cattle Company*, in 1883, "Will" Swan left the actual operation of the ranches to a manager and foreman. Emmet C. Green served as manager from 1883 to 1888, and Foreman John Wilcox ably operated the Platte ranches—"Hat Ranch," "Cow Creek Ranch," and "Lake Creek Ranch"—until the L7 combined its herds on the Snake River in 1888. Wilcox had been foreman for Swan previous to the incorporation of the *Ell Seven Cattle Company*. Charles Ivey was made foreman of the Snake River ranch after that property had been acquired from George Baggs in 1884. He served until 1888. The disaster of 1886-7, together with the withdrawal of Green, made necessary a complete reorganization of the L7. The Platte ranches were sold, and under a new manager, Mac Stewart, and a new foreman. Charles Neiman, the L7 continued to operate with all cattle combined on the Snake River Ranch. Both Stewart and Neiman served until 1890 when Dow Doty became manager and Kirk Calvert undertook the duties of foreman. Doty served until the Company ceased its operations in 1895, and, after Calvert resigned in 1891, continued as both manager and foreman.

"Cowpunchers" received forty dollars a month and their food, such lodging as was needed, their equipment—except for saddle, bridle, and bedroll—and their horses.

51. Book "B," p. 547, certificate No. 7, Routt County, Colorado.

52. Book "28," p. 371, Routt County, Colorado.

Some men owned their own horses, but while at work used those belonging to the Company. A top-hand, and there was at least one in each outfit, received from fifty to sixty dollars a month. The foreman was paid from one hundred to one hundred twenty-five dollars per month and was responsible to the manager for the operations of the ranch and the execution of the owner's orders.

The men wore blue-denim overalls and woolen shirts. Two-piece "Canton Flannel" underwear were worn in winter but were exchanged for cotton in summer. A "wind-breaker" coat and "Stetson" were as necessary to the cowboy as were his narrow-pointed, high-heeled boots. The latter were bought in Rawlins for five to six dollars a pair. Many punchers had their boots custom built at from \$15.00 to \$18.00 a pair, but one pair would last a whole year. Leather chaps were used in brush country and most riders were provided with a slicker for use in wet weather. Men from Texas, California, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Montana, a few from New York and other eastern states made up the personnel of the ranch. Occasionally a Mexican "puncher" would drift in with one of the Texas trail outfits. Several negroes became cowboys and, according to their foremen, they made better than ordinary cowhands.

After the cattle had been shipped in the fall, it was usual to discharge all but two or three men of the ten or twelve "punchers" in the outfit. The remaining men would take care of the herds during the winter and the discharged men would head for the cities to spend their money. After the money was gone—and it usually didn't take very long—many of the men worked the "grub-route." This consisted of going from ranch to ranch in the cattle country, stopping for a few days at one of the ranches and then moving on again. The cowboys were welcome to stop at any ranch and stay as long as they wanted—at least until time for the next spring roundup when they could again be placed on the payroll. It was not unusual for the men to remain at the ranch where they had been hired or to return to it after they had disposed of their year's earnings.⁵³

LIVESTOCK

During 1881, on Oregon trail herd of about four thousand head of short horned cattle, belonging to Lang and Ryan, and road branded "L," entered southern Wyo-

53. *Neiman*, p. 8-9, 13.

ming. "Will" Swan purchased the entire herd, and, after taking possession at Rock Creek, rebranded the cattle by reversing the Lang and Ryan branding iron which thereby added a "7" to the road brand and created the "L7."⁵⁴ The new brand was registered with the County Clerk at Rawlins on August 5, 1881.⁵⁵ By the end of 1881 Swan was credited with owning twenty-five horses and four thousand head of "Neat Cattle" with an assessed valuation of \$61,250.⁵⁶

After the organization of the *Ell Seven Cattle Company* the herds grew so rapidly that official records showed the company to be the second largest in Carbon County, with two hundred horses and 5,200 cattle valued at \$111,650.⁵⁷ The L7 herds were increased by the purchase of trail herds, buying out smaller out-fits, and by encouraging large calf crops. One of the largest recorded purchases occurred in April 1884, when Swan bought for \$40,000, ⁵⁸ the entire herd belonging to Jay Pettibone. In his annual report on January 1, 1885, "Will" Swan made an official report to his co-partners showing all livestock on the L7:⁵⁹

"Cattle on Hand:

9,041 cows	
1,667 heifers 2 years old	
1,519 heifers 1 year old	
1,519 steers 1 year old	Calf brand 1884=3038
1,670 steers 2 years old	
3,614 steers 3 years old and up	
324 bulls	
<hr/> 19,354 cattle	
345 horses	

Total.....19,699"

Some idea of the annual fluctuation in the number of livestock owned by the L7 on the Platte ranches can be

54. Information supplied by Henry Swan from records of W. F. Swan; Monte Blevins, "Recollections of the L7," p. 3.

55. *Brand Record* (original, not numbered, lettered or paged), County Clerk's basement vault, Courthouse, Rawlins, Wyoming.

56. *Assessment Record*, 1881, Carbon, County,

57. *Assessment Record*, 1883, Carbon County.

58. *Carbon County Journal*, October 12, 1889; April 26, 1884.

59. William F. Swan, "Report L7 Cattle Co. January 1/85."

obtained by referring to the chart showing yearly assessment in Carbon County.⁶⁰

Cattle ranching was subject to frequent losses occasioned by unseasonable or severe weather. A long dry spell necessitated winter feeding, consequently increasing the costs of production and cutting heavily into profits. The dry summer and fall of 1886-1887, combined with a record cold spell, hit the upper North Platte valley stockmen almost as severely as it did the ranchers in the rest of Wyoming. Stockmen were forced to buy large quantities of feed for their rapidly weakening herds which in many places were existing by browsing on willows and sage brush.⁶¹ Early in February, Manager Emmet Green purchased one hundred tons of hay in an endeavor to save part of the L7 stock.⁶² The company went into the winter of 1886-7 with a recorded count of 6,300 head of cattle. The spring roundup in 1887 showed only 2,851 head on the L7 ranges.⁶³ This catastrophe led to the decision to combine all the L7 herds on the Snake River property, south of Baggs, where the severe effects of the winter had not been felt. The Saratoga correspondent of the *Carbon County Journal* reported on July 13, 1887:

"The roundup is over and the cattle men have disbanded and gone home. From the most reliable sources we learn that the loss has been far greater than anyone anticipated—just how much no one can tell exactly. But it is fair to say that many men would be happy if they could gather 50 per cent . . ."⁶⁴

60. Caution must be used in analyzing the official county records cited in this report. Assessment figures on the number of stock on a ranch in any given year are subject to challenge as the report from which such figures were obtained was made by the owner of the stock and more often than not was a decided understatement. As a matter of record it should be pointed out that the ranchers—except in unusual cases—seldom knew exactly how many head of stock they possessed. The assessors certainly had neither the time nor money to count personally the stock on each ranch. In addition, it was the general practice of county officials of the day deliberately to understate the number of stock in order that winter losses and normal "depreciation" would be taken into consideration. It should also be noted that while some returns were made before the annual shipment to market others were made after shipment. I should venture to guess that the actual figures would have been from 15% to 25% greater than those shown, but I confess that this is based upon the most flimsy evidence. For example compare the 1885 report above quoted with the assessment record for 1885, chart p. 23.

61. *Carbon County Journal*, March 5, 1887; February 12, 1887.

62. *Ibid.* February 16, 1887.

63. *Assessment Record*, 1887 and 1888, Carbon County.

64. *Carbon County Journal*, July 16, 1887.

ASSESSMENTS 1882-1891 — CARBON COUNTY, WYOMING

Date	School Dist.	NAME	RESIDENCE	Lands and Improvements	Neat Cattle		Horses		Mules and Asses		Carriages and Wagons		All Other Property	Farm Utensils and Tools, Value	Total Valuation	Corrected Valuation	REMARKS
1882	9	Swan, W. F.	Fort Steele	\$ 500	4000	\$ 60,000	25	\$ 750							\$ 61,250		
1883	—	Swan, W. F.	Cheyenne	\$1,500	5200	\$104,000	200	\$6050			2	\$100			\$111,650		
1884	17	Ell Seven Cattle Company	Cheyenne	\$2,000	7200	\$144,000	110	\$3300	2	\$200	3	\$125			\$149,625		
1885	20	Ell Seven Cattle Company	Cheyenne	\$2,000	6985	\$139,700	161	\$2525	4	\$200	3	\$150			\$146,675	\$201,175	On cattle \$50,000; on horses \$2,500, on improvements \$200.
1886	—	Ell Seven Cattle Company	Cheyenne	480 A. * \$5,000	7335	\$117,360	75	\$1875	4	\$200		\$600		\$800	\$125,835		
1887	8-9 4	Ell Seven Cattle Company	Cheyenne	\$4,640	6300	\$ 82,215	71	\$1775	2	\$120		\$400	\$200	\$300	\$ 89,650	\$ 91,010	Improvements \$1,360
1888	30	Ell Seven Cattle Co. E. C. Green, Mgr.	Cheyenne	\$1,500	2851	\$ 28,391	55	\$1375	2	\$120	5	\$200	\$ 50	\$ 50	\$ 32,326	\$ 32,326	Pt. S. 2, 11, 24, T. 15, R. 84, 160 Acres Valuation \$320, Pt. S. 24, T. 18, R. 84, 160 Acres Valuation \$320.
1888	17	Swan, W. F.	Cheyenne												\$ 1,120	\$ 1,120	NE 1/4, NW 1/4, SE 1/4, N 1/2, SW 1/4, S. 10, T. 19, R. 83, 560 Acres Valuation \$1,120.
1889	—																Struck from the rolls.
1890	—	Ell Seven Cattle Co. M. Stewart, Mgr.	Baggs		1000	\$ 10,000	20	\$ 300	1	\$ 60					\$ 10,360	\$ 4,360	Reduce 600 head cattle \$6,000.
1891	4	Ell Seven Cattle Co. D. Doty, Mgr.	Baggs				14	\$ 350			2	\$ 60			\$ 435		

* Acres.

Year	Page	Name	P. O. Address	Value Imp't to Pub. Prop.	Horses	Cattle	Carr. or Veh.	Amount of Other Prop.	Mules	Value of Real Estate	Value of Pers. Prop.	School Dist.	Total Valuation	Remarks
					No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value				
1884	11	Ell 7 Cattle Co.	Cheyenne, Wyo.	(?) \$500	40	\$2000	1700	\$33,500					\$36,000	Cheyenne
1885	29	Ell 7 Cattle Co.	Cheyenne, Wyo.	(?) 500	46	1150	3000	48,350					50,000	Cheyenne, Wyo.
1886	47	Ell 7 Cattle Co.	Cheyenne, Wyo.	50	73	2920	3075	66,000					68,970	E. C. Green Cheyenne, Wyo.
1887	72	L7 Cattle Co.	Cheyenne, Wyo.	50	65	1625	3075	43,875					45,550	Dixon, Mar. E. C. Green
1888	10	Green, E. C. L7 Cattle Co.	Cheyenne, Wyo.	50	53	1325	2801	31,160					32,735	Care E. C. Cheyenne, Wyo.
1889	51	L7 Cattle Co.	Baggs, Wyo.	65	1625	3260	3	\$75					38,100	Baggs
1890	26	L7 Cattle Co.	Baggs, Wyo.	100	15	450	300	9,000 3,000					9,000 3,550	
1891	76	L7 Cattle Co.	Baggs, Wyo.	160	100	2000	1012	27,000 10,240	\$111	2	\$20		27,111 12,420	
1892	26	L7 Cattle Co.	Baggs, Wyo.	100	2000	2015		20,070				7	22,070	
1893	28	L7 Cattle Co.	Baggs, Wyo.	150	100	2000	2315	23,500	1	\$30	\$ 75	7	25,755	
1894	27	L7 Cattle Co.	Dixon	200	75	750	500	3,375				7	3,575	
1895	31	L7 Cattle Co.	Slater	250			450	3,600				22	3,850	

L7 CATTLE COMPANY—(Snake River Ranches)

Tax Assessment Rolls 1884-1895

Routt County, Colorado

Figures in bold face show corrected valuations.

Unfortunately the county records of both Colorado and Wyoming fail to reflect the increase in the Snake River cattle after the combining of the L7 Platte River herds with those on the Snake. According to the Carbon County, Wyoming, records there were 2,851 head of stock on the Platte ranches in 1888, which, accordingly, should have either shown on the Snake in 1889, less those shipped to market, or should have been added to the Routt County, Colorado, figures in that year.⁶⁵ The Wyoming records fail to show any L7 stock in 1889 and only one thousand head at Baggs in 1890.⁶⁶ A glance at the Colorado record indicates that in 1887 the L7 had 3,075 head of cattle at the winter ranch, 2,801 head in 1888, 3,260 head in 1889, thus providing no evidence of the addition of the Wyoming herd.⁶⁷

One vital fact gleamed from the official records is the effect of the winter of 1889 upon the L7 cattle on the Snake River ranch. A drought had burned most of the forage by the end of July. Fall and winter feed became a serious problem. The range was heavily overstocked and the cattle grew steadily weak and thin.⁶⁸ By February 1, 1890, one correspondent reported, "More dead (cattle) are found on the ranges than ever before and the backbone of the winter is not yet broken . . . Some stockmen predict that the loss will be as high as 50 per cent and extreme alarmists place the figure as high as 75 per cent."⁶⁹ Almost one month later there was still no let up in the weather. From Dixon, a few miles from the L7 Baggs ranch, it was reported on February 28 that the snow was anywhere from eighteen inches to five feet in depth and that the temperature that morning had been twenty-eight below zero. "Fine weather for the annihilation of stock."⁷⁰ The L7, according to official records, entered the winter with approximately 3,260 head of cattle on the winter range, south of Baggs, in northern Colorado. The loss was staggering. One neighbor referring to the effect of the winter on the L7 stock commented:

65. *Assessments*, 1888, 1889, Carbon County.

66. *Ibid.* 1890.

67. *Assessment Roll*, 1887, 1888, 1889, Routt County, Colorado; *Neiman*, p. 7.

68. *Neiman*, p. 16.

69. *Carbon County Journal*, February 1, 1890.

70. *Ibid.* March 8, 1890.

"The loss of L7 cattle . . . has been large, but they were half starved and in a dying condition when they were turned loose on the range south of town, and the wonder is not that so many of them died, but that any of them are alive."⁷¹

In the Spring of 1890 the L7 was officially reported to have only three hundred head of stock left at the winter ranch, and one thousand head in Wyoming. Thus, out of officially 3,260 head in 1889, the L7 was able to count only 1,300 head after the ruinous winter.⁷²

"Charley" Neiman was foreman of the L7 during the disaster of 1889-90, and had charge of executing the emergency drive which was designed to save part of the herd. His description of the episode gives further evidence of the hazards of cattle raising as well as the need for competent judgment and immediate action on the part of the cattlemen:

"The winter of 1889 was one of the hardest in the history of the West. The range was heavily overstocked with from twelve to fifteen thousand head of stock in each of the three largest outfits—the L7, the Ora Haley ranch, and the Leavenworth Cattle Company—and a number of smaller outfits had about one thousand head each. The cattle became thin and weak. A number of cattle men decided to drive the stock to the Red Desert country north of Rawlins. But the decision to undertake this program was made by manager Stewart who acted too late. It was the middle of November before the order to drive was given. Wilson Rankin, foreman of the Haley outfit, was the first to start. He drove from the Snake River, pushing the cattle ahead as far as he could each day and then turning them loose. The stragglers and drifters were enormous. It sometimes took until two in the afternoon for the men to get the cattle bunched again in order to continue the drive. Rankin averaged only three miles a day. I went next with the L7 cattle—the Leavenworth Cattle Company was not in favor of the drive but they did send two men with me. I drove the Snake River bottom northward. By the time I had reached Baggs, some forty-four miles north—I had ten thousand bawling cattle, many weak and in no condition to travel, and many with calves. Drifters and stragglers were numerous. The day before Christmas, somewhere between thirty and forty miles north of Rawlins toward the Red Desert, I turned the cattle loose. They just couldn't go any further. Many died on the drive. Many were too weak to complete the trip and dropped back. Many died after we had arrived at our destination. It was the worst slaughter I had ever seen. That summer we had branded between 3,500 and four thousand head of calves; the following spring only 174 or 175 calves were branded. I checked this with Stewart myself. The loss of cattle during the winter of 1889 was estimated at 75%! We also lost about two-thirds of the saddle horses."⁷³

71. *Ibid.* April 19, 1890.

72. *Assessment Roll*, 1888, 1889, Routt County, Colorado.

73. *Neiman*, p. 16-17.

In two disastrous winters—the first on the Platte in 1886-7, and the second on the Snake in 1889-90—the L7 had been virtually “wiped out.” Failure of the grass on the range to return to its former condition,⁷⁴ combined with low cattle prices and the inability to recoup losses sustained, caused the company to go out of business in 1894.

THE ROUNDUPS

The annual Spring and Fall roundups climaxed the year's activities for management and personnel alike. In the Spring the stock was gathered for branding while in the Fall the purpose of the roundup was chiefly to “cut out” the stock to be shipped to market. Each roundup was a cooperative affair joined in by all ranches using the range upon which the roundup was to be held. Annually, at an early meeting of the Stock Growers Association the roundups were planned for each range, a roundup foreman or captain chosen and the dates for beginning the roundups selected. All owners, foremen and riders were bound to obey the orders of the roundup foreman, and his decisions were final. At the stock growers meeting held at Warm Springs (Saratoga) March 29, 1881, the ranchers agreed, “That we follow the directions of the captain, and any person refusing to obey such orders be excluded from all privileges of the Round-Up.”⁷⁵ John Wilcox, efficient foreman of the L7 for its incorporation until 1888, was regularly chosen roundup foreman for the area in which the L7 stock ranged.⁷⁶ At various times one roundup crew would join with that engaged in working an adjoining area and thus provide complete coverage of the range for hundreds of miles in all directions. An excellent example of this practice occurred in 1884, when “Roundup No. 25,” covering the area which included part of the L7 range, met at Fort Steele, and after working part of the assigned territory joined forces with “Roundup No. 26” for several days and worked a peripheral area; after completing this part of the range “No. 25” left “No. 26” and continued to work its assigned range alone until it joined forces with “No. 7” to work a second peripheral territory.⁷⁷

74. *Carbon County Journal*, February 18, 1893, and February 3, 1894.

75. *Carbon County Journal*, April 2, 1881.

76. *Ibid.* April 7, 1883; April 11, 1885; April 17, 1886; April 16, 1887.

77. *Ibid.* January 5, 1884.



ROUNDUP ON THE NORTH PLATTE IN THE EIGHTIES

L7 riders under the leadership of John Wilcox, L7 foreman; 1. Edgar Grant; 2. D. D. Wagner; 3. Percinte Ortega; 4. John F. Wilcox; 5. John Bicktold; 6. L. G. Davis; 7. Charles W. Wilcox; John Kuykendall on wagon; Harry Hunter, in foreground, hands clasped on knees.

The Spring roundup started soon after the first of May, after the cattle had shed their winter hair and their brands could be easily read, and after the horses had "fleshed up" so they could be ridden. Essential parts of the outfit on every roundup were the grub wagon and bed wagon. The latter held the bed rolls and all extra equipment needed on the roundup. The "cavvy," which, on the L7 usually consisted of around one hundred and twenty-five horses, eight or nine mounts to a man, was driven to camp before breakfast by the horse wrangler. Two ropes tied to the wagon and held at an angle formed a temporary corral in which the horses were held until after breakfast when the men would drop their ropes over the heads of the horses they were going to ride. The various outfits taking part in the roundup camped a quarter to half a mile apart in order that the horses would not become mixed. The foreman of the various outfits would gather with the roundup captain in the evening and lay out the work for the following day. All the outfits would gather after breakfast and the roundup foreman would assign the tasks and the men would scatter to their appointed jobs. Dinner and supper came at irregular intervals, whenever the job was finished or such portion of it that the men could leave without holding up the work. Some would eat lunch at eleven in the morning, while others would only be able to stop work at two, or even three, in the afternoon. Frequently cattle had to be held in a herd at night, and this necessitated night riding, two men in four shifts. The L7 outfit on roundup usually consisted of eight or ten "cowpunchers," a cook, day and night horse wranglers and three or four "reps." The "reps," or representatives, were men from other ranches whose cattle were ranged near enough to become mixed with L7 stock. During the roundup period each ranch would send "reps" to the other nearby roundups to be on the lookout for their stray stock. These men also helped in the roundup and thus augmented the regular men.

On roundup the men had only one regular meal, breakfast, which was eaten just before dawn. The cook arose at 3:30 A. M. and prepared breakfast. Just before retiring he would grind the coffee beans and place the coffee in a large well-dented and brown-stained pot. When he arose the pot was hung over the fire. The men liked their coffee hot—and strong. It was the general practice on roundup to add just a few fresh grounds to the already cooked ones and reheat the pot. In dutch ovens

and iron kettles suspended from hooks attached to the pot rack, salt-side and corn, tomatoes and beans were cooked. The meals were served in tin plates and tin cups. Cold biscuits and jam completed the meal. Biscuits were almost always served cold. There was a good reason. Hungry men could devour hot biscuits by the dozens, and the time necessary to provide such quantities was prohibitive. After the men were gone from camp the cook usually prepared baking powder biscuits by the "bushel." These were kept in a large tin and served cold at meals. When the supply ran low a new batch was baked. Besides the cook, one other man, the horsewrangler, was kept at camp. It was part of his job to provide the wood for the cook's fire.

The chief work of the roundup was to gather into herds all the cattle that could be found. This necessitated riding all hills, valleys, arroyos and "draws," box canyons, stream beds and the level range. Once the cattle were rounded up the real work began. Each outfit would "cut out" from the herd the stock bearing its brand. Calves were credited to the brand carried by the mother cow, and were branded accordingly. All other unbranded stock were promptly branded by the outfit to which they belonged. Mavericks, calves or other stock of unknown ownership were branded with an "M" on the left jaw and later sold for the benefit of the Stock Association.

Some variation of this method arose on the Snake River ranches. On the Snake and Bear Rivers, upon and between which the L7 cattle grazed, there were three large outfits, the L7, the *Leavenworth Cattle Company* (pot hook brand "J"), J. B. Insley, manager and the *Ora Haley Cattle Company* (two-bar brand on right hip). These three ranches divided and controlled the vast range—almost all of which was part of the public domain. The L7 home range was on the lower Snake River; that of the Leavenworth outfit was in the upper Snake country; Haley's range was in the Bear River country. Between the three large outfits and a number of smaller ranchers the range was efficiently controlled. This division of the range was one of convenience as actually the stock of the three large ranches roamed at will and became quite thoroughly mixed. The theoretical division, however, operated during the joint spring roundup, as the manager of that portion of the range upon which the roundup was held was also the manager of the roundup, and his outfit received all


mavericks found at the roundup. Thus when the roundup was on the L7 portion of the range, the L7 foreman was in charge of all the men from the other ranches as well as those from his own, and the L7 took all mavericks found at the roundup. The same circumstances held when the roundup was on the Haley or Leavenworth portions of the range.

It is interesting to note the comparison between this system and that on the Platte ranches described above. The three major ranches were opposed to stock associations. Haley especially opposed the extension of the strong and powerful stock association of Wyoming. Under the association all mavericks found at the spring roundup were "jaw-branded" and then sold to the highest bidder. During the winter small ranchers took all the mavericks they could find. This system naturally led to rustling and numerous cattle wars. The strange thing about this was that the rustlers would steal from the association members and not harm the herds of non-association members living in the same area.⁷⁸

BRANDS

On July 21, 1884, Swan reregistered all of his brands in the name of his recently incorporated *Ell Seven Cattle Company*. In his certificate Swan stated that he owned ten brands, and County Recorder D. H. Hughes drew into the official county brand records a sketch of each.⁷⁹

Q. Q. W. R. 21. [] L7. □. —. =.

On October 14, 1884, a new brand, the "Keystone"——was registered as having been purchased by the *Ell Seven Cattle Company* from M. Quealy.⁸⁰


It is possible to trace the origin and evolution of some of these brands, although the record of their transfer or purchase by Swan is not complete.


With the purchase of the Hawley and Jones "Hat

78. Information for this section was obtained chiefly from the unpublished accounts of the surviving former L7 foreman, Charles Neiman and Dow Doty, and from Monte Blevins, who once rode for the L7.

79. *Brand Record* (unnumbered, unlettered, unpagged).


80. *Ibid.*

Ranch" and herd in 1882, Swan obtained the " " hat brand. This brand was originally filed on September 11, 1873, by S. Parkins,⁸¹ and had been purchased from him by Hawley and Jones and refiled on February 23, 1878.⁸²


The clevice " " brand was originally adopted in Carbon County by W. T. Davis of Warm Springs (Saratoga), who filed the brand on April 4, 1878. One year later, April 7, 1879, Davis transferred the brand to William Bangs. No record of the brand was found from that date until it was registered in 1884 by the "L7."⁸³

The "21" brand, originally filed by Thomas Bird of Fort Stee'e on September 29, 1874, was transferred to C. F. Bean of Warm Springs (Saratoga), June 20, 1879.⁸⁴

The keystone brand, filed by Swan in October 1884, was first registered in Carbon County on June 7, 1878, to John Roxbury.⁸⁵

When Swan bought out Vasant and Mannhinney in 1882 he took over their brand and on July 10 registered the brand " " with the county clerk at Rawlins.

Fisher and Her, owners of the *3 Mile Creek Cattle Company*, were the first in the county to use the "two-bar," having recorded their mark on April 9, 1877.⁸⁶ Their title, however, was short-lived. On January 5, 1878, H. W. Eaton recorded the brand and no protest was entered against it.⁸⁷

Oldest of the brands used by the *Ell Seven Cattle Company* was the horseshoe, " ". W. C. Bangs, at one time also owner of the clevice brand, recorded the horseshoe brand on May 22, 1874.⁸⁸

The L7 experienced the usual brand difficulties. Newspaper accounts, court records and stock association correspondence show several incidents of wilful misbranding of stock on the L7 North Platte ranches. Major difficulties arose, however, on the Snake River ranges. A dis-

81. *Brand Record*, "A," Carbon County, Wyoming, p. 23.

82. *Ibid.* p. 44.

83. *Ibid.* p. 62.

84. *Ibid.* pp. 10, 65.

85. *Ibid.* p. 50.

86. *Ibid.* p. 29.

87. *Ibid.* p. 38.

88. *Ibid.* p. 7.

patch from Dixon on December 24, 1885, lanconically reported:

"Trouble is brewing between the L7 and the Pot Hook outfits, the latter being accused of wilful misbranding of grown cattle. Both outfits are wealthy and from reports in circulation there will soon be music in the air."⁸⁹

No further record of this difficulty has been located and it may be assumed that the "music" continued "sweet and low." A possible explanation of this incident, although no evidence is available to support the supposition, might possibly be found in the fact that an L7 foreman was found guilty of rustling and "running brands" within two years after the quoted report was printed. The "gentleman" in question rightfully owned a small herd of about fifty head of stock, but within a short time turned up with several hundred head. Without the knowledge of Swan, or his manager, the culprit had filed two private brands, the "K" (K face) and the "969." It will be noted that the L7 brand could easily be altered to form either or both of these two brands, the "K face" by adding only two "backs" and the "969" by simply altering the L7 and adding an altered "7"—converted into a "9"—before the regular brand.

696 = L7 ↙ ↗ = L7

The guilty party was detected by the men under him. It had been noticed that he always carried a running iron, which was simply an iron ring, tied to his saddle, and that he made many unaccounted for and unaccompanied rides over the L7 range. The services of this rustler were soon dispensed with and the gentleman handed over to the sheriff for trial.⁹⁰

SHIPMENTS—CATTLE PRICES

Cattle were shipped to market in the Fall after the roundup. The stock was driven to the most convenient railroad yards, which varied from year to year, depending on grass conditions en route to the shipping point and the conditions existing at the yards. At various times

89. *Carbon County Journal*, December 26, 1885.

90. David Wilcox, p. 2. Wilcox was a rider for the L7 at the time and knew personally the details of the incident.

L7 cattle were shipped from Rawlins, Fort Steele, and Medicine Bow. After 1888, a large part of the cattle were driven to Wolcott where they were shipped by the newly-constructed Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Shipments were consigned to various commission agents at the markets where the sales were made. Cattle buyers seldom, if ever, visited the ranches during the 'eighties. L7 cattle were usually consigned to Chicago, but if markets en route, Omaha and Kansas City, were good the commission agents would take advantage of them, or, if poor, the cattle would continue to the midwestern market.⁹¹

It is somewhat difficult because of inadequate records to present a complete account of the annual purchases and shipments of cattle from the L7 ranches. Unfortunately only a scattered record of shipments from Rawlins has been preserved. This incomplete record, however, presents some indication of the quantity of stock handled by Swan and his associates, and since most of the record is from 1888 to 1894, it constitutes chiefly a record of activities on the Snake River ranch.⁹²

DATE	SHIPMENT OF CATTLE	CONSIGNEE TO:
September 22, 1883.....	14 cars	George Allen & Burke, Chicago
August 27, 1887.....	16 cars	
October 21, 1891.....	18 cars	Chicago
October 22, 1891.....	2 trains	Chicago
September 20, 1892.....	35 cars	
September 16, 1893.....	12 cars	Chicago
October 28, 1893.....	34 cars	South Omaha
November 11, 1893.....	1800 head	
August 25, 1894.....	25 cars	
September 1, 1894.....	13 cars	
October 13, 1894.....	10 cars	
November 9, 1895.....	10 cars	Kansas City-Chicago

But few records are available giving the actual receipts of the L7. The 1885 annual report of the *Ell Seven Cattle Company*, prepared by William Swan, summarizes receipts for 1883 and 1884.⁹³

91. *Neiman*, p. 15.

92. *Carbon County Journal*, September 22, 1883; August 27, 1887; October 22, 1891; September 10, 1892; September 16, 1893; October 28, 1893; November 11, 1893; August 25, 1894; September 1, 1894; October 13, 1894; November 9, 1895.

93. William F. Swan, "Report L7 Cattle Co. Jan. 1/85."

"Sales in 1883			\$30,876.00
Sales in 1884.....	1092 steers		
	175 cows		
	28 bulls		
	1295 cattle	net	\$64,410.62
	42 horses	net	1,564.40
			<u>\$65,975.02"</u>

In 1887 and 1888, however, the market dropped, despite the shortage of Wyoming cattle occasioned by the severe winter of 1886-1887, and a fat cow brought only fourteen or fifteen dollars.⁹⁴ The quoted market value of southern Wyoming cattle in 1888 at Chicago was from \$3.75 to \$5.10 per hundred pounds for "good, fat steers."⁹⁵ During the fall of 1894, cattle sold at the Omaha market by Burke and Frazier brought from \$2.95 to \$3.80 per hundred pounds for common Wyoming steers averaging 1,287 pounds, and \$1.25 to \$3.00 per hundred pounds for good cows of medium weight.⁹⁶

Conclusion

The thousands of small ranchers who suffered drought and severe winter, prairie fire and disease, who fought for the best ranges and adequate water, who made one loan only in order to pay off another, and who annually competed for the best markets in Denver, Omaha, Kansas City and Chicago, laid the foundation upon which our present meat industry was founded. The western cattle industry of our day is the result of the effort of those pioneer ranchers who were willing to accept great risks in order to obtain profits which were, more often than not, far from what had been anticipated. Some of the more fortunate became wealthy while others, less fortunate failed. The great majority, however, managed just to make a living, but in so doing they contributed to the techniques and methods of modern cattle raising. Even those who failed contributed to the extent that they formed part of the over-all pattern of a major western industry.

94. Neiman, p. 15.

95. *Carbon County Journal*, September 15, 1888.

96. *Carbon County Journal*, September 1, 1894.

In this scheme of things William Franklin Swan earned himself a rightful and deserved place.⁹⁷

Selected Bibliography

A. Manuscripts:

- Charles Willis Neiman, "Recollections." Unpublished manuscript. 1942. 19 pp.
- Mrs. John Wilcox, "Brief Sketch of the Life of John Wilcox, L7 Foreman." Unpublished manuscript. 1942. 3 pp.
- Harry F. Burch, "The L7 at Baggs, Wyoming." Unpublished manuscript. 1942. 2 pp.
- Monte Blevins, "Recollections of the L7." Unpublished manuscript. 1942. 5 pp.
- Dow Doty, "Recollections." Unpublished manuscript. 1941. 4 pp.
- David Wilcox, "The L7." Unpublished manuscript. 1942. 2 pp.

B. Official Records:

- Deed Record*, Volume W, County Clerk's Office, Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.
- Deed Record*, Volume 28, County Clerk's Office, Routt County, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.
- "Reception Journal," Books, 4, 7, A, B, H, L, R, W, County Clerk's Office, Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.
- Assessment Record*, 1882, Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.
- Assessment Record*, 1883, Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.
- Assessment Record*, 1884, Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.
- Assessment Record*, 1885, Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.
- Assessment Record*, 1886, Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.
- Assessment Record*, 1887, Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.
- Assessment Record*, 1888, Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.
- Assessment Roll*, 1883-1887, Routt County, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.
- Assessment Roll*, 1888-1889, Routt County, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.

97. The author acknowledges the assistance of Mrs. Agnes Wright Spring who made the newspaper transcripts from which the citations used in this article were taken; the aid given by Mr. David Grammer, Jr., while the author was surveying the records of Carbon County at Rawlins is gratefully remembered; Miss Elizabeth Stafford, secretary to the writer, gave unstintingly of her time in typing the manuscript. Throughout the many interviews with pioneer stockmen and in the final preparation of the article my wife and assistant, Garnet M. Brayer, has labored long and contributed much to whatever success the article might attain. I am immeasurably indebted to Mr. Henry Swan of Denver, Colorado, who not only made possible the gathering of the material used in the article but also provided the author with the opportunity to explore personally those areas of Colorado and Wyoming on which the L7 cattle once ranged, fifty years ago.

Assessment Roll, 1890-[1891], Routt County, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.

Assessment Roll, 1892, Routt County, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.

Assessment Roll, 1893, Routt County, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.

Assessment Roll, 1894, Routt County, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.

Assessment Roll, 1895 Routt County, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.

Range Book, Carbon County, County Clerk's Office, Rawlins, Wyoming.

"Cash Book," Guy Nichol's Store and Saloon, Swan, Wyoming.

Brand Record [unnumbered, unlettered, unpagged], Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.

Brand Record "A," Carbon County, Rawlins, Wyoming.

C. Transcripts of Newspapers:

Carbon County Journal, Volumes 1-16, 1879-1895.

Cheyenne Daily Leader, 1875-1883.

Cheyenne Daily Sun, 1877-1882.

D. Family Records:

In the possession of Mr. Henry Swan, Denver, Colorado, is a vast collection of papers gathered over many years and dealing not only with the life and work of his father, William F. Swan, but also with the cattle industry during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

E. Published sources quoted or cited:

John Clay, *My Life on the Range*. Lakeside Press, Chicago, Illinois. 1924. 366 pp.

Wilson Rankin, *Reminiscences of Frontier Days*. Smith Brooks, Denver, Colorado. 1938. 140 pp.

DID YOU KNOW THAT—

Senator Clarence D. Clark was Wyoming's first representative in Congress, serving until March 1893?—(Beard, *Wyoming from Territorial Days to the Present*, p. 515.)

The first smelter in the State was opened at Grand Encampment on July 27, 1901? The ores of the Charter Oak Copper Mine were handled by the smelter.—(*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, August 1901, p. 81.)

Fading Memories

By Judge A. C. Campbell*

FOREWORD

"When Judge A. C. Campbell of Cheyenne responded to an invitation from the Natrona County Bar Association to deliver an address before a joint meeting of the Bar Association and the Casper Literary Club in Casper he chose for his subject 'Fading Memories'.

"The paper was so rich in anecdote, in whimsical thought and in historical data of permanent worth that when Judge Campbell had finished speaking, the two Societies appointed a joint committee to arrange to have the information and entertaining manuscript put into permanent form.

"Accordingly the Committee not only offered the State Historian the privilege of publishing this scholarly address in the ANNALS OF WYOMING but gave substantial financial assistance to promote this issue of ANNALS.

"We take this opportunity to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Natrona County Bar Association, the Casper Literary Club and Judge Campbell and to thank each for the fine spirit of cooperation with the State's Department of History."—Mrs. Cyrus Beard, State Historian.¹

In one of his essays Lord Macaulay said that the "best portraits are perhaps those in which there is a slight mixture of caricature; and we are not certain that the best histories are not those in which a little of the exaggeration of fictitious narrative is judiciously employed. Something is lost in accuracy but much is gained in effect."

My pen portraits are not perfect; nor is there "a slight mixture of caricature" in any of them. But there may be embroidery around some of the events mentioned.

Dating from the time I began to live I was born in Cheyenne, December 6, 1882, aged 29 years and 8 months.

At that time Wyoming's heroic period had reached its peak; its romantic era had begun to decline; its constructive epoch had commenced. Cheyenne had two daily

1. This note by Mrs. Beard was attached to the original manuscript, which was written in 1931 and placed in the files of the Wyoming Historical Department. Since the present State Historian and Editor of the ANNALS agrees with Mrs. Beard as to the historical worth and value of the article, and since it was never published in the ANNALS, it is being presented here in accordance with the original plans, thereby making it available to readers of the ANNALS and to researchers.—Ed.

newspapers. Bill Nye was the editor of *The Laramie Boomerang*, also Laramie's postmaster. In October, 1883, he resigned as postmaster, and informed the Postmaster General that the key of the office "was under the door mat."

The population of the Territory did not exceed 30,000. The census of 1880 gave it 21,000. Cheyenne had less than 6,000. The Union Pacific was the only railway in the Territory. More than 80 per cent of the voters lived within 30 miles on either side of it. William H. Hale was the Governor; Morton E. Post was the delegate in Congress. Francis E. Warren was the Territorial Treasurer. Joseph M. Carey was the Mayor of Cheyenne.

The Judicial Department consisted of a Supreme Court and of three district courts. The former was composed of a Chief Justice and two associate Justices. Ex officio, they were the judges of the district courts. As was cynically remarked, the three district judges met in Cheyenne once a year, as associate justices, to affirm each others errors.

James B. Sener was Chief Justice and Judge of the First District, composed of Laramie County and the unorganized county of Crook; Jacob B. Blair and Samuel C. Parks were the associate justices. Blair was Judge of the Second District, composed of Albany and Johnson Counties. Parks was Judge of the Third District, composed of the counties of Carbon, Sweetwater and Uinta. At that time there were only six organized counties.

Sener was a Virginian but not of a "first family." He had been a Confederate but not a soldier. After the Civil War had ended he became a "scalawag" and was elected to the Lower House of Congress as a Republican. The second time he ran he became a "lame duck." In 1878 President Hayes commissioned him as Chief Justice of Wyoming. He was uncultured but not uneducated. Nature had not moulded him to shine in a drawing room, nor to add dignity to the Bench. He was unpopular with the Bar. He had no intimates and but few friends. He was a miser. It is needless to add he was a bachelor. Blair was a widower and a grandfather, hence, human. Much of his monthly pay checks were invested in mining stocks, which yielded "Irish dividends." He was born and reared in that part of Virginia now West Virginia. In 1861, after Virginia had passed a secession ordinance, and after the Congressmen elected in 1860 from Blair's district had had allied himself with the Confederates, Blair was elected

to the Lower House of Congress as a Unionist. In the creation of West Virginia he was an important factor. After its creation he was again elected from his district serving until March 4, 1865. While in Congress he became intimate with James G. Blaine. Blair afterwards became our Minister to Costa Rica. In 1876 President Grant appointed him associate justice of Wyoming. He had a charming personality and an amiable disposition. He also possessed a keen sense of humor which was frequently displayed upon the Bench and occasionally savored a written opinion. I quote from one of them:

"We have read with due care the testimony given on the trial and find, as is usually the case in actions founded on verbal agreements or understandings, that the parties had no difficulty in disagreeing as to all material matters." (3 Wyo. 163).

Judge Parks was from Illinois. He succeeded Judge Peck, who will be hereinafter referred to. Parks knew Lincoln when both were young. Parks preceptor was David Davis, who became an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by the appointment of President Lincoln. Before he came to Wyoming Parks had been an associate justice in Idaho. A son and a nephew have been residents of Wyoming for many years. Each is a banker.

Among the Cheyenne lawyers were William W. Corlett, Joseph W. Fisher, William Ware Peck, John A. Riner, Charles N. Potter, John C. Baird and Hugo Donze'mann. Corlett had distanced all of his competitors. I have heard, in the Supreme Court of the United States and in other courts, the great lawyers of this generation and of the one preceding. In my opinion Mr. Corlett was the peer of most of them. William Ware Peck was a finished scholar, finely cultured and widely read. His memory was a marvel. He could quote correctly lengthy passages from the Old Testament and from the New. He could name off-hand Dickens' leading characters. He could repeat pages of Scott's poems. He could reproduce striking sentences from Webster's speeches and from the opinions of Marshall, of Taney and of Story. For several years he had practiced his profession in Burlington, Vermont, his native state. Later he went to New York City and became a law partner of John Van Buren, son of President Van Buren. President Hayes, a classmate of Peck at the Harvard Law School, made him an associate justice of Wyoming. Although a learned lawyer, as a trial judge, Peck was not

a success. Like Charles Sumner, whom he greatly admired, he was an idealist, hence unfitted for a judicial position in a frontier community.

Joseph W. Fisher was Wyoming's second Chief Justice. He was a Pennsylvanian. In 1865, for his gallantry at Gettysburg in 1863, he was rewarded by the brevet rank of Brigadier General. Grant, in his memories, referred to him in complimentary terms.

With Lee, at Gettysburg, was a private aged 16. In a Confederate's account of that battle he is mentioned for his bravery. In 1892 he was elected a member of the Supreme Court of Wyoming. He came to Cheyenne from Fort Collins in 1885, and soon was justly regarded as a very able lawyer. A school building in Cheyenne bears his name. I refer to Honorable Gibson Clark.

During the Presidential campaign of 1868 I heard General Fisher and Senator John Sherman speak from the same platform. I was then 15 years of age. Fisher received more applause than did Sherman. Before the speaking began I carried a torch in the parade. I was decorated with a Grant and Colfax button. It was as big as the bottom of the prehistoric beer bottle. I wore a wool cap; a gray flannel shirt; a roundabout coat; blue jean trousers; red topped boots with brass protected toes; yarn stockings which had been knitted at the fireside under the light of a tallow candle by an old lady who made shrouds for the dead and trouble for the living, whose husband was the town drunk and the devoted friend of a'l the one gallowsed bare footed boys in the village, one of whom I was. A Tom Sawyer and a Huckleberry Finn could be found in every village in the county in which I was born, and in most of them a "nigger" Jim and a good natured drunk.

To return to the Cheyenne lawyers of 1882, not the least important was John C. Baird. By his invitation I came to Cheyenne to become his partner. He was a fairly good lawyer and a ready and impressive speaker. At the time he died, December, 1901, he was the United States Attorney for Hawaii. Bob Breckons succeeded him. Breckons died in 1919. Judge John A. Riner, Judge Charles N. Potter and General Hugo Donzelmann belong, in part, to the present generation. The career of each is familiar to you all.

Among the lawyers of the Territory in 1882, outside of Cheyenne, were M. C. Brown, S. W. Downey, J. W.

Blake and H. V. S. Groesbeck in Laramie; Homer Merrill and G. C. Smith in Rawlins; A. B. Conaway in Green River, and Judge C. M. White and C. D. Clark in Evanston; H. S. Elliott in Buffalo. Downey had been delegate in Congress; Brown became President of the Constitutional Convention. Groesbeck became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State; Blake became a District Judge; Merrill served two years on the State Supreme Bench; Conaway succeeded Groesbeck as Chief Justice. Elliott served as Judge in the State of Washington. Brown served as District Judge in the State of Wyoming for two years and later as Territorial Judge in Alaska for four years. Clark represented the State in the Lower House of Congress for two years, and in the Upper House for more than 22 years.

As District Judge, Peck's first term was at Green River. He had an Episcopal minister open the court with prayer. The citizens of that town would have been less astonished had one of their number had opened a jack pot in the same manner. As Associate Justice he sat with Fisher and with Blair. He suggested to Blair that when sitting as members of the Supreme Court they should wear gowns. Inwardly Blair chuckled; outwardly he approved the proposal and asked Peck to submit the same to Fisher. Peck did so. Fisher replied: "I'll be d—— if I'll ever wear one." Peck was shocked; Blair was amused. Fisher and Blair gowned would have been as comfortable and as happy as would now a bootlegger in a Presbyterian pulpit.

Owing to his impaired eyesight I frequently assisted Judge Peck in preparing Briefs. That is to say, I would read to him decisions applicable to the questions involved in the cause he represented. When I had finished reading an opinion he would discuss and dissect the same. His analyses, comments and sometimes criticism were an education and a revelation to me.

Were I asked what part of my imperfect training has counted most in my professional life, the first place would be given to my contact and comradeship with lawyers of superior minds. The second place would be given not to the perusal of text books or to the study of judicial decisions but to what I gained in trial courts by observing and by studying the methods of able lawyers in handling important cases, civil and criminal, and in listening to knowledgeable leaders arguing great causes in the Appellate courts, national and state.

Again referring to Judge Peck: None of his family came to Wyoming to live. During my bachelor days in

Cheyenne he frequently came to my office in the evening, bringing a book or a magazine from which I would read aloud. After I ceased to be a bachelor he would come to our home on Sunday evenings after having first attended the Episcopal evening service. During these visits I would read aloud for about an hour a magazine article, an essay or a forensic argument. When I had finished reading, then my wife, he and I would partake of a lunch which she had prepared. While at the table he would illuminate with his learning and enrich with his comments that which I had read. In those days most of us had the simple life. Men of family spent Sunday evenings at the fireside or on the front porch. Some men, not many, could be found at church. The house of a young married couple, whether mansion or cottage, was a home, and whether elaborately or sparingly furnished, there in could be found the novels of Dickens, the romances of Scott and the poems of Tennyson. A hanging lamp was in the hallway, also a hat rack; an album in the parlor; a vinegar cruet on the dining room table; a pickle jar in the pantry; a moustache cup in the china closet; and within the statutory time after the marriage ceremony a baby carriage in the sitting room. That incubator of divorce suits and promoter of alimony clubs, the apartment house, was unknown; the movies had not arrived. Satan had not invented auction bridge; draw poker was the diversion of gentlemen and stud poker, now masquerading under the name of Rubles, was a gambler's game.

The evening before election day, 1884, Judge Blair announced from the Bench: "This court stands adjourned until the morning after James G. Blaine is elected President." The Judge called upon President Cleveland soon after March 4, 1885. In one respect the conversation between them resembled that which took place between Alexander of Macedon and Diogenes. The President asked: "What can I do for you, Judge Blair?" Blair did not answer as did Diogenes, "Stand out of my light," but in the words of Jefferson Davis uttered early in 1861, "I want to be let alone." The President good naturedly replied that unless serious charges against him were filed and proved, he would not be disturbed. Blair then said: "Mr. President, the most serious charge that I have heard is that I bet on Blaine; now no one is more sorry for that than I am." He was not removed.

Judge Blair occupied two rooms on the first floor of the Albany County Court House. One of them was his

official chambers, the other his bedroom. The court room was on the floor above. Soon after I became the United States Attorney for Wyoming, the government brought a suit in Blair's court against Matt. Patrick of Omaha. It grew out of a so-called Star Route mail contract. John L. Webster, then a leading lawyer in Omaha, was Patrick's attorney. Webster demurred to the complaint. When he came to Laramie to present the demurrer, Patrick accompanied him. The argument lasted most of the day. At its conclusion the Judge entered an order overruling the demurrer. That evening the Judge, Webster, Patrick and myself played whist in the Judge's Chambers until a late hour. He and I were partners. We had extraordinary luck. We won every game. When we had finished Judge Blair extended his hand across the table to me and said: "Put it there; we can beat them upstairs and we can beat them downstairs." For the moment Webster lost his temper and heatedly said: "Yes, and damn you, you hold the cards in both places." About four years ago I saw Webster in the lobby of the Brown Palace, Denver. He was then past 80. I went to where he was sitting and spoke to him. He did not recognize me until I repeated: "Yes, and damn you, you hold the cards in both places."

J. W. Blake, afterwards Judge Blake, and I were sitting near each other in Blair's court during the trial of a criminal case. Mr. Groesbeck, later Chief Justice, was the Prosecuting Attorney. Judge Blair rapped for order. Groesbeck looked up inquiringly. The room "was full of thick solemnity and silence." Looking in our direction, the Judge said: "Mr. Groesbeck, you were interrupting Mr. Blake and Mr. Campbell; when they have finished their conversation you may proceed." Later, I was an onlooker in the same court during the trial of a young man for homicide. A gunsmith was on the witness stand. He held in his hand the defendant's revolver. The witness sat within a few feet to the right of the Judge. As the latter turned to deposit a mouthful of tobacco juice in the cuspidor, he saw the revolver pointed toward him. When he had unloaded the cargo he inquired: "Mr. Witness, is that gun loaded?" "Yes, your honor," was the answer. The judge then said: "Point it toward the lawyers, good judges are scarce."

Honorable John M. Meldrum, known to his friends as "Jack," and in Yellowstone Park as Judge, and who for almost 40 years has been the magistrate there, at one time was the clerk of Judge Blair's court. It is a delight to

hear Jack describe unique and amusing instances which occurred in that court while he was clerk.

I can but faintly reproduce Jack's description of the opening scene of the first term of court held in Buffalo, Johnson County. Nat James, formerly a cowboy, was the sheriff. He was unfamiliar with court proceedings. The evening that Judge Blair and Jack arrived in Buffalo Nat called upon Jack to be instructed and coached. Jack told him not to appear in court with his chaps and spurs. Jack also wrote upon a slip of paper what Nat should say when the Judge asked him to open court. On the Monday morning following, when Judge Blair entered the court room, Nat arose. Never was Beau Brummel so gorgeously attired. Between Saturday night and Monday morning Nat had assembled a greater assortment of colors than were ever worn by a yokel at a County Fair. The Judge sensed the situation. He called upon the Sheriff to open court. Nat began: "Oh, yea! O, yea; O, yea!" Then he stopped, stammered, hesitated and took a fresh start but did not reach the quarter pole. He flagged himself back. He placed his hand in his vest pocket. A pained expression came over his face. He turned toward Jack and with trembling voice said: "What in hell did I do with that paper you gave me."

Early in 1884 President Arthur appointed Mr. Perry, a Brooklyn, New York, lawyer to succeed Judge Sener. Perry did not qualify. He died suddenly at his home. Shortly thereafter John W. Lacey of Indiana was commissioned Chief Justice of the Territory. He resigned in the fall of 1886. President Cleveland appointed William L. Maginnis of Ohio to succeed Lacey. Maginnis was but 28. Perhaps the youngest of the Territorial judges, undoubtedly one of the brightest. That same year Samuel T. Corn of Illinois succeeded Judge Parks. Early in 1887 Micah C. Saufley of Kentucky succeeded Judge Blair. Late in 1889 President Harrison appointed Willis Van Devanter to displace Judge Maginnis. Early in 1890 C. D. Clark was named by the President and confirmed by the Senate as Judge Corn's successor. Clark declined whereupon A. B. Conaway of Green River was appointed. Van Devanter, Saufley and Conaway were the last to serve as Territorial judges. Van Devanter was the last Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory and the First Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State.

Before the translation from territory into state Wyoming's colorful history had begun to fade, Sunday had

crossed the Missouri River, vaulted over Julesburg and Sidney and had invaded the Rocky Mountain region. Adventure had begun to lose the flavor of romance. The hospitality of the pioneer had become an article of sale. The roundup and the chuck wagon had begun to vanish from the picture. The stage coach, the mule team and the prairie schooner, now to be seen only in museums, mural decorations and the movies, were being displaced by the locomotives and the Pullman palace car. The mule skinner and his blacksnake whip, the stage coach driver and his 20 feet of lash, the cowboy and his lariat were disappearing as rapidly as were Keno, Mexican Monte and the fine distinctions between right and wrong.

If the advance during the next 70 years is as rapid as it has been the preceding 70, the locomotive, the Pullman and the auto may, before the end of the century, be pathetic reminders of a dead civilization. Less than 70 years ago steam boats landed passengers at St. Joe, Missouri; stage coaches carried them from there to Sacramento, California, a distance of almost 2,000 miles in 16 days, making 125 miles each 24 hours. Between the same points, Ben Holiday's Pony Express was carrying the United States mail at \$5.00 a letter, in 8 days, making 250 miles each 24 hours. That was some speed at that time. When one of Ben's riders was told of the marvelous feat of Moses in guiding the Children of Israel through the desert, a distance of 300 miles in 40 years, he scornfully replied: "300 miles. Humph! Ben Holiday would have fetched them through in 36 hours."

I knew one of Ben's pony riders. I know a pilot who picks up mail at Cheyenne in the evening. It arrives in San Francisco the next morning. Friday afternoon late in June, 1888, Willis Van Devanter and I left Cheyenne for Lander, by train to Rawlins, and by jerky stage from there. We were not delayed. We arrived in Lander Sunday afternoon. One morning last August Bill Dubois left Cheyenne for Lander. He was there three hours. At 4:30 that afternoon he was upon the Cheyenne Country Club golf links. During the life of some one now living may he not be transported from St. Joe, Missouri, to Sacramento, California, in as many hours as days as was the mail by Ben Holiday's Express? And may not one now living in Cheyenne go to Lander in the morning and be back in Cheyenne for breakfast?

With an opportunity such as is this, it is difficult to suppress the urge to relate in detail some personal exper-

iences as a practicing lawyer during the 80's and the early 90's. But I refrain for the reason that after one passes the 70th milepost it is much easier to express than to repress the ego; hence, instead of particularizing any of them I will generalize a few.

Early in September, 1885, 28 Chinamen were murdered at Rock Springs. A few days later, at the request of Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, I was directed by Attorney General Garland to go there and render what service I could to Colonel Bee, Chinese Consul at San Francisco, and certain officials of the Union Pacific Railroad Company who were at Rock Springs conducting an investigation. By request of Governor Warren, President Cleveland had ordered General McCook, then Commandant at Fort Douglas, Utah, to proceed to Rock Springs with two or three companies of United States troops. Among others that I met there was Marcus A. Hanna, then the government Director of the Union Pacific. At that time he was politically unknown. He did more listening than talking. We occupied a private car. I was there a week.

The description of General Grant, written by Charles Francis Adams 2d in May, 1864, fits the impression I received of Mr. Hanna in September, 1885, namely: "No intelligent person could watch him without concluding that he is a remarkable man." But, "It would require some study to find in his appearance material for hero worship."

Following that investigation Congress indemnified the Empire of China for the loss of lives of 28 of her subjects, and for the value of their property destroyed and stolen.

In 1887, Dan Bogan, a Texas outlaw, killed Charlie Gunn in a Lusk saloon. For that crime Bogan was sentenced to be hanged. His counsel sued out a writ of error. Before his appeal had been perfected Dan escaped from the Laramie County jail. For several days he was the guest of Harry B. Hare, at the latter's ranch near Wendover. In due time Dan arrived at the ranch of Dave Kemp near Pecos City, Texas. Dan and Dave had been jointly tried for murder in that state. In the early 90's Dave had migrated from Texas to Eddy County, New Mexico. Later he became its sheriff. I became a resident of that county in November, 1895. While I was there Dave killed the sheriff elect. For that crime he was tried at Roswell, the county seat of Chaves County. Occasionally I was present during the trial. Bogan was present from the beginning of the trial to the end, so I was told by Dave after

his acquittal. Dan told Dave that I had helped to convict him in 1887 at Cheyenne for the murder of Charlie Gunn. In this Dave was mistaken. In some matters preliminary to the trial I appeared for the Territory when the Prosecuting Attorney was "indisposed."

In none of my many conversations with Dave did he indicate the whereabouts of Dan except that he was in Texas. In one of these conversations I asked Dave if Dan had not broken his leg when he jumped through the Weatherford Texas Court House window. "No!" he surprisingly answered, "that was me whose leg was broke at that time; we were being tried together." Dave returned to Texas, reformed, joined the Republican party, became an applicant for the office of United States Marshal and was disappointed that his former attorney, Albert B. Fall, would not assist him. When I last heard of Dan he had married, owned a ranch some place in Texas, was branding mavericks and raising Hoover Democrats.

In April, 1901, I registered at a Washington, D. C., hotel. Above my signature was that of Dutton Schultke. Ten years before I had assisted in prosecuting him for killing a Lander druggist. During the trial the Doctor threatened to kill me. After he had been acquitted I told the foreman of the jury that if I had an enemy that I desired to get rid of I would lure him into Fremont County. In the late 80's and early 90's homicide was both an indoor and an outdoor sport in Fremont County while cattle stealing was a pastime. Petit juries discharged the bondsmen of those accused of crime and emptied the jail.

In the early 90's the manager of a cattle company in Fremont County was murdered. I assisted in prosecuting the two men who had been indicted for that crime. After they had been convicted I learned that in 1875 when a law student I had been present in a Pennsylvania Court room when the deceased was being tried for manslaughter. He was then a Pinkerton detective and a peace officer.

Should I be tapped I might leak some facts concerning the Johnson County Raid, omitted, unintentionally, of course, from Frank Canton's *Frontier Trails*. Frank was not generous to a fallen foe, otherwise he would have paid deserved tribute to Nate Champion, who, from about daylight until late in the afternoon held at bay 20 Texas gunmen and 20 Wyoming stockmen. No doubt Nate was a rustler. But none of those who died in the Alamo exhibited greater courage than he did in his cabin at Kaycee, Wyoming. The stockmen had provocation; so had the

Vigilantes in San Francisco, so had the leading citizens of New Orleans when they hanged the leaders of the Mafia.

Were I sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, I might corroborate the account of the lynching of Jim Averell and Ella Watson, which may be found in Mokler's *History of Natrona County*. I might also add a supplement to that account. I knew all of the lynchers. I was quite intimate with the leader during the later years of his life. If he had any regret for that atrocious deed or any remorse, he successfully concealed the same.

There are other episodes of the late 80's and the early 90's woven in the warp and woof of Wyoming's history that might be referred to and stripped of embroidery. But I refrain. Any audience can absorb truth only in small doses.

Wyoming's first Governor was appointed in 1869. I knew all of his deceased successors. I know all of those now living. I knew all of the Territorial Judges but three. I knew and have known all of the State Judges. I knew all of the Territorial delegates to Congress except two. I knew and know all of Wyoming's Attorneys General.

None of the lawyers who came to Wyoming before I did is living. All of the Judges then living are dead. Of the 45 members of the Convention who framed the Constitution only five survive.² Four of them live outside the State. Two are my seniors; two are my juniors. None of my intimates of the 80's or early 90's is alive but one.

Unless one retains "some of the salt of his youth," he is destined to have a tasteless old age. But, there are penalties which advancing years cannot escape, most poignant of which are the loss of the companions of his early life, the loss of the intimates of his maturing manhood, and the loss of the comrades of his later years.

However, old age is not devoid of compensation and pleasure. In retrospect he does not recall the rough and thorny parts of the path he has trodden. In reverie, when the past comes over him as a dream, he sees beauty and a smile in vanished faces; he hears the music of silent voices.

2. Only one member is now (1943) living, W. E. Chaplin who resides in California.—Ed.

Robert Foote

By Mrs. Charles Ellis*

Robert Foote was born February 2, 1834, in Dundee, Forfarshire, Scotland. When twenty-two years of age he came to America and to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He was granted United States citizenship in 1857, and immediately after this he left for the "wild west." He arrived at Fort Laramie where he enlisted in Troop F, 2nd United States Cavalry and served the three year term. The work of the western soldier at that time was protecting the emigrants from attacks by Indians. It was risking one's life to live in Wyoming then, and Mr. Foote said when he left Fort Leavenworth to come to Fort Laramie, "We left the old Missouri behind, and few were the settlements then. We might just as well say we were bidding farewell to the church bell, and to me, who had lived in a crowded city, this new life was a wonderful change. The first night I made my bed on the open prairie I slept little, for I was thinking and wondering what the future had in store for me."

Robert Foote had learned the tailor's trade in his native land, and while a Cavalryman at Fort Laramie he also got in an hour or so at his trade each day or evening and made some extra money in this way. He traded horses with the emigrants and had accumulated quite a

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Olive Herman Ellis was born February 12, 1879, at Chanute, Kansas, the daughter of Fred and Ellen McDonald Herman. The family moved to Wyoming in April 1880, locating at Elk Mountain. On January 4, 1899, she was married at her home to Charles Ellis, also of Elk Mountain.

Mrs. Ellis held the office of postmistress at Difficulty, Wyoming, for thirty-four years. She has been the secretary of the East Carbon County Taxpayers League, secretary of the Tributary Platte River Water Users Association, and for the past three years the secretary of the Carbon County Cattle Growers Association. Several articles written by Mrs. Ellis have appeared in earlier issues of the ANNALS OF WYOMING, and she has contributed to the *Cheyenne Tribune*, *Laramie Republican-Boomerang*, *Rawlins Republican*, *Omaha Daily Journal Stockman*, *Wyoming Stockman-Farmer* and other publications.

Mrs. Charles Ellis has written the biography of Robert Foote from stories which he and his sister, Mrs. Ellis' mother-in-law, told her.

valuable bunch of horses, which, although they were very poor, foot sore and worn out when he got them, would soon recuperate when turned out on the nutritious Wyoming grasses. He would trade one good fat horse for two or three poor ones, or perhaps he would buy the worn out animal for a small sum. When he received his discharge he had quite a nice herd of horses and had employed a half-breed to herd them just outside the Government Reservation. There had been a crowd of "Coffee Coolers" (beggars) camped down on the Rawhide, and they were generally a harmless outfit. However, a band of young Bucks had joined them, and that always made a bad combination. The result of this was that one evening Mr. Foote's horses failed to come in. The half-breed had crossed the river with them, and he, the horses and the whole Indian camp had faded away. Their trail pointed north. This is the way Mr. Foote told the story:

"By the time I could get an outfit together to follow them, they had two days' start. John Hunter and Tom Maxwell had volunteered to accompany me. The commander of the Fort sent a squad of Cavalry under Sergeant Herman Haas with orders to go with us as far as the Cheyenne River Valley. We reached the breaks without any trouble or adventure worth telling, and by the appearance of the trail we were as far behind them as when we started. The soldiers could go no farther—orders must be obeyed—and it looked like a hopeless task for three men to undertake. Equipped as we were, a great many would have called it a fool-hardy job, I do not doubt.

"An Indian's wealth is counted by the horses he owns, and he will go through hellfire to get or keep them, and we all know that at this stage of the game they are almost a necessity to a white man's existence, and that is why I did not want to give up the chase now. So it was with my companions—they were not the kind of men to quit.

"With many good wishes for our success and sincere regrets that they could not accompany us and be in the fight, if battle it had to be, Herman and his troop went back while we went on. Two days and a half we traveled before we sighted their camp, about a mile and a half away. The commotion that the sight of us created in their camp was proof that they did not expect to be followed. Half a mile farther on the half-breed came out to meet us; his tale of woe that the young bucks had taken the horses and himself with them. When we asked him if the Indians would give the horses up, he replied by asking us, 'How

many soldiers behind?' We asked, 'Why you think we got soldiers with us?' and he said, 'You no got guns—only big pistols.' We did not give him any satisfaction on that point, but told him that the old men had been around the Fort for a long time and had been well treated there, and if there was any trouble now, they could not come back there any more. They would have to give back my property and make no more trouble. He only shook his head and said, 'Too many young men, they want horses,' then added, 'me go back and make talk. If give back, I make sign, then come on—if no make sign then go back, too many for you fight.'

"Hunter thought it possible that the half-breed had told the Indians that he owned the horses, and, if that was the case, the old men would be inclined to be friendly, and if he (Hunter) could get in among them, he could induce them to give back the horses, but it mostly would depend on how many young bucks were in camp. Hunter had an Indian wife and family and had been a long time among them. The whole Sioux tribe knew him to be a man who always spoke the truth, and feared neither man, beast nor evil spirit. They also believed faithfully that neither gun, spear, arrow nor any weapon they possessed could harm him. On all this we banked as a great deal in our favor.

"However, in about an hour an Indian rode out and gave the sign for us to come in. Hunter suggested, as we rode in, that we keep our hands on a gun, and if they meant treachery, to charge straight through, shooting as we went. Getting through we could find shelter where we could stand them off. And that was just what happened. We all three got through alive, and must have done some damage in return for what they did for us, which was enough. Tom and I each got two arrows—Hunter, with his usual luck, untouched, though one buck took a shot at him with the rifle (which the half-breed had taken with him) and although he was not more than thirty feet from him, Hunter was missed completely. The failure of the shot stopped the attack for the time being, otherwise I think that we would have been as full of arrows as a sage hen is of feathers.

"About a quarter a mile away we dove into a patch of willows and crossed a shallow chalky stream that bent around under the lee of a clay butte, which was so perpendicular that it could not be climbed. It would have been a perfect place for a defense except for a pass made

through the middle of the butte by water at flood times, and the wash from the Platte beyond had made an open space in front.

"We got rid of the arrows and dressed our wounds as best we could. The one I got in my neck lacked but a small fraction of an inch of being fatal, but the other did not do much damage. I had learned something of surgery while in the army and it came in handy now, otherwise our wounds might have been dangerous. But they soon became sore enough to suit the fiendish expectation of our enemies, whom we had to prepare to fight. The gap through which the draw emptied into our retreat was narrow. We joined three logs and laid them across it—not much of a fortification, but we thought it might help.

"One piece of good luck was that we had our pack horse—pack came through without a scratch, and by the time we had eaten our cold bread and meat, Hunter had figured out just what would happen. First they would do some scouting to see if there were any soldiers coming, and satisfied on that score, if they did make an attack, it would be about an hour before sundown. Then, if they found us all able to fight, it would be mostly a bluff, but they would consider it worth an attempt to get our four horses. It would probably be by the old men in front, making a wild demonstration to draw our attention, while the young bucks slipped in on us through the pass. But if they did not succeed in killing one of us, which they might accidentally do with their old rifle, it would all end in a few minutes.

"They could not get an arrow through the willows at short range, for, if they got that close, our old dragoon pistols were much longer range than their bows. Our only danger would be from that young buck's rifle, and if one of us should be unlucky enough to get his last call, he must hold his breath until he gets out of sight of the Indians before he drops.

"I think either of us has nerve enough to do that, for once I shot an antelope through the heart and it ran a hundred yards before it fell. If they have no success on their first attack they will let us alone and after dark we can ride away just as if there was not an Indian within a hundred miles!"

"The attack began as Hunter had predicted, like a clap of thunder out of a clear sky. Dashing around the

front, they sent their arrows from under their horses' necks. None reached the willows over which Tom and I responded, doing damage to their ponies with some careful shots. Although we had twenty-four cartridges in our guns, we did not care to waste any. Hunter was guarding the gap in the butte. Suddenly the Indians in front made a dash as if they were intending to charge the works, shooting arrows into the willows. We got in some good work and stopped them by dropping six ponies. While that was going on in front, a party of young bucks came in at the head of the pass. Hunter opened on them with a shot from each of his guns while they thought they were almost out of range, which caused them to stop and dodge around. Then he jumped up on the logs and began shooting first with one hand and then the other. Just as I got there to help, the buck with the rifle sent a bullet through Hunter's heart. Hunter still stood straight, fired the last two bullets from his guns, jumped backwards off the log and walked behind the brush where he fell dead.

"The Indians, believing they had missed him, gave up the gamé and we saw them no more.

"After darkness had kindly spread its mantle over all, we packed Hunter's body on his horse, then rode out up the gulch and onto the plain. Keeping as direct a course as possible toward the south, we went until we judged that we had put eight or ten miles between us and the place of our battle. The moon was up high enough to give us light. With our small camp shovels we made a grave and laid the remains of our friend down into the bosom of mother earth. We covered and obliterated every trace of a grave and stood there and looked upon it for some time. Tom repeated from the burial of Sir John Moore:

"No useless coffin enclosed his breast
Not in sheet nor in shroud we wound him,
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him."

"As we rode silently and sorrowfully away, I thought of the one we had left behind and how many friends would miss him. I wondered if death is the end of all this. If we live again over in the Great Beyond, then our heroic friend is there with all the great that have gone before him, where no king can claim the right to wear brighter jewels than he.

"It was a toilsome journey back to the Fort, but we got in about as near dead as two men could be and yet

be alive. We were consigned to the hospital in Fort Laramie for six long weary weeks, and after we got out neither Tom nor myself seemed to feel ourselves of much account.

"Some time after this I was lying down on a bunk in my cabin when my half-breed horse herder walked in. He had no weapon but a knife in his belt, and as he stood in the middle of the room, he smote himself on the breast and said, 'Me good Indian!'

"An old horse pistol lay on the bed beside me, and I grabbed it up and let him have the contents. Then I said, 'Yes, you are a good Indian now!'

"The post commander said that I was a little too rough and locked me up in the guard house. I stayed there until Colonel Moonlight¹ came with a Kansas regiment and took command of the Fort. He turned me out and indorsed my claim against the Government for indemnity for the loss of my property, which was paid by making me a post trader there. It was perhaps better for me than a cash payment as claims against the Government, if paid at all, are delayed for years."

Mr. Foote was post trader at Fort Laramie for a year and when Fort Halleck was established in 1862 he went there. He had charge of a commissary there, was postmaster and conducted a general store. He operated a freight train between Fort Halleck and Fort Laramie, and on almost all the trips he drove one trail wagon himself. Each driver had ten or twelve yoke of oxen hitched to two or three wagons trailed together. On three different occasions the entire train of cattle and wagons was destroyed, but the drivers managed to escape with their lives. The Indians would carry away some of the goods with them and set fire to the wagons, burning the rest.

It would take pages to tell of all the narrow escapes in which Robert Foote figured. His life was one of adventures. Very small in stature, he was quick, wide awake and alert, and he made his mind work to make up for what he lacked in size. He was Justice of the Peace at the Fort also, and he was kept busy in his attempts to

1. Colonel Thomas Moonlight was the leader of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry which in March 1865 endured the hardships of a terrible march from Ft. Kearny to Ft. Laramie, where the regiment was assigned to duty protecting the telegraph lines and the overland stage route. Colonel Moonlight was mustered out at Ft. Kearny July 17, 1886, and on December 20, 1886, was appointed Governor of the Territory of Wyoming, which office he held until April 9, 1889.

preserve law and order. At times many of the soldiers would imbibe too freely of the firewater furnished by the saloon at the Fort, and for a time chaos and wild disorder reigned. There were many lawless characters around the Fort also, and many crimes should be written in the history of the old Fort. On one occasion an Irishman was arrested after three army blankets had been found in his possession, and the case was brought to trial before Robert Foote. The Irishman had been around the Fort for several months and was known only as "Pat," and although it was suspected that he was not entirely honest, nothing could be proven against him until the blankets were found hidden in his bunk.

"What is your name?" inquired the Judge.

"Pat Murphy, yer honor," replied the defendant.

"How came you in possession of the blankets, Mr. Murphy?"

"They are mine. I had them made."

"How does it happen then that these blankets are all stamped with U. S.?" inquired Mr. Foote.

"Those are my initials, sir," replied Pat.

"Your initials? How do you make that out?"

"Well sir, it's like this. U stands for Pat and S stands for Murphy."

"All right, Pat. You will have to spend twenty days in the guard house, and if you wasn't such a damn good speller you would have to stay thirty days." Pat went to the guard house for three weeks.

On September 10, 1865, while returning to Fort Halleck with two trail wagons loaded with flour, Robert Foote and Frank Daley were suddenly attacked at the crossing of a small stream about two miles northwest of the old Rockdale stage station by a band of Indians who swooped down upon them from the hills on the north and west. The Indians were armed with guns and immediately killed the oxen. The two men sought refuge behind the wagons, and, sack at a time, removed the flour from the wagons and managed to construct a rude protection for themselves. The position was very hazardous, for, whenever the Indians caught sight of them above the wagons or around them, they shot at them, but at last in the face of these dangers the two men succeeded in getting sufficient flour off the loads to shelter them, and thus they avoided being killed. In the melee, Foote received a bullet

through the shoulder which disabled him from active service, although he and Daley succeeded in killing a few of the ponies ridden by the Indians. When the savages charged the rude fort they came at full speed, rushing past it sideways and always leaning over the opposite sides of their ponies, shooting from beneath the horses' necks. All through the night the Indians kept them there. When the freight wagons failed to arrive at the Fort on scheduled time, a squad of soldiers were sent to look for them. When the Indians saw them coming, they rode away into the hills and did not return. The two men were taken back to the Fort and there the bullet wound in Foote's shoulder was dressed and he was nursed back to his former health by his wife. The little creek which was the scene of the disaster was named Foote Creek in honor of Robert Foote and is still known by that name.

While still confined to his bed as the result of the exposure and the wounded shoulder, an Indian came to the Fort and to the Foote home and asked that he be admitted to Mr. Foote's room, as he was friendly and had brought a hind quarter of antelope meat which he wished to present to Mr. Foote. The Indian being slightly known to them, Mrs. Foote allowed him to go to her husband's room. The Indian spoke a few words and then quickly drew a gun intending to shoot the wounded man, but Mr. Foote, seeing what he meant to do and always having a gun beneath his pillow, instantly jerked his own pistol from its hiding place and killed the Indian.

Mr. Foote started a little store at the crossing of Foote Creek on the Overland Trail, but during the summer of 1865 a large force of Indians appeared on the Overland Stage Road and made an attack on the place. In escaping from the savages Mr. Foote was shot in the leg with an arrow and his store was burned. What followed is best described by an emigrant whose story to W. H. Kuykendall² follows, and who cried like a child at the horrible recollection of the scene.

"Our emigrant party of thirty-five men, women and children, returning from the west in wagons, passed Foote's store just before the Indians appeared. When we reached Rock Creek the train moved on, while I and two other men on horseback stopped at a tent in which a Frenchman had a few goods. His wife was a Sioux squaw. She very

2. *Frontier Days* by Judge W. L. Kuykendall, pp. 92-94.

soon ran into the tent, greatly excited. We all ran to the door and saw the Indians near at hand. They would have killed us at once but for the protestations of the squaw and the Frenchman that the soldiers would come down from Fort Halleck and kill them. We were directed to mount, take the road and we would not be killed before reaching the train. The Indians believed they would soon overtake and kill us and our families. In anguish of mind we moved down the road a little in advance of the main body, with a few of the young Bucks surrounding and making life miserable for us.

"In going over a hill about three miles south of Rock Creek we met a wagon and saw another at the foot of the hill. The driver shot one of the Indians and was immediately killed. Their stopping to plunder that wagon gave us an opportunity to forge ahead. In the rear wagon was the owner and with him his wife, two daughters aged ten and sixteen respectively, and a son thirteen years old. He and the boy crawled out behind and running down a dry gulch escaped, the man being shot through the arm. The woman and the girls got out of the wagon and, believing we belonged with the Indians, begged us to save them.

"The Indians having finished plundering the other wagon killed the mother and the youngest girl in our presence. While the plundering of that wagon was in progress we gained some distance ahead and on reaching the top of the next hill were gladden with the sight of a large Bull train being hurriedly corralled not far away, the wagon master thoroughly understanding his business.

"He arrested us, believing we belonged with the Indians, there being many reports at that time that white men were leading them. Our explanation that we belonged with the emigrant train which he said was camped at a Quaking Asp and willow grove under the hill convinced him and he sent a few men with us to get our wives and children into his corral, where he was preparing to stand off the several hundred Sioux then in sight. The train was finally surrounded and when in range of the Bullwacker's guns the Indians kept up their yelling and shooting at long range, being careful to keep out of reach of any bullet until nightfall, when they drew off and disappeared to give their leader, who is was claimed was the wily Red Cloud, time to prepare a plan for an ambush.

"We moved with the train early next morning,

stopped and buried the three mutilated bodies and removed the remains of the burned wagons out of the road. Directly after reaching Rock Creek about fifty Indians appeared on a hill across and north of the creek, having a white woman (unknown to us) with them, whom they treated in a fiendish manner in plain view of all of us. This so enraged the men of our emigrant party that we started to go over and attack them, when the wagon master drew his revolver and said he would shoot the first man who attempted to leave the corral.

"We charged him with cowardice and he replied that we were the greatest pack of fools that he had ever met on the plains. He wanted to know if we had any idea, as he had, of where all the other Indians were located and added that it was well he was present to save the train and lives of our women and children. When the Indian chief found he had a man as wily as himself to deal with, he hurriedly moved out of the willows across the creek where he had secreted his men, called off those on the hill and silently stole away. We saw them no more. They turned the woman loose because she had gone crazy and she managed to reach the train in a pitiful condition but was unable to give any account of herself."

While on one trip from Fort Laramie to Fort Halleck with their freight wagons, Robert Foote and Frank Daley were caught in a heavy rain which lasted for three days and nights. The roads were heavy and the oxen became tired and leg weary. When they camped for the night on these trips it must be in a deep ravine, where their campfire would be obscured from the eagle eye of any prowling Indian. On this particular night the gullies were all running water, the sagebrush was wet and the ground muddy. After much difficulty they located a place which, although it was far from nice, seemed a little better than the rest just then to build a fire. Upon investigation it was found that all the matches Daley had were soaked beyond their lighting abilities, and Foote had but one that was not saturated. They felt discouraged, for who ever heard of anyone being able to light a fire with only one match when all the circumstances were favorable, to say nothing of a situation like this?

They decided after much discussion to pray that they might have good luck with their lone match, and, kneeling down in the mud and rain, they fervently sought the help of the Good Lord in the fire question. It would have been an unusual sight to have beheld these two men kneeling

there in silent prayer, far away from civilization and in such weather. They arose, got some sagebrush and with their one match kindled the fire—and it burned! Mr. Foote often repeated this tale and added that they knew God was with them on that trip.

A lawless character named Bill Bevins and his partner were camped among the willows growing along the little stream which flowed past the Fort. Bevins had a bad reputation and on a previous occasion had held Foote up, relieving him of a sum of money. Their actions now caused suspicion, and Mr. Foote went to the camp to investigate. As soon as Foote appeared, Bevins, who was a large and powerful man, seized him and wrenched the gun from his hands. Bevins knocked him down and proceeded to choke him. Mrs. Foote, who had been watching from the open window, realized that her husband was in need of assistance. The window of the kitchen was propped open with a heavy stick, and she leaped out taking the stick with her as she went. She was a small woman, and when she rushed at Bevins with the stick he managed to hold Foote down on the ground by the throat, and, seizing the lady's implement of defense, he threw it away and grabbed her firmly by the foot. There he had them both. He kicked the gun out of the way so neither of them could reach it. Mrs. Foote screamed for help and a Mrs. Hansen who lived at the Fort appeared. Mrs. Foote bade her bring a gun and in a few minutes she returned with one, handing it to Mrs. Foote. Bevins, well knowing that she could and would shoot him, turned them both loose and fled. Mrs. Foote shot at him as he disappeared in the brush but missed him. On another occasion before this, Bevins and Foote had had some trouble which ended in a gun play during which the bullet pierced the Foote family Bible, but no one was seriously hurt.

Two brothers named Lee were trappers near the Fort, and Robert Foote told them that if they would capture Bevins and bring him back to the Fort he would give them two hundred dollars. The offer was accepted and the trappers followed Bevins and his partner. Within a few days they returned with the outlaws, each tied onto a horse. The Lees received the reward, but later the two men escaped. It was learned that they had been run out of Montana by a vigilance committee. The two desperadoes were later sent to prison for crimes they committed in the east.

Another dangerous outlaw with whom Robert Foote

had had trouble was a man named Musgrove,³ who had joined a band of Indians and acted as leader for one of the most dangerous of gangs. Horses were stolen, men murdered and property destroyed by them. At Fort Steele the safe was in the Quartermaster's tent, and one night the tent was cut open, the safe removed to a gulch where it was blown open and \$1,800 taken. A reward was offered for Musgrove, dead or alive. One day Musgrove rode down from Elk Mountain to Percy, a station on the Union Pacific Railroad. It chanced that Robert Foote, who had run the sutler's store at Fort Halleck, was at Percy on the morning of Musgrove's arrival and visited Mrs. Stimpston's restaurant for his breakfast. On entering he noticed a man at one of the tables whom he took to be the outlaw. He studied the man's face carefully, and, finally convincing himself that he was not mistaken, walked over and, covering the stranger with a pistol, commanded him to throw up his hands. The resolute bearing of the little Scotchman convinced the desperado that it was best to obey. It turned out that Mr. Foote had not been mistaken in the identity of his man. He took his prisoner to Fort Steele where he was ironed by the blacksmith at the post, and a day or two later he was sent to Denver where he was placed in jail. A few days later he was taken out by the vigilance committee which formed on Blake Street and hanged to a timber on the Larimer Street Bridge.

Mark Coad owned a wood train which delivered wood from a camp on Elk Mountain to the Union Pacific Railroad at Percy Station. Robert Foote was manager of this train. The wood was used to fuel the engines. Five drivers were employed on this train, and some of the wagons were drawn by mules while others were pulled by oxen. On a Saturday afternoon in August 1869, while the wood train was passing a small lake near the foothills south of Percy, a band of Indians suddenly swept down from the breaks, and with bows and arrows waged a wicked war against the drivers. Three of the men were killed while the other two, though wounded, ran up the draw just south of the high pinnacle behind the lake and made their escape from the savages, who had now turned their attention to the oxen and mules. The oxen were driven into the lake and there they were ham-strung.

3. For a more complete account of Musgrove's activities see Coutant's *History of Wyoming*, pp. 616-618.

There they stood helpless and suffering, their blood mingling with the waters of the lake, turning it to crimson. The Indians then took the mules and disappeared among the hills.

When assistance arrived, the rescuers found many arrows imbedded in the flesh of the murdered men, and these arrows were removed and were still in the possession of Mrs. William Richardson at her death.

This was the last trip ever made over this road by the wood wagons. The lake has, since this memorable day, been known as "Bloody Lake," and it is near the road between Elk Mountain and Hanna.

Robert Foote was married at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Miss Amanda Norris on April 10, 1868, and to them five sons were born, three of whom died in infancy.

After Fort Halleck was abandoned and the soldiers transferred, Robert Foote made his home there for some time, still running a store and acting as postmaster. In 1880 the post office was moved to Elk Mountain Crossing, where it is today, and after that Mr. Foote disposed of his store goods. He made a trip to Scotland and on his way back stopped in Denver. There he hired Sam Barkley to help him move his belongings to Buffalo, Wyoming. In 1881 he moved to Buffalo where he started the first store⁴ in the town. In March 1892 his store and entire stock of goods including 30,000 pounds of sugar were destroyed by fire. Mr. Foote had extensive livestock interests in Johnson County and served as State Senator from there, being elected to the office in 1892. His sons had left the old home to shift for themselves, one to Idaho, the other to Phoenix, Arizona. When Mr. Foote's health began to fail, it was to the home of his son Byron at Phoenix that he went, and it was there on November 12, 1916, that he passed away, leaving his wife and two sons, Byron and Robert Jr., besides two grandchildren.

4. A picture of the Robert Foote store on the east side of Main Street, Buffalo, taken about 1883, appears on the front cover of the April 1940 issue of the ANNALS OF WYOMING. For additional information see the article on page 119 of the same issue.

A Timely Arrival

By J. Elmer Brock*

Early-day incidents of the range country, trivial though they were, are well worth recording. They add a tinge of color to the romance of that rough and ready period—those days when a new land was passing from the rule of the six-shooter to more tranquil regulation by courts of law.

Writers have filled countless volumes glorifying the man who was quickest on the draw. Too little has been said about the grand juries and primitive courts of law, along with the efforts of the pioneer to secure and maintain their establishment as a safeguard of society. Too frequent miscarriages of justice in early-day courts were often a deterrent rather than an incentive to abandon the old order for the new. The fortitude of the pioneer in bringing about the change is deserving of more mention than has ever been made.

All this has no bearing whatever on the incident I am going to write about other than as a preamble to justify placing this story in the historical files of the Wyoming Historical Department and the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. The passage of time may make it of interest to depict the accepted standards of that era.

I am writing of something that took place in and near Gillette, Wyoming, in the middle nineties. The principal

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—John Elmer Brock was born September 21, 1882, at Versailles, Missouri, the son of Albert L. and Julia A. Brock. In September of 1884 the family moved to Wyoming and located in Johnson County where they engaged in ranching. Mr. Brock was president of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association for 1930-33 and president of the American National Livestock Association for 1940-41. In 1941 he was a member of a party of five sent by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace to visit Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. He is a thirty-second degree York Rite Mason, a Shriner, a member of the Episcopal Church and the Rotary Club.

In 1910 he was married to Janet Clara Thom of Buffalo, a native of Wyoming and the daughter of W. J. Thom, pioneer banker of the northern part of the State. One son, Culbertson Thom, is serving with the armed forces; a daughter, Margaret Julia, operates a photo study in Buffalo, Wyoming. His eldest son, John E., was killed several years ago in a hunting accident.

character is George Curry, later known as "Flat Nose" George Curry, an outlaw of considerable note, but not to be confused with another outlaw often using the aliases of Kid Curry, Harve Logan, etc.

George Curry lived and ran cattle in the Hole-in-the-Wall country. During the winter he rode to Gillette and, leaving his horse in a livery barn, joined his sister, following which they visited their parents. Their parents, formerly from Chadron, Nebraska, were at that time residing in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in the mouth of the St. Lawrence River.

Curry's sister evidently preceded him on their return. She left the train either at Moorcroft or Newcastle, to go to Sundance where she was teaching school. Somewhere along her route she picked up the rumor via mocassin telegraph that some officers of the law were intending to kill George if and when he returned to Gillette. Barbara Curry had been going with, or at least corresponding with, Alex Ghent, then owning a ranch in the Hole-in-the-Wall country. She wrote Ghent, telling him of the plot and giving the date of her brother's arrival. Ghent, Al Smith and Hi Bennett immediately left for Gillette. They had to make a very long hard ride—one hundred and twenty-five miles in the bitter January cold—to get to Gillette by the time Curry was due to arrive. In fact, the train carrying Curry was whistling in as these men entered the outskirts of Gillette.

Curry, on nearing Gillette, had, as a seat companion, an old man who was very interested in wild yarns about the tough West. He inquired in particular about a character by the name of "George Curry." Curry kidded him along until they neared Gillette. Then he told him who he was and said, "They intend to kill me when I get off the train here." As the train came to a stop, Curry pointed out of the window to a man standing on the platform with a rifle. He said, "There is one of the men who wants to kill me," whereupon the o'd man started making space between himself and Curry as rapidly as possible.

Curry took his bag in his right hand, threw his overcoat across his left shoulder, and, with his cocked six-shooter in his left hand under the tail of his overcoat, got off the train and started walking toward the armed man. He intended to shoot him if he made a false move. Before Curry had gone far, his friends, all heavily armed, stepped up to him. This is all that saved Curry, for another armed man was in the eating house to the east of him looking

out through the glass of the storm door.

Curry's friends told these officers they could not kill Curry and had as well go home. These men were John Nelan and Jim Ricks. They were both men with notches on their guns and were colorful figures in their own rights. According to John Carter, who was town marshal in Gillette at the time of this incident, Curry looked John Nelan squarely in the eye as he approached and Nelan did not have the nerve to use his gun.

Curry and his friends then went to Mrs. Meserve's log restaurant, and, with one man on sentry duty, enjoyed a good warm meal. They then picked up Curry's horse from the livery barn where Curry had left him and all returned to the Hole-in-the-Wall country.

At some time during Curry's visit, he had hired a young cowboy by the name of Thompson and sent him to the Jack Garner ranch to gather some of Curry's horses.

I digress here to relate a recent conversation I had with Mike Elmore of Gillette. Mike says the old Garner ranch is now a part of his holdings. Mike further called attention to the fact that not far distant from the Garner ranch was a place known then and still referred to by old-timers as the "Curry Spring." It seems that Curry and his associates frequently camped at this spring. Some allege this was while moving stolen horses from the Dakotas.

Shortly after Curry's return to Gillette Jim Ricks accidentally discovered a TJ steer that had been butchered by Garner. Garner had cut the TJ out of the hide but had overlooked the "safety" J. This gave Ricks an opportunity to go to the Garner ranch in his official capacity. Ricks tried to get Curry's man, Thompson, to tell him about the butchering of the steer by Garner, but Thompson just laughed at him and would tell him nothing. Ricks then went back to Gillette, and, after getting John Nelan to accompany him, returned to the Garner ranch. Thompson was sitting at a table when the officers entered the house. Nelan shot Thompson through the neck while Ricks ran into another room and started shooting at Thompson through the partition, but did no damage. The officers then loaded the boy's body into a buckboard and, with his feet dragging in the snow, drove to Gillette and threw the body into the jail. Here John Carter, the marshal, later found it and cut the boots off the frozen feet. Most of the old-timers around Gillette seem to think

the killing of Thompson nothing but a brutal murder committed in retaliation for the officers' loss of nerve and consequent failure to kill Curry. The general impression by many at that time and by those still familiar with these events is that Thompson was an innocent young cowboy getting work wherever he could.

Garner was subsequently convicted for butchering the steer and served a short term in the penitentiary.

Curry later became an outlaw of considerable note and at one time the Union Pacific Railroad offered \$3,000.00 for him dead or alive. This was for the Wilcox train robbery where \$60,000.00 in unsigned bank notes was taken from the safe in the express car. After this robbery Curry, Logan and Lonabaugh came back into this country near our ranch, after they had killed Joe Hazen, Converse County sheriff, near the present Salt Creek oil field.

Curry was killed by officers near Price, Utah, April 17, 1900.

Walt Monett¹ of Gillette, Wyoming, who furnished me much authentic information for this article, writes me (November 2, 1942) as follows, "Though his (Curry's) father claimed the body at Price, Utah, it is thought by many that it was not George's body. C. P. Berry² was called in to identify it, which he could not do. The supposition was that though the father realized the mistake he wished the authorities to think George dead."

I once asked George Smith, brother of Al Smith of the party who met Curry at Gillette, if he ever saw the photograph taken of Curry after he had been killed. He said, "yes, he had, and anyone who knew Curry would know at a glance that it was a picture of him from 'those ears set a way down low on the side of his head'."

I knew Curry well. He was a likeable fellow, not quarrelsome. He helped me pack in the first deer I ever killed when I was twelve years old. It was a ten-point buck and I could not load it on a horse. My sister, three years younger than I, used to be the recipient of much

1. Walt Monett is a successful cattleman near Gillette. I rode the roundups with him more than forty years ago. He was in the Hole-in-the-Wall fight the time Bob Smith was killed and Al Smith had his six-shooter shot out of his hand. I talked this over with Monett during our Stock Growers Convention last June. (1942).

2. C. P. Berry of Gillette was many years ago a livestock inspector and detective of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. At the last annual convention of this organization, Mr. Berry was made an honorary life member.

candy from the cowboys who stopped at our place where we then had the Mayoworth post office.³ Curry did not think so much candy was good for a little girl, so instead he bought her yards and yards of blue ribbon. After all, there is a lot of bad in the best of us, and some good in the worst of us.⁴

3. At this time Mayoworth was the line between lawlessness and law and order. Peace officers did not venture south of this point, and outlaws did not go north of it.

4. I am much indebted to George Smith for some of the above information. I also am very grateful to Walt Monett of Gillette who, in addition to his own information, contacted John Carter who was town marshal of Gillette and owned a livery barn at the time of this event. Mrs. C. P. Berry gave Mr. Monett the information about Curry's sister. Monett says, "I went to school with Curry's two brothers, Hugh and Don, in Chadron; they were nice boys and considered George quite a hero. They thought he would never be caught. George Curry's sister, Barbara, taught near Chadron when I was there and near Sundance at the time of this incident. She was a fine girl and very sensitive of George's shortcomings."—Author.

DO YOU KNOW THAT—

The first county library in the United States was established at Cheyenne, Laramie County, Wyoming Territory, in the fall of 1886, the books and quarters of the Cheyenne Library Association being its nucleus?—(*The Carnegie Public Library, Memorial Volume, 1902, p. 56.*)

When Wyoming Territory was organized in 1869 Carter County was one of the four counties with established governments within the new territory? In compliance with a proclamation by Governor Campbell, Carter County went to the polls on September 2, 1869, and elected three members to the council body of the legislature and three members to the House of Representatives which convened in Cheyenne October 12, 1869. Elected at that time were Wm. H. Bright, George Wardman and W. S. Rockwell as councilmen; James W. Memefee, Ben Sheeks and John Holbrook as representatives. This is the only legislative assembly wherein Carter County, as such, ever had any representation or voice. Before the first legislative assembly of Wyoming Territory adjourned it changed the name of this county from Carter to Sweetwater.—(*Laws of Wyoming 1869, Council Journal of 1869 and House Journal of 1869.*)

Looking Backward

By Harry B. Henderson, Sr.*

Five and one-half decades residence in one's adopted state offers an opportunity for observation as to people and the development of its resources. This has been my privilege.

Cheyenne in 1884 was the gate city to eastern Wyoming, the Black Hills and was the residence of many of Wyoming's then cattle barons. Livestock might be run on the Sweetwater or Cheyenne Rivers and their owner or the representative of the owners have his palatial home in Cheyenne.

Rock River was the gateway to Fort McKinney and Buffalo, the metropolis of northern Wyoming. There was a small settlement at Big Horn and a post office, but Sheridan was yet in the borning.

The first herd of cattle was thrown north of the Platte River by the Frewen Brothers in 1879. They established a ranch that year in the Powder River country. Immediately, the trail for moving cattle to Montana was opened and eastern Wyoming was the great trailway to the Yellowstone and Missouri River countries.

Rawlins was the gateway for the central part of the state to the Stinking Water River, almost three hundred miles north. It was likewise the gateway to Dixon, Baggs, the Bear River country in Colorado and as far south as the post office of Rifle.

Opal was the outfitting point for the Green River and its tributaries, while Evanston was the trading point of the people in the southwest corner of the state. Cokeville, just a hamlet, took care of the settlers in its immediate vicinity.

Lander had just been made the county seat of the new county of Fremont, and Fort Washakie was the headquarters for a couple of companies of soldiers who were needed to keep the Indian people from committing depreda-

*Mr. Henderson is an eminent pioneer of Wyoming. For biographical data see the ANNALS OF WYOMING, Volume 11, No. 4, October 1939, pp. 237-9.

tions. Military forts were maintained at Fort Russell, Fort Steele, Fort Bridger, Fort Washakie, Fort McKinney and Fort Laramie.

The Union Pacific Railway was the only line of rail transportation. Travel to any point north or south of this railway could be accomplished by horseback, by team-drawn buckboard, or the covered wagon, or by walking. There was practically no irrigation of lands and the only effort to provide provender for animals was the cutting of native hay for saddle horses kept up during the winter months. The rural southern half of the then Territory, now State, had more population at the period of which I write than it has today.

The Territory of Wyoming was divided into eight counties, all of which were organized. There were three Judicial Districts presided over by U. S. District Judges who also comprised the Supreme Court. The Territory was represented at Washington by a delegate in Congress. J. M. Carey and C. P. Organ were the candidates for delegate. There were telegraph lines from Cheyenne to Fort Laramie, from Rawlins to Fort Washakie and along the Union Pacific Railway. Laramie, Albany, Carbon, Sweetwater and Uinta Counties had court houses. Churches were located at the respective county seats, and schools were opened at each town or village. Generally speaking, the town and village people attended church on the Lord's Day if services were held in their particular church. At Sunday morning service a very large majority of the people attended worship. C. P. Arnold's father was the Presbyterian minister, a man by name of Bannister was the Episcopal rector, Dr. Conway's brother was Priest at Rawlins.

Our assessed valuation was \$26,000,000.00. Coal mines were operated at Carbon, Rock Springs and Almy. Cattle raising was the chief industry, but there were some sheep. Raising good horses was a paying business. Mining for precious metals, except by placering at Rock River and in Atlantic City District, had been abandoned.

There were no state buildings or institutions. There was a territorial penitentiary building at Laramie. The highways were those built by nature. The streams of the state, except the Platte at Fetterman, were unbridged, save where the railway was built.

Doctor Graff began the drilling of an oil well at Popo Agie. Jake Ervay began drilling at the Rattlesnake Range

almost at the same time. The doctor brought in a good well, but he was ahead of his time. There was neither the demand for or transportation for oil.

There were twelve banks, Cheyenne supporting four of them. There was a rolling mill at Laramie, but no grist mills in the Territory. There were no electric light plants, no buildings with passenger elevators and no telephones.

I have told you some of the things we had and of some of the things we did not have fifty-seven years ago. You may make the inventory of the possessions of today.



WYOMING STATE MUSEUM—1943

Housed in the new Supreme Court and Library Building in Cheyenne, with vault space and fireproof protection, the Museum provides for the preservation and display of the prized possessions of Wyoming pioneers.

Perpetuate your family name by placing your historical collections and relics in your State Museum, where they may be permanently preserved and enjoyed by the thousands of visitors.

Everything that is presented to the Museum is numbered, labeled, recorded and card indexed, thus insuring permanent identification.

Thomas Moran's Journey To Tetons

By Fritiof Fryxell*

(Published in *Augustana Historical Society Publications*,
Number 2, 1932)

Thomas Moran¹ was 34 years of age when he made his memorable first visit to the Rocky Mountains. The opportunity for this journey came in 1871 when he was invited to become the guest of the Hayden Territorial Surveys and accompany the first of the successive field parties which were appointed by Dr. F. V. Hayden to investigate the scenic wonders of that portion of north-western Wyoming which a year later was to become celebrated as Yellowstone National Park. The most notable

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Fritiof Melvin Fryxell was born at Moline, Illinois, on April 27, 1900. A geologist, he took his A.B. degree at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, his M.A. at the University of Illinois, his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago and has since taken graduate study at the Universities of Colorado and Iowa. He has held the position of professor of geology at Augustana College since 1929 and has also acted as naturalist for the Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming, from 1929 to 1935. He served on the museum planning staff of the National Park Service for 1935-7 and engaged in geological exploration in the Philippine Islands, 1939-40. He is the author of *Science at Augustana College*; *Physiography of the Region of Chicago*; *Glacial Features of Jackson Hole, Wyoming*; *The Teton Peaks and Their Ascents*; *The Tetons: Interpretations of a Mountain Landscape*. His article, "The Story of Deadman's Bar" appeared in the June 1929, Vol. 5, No. 4 issue of the ANNALS OF WYOMING, and "Placing the Grand Teton Memorial Tablet" in the January 1930, Vol. 6, No. 3 issue.

Mr. Fryxell was married to Regina Christina Holmen on June 22, 1928, and they have three children: John B., Roald H. and Thomas W. He is at present with the U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.

1. Thomas Moran, who passed away on August 25, 1926, at the age of 89 years, is conceded to have done more than any other artist to make known to the world the scenic resources of the West. In the estimate of his contemporaries "the dean of American artists" and probably the greatest landscape interpreter our country has yet produced, he is likewise entitled to an important place among the early explorers of the Far West. No biography of Moran has yet been written, but numerous accounts of his life and work are available. Unfortunately, most of these brief accounts abound with

of the works which resulted from this first expedition was the great canvass depicting "The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone," a painting which was recognized as possessing such national significance that Congress appropriated ten thousand dollars for its purchase (at the time considered a very large sum) and arranged for its permanent exhibition in the Capitol at Washington.

Late in the summer of 1872, Dr. Hayden wrote to his now famous young friend, under date of August 29, "There is no doubt that your reputation is made. Still you must do much to nurse it. The more you get, the greater care . . . The next picture you paint must be the Tetons. I have arranged for a small party to take you from Fort Hall up Snake River, thence to the Yellowstone, etc. . . . It will not be difficult for you to see all this country next year in a few weeks and make all the sketches you wish . . . Put on your best strokes this summer so as to be ready for a big campaign next summer."²

However, possibly because of a change of plans on the part of Dr. Hayden, whose 1873 activities centered in Colorado and did not extend into northwestern Wyoming, the following summer found Thomas Moran 500 miles southwest of the Tetons, in company with the intrepid John W. Powell among the remote and little-known

inaccuracies so far as his western travels are concerned. A few references may be listed:

Benjamin, S. G. W., "A Pioneer of the Palette, Thomas Moran." *The Magazine of Art*, February, 1882, pages 89-93.

Ladegast, Richard, "Thomas Moran, N. A." *Truth*, September, 1900, pages 209-212.

Buckley, Edmund, "Thomas Moran, A Splendid Example of American Achievement in Art."—*Fine Arts Journal*, January, 1909, pages 9-17.

Simpson, William H., "Thomas Moran—The Man."—*Fine Arts Journal*, January, 1909, pages 18-25.

Buek, G. H., "Thomas Moran."—*American Magazine*, January, 1913, pages 30-32.

Gillespie, Harriet Sisson, "Thomas Moran, Dean of our Painters."—*International Studio*, August, 1924, pages 361-366.

Buek, G. H., "Thomas Moran, N. A. The Grand Old Man of American Art."—*The Mentor*, August, 1924, pages 29-37.

Moran, Ruth B., "Thomas Moran: An Appreciation."—*The Mentor*, August, 1924, pages 38-52.

Butler, Howard Russell, "Thomas Moran, N. A.—An Appreciation."—*The American Magazine of Art*, November, 1926, pages 559-560.

Parker, R. A., "The Water-Colors of Thomas Moran."—*International Studio*, March, 1927, pages 65-72.

2. Letters in possession of Miss Ruth B. Moran.

plateaus of southern Utah and northern Arizona.³ Summer after summer slipped by, golden seasons in Moran's life, during which he traveled widely both in the West and abroad; and it was not until 1879, the year following the disbanding of the Territorial Surveys, that Thomas Moran finally found his way into the Teton country, whose grandeur he had for so long been urged to behold for himself, and where, seven years before, a splendid peak had been named in his honor.⁴

3. Moran's painting, "The Chasm of the Colorado," was one of the products of the 1873 expedition and was also purchased by Congress as a companion piece to "The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone." It is most unfortunate that these great paintings, of such historical and artistic significance, have never been displayed to advantage in the Capitol. Their illumination in the niches which they at present occupy impresses one as being scarcely adequate, and it is impossible for the observer, in viewing them, to stand as far away as is desirable due to their size.

4. Professor Frank H. Bradley, geologist with the Hayden party of 1872 in the Teton country, mentioned in connection with an attempted ascent of the Grand Teton that "To the north of the canon (probably Cascade Canyon) one peak of the range, which we have called Mount Leidy, has a long wedge-shaped summit, upon the top of which a long mound, like those erected so numerous by the mound-builders in the valleys of the Mississippi and its tributaries. This summit, however, was not visited." (P. 222 of the Sixth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories.) This name was proposed in honor of Joseph Leidy, the distinguished vertebrate paleontologist who served with the Hayden Surveys.

The name "Mount Leidy" actually appears on one of the sketches accompanying Bradley's report (page 262). This must have been an oversight, however, for officially the name was not allowed to stand. On Bechler's "Map of the Sources of the Snake River" which accompanies Bradley's report (opposite page 255), as well as on all later maps, the name "Mount Moran" has been substituted for "Mount Leidy," the latter name being transferred to a much less imposing summit (altitude 10,317 feet) twenty miles to the south-east, in the highlands east of Jackson Hole. Possibly the change was made by Bechler, the topographer, but more likely by Hayden himself.

Bechler gives the altitude of Mount Moran as 12,800 feet; in the maps (by Bechler and Clark) accompanying the Twelfth Annual Report (covering the explorations of 1878) this figure has been revised to 12,441. Bannan's triangulations of 1898 and 1899 for the Grand Teton Quadrangle map reduced its altitude still further, placing it between 12,100 and 12,200 feet. According to this determination (the most reliable now available) Mount Moran is exceeded in altitude by at least four major Teton peaks (each of the Three Tetons and Mount Owen) and possibly by a fifth, Teewinot (which is also between 12,100 and 12,200 feet).

Though by no means the highest peak in the range, as is apparent from the above, Mount Moran is by far the broadest and most massive of the Teton peaks, measuring as it does no less than three miles in diameter at its base. It is one of the most

Little was known concerning Thomas Moran's journey to the Tetons in 1879, other than it was at this time that he secured all of the field sketches upon which are based his Teton landscape paintings, notably his famous studies of Mount Moran (there being several, differing principally in details) and "The Teton Range, Idaho" (the latter title and several others are in error in assigning the Teton peaks to Idaho, whereas all of them lie on the Wyoming side of the state line). Not a little interest, therefore, attaches to the recent discovery by Miss Ruth B. Moran of a little journal kept by her father on this expedition—one of the few documents from Moran's own hand relating to his early work and travels in the West.

Moran's journal is a little notebook of vestpocket size containing a series of day-to-day pencil entries. The entries begin and end with equal abruptness; there is no introduction or conclusion. Most similar records start out bravely enough with detailed entries which, as the days pass, become increasingly perfunctory, but with Moran's the reverse is true, the jottings of the first days giving way to ampler and more carefully written accounts. In all likelihood at the conclusion of the expedition Moran laid his journal away⁵ and forgot it, for had he later returned to it he would very likely have caught an obvious calendar error which it contains, and he would probably not have left his notes in their present unfinished state (for the narrative ends with the party camped on the return trip, at the junction of Willow Creek and Sand Creek, less than two days' journey north of their destination).

From the journal it appears that Thomas Moran's journey to the Tetons was made in company with his

beautiful of mountains, the more so because of its magnificent setting to the west of Jackson Lake in whose waters are mirrored its great buttressed figure and the several ice fields clinging to its upper slopes. The mountaineering history of Mount Moran is one of considerable interest and has been recorded elsewhere (in "Teton Peaks and Their Ascents" by the writer. Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming, 1932. Pages 88-104).

5. Moran appears to have published only one account relating to his many western expeditions, that which in 1892 he made in company with the pioneer photographer, William H. Jackson, to Devil's Tower, Wyoming (*The Century Illustrated Magazine*, January, 1894, pp. 450-455).

younger brother, Peter, the noted animal painter,⁶ the two young artists having evidently seized an opportunity to make the expedition under escort of a military detachment sent out from Fort Hall, Idaho, on a scout into Teton Basin (Pierre's Hole) under leadership of Captain Augustus Hudson Bainbridge (Company A, 14th U. S. Infantry), then in command of the post of Fort Hall. No special occasion for a scouting expedition at this time is apparent, the records of the War Department simply noting Captain Bainbridge's absence from the post during the 12-day period from August 21 to September 1; it is probable that the trip was arranged purely as an accomodation to the distinguished Moran brothers. The apprehension of a hostile Bannock, Pam-pigemena, on August 29 is mentioned in Moran's journal but this arrest appears to have been an incidental episode.

In view of the fact that the entire journey consumed but twelve days time and was, moreover, made at a season when the range was much obscured by smoke from forest fires, it is remarkable that Moran was able to secure material for so many important paintinngs—works which will forever link his name with the Tetons. From his journal it is clear that he actually spent only one day within the range itself, and did not have an opportunity to view the Tetons at all from the far more spectacular eastern side (that is, from any point within the area now included in the Grand Teton National Park). Though these mountains impressed Moran as constituting "perhaps the finest pictorial range in the United States or even in North America," it is quite certain that in all his subsequent travels he never found his way back among them again, nor beheld, save possibly from a distance,

6. The Morans have been compared to those families "of Flanders three centuries ago or of Japan in this century who seem to have the tendency toward art in the name." While more than a dozen members of this remarkable family have achieved eminence in the field of art in America, three brothers from the original family which came to this country in 1844 from Lancashire, England, probably stand first: Edward Moran, N. A., (1829-1901), the painter of marines; Thomas Moran, N. A., (1837-1926), the subject of this article and noted principally for his landscape painting; and Peter Moran (1842-1914), an animal painter and etcher. A fourth brother, John Moran (1831-1903), was one of the first and best-known American outdoor photographers, and was also a landscape painter. Of the many Morans of later generations who became artists the two sons of Edward Moran, Percy (1862-) and Leon (1864-), are probably the best known.



THOMAS MORAN
Portrait taken in 1882.

the beautiful mountain which bears his name. The little journal which follows is, therefore, a record of Thomas Moran's first and only visit to the Tetons.

August 21 (1879).

Left Fort Hall⁷ with Cap. A. H. Bainbridge & 20 men. 2 wagons. On way to Taylors Bridge⁸ very hot. Mirage. Dogs exhausted. Pete sick. Reached Taylors Bridge⁸ late in afternoon. 27 miles. Desolation. Abandoned town.

7. Fort Hall, the old military post, was located about 15 miles northeast of the present Indian Agency of that name on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation.

8. At approximately the site of the city of Idaho Falls.

R. R. bridge over the Snake. Andersons Store. Discharged soldier in the morning came into camp & made disturbance. Hughes. Highway robber. Dismal camp. Furious wind all night driving sand everywhere. Almost blinding. Gray dismal morning. Black basalt. Abomination. Rushing river like Niagara Rapids.

Aug. 22

Left Camp at Taylors Bridge at 7 o'clock. Cold & windy with dust following & blinding us all the way. At noon passed Black Jacks on Willow Creek. All sage plain proposed irrigation. Arrived at 12 at Buck from Connecticut. 7 miles to south fork of Snake. Arrived there at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3. Two hours to get across on the opposite side. Had terrible time to get the heavy wagons up the embankment & through the willows. 40 feet. 12 mules. Soldiers yelling & beating the mules. Got up all right & went into camp in a beautiful spot on the north bank of the river. Soldiers bathing. Watering the stock near Taylors Bridge. Had our first sight of the great Teton some 70 miles away. Indian herders seldom speak & keep studiously apart from the other men. The Stagey sergeant. Amusing to see the mules inquisitively surrounding the teamster who was handling rations. Fires all over the country.

Aug. 23

An early breakfast & cool. Following foothills surmounted by basalt over a plain covered with fine bunch grass. Fine grazing & altogether a beautiful grazing & farming country with means of easy irrigation from the south fork of the Snake, which is a splendid current & clear as crystal. We are directly opposite Crater Buttes across the Snake 15 miles distant. The Salmon River Range close in the distance enveloped in a delicate blue haze. To the east lies the Snake River Range, a low line of mountains separating us from the Teton Basin. $\frac{1}{2}$ past seven, 5 miles, a halt on for 10 minutes. A good road for the wagons. At 11:20 reached a fine cold stream, probably Moody Creek, where we rested $\frac{1}{2}$ hour to water the animals. The Tetons are now plainly visible but not well defined owing to the mistiness of the atmosphere. They loom grandly above all the other mountains. An intervening ridge dividing us from the Teton Basin stretches for miles to the north, of a beautiful pinkish yellow with delicate shades of pale cobalt, while the distant range is of an exquisite blue with but little definition of forms on



—*Courtesy Augustana Historical Society*

BEAVER DICK (RICHARD LEIGH) AND HIS FAMILY
Camped in Teton Basin, Idaho. From an early photograph.

their surface. Our Indian, Jack, has just caught a fine trout of about 3 pounds weight and he says the stream is full of them.

Aug. 24th

Teton River Camp

Trout this morning for B. & a wind blowing nearly as bad as at Taylors Bridge, driving the dust everywhere & covering our breakfast. Co'd but bright overhead. The Tetons from this camp are very well defined in a directly easterly direction before the sun rose but soon disappeared when the atmosphere lighted up. Boguy⁹ whose ranch we stopped at for information yesterday drove over this morning before we left camp and partly under guidance (we) reached Canon Creek at 11 o'clock after a 15 mile ride over rolling country covered with excellent grass & free from sage. We struck the canon at a point where it is about 800 feet in depth with very

9. Spelled "Boqua" elsewhere in the journal.

precipitous banks covered with the debris from the basaltic columns with which the upper edge is fringed. A large porcupine was killed by Cap. Bainbridge a mile or two from the canon. Following a trail leading up the edge of the canon we found that it led down into the canon, which has a beautiful stream flowing through it fringed with water elms, pine, cottonwood, etc. The captain & two men have gone up the canon either to find a (ford or a camp sight). About a mile above we found a depression in the side of the canon down which we could make our way to a flat space containing a few acres covered with sage & grass. Here the wagons were unloaded & after packing the material on the pack mules the wagons with a portion of the mules & 6 or 8 men were sent back to Boqua's to there camp until our return from the Teton Basin. We made our camp on the flat in the canon. Caught a few mountain trout and ascended the canon again to get a glimpse of the Tetons but from this point only the top of Mt. Moran is visible owing to the slope of the hills beyond the canon.

Aug. 25th

We were out of bed this morning at 5:30. It was very cold and ice had formed on the tin cups. In another hour we were under way over what appeared to be a rolling but smooth country but as we advanced we found our mistake. Every mile we found a gulch bordered with aspen in depth from 100 to 200 feet but we found no difficulty in crossing any of them. After passing the divide between the Teton Basin & our last camp we found a gently (rolling) country (descending) to the Basin. The Tetons here loomed up grandly against the sky & from this point it is perhaps the finest pictorial range in the United States or even in N. America. After descending the slope about 3 miles we came upon a small ice cold stream & determined to camp. Leaving the main body the Cap., Pete, myself & 1 man proceeded a mile or two toward the Teton Valley but saw no signs of water within 5 miles. On our return to camp we saw a deer within a quarter of a mile but failed to get near enough to get a shot at it. After camp had been finally disposed of 3 men & the Indian were sent out to hunt. They had not been gone more than an hour before we heard seven shots and concluded they had found something. Soon after they returned & the Indian, Jack, had shot 3 out of 5 deer they had come upon. One was lost in the packing as the mules objected strongly to carry dead animals so but two were brought into camp.



—*Courtesy Augustana Historical Society*

BEAVER DICK (RICHARD LEIGH) AND HIS FAMILY
Camped in Teton Basin, Idaho. From an early photograph.

their surface. Our Indian, Jack, has just caught a fine trout of about 3 pounds weight and he says the stream is full of them.

Aug. 24th

Teton River Camp

Trout this morning for B. & a wind blowing nearly as bad as at Taylors Bridge, driving the dust everywhere & covering our breakfast. Co'd but bright overhead. The Tetons from this camp are very well defined in a directly easterly direction before the sun rose but soon disappeared when the atmosphere lighted up. Boguy⁹ whose ranch we stopped at for information yesterday drove over this morning before we left camp and partly under guidance (we) reached Canon Creek at 11 o'clock after a 15 mile ride over rolling country covered with excellent grass & free from sage. We struck the canon at a point where it is about 800 feet in depth with very

9. Spelled "Boqua" elsewhere in the journal.

precipitous banks covered with the debris from the basaltic columns with which the upper edge is fringed. A large porcupine was killed by Cap. Bainbridge a mile or two from the canon. Following a trail leading up the edge of the canon we found that it led down into the canon, which has a beautiful stream flowing through it fringed with water elms, pine, cottonwood, etc. The captain & two men have gone up the canon either to find a (ford or a camp sight). About a mile above we found a depression in the side of the canon down which we could make our way to a flat space containing a few acres covered with sage & grass. Here the wagons were unloaded & after packing the material on the pack mules the wagons with a portion of the mules & 6 or 8 men were sent back to Boqua's to there camp until our return from the Teton Basin. We made our camp on the flat in the canon. Caught a few mountain trout and ascended the canon again to get a glimpse of the Tetons but from this point only the top of Mt. Moran is visible owing to the slope of the hills beyond the canon.

Aug. 25th

We were out of bed this morning at 5:30. It was very cold and ice had formed on the tin cups. In another hour we were under way over what appeared to be a rolling but smooth country but as we advanced we found our mistake. Every mile we found a gulch bordered with aspen in depth from 100 to 200 feet but we found no difficulty in crossing any of them. After passing the divide between the Teton Basin & our last camp we found a gently (rolling) country (descending) to the Basin. The Tetons here loomed up grandly against the sky & from this point it is perhaps the finest pictorial range in the United States or even in N. America. After descending the slope about 3 miles we came upon a small ice cold stream & determined to camp. Leaving the main body the Cap., Pete, myself & 1 man proceeded a mile or two toward the Teton Valley but saw no signs of water within 5 miles. On our return to camp we saw a deer within a quarter of a mile but failed to get near enough to get a shot at it. After camp had been finally disposed of 3 men & the Indian were sent out to hunt. They had not been gone more than an hour before we heard seven shots and concluded they had found something. Soon after they returned & the Indian, Jack, had shot 3 out of 5 deer they had come upon. One was lost in the packing as the mules objected strongly to carry dead animals so but two were brought into camp.



—*Courtesy Augustana Historical Society*

TETON MOUNTAINS, WYOMING. MOUNT MORAN IS THE CENTRAL PEAK.

They were the mule deer which may have had something to do with the objections of the mules to carrying them. Later in the afternoon 4 men were sent to search for the lost deer and they soon after brought it into camp. Of course we enjoyed our venison heartily at dinner. This afternoon we made sketches of the Teton Range but the distance, 20 miles, is rather too far to distinguish the details, especially as it is very smoky from fires in the mountains on each side of the peaks. This evening it is quite cold but we have a fine camp fire and the Cap. & Peter are broiling some venison ribs on willow sticks.

26th

From camp this morning our way lay over a smooth rolling country descending gently to the bottom of the Teton Basin or Valley through which the Teton River flows, its banks deeply fringed with the willow common to this region, with here & there cottonwoods in small groves. The Teton River can be forded at almost any point. Soon after crossing the stream we saw a teepee

in the willows a short distance away and some horses grazing. Going over there we found it to be Beaver Dick,¹⁰ his Indian squaw, & a companion whom he called Tom. He was evidently trapping beaver as he had several skins stretched with pins on the ground. Leaving Beaver Dick's camp we headed directly for the canon of Teton River¹¹ which heads at the base of the Tetons. Dick said it was 17 miles to the camping ground but we found that it was not more than 10 or 12. At the mouth of the canon we found a pretty good camping spot¹² on the edge of the banks of the river which are here about 14 feet high. A fine growth of pine fills the river bottom & good grazing for animals covers the space between ourselves and the hills. It is very hot this afternoon & so very smoky that the Teton peaks can scarcely be seen & at times are entirely obscured so that sketching is out of the question & we spend our time working up some of our sketches made previously. As the sun goes down it gets quite cold but a roaring camp fire gives warmth & cheerfulness to our camp & we all feel in the best of spirits. After a good night's rest we get up on the morning of the 27th; & after a substantial breakfast of venison we are about to start out on a trip up the canon when one of the men discovered a black bear coming down the hills toward camp & not more than 250 yards distant. The bear showed much curiosity in regard to our camp & was deliberating whether to come nearer when the Cap. sent Indian Jack and several men out to interview him. Jack got the first shot and hit him in the right foot which seemed to surprise him very much as he threw up his foot & stood still a few seconds but he was not long in making up his mind to retreat. The men fired a number of shots after

10. "Beaver Dick," whose proper name was Richard Leigh, was the most picturesque figure in the Teton region during the decades immediately preceding settlement. He was called Beaver Dick "on account of the striking resemblance of two abnormally large front teeth in his upper jaw to the teeth of a beaver. The Indians called him 'The Beaver'" (Chittenden). Beaver Dick figures prominently in the early history of the Teton region, where for most of his life (it is said that he was 16 when he came into the region) he trapped, hunted, and acted in the capacity of guide. He is buried on a hilltop at the mouth of Teton Canyon. In the Grand Teton National Park the names of two beautiful lakes, Beaver Dick Lake and Leigh Lake, perpetuate his memory, and an adjoining body of water, Jenny Lake, is named after his first Indian wife.

11. That is, Teton Canyon, through which Teton Creek (not Teton River) flows.

12. Near Alta, about 3½ miles northeast of the present village of Driggs.

him as he ran into the aspen grove at the foot of the hill but failed to hit him & in a few minutes he had disappeared over the top of the hill, much to the disgust of the hunters. After this little event the Cap., Pete, myself & two men started on a trip up the canon. We proceeded over a not difficult way about 6 miles and ascended to the top of a granite cliff about 500 feet to get a good view of the canon¹³ that leads up to the right of the Tetons. The peaks of the Tetons¹⁴ are from this point entirely hidden from view but a number of other fine peaks present themselves in view. The view is very magnificent. The opposite mountain rises 5,000 feet above the river with a granite base surmounted by sandstone & capped with tremendous precipices of limestone. The slopes are covered in places with a growth of large pines but the summit is nearly bare of vegetation. We remained on the cliff some 3 hours sketching and afterwards amused ourselves by rolling down great granite boulders over the precipice upon which we stood & watching their descent as they went rebounding from rock to rock & crashing through the brush & dead timber at the base with a noise like the report of musketry & echoing through the canon. Descending to the valley we found Red Raspberry & B. Currants plentiful with which we regaled ourselves. A large beaver dam stretches across the canon at this point & the animals' industry is here exhibited on a large scale, the trees having been cut by them hundreds of feet above the river and brought down to the dam. Game of all sorts is very abundant in the canon. Elk & deer tracks are seen everywhere. We returned to camp early in the afternoon. The fires in the surrounding mountains had become so dense as almost to obscure the peaks of the Tetons & the sun went down in fiery redness. A strong & cold wind began to blow soon after & during the night a violent thunder storm continued until nearly day break, accompanied by rain in the canon and snow on the peaks. Heavy storm clouds hung over the range dropping snow or rain occasionally & a cold wind blew from the S. W.

Aug. 28

We broke camp and left the canon at 6:30, after an uncomfortable breakfast prepared under difficulties of

13. One of the north forks of Teton Canyon, probably the one marked "Roaring Creek" on the map of Targhee National Forest.

14. Probably a reference to the group of principal peaks known as the "Three Tetons."

rain & a cold wind. As we left the canon & came into the open plain the sun broke through the dense clouds that overhung the mountains for a time and showed his face fitfully all day. On our way back we called at the wickiup of Beaver Dick & after a little talk we proceeded to the Teton River near its junction with Bear Creek where we intended to camp, but after a rest of a couple of hours during which a number of fine salmon trout were taken we concluded to go on some 8 miles to our old camp on the other side of the Teton Valley where we arrived about 4 o'clock, Beaver Dick & his companion Tom joining us part of the way. It was cold & windy during the evening & considerable snow fell on the mountain during the day. Indian Jack as usual was the luck hunter & and brought in a young Antelope many of which we saw between Beaver Dick's & our camping ground. A roaring camp fire dispelled the cold & our camp being in a sheltered spot we slept comfortably & next morning, Aug. 29,¹⁵ we followed our trail toward Canon Creek for some time when we were again joined by Beaver Dick who guided over a new route to Boqua's but not an improvement over our own as we came over to the Basin. The Cap. was very desirous of bringing into Ft. Hall a hostile Bannock Indian named Pam-pigemena who by the way was father-in-law to Beaver Dick & Dick said he knew where he was & would bring him to our camp in the morning. We journey along & reached Boqua's ranch early in the afternoon & found that the party we had left in charge of the wagons was camped on Moody Creek near its junction with the south fork of the Teton River some four miles further on. We proceeded on our way & reached there about 3 o'clock. After dinner Beaver Dick started out for the Indian promising to bring him in the morning. It was very cold during the night, heavy ice forming on the water in our buckets. On the morning of the 29th¹⁶ as we were at breakfast Beaver Dick came into camp with the information that his father-in-law & his mother-in-law also would be in very soon. The Cap. ordered the start but left 3 men at the camp to wait for the Indian & his wife. We proceeded on our way toward the s. fork of the Snake River & when about 8 miles on our way we descried the men with the Indians coming along. We halted for half an hour until they came up. They had all their worldly goods with

15. Error: should read Aug. 29.

16. Ditto: should read the 30th.

them packed on 3 horses, consisting of beaver, otter, deer, bear, & other skins. They were about 60 & 50 years of age & seemed entirely indifferent to their position as prisoners. We bought some otter skins from them but a coveted gray bear skin the squaw would not part with as she said Beaver Dick gave it to her. We recrossed the Snake River without accident & arrived at Willow Creek at its junction with Sand Creek at 3 o'clock & went into camp. Cedars, cottonwood in the bottoms & a beautiful day. The ever present Crater Buttes on our right all day backed by the Salmon River Range. Poor camp with no grass for our animals.

DO YOU KNOW THAT—

A dramatic performance was given in Wyoming as early as 1864? On August second of that year a "troupe of play folk from Chicago" en route to the gold fields of California by wagon train entertained their fellow travelers while camped in what is now Snyder Basin in Sublette County. A stage was made from the floor of the old Lander (General) blacksmith shop floor and wagon sheets were used for curtains. Logs were cut and dragged into the corral of wagons for pit seats. The orchestra consisted of violin, flute and guitars, the music of which echoed from the hills. The audience numbered over two hundred and were very appreciative. The show consisted of a short drama of a young girl forced into a repugnant marriage by her mercenary parents, but, aided by her sweet-heart, she disclosed the past of her elderly suitor that sent him on his way defeated in his aims. The play was followed by a vaudeville of popular songs, instrumental numbers, acrobatic performances, ventriloquist's entertainment and jig dancing. The next day the trains pulled westward over the Lander Trail.—(Mr. Perry W. Jenkins, Cora, Wyoming. Taken from the book *Covered Wagon Days* by Arthur Jerome Dickinson, pp. 149-156.)

The first county library law in the United States was enacted February 16, 1886, by the Wyoming Territorial Legislature?—(*The Carnegie Public Library, Memorial Volume, 1902*, p. 56.)

Wyoming Place Names

At the beginning of publication of the Wyoming Place Names series in the April 1942 ANNALS OF WYOMING, readers were invited to send in corrections and additional material supplementing that contained in the files of the State Historical Department. While some responded, in order to insure complete satisfaction on the part of the Staff as to the authenticity of that presented and the remainder of the material to be published, it was felt arrangements should be made for further verification of it. Therefore, the names of towns were separated by county and a member of the State Historical Advisory Board in each county, or a historically-minded citizen in counties where no Board member resided, was asked to verify the data submitted. While all lists have not been returned to date, the additions and corrections presented by the following persons have been arranged and are presented here: Struthers Burt (S. B.), Moran; Charles Oviatt (C. O.), Sheridan; Fenimore Chatterton (F. C.), Arvada, Colorado; Dr. Herbert O. Brayer (H. O. B.), Denver; Mae Cross (M. C.), Piedmont; Hans Gautschi (H. G.), Lusk; Perry W. Jenkins (P. W. J.), Big Piney; Mrs. Dora McGrath (D. McG.), Thermopolis; Alfred J. Mokler (A. J. M.), Casper; Mrs. Minnie Reitz (M. R.), Wheatland; Russell Thorp (R. T.), Cheyenne; P. W. Spaulding (P. W. S.), Evanston.

Previous lists of Wyoming Place Names have appeared in the April and July 1942 ANNALS.

BAIROIL, Sweetwater County. Named for Charles Bair, a prominent sheep man of Billings, Montana, who financed and promoted the first oil development in that district.—R. T.¹

BESSEMER, Natrona County. Established in 1888. At the first election in Natrona County in 1889, Bessemer was a candidate for the county seat. Six hundred sixty-seven votes were cast, but the county commissioners declared that more than three hundred of them were illegal and the vote of the entire precinct was thrown out. It is

1. Persons who checked the lists of place names are given credit by placing their initials after each name explanation. Refer to names given in introduction above.—Ed.

now one of Natrona County's "ghost towns." (Origin of name not known.)—A. J. M.

BIG PINEY, Sublette County. The names given to the three streams that empty into Green River within a few rods of each other were North Piney, Middle Piney and South Piney. North Piney, being the largest, was called Big Piney. The first post office was at the Mule Shoe Ranch near Green River but later was moved to the home of Daniel B. Budd on the bank of North Piney and was called Big Piney Post Office. This was followed by the town. The first settler was Ed Swan and Otto Leifer in 1878, followed by A. W. Smith and Daniel B. Budd in 1879. The post office dates from 1882.—P. W. J.

BISHOP, Natrona County. Named for Marvin L. Bishop, an early-day postmaster of Casper, who had his sheep-shearing pens at this point.—A. J. M.

BUCKNUM, Natrona County. Named for Charles K. Bucknum, an early-day mayor of Casper and owner of a sheep ranch near the railroad station where the town was established in 1905.—A. J. M.

CAMBRIA, Weston County. Named by Kilpatrick Bros., railroad contractors, who constructed the Burlington Railroad through Wyoming and developed the first coal mine at Cambria on the Burlington in Wyoming. Named after Welch coal mines.—R. T.

CASPER, Natrona County. The town was established in the early summer of 1888, and was named after Fort Caspar, a military post first established in 1858. The site of Fort Caspar was called Camp Platte from 1840 to 1847. When the Mormons passed through here in June 1847, they built and operated a ferry across the river, and then the name was changed to Mormon Ferry or Mormon Crossing. Louis Guinard built a bridge across the river at this point in the winter of 1858-59, and the name was then changed to Platte Bridge Station. Lieutenant Caspar W. Collins was killed by Indians near the fort on July 26, 1865, and in October of that year Major General Pope ordered the name changed to Fort Caspar. When the town of Casper was platted by the land department of the Fremont, Elkhorn and Missouri Valley Railroad Company, the engineer, in the original plat, used an "e" in the last syllable instead of an "a". After many deeds for town lots and other important documents had been issued, all spelled with an "e", a request was made to have the spelling changed, but it was considered that the change would be too expensive.—A. J. M.

DANIEL, Sublette County. Named for and by T. P. Daniel when the post office was located at his store on the present site in 1904.—P. W. J.

DICKIE, Hot Springs County. Named for and established by David Dickie who was born in Scotland and came to Wyoming via New Zealand and San Francisco in 1884. He engaged in the sheep business along the Union Pacific Railroad until 1896 when the range became crowded and he started to British Columbia, driving his sheep to that region. He transferred his sheep across the ferry at the old town of Thermopolis and planned to next cross the bridge at Meeteetse. Instead, however, he purchased from Harry Gunther the L.U. Ranch, which had formerly been owned by Governor Baxter, and later added to his holdings.—D. McG.

DIETZ, Sheridan County. Named for the Dietz brothers, Charles, Frank and Gould, who developed the Dietz coal mines on the Burlington Railroad in Sheridan County.—R. T.

ELK MOUNTAIN, Carbon County. Named after Elk Mountain, the peak at the north end of the Medicine Bow Range and a few miles southwest of the town.—F. C.

ENCAMPMENT, Carbon County. U. S. Troops, under the command of General Johnston, on their way to Salt Lake City were snowed in near this point and encamped there for a considerable time. The place was named Grand Encampment.—F. C.

FORT BONNEVILLE, Sublette County. Fort Bonneville was built in 1832 by Captain B. L. E. Bonneville but was abandoned within a month when he moved to Salmon River for the winter. It was here that the Rendezvous of 1833 was held and the fort definitely described by W. A. Ferris in his journal.—P. W. J.

HAT CREEK, Niobrara County. Named when a detachment of soldiers was sent to establish a fort on Warbonnet Creek in 1875. Thinking that they were on the right location when they got to Sage Creek, they built their dugout fort on the site of what became old Hat Creek Stage Station and Post Office and called it Hat Creek, short for Warbonnet. Warbonnet Creek is in Nebraska near the Wyoming line and the error appears obvious.—H. G.

JACKSON, Teton County. Named for Jackson Lake which had been named for Captain David E. Jackson who was in the region with William L. Sublette in the early 1800's.—S. B.

(KNIGHT, Uinta County. Named by the Union Pacific Railroad in honor of Judge Jesse Knight, Judge of the Third Judicial District of Wyoming, who showed the railroad engineers how to change the line to avoid the very steep grade on Aspen Hill and the feasibility of the present Aspen Tunnel.—F. C. and P. W. S.)

NATRONA, Natrona County. So named because of the soda (natron) deposits near there.—A. J. M.

OIL CITY, Natrona County. So named because of the drilling for oil in that vicinity in 1880 by S. A. Aggers who hailed from Oil City, Pennsylvania.—A. J. M.

PIEDMONT, Uinta County. Means "foot of the mountains" and was taken from the Italian language.—P. W. S. and M. C.

PINEDALE, Sublette County. Named by Charles Peterson in 1899, when the first post office was opened at this place, for the pines along the stream, Pine Creek. The town was incorporated in 1912 and was made the county seat in June 1921.—P. W. J.

POWDER RIVER, Natrona County. Named for a branch of the Powder River which in turn was named for the dark powder-like quick sand that is found along its banks and in the channel.—A. J. M.

RESHAW, Natrona County. Named for John Reshaw, a Frenchman, who built the first bridge across the North Platte River in central Wyoming on the Old Oregon Trail. English pronunciation is Richards.—A. J. M.

RIVERTON, Fremont County. In 1905 Mr. Fenimore Chatterton found that Montana was about to secure the right to divert all the water of the Big Horn River which would leave no water for reclamation of the 300,000 acres in the ceded portion of the Shoshone Indian Reservation. He immediately went to Washington and applied to the Secretary of the Interior Department for a permit to construct the necessary canals and reservoirs and to lay out a town site on the one hundred sixty acres where the town of Riverton is now located, all work to be done prior to opening the lands for settlement. He met with refusal, but when the lands were opened, the one hundred sixty acres designated by Mr. Chatterton were set aside as a town site. On August 14, 1906, the land was opened and persons who had previously located at Shoshone to await the day moved in and proceeded to survey and stake the blocks and lots. A group of Lander citizens opposed to the establishment of the town tried to stop the survey; not succeeding they induced the Indian Agent at Ft.

Washakie, Mr. Wadsworth, to use U. S. Troops to run people off the town site. After ten days Mr. Chatterton had the matter straightened out through telegrams to Wyoming Senators, and the citizens returned. Meanwhile the Lander group asked that the town be called Central City and the Northwestern Railroad named its station Wadsworth. Authorities in Washington settled the question by naming the post office Riverton, as being significant of its location on the bank of the Wind River.—F. C.

SARATOGA, Carbon County. Here are located the medicinal hot springs once used by the Indians. In the early 1870's William Caldwell homesteaded the land on which the springs are located, built a two room log cabin and a two tub bath house and became the postmaster of "Warm Springs." In 1883 Fenimore Chatterton, post trader at Fort Steele, established a general store at this point and a little later a town site was laid out on both sides of the North Platte River and named Saratoga after Saratoga Hot Springs, New York, to which the springs bore a similarity and because of the great popularity of the latter.²—F. C. and H. O. B.

SEMINOLE, Natrona County. Should be Seminoe. The name "Seminoe" became attached to the Lajeunesse family from the fact that Basil Lajeunesse, father of Mitchell and Noel, married a Snake Indian woman, "Cim-inau" by name. The whites pronounced it Seminoe, and the Seminoe mountain derived its name from Ciminau-Basil Lajeunesse. (See Mokler's *History of Fort Caspar*, 1939, p. 16).—A. J. M.

SHANNON, Natrona County. Named for P. M. Shannon, president of the Pennsylvania Oil and Gas Company, the first company to develop the Salt Creek oil field.—A. J. M.

SHERIDAN, Sheridan County. Named after General Philip A. Sheridan.—C. O.

SNYDER, Natrona County. Named for Ora Snyder, first postmaster at that place.—A. J. M.

SODIUM, Natrona County. Located at the Soda Lakes from which it derives its name.—A. J. M.

STORY, Sheridan County. Named after C. P. Story, former real estate man in Sheridan who several times was elected mayor of his city and died in office in 1931.—C. O.

2. An item in the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* of June 23, 1882, states, "Mr. Caldwell of Warm Springs is in town . . . He says before long he intends to have the Warm Springs of Wyoming the Saratoga of the West."

STROUDS, Natrona County. Named for Joshua Stroud who homesteaded on the land four miles east of Casper before the C. & W. R. R. was built into central Wyoming.—A. J. M.

SUN, Natrona County. Located sixty miles southwest of Casper and named for Tom Sun who was among the first of the pioneers to homestead in the Sweetwater country.—A. J. M.

SUNRISE, Platte County. Named by Lieutenant Eaton of Fort Laramie who, while inspecting copper deposits with John London and H. T. Miller, remarked that a rise over which they walked afforded a good view of the sunrise.—M. R.

SWAN, Carbon County. Located just north of Saratoga and named for Will Swan, cattleman. Now a "ghost town."—H. O. B.

TENSLEEP, Washakie County. The name "Tensleep" means ten sleeps from either the Platte or Yellowstone and refers to ten days' travel by the Indians.—C. O.

THERMOPOLIS, Hot Springs County. Named by Dr. Julious Shulke and Joe McGill, the latter a student of languages, for its proximity to the hot springs and taken from the Greek words *therme* and *polis* meaning "heat and city."—D. McG.

UVA, Platte County. Named for an early brand.—M. R.

WALTMAN, Natrona County. Named for W. D. Waltman.—A. J. M.

WAMSUTTER, Carbon County. Formerly called Washakie Station on the Union Pacific Railway, the name was changed in 1885 to Wamsutter in honor of an old Indian chief. The change was made because of the errors arising in the delivery of freight destined for Ft. Washakie.—Taken from the *Carbon County Journal*, September 5, 1885.³

WOLTON, Natrona County. Named from the fact that it was the center of sheep shearing for this part of the state.—A. J. M.

3. Received from Mrs. Agnes Wright Spring.

Index To Annals of Wyoming

The editorial staff is pleased to announce that the "Index to the ANNALS OF WYOMING and Miscellaneous Historical Publications" is now on the press and will be ready for delivery in February.

This volume is a complete and detailed general Index to the Quarterly Bulletin, Volumes 1-2, the ANNALS OF WYOMING, Volumes 3-14, and includes the Wyoming Historical Collections of 1897, Volume 1, by Robert Morris, the Miscellanies of 1919 and the Wyoming Historical Collections of 1920 and 1922. It is a comprehensive work including author, title, subject headings and subject modifications. A consistent and simple method of abbreviation has been employed throughout.

The cost of the Index is \$3.00, postage paid. A check or money order should accompany each order and be made payable to the Wyoming Historical Department.

If you lack any issues of the ANNALS, it is suggested that you try to secure them at once, if you wish to complete your files, as some of the numbers are already out of print and the supply of others will soon be exhausted. Write to the Historical Department for particulars if you are interested.

DO YOU KNOW THAT—

The first Wyoming Territorial conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties were held in August 1869? The Republican Convention met at Point of Rocks on August 12th when Laramie County sent seven delegates, Albany County six, Carbon County three and Carter County six. W. W. Corlett was nominated as delegate to Congress. The Democratic Convention met the same week at Rawlins when twenty-six delegates assembled. S. F. Nuckolls was nominated as Congressional delegate.— (*The Cheyenne Leader*, August 7 and 16, 1869.)

Collection and Preservation Of Wyoming War Records

The Wyoming War Records Committee, with the State Librarian and Historian as chairman, sponsored by the Wyoming State Council of Defense has been organized for the purpose of collecting and preserving all records concerning Wyoming's contributions to the Nation's war effort, so that when World War II is over the State will have a complete file for future reference, and also that some day the story of Wyoming's part in this world conflict may be written. It was found that as soon as World War I was over and the boys returned home, interest in those valuable records diminished and complete information on the part Wyoming had played was never obtained, consequently, much of that portion of her history is lost to posterity.

Since the County Libraries have been designated by the Office of War Information, Washington, D. C., as "War Information Centers" for their individual communities, the County Librarians in most instances have been appointed to serve on the Wyoming War Records Committee as County Directors, the State Librarian being the State Director.

Instructions and report blanks have been sent out from the State Headquarters and many of the County Directors report that their organizations are completed and the work started. With this splendid assistance and co-operation, the conclusion of World War II should find Wyoming with a complete file covering its activities.

LOCATION OF FILES: Material collected in the various counties is to be retained in the County as long as there is need for it, or for the duration, with a definite understanding that after this time it is to be transferred to the "State File" which will be maintained in the State Historical Department at the State Library.

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

October 1, 1942 to December 31, 1942

Miscellaneous Gifts

Bernfeld, Seymour S., Cheyenne, Wyoming—First official map of the United States issued by the U. S. General Land Office, 1868, which showed the segregation of Wyoming Territory from that of Dakota, and the segment of Dakota to the northwest of the new territory, which later became part of Idaho. Six newspapers: *Vincennes Weekly Courant and Patriot*, published at Vincennes, Indiana, February 2, 9, 16 and 23, 1856; *St. Croix Union*, published at Stillwater, Minnesota Territory, July 7, 1855; *The Prairie State*, published at Danville, Illinois, June 25, 1856.

Henderson, Harry B., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Five programs: Dedication Service First Presbyterian Church, March 22-25, 1925; Inauguration Ball, Gov. Wm. A. Richards, January 7, 1895; Inauguration Ball, Gov. DeForest Richards, January 5, 1903; Inauguration Reception and Ball, Gov. B. B. Brooks, January 1905; Dollar Dinner, Industrial Club of Cheyenne, May 14, 1907. Pamphlets: Officers and Members of Cheyenne Lodge No. 1, A. F. & A. M., July 1, 1907; Abstract of Reports of the condition of National, State and Private Banks in the State of Wyoming, January 1, 1908. Wyoming Bankers Association Proceedings of Conventions for the years 1910, 1912, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925.

Child, Doris, Cheyenne, Wyoming—German coin, 10 pfenning, 1917.

Roddes, Mrs. Charles, Cheyenne, Wyoming.—Copy of the *Youth's Companion*, World's Fair Number, 1893; *Duluth Sunday News Tribune*, September 21, 1919, containing the story of General John J. Pershing.

Pictures

Richardson, Warren, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Thirty-four pictures of historical landmarks in Wyoming and dedication of by the Landmarks Commission.

Keith, Dr. M. C., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Three pictures: two of the S.S. "Chief Washakie" going down the ways at Portland, Oregon, December 24, 1942; one of the Sponsor's party at the launching.

Book—Purchased

Dale, Edward Everett—Cow Country. 1942.

Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 15

April, 1943

No. 2

Contents

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK	101
By John H. Raftery.	
DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS:	
Trade and Intercourse, 1820	133
Governor Francis E. Warren, a Champion of Woman Suffrage	143
By W. Turrentine Jackson.	
Letters 1862 Reveal Indian Trouble Along The Overland Mail-Route	150
WYOMING SCRAPBOOK:	
Buildings in Cheyenne, Dakota Territory, 1867	153
For the First Time the Buildings of Cheyenne Are Numbered, 1867	154
The Cheyenne Opera House, 1882	156
A Rare Publication	159
The "Magic City" Cheyenne, Dakota Territory, 1867	160
WYOMING STREAM NAMES	163
By Dee Linford.	
WYOMING IN WORLD WAR II	175
Albany, Johnson, Natrona, Laramie and Sheridan Counties.	
THE SWEETWATER STAGE COMPANY, 1869.....	177
RUSSELL THORP COLLECTION	181
ACCESSIONS	186

ILLUSTRATIONS

COURT HOUSE, 1868	Front Cover
MUSEUM, 1943	100
BUILDING IN CHEYENNE, 1867	153
THE OPERA HOUSE, 1882	156
PROGRAM, OPENING NIGHT OF OPERA HOUSE, 1882	157
THE SWEETWATER STAGE COMPANY ADVERTISEMENT	180

The State Historical Board, the State Historical Advisory Board and the State Historical Department assume no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the ANNALS OF WYOMING.

The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The historical magazine, ANNALS OF WYOMING, is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the ANNALS should be addressed to Mary A. McGrath, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

This magazine is sent free of charge to all State Historical Board members, the State Historical Advisory Board, Wyoming County Libraries and Wyoming newspapers.

It is published in January, April, July and October. Subscription price, \$1.50 per year; single copies, 45c.

Entered as second-class matter September 10, 1941, at the Post Office in Cheyenne, Wyoming, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Copyright, 1943, by the Wyoming Historical Department.

STATE HISTORICAL BOARD

Lester C. Hunt, President Governor
Mart T. Christensen Secretary of State
Wm. "Scotty" Jack State Auditor
Earl Wright State Treasurer
Esther L. Anderson Superintendent of Public Instruction
Mary A. McGrath, Secy. . State Librarian and Historian Ex-Officio

STATE HISTORICAL ADVISORY BOARD

Mrs. Mary Jester Allen, Cody	L. B. Howard, Rock Springs
Frank Barrett, Lusk	Mrs. Mary E. Hunter, Gillette
George Bible, Rawlins	Mrs. Joseph H. Jacobucci, Green River
Mrs. T. K. Bishop, Basin	P. W. Jenkins, Big Piney
C. Watt Brandon, Kemmerer	E. V. Knight, Laramie
J. Elmer Brock, Kaycee	W. C. Laurence, Moran
Struthers Burt, Moran	E. A. Logan, Cheyenne
Mrs. Elsa Spear Byron, Sheridan	Howard B. Lott, Buffalo
Mrs. G. C. Call, Afton	Mrs. Eliza Lythgoe, Cowley
Oliver J. Colyer, Torrington	R. E. MacLeod, Torrington
J. L. Cook, Sundance	James L. McIntosh, Split Rock
Mrs. Esther Crook, Fairview	A. J. Mokler, Casper
William C. Deming, Cheyenne	Mrs. Elmer K. Nelson, Laramie
Dr. William Frackelton, Sheridan	L. L. Newton, Lander
Paul Frison, Ten Sleep	R. I. Olinger, Newcastle
E. A. Gaensslen, Green River	Charles Oviatt, Sheridan
Hans Gautschi, Lusk	Mrs. Minnie Reitz, Wheatland
Burt Griggs, Buffalo	E. B. Shaffner, Douglas
G. R. Hagens, Casper	Mrs. Effie Shaw, Cody
R. H. Hall, Lander	Mrs. Tom Sun, Rawlins
Jack Haynes, Yellowstone Park	John Charles Thompson, Cheyenne
D. B. Hilton, Sundance	Russell Thorp, Cheyenne

STAFF PERSONNEL

of

The Wyoming Historical Department

, and

State Museum

Mary A. McGrath, Editor . State Librarian and Historian Ex-Officio
Marie E. Erwin, Co-Editor Assistant Historian



WYOMING STATE MUSEUM—1942

Housed in the new Supreme Court and Library Building in Cheyenne, with vault space and fireproof protection, the Museum provides for the preservation and display of the prized possessions of Wyoming pioneers.

Perpetuate your family name by placing your historical collections and relics in your State Museum, where they may be permanently preserved and enjoyed by the thousands of visitors.

Everything that is presented to the Museum is numbered, labeled, recorded and card indexed, thus insuring permanent identification.

Historical Sketch of Yellowstone National Park

The U. S. Congressional Documents constitute a vast source of information which touch every phase of human efforts. The historical and political development of every state and territory will be found in these publications; they constitute the most, and very often the only, authentic source material, and it is our purpose to use material from this source for some of the anecdotes in the Annals of Wyoming.

This report of the Yellowstone Park includes the early explorations, history and a beautiful description of the Park.

It does not treat the legal, political or annexation history. It was compiled by John H. Raftery under the supervision of Gen. S. B. M. Young, Superintendent of the Park, 1907.

For a complete understanding and appreciation of the Yellowstone National Park, whether as a pleasure ground, a health resort, or a place for scientific investigation, personal and repeated visits to it are necessary. The accounts of its discovery, exploration, and establishment as a national park have been written with varying degrees of accuracy, and writers of vivid fancy and contrasted literary qualifications have vied with one another in enthusiastic word pictures of the phenomena, beautiful, sinister, or scientific, of this premier wonderland of all the world. From every corner of the civilized world students and savants, poets, painters, and practitioners have come to witness, study, and describe the alternating manifestations of nature in spectacles magnificent or monstrous; and while each has contributed somewhat to the public's knowledge of this incomparable region, the aggregate mass of their descriptive work yet falls far short of a complete and convincing exploitation of its wonders. Indeed, the scope of spoken or written language, the range of human imagination, and the power of pigments spread upon the artist's canvas become feeble, narrow, and almost impotent in the presence of the majestic and outlandish marvels of Yellowstone Park.

Out of the vague, unwritten lore of Indian tradition come the remote rumors of an enchanted land among the mountains where the rivers boiled, the earth burned and haunted lakes tossed spectral plumes of scalding steam into the zenith. Here in cauldrons of gypsum or jasper

or jade the evil spirits mixed their war paint, and from peak and promontory, in the valleys, and on the hills could be seen the spiral smoke of their bale fires. The nomads of the Northwest shunned it as a land of evil haunt or prowled about its margins in awesome fear and reverence. Sioux, Blackfoot, Crow, and Bannock ventured to the verge of these demon-haunted fastnesses, and in timorous truce made stores of arrowheads from the mountain of black obsidian which looms above the river near its golden gate. Beyond that portal was a realm of mysterious and infernal portent. Looking back a full century we find that the story of the Yellowstone Park is a sequential link in the chain of epochal events which commenced with the purchase by the United States of the then uncharted wilderness called the "Louisiana Territory," the subsequent expedition of Lewis and Clark, the discovery of gold, the conquest of the savages, and all the epic deeds which achieved at last the winning of the West.

Nearly a century ago (1810) there returned from the wilds of the northwest one John Colter, a scout, trapper, and hunter, who had been with Lewis and Clark in their historic expedition. It was upon the return trip of the party that Colter, at his own request, was discharged near the confluence of the Yellowstone River with the Missouri. He had won the confidence and respect of his commanders, who supplied him with food and ammunition for his new venture. With two companions Colter then set out for the headwaters of the Missouri, trapping, hunting, and trading in friendly commerce with the Indians. Colter seems to have been a man of almost infinite endurance, courage, and perseverance. The record of his doings from August, 1806, when he parted with Lewis and Clark, until the spring of 1807, is not extant, but early in the latter year he arrived at the mouth of the Platte River in a canoe. There he met Manuel Lisa, the famous fur trader, who was organizing a trapping and hunting expedition into the very regions from which Colter had come. So timely a prize as the services of Colter was not to be overlooked, and he was induced to return into the wilderness with the Lisa party. Maj. Hiram M. Chittenden's book, "The Yellowstone," in many respects the best that has been written about this national park, devotes considerable space to the activities of Colter, who was unquestionably the first white discoverer of the region. For it was in 1807 that he passed through the Yellowstone wonderland, viewing for the first time the boiling springs about the lake, the tar springs at the fork

of the Shoshone, and skirting the Yellowstone River from its source past the upper and lower falls to the ford above Tower Falls and thence to Lisa's fort. Wounded in battle between Crows and Blackfeet, alone, ill-provided with ammunition or food, the intrepid Colter traversed on this journey afoot hundreds of miles of the wildest and most rugged country on earth. He had hardly recovered from the effects of his hardships when Lisa sent him back to the hostile Blackfeet for the purpose of opening up trading negotiations with them. Nothing daunted by the fact that he had appeared with the Crows in battle against them, knowing that Lewis had slain one of their number, Colter, in company with a single comrade named Potts, ventured back into the hunting ground of the Indians on the upper Missouri. Paddling up the river one morning the two trappers were suddenly surrounded by a swarm of more than 500 Blackfeet warriors, who lined either shore and bade the white men land.

As they did so an Indian seized Pott's rifle, but Colter, who was a mighty man, wrenched the weapon from the red man and handed it to Potts. The latter in panic leaped into the canoe and pushed it out into the stream. An arrow struck him, and crying out: "Colter, I'm wounded," Potts seized his rifle and shot his assailant dead. A shower of arrows from the enraged savages ended the life of Potts right there. Whether he used his rifle to invite a sudden death in preference to the prolonged torture which he anticipated at the hands of his captors will never be known, but his comrade was quickly disarmed and stripped naked as for torture. After the Indians had conferred they asked Colter if he was a good runner. The chance of running the gantlet or being chased by 500 fleet-footed savages bent upon his murder gave him a pale gleam of hope, and although he was reputed one of the speediest and most enduring runners of the West, he told the chief that he was both weary and slow. They led him three or four hundred yards out upon the prairie and bade him run for his life. Barefooted, nude, with half a thousand screaming demons at his back, but with the indomitable courage of a man who loves life, he ran as no white man ever ran before. His feet and legs were pierced with hundreds of the thorns of the prickly pear, blood spurted from his nose and mouth, and his breath came only in stentorious gasps before he ventured to look back.

He had gained on all of his pursuers except one, an

agile young warrior, who, with brandished spear, was swiftly closing down upon him. With sudden desperation Colter stood stock still. The Indian, in trying to do likewise, stumbled and fell. The badly-launched spear stuck in the ground and was broken off. The hunted white man seized the barbed half, impaled his fallen foe to the earth, and set off with renewed vigor for the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri, which he now saw gleaming through the trees. He had run more than 6 miles. He was covered with blood, his feet were torturing him, but he gained the fringe of willows by the river, and saw his enemies yelling and screaming about their dead brother. A raft of driftwood, snags, and branches accumulated at the head of a sandbar downstream from where he stood caught Colter's eye. He dived into the river, and, swimming under water, came up within the shelter of the drift. Search as they would, the Indians could not find him, and concluded he was drowned. He kept his hiding place till night had fallen, and then, chilled by the icy water, footsore, hungry, weakened from loss of blood, and stark naked, he struck bravely into the forest for a seven days' struggle back to Lisa's camp. He reached it after a week of the most exquisite agony, toil, and exposure. Such was the man and such the trials which give to John Colter an enviable and enduring place amongst the really great explorers of this country. John Bradbury, in his "Travels in North America," is authority for most of the details here mentioned, and so ably and accurately written was the book of the English naturalist that Washington Irving in his "Astoria" uses the Bradbury text with but few alterations.

Coming back to St. Louis in 1810, John Colter's tales of almost incredible ventures, discoveries, and hardships were scouted by most of his hearers, but he won the respectful attention of Gen. William Clark, who knew him, and of Henry M. Breckenridge, the author, and John Bradbury, whose writings have been subsequently authenticated by the explorations and researches of scores of dependable authorities. Colter's Journey through what is now the Yellowstone wonderland took him in a generally northeast direction from the southeasterly corner of the park, and, although he saw the hot springs about the Yellowstone Lake and River, and must have passed close to both the upper and lower falls, he makes no mention of the latter, nor did he catch a glimpse of the great geysers of the upper and lower basin, nor the mammoth hot springs, nor any of the other marvels except the tar springs.

In 1880 Col. P. W. Norris, then superintendent of the park, discovered what is believed to be, after Colter's, the oldest record of the presence of the white man in that region. In a ravine about half a mile above the upper falls Colonel Norris found an ancient tree upon the bark of which, partly over grown but yet decipherable, was the inscription "J. O. R. Aug. 19, 1819." Careful investigation of the names and exploits of all the early trappers, hunters, and scouts had failed to even remotely indicate the identity of J. O. R. Although the date of the inscription was verified by counting the annual rings upon an adjacent tree, and though now nearly obliterated, it remains a proof that white men visited the park after Colter and fully fifty years before its final discovery. In 1878, in caches by Beaver Lake and the Obsidian Cliff, Colonel Norris found marten traps of a pattern used by the Hudson Bay Company a half century previous; and at the foot of Mount Washburn, near the rim of the Grand Canyon, Frederick Bottler found the ruins of a block house in incalculable antiquity. The Washburn-Langford expedition of 1870 found near Mud Geyser, on the east bank of the Yellowstone River, an old dismantled pit or trench which might have been used as a place of concealment for hunters or waterfowl.

In 1871 Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor published a book, "The River of The West," which is a sort of biography of a pioneer trapper named Joseph Meek. In 1829, when the Rocky Mountain Fur Company withdrew from the field then dominated by the Hudson Bay Company, Meek, who had been in the employ of the former under Capt. William Sublette, was lost from his comrades and wandered for several days until he was found starving and half crazed by two of his party. There is no doubt that he was at one time in the hot springs district of the park, for he describes in his diary a "whole country smoking with vapor from boiling springs, and burning with gases issuing from small craters each of which was emitting a sharp, whistling sound. * * * Interspersed among these on the level plain were larger craters, some of them from 4 to 6 miles across. Out of these craters issued blue flames and molten brimstone."

Allowing for possible exaggeration, Meek's assertion that fire and brimstone issued from these craters is not wholly unsubstantiated. Writing in 1811, Henry M. Breckenridge says: "Mr. Lisa informs me that about 60 miles

from his fort (at the mouth of the Bighorn) there is a volcano that actually emits flames." Major Chittenden and others of like sincerity and diligence have concluded from this and other early writings and traditions that there was volcanic activity in the Rocky Mountains as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. To Warren Angus Farris, a clerk for the American Fur Company from 1830 to 1840, Chittenden gives the honor of having written the first actual description of the Firehole Geyser Basin. Returning from his station in the Flathead country in the spring of 1834, Ferris, yet incredulous of the marvelous tales he had heard of the boiling fountains of the Yellowstone region, took two Pend d'Oreille Indians with him and followed up the Firehole River. On May 20, 1834, he woke in full view of the outlandish phenomena of the Upper Geyser Basin, convinced at last and explaining, "The half has not been told me." Ferris' journal of this adventure was published in 1842 and proves conclusively that the great geysers had been seen and appreciated long before 1870, when the Washburn-Langford expedition made the first and ultimately adequate exploration of the park, an achievement which culminated in the erection and preservation of the most magnificent, the largest, and the most eventful national pleasure park the world has yet known. Father De Smet, the famous Jesuit missionary, writing in 1852, was the first to give an accurate geographical definition of the geyser district, locating it then with precision both as to latitude and longitude. Gunnison, in his "History of the Mormons," published in 1852, like Father De Smet, drew much of his information about the Yellowstone country from Capt. James Bridger, the famous frontiersman whose strange yarns of the marvels he had there beheld remained discredited or tabooed by such writers as Hayden, Warren, Raynolds, and others as late as 1860. The first governmental expedition sent expressly to explore and chart what is now the Yellowstone National Park set out in the early spring of 1859 under command of Capt. W. F. Raynolds, of the corps of topographical engineers of the United States Army. He did not reach the actual locality of the park until the summer of 1860, nor did he ever penetrate the valley of the upper Yellowstone, so that except for a map in which, as he himself admits, the most interesting portion of the region remains a "terra incognita," Captain Raynold's expedition yielded little of accurate information about the central glories of the Yellowstone Park. Immediately upon his return the national

election brought the country face to face with armed rebellion; disruption threatened the Union, peaceful pursuits were abandoned, the military establishment was mustering for war, and the western wonderland was left to slumber in the memories of the few who had seen it or heard about it.

From 1863 to 1869 the northwestern hegira was made up of gold seekers, hardy adventurers, and prospectors, drawn thither by the discovery of the great placer mines of Montana. Sometimes in pairs, but oftener in groups, they wandered into the confines of what is now the national park; but with their hearts set only upon mining and their minds feverish with the thirst for gold, they gave but a cursory glance at the stupendous wonders which then first came within their ken. In August and September of 1863 we find Walter W. De Lacy leading a band of prospectors into some theretofore unknown sections of the region. They traversed the hot springs locality east of Yellowstone Lake, camped at the junction of the Snake and Lewis rivers, explored the Pitchstone Plateau, descended Moose Creek Valley, discovered the true drainage of Shoshone Lake, passed through the Lower Geyser Basin, casually witnessed the play of the Great Fountain Geyser, and went out via the junction of the Gibbon and Firehole rivers. Finding but scant indications of gold, these, like other prospectors who passed through the park between 1863 and 1869, gave slight heed to the scenic splendors through which they passed; and yet their unavoidable reference to the geysers, springs, canyons, and rivers served in a cumulative way to whet the interest and focus the attention of men in whom science, sentiment, and the passion for adventure were already making for the ultimate exploitation of the world's wonderland. De Lacy in 1863, James Stuart in 1864, George Huston in 1866, and two prospecting parties in 1867 contributed much to the waxing fame of the paradise that had until then been regarded as remote, if not as imaginary as the mountains of the moon and the valleys of the shadows.

As early as in 1867 prominent and practical men of Montana had been earnestly considering an extensive, thorough, and scientific exploration of the region from which so many strange tales had come. Party after party was organized for the venture, but the uprising of the hostile Blackfeet and the sporadic forays of other savage tribes discouraged and dismayed them all until 1869. In

that year David E. Folsom, a qualified surveyor of Montana, and C. W. Cook, both men of excellent education and alert intelligence, determined to wait no longer upon the doubts and fears of their neighbors of Montana, and on September 9, with provisions for six weeks, and only one man, William Peterson, accompanying them, they set forth from Diamond City, 40 miles from Helena, Mont., for an expedition that first won and commanded popular interest in the new Eldorado of mystical beauty. Reaching the Yellowstone River near the confines of the park they followed its eastern shore line and reached the falls on September 21. They crossed the river above the now famous cataracts, examined Sulphur Mountain and the adjacent hot springs, followed the western margin of the river past Mud Geyser and the Emerald Grotto, recrossed the river at the outlet of the lake and skirted the eastern and southern shores of the extreme western arm. Thence they headed for Shoshone Lake, viewing in turn the beauties of the Firehole River and the awesome spectacle of the Fountain and Excelsior geysers in full eruption. For the first time also they saw and recited the weird and wraith-like manifestations of Prismatic Lake and the scarcely less wonderful cones, craters, pools, and springs which are scattered about that formation in bewildering variety and profusion. Awed by the majestic sights which they had witnessed and dazed by the portentous demonstrations of the subterranean inferno over which they had passed in trembling safety, they went out of the country through the valley of the Madison River, bringing to the outside world the first sequential and convincing account of the facts which up to that time had been considered as preposterous and visionary.

Returning to Helena, where their reputation for veracity was as high as their known courage amongst the leading men of the Territory, both Folsom and Cook refused to risk their reputations by telling their experiences to a promiscuous crowd. Gen. Henry D. Washburn, the surveyor-general of Montana; Gov. Samuel T. Hauser; Truman C. Everts, ex-United States assessor for Montana; Nathaniel P. Langford, who afterwards became first superintendent of the national park, all gave wondering heed and credence to the statements of the homecomers. New plans for a larger and more exhaustive exploration of the wonderful region were now made. General Sheridan, who visited Helena at that time, became vastly interested and gave assurances of military aid to the proposed expedition.

Mr. Folsom, who was rarely gifted as a writer as well as an observant explorer, then wrote a concise, logical, and sequential account of the marvels which he and Mr. Cook had witnessed in the Yellowstone country, and sent it to Harper's Magazine. The editor of that publication, astounded by the audacious "imaginings" of the author and wholly incredulous as to the statements made in it, declined the article and returned it to its chagrined author. It finally gained publication in the Western Monthly, of Chicago, but not until the copy reader had eliminated many of the most interesting passages because they were considered "Ultramontane" in both a literal and a figurative sense. With the exception of the publishers' proof, which passed into the hands of Mr. Langford, the whole issue of the magazine containing Mr. Folsom's story of the Park was destroyed by fire. In later years Mr. Langford, at his own expense, printed and distributed 500 copies of the narrative and donated the original to the Montana Historical Society, which yet retains it among the treasured archives of the State.

The plans of the Washburn-Langford party took tangible form in the spring of 1870, when Mr. Langford visited Major-General Hancock at St. Paul, outlined the proposed expedition, and secured from him a promise of a military escort. Samuel T. Hauser also visited General Hancock about that time, so that on August 17, 1879, when the party, equipped for a journey of four weeks set out from Bozeman, Mont., it was known that orders had already been forwarded to Fort Ellis providing a military escort of one lieutenant, one sergeant, and four enlisted men. Fourteen civilians, with a train of pack and saddle horses, adequately armed and equipped with the essential scientific instruments and commanded by General Washburn, was reinforced at Fort Ellis by Lieut. Gustavus C. Doane, a sergeant and four troopers of the Second United States Cavalry, and constituted the none too formidable cavalcade which then rode into a wild region infested with hostile Indians for the first and most consequential exploration of the Yellowstone wonderland. The party, though shadowed by roving bands of prowling savages, arrived without mishap at the mouth of the Gardiner River on August 26, entering the present domain of the park not far from the northern gateway, the present site of the stately and magnificent lava arch. Holding to the trail, which led along the left bank of the Yellowstone, the party missed the Mammoth Hot Springs altogether, encountering,

first, the fascinatingly beautiful wonders of the cascades and spires of Tower Falls, and coming upon the initial apparition of the Grand Canyon itself on the eastern flank of what was a mountain, soon named Mount Washburn. The eager spirit of their leader prompted General Washburn then to adventure from the camp alone in search of signs that he was leading his party aright. He scaled the rugged sides of the precipitous mountain, and, from its bald and rusted summit far above timber and snow, his eye for the first time swept over that panorama which in its magnificent extent, variety, and Titanic majesty has not been equalled in the known world. Perched upon the pinnacle rock, a central atom within an incredible amphitheatre, he looked in all directions across the overmastering silence to where the ragged peaks of the Grand Tetons, the Absarokas, and countless unnamed mountains rose up against the cloudless blue like the encincturing and crenelated battlements of an unknown kingdom. He saw, too, far to the southeast, the far-spread, shining waters of Yellowstone Lake, the focal point of the expedition and, nearer yet, but only as a dark gash across the green tunic of the valley below, the winding outline of the Grand Canyon. Across through the pale haze that hung above the valleys more remote he could descry the flaunting jets of steam uprising from the geysers, and all about, on grassy upland, by the lush brink of brook or pool, and upon the rock-strewn inaccessible promontories, he could see elk, deer, and mountain sheep like tiny specks of brown and white upon the green.

The account of that day's adventure heartened his tired company to new and zealous effort. They pushed on next day, following the brink of the deepening canyon of the river to camp within sound of the mighty falls of the Yellowstone. Only the hundreds of thousands of tourists who have witnessed the astounding combination of majesty and beauty accomplished here by nature can realize the rapt astonishment with which these men of the Washburn-Langford expedition first gazed upon the falls and canyon of the Yellowstone. Some of them, men who, for all their early nature had been hardened by years of adventure, warfare, hardships, and disappointment, sat for hours upon the dizzy rim of the canyon gazing into its unearthly abysses, bound by the spell of its indescribable beauty, and choking the sobs forced from their startled hearts by the unspeakable and portentous wonders which their eyes saw but their minds could not encompass.

Nor can the extraordinary emotions of these adventuring men be ascribed in any degree to their lack of previous descriptions; Folsom's word picture of the wonders he had witnessed in 1869 remains even now one of the most graphic, convincing, and detailed accounts of his experience, and the men of the Washburn expedition had read it or heard it from his own eloquent lips. Since then the world has been widely and well advised of what the traveler may expect when he shall gaze upon the strange sights of the Yellowstone National Park; the fancies of descriptive writers have been wrought into fine frenzies in attempts to realize its phenomena for readers of all tongues and tribes; year after year the painters come to limn its baffling outlines and to catch and fasten down forever the radiant glories of its coloring; travelers from every corner of the world have come to contrast it with the wonder places of their wanderings. And all of them have come to know and admit that the language which can tell its story is unwritten and unspoken of man; that there is no palette wide enough to carry the colors, shades and tones which nature brought to its creation; that comparison becomes futile and is forgotten in the presence of marvels without their counterparts on the globe.

The party had now followed the rim of the canyon for almost 30 miles. Commencing its swift descent just above the upper falls, the descending chasm gains 200 feet in depth where the first waterfall plunges to the new level of the river; thence for a half a mile, foaming over gigantic boulders and lashing the precipitous walls of the deepening gorge, it adds over 600 feet to its swift descent, seeming to pause for a breathless instant upon the out-thrust lip of a level floor of rock, the river plunges its mighty current sheer into the silent depths 320 feet below. Out of the rainbow-streaked mist of the lower falls the Yellowstone River begins its tortuous journey between the walls of that incredible canyon which towers more than half a vertical mile above the river, unfolding in sequence sudden, gradual, and indescribable, a panorama that stands alone in its mingled marvels of color and magnitude, of beauty and wildness, of tenderness and power.

From the falls of the Yellowstone the Washburn expedition pushed on past Sulphur Mountain with its surrounding wonders of boiling pools and springs, the stifling fumes, the crusts of lava, and the volcanic deposits all giving token of the furious upheavals of some ancient time

when the splendors of the grand canyon and the sinister monstrosities of the geyser regions of the park sprang simultaneous from the tortured womb of the world. Here for the first time the explorers realized the almost unthinkable disparity of contrast in the phenomena which the Yellowstone wonderland presents, and with the inspiration awakened by the incomparable beauty of the falls and canyon yet upon them, they came presently into the presence of the mud volcano, from whose hideous crater 30 feet in depth and almost as wide, uprose an unclean fountain of boiling, living, paste-like mud. The earth about it trembled and from its vile caverns uttered muffled groans like the stifled cadences of some infernal engine.

Within the wide circle of its sickening influence the side of the mountain was all defiled, the trees coated with livid mud, and the air noxious with the pungent fumes of sulphur. And yet the fascinated and horrified visitor will find but a few rods away from this monstrous manifestation, an orifice in the same acclivity which is groined and arched like the entrance to some miniature temple, its outer surface stained with a beautiful green, its rocky walls changing to olive, brown and yellow as they recede and converge within. And always from out of this little cavern comes a pulsating gush of water, hot, but limpid as any mountain brook, projected out of the darkness within as by the stroke of an unseen steamer and accentuated by the measured, rhythmic escapement from its hidden vent. Nearby there is a spring of tartaric acid, a half mile away one of alum, about which the crystals are piled in lavish beauty.

Having crossed the river below the outlet, the Washburn party camped September 3 on the shore of Yellowstone Lake, 7,788 feet above sea level, the largest body of water in North America at so great an altitude. Across the smooth surface of its shining waters, 150 square miles in area, they could see the towering Teton range standing upon the boundary line between Idaho and Wyoming, and lifting their snow-covered peaks 14,000 feet above the level of tide water. Around the forest girdled margin of this great mountain lake they pushed their way on the opposite shore from where the Lake Hotel is now. On September 9 Mr. Everts was lost from his comrades and commenced those thirty-seven days of peril which is part of the history of the park, and which so nearly brought an awful death to one of its earliest and most ardent champions.

After days of hopeless toil and incessant search, the party gave him up and, running short of provisions, struck out across the mountains toward the valley of the Madsion.

The following succinct account of Evert's experience is from the pen of Lieutenant Doane, and is in the main correct; for Evert's own account see Scribner's Monthly, Volume III, page 1:

On the first day of his absence he had left his horse standing unfastened, with all his arms and equipments strapped upon his saddle; the animal became frightened, ran away into the woods, and he was left without even a pocketknife as a means of defense. Being very nearsighted, and totally unused to traveling in a wild country without guides, he became completely bewildered. He wandered down to the Snake River Lake (Heart Lake), where he remained twelve days, sleeping near the hot springs to keep from freezing at night, and climbing to the summits each day in the endeavor to trace out his proper course. Here he subsisted on thistle roots boiled in the springs, and was kept up a tree the greater part of one night by a California lion. After gathering and cooking a supply of thistle roots, he managed to strike the southwest point of the (Yellowstone) Lake, and followed around the north side to the (Yellowstone) River, finally reaching our (old) camp opposite the Grand Canyon. He was twelve days out before he thought to kindle a fire by using the lenses of his field glass, but afterwards carried a burning brand with him in all his wonderings. Herds of game passed by him during the night, on many occasions when he was on the verge of starvation. In addition to a tolerable supply of thistle roots, he had nothing for over thirty days but a handful of minnows and a couple of snowbirds. Twice he went five days without food, and three days without water, in that country which is a network of streams and springs. He was found on the verge of the great plateau, above the mouth of Gardiners River. A heavy snowstorm had extinguished his fire; his supply of thistle roots was exhausted; he was partially deranged, and perishing with cold. A large lion was killed near him, on the trail, which he said had followed him at a short distance for several days previously. It was a miraculous escape, considering the utter helplessness of the man, lost in a forest wilderness, and with the storms of winter at hand.

On the thirty-seventh day of his wanderings (September 9 to October 16) he was discovered by Jack Bar-

onett and George A. Pritchett near the great trail on a high mountain a few miles west of Yancey's. Baronett threw up a mound of stones to mark the spot. He carried Everts in his arms the rest of that day, and passed the night on a small tributary of Blacktail Deer Creek. The next day he was taken on a saddle to near the mouth of the Gardiner.

Passing into the now famous Firehole Valley, the explorers emerged suddenly upon that strange plateau of which Charles T. Whitmell, addressing the Cardiff (Wales) Naturalists' Society, said:

Nowhere else, I believe, can be seen on so grand a scale such clear evidence of dying volcanic action. We seem to witness the death throes of some great American Enceladus. Could Dante have seen this region he might have added another terror to his Inferno.

Here, within that narrow radius of a mile which is now known as the "Upper Geyser Basin," 26 geysers and more than 400 hot springs were discovered within a few hours' search. It was a bright September day when the Washburn party first emerged upon this treeless tract and saw, scarcely 200 yards away, that great jet of steam and water tossing its roaring head 150 feet into the air which has since become known throughout the civilized world as "Old Faithful Geyser." The sunlight transfigured its clear water to crystal showers and the breeze flaunting its spray and vapor to diaphanous banners colored with all the rainbow tints and floating away against the far background of green, combined with the quivering of the encrusted earth and the rumbling tumult of subterranean forces to produce upon the speechless adventurers a sense of glorified and yet timorous astonishment. For centuries incalculable, every hour, with hardly the variation of five minutes, in snow and rain, by day and night, in winter and in summer, with none but the wild men of the primeval days or the wilder beasts of the wilderness, or with the modern multitudes of tourists to witness its eruptions, as though regulated by some superhuman horologe and energized by infinite power, Old Faithful has gone on with its strange work.

Scattered about upon the surface of this miraculous formation are geysers of every size and craters of a myriad form; fountains of varying degrees of heat, tossing upward at unmeasurable intervals and varying in height from

20 to 250 feet. Some of these pools and craters from which the geysers rise have periods of strange and ominous quiescence, some are turbulent and vocal with the angry fires below, the craters of some are cup-shaped, some oval, some fantastically irregular; some are fringed, fretted, and beaded about with petrified incrustations of the most exquisite and fragile beauty; the bottoms of the pools and subsided geysers disclose in turn the most delicate tints of the rose and of the sky, varying through the scale of the spectrum in red, blue, green, brown, gray, ocher and gold.

Silent now, all scepticism vanished, yet scarcely grasping the scope and significance of the bewildering wonders which they had witnessed, they sat about their campfires pondering the seemingly omnipotent versatility of nature in producing such inconceivable manifestations of awful power as the Giant Geyser, with its towering fountain hurtled 250 feet into the air, and yet placing but a few rods away the Morning Glory spring with its cone-like calix of opalescent crystal, its unruffled surface, and its waters limpid and blue as the eye of a girl. They passed through the middle and lower geyser basins and saw the ever-varying wonders there unfolded: Turquoise Spring, Prismatic Lake, the Paint Pots, the contrasted beauties of the sylvan valley of the Firehole and the murmuring cataraacts of the Gibbon River. On September 19, after leaving the geyser region, camped near the Junction of the Gibbon and the Firehole rivers, the talk of the explorers turned upon the material opportunities offered by the incomparable and outlandish wonders of the country they had visited. There were thoughts and suggestions of acquiring sections about the chiefest places so that they might be held in profitable control as show spots for travelers, and it was in the silence which followed these selfish suggestions that Cornelius Hedges gave utterance to the lofty thought that under no circumstances should private ownership of the region be countenanced, much less encouraged. It should, he said, be set apart by the National Government as a place of perpetual instruction and pleasure for all the people; it should be made at once a park and a wonderland for the unrestricted delectation of the people and never a field for private speculation or mercenary greed. This lofty view of Mr. Hedges found instant response and approval with all the party; and when the explorers broke their final camp in the park and headed for home it was with the unanimous determination to fur-

ther and accomplish the plan for the erection of the Yellowstone wonderland into a national park, preserving by one federal act the beauties, the marvels, the native wildness, the unharassed freedom of nature, living or inanimate, and all the pristine glories and portents lavished upon this region by the unaccountable hand of the Divinity.

Filled with this high idea, the men of the Washburn-Langford expedition, many of whom were endowed with gifted minds, lofty ideals, and much learning, soon gave to their countrymen the first adequate and comprehensive idea of the priceless possession which lay so long hidden in the heart of the Rocky Mountains.

Lieutenant Doane's splendid report made in December, 1870, was the first official statement made to the United States Government comprising accurate descriptions, maps, and data of the phenomena of the Yellowstone country, and, supplemented as it was by the writings, lectures, and incessant activity of General Washburn, Langford, Hauser, Hedges, and other enthusiastic and patriotic members of that expedition, the project took definite form, and in 1871 was scientifically advanced by the explorations and reports of Doctor Hayden, of the United States Geological Survey. In the autumn of 1871 William H. Clagett, who had just been elected Delegate from Montana to Congress, undertook the task of introducing and advocating a measure in accordance with the desires and plans of its originators. He was already independently interested in it and worked hard for its success at home and by correspondence. Mr. Langford went to Washington with him, and together they drew the park bill, the description of boundaries being supplied by Doctor Hayden. The bill was introduced in both Houses during that session, Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, bringing it before the Senate and Delegate Clagett before the House. The camera had been brought to aid in the work, and perhaps no measure ever offered to the attention of Congress was better illustrated by photographs, maps, and argument than the park bill which created the national park out of that prodigious wonderland about the lake and headwaters of the Yellowstone.

THE ACT OF DEDICATION

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the tract of land in the Territories of Montana

and Wyoming lying near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River and described as follows to wit, commencing at the junction of Gardiners River, with the Yellowstone River, and running east to the meridian passing 10 miles to the eastward of the most eastern point of Yellowstone Lake; thence south along said meridian to the parallel of latitude passing 10 miles south of the most southern point of Yellowstone Lake; thence west along said parallel to the meridian passing 15 miles west of most western point of Madison Lake; thence north along said meridian to the latitude of the junction of the Yellowstone and Gardiners rivers; thence east to the place of beginning, is hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people; and all persons who shall locate, or settle upon, or occupy any part of the land thus set apart as a public park, except as provided in the following section, shall be considered trespassers and removed therefrom.

SEC. 2. The said public park shall be under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior, whose duty it shall be, as soon as practicable, to make and publish such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary and proper for the care and management of the same. Such regulations shall provide for the preservation from injury or spoilation of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said park and their retention in their natural condition.

The Secretary may, in his discretion, grant leases for building purposes, for terms not exceeding ten years, or small parcels of ground, at such places in said park as shall require the erection of buildings for the accommodation of visitors; all the proceeds of said leases, and all other revenues that may be derived from any source connected with said park, to be expended under his direction, in the management of the same, and the construction of roads and bridle paths therein. He shall provide against the wanton destruction of the fish and game found within said park, and against their capture or destruction for the purpose of merchandise or profit. He shall also cause all persons trespassing upon the same after the passage of this act to be removed therefrom, and generally shall be authorized to take all such measures as shall be necessary or proper to fully carry out the objects and purposes of this act.

Approved March 1, 1872.

For more than twenty years after the act of dedication became a law the Yellowstone National Park became a mecca for explorers, and not a year has passed without witnessing the presence of scientific parties, large and small, seeking newer and more minute data of the strange things to be found there. In 1872 Gen. John Gibbon, U. S. Army, with a considerable body of men made a tour of inspection. He tried to ascend the North Fork of the Madison, but abandoned the effort after a few days. His name was given to that stream. The following year Capt. William A. Jones, of the Corps of Engineers, made a more extended and effective reconnaissance. He succeeded in crossing the thitherto impassable Absaroka Range, verified the tradition of Two Ocean Lake, and discovered Two-Gwo-Tee Pass over the Continental Divide. Prof. Theodore B. Comstock, the geologist who accompanied this expedition, added much to the value of the report, which appeared in 1875. In 1875 Capt. William Ludlow, of the Corps of Engineers, accompanied by Mr. George Bird Grinnell, a civilian who was then and afterwards one of the ablest champions of the park, made an investigation and report of the country which yielded one of the best brief descriptions of the park extant. In that year Secretary of War Belknap, guided by Lieut. G. C. Doane and a large party, made an enlarged tour of the national pleasure grounds, and the story of the trip was ably written by Gen. W. E. Strong, who participated. In 1877 Gen. W. T. Sherman and his staff visited the principal scenes, and the report of Gen. O. M. Poe added materially to the interest in and public appreciation of the place. That same year, at war with the Nez Perce, Gen. O. O. Howard traversed the reservation in pursuit of the hostile Indians. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, accompanied by General Crook, made an extensive exploration, visiting many unknown portions.

Capt. W. S. Stanton, of the Corps of Engineers, surveyed the park in 1881, and Governor John W. Hoyt, of Wyoming, with a large military escort commanded by Maj. J. W. Mason, U. S. Army, established a practical wagon road entering from the southwest. General Sheridan, in 1881 and 1882, made visits to the reservation and was the first to give to the public an idea of the then demoralized state of its civil administration. P. W. Norris and many less known explorers made frequent, desultory, and unimportant tours of the now famous park, each adding some-

thing to the literature and celebrity of the place, so that the region which is between the forty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of latitude and the one hundred and tenth and one hundred and eleventh meridians of longitude became the most thoroughly and scientifically explored section of the United States. The great travelers and famous men of many countries of Europe as well as of the United States began to visit it, so that in 1883 a splendid expedition, including the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, a lieutenant-general of the United States Army, a United States Senator, and an imposing cavalcade of soldiers and civilians made an extensive tour; the same year there came a justice and associate justice of the Supreme Court, the general and many other distinguished officers of the army, six United States Senators, one territorial governor, the ministers from Great Britain and Germany, the president of admiralty division of the high court of justice of England, three members of Parliament, and scores of men of eminence from Europe and America.

These facts are recounted to show how suddenly and how effectively came the public attention which followed the dedication of the national park. The act itself contributed to the quick fame of the park, for it was at that time an unheard-of step among national governments, setting, as it did, a precedent which has since been, and will hereafter be, followed by other states and nations. Already this country has added the Yosemite, Sequoia, Chickamauga, and many national battlefields and cemeteries to the growing list of governmental reservations. New York and Canada have each preserved a park about Niagara Falls. Minnesota has segregated the headwaters of the Mississippi in Itasca Park. New Zealand has made a national park of its geyser and hot springs regions. There is a plan afoot to create a great game preserve in Africa, and at this writing there is pending, and unopposed, a bill in Congress of the United States for the creation of a vast and beautiful scenic park in northern Montana, to be called Glacier Park. And yet it is a fact that no region of like size in the known world can compare with the Yellowstone National Park in point of natural beauty, or magnificence of scenery, or the marvels of its natural and yet outlandish phenomena.

The act of dedication was so framed as to prevent the destruction of the curiosities, forests, and game of the park; it was calculated to prevent private occupancy and to grant

only such privileges as were necessary to the comfort and pleasure of the public. But it provided no specific laws for the government of the region, it neither specified offenses nor provided punishment or legal equipment for the enforcement of such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior might see fit to establish. For more than twenty years after the enactment of the dedication the park was frequently the scenes of wanton vandalism, the wild creatures were hunted by hundreds of poachers and trapped indiscriminately by fur-hunting bands from the adjacent territories. The confines of the park consisted then, as now, only of imaginary lines. Its waters teemed with fish; its caves and canyons were the homes of myriads of bear. Buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope thronged its remote meadows and fattened upon the rich pastures of its forests and valleys. Moose, bighorn or mountain sheep, panthers, and other species of fur and meat bearing animals, though not as numerous, were to be found in plenty. Mink, beaver, otter, ermine, marten, sable, fox (red, gray, and black) abounded and were made the easy and profitable prey of hunters and trappers. The awe and terror with which the Indians regarded the place, its natural remoteness from the haunts of the first white plainsmen and argonauts, the impenetrable wildness of its hills and valleys, its forests and tablelands, its wealth of water, of foliage, of nutritious grasses and natural shelters, made of it from the beginning a natural sanctuary and home for the millions of wild animals which frequented it. When these facts became bruited among the market hunters and fur seekers, they swarmed into the park at all seasons. What havoc they have wrought will never be fully known.

Thus for twenty-two years the original hope and purpose of the promoters of the national park were defeated and the only everlasting and signal victory they had gained was in the disbarment of private encroachment by land speculators and selfish squatters. It should be understood also that the first and most unselfish advocates of the park dedication act had conceived extravagant ideas as to the income that it would derive from the leases and privileges that were to be let to hotels, coach lines, and other conveniences and comforts for the travelers and tourists. They thought that this revenue would fully cover the expense of policing the park, opening the driveways, and guarding the natural treasures of the place. They overlooked the fact that the average tourist would not or could not tour the park as its discoverers and explorers had done; that there

must be highways, good hotels, safety, and even luxuries provided before the anticipated stream of travel would set toward the park. They forgot that the nearest railroad station was 500 miles away and that to the outside world of pleasure seekers and sight-seers the Yellowstone National Park yet remained a primeval and almost impenetrable wilderness.

There can be no doubt that the long delay between its first discovery as a place of unthinkable beauty and wonder and the final exploitation and fame of the park was a fortuitous circumstance. For if it had been disclosed to the world earlier than the civil war, or at any time during the progress of that conflict, the Federal Government would not have set it aside from settlement, and greedy speculators would certainly have intrenched themselves within its boundaries. So, too, the mistaken hopes of its enthusiastic promoters in anticipating adequate resources from the leases operated had a fortunate consequence; for it is probable that the Congress would not have passed the act of dedication if it had not believed that the park would be self-sustaining, or that it would become a financial "burden" to the public. Even when the devastation and wanton license of its desecrators became known, Congress for several years failed to make any appropriation either for the improvement or protection of the national park.

The first act of the Secretary of the Interior after the enactment of the dedication act was to appoint a park superintendent. Nathaniel P. Langford, from the day of his return home from the famous Washburn-Langford expedition the chiefest advocate of the measure, was appointed first superintendent of the park. The work was to be a labor of love with him. Eager, courageous, brilliant of mind, and prompt of action, passionately proud and fond of the wonderland which he had been so largely instrumental in winning for his countrymen, Mr. Langford was the making of an ideal manager and guardian of the park. But from the beginning he was left without aid, encouragement, or financial support. He never asked nor expected a salary. The region over which he held single sway is larger than the States of Delaware and Rhode Island with part of Massachusetts added. Alone, without men or money, it is not strange that his task became not only impossible of accomplishment, but that its unreasonable requirements became a source of endless vexation and grief to Mr. Langford. Meanwhile the press and the public

abused him roundly for conditions of which he could know but little and which he was powerless to circumvent.

Mr. Langford was succeeded by Philetus W. Norris, of Michigan, himself an enthusiast and an explorer who had already accomplished much in the exploitation of the park. He was fortunate to have been in charge when Congress appropriated its first item in support of the national park and with his administration began the first effective improvement in its affairs. Norris was an indefatigable explorer, an enthusiastic lover of the wondrous region in his charge, an untiring worker, and a man of absolute integrity and patriotism. His ceaseless wanderings into every nook and corner of the park disclosed a thousand marvels and beauties that had escaped preceding explorers, and his indomitable hardihood and everlasting vigilance put the first check upon the outlawry of the place.

After five years of effective service, Norris was succeeded by Patrick A. Conger, of Iowa, a man without interest in the work, with no conception of the great responsibility placed upon him. The weakness of his administration brought the park to the lowest depths of misfortune, but the very extent of its retrogression excited public indignation and made for permanent reform in the management of the famous pleasure ground. It was also during the Conger regime of neglect and mismanagement that even a greater menace arose. Thus far no special leases had been granted. Permits of occupancy had been granted to a few, and small and scattered houses of public comfort had been erected. The dedication act specified that "only small parcels" of land be let to private parties. But now a company bearing the name "Yellowstone Park Improvement Company" was formed for the ostensible purpose of improving and safeguarding the park in a manner which had not been accomplished by the Government. The Assistant Secretary of the Interior gave countenance to this scheme and a lease of 4,400 acres, including the principal points of interest in the park, was actually granted to the schemers. The uproar which followed this announcement came from every section of the United States. General Sheridan, who had visited the park in 1881, 1882, and 1883, made the country aware of the deplorable conditions existing and called upon the sentiment of the people of every State to insist upon some definite action. The governor of Montana appealed to Congress and the powerful voice of the press was raised against the meditated stultification

of the dedication act as a swindle and an outrage. The effect was prompt and salutary. In 1883 the sundry civil bill containing the annual appropriation for the park prohibited the leasing of more than 10 acres to any single party, authorized the use of troops in the reservation, and provided 10 assistant superintendents to police the park. That made an end to the "improvement" company and gave to the Government and to the whole world a new and lasting idea of how highly the American people prized their unique and precious park.

Up to this time hunting and fishing had been allowed without stint for the "needs" of camping parties. The privilege had been shamefully abused, and the wild creatures had been for years slaughtered and captured without let or hindrance. Now the catching of fish except with hook and line, was absolutely prohibited and the killing of birds or animals even for food was rigorously forbidden. But these stringent regulations were either ignored or despised by the irrepressible poachers. The funds appropriated by Congress were still inadequate, and at last it was suggested that the Territory of Wyoming, in which the largest part of the park is contained, should take over the responsibility and expense of protecting the timber, game, fish, and natural curiosities of the national reservation. The folly of this plan was quickly followed by its failure, but in 1884 the Wyoming legislature passed an act which ran its desultory course, increased the prevalent evils, created new difficulties and was repealed after two years of utter failure. The withdrawal of Wyoming authority proclaimed the unguarded state of the region. The assistant superintendents were worse than useless. They were all inexperienced at the work required and considered their appointments as sinecures, the rewards of some political activities. They peddled privileges, and as Chittenden wrote, "made merchandise of the treasures they were appointed to preserve." He says that "Under their surveillance, vandalism was practically unchecked, and the slaughter of game was carried on for private profit almost in sight of the superintendent's office."

Conger resigned and was succeeded by Robert E. Carpenter, of Iowa. This superintendent from the first looked upon his office as an opportunity for profit to himself and friends. He gave no thought to the protection or improvement of the park, spent most of his time in Washington and there, in concert with a member of the

notorious improvement company, almost succeeded in getting Congress to pass a measure granting vast tracts within the park to private parties for commercial purposes. Carpenter and his confederates were so certain of success that they had themselves posted their names on claim notices and located for themselves the most desirable tracts. The scandal which followed the expose of this plot caused the dismissal of Superintendent Carpenter.

Col. David W. Wear, of Missouri, then assumed control. He was a man of rare ability and immediately set out to remedy the wrong wrought by some of his predecessors. Energy and intelligence marked his first acts of administration, but his sincerity and zeal could not offset the bad impressions left by the maladministration of others. Congress declined to appropriate further funds for the maintenance of the civil management of the park, and the Secretary of the Interior was compelled to call upon the War Department for military assistance. In August, 1886, Capt. Moses Harris, of the First United States Cavalry, took charge of affairs in the national park. He had the ability and the disposition as well as the men and the means to estop many abuses at once. Trespassers soon learned that he meant what he said and that he was ready and able to enforce it.

The dilapidated physical equipment of the park, the demoralization of its management, and the consequent contempt with which poachers, campers, and travelers alike regarded its lax restrictions combined at this time to enforce an immediate though tardy action from Congress. That body was at last aware of the deplorable state of affairs in the park, not realizing that its own failure to appropriate adequate funds was really as much the cause of the bad conditions as the incapacity, greed, indifference, or occasional obliquity of some of the early superintendents. There can be no doubt that Langford would have made an ideal official if he had had the material and moral support of the Government. Norris did excellent work under similar difficulties, and Wear demonstrated his desire and ability to reform abuses and administer his office well. It was the refusal of Congress to appropriate sufficient money for the work that forced the induction of the military and the appointment of an officer of the army as "acting superintendent." At the time and under the peculiar conditions it was the only alternative that could be thought of.

Captain Harris took immediate steps to curtail or estop all encroachments. He posted the rules and regulations, dealt summarily with offenders, and gave the visitors to understand that he meant what he said. Meanwhile the question of road construction had begun to be solved. Capt. D. C. Kingman, of the Corps of Engineers, had already laid the foundation of the present system, and the excellent results obtained prompted Congress in 1900 to place the work definitely in the hands of the Engineer Department. The code of laws for the regulation of the park enacted in 1894 put a check on abuses of leases and privileges. Tourist traffic increased with the erection and maintenance of better transportation facilities, more and larger accommodations, greater safety, and convenience in and about all the important places of interest. The annual summer incursion of visitors grew from hundreds to thousands, and every witness of the marvels and the beauties of the place became thenceforth an enthusiastic herald of its strange glories. The theory of the founders of the park commenced to be better understood and appreciated. The world came to realize the fact that the Government was in earnest in its desire to maintain, so far as possible, the wild and natural character of the great reservation. The place and its possibilities came to be held sacred in the eyes of lawmakers and administrators of its laws and regulations. Such attempts as have been made to circumvent them, although continued even to this day, became more secret and less bold—adroit schemes cunningly planned for the aggrandizement of private interests. At various times movements have been quietly but cunningly begun for the inbuilding of trolley lines and even steam railroads for the harnessing of water power and its conversion into the business of transportation, lighting, and even manufacturing.

In unflinching opposition to these selfish enterprises the Government continues to adhere to its original policy of maintaining forever so far as possible the virgin splendor of the people's great playground. In this it must now and always will have the support and approval of enlightened and patriotic people of every nation. To this end it is not now and will never be necessary to gridiron the park with carriage roads and highways, but only to improve and sustain safe and smooth thoroughfares to the principal points of attraction. The vast wildernesses which surround these can never be improved beyond the magic handiwork which nature has already lavished upon them. Indeed

they constitute and so should be held the natural sanctuary, home, and refuge of the myriads of wild creatures that contribute almost as much as the inanimate prodigies to the primeval and noble attributes of this matchless park.

To-day the tourist in the Yellowstone National Park, viewing the fringes of these almost impenetrable fastnesses, will not fail to see almost by the roadside of the traveled route bands of antelope and deer, an occasional elk or bear or Rocky Mountain sheep. They gaze with placid interest at the passing coach and go on feeding with the calm security of confidence. But they are only the outposts, the skirmishers of vast armies of their kind that swarm in the silent fastnesses of the forests that must be trailed in the remote places to be seen in all the glory of their safeguarded freedom.

The creation of national forest reserves in Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho, around the outside boundaries of the park, has operated favorably for the peace and protection of its fauna, and the game laws of those States, improved as they are though still open to betterment, have gone far to enhance the wise provisions for the permanent safety and multiplication of the myriads of beasts, birds, and fishes which now make their home within the invisible boundaries of the great domain. With that inexplicable instinct with which nature has endowed them, the wild animals of the region seem to know exactly the imagined line which bounds the four parallel margins of the reservation. Their hegira from the outside sets toward it with the advent of the hunting season and they seem to know that it is their home. The profusion and richness of its pastures, the accessibility of its natural shelters and the isolation of its trackless hills and forests must have always appealed to them, but since the enforcement of laws for their protection, since the elimination of the hunter and the trapper, these beautiful creatures appear to have realized a new assurance of contentment so that thousands of them never cross the boundaries of their paradise.

The prodigality of the natural resources of the park has been wisely reinforced by the planting and curing of considerable quantities of tame forage plants for winter feeding. Deer, antelope, and mountain sheep come down in herds to the feeding grounds during winter, there to feed and thrive upon the alfalfa hay which has been provided for them. Thus more than 1,000 antelope and half as many deer now winter annually in the valley of the Gard-

iner and about the slopes of Mount Everts quite in view of Fort Yellowstone and the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel. Occasionally some of them wander into the streets of Gardiner, which is adjacent to the confines of the park, but they are so tame and inoffensive that the sportsmen is ashamed to shoot and even the dogs respect them.

The number of elk in the park has been variously estimated. These splendid animals have proved themselves the most prolific and hardy of their contemporaries, and the most conservative estimates give their numbers as more than 25,000. Easy victims to the gun and guile of the hunter, for years the native herds of buffalo were decimated and disturbed. Only since they have been segregated within inclosures, and fed during rigorous seasons, have these noblest of typically American creatures gained in physical and numerical conditions. A few of the original wild herd are yet at large in the Madison and Mirror plateau and the Pelican and Hayden valleys, but the largest number is now confined to the 900 acres of splendid pasture lands fenced for them in the Lamar Valley. The moose, too, are increasing in numbers, frequenting the marshes and thickets of the upper Yellowstone, the Bechler, and the Gallatin Basin in the northwest corner of the park.

The bear, if not the most numerous, is the most familiar habitant of this wonderland. Grizzly, silvertip, black, and brown, he may be seen at almost any time, singly or in groups, prowling contentedly through the brush or about the garbage refuse of the hotels. Tourists have counted scores of them feeding at one time in familiar proximity at the park hostelryes, and thousands of snapshots are circulating around the world an ocular proof of the tameness and amiability of bruin. At long intervals some old or invalid bear will betray signs of returning ferocity. Death is the penalty of these seldom returns to savagery. Although the official killing of mountain lions has been discontinued, there are a few yet in the park, but their ravages are inconsequential and they are never a menace to mankind.

Geese, ducks, cranes, pelicans, gulls, and more than 70 varieties of small birds come yearly to rear their young about the lakes and rivers of the reservation. Most of the song birds choose their habitats near the places of human habitation, and they were from the first so molested

and diminished by the forays of dogs and house cats that both of these domestic animals have been banished from the park. It has been by the preservation of the living as well as the inanimate wonders of the park that naturalists as well as geologists, scientists as well as sight-seers, have come to know it as the world's largest, most varied and most perfect wonderland. It is the only place in the world where civilization has seized upon only to safeguard the prodigious manifestations of nature's secrets. It is an illustration of the only incident in history in which the advent of man has not operated at variance with the native magnificence of primeval beauty. Its phenomena ante-date history. Its monuments were old when the traditions of the troglodyte were new in the caves of prehistoric man.

Centuries count as but moments in the variant conditions and activities of nature in this wonderland. The energy which made its marvels may have caprices, whims, vagaries, but it is yet dynamic and resistless as with an infinity of power. Great geysers have subsided for a time only to burst forth unexpectedly with new vigor and indescribable beauty; pellucid pools, for centuries unruffled in their adamantine beds have leaped without warning into boiling fountains. Yawning craters, vacant for years, have come to utter groans as of the labor of some unseen and unclean monster, giving birth at last to hideous, living jets of mud that dance and wheeze as in some filthy frenzy. For every subsidence of fountain or geyser there is some new recruit to the bewildering display. Only lately a hitherto inactive hot pool broke into sudden activity. Above it had been reared a tent. Its surface was covered with a floor through a trapdoor in which its hot water was raised into washtubs. It was surmounted by the laundry of Old Faithful Inn. During the winter when none was there to witness the eruption except the winter people, the explosion came. He was entering his greenhouse nearby when, with a sudden roar, the hiss of steam, and the trembling of the earth the laundry and all its contents, floor, tubs, boxes, and benches, were tossed skyward at the sport of a mighty fountain which had spurted into life. The pool had become a geyser, and with a thought of popular celebrity the single witness promptly named it the Merry Widow. During the season of 1908 a small but curious eruption became evident a few yards away from the Merry Widow. It is neither a pool, a geyser, nor a spring. Yet from a small central orifice in the crust of the formation there exudes a constant upheaval

of tiny hot crystals. Glittering like diamonds, insoluble in water, soon cooled and dried in a circular pile, they can be lifted in the hand, a beautiful evidence of one of the latest and least-known of the unclassified wonders of the park. The most inveterate and observant habitués of the reservation came in sight and touch with the changes and new developments constantly taking place. The names bestowed at random soon become part of the unwritten nomenclature of the place. Boiling springs cool or become quiescent only to give place to new and turbulent springs. Small geysers break forth in remote places, there to spout or subside unknown to the thousands of visitors who cling to the main lines of travel and are more than gratified with the multitude of wonders which they encounter in their brief sojourn. Nor are the hidden and undescribed attractions of this vast preserve confined to the weird and protentious wonders and the wild beasts there to be encountered. Hundreds of matchless sylvan scenes, valleys voiceless but for the murmur of their brooks, cascades that stripe with silver streaks the green-walled fortresses of the mountains, caverns that are lair to the fox, the bear, and the wolf, things tender and terrible, unseen by the eye and untouched by the hand of man, can be found on every side in the still wilderness of the Yellowstone National Park.

Who, then, but must hope for the preservation of every foot of the 3,500 square miles of this incomparable possession, that its beauties may be unmarred, that its wonders may be undefiled, that its myriads of living, happy, wild creatures may be kept unmolested in its hospitable solitudes? The whole world has come to know and value the priceless worth of this pleasure ground and to look to the people of the United States for its fullest protection, peace, and prosperity. Its welfare has become something more than the hope and dream of its foresighted and unselfish explorers and projectors. It has become a matter of national pride and prudence, a subject of admiring interest to all the students and travelers of the world.

The pleasure-seeking traveler and the official inspector who pass through or loiter in the Yellowstone National Park in the summer time cannot realize the transformation which occurs at the end of September, intensifies as winter advances, and is maintained in almost arctic rigor for nearly nine months of the year. The physical inequalities

and imperfections which are evident in varying degrees during the tourist season, both as to the accommodations and as to the transportation facilities, are directly traceable to the difficulties and disasters that occur during the stressful months of winter. Then the roads are piled high and wide with incessant snowdrifts. The grand tour becomes utterly impassable except by snowshoes. The lowlands are piled with undulous drifts, and the very trails are obliterated. The havoc wrought by these incredible masses of snow begins late in the spring, when with a suddenness almost as unheralded as the descent of winter the sun blazes with summer energy, the warm winds blow, and the melting snow comes down in resistless cataracts, sweeping away roadways, undermining viaducts and bridges, and undoing much of the work of previous months.

During subsequent weeks what with mud, pools, washouts, and debris from the melted snowslides miles of the main roads are impassable for wagons and repair machines. The work of reconstruction with the existing forces of men and teams, tools and wagons, is necessarily slow, imperfect, and temporary in many cases. Hardly one hundred full days of work time are at the command of those in charge of mending the damaged thoroughfares, extending the road-building plans, and improving the general conditions of the park. The fidelity and zeal of those in charge of these great works can not successfully offset the lack of adequate means in money and men or cope with the destructive elements that have warred against them. The ultimate solution of this, one of the gravest and most apparent obstacles to the perfect conduct of the park's affairs, will come with speed and certainty when Congress shall supply appropriations commensurate with the great and growing needs of the admirable road system planned by the engineer department.

Nor is the isolation of the scattered hotel plants or the annual devastation of roads the only problem raised by the long reign of ice and snow and frigid weather. With the cessation of travel and the advent of the hunting season the hardships of the wild animals necessarily commerce, and the irrepressible poacher and hunter gets busy around the unsentined edges of the greatest game preserve in the world.

The small existing force of civilian scouts is an admirable nucleus about which to upbuild an organized and trained body that could and would solve and administer

the few remaining problems which hinder the ultimate advancements of the best interests of the wonderland which they know like a book and love like a home. At many scattered points of vantage throughout the park log huts, called snowshoe cabins, have been erected for the shelter of the scouts. In these secret quarters fuel, food, and bedding are cached at the close of each summer. Quickly they become inaccessible except by snowshoes. All winter long the scouts in groups of two or three, guided by the most experienced of the number, track across the unmarked snow from cabin to cabin watching for skulking poachers, spying for the smoke of intruding trappers, and investigating the characters and designs of the many furtive hunters who camp conveniently outside the confines of the park ready to cross the lines and slaughter the unsuspecting game. These running scouts travel lightly and rapidly, skimming the snow on skis, carrying only enough food for a midday lunch, depending for warmth only upon the violent exertions which must be sustained between shelters to prevent them from freezing. There is no camping for them until they have reached the far-away cabin which marks the end of their day's running.

Indistinguishable from private horsemen, familiar with the country, devoted to the work, passionately fond of the great wonderland which is their home, properly paid and provided with quarters and subsistence for themselves and their horses, it is apparent that the work of these men in the summer as well as in the winter will be found unequalled in efficiency and constancy by any other method of policing the park. What with patrolling the park, apprehending thoughtless or criminal malefactors, fighting forest fires and regulating scattered camps, feeding the game in winter and preventing the ravages of carnivorous beasts, their duties and dangers are constant and important.

The police work of the park has been focused and made effective by the establishment of a trial court presided over by a United States commissioner with headquarters at Mammoth Hot Springs.

The enormous area of the national park, its unspeakable and awesome phenomena, its indescribable beauties, its perennial disclosures of new and astonishing things, the amazing variety of its countless attractions, the alter-

nating contrasts of marvels winsome and prodigious, can be indicated but not appraised in these brief notes.

For the great public of this and other countries repeated personal visits and sustained and intimate study of its lavish splendors and inconceivable curiosities are necessary to even an approximate appreciation, either of the Yellowstone wonderland itself or of the broad and patriotic spirit which has made it one of the proudest possessions of the whole people of the United States, as it is also the open and hospitable pleasuring ground of the travelers of every country on the globe.¹



AN ENCOUNTER:

“—We are informed that a few days since a party of Indians placed sods upon the track of the U. P. R. R. at a point between Pine Bluffs and Antelope Station. Some men with a hand car, coming up, chose to take the chances of encountering the sods rather than the red devils, who were near at hand, awaiting results. The car passed the obstructions without harm, and the red devils were foiled.”
—The Cheyenne Leader, October 22, 1867.

1. 60th Cong. 2nd Sess. S. Doc. 672; [Serial 5409.]

Documents and Letters

The interpretation of historical anecdotes often present difficulties as to their historical value. The following Documents without doubt establish a value which assists in proving that the Blackfoot Indians were friends of the white man. Due to unavoidable circumstances, John Coulter who was found by the Blackfoot with the Crows during an engagement between the two tribes, helped to undermine the confidence established by Lewis and Clarke between the Blackfoot and the whiteman. This and other similar encounters brought about serious Indian troubles, which without doubt retarded the settlement of this part of the country, a part of which later became northern Wyoming, fully forty to fifty years.

16th Congress

No. 163

1st Session

TRADE AND INTERCOURSE

Communicated to the Senate, February 16, 1820

Mr. Leake, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the resolution of the Senate respecting the trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, made the following report:

The committee have had that subject under consideration, and have discovered that the trade, as it is at present conducted with the Indian tribes, has been productive of serious injuries, as well to the interests of the Indians as to the interests of the United States in their intercourse with them; that, instead of being calculated to aid in the civilization, and add to the comfort and happiness of that unfortunate portion of the human family, and to promote the beneficial influence of the United States over them, the course pursued by those who carry on the Indian trade has in most instances produced the contrary effect, as will be seen by referring to the documents herewith presented, and marked A and B, which have been received in a communication from the Secretary of War, made to the committee at their request, which they beg leave to make a part of this report, and which are as follows:

A.

Camp Missouri, Missouri River, October 29, 1819.

Sir:

Agreeably to your request, I lay before you my views on the subject of Indian trade on this river, the result of

personal observation among the Osage, Kansas, Ottoe, Missouria, Ioway, Pawnee, and Maha nations, and what I have collected from persons acquainted with the more remote tribes.

The history of this trade under the Spanish and French colonial governments would be the recital of the expeditions of vagrant hunters and traders, who never ventured up the river beyond a few miles of this place. The return of Captains Lewis and Clarke, and the favorable account they brought with them of the rich furs to be obtained on the upper branches of the Missouri, and the respectful reception which their admirable deportment towards the natives had gained for them, encouraged Manual Lisa, one of the most enterprising of these traders, to venture up the Missouri with a small trading equipment as far as the Yellow Stone river.

He passed the winter of 1807-'08 at the mouth of the Yellow Stone and Big Horn rivers. It is an act of justice due to the memory of the late Captain Lewis, to state that the Blackfeet Indians (in whose vicinity Lisa now lives) were so convinced of the propriety of his conduct in the rencounter which took place between him and a party of their people, in which two of them were killed, that they did not consider it as cause of war or hostility on their part: this is proved, inasmuch as the first party of Lisa's men that were met by the Blackfeet were treated civilly. This circumstance induced Lisa to despatch one of his men (Coulter) to the forks of the Missouri, to endeavor to find the Blackfeet nation, and bring them to his establishment to trade. This messenger unfortunately fell in with a party of the Crow nation, with whom he staid several days. While with them, they were attacked by their enemies the Blackfeet. Coulter, in self-defence, took part with the Crows. He distinguished himself very much in the combat; and the Blackfeet were defeated, having plainly observed a white man fighting in the ranks of their enemy. Coulter returned to the trading-house. In traversing the same country, a short time after, in company with another man, a party of the Blackfeet attempted to stop them, without, however, evincing any hostile intentions; a rencounter ensued, in which the companion of Coulter and two Indians were killed, and Coulter made his escape. The next time whites were met by the Blackfeet, the latter attacked without any parley. Thus originated the hostility which has prevented American traders from penetrating

the fur country of the Missouri. Lisa returned in 1808 to St. Louis, and in 1809 the Missouri Fur Company was formed. The objects of this company appear to have been to monopolize the trade among the lower tribes of the Missouri, who understand the art of trapping, and to send a large party to the head waters of the Missouri river capable of defending and trapping beaver themselves. To the latter object, however, the attention of the company was more particularly directed. In the spring of 1809, the principal partners of this company ascended the Missouri at the head of about 150 men. They left small trading establishments at the Arickara, Mandan, and Gros Ventres villages, and the main body of the party wintered in 1809-'10 at the old trading position of Manuel Lisa, at the junction of the Yellow Stone and Big Horn rivers. In the spring of 1810, they proceeded to the Three Forks of the Missouri, where they erected a fort, and commenced trapping. They had every prospect of being successful, until their operations were interrupted by the hostility of the Blackfeet Indians. With these people they had several very severe conflicts, in which upwards of 30 of their men were killed; and the whole party were finally compelled to leave that part of the country. They proceeded in a southwardly direction, crossed the mountains near the source of the Yellow Stone river, and wintered in 1810-'11 on the waters of the Columbia. At this position they suffered much for provisions, and were compelled to live for some months entirely upon their horses. The party by this time had become dispirited, and began to separate: some returned into the United States by the way of the Missouri, and others made their way south, into the Spanish settlements, by the way of the Rio del Norte. The company languished through 1812, 1813, and 1814, and finally expired. Equally unfortunate, in a commercial point of view, was another company, which embarked the year preceding the one I have described, having in view the same objects. It left St. Louis in 1808, headed by two traders, Messrs. McClinnon and Crooks, and consisted of near eighty men. They met returning, near this place, the boat sent by the United States to carry back the Mandan chief brought into this country by Captains Lewis and Clarke. You undoubtedly recollect that this boat was attacked by the Arickaras, and compelled to make a precipitate retreat. This act of hostility discouraged Messrs. McClinnon and Crooks, and they thought it prudent to decline going on. Encouraged, however, by the attempt

of the Missouri Fur Company, they followed their boats in the spring of 1809. They were met, however, by the Sconi band of the Sioux, who refused to permit them to pass, and compelled them to remain among them. By affecting to submit, and commencing to erect houses, the Indians were thrown off their guard; and the party, taking advantage of their absence on a hunting excursion, embarked with their goods, and descended the river to the Ottoe village, where they passed the winter of 1809-'10. They have always attributed their detention by the Sioux to the Missouri Fur Company, or some of its members, who, to procure themselves a passage, informed the Sioux that the boat coming up was intended to trade, and that they must not permit her to pass. Considering the character of Indian traders, when in competition, the fact is very far from being improbable. In 1811, the views of these traders appear to have changed: they added to their association Mr. Wilson P. Hunt, and appear to have acted under the direction of Mr. Astor, of New York. They ascended the river again in 1811, and reached the mouth of the Columbia; but they carried no goods, nor made any attempts to trade or trap on the Missouri: whatever might have been their intentions, they were probably frustrated by the war of 1812. The dissolution of the Missouri Fur Company, the disaster that befel the United States' boat, and the difficulties encountered by Messrs. McClinnon and Crooks, extinguished the spirit of enterprise that had promised to carry our trade into the valuable fur country of the Missouri. Since that period, two companies have been formed, both of which dissolved unsuccessfully; and a third is now in operation, independent of several individual traders; but no attempts have since been made to carry on trade beyond the Arickaras; nor, in fact, do traders often venture beyond the upper band of the Sioux.

The following statement exhibits the trade of this river, viz:

The company consists of Messrs. Lisa, Pilcher, Perkins, Wood, Carson, Williams, and Tenonee. They bought out the company of 1817 and 1818 for \$10,000, and bought about \$7,000 worth of goods. They trade with the Ottoses, Missourias, Ioways, the Mahas, Pawnee, Piankeshaws, and Sioux; their principal trading establishment is near this place; capital\$17,000

Seres and Francis Chouteau trade with the Kansas and Osage nations. They have a trading-house not far

from the mouth of the river Kansas, and their capital is about\$4,000

Legarc, Chouteau, and Brothers, trade with the Osage and Kansas nations, near their village on the Osage river; their capital\$6,000

The United States factory also trade with the Osages and Kansas. This factory is at Fort Osage.

Roberdeau and Pepin, in partnership with Chouteau and Butholl, of St. Louis, trade with the Ottoes, Ioways, Missourias, Pawnees, Mahas, Piankeshaws, and Sioux. Their principal establishment is at Nashanotollona; capital\$12,000

Pratt and Vasquer trade with the same nations. Their principal establishment is near the Mahas village; capital\$7,000

Broseau and De Lorion trade occasionally with the Sioux and Arickaras: they do not trade this year; capital\$7,000

It is evident, from this statement, that the trade is of little importance in a pecuniary point of view, and that various individuals having opposite interests trade with the same Indians. These traders are continually endeavoring to lessen each other in the eyes of the Indians, not only by abusive words, but by all sorts of low tricks and maneuvers. If a trader trusts an Indian, his opponent uses all his endeavors to purchase the furs he may take, or prevent in any way his being paid. Each trader supports his favorite chief, which produces not only intestine commotions and divisions in the tribe, but destroys the the influence of the principal chief, who should always be under the control of the Government. The introduction of ardent spirits is one of the unhappy consequences of this opposition among traders. So violent is the attachment of Indians for it, that he who gives most is sure to obtain furs; while, should any one attempt to trade without it, he is sure of losing ground with his antagonist; no bargain is ever concluded without it, and the law on that subject is evaded by their saying they give, not sell it. The traders being afraid to trust the Indians, they cannot make distant hunts: this, and their attachment to whiskey, induce them to hang about in the vicinities of trading establishments. As they take furs, they sell them for whiskey; the consequence is, that but few furs are taken. as much of the hunting season is lost in intoxication and

indolence. The Indians witnessing the efforts of these people to cheat and injure each other, and knowing no other or no more important white men, they readily imbibed the idea that all white men are alike bad. The imposing appearance of arms and equipments of white men, and the novelty and convenience of their merchandise, had impressed the Indians with a high idea of their power and importance; but the avidity with which beaver skins are sought after, the tricks and wrangling made use of, and the degradation submitted to in obtaining them, have induced a belief that the whites cannot exist without them, and made a great change in their opinion of our importance, our justice, and our power.

Under the plea of trading with the Indians, white trappers and hunters obtain a footing in their country. The old man and his son whipped and robbed this summer by the Pawnees, and the three men killed about the same time by the Sioux, were persons of this description; the trouble these sorts of transactions may occasion the Government cannot be readily calculated. It will illustrate what I have said to narrate what happened on my visit to the Maha nation, from which I yesterday returned. The nation were preparing to start on their winter hunt, and endeavoring to obtain guns, powder, and lead, to subsist themselves while trapping: they complained bitterly that they could not procure enough of these articles; the traders were afraid to trust them; there were two traders in the camp, both jealous and apprehensive of each other; (in conversation with the Indians, they invariably abused the traders, and the traders abused each other.) The tribe separated into small hunting bands, very much dissatisfied, and the traders would send round occasionally to their bands to purchase their furs. A keg of whiskey was considered an indispensable equipment for such an undertaking. I had found, on my arrival, most of the principal men drunk. The Big Elk, who is so much our friend, and who formerly possessed unlimited power in his nation, was so drunk for two days that I could not deliver your letter to him; when I gave it, I requested the interpreter to inform him that I had been two days waiting to deliver a letter from you, but that, very much to my surprise, I had found him too drunk to transact business. He appeared affected at what I said, acknowledged how unworthy it was in him to be in that situation, and admitted he had lost much power by it. He blamed the whites for bringing liquor into the country; said that when

he knew it was not to be had, he felt no inclination for it; but that when it was near and attainable, his attachment for it was irresistible. Besides, said he, your traders come among my nation, give metals, and make chiefs of every man who can obtain a party to trap beaver. It is the ambition of these chiefs that opposes me and makes me powerless. I know there are Mahas now alive as brave and as wise as I am. It was fortune or chance that placed me at the head of the nation, and I cannot control my tribe while the whites assist those who oppose me. Thus is the influence of this valuable and sensible Indian lost to his tribe and the Government, and thus is a man who possesses some traits that do honor to human nature debased and made a beast of; he had not influence enough to lead a hunting band. By the establishment of military posts, the Government expect to secure the trade to American citizens, to obtain such an ascendancy over them as will secure their assistance or prevent their being employed against us, and thereby to civilize them. The facility with which any man may become nominally a citizen of the United States gives but little advantage to those who have really claims to that character; and I appeal to your personal knowledge of the present traders to say if they are likely to instil among the Indians favorable opinions of the Government, or if the establishment of an isolated military post among the Indians is likely to obtain such an ascendancy over them as will secure their assistance, or prevent their being employed against us, while the real influence is in the hands of the description of men who now trade on the Missouri. Those traders who reside near the military posts, or who are willing to lend their influence to the Government, will be the objects of jealousy to their rivals, whose establishments may be farther off. The readiest way of destroying the trade of their rival will be to create such disturbances between the tribe and the troops as will prevent the Indians frequenting the post. This is not an imaginary apprehension. Recollect that our difficulty last year with the Kansas nation arose from the intrigues of a trader, who, finding that the Kansas were trading at an establishment near the cantonment, induced some of their young men to commit such outrages, (stopping our men, whipping them, etc.) as had nearly produced a war, and which ended in whipping the Indians, and expelling them from camp. The fact cannot be legally proved, but I sincerely believe it.

The impossibility of civilizing the Indians, when exposed to the temptations and delusions of interested traders, needs no comment.

The establishment of a company capable of monopolizing the trade would be attended in this country with innumerable difficulties. I will not detail them, but submit with great deference to your better judgment my own opinion. Let the Government take the trade into their own hands; let their agents be honest, capable, and zealous; let their factories be established, not only where the troops may be stationed, but at all points convenient for trading with the Indians; let certain prices be fixed, and let the compensation of the factors depend upon the value of the furs they obtain; and let their accounts be rigidly inspected.

The Indians would then be completely within the influence of the Government; there would then be no difficulty in giving credit; because, if the Indian did not pay, he would find no one else to trust him; neither would it be necessary to debauch the Indians with whiskey. With credits to obtain the means of subsistence, and without the incitement of whiskey to indolence, they would make more furs than when surrounded by a host of traders.

In short, sir, to my humble judgment, it appears that in the present state of affairs, at an enormous expense, we obtain nothing. By placing the trade in the hands of the Government, we can, without the expense of one cent, obtain every thing they appear to desire.

With sentiments of the greatest respect and esteem,
your obedient servant,

Thomas Biddle.

To Col. H. Atkinson, Commanding 9th Military Department.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COLONEL HENRY ATKINSON
TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR, dated

St. Louis, November 23, 1819.

I have no doubt, however, but all the posts can be established, and the objects of Government attained, without hostility with the Indians, should the Indian trade be properly regulated by law. But, under the present system, which is miserably defective, and most shamefully abused

by the traders, much trouble and difficulty may be apprehended.

B.

St. Louis, November 26, 1819.

Sir:

I take the liberty of submitting to you a report made by Major Biddle, of whom I required a particular attention to Indian affairs whilst prosecuting the expedition up the Missouri in the summer and autumn. His opportunities were such as to enable him to form a very correct idea of the manner the Indian trade has been carried on, and of the character of those engaged in it. Much has fallen under my own observation, and agrees with his statements.

The conduct of the traders, generally, tends more to distract and corrupt the Indians than to effect the objects contemplated by the laws establishing the intercourse. Instead of carrying on a liberal, open, and fair trade with the Indians, and impressing them with a proper sense and respect for the character and views of Government, every thing is made to bend to an underhand, backbiting policy. Each trader endeavors to impress the Indians with the belief that all other traders have no object but to cheat and deceive them, and that Government intend taking away their lands by sending troops into their country. Hence the jealousy and distrust of the Indians towards Government, and the bad opinion they have of the whites for truth and honesty. So illiberal are the traders in their conduct towards each other, that, when one of them gives a credit to a tribe to enable it to send out hunting and trapping parties, another despatches an agent, or agents, with a supply of goods and whiskey to dog the parties on their excursions, and, by the lure of a little whiskey and some trifling articles, rob them of their peltries and furs as soon as they are taken from the animal's back, and the just creditor of his pay. This sort of conduct has very injurious consequences; for, as it is so generally practised, every trader is afraid to give such credits as are necessary to enable the Indians to provide such articles as their women and children stand in need of; and the dogging gentry leave little or nothing in their hands at the end of their hunts to purchase with. However, notwithstanding the arts and wiles practised by the traders on the Indians, they have un-

bounded influence over them; for trade is the strong cord by which they are all bound. Withhold their trade, and you bring them to any terms; afford it, and you make them do any thing. If this be the fact, (and I assure you it is,) is it just or proper that the influence over the Indians should be left in such corrupt hands? Their friendship, at no time, while this state of things exists, can be calculated on. It appears to be an easy matter for Congress to remedy the evil; and it would seem that they will, if they can believe those who are personally acquainted with the facts. To do it, all intercourse by individual traders with the Indians should be prohibited; and let Government take the whole trade into their own hands, or confide it to a single company with a sufficient capital. The first, in my opinion, would be preferable, as all the influence desirable might be acquired by Government over the Indians. Besides, if the factories were well managed, the profits arising from them would, probably, defray all the expenses of the military that might be necessary to establish the posts and protect the trade in the Indian country. If the latter should be thought preferable, the individuals of a single company, having but one interest, would find their account in impressing the Indians with a proper regard and respect for the character and views of Government.

The foregoing subject being so intimately connected with your views relative to the Missouri expedition, and deeming a change in the system so essential to the interests and views of Government in that quarter, I have thought proper to order Major Biddle to report in person to you, for the purpose of giving any further information on the subject that might be thought necessary.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be your most obedient servant,

H. ATKINSON,

Col. 6th Inf. com'g 9th Mil. Dep.

Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War.

Note: The term of United States Factory meant Government trading posts.

Exact copy of the document: American State Papers, Vol. VI, pp. 201-204.

GOVERNOR FRANCIS E. WARREN, A CHAMPION OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Letters in The National Archives

By W. Turrentine Jackson*

The first legislature of the Wyoming Territory, meeting in Cheyenne during December, 1869, conferred upon the women of the territory the right to vote in all elections.¹ Two years later members of the second legislative assembly unsuccessfully endeavored to repeal the law, and this was the last significant attempt to deny to the women of Wyoming political equality with men. The territory had thus launched at its very beginning a pioneer experiment in the field of politics. Although the national leaders of the movement for equal suffrage were encouraged by the Wyoming enactment, they undoubtedly considered it a temporary experiment in a frontier community. Nevertheless, the women of Wyoming enjoyed the privileges of political equality for a half century before woman suffrage was sanctioned by the federal constitution.

In the two decades of territorial existence constant inquiries were received by the territorial governors relative to the success of woman suffrage. A few individuals wrote to criticize, but the majority were interested in the results of the experiment. Letters were often re-

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH:—W. Turrentine Jackson, born April 5, 1915, at Ruston, Louisiana, is the son of Brice H. Jackson and Luther Turrentine Jackson. He is an Ensign, USNE, is now on active duty in the office of the Chief of Naval Operations in Washington, D. C. He was formerly employed as a research analyst by the United States Navy, and has been a member of the history faculty at the University of California, Montana State University, and at Iowa State College.

Mr. Jackson received the Ph. D. degree from the University of Texas in 1940, his doctoral dissertation being written on "The Early Exploration and Founding of Yellowstone National Park." Jackson's research interest has continued to be the trans-Mississippi west, and he has published several studies in the *Pacific Historical Review*, the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

Mr. Jackson was married in 1942, to Barbara Kone of Austin, Texas. Is affiliated with the Methodist church.

1. *Compiled Laws of Wyoming*, (Cheyenne, 1876), 343.

ceived inquiring as to the percentage of women voting in elections, the method by which they qualified to vote, and the offices in the territory to which they might be elected. Men outside the territory were concerned about the refining influence that the presence of women would have at the polls, and feared that they would ignore political groups and vote for candidates on the basis of their personal morals. A large percentage of the letters among the Executive Proceedings of the territory came from nearby Colorado and from Kansas, Missouri, and Illinois. These evidence an unusual interest throughout those states in the success of the institution.²

The official correspondence of the governors of Wyoming show that Francis E. Warren was the greatest champion of woman suffrage among the territorial governors. In his first annual report to the Secretary of the Interior he commended the measure giving women the vote by saying, "without argument, the facts show that the men of Wyoming are favorable to woman suffrage, as the women surely are . . . it can be asserted without fear of contradiction that Wyoming appreciates, believes in, and indorses woman suffrage."³ Warren wrote many letters relative to the suffrage question during his first administration of 1885-86. The files of his correspondence in the National Archives contain answers to several questionnaires on the success of woman suffrage. His responses, although terse and factual, display his approval and enthusiasm for equal political rights. At the close of his term he wrote to the Secretary of the Interior, "Woman suffrage continues as popular as when first permitted, fifteen years ago. The women nearly all vote, and neither political party objects."⁴

In 1889 during his second term as territorial governor, Wyoming was making formal preparation to become a state in the Union. When the constitutional convention endorsed the equal suffrage experiment by pro-

2. Correspondence of Governors John M. Thayer, John W. Hoyt, William Hale, Francis E. Warren, and Thomas Moonlight, Executive Proceedings of the Territory of Wyoming, 1878-1889, Records of the Department of the Interior, The National Archives.

3. Francis E. Warren, "Annal Report of the Governor of Wyoming," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1885*, II, 1202.

4. Warren, "Annual Report of the Governor of Wyoming," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1886*, II, 1034.

viding for its continuance in the proposed state constitution, Warren wrote the Secretary, "No one will deny that woman's influence in voting has always been on the side of good government. The people favor its continuance, . . . The constitutional convention, composed of men from both parties, adopted almost unanimously the following provision:

The right of citizens of the State of Wyoming to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens shall enjoy all civil, political, and religious rights and privileges.⁵

When it appeared likely that Wyoming would become the first state in the Union constitutionally approving equal rights for women, several organized groups of feminists became interested in the trend of events in Wyoming. The president of the Equal Suffrage Association of Illinois and the president of the Equal Suffrage Convention meeting in Wichita, Kansas, were among those sending congratulations to Wyoming. Governor Warren's telegrams of acknowledgment display his pride over the provisions in the constitution granting civil and religious equality to women as well as political rights.⁶ In November, 1889, the people of Wyoming approved this constitution endorsing equality.

The following letters, culled from the voluminous correspondence of Francis E. Warren in The National Archives, contain statements which perhaps explain more clearly the historical development of woman suffrage in Wyoming. The questions which prompted these replies point out the complete lack of information on the subject and the extent to which Wyoming was pioneering by granting political equality to women.

Washington, D. C.

**Francis E. Warren to G. A. Hege of Halstead, Kansas,
February 3, 1886.**

I have your communication of the 29th ult. and will

5. Warren, "Annual Report of the Governor of Wyoming," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1889*, III, 597-98.

6. Warren to Mary E. Holmes, November 8, 1889; Warren to Laura M. Johns, October 5, 1889. Warren Correspondence, Executive Proceedings of Territory of Wyoming, Records of the Department of the Interior, The National Archives.

reply to the questions in the order given.

Q. (1) Do the majority of the women of Wyoming exercise their right at the polls?

A. Yes.

Q. (2) Does the fact that women vote in opposition to their husbands frequently cause family troubles and destroy harmony?

A. No.

Q. (3) Are the women treated respectfully at the polls?

A. Yes.

Q. (4) Does the presence of women exercise a refining influence on the public?

A. Yes.

Q. (5) Does your law require women to pay a poll tax? If so, do they work on the roads if they choose?

A. Pay poll tax of \$2 each which goes to school fund. Our road tax in Wyoming is payable in money not work.

Q. (6) Is it not a fact that women generally support the most moral candidate regardless of party?

A. Yes.

Q. (7) Is it not a fact that most women support all questions of moral advancement?

A. Yes.

Q. (8) Please name a few offices in which women have served satisfactorily.

A. School Superintendents often. In one case Justice of the Peace. Formerly on Jury but not now.

Francis E. Warren to M. L. Pussell of St. Louis, Missouri, August 6, 1886.

Replying to your letter of 24th ult. I take up your questions in detail.

1st. How long has the privilege to vote existed for women?

A. Since December 10th, 1869.

2nd. What class of women avail themselves of it?

A. All classes.

3rd. What influence have they if any upon the politics of your territory?

A. Their influence is to purify. Voting for men and morals rather than politics.

4th. Does their presence at the polls affect the conduct of the male voters—as regards drinking and the various means of obtaining votes, I mean?

A. Their presence affects favorably the conduct of men at the polls. The polls where women vote resembling the entrance to some public entertainment where gentlemen and ladies go together, alone, or in parties.

5th. Has there ever a case been publicly known of a woman receiving a bribe for her influence in any measure?

A. No. Although it must be expected that base women may be as corrupt as base men though not so numerous in numbers.

6th. Do your Judges compel women to jury service, and if so is that done regardless of the character of the case?

A. No. Women have served on juries and very satisfactorily, but they have not been summoned to do jury duty for some years past on account of the hardships of such service.

7th. What provision is made in case a mixed jury is retained under the sheriff's guard all night?

A. When women served on jury, connecting rooms were given in order that ladies could occupy one in a sort of semi-privacy.

8th. What offices are at present held by women in your Ter.?

A. I believe County School Superintendencies and other educational offices are about the only positions at present held by ladies.

9th. Your Territory has given the movement a fair trial: do your best male citizens recognize it as advisable, or is there still a marked prejudice against it?

A. Our best people and in fact all classes are almost universally in favor of women suffrage. A few women and a few men still entertain prejudice against it but I know of no argument having been offered to show its ill effects in Wyoming.

10th. Do the women of the greatest intelligence and best social standing make a practice of voting at all elections?

A. Yes. But their strong effort and best vote is brought out at school elections, elections for legislature, etc.

Having answered all your questions I also forward you in this mail, under another cover, copy of my Report to the Secretary of the Interior of 1885.

I also enclose herewith, copy of the law Granting the right of suffrage to women.

Francis E. Warren to B. O. Hanby, Publisher, of Kankakee, Illinois, September 22, 1886.

Your letter of late date asking my opinion of woman suffrage is received.

I send you in this mail copy of my report for 1885 to the Secretary of the Interior with page turned down to an article on this subject. Replying to your specific questions:—Yes, I think women are benefited [sic.] by voting and that they benefit others by so doing. The vote of women in the territory is not large because in Wyoming as in other far western points the proportion of women to the number of men is small.

We have no laws in Wyoming restricting the sale of intoxicating liquors except license laws. High licenses are exacted in cities and towns and in addition thereto a county license of \$300. is also assessed. The women therefore have no opportunity to vote directly for or against whiskey. Their influence and votes are almost invariably cast on the side of sobriety and morality. Of course there are bad women as well as bad men, but the proportion is very much smaller.

Francis E. Warren to Laura M. Johns, President, Kansas Equal Suffrage Convention, Wichita, Kansas, October 5, 1889.

Your very kind telegram of October 3rd congratulating Wyoming because its proposed Constitution gives equal suffrage to all its citizens is received.

Permit me for myself and in behalf of Wyoming Territory, to thank you for the consideration and thoughtfulness that prompts your valued communication.

Enclosed herein I forward you a copy of the Constitution.

Francis E. Warren to Mary E. Holmes, President, Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Joliet, Illinois, November 8, 1889.

Thanks for kind sentiments from Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. Wyoming adopted Constitution Tuesday, containing equal rights for men and women. We trust Congress will generously approve our work by granting enabling act and admission.

Francis E. Warren to Kathrina Parsons of Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 10, 1890.

Your esteemed favor of the 3rd inst. is received. I think you are laboring under a mistake regarding the status of women's suffrage in Wyoming. The Matter is not before the legislature of this Territory. The legislature in 1869 extended the right of suffrage to women and it has since prevailed—women enjoying the same privileges as men. Wyoming Territory now asks admission as a State and has adopted a constitution which provides for women's suffrage as it now exists in the Territory. The bill for admission is before Congress, having passed the House of Representatives it is now in the U. S. Senate, where it will doubtless pass. We have experienced no evil effects in Wyoming from women's suffrage and it is not as you fear "a source of disturbance in the marital relations and has in some cases broken up marriages." After a trial of more than 20 years a majority of the men and women of Wyoming believe in women's suffrage.



U. P. R. R. TRACK:

The track of the U. P. R. R. is finished to within about fifty-five miles of Cheyenne, and it is expected that it will be completed to this point about the middle of October. —The Cheyenne Leader, Vol. 1, No. 1, Sept. 19, 1867.

LETTERS OF 1862 REVEAL INDIAN TROUBLE ALONG THE OVERLAND MAIL - ROUTE

On April 16, 1862, during those early trying days of the Civil War, Brigadier-General S. D. Sturgis, in Command of the District of Kansas, issued the following General Orders No. 6, from headquarters, Fort Leavenworth:

General Orders,) Headquarters District of Kansas
)
No. 6) Fort Leavenworth, Kans.,
April 16, 1862.

I. Brig. Gen. James Craig, having reported to these headquarters for duty, is assigned to the command of all troops in the vicinity of the overland Mail-Route from its eastern termination to the western boundary of this district.

II. As it is of the utmost importance that the overland mail should be uninterrupted, General Craig will enter at once upon his duties, and will take such measures as will insure ample protection to said mail company and their property against Indians or other depredators. He will establish his headquarters at Fort Kearny or Fort Laramie, as he may hereafter judge most expedient for carrying out the requirements of this order.

By order of Brig. Gen. S. D. Sturgis:

THOS. MOONLIGHT,

Captain, Light Artillery, Kans. Vols., and A.A.A.G.

Major-General James J. Blunt on May 5, 1862, assumed command of the District of Kansas, Brigadier-General S. D. Sturgis relinquished command of the District.

From the following letter it is evident Brigadier-General Craig selected Fort Laramie for his headquarters and not Fort Kearny.

Headquarters,

Fort Laramie, July 11, 1862.

General James G. Blunt, Fort Leavenworth:

GENERAL: I am in receipt to-day of a dispatch informing me that the Postmaster-General has ordered the Overland Mail Company to abandon the North Platte and Sweet Water portion of the route and remove their stages and stock to a route south of this running through Bridger Pass. As I feel uncertain as to my duty, and as the stages and stock are now being concentrated preparatory to removal, I have thought proper to send Lieutenant Wilcox,

Fourth U. S. Cavalry, to you with this letter. My instructions require me to protect the overland mail along the telegraph line, and the emigration not being mentioned, I have up to this time directed my attention to the safety of all these. My recollection of the act of Congress is that the mail company are not confined to any particular pass or route, but are to run from the Missouri River to a point in California daily, supplying Denver City and Salt Lake City twice a week. On the application of agents I have to-day ordered two small escorts, one of 25, the other of 30, men, to accompany the stages and protect them to the new route, and until I receive your orders I will retain upon the present route the larger portion of the troops to protect the telegraph line and the emigration, at least until the emigration, which consists principally of family trains, has passed through my district. I do this because the Indians evince a disposition to rob the trains and destroy the wires. Indeed I am satisfied that unless the Government is ready to abandon this route both for mails and emigrants an Indian war is inevitable. All the tribes in these mountains, except perhaps one of the Lenox bands, are in bad humor; charge the Government with bad faith and breaches of promise in failing to send them an agent and presents. They have come in by hundreds from the Upper Missouri, attacked and robbed emigrant trains and mail stations and in one instant last week they robbed a mail station within two hours after a detachment of Colonel Collins' troops had passed, and carried the herdsman away with them to prevent him from notifying the troops for successful pursuit. That renegade white men are with them I have no doubt. I have a white man in the guard-house, who was found in possession of pocket-book, money, and papers of an emigrant, who is missing and believed to have been murdered. I am satisfied that the mail company and the Government would both be benefited by the change of routes at a proper time, and so wrote the Postmaster-General some weeks since. Then everything was quiet. Since that time the Indians have made hostile demonstrations, and I fear if the mail and all the troops leave this route the Indians will suppose they were frightened away, and will destroy the telegraph line and probably rob and murder such small parties as are not able to defend themselves. I have directed all the officers on the line to urge upon the emigrants the necessity of forming strong companies and exercising vigilance. In obedience to your

order and the urgent calls of the mail company I sent the Utah troops to Bridger to guard the line from that post to Salt Lake, which leaves me only Colonel Collins' Sixth Ohio Cavalry, about 300 strong, and two skeleton companies of Fourth Regiment Cavalry, about 60 men, mounted upon horses purchased seven years ago, to protect the 400 miles intervening between this post and Fort Bridger. I need not say that this force cannot protect a line of such length unless the Indians are willing to behave well. I think I am doing all that can be done with so small a force mounted as they are and without any grain forage. My scouts inform me that a portion of the stolen property is now in an Indian village on Beaver Creek but little more than 100 miles south of this post. It consists of 1,000 lodges, say 3,000 fighting men. I suppose I could whip these Indians if I could concentrate my command and go against them; but in the first place my troops are distributed along a line of 500 miles, and in the second place if I take the troops all away from the line the mail stock, telegraph line, and emigrants would be almost certain to suffer. I am therefore compelled to await re-enforcements, or at least until the emigration is out of danger. If a regiment of mounted troops could be sent by boat to Fort Pierre, which is only 300 miles north of this post, a joint campaign could be made against those tribes, which I think would result in giving peace to this region for years to come. Presuming it to be the intention of the Government to keep the troops somewhere in this region during the coming winter, I beg to urge the necessity of sending authority to procure hay for the animals, and also to send grain, or authority to purchase it, in Colorado. Unless the hay contract is let soon it will be difficult to procure it within reasonable distance. Parties here are anxious to furnish it at less figures than it cost last year. I omitted to say above that under your telegraphic order I have kept at this post the escort furnished by you to the Governor of Utah. I also sent to Denver City to inquire the number and description of troops in that vicinity, and received for answer that there were 4 officers and 6 privates all told. The troops ordered from California on this line have probably not started. They have not got as far east as Carson Valley.

This letter is already too long. I leave Lieutenant Wilcox to explain anything I have omitted.

I am, general, respectfully, your obedient servant,
JAS. CRAIG.

Wyoming Scrapbook



BUILDINGS IN CHEYENNE, DAKOTA TERRITORY, 1867

The buildings included in the sketch above, built in 1867, were the first to be built on the northeast corner of Seventeenth street and Carey avenue (Carey ave. was then Ferguson street); today Garlett's Drug Store and Newberry's occupy these locations.

FIRST BUILDING

Manning and Post, Commission Merchants, were the owners of this 22x60 two story building which cost \$6,000. They occupied the first floor.

The Daily Rocky Mountain Star which occupied a part of the second story was first published in Cheyenne, December 7, 1867. It was Republican in politics, published by O. T. B. Freeman. The Star lasted about one year.

The Argus made its debut in Cheyenne October 24, 1867, occupying part of the second story; it was Democratic in politics; published by L. L. Redell for about two years, later for a few weeks, by Stanton and Richardson.

SECOND BUILDING

George Tritch and Co., was the owner of this two story building 22x60 which cost about \$6,000. The first floor was occupied by Cooper and Preshaw, a storage and commission house.

The Masonic Hall occupied the second floor. On February 29, 1868, the Cheyenne Lodge No. 1 A. F. & A. M. met for the first time in this building.

THIRD BUILDING

Gallatin & Gallup, saddlers, were the owners and occupants of this one and a half story frame building, 20x40, which cost \$1,700.

FOURTH BUILDING

Jones and Gray, grocers, were the owners and occupants of this 20x40, one and a half story frame building, which cost \$4,000.¹

1. The Cheyenne Leader, December 24, 1867.

**FOR THE FIRST TIME THE BUILDINGS OF
CHEYENNE ARE NUMBERED**

An Ordinance, October 15, 1867.

Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Cheyenne:

Sec. 1—That the houses and buildings in the city of Cheyenne shall be numbered, as soon as may be convenient, and there shall be one hundred numbers allowed between each of the principal streets—fifty on each side.

Sec. 2—That on the streets running north and south the numbers shall commence at First street, and from First to Second streets shall run from one hundred to two hundred, and from Second to Third streets from two hundred to three hundred, and so on to the northern limits of the city.

Sec. 3—That on the streets running east and west the numbers shall commence at Eddy street, and extend in both directions, to the eastern and western limits of the one hundred numbers being allowed to each square, as before, the numbers on the east side of Eddy street being designated by the word "east" as "No. — East Seventeenth

street;" and those on the west side of Eddy street by the word "west" as "No. — West Seventeenth street."

Sec. 4—That the buildings on the east side of the streets running north and south, and on the north side of those running east and west, shall be numbered with odd numbers, and the buildings on the west side of the streets running north and south, and on the south side of those running east and west, shall be numbered with even numbers.

Sec. 5—That whenever it becomes necessary to make any change in the numbering of the block, such change shall be confined to the block in which it is made, and shall not extend to nor effect other numbers beyond said block.

Sec. 6—This ordinance shall take effect from and after its passage.

Attest:

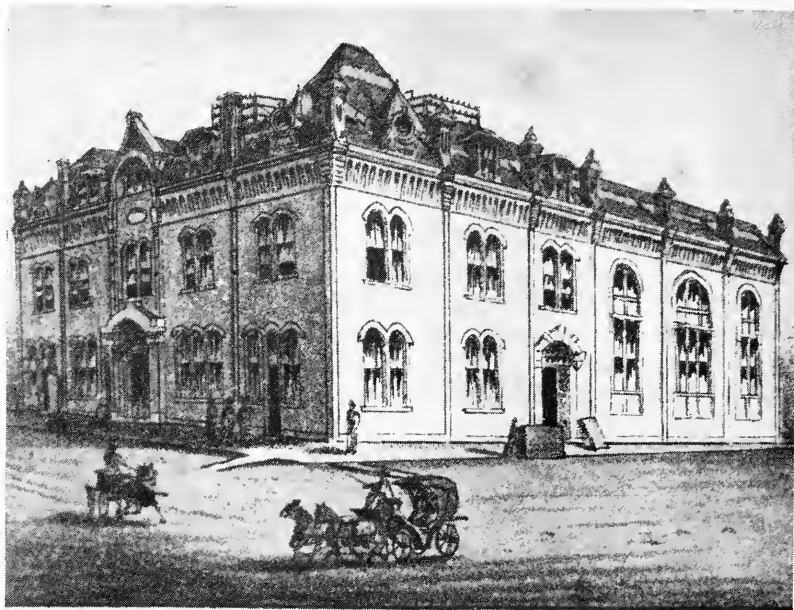
Thos. E. McLeland,
City Clerk.

H. M. Hook,
Mayor
Oct. 15-1t.

The Cheyenne Leader, October 15, 1867.

THE POSTOFFICE:

The postoffice is now located in friend Robinson's frame building, on O'Neill street. Conspicuous letters, "Paint Shop," apprise one of the locality.—The Cheyenne Leader, Vol. 1, No. 1, Sept. 19, 1867.



OPERA HOUSE.

THE CHEYENNE OPERA HOUSE—1882

The Cheyenne Opera House opened its doors for the first time to a happy enthusiastic audience composed of people from all over the Territory, Denver, and neighboring Colorado towns, and Cheyenne, on May 25, 1882.

After the audience had assembled and the orchestra had completed its overture, the curtain was lowered "amidst the patting of hands and murmurs of admiration."¹

Joseph M. Carey was called upon for an address, in which he gave the history of the City as marked by the public buildings; he named the new opera house as the "third step in an era of progress, a building in which all the stone used was quarried in our own County (Laramie) the brick made in our own City (Cheyenne) and the wood-work carvings and all from the shops of our fellow townsman, Mr. Weybrecht."² Mr. Carey then mentioned what was to be the fourth step in Cheyenne's progress, stat-

1. The Cheyenne Daily Leader, May 26, 1882.

2. Ibid.

Words in parenthesis are inserts.

ing that in his office safe he had the contract for all the material for a thorough water works system. This news was received with great applause.

The formal dedication of the opera house was reserved for the celebrated Comley-Barton Opera Company which was enjoyed for three nights and one matinee.

Their opening performance was the charming French comic opera "Olivette"; the programs were of perfumed white satin with bright blue print.

OPENING NIGHT

P. S. Hildner, NEW OPERA HOUSE, L. R. R. R.

Thursday, May 25th, 1882.

COMLEY-BARTON COMBINATION

OLIVETTE.

CAST OF CHARACTERS.

OLIVETTE	MISS MARIE JANSEN
BATHILDE, Countess of Hamilton, in love with Valentine	MISS LAURA JOYCE
FLOUTINE, the Seneschal's housekeeper,	MISS JENNIE STEAR
MOT-SIQUE, Captain's boy on board the "Cormorant,"	MISS FINE LASCILLES
JANNA	MISS MINNIE DE RUE
FALLASMOUR	MISS ANNETTA HALL
ANTOINE	MISS NELLIE WISDOM
PRINCESS	MISS LOU CARTER
M. E. MONTJOYES	MISS VAN BURG
M. E. LENOIR	MISS STERLING
CATO, maid of Main-brace tavern,	MISS HENLEY
CAPTAIN DEMERBMAC, of the Man-o-War "Cormorant,"	MR. JOHN HOWSON
(His Original Creation.)	
VALENTINE, officer of the Roudillon Guards, his nephew,	MR. C. J. CAMPBELL
COQUELICOT, his foster brother and henchman,	MR. DIOBY V. BELL
(His Original Character.)	
DUC DES ILES	MR. H. A. CRIFFS
MARVEDOL, local pluralist, Seneschal to the Countess and Maire of Torpignan,	MR. FRED FINEAR
PROF PROU, a villager,	MISS DOLLY CHASE
POUSSOLE	MR. W. J. THOMAS
LOUP DEMER	MR. HATZER

Courtiers, Nobles, Citizens, Wedding Guests, Sailors, Soldiers of the Guard, Pages, etc., etc.

THREE PROGRAMMES WERE PRESENTED BY MISS M. HOYT.

There was great display of taste and elegance in dress of the audience; silks and satins appeared in every fashionable shade and color; large hats and bonnets were substituted for small bonnets, for it was a gala event.

The Opera House was situated on the northwest corner of Hill (Capitol Ave.) and 17th street. The building was, as it is today, three stories high. The Opera

House occupied the entire height of the three floors. No particular style of architecture was followed, several types being combined, which included Queen Anne, Gothic, Norman and French roof.

The entrance to the front of the building was on 17th street; to the right of this entrance were two large rooms, which were used for the *Territorial Library*. The main entrance to the Opera House and the second floor was on Hill street (Capitol Ave.). Inside the Hill street entrance was the ticket office. A large open stairway built of ash and black walnut, lead to the balcony on the second floor.

The third floor was divided into 12 rooms, which were occupied by the telephone exchange and different lodges.

The theatre proper, consisted of the parquette, dress circle, gallery or family circle, "proscenium boxes," inclined stage, orchestra pit, etc. Four fine boxes adorned either side of the stage; the parquette, with an inclined floor, was in the form of a half circle; the dress circle was in the rear of the parquette; above this was the gallery or family circle. The seats were of the latest pattern of opera folding chairs. The Theatre seated 860 persons and 1,000 could be comfortably handled. It was heated by two large furnaces and lighted with gas. An immense 52 light chandelier hung from the ceiling with a large glass mirror reflector; single lights with glass globe shades were placed about the walls; there were two large lights outside of the two entrances. "By using gas the stage can be darkened at pleasure, something new, by the way in the history of Cheyenne."³

The Architects were Messrs. Cooper and Anderson of Cheyenne and Pueblo (Colorado). J. S. Matthews, their chief draftsman, supervised the construction.

The interior of the Opera House was one of magnificence and splendor, the plain white walls were relieved on the east side by three large ornamental windows set with cathedral glass, 600 panes being used in the work. All through the theatre the woodwork was of maple finish. The parquette and dress circle were separated by a rail upholstered with *red slik plush*, the front of the balcony was protected by a wire screen, a guard rail, also ornamented with *red silk plush*. On either side of the stage were four boxes, each guarded by a heavy bronze rail, which in keeping with the other upholstery was of heavy

3. Ibid.

red silk plush; the archs of these boxes were draped with dark red curtains ornamented with deep fringe and in the rear hung long heavy white lace curtains.

The drop curtain was a scene from the celebrated Chariot Races by Gerome.

The Cheyenne Opera House and Library Company was incorporated April 18th, 1881. The company was composed of the prominent men of Cheyenne and vicinity. Officers being J. M. Carey, President; Thomas Sturgis, Vice President; Isaac Bergman, Secretary and Henry G. Hay, Treasurer. The management of the opera house was under the control of D. C. Rhodes, Lessee and Manager, and G. A. Guertin, Assistant Manager. There were eleven sets of scenery and numerous extras. Charles S. King, stage carpenter, installed the stage machinery and scenes.

It is interesting to note the number of famous actors and actresses who performed in the Cheyenne Opera House in those early days. A few of the most noted ones, were Edwin Booth, in "Hamlet," April 18, 1887; Sarah Bernhardt in "Fedora," June 2, 1887; Lily Langtry in "A Wife's Peril," June 11, 1887; Madame Modjeska in "Much Ado About Nothing," July 6, 1889; Richard Mansfield in "Beau Brummel," June 22, 1893, and many others equally famous, too numerous to mention.

The doors of the Cheyenne Opera House were open for twenty years, May 25, 1882 to December 7, 1902, when the interior of the Opera House was destroyed by fire.

A RARE PUBLICATION

The History of Cheyenne, Business and General Directory by Saltiel & Barnett, published April 27, 1868, was greatly advertised for several months in the Cheyenne Leader, prior to its publication. In the January 27, 1868, issue and other issues of above mentioned paper, appeared such advertisements as:

"History of Cheyenne, Business and General Directory will be used on or before the 15th of February, 1868. Sent by mail to any address on receipt of \$1.25. Delivered in the City of Cheyenne, D. T. at \$1.00. Saltiel & Barnett, Publishers, corner of

Twentieth and O'Neil streets, Cheyenne, Dakota Territory."

However it was not until April 27, 1868, that we find in the Cheyenne Leader the following:

"The long expected and anxiously looked for Cheyenne Directory compiled by Messrs. Saltiel & Barnett, of this city, has at length arrived. The typographical execution of the book is handsome indeed and reflects much credit upon the skill of the printer, St. A. D. Balcombe, of the Omaha Republican office. The compendium of useful information relative to this city and county is complete indeed, and the book is bound to meet with a large sale. It will be the means of benefiting the city very much and is of more real value in that particular than any similar enterprise that has been originated here. All businessmen should purchase several copies each, for sending to various points in the east."

The only copy, which the Wyoming Historical Department knows of is in the collection of Mr. William R. Coe,¹ of Cody, Wyoming and of Oyster Bay, New York.

1. McMurtrie, D. C. letter, May 4, 1943.

THE "MAGIC CITY" CHEYENNE, DAKOTA TERRITORY—1867

The Cheyenne Leader, December 1867 and January 1868, published a series of articles, Business and Financial Statistics of the "Magic City" Cheyenne which we plan to include in the new section WYOMING SCRAPBOOK in the ANNALS OF WYOMING. These articles give the size, cost, owner and use of building along the main streets of Cheyenne. It is to be regretted this work was not completed, as it gives us a vivid description of the newly born City which was destined to be the Capitol of our State.

Seventeenth street, south side, from O'Neil east to Ferguson street (now Carey) three blocks or squares as they were then called.

Between O'Neil and Eddy streets.

One story frame, 30x100—addition, 10x60, Harper, Steel & Co., Hardware dealers, owners and occupants—entire cost, \$4,000.

One story concrete, 25x60, P. Fales, owner—Elinger & Co., Clothiers, and W. H. Parpe, Watchmaker and Jeweller, Occupants—cost, \$2,800.

Two story, Fire-proof Stone building, 22x94; walls 36 inches; windows to be furnished with Iron Shutters—Wholesale & Retail Dry Goods & Grocery Establishment, S. F. Nuckolls, owner and occupant—cost, \$8,000.

One story brick, 22x50, Dr. Scott owner—Sheffer & Co., Wholesale and retail grocers, occupants—cost, —

One story frame, 16x24, Saloon, D. Cunningham, owner and occupant—cost, \$175.

One story frame, 24x80, Keg House and Restaurant, S. L. Lord, owner and occupant—cost, \$2,500.

One story frame, 6x16, Wm. Downard, owner—H. B. Forbes, Boot and Shoemaker, occupant—cost, \$50.

One story frame, 22x44, Restaurant, Wm. Downard, owner and occupant—cost, \$2,000.

One story frame, 20x75, Bowling Alley, Crowley & Medcalf, owner and occupants—cost, \$1,600.

One story frame, 8x18, Cash & Cook, Tailors, owners and occupants—cost \$300.

One story frame, 16x20, unfinished, J. Thomas, owner—cost, \$500.

One story frame, 13x16, canvass roof, Soda Water depot, J. Molsen, owner and occupant—cost, \$150.

Two story and a half frame, 26x66—addition, 20x60, Wyoming House, Holliday & Thompson, owners and occupants—one of the most imposing and popular hotels in Cheyenne—cost, \$10,000.

One story frame, 22x41, Keg House, Champion & Fetter, owners and occupants—cost, \$3,500.

One story frame, 14x40, Andrews & Brown, Grocers, owners and occupants—cost, \$1,400.

One story frame, 8x20, Stationery & Variety store, Scudder & Boyer, owners and occupants—cost, \$200.

One story frame, 22x40, Cheyenne Meat Market, Iliff & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$2,000.

One story frame, 22x39, California Restaurant, Cowell & Tracy, owners and occupants—cost, \$1,500.

One story frame, 22x86, Wholesale & Retail Grocery, Gallagher & Megeath, owners and occupants—cost, \$3,000.

One story frame, 24x72, Cornforth Bro's., Wholesale & Retail Grocers and Commission Merchants, owners and occupants—also occupied by Parks & Co., Jewellers—cost, \$5,000.

Between Eddy and Ferguson streets.

Two story frame, 18x40—unoccupied—further particulars unknown.

One story frame, 12x20, J. Bennester, owner—H. Dittmar, Barber, and D. Winfield, Tailor, occupants—cost, \$350.

One story frame, size and cost unknown; also owner—U. S. Examining Surgeon, U.P.R.R. Surgeon, and Surgeon of Wells, Fargo & Co., occupants.

One story abode, 36x50, G. Adams & Co., Grocers, owners and occupants—cost, unknown.

One story log, 18x24, Thatcher & Bryant, Grocers, owners and occupants—cost, \$450.

One story frame, 20x36, Postoffice, Thos. E. M'Leland, P. M. and City Clerk, owner and occupant—also occupied by R. M. Beers & Co., Stationers, Tobacconists, etc.—cost, \$3,000.

This completes this side of the street, going eastward.

Note: The only change made in copying these articles for the ANNALS is that the side of each street described is completed, and not carried over in the next article, as in the Cheyenne Leader.

Wyoming Stream Names

By Dee Linford*

Place names are always fascinating, and in the nomenclature of Wyoming creeks and rivers is a wealth of early western lore.

Wyoming is a region of headwaters, a mother of great rivers. Her streams are numerous, but too small and too swift-running to have served in the usual historic role of American rivers—as trunklines of transportation and communication along which civilization advanced into the wilderness, spreading out from the vital arteries to take root in the earth body. White men's civilization as a result did not reach Wyoming until the transcontinental railroad "opened the country up," and the first important settlements mushroomed—not along the rivers in accepted American tradition—but along the gleaming rails which Union Pacific laid across the State without regard for our waterways. Many Wyoming streams were large enough to accommodate the small water craft of the early trapper and trader, however, and therein lies the historical interest of their names.

The ranchers and farmers and shopkeepers who followed the rails into the Wyoming area were for the most part literate, articulate. Coming west to resume as quickly as possible the existence they had interrupted

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH:—Dee Linford, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joe E. Linford of Afton, Wyoming, was born in the Star Valley in 1915. He studied English and history at the Utah State Agricultural College and Wyoming University, did newspaper work in Laramie for several years, and during 1938 and 1940 was State Editor of the Wyoming Writer's Project which produced the book, *Wyoming—A Guide to its History, Highways, and People* (1941), as a part of the American Guide Series of WPA. Since 1939, he has edited *Wyoming Wild Life*, official publication of the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission, and since 1938 has contributed numerous adventure stories to the popular, all-fiction magazines.

Linford's maternal great-grandfather, a member of the ill-fated "Willy's Handcart Company" of Mormon immigrants, lies buried near South Pass in a common grave with fourteen other members of the handcart company who succumbed to the rigors of the trail in 1856. His maternal great-grandfather was a Mormon polygamist, his maternal grandfather the eldest of 65 children.

Note: From *Wyoming Wild Life* magazine.

elsewhere, they brought their churches and schools and newspapers with them. Their desire was to attract as many others as possible to the New America, and in most cases they left copious contemporary records behind them.

In prerailroad Wyoming, the situation was different. With the exception of the non-stop emigrants who left no mark on the country deeper than a wagon track, the only white men in Wyoming in appreciable numbers before the laying of the rails were the nomadic fur trappers and traders. These, generally, were illiterate and unaware of their historical significance, or were jealous of their wilderness and wise enough to know that publicity would attract others. As a result, records of Wyoming during the prerailroad era are few and inconclusive. But in the names they ascribe to their whitewater canoe trails, these wanderers left a supplementary record of their time—a key to an alluring chapter in western history which has never been fully explored. The tragedy is that this record is not clearer.

Not All Wyoming stream names have historical significance. Perhaps this is as well, because repetition in the roster would discourage any effort to ascribe importance—historical or otherwise—to them all. A catalogue of Wyoming streams compiled recently by Stream Survey of the Wyoming Game and Fish Department lists 38 Spring Creeks, 30 Cottonwood Creeks, 29 Beaver Creeks, 28 Willow Creeks, 25 Bear Creeks, 23 Dry Creeks, 21 Horse Creeks, 18 Sand Creeks, 17 Rock and Sheep Creeks, as well as numerous claimants to the appellations Clear, Brush, Cabin, Lost, Canyon, Rawhide, Pass, Teepee, Cedar, Deep, Muddy, Soldier, Jim, Elk, Trout, Muskrat, Crow, Owl, Fox, Porcupine, Buffalo, Mink, etc.

Such designations are sometimes descriptive of the stream itself or of the topography or wild life of the surrounding area, or else have reference to some event associated with the stream in the mind of the party bestowing the name. Indeed one officially accepted creek name in Sweetwater County is so descriptive of the water's quality as to be quite unprintable. But usually stream names lack even descriptive significance. The methods by which they become established follow no pattern, observe no logic. Most often, like Topsy—and other types of place names—stream names just grow.

A horse dies of poison along a creek, and the stream

may be known thereafter as Dead Horse Creek, Poison Creek, Hard Luck Creek, or just plain Horse Creek—all according to the temper and first reaction of the human being involved. A stream may be called Pine or Cedar or Aspen because such trees grow in profusion along its banks, or because of a single such representative, conspicuous by reason of its isolation. There are no cottonwoods on or even near Cottonwood Lake in the mountains east of Star Valley. The cottonwoods are on Cottonwood Creek, the lake outlet, and there only in the valley, several miles from the lake!

Similar examples could be cited from every locale in the State. One need not therefore probe too deeply into the significance of such arresting names as Hell, Damfino, Savage Run, Flame, Separation, Robbers' Gulch, Butchers Draw, Bald Hornet, Killpecker, Slippery Jim, Pipestone, Big and Little Twin, Hot Foot, Halfturn, Fullturn, Sourmoose, Pilgrim, Crazy, Tough, Joy, Nameit, Warhouse, Pagoda, Baby Wagon, Medicine Lodge, Little Passup, Hidden Water, Gloom, Broken Back, Fool Pinhead, Balm of Gilead, Seven Brothers, Bossy, Hanging Woman, Crying, etc., all of which apply officially to streams in Wyoming.

Each name undoubtedly has its legend, or legends—some of which can be verified, most of which cannot. Few such names, however, have even local importance. They are the concern of the poet, not the historian.* But there are many streams in the State whose names do merit the attention of persons interested in Wyoming history and some of these will be noted here.

There is not yet an official Wyoming place-name lexicon, and since most important stream names were assigned before the coming of the railroad, their histories for reasons noted are generally more vague and contradictory than those of names ascribed to landmarks since 1868. Napoleon is credited with having defined history as "fable agreed upon." But his definition offers little comfort in this instance. For fable, as regards Wyoming Stream names, almost never agrees.

There is no better example of the confusion and contradiction in our stream name history than that which surrounds the naming of Snake River, chief tributary of the Columbia, whose main fork heads in Wyoming just below Yellowstone National Park. Some local sources

*To neither distinction does the writer lay claim.

say it is called Snake because of its serpentine course, some because its waters were once presumed to contain especially large numbers of such reptiles, while others hold it was named for the Indians who lived along its banks.

The latter theory seems the most plausible. But the vagueness of the term as applied loosely to the Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute tribes complicates the picture still further. Idaho—A Guide in Word and Picture (1937) states that one authority "says the name (Snake) means inland; a priest has declared the Indians were so named because, like reptiles, they dug food from the earth; and a third says these Indians ate serpents. A fourth declares that when such an Indian was asked the name of his tribe, he made a serpentine movement, intended to suggest not snakes but basketweaving. The last seems the most probable. The Shoshonis themselves called the river Yam-pa-pah, the stream where the yampa grows; though later, after the Oregon Trail followed it, they called it Po-og-way, meaning River Road."

With regard to the appellation "Yam-pa-pah, the stream where the yampa grows," it is curious to note that a Yampa River occurs in Colorado, tributary to the Green, and that a branch of the Yampa is called Little Snake River (a section of which lies in southern Wyoming). Since stream names qualified by the word "little" generally duplicate the title of the stream into which they flow (i.e., Missouri, Little Missouri; Wind River, Little Wind River, etc.), it would seem possible that the Little Snake River might have been "Little Yampa" to the Utes who lived along it. It may also be significant that the Utes too were of Shoshonean or Snake linguistic stock, though why the words "Snake" and "Yampa" should be associated in this case also is not clear. Even in the case of Snake River, the words have no apparent derivative relationship—unless the roots of the Yampa plant were somehow associated with snakes in the Indian mind.

"La Maudite Riviere Enragee (the accursed mad river) was the name given to the Snake by French voyageurs after they had come to grief upon its falls and cascades," the Idaho Guide Book says in another place. But Wilson Price Hunt, Astor associate, who traveled overland from St. Louis to Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811-12, says in his journal (as reproduced in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages in Paris in 1821*, reprinted in Rollins' *Discovery of the Oregon Trail*, 1935)

"Americans have named it Mad River, because of its swiftness." About the only Americans believed to have had boating experience on the river prior to 1811 were those of Andrew Henry's Missouri Fur Company brigade, and Rollins suggests that the name might have been bestowed by Henry's men in 1810. Since Henry's "Americans" included a number of French-Canadian rivermen, as did Hunt's party, both statements might be correct.

The name Mad River, however, seems to have been applied only to the South or Wyoming Fork of the Snake. Hunt himself named the North Fork (sometimes called Henry's Fork for Andrew Henry) and the main channel of the Snake below the juncture of the North and South Forks "Canoe River." The name did not become established, however, possibly because Hunt's disasters in trying to negotiate it by boat proved it was NOT a canoe river. It is significant that Robert Stuart, another Astor partner who reached Astoria aboard the illfated ship Tonquin and who led Hunt's overland party back to St. Louis the next year, does not use Hunt's name, "Canoe River," with reference to the Snake.

"It is the main branch of the right-hand fork of Lewis River," Stuart noted in his journal (Rollins, p 80), "called by Lewis and Clark Kimooenem, by some Indians Ki-eye-min, by the Snakes Bio-paw, and by the generality of whites the Snake River."

Stuart thus records another name sometimes applied to the Snakes in early times, i.e., Lewis River,* for Captain Meriwether Lewis of Lewis and Clark—the Snake proper being the south or "right-hand fork," the Salmon River in Idaho the north or "left-hand fork." A lake and stream tributary to the Snake in Yellowstone Park still bear the name Lewis, possibly because of this earlier styling of the River. But more important than the listing of that name is Stuart's early use of the title "Snake" (1812).

Other names which Rollins lists in a footnote as having been applied to the river at one time or another include Shoshone (further evidence that the stream's present accepted name referred to the Snake or Shoshone Indians who dwelled along it), Saptin, Sahptin, Nez Perce, Chopunnish, and—through Granville Stuart—Po-ho-gwa, meaning Sagebrush River, "because the upper and larger part

*Name applied by Clark in 1805.

of its immense valley was a sagebrush plain." Granville Stuart's "Po-ho-gwa" undoubtedly has reference to the phonetic sequence rendered "Po-og-way" and translated "River Road" in the Idaho Guide, indicating that one or the other is probably wrong. It illustrates also that arbitrary white translations of Indian words and phrases often miss the Indian's meaning completely, and that such translations, generally, should be taken with reserve.

It also seems strange at first glance that so many Indian names of different meanings should be assigned to one stream by people of the same linguistic stock. But Rollins makes the point that "Indians were not so much disposed to bestow a single name on a stream in its entirety as they were to allot particular names to the several salient portions of it." The same might be said, with qualifications, of the early whites, as witness the case of the Wind-Big Horn River in Wyoming. Often, too, early explorers and travelers failed to discern which of two affluent streams constituted the main channel and which the tributary, as in the case of the Green and Colorado Rivers—the Green being, in the opinion of many geographers, not a tributary but the main channel of the upper Colorado. Similarly, Hunt accepted the name Mad River as applying to the present day South Fork of Snake River, but retained the name Canoe River, which he originally applied to the lesser North Fork, after reaching the confluence of the two branches. Stuart followed him partially, in that he spoke of the main stream as Snake River, but retained Hunt's designation "Mad River" as applying to the South Fork—evidently thinking of it as a tributary.

Original application of the name Snake thus is obscure. Stuart's statement indicates that it was in general use among whites by 1812, but no occurrence of the name in literature earlier than Stuart's reference has come to the attention of this writer.

The South Fork of Snake River receives six important tributaries in Wyoming before turning west into Idaho to begin its torturous journey to the sea. Of these, Pacific Creek is aptly named, being the west branch of Two Ocean Creek, a high mountain stream which forks on the Continental Divide in Wyoming and sends a branch to both oceans bordering the continent (see WYOMING WILD LIFE, October 1942). The Buffalo Fork undoubtedly was named for a mountain variety of that species of animal; and the Gros Ventre (usually pronounced Gro-vont) takes

its designation from the mountain range of the same name, in which it heads. Both Rollins and Chittenden (1902) say the mountains were named from the fact that the warlike Atsina Blackfeet (sometimes called Gros Ventres of the Prairie) skirted the range on frequent pilgrimages from their home range in present Montana to visit with southern Arapaho friends on the South Platte River. Whites seem to have applied the term Gros Ventre (French, big stomach) to the Atsina arbitrarily, and for no particular reason. At least there is no record that the Atsina digestive cavity was oversize, and it certainly was not so large as to interfere with the prowess of this people in battle. The Atsina were feared above all other tribes by early whites in the Northwest.

The Hoback River which flows into the Snake from the Southeast, through a long canyon bearing the same name, was clearly named for the Astorian John Hoback—also spelled Hobaugh, Hobough, Hubbough, Hauberk Rollins, p. ci). Hoback, a Kentuckian, came west with Andrew Henry's Missouri Fur trappers, in 1809. Driven from the Three Forks area (Montana) by the implacably hostile Atsina, Henry led his brigade south to the North Fork of Snake River where in the autumn of 1810 he erected a temporary winter shelter which came to be known as Henry's Fort, near present St. Anthony in Idaho. After the fort's abandonment in the spring of 1811, the brigade disintegrated and Hoback with two Kentuckian companions—Edward Robinson and Jacob Reznor—set out for St. Louis. Fearing the hostility of the Upper Missouri tribes, they took a southern route across what is now north-western Wyoming, rather going directly north to the Yellowstone and Missouri. Near the mouth of the Niobrara River, on the Missouri, they encountered Hunt's out-bound Astorians, and their account of Indian hostiles along the river ahead dissuaded Hunt from his original plan to follow the Lewis and Clark route through present-day Montana to the headwaters of the Columbia. Consequently, Hunt engaged the three adventurers to guide him back across the route they had followed from Fort Henry.

Hoback and his companions guided the Astorians across northern Wyoming, over Union Pass and the upper Green River Valley, down Hoback's fork to the Snake, and thence over Teton Pass. At Fort Henry that fall, the trio—no longer being of value as guides—engaged to remain behind and trap for Hunt in the area. Misfortune

befell them, and Robert Stuart rescued them the next summer, while leading the overland Astor party back to St. Louis. Once again, after this rescue, the three declined an opportunity to return to civilization, "in their present ragged condition" as Stuart noted, and engaged to trap for the company for two more years in the sector of their earlier trials. All three were killed by Indians near the mouth of the Boise River in Idaho (1814).

Members of the Astorian party apparently named the river in question for Hoback. Hunt's journal as it appears in *Nouvelles Annales* refers to the stream only as a "small river," but Robert Stuart, retracing Hunt's route through the Jackson region in 1812, calls it "Hoback River"—first known application of the name.

OF THE ORIGIN of the name Grey's River, largest tributary received by the Snake in Wyoming, the record is not so specific. Early maps identify this stream as "John Day's River"—commemorating another member of the Astorian party. The name was changed to "Grey's" in more recent years, possibly because of an objection advanced by Chittenden, who wrote, in 1902, "It is unfortunate that modern geography has made a mistake in perpetuating the name of this stream (John Day's). It should be John Gray. There was a John Gray in the Hudson Bay Company Service under Alexander Ross, and a person by the same name, but whether the same individual or not is uncertain, in the American Fur Company's service between 1830 and 1835. Both John Grays, if different individuals, were distinguished hunters, and from one of them came the name Gray's Hole as applied to a valley on the stream which is now called John Day. The hunter who bore the latter name was never near this stream."

However, Washington Irving, chronicler of Astor's costly venture on the Pacific Coast, reports in *Astoria* (1836) that Day was one of three men sent by Hunt from the mouth of the Hoback River in 1811 to investigate the navigability of the Snake's south fork. And Hunt's Journal reports that the three "set out downstream to explore it for a distance of four days' march." Since the extent between the mouths of the Hoback's Fork and Grey's or John Day's River is hardly 25 miles, and since the explorers were gone for three of their allotted four days, it appears likely that Day at this time was at least "near" if he did not actually reach the mouth of the river which once bore his name. Rollins also reports that Day (who started east with Robert Stuart's returning Astorians

but went insane and was returned to the Astor post) recovered—despite Irving's statement to the contrary—and spent the remaining years of his life "on the upper reaches of the Snake River's Valley" before succumbing in 1820 in the Salmon River Mountains in Idaho. Rollins' "upper reaches of Snake River's Valley" might well have included the Snake River Tributary in question.

This confusion of identities is involved further by the occurrence of a "Gray's Lake" in Idaho, about 30 miles from the mouth of Grey's River in Wyoming. This lake was known to early settlers as Day's Lake or John Day's Lake, the valley surrounding it as John Day's Hole, further evidence that Day at some time was in the vicinity. This valley may possibly be the "Gray's Hole" mentioned by Chittenden. (It is not on Grey's or Day's River, as Chittenden locates his "Gray's Hole," but no such "hole" is known along Grey's River today). Old timers of the Gray's Lake area report that when their post office was established in the 1880's, Day's Lake was the name suggested in their petition for postal service, but that Federal authorities designated the post office as Gray's Lake, to avoid confusion with another Idaho community which then bore the name of Day. Gray's Lake thus was the name adopted for the town originally called Day, and in time the appellation was extended to apply to the lake itself. The spelling, however, differs from that of the now-accepted river name—Grey's—in the use of "a" for "e". Chittenden, it will be noted, also favors the "a" spelling in the name of the man for whom he thought the stream should have been named.

So much for the riddle of John Day or John Gray or John Grey, and the river which now bears his name. Circumstances accounting for the designation of the last important tributary acquired by the Snake in Wyoming, the Salt River, are not so controversial. According to Granville Stuart (not to be confused with Astorian Robert Stuart), the Snake Indians interchangeably called the Salt River "To-sa car-nel" meaning "white lodges" and taking note of a number of small white gyserite cones left along its course by extinct mineral springs, and "O-na-bit-a pah," which he translated to mean "salt water," and which referred of course to the salt ledges and saline springs which occur along its principal tributaries, the Crow and Stump or Stumph Creeks. Tradition says that Indians in prehistoric times traveled great distances to secure salt from deposits along these two streams, and Stump Creek bears

the name of Emil Stumph who with a partner named William White operated a salt works in the 1860's along the stream, then known as Smoking Creek, for the mountains in which it heads. The partners hauled their refined product by ox team to mining camps of Idaho and Montana.

Original application of the name "Salt" to this stream is not evident. Robert Stuart, who apparently followed it the length of Star Valley while wandering, lost, through the area in 1812, refers to it only as "another stream." But Irving, retracing the routes of both Hunt and Stuart from their original journals some twenty years later, uses the name to designate the stream, and this is probably its first appearance in literature (1836).

The Teton River, most important affluent of the Snake's north fork to rise in Wyoming, takes its name from the Teton Mountains, the west slope of which provides its headwaters. According to Granville Stuart, early voyageurs called the three dominating peaks in this range *Le Trois Tetons* (the three breasts) because of their conical shape, and in time the name came to be applied to the entire range. There is confusion, however, between this word "teton" as applied to the mountain range and as used to designate an important division of the Sioux Indian nation. There undoubtedly is no connection whatsoever between the two terms, since the Teton Sioux lived far east of these mountains. Rollins points out that the word "Teton" as used in reference to the Sioux division was probably a corruption of "Titonwan," an Indian word meaning "prairie-dwellers."

"Each of two inconsistent traditions seeks another origin for the name," Rollins elaborates (p. 361). "One of them gives derivation from an alleged merger of two Dakotan words, 'tinta' meaning 'prairie' and 'tonwon' meaning 'village'—hence 'prairie village.' According to the second tradition, a chief having seceded from a main camp and having been later joined by other apostates, it became usual to say 'Tetona?'—an elliptical form for the question signifying 'How many tepees has he?' "

The Teton River was formerly known as Pierre's River, for one Pierre (*Vieux Pierre* or Old Pierre), an Iroquois Indian who entered the region in 1824 while scouting for Alexander Ross of Hudson's Bay Company. Similarly Teton Basin, the broad valley drained by the river, was formerly known as Pierre's Hole, for the same Indian.

Leigh Creek, an important affluent of the Teton which heads in Wyoming, undoubtedly bears, the name of "Beaver Dick" Leigh, Hayden's guide and early Jackson Hole pioneer whose name was also given to Leigh Lake and Beaver Dick Lake (now String Lake) in Jackson Hole. The name of another Teton tributary, Bitch Creek, is according to the Idaho Guide, "an unhappy corruption of Biche Creek. The latter French word means doe."

The name "Bear River" as applied to the most important stream in the Great Salt Lake Basin, a portion of which lies in Wyoming, dates back to early times. The Great Basin area was coveted by all the great fur companies during the storied "buckskin decades," and its largest and longest river was undoubtedly named by one of the early fur-gatherers who plumbed the lush recesses of the Rockies sometime prior to 1820. Chittenden (1902) says that Bear Lake which is drained by Bear River was first known as Black Bear Lake, and cites a letter written in 1819 from "Black Bear Lake" by Donald McKenzie of the Northwest Fur Company.

"To Ashley's men," Chittenden continues, "in 1826, it was known as Little Lake, in distinction from the great (Salt) lake further west. At that time, Bear River was spoken of by Ashley as a 'water of the Pacific Ocean'."

The Idaho Guide Book says definitely that Bear Lake was named by McKenzie in 1818, though it does not elaborate on circumstances accounting for the designation. "The river under this name," the text continues, "was first called Miller, but Indians called it Quee-yaw-pah, meaning the stream along which the tobacco root grew."

The Miller for whom the stream was first named was Joseph Miller, ex-soldier and Astor partner who accompanied Astorian Wilson Price Hunt west from St. Louis on his overland trek to Astoria in 1810-11. At Henry's Fort on the Snake River in the autumn of 1811, Miller became disgruntled, resigned his share in the Astor-controlled Pacific Fur Company, and joined John Hoback's trappers who remained in the area to trap for Hunt. During the months which elapsed before the party was contacted by Robert Stuart's returning Astorians, Miller and his companions wandered south and spent the winter on what is now called Bear River, becoming the first known white man to see the stream. Robbed of their catch and belongings by Indians, the trappers set out for Astoria early in the spring of 1812, and encountered Stuart's east-bound party on the Snake River.

An Indian guide previously had told Stuart of a "shorter trace to the South"—undoubtedly referring to South Pass in Wyoming, which the party later negotiated—and when the Astorian heard of the new river to the south, he decided "after very urgent persuasions" to follow a southerly route to this "shorter trace," thus to avoid the difficulties Hunt's party had encountered in descending the Snake River a year earlier. Hoback and his companions were re-outfitted by Stuart and remained on the Snake to trap, as previously noted, but Miller—his "curiosity and desire of travelling thro' the Indian country being fully satisfied" decided to accompany the Astorians to St. Louis. He subsequently guided the group south to the river in whose discovery he had shared, and Stuart came to speak of it as "Miller's River."

The name seems never to have become established, although it appears on a map published in conjunction with the Astorian journals in *Nouvelles Annales* in 1821 (Rollins, p. 270). Stuart supposed, as did Ashley 24 years later, that the stream must discharge itself into the Pacific Ocean, but the early map noted above shows it ending in a lake in the approximate location of Great Salt Lake—thus casting doubt on the generally accepted theory that Jim Bridger was the first white man to view the Salt Lake, later in the 1820's.

Bear River may have taken its present designation from the lake McKenzie named, or McKenzie may have applied the name Bear or "Black Bear" to the stream as well as to the lake.

Thomas' Fork, one of the more important Bear River tributaries to head in Wyoming, was originally called Thompson's Fork, according to Chittenden, for a member of General William H. Ashley's trapper brigade which spread over western Wyoming early in the 1820's. Chittenden also advances the supposition that Smith's Fork, another Wyoming Bear River affluent, commemorates Jedediah S. Smith, a more prominent Ashley associate who was later a partner in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and, still later, a distinguished trader-explorer in the Southwest.

(To be continued)

Wyoming In World War II

Just one and a half years ago the American people found themselves engulfed in World War Two. That Wyoming has and is doing her part is shown by the following list of her heroes who have made the supreme sacrifice.

We are also listing those missing in action and it is only the lack of space which prevents us from including the Wyoming men in service. The county lists included here are as of May 15, 1943. We plan to include the same of different counties in ensuing issues.

ALBANY COUNTY

Killed in action

Raphael Richard McGauran	Delbert Ray Fisher
Charles Edward Thero	George Hanson
Leslie P. Jacobs	Raymond Fry

Missing in action

Elmer Erle Brown	Carl F. Gunnerson
Arnold Sureson	Maxwell Mariette
Arthur H. Varphal	Lester Lee Throckmorton
Howard C. Corsberg	

NATRONA COUNTY

Killed in action

Jack A. Spaulding

Missing in action

Joe E. Carrillo	Jack McDowell
Thomas L. Cotner	Robert L. McLaughlin
Joe L. Cotter	Quentin D. Miller
John C. Cook	Robert Allen Montgomery
Truman Marion Dickeson	Roy Musfelt
Donald Bruce Forsythe	John Sinadin
Richard Huffsmith	James Henry Small
Claude W. Herron	Kenneth L. Vesey
Ronald Wayne Losey	

JOHNSON COUNTY

Killed in action

Albert M. Hart

Elmer Christensen

Missing in action

Thomas Hushbeck

Patrick Taylor

LARAMIE COUNTY

Killed in action

Franklin Dennick

Robert Milatzo

Philip Bacon

Newton Simpson

Leo Good

Charles Stafford

Frank Harmon

Charles Steele

Edward Lane

Walter Stein

Missing in action

Oscar Brevdy

J. Clinton Asher

William Calder

John McFarland, Jr.

Raymond Lawson

James Orr

Elmer Schliske

Raymond Osborn

SHERIDAN COUNTY

Killed in action

L. A. Ponath

Albert Morgenweck

M. Jack Barton

George Eisele

A. L. Piasecki

Billy Powers

Herman Schmidt

Paul W. Byrtus

George J. Wolney

Harold G. Phillips

Arthur K. Perry

Missing in action

Frank Houx

The Sweetwater Stage Company---1869

The completion of the Union Pacific Railroad did wonders for this once remote part of the country; it brought about the creation of Wyoming Territory, gave a new impetus to the development of the valuable coal and mineral resources of the new Territory, as well as to other industries; stage lines north and south of the U. P. R. R., were established connecting a vast isolated interior with the railroad running east and west.

The Sweetwater Stage Company, established by Alex Benham in May 1869, was one of the many Stage lines organized; it connected the Sweetwater mining district with the Union Pacific Railroad and the outside world. Mr. Benham ran a daily line of four horse Concord Coaches, which were splendidly equipped, between Bryan and South Pass City, a distance of ninety-five miles; Atlantic City and Miner's Delight, a distance of four and eight miles respectively from South Pass City. The fare from Bryan to South Pass City was twenty dollars (\$20.00) the time less than fifteen hours. The route ran over a well watered and verdant country; the company carried the Wells Fargo Co.'s express and secured a contract to carry the U. S. Mail from Bryan to South Pass and Atlantic City, receiving \$64,000 per year.

A. Benham continued the Bryan route to South Pass City until 1871, when he was succeeded by C. C. Huntley & Co., who in 1872 changed the route from Bryan to Green River and extended the line from Green River to Lander.

The Railroad reached Bryan in September, 1868; it was an important town for a few years, being a railroad terminus, Government freight depot, and a stage depot; its importance lasted but a few years for when the Union Pacific straightened its tracks, Bryan was left to one side to be known as a "ghost town."

In 1870 Mr. Benham put in a line of coaches on the Point of Rocks route from Point of Rocks to South Pass City; William Larimer also ran a daily line of coaches from the same points for one season, when this route was entirely abandoned.

The mines of the Sweetwater district attracted considerable attention as early as 1867, but it seemed impossible to collect reliable information before the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad to Bryan was an established fact.

The early history of the Sweetwater mines is comparatively unknown. These mines were located in Fremont County on the Sweetwater River and its tributaries in about latitude $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north and longitude 109° west of Greenwich.

In the "Sweetwater Miner" March 24, 1869, a newspaper published by M. E. A. Slack,¹ is an article which contains all the information known about the discovery and very early history of this district. It has been used by several geologists and historians, apparently the only available early history of these mines.

R. W. Raymond² also included this article in "Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories"³ 1870:

"Gold in the Sweetwater district was first discovered in 1842 by a Georgian, who came here with the American Fur Company for the recovery of his health. After remaining a year he started for home, intending to organize a company and bring them to work the mines. He never reached his home, however, and was supposed to have been killed by Indians. Thirteen years elapsed, when a party of forty men arrived here. They prospected the whole length of the Sweetwater, found gold everywhere in the river as well as in all its tributaries, and turned the main stream from its channel for 400 yards. A small shaft, eight feet deep, from which they took from two to ten cents worth of gold per pan, was sunk and worked for some time. Winter approaching, they abandoned their enterprise to winter at Fort Laramie, where they intended to provision themselves for a year and get a supply of necessary tools in the spring. This done they started, but when on

1. Knight, W. C. "Sweetwater Mining District" 1901, Bull. p. 8. Coutant, C. G. "History of Wyoming" 1890, p. 637. R. W. Raymond also names Charles J. Hazard as editor of the "Sweetwater Mines," 41st Cong. H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 207—p. 9.

2. R. W. Raymond was U. S. Commissioner of Mining Statistics in 1870.

3. 41st Cong. 2nd Sess. H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 207, pp. 327-328 [Serial 1424.]

their way two days they were overtaken by United States dragoons, and brought back to the fort; the leader was sent to prison for some imaginary offense, and the property of the company was confiscated. In 1858 the leader returned to this region, but did no mining until the summer of 1860, when he and eight others commenced mining on Strawberry Creek. Their rotten sluices, rockers, and tons remain there to the present day. During 1861 mining was abandoned, because men could make more money putting up hay, delivering telegraph poles, etc., for the Overland Stage Company. In the fall of 1860, however, fifty-two men had collected at South Pass City ready to commence mining in the early spring of 1862. Their locations were selected, and prospects were promising, when, like a thunderbolt, the Shoshone Indians broke down on them, robbed them of everything and drove them off. This put a stop to mining operations until the fall of 1866, when a party, led by the same man who guided all the former expeditions, came down from Virginia City, Montana. They wintered on the Sweetwater, and June 8, 1867, the Cariso lode was discovered by H. S. Reedall.⁴ A mining district was organized and called Shoshone district. Mining laws were agreed upon and regulations entered into by the pioneers.

Reedall and his party commenced working the Cariso lode when they were attacked by Indians, who killed three of them and drove off the remainder. The survivors returned to the mines July 28, and remained over winter. They succeeded in extracting from the croppings of the lode, which they crushed in a hand-mortar, \$1,600 in gold. Seven thousand dollars more they washed out of the detritus in the gulch below the vein. The news of this success spread rapidly and was greatly exaggerated. A great rush commenced from the neighboring territories, but the majority of the adventurers, not finding the facts to bear out the reports, left very soon. Only about five hundred remained and went to work. Their labor was well rewarded, and gradually more population was attracted, so that in July, 1869, 2,000 people

4. Bancroft, H. W. *The Works of H. W. Bancroft* Vol. 25, p. 731, claims Noyes Baldwin discovered the *Carissa* lode. He also calls this lode *Cariso*. F. V. Hayden, W. C. Knight, R. W. Haymond and several others call it *Carissa* which is no doubt correct.

had settled here. They were doing well and apparently satisfied with the results already reached, and their future prospects. Although all those persons came to the district poor they had three mills with twenty-six stamps running, and several arrastras were in operation."

While we are principally interested in the Sweetwater Stage Company, we cannot lose sight of the fact that one of the main reasons for the establishment of this and other stage lines through this region was the gold discovery in the Sweetwater District, and a little of its early history does not go amiss.

THE SWEETWATER



STAGE COMPANY

Have established a daily line of Concord
Coaches between

Bryan and South Pass City,

ATLANTIC CITY

AND

Miner's Delight

Splendid four horse passenger coaches will leave Bryan daily for South Pass City, the fare being only \$20 and the time less than 14 hours. To persons wishing to visit the gold mines, the route from Bryan is the safest and most expeditious yet discovered. The distance from Bryan to South Pass City is 65 miles over a well watered country. This Company have effected arrangements by which they are to carry the express matter of Wells, Fargo & Co. Accommodations good and best of attention to passengers.

ALEX. BENHAM,
General Superintendent.

m27-3m*

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

January 1, 1943 to June 1, 1943

Miscellaneous Gifts

- Lutz, Mr. J. B., Cheyenne, Wyoming—The Magic City—photos, 1890.
- Doetsch, Mr. L. J., Carpenter, Wyoming—Indian artifact—hammer—shows much use. Picked up near Carpenter, Wyoming.
- Atwood, J. G., Rawlins, Wyoming—Turilla from the DeLaney Rim, Carbon County.
- Shelton, Warren D., State Mineral Supervisor—Sheelite ore, source of tungsten. From Copper Mountain District northwest of Bonneville, Fremont County. This is a new important mineral development in Wyoming.
- Treasury Department, War Savings Staff, United States Treasury Department. "Liberty Brick" an original brick from the walls of Independence Hall in Philadelphia.
- Rice, Robert, 500 C. A. Johnson Building, 17th and Glenarm Sts., Denver, Colorado. Donor of a Hotel Register of the Metropolitan Hotel, Cheyenne, 1884-1885.
- Webster, Olivier V., 1811 East Ocean Blvd., Long Beach, California, Author and donor of a poem, "The Ballad of Jim Bridger."
- Shaffner, E. B., Douglas, Wyoming, donor of a photograph of Major J. W. Powell and John "Portugee" Phillips.
- Bowder, Henry L., 1766 Ponce De Leon Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, donor of several pieces of paper Confederate money issued by the state of Georgia during the Civil war.
- Thorp, Russell, Cheyenne, Wyoming. Loaned a collection of 65 pieces of the Black Hills Stage Coach Days.

Books Purchased

- Spring, Angas Wright, 70 Years Cow Country.
- Bieber, Ralph P. and Hafen, LeRoy R., The Southwest Historical Series, Analytical Index.

Books—Gifts

- Shoemaker, Floyd C., Missouri Day by Day.

RUSSELL THORP COLLECTION

A letter written by Mr. Russell Thorp with reference to a loan made by him to the State Historical Department. State Historical Department,

Supreme Court Building,
Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Dear Mrs. Erwin:

It is gratifying to know that the State of Wyoming has provided space in the Supreme Court Building for the preservation and display of historical relics.

It is with considerable more than passing interest that I loaned to the State of Wyoming my personal collection of historical items that I have preserved these many years from the Cheyenne-Black Hills Stage and Express Line that extended from Cheyenne to Deadwood, more than three hundred miles, back during the Black Hills gold rush commencing in 1876. This line was at one time owned and operated by my father.

The steel treasure boxes, guns, whips, shotgun, messenger's arms and many other items, I am sure could not be replaced, and I hope that this collection will be of educational value to those who visit our State Historical Department.

Sincerely yours,
RUSSELL THORP.

- 0 Billiard ball from first billiard set west of Missouri River. From the Officer's Club, Old Bedlam, Fort Laramie. Presented by John Hunton.
- 00 Extract of log wood from which ink was made by early day military expeditions and pioneers.
- 1 Shoshone Indian drum, 1905.
- 2 Handmade Hudson's Bay bucket. Blackfeet Indians. Montana.
- 3 Stone hammer. Originally Scott Davis Collection.
- 4 Buffalo skinning knife. Home made from a horse shoeing rasp, 1860. Originally Scott Davis collection.
- 7 Brass bucket traded to Blackfeet Indians by Hudson Bay Company.
- 8 Rawhide covered Indian squaw travois saddle tree.

Found by George Lathrop in the vicinity of Rawhide Buttes, 1899.

- 10 Canteen used on the stage coaches in early days.
- 11 Gold pan purchased in Denver, Colorado, June 3, 1859, by Luke Voorhees who used it in the gold diggings at Gregory Gulch on Clear Creek, Colorado, 1859, Alder Gulch, Montana, 1863, and in discovery of the Kootenai Diggings, British Columbia, April 4, 1864. Presented to Russell Thorp by H. Clay Kienzel, May 8, 1937.
- 12 Beer bottle from Old Sutler store, Fort Laramie. According to check-up verified by Schlitz Brewing Company, the label was used in 1883.
- 13 Rough lock used on stage coaches. Last used on Laramie-Centennial Rambler Stage Line in 1903. Presented by Mrs. G. L. Wright.
- 14 Handmade 14 plat buckskin six horse whiplash, 14 feet long, tapered in silk. Used by stage drivers Last used in Yellowstone National Park. (Very fine).
- 15 Handmade buckskin stage driver's whip lash. Used by Russell Thorp, Sr.
- 16 Buckskin Winchester four horse whip lash. Used by stage drivers.
- 17 Four horse whip with hickory stock, buckskin lash and hand worked silk between ferrules. Presented to Russell Thorp by John S. Collins (leading harness maker, Cheyenne) 1884.
- 18 Whalebone stock, buckskin lash stage driver's whip. Presented by J. Elmer Brock.
- 19 Hand wrought treasure box used on Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage Line to transport gold from Deadwood to Cheyenne. Prior to 1876, used on Nevada and California Stage Lines. Gilmer, Salisbury and Patrick.
- 21 Bolt action rifle carried by Quick Shot (Scott) Davis, captain of messengers, on Old Black Hills Stage Line, later carried by him on range as live-stock detective during invasion, 1892.
- 22 Double barreled shotgun carried by Quick Shot (Scott) Davis, shotgun messenger on Old Black Hills Stage Line.
- 23 First model repeating 44 Winchester Henry Rifle issued to shotgun messengers to guard gold, Dead-

- wood to Cheyenne, on Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage & Express Company line. Jointed ramrod carried in butt of rifle showing 7 notches indicating number of men and Indians killed with this gun.
- 24 Belts and rifle ammunition worn by Scott Davis.
 - 25 Ammunition vest and buckshot shells worn by Scott Davis.
 - 26 Binoculars used by Scott Davis to locate road agents and cattle rustlers.
 - 27 Leg irons used on prisoners carried on stage lines.
 - 28 Hand cuffs carried by shotgun messengers on Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage & Express Company line.
 - 29 Bracket and telegraph line insulator on first telegraph line built north from Cheyenne.
 - 30 Telegraph lightening arrester from Rawhide Buttes. First telegraph line built north of Cheyenne.
 - 31 Telegraph instrument from Rawhide Buttes. First telegraph line built north of Cheyenne. Cheyenne-Black Hills Telegraph Line, 1876. Used by Ed. L. Patrick, Sr.
 - 32 Set of whip stock ferrals made by George Lathrop and presented by him to Russell Thorp, Jr.
 - 34 Stage driver's whip socket used on stage coaches to hold whip when not in use.
 - 35 Bridle that belonged to Quick Shot (Scott) Davis. Used in Johnson County War.
 - 37-38 Hame bells used on leaders of string team freight outfits both for decorative purposes and to enable approaching teams to hear them on mountain roads. Used in Nevada. Last used in Yellowstone National Park prior to the use of trucks.
 - 39 Mule skinner's shot-loaded blacksnake whip.
 - 44 Center rings used to hold inside check lines to keep them from spreading. Six horse stage harness.
 - 45 Single center rings used on stage harness.
 - 46 Complete set of rings for six horse stage team harness.
 - 47 Inside spreaders used sometimes on six horse stage harness.

- 48 Off and near terrets used on wheel bridles. Six horse stage harness.
- 52 Sioux Indian war bonnet, 1892. Worn by sub-chief. Presented to R. Thorp, Jr., by Stinking Bear.
- 53 Pair of tees and toggles from Concord harness used to hook traces into Concord stage coach single-trees.
- 102 Sioux Indian beaded moccasins. Sewn with sinews. Worn by Russell Thorp, 1886.
- 103 Sioux Indian beaded moccasins. Sewn with sinews, 1888.
- 104 Indian made buckskin gloves. Shoshoni, 1906.
- 105 Arapahoe Sun Dance whistle made from the wing bone of an eagle.
- 106 Wampum used in lieu of money by Fox Indians of Wisconsin, 1840. Handed down by J. P. Brooks, grandfather of Russell Thorp.
- 107 Steel spearhead used by plains Indians.
- 108 Steel arrowhead. Sioux Indians.
- 109 Iron hatchet used by Mountain men and in trade with the Indians.
- 110 Hatchet used in trade with the Indians by Hudson's Bay Company. Ploughed up near Rawhide Buttes.
- 111 Skinning knife ploughed up near Rawhide Buttes.
- 112 French fencing foil. Found by a sheepherder in vicinity of the Green River rendezvous of the Mountain men and fur traders.
- 113 Sioux Indian peace pipe, 1888.
- 114 Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage & Express Company express seal.
- 115 Original passenger way bills. Douglas Short Line, 1888.
- 116 Stage driver's way pocket in which they carried way bills and special messages. Cheyenne and Black hills Stage & Express Co.
- 126 Insulator from original overland telegraph line. Constructed by Count Edward A. Creighton. Presented by Clark Bishop.
- 127 Six horse stage whip used by Al Patrick of firm of Gilmore, Salisbury and Patrick who established Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage & Express Company 1876.

- Luke Voorhees, Manager. Patrick established the famous P. K. ranch near Sheridan, Wyoming. Presented by his nephew, John Patrick, Jan. 1942.
- 129 Bullwhacker's whip used on ox team in overland freighting.
- 130 English Military buckle found near Spanish Diggings in 1937. Latin inscription "God and My Right." Evidently lost by early-day explorer.
- 131 Peruvian bridle decorations secured by Russell Thorp in Peru. Spanish coins dating 1807-1867.
- 132 Pair of handmade andirons made by blacksmiths with Jenney's Expedition at Jenney's Stockade. Later used at Jenney's Stockade Stage Station. Cheyenne-Black Hills stage line. Presented by Mr. and Mrs. P. S. Jackson.
- 133 Handmade door bolt from station on Black Hills stage line.
- 135 Stub of Telegraph pole, first telegraph line north of Cheyenne and to Deadwood. Set in 1876 and dug up in 1936. Presented by Charles Meyers, Fort Laramie.
- 136 Sole leather trunk, used by R. Thorp, Sr., in early days. Leather trunks were discarded when staging was discontinued. They were especially designed to carry on stage coaches.

Note: These numbers correspond to loaner's numbers.

U. S. COMMISSIONER:

We had the pleasure of a call yesterday morning from Judge J. P. Bartlett, United States Commissioner, who has just arrived here from Omaha. Judge B. informs us that he will open court for the dispatch of business forthwith. He is a young man of fine legal abilities and social worth, and his advent here is welcomed by all order loving people. —The Cheyenne Leader, Vol. 1, No. 2, Sept. 24, 1867.

Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 15

July, 1943

No. 3

Contents

	Page
THE OLD TRAIL TO AN EMPIRE	191
By William A. Riner	
DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS:	
Investigation as to Causes of Indian Hostilities West of the Missouri River, 1824	198
Bonneville's Expeditions to Rocky Mountains 1832-'33-'34-'35-'36	220
By Gouveneur K. Warren.	
Historic Document Tells Early Day Drama of the West	229
By Amanda Z. Archambault.	
CHEYENNE INDIAN PORTRAITS—Painted by George Catlin.....	234
By Marie H. Erwin.	
WYOMING SCRAPBOOK:	
Sites Famous in History of Laramie City Marked During Jubilee	242
Neikok, Indian Interpreter	246
Wyoming Sheriffs	247
An Incident on the Plains, 1870	249
The "Magic City" Cheyenne, Dakota Territory, 1867 (Con't.).....	250
WYOMING STREAM NAMES (Con't.)	254
By Dee Linford.	
EASTERN RECORDS OF EARLY WYOMING NEWSPAPERS.....	271
By Douglas C. McMurtrie.	
IN MEMORIAM—John Eugene Osborne, 1858-1943	279
EARLY HISTORY OF CARBON COUNTY	280
By John C. Friend.	
AN EXCERPT FROM THE JOURNAL OF E. WILLARD SMITH, 1839-1840	287
WYOMING IN WORLD WAR II	298
Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney.	
ACCESSIONS	307

ILLUSTRATIONS

SHERMAN STATION	Front Cover
MUSEUM	190
CHEYENNE INDIAN CHIEF	239
CHEYENNE INDIAN WOMAN	240
AN INCIDENT ON THE PLAINS, 1870	249
STATE SEAL ON BACK COVER	

Printed by The Douglas Enterprise,
Douglas, Wyoming

The State Historical Board, the State Historical Advisory Board and the State Historical Department assume no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the ANNALS OF WYOMING.

The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The historical magazine, ANNALS OF WYOMING, is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the ANNALS should be addressed to Mary A. McGrath, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

This magazine is sent free of charge to all State Historical Board members, the State Historical Advisory Board, Wyoming County Libraries and Wyoming newspapers.

It is published in January, April, July and October. Subscription price, \$1.50 per year; single copies, 45c.

Entered as second-class matter September 10, 1941, at the Post Office in Cheyenne, Wyoming, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Copyright, 1943, by the Wyoming Historical Department.

STATE HISTORICAL BOARD

Lester C. Hunt, President Governor
Mart T. Christensen Secretary of State
Wm. "Scotty" Jack State Auditor
Earl Wright State Treasurer
Esther L. Anderson Superintendent of Public Instruction
Mary A. McGrath, Secy. State Librarian and Historian Ex-Officio

STATE HISTORICAL ADVISORY BOARD

Mrs. Mary Jester Allen, Cody	Mrs. Joseph H. Jacobucci, Green River
Frank Barrett, Lusk	P. W. Jenkins, Big Piney
George Bible, Rawlins	E. V. Knight, Laramie
Mrs. T. K. Bishop, Basin	W. C. Laurence, Moran
C. Watt Brandon, Kemmerer	E. A. Logan, Cheyenne
J. Elmer Brock, Kaycee	Howard B. Lott, Buffalo
Struthers Burt, Moran	Mrs. Eliza Lythgoe, Cowley
Mrs. Elsa Spear Byron, Sheridan	R. E. MacLeod, Torrington
Mrs. G. C. Call, Afton	James L. McIntosh, Split Rock
Oliver J. Colyer, Torrington	A. J. Mokler, Casper
J. L. Cook, Sundance	Mrs. Elmer K. Nelson, Laramie
Mrs. Esther Crook, Fairview	L. L. Newton, Lander
William C. Deming, Cheyenne	R. I. Olinger, Newcastle
Dr. William Frackelton, Sheridan	Charles Oviatt, Sheridan
Paul Frison, Ten Sleep	Mrs. Minnie Reitz, Wheatland
E. A. Gaensslen, Green River	E. B. Shaffner, Douglas
Hans Gautschi, Lusk	Mrs. Effie Shaw, Cody
Burt Griggs, Buffalo	Mrs. Tom Sun, Rawlins
Jack Haynes, Yellowstone Park	John Charles Thompson, Cheyenne
D. B. Hilton, Sundance	Russell Thorp, Cheyenne
L. B. Howard, Rock Springs	
Mrs. Mary E. Hunter, Gillette	

STAFF PERSONNEL

of

The Wyoming Historical Department

and

State Museum

Mary A. McGrath, Editor State Librarian and Historian Ex-Officio
Marie H. Erwin, Co-Editor Assistant Historian



WYOMING STATE MUSEUM

Housed in the new Supreme Court and Library Building in Cheyenne, with vault space and fireproof protection, the Museum provides for the preservation and display of the prized possessions of Wyoming pioneers.

Perpetuate your family name by placing your historical collections and relics in your State Museum, where they may be permanently preserved and enjoyed by the thousands of visitors.

Everything that is presented to the Museum is numbered, labeled, recorded and card indexed, thus insuring permanent identification.

The Old Trail to An Empire

By William A. Riner*

Justice, Wyoming Supreme Court

At one o'clock in the afternoon of July 4, 1920, a Masonic meeting was held in a depression on top of Independence Rock in Natrona County, fifty-five miles southwest of Casper. The place where the meeting was held is located about 170 feet above the surrounding plain and, so far as could be ascertained, was the identical place where a Masonic meeting was held on July 4, 1862 by about twenty members of the Order who were there on that date as part of a covered wagon train which was traveling west on the Old Oregon Trail.

The altar used on this occasion was similar to the altar used by the men who held that first meeting being composed of thirteen large stones emblematical of the thirteen original colonies. The same Bible was used in 1920 as had been used at the meeting fifty-eight years before. This volume had been presented to the Masonic Grand Lodge of Wyoming in 1875 by the gentleman who acted as presiding officer at that first meeting on the Rock. The Bible had been carried to the Pacific Coast, then taken East, and finally, as stated above, was placed in the possession of the Masonic Order of the then Territory of Wyoming.

At the meeting in 1920, many of the states in the Union were represented. There were several members of the Order from Scotland, one from the Philippine Islands, and one from Alaska. In all, there were some 200 members of the Masonic Order present, and they with their families made a gathering of in the neighborhood of 700 people.

On this occasion, after the Lodge meeting had been held at the northern end of the Rock, ceremonies were held in commemoration of the Old Oregon Trail which did so much in the task of peopling the Northwest territory and retaining its vast and valuable expanse for the American Union. On that occasion the following address was presented.

The spread of civilization to a new land is always

*For biography see *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 12, No. 4, p. 302.

fraught with the deepest interest. It is the establishment of a milestone for humanity. The means whereby this is accomplished, oftentimes is memorialized in song and story. From childhood we have heard of the Mayflower and Longfellow's verses about "the Old Colony days in Plymouth, the land of the Pilgrims." The prose of Hawthorne has woven into our lives the spell of that 'rock bound coast." Who, then, shall be the poet who shall sing to us of the gaining for our nation a realm more than four times larger than all the six New England states? Who shall delight our children's children with the romantic history of the Old Oregon Trail? It is a history worthy to minister to the imagination and idealism of the best youth our nation shall ever produce. The heroism of days to come which they will need must grow out of the heroism of the days that have been. The incentive to do and dare noble deeds tomorrow will spring mightily from the aroused memory of such yesterdays. Let me tell you, therefore, briefly of this old northwest Trail which beckoned ever toward the setting sun, and the land of promise which lay beyond.

There is no single name or date or event that we can select and say "Here begins the history of the road to Oregon." In the main it was a natural highway following the easy grades of the water courses. The fords of the rivers, the passes through the mountains; the quickest and easiest paths between water holes on desert stretches—these were first found and traveled by deer, elk, buffalo and other creatures of the wild. The paths made by them were worn deeper by the moccasined feet of Indians. Next came the fur trappers and traders, the real forerunners of civilization. After them appeared missionaries and the adventurous van guard of homeseekers. Forts Laramie and Bridger sprang up along the road and many another post whose name is historic.

Thus the trail grew and became a highway as easy to follow as a country road. Along it surged for years the advance tide of a nation's migrating host. Men of all classes forsook their customary vocations and joined the hegira to the new western lands, forgetful or careless of the pathless distances, the unavoidable hardships, and the inevitable perils of the wilderness. With good luck the journey could be made in four months and with bad luck six months hardly sufficed. Children were born; men and women sickened, died and were buried but the great procession hastened ever westward.

The Oregon Trail started at Independence, Missouri, and for forty-one miles was identical with the older Santa Fe Trail. Where the town of Gardner, Kansas, now stands a sign board indicated a deep worn highway turning off to the northwest. Laconically inscribed thereon were the words "Road to Oregon". Thence the direction of the Kansas and Little Blue rivers was followed to the Platte near Grand Island. From there the road swept along the Platte and Sweetwater rivers for six hundred and fifty miles. Independence Rock, the register of the wilderness with its rudely carved names, marked the entrance into the Sweetwater district. Its massive granite bulk rearing itself out of the plain made known to the travellers they were nearing the Devil's Gate and the crossing of the Continental Divide at South Pass. It told them, too, that the first half of the journey was nearly done. The road then bore away across Green River and wound onward toward the Pacific Coast, finally terminating at Fort Vancouver its more than two thousand miles of length.

Over this highway Brigham Young led the Mormons on their pi'grimage to their Zion. The days of '49 saw it used by countless thousands of seekers after wealth in their mad rush to the gold fields of California. But the Oregon Trail more than any other road of the nation may be characterized "The Path of Empire." For by it came the pioneers who saved Washington, Oregon, Idaho and parts of Wyoming and Montana, to the American Union.

During the first quarter of the last century little was known of the country west of the Missouri. Even as late as January, 1843, it was asserted in the United States Senate that for agricultural purposes the whole Oregon Territory was "not worth a pinch of snuff". One Senator piously thanked God "for his mercy in placing the Rocky Mountains there" as an impassable barrier. The same year the Edinburgh Review declared that the region between the western border of Missouri and the Rocky Mountains was "incapable, probably forever, of fixed settlement" while west of that range "only a very small portion of the land is susceptible of cultivation." Even Daniel Webster said to his fellow senators concerning the Oregon country "What do we want with the vast worthless area. this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? Mr. President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific Coast one inch nearer to Boston than it is now."

But these erroneous ideas were not long to stand. The American people themselves revised the notions of their legal representatives. Even as the great orator's words were being uttered, forces were in motion to save that broad expanse of wonderful territory to the Union. Over this pathway of the wilderness was commencing to pour such a stream of determined men from the East that soon they outnumbered the British Hudson Bay Company there. With characteristic firmness they seized and held the land. From their number came that man of heroic mould, Marcus Whitman. None can forget the story of his terrible journey across the continent, in the face of obstacles well nigh insurmountable, to appear before President Tyler and plead for the retention of the Oregon territory. No one but a Whitman could have convinced the President's skeptical Secretary of State, Daniel Webster. When the latter sarcastically inquired of what use was a land to which no road led, Whitman's response was instant and crushing: "There is a road. I, myself, have traveled over it." And so it came about that in August, 1845, the Hudson Bay Company accepted the protection of the Oregon provisional government and paid taxes to its officers. The following year the title of the United States was formally recognized by treaty. England had abandoned the region below the 49th parallel and the Trail had done the work assigned it. It had won Oregon.

More romance attaches to this old highway than to any other thoroughfare on this continent. Though not much more than half a century has fled since the last of the huge wagon caravans fared out across the plains, the memory of the great trail they traversed is almost a tradition. Only now and then in spaces still untenanted may its former course be traced. Here in Wyoming along the Platte and Sweetwater rivers in a solitude almost as profound as when the first white pioneers passed this way the road remains as of old, a deep ineffaceable scar across the plateau. Miles and miles of it are worn so deep that decades of storm will not efface it. Generations may pass and the origin of the trail become a legend, but the marks will be there and amaze the wondering eyes of centuries still unborn. Even we marvel to see it worn fifty feet wide and three feet deep, where the tramp of thousands upon thousands of men and women, the hoofs of millions of animals and the wheels of untold numbers of vehicles have loosened the soil and the fierce winds have torn it away. On the solid rock, ruts are found worn a foot deep.

Standing here we can look back along the Trail and out of the dim distance for us in fancy's eye appears again the slowly moving train; the wagons with their once white, but now stained and battered tops; the patient beasts of burden measuring their tired steps; men, travel-worn and bronzed by exposure; women with mingled hope and care appearing on their anxious faces; and children huddled in the rattling and rocking abodes, whose questioning eyes ask ever when their discomforts will cease. These are the pioneers of the Oregon Trail. Days slip by into weeks and weeks into months; yet tirelessly the toilsome march is resumed. Sometimes the way is beset with Indian scares and fights; unbridged streams must be forded; rugged ascents and steep declivities occur; teams become useless and equipment fails; but finally when the year has glided into the golden tints of autumn, the long looked for end of the journey comes. Such is the story many of those travellers would tell us; some could tell us more. And there were those who looked back with heavy hearts and remembered where they had left the wild winds to chant their funeral requiem over a lonely and deserted grave. For many sank beneath the ravages of the dread cholera augmented by the unnatural mode of life, the hurry and the hardships. It is estimated that in one year alone, more than five thousand laid down their lives a sacrifice to the peopling of the Pacific Coast States. The roll call was never had. Their unknown and unmarked last resting places have passed into oblivion, though they line the way.

The journey was one which sounded the heights and depths of human emotion from the oftentimes amusing incidents of camp life down through the wearisome daily marches and dull night watches, to the solemn tragedy of the death of loved ones. Yet, withal, there was much of happiness and joyous hope in the hearts of many who formed that mighty caravan. Though they were leaving childhood's homes and friends behind, many forever, they were going, confident of winning new homes and new friends in a new land. We should reverence with lofty pride this dusty, grey battle field far flung over prairies and mountains on which thousands of precious lives were laid down that this great victory of peace, this great conquest over nature, this great invasion of American home-seekers by American of a former generation for Americans in the ages to come might be accomplished.

It is not surprising that this result was wrought. For

over the trail there passed descendants of men who left the quiet lanes and hedgerows of old England for homes beyond the sea; who had fought against King Philip; who marched with Boone through Cumberland Gap; who were with Harrison at Tippecanoe when American arms overwhelmed British and Indian alike and made secure to our country the old Northwest Territory east of the Missouri. Over this trail, too, passed both the humble and the honored members of our beloved Masonic Order, then as always in the van of those who lead mankind to greater fields, to loftier achievements.

So that they may not be forgotten we keep this memorial occasion. It is very fitting we should do them honor on this, the nation's Independence Day. Fifty-eight years ago on this very Independence Rock they held their lodge. The noble pile of granite, nature's own monument to the great Trail, looked down upon them then and listened to their ritual in solemn, silent grandeur. It has enshrined the recollection of their meeting well. Its unyielding mass majestically typifies the eternal foundation of our Order-Truth. As it shall endure for ages hence, so do we think will the work the great procession of which they were a part achieved.

No more will this great Rock behold the wild troops of savages, bedecked with paint and war plumes, fluttering trophies, bows, arrows, lances and shields; no more will it mark for weary migrating hosts a spot of solace and of rest; for it forever, probably, will remain only the quiet solitude of a lonely place, peopled solely by the memories of sunshine and shadow from days that are no more. But as the soft whispering winds of summer play about its massive flanks let us believe they bring to it a message to mingle with those memories; let us believe they re-echo to it as they pass the Song of the West which tells to us all:

"At first 'twas the lure of the metals,
the dull-red stream borne gold,
When the weaklings died by the roadside,
when the slid snows buried the bold,
And then 'twas the lure of the ranges, the
miles of unbroken sod,
Where the herder spread his blankets 'neath
the scintillant stars of God.
But now 'tis the song of the water
flooding the thirsty soil;

The gride of the stamps, quartz crushing, the
gush of the spouting oil,
The crash of the falling timber, the murmuring
fields of grain
The hum of the blooming orchards,
the roar of the laboring train."

CHEYENNE CITY COUNCIL

Cheyenne, D. T., Sept. 18, 1867

The Common Council of Cheyenne met at the City Hall this evening at 7 o'clock.

Present, Mayor Hook, Councilmen Talpey, Preshaw, Willis, Thompson and Harlow.

A memorial from John Kenyon praying that so much of a fine imposed upon him by Police Magistrate Larimer, as subjects him to a forfeiture of his license, be remitted. Granted.

A petition from a number of citizens requesting the Council to submit the question of allowing the games of keno and rondo to be conducted under proper restrictions, to the voters of the city. Referred to the Committee on Licenses.

A number of applications for License to carry on different branches of business in the city were received by the Council, and on motion, Licenses were granted to the applicants.

The Committee appointed at a previous meeting for the purpose of securing a suitable Hall for the use of the city, reported that they had rented the second story of Mr. J. R. Whitehead's new building on Eddy street. The report of the Committee was received, the city to take possession of the Hall as soon as completed, at the monthly rent of \$125.

The Committee appointed to secure a piece of ground to be used as a City Cemetery, reported through its chairman, Mr. Preshaw, that they had conferred with Gen. Stephenson on the subject and he had consented to set off 40 acres from the east end of the Military Reservation, to be used by the city and also by the troops at Ft. Russell.

On motion the City Clerk was requested to furnish a synopsis of the proceedings of this meeting to the Editor of the Cheyenne Leader, who kindly offers to publish the same free of charge.

On motion, the Council adjourned to meet on Thursday the 27th at 7 o'clock p. m.—(The Cheyenne Leader, Sept. 19, 1867.)

Documents and Letters

INVESTIGATIONS AS TO CAUSES OF INDIAN HOSTILITIES WEST OF THE MISSOURI RIVER, 1824

These documents which deal with Indian affairs, apparently along the Missouri, included territory which extended far into the country reaching the Rockies to the west and to the south into what is Texas today. The tribes included here inhabited that part of the unorganized territory, which later became Wyoming and these documents reveal many of the causes which gradually led to serious Indian troubles in this portion of the territory, which finally culminated in the late '60s, with the final quelling of major Indian warfare in this section.

These documents also reveal the attitude of the British who without doubt instigated the Indians to an unfriendly attitude toward the Americans.

Washington City, February 10, 1824.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose to you the answers to the questions put to me by the Committee of the Senate on Indian Affairs. A part of these answers are made from my own knowledge and observations, and a part from the recollection of conversations with persons conversant with Indian affairs on the Missouri, and on whose opinions and judgment I have great reliance.

Respectfully, yours,

R. GRAHAM, United States Indian Agent.

Hon. Thos. H. Benton, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Question 1. Have you had opportunities of becoming acquainted personally, or by information to be relied upon, with the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi?

Answer. I became acquainted with several tribes residing on the west side of the Mississippi, personally; and with the character of other tribes residing high up the Missouri, by information from persons on whom I could rely.

Ques. 2. Have you known or heard of any hostilities between the citizens of the United States and the Black-foot Indians? If so, state the instances.

Ans. I have. About the year 1809 or 1810, a company was formed in St. Louis, for the purpose of trading with, and trapping among, the Indians residing on the waters of the Missouri river. A party from this company were sent to the mountains to trap; they built their post, I believe, on the Yellow Stone, and commenced their trapping in that country over which the Blackfoot Indians range. A party of these Indians discovered one of the trapping parties, waylaid, and killed some of them; reinforcements were obtained from the post, or some of the trappers near at hand; they pursued, overtook, and had a battle with the Indians, in which several Indians were killed, and I believe one or two white men. The hostility of these Indians presented such obstacles to the party, that, after several losses, by robbery of their traps, &c., they were compelled to retire from the country.

Ques. 3. Are the Blackfeet a wandering or stationary tribe?

Ans. They are a wandering tribe, and have no fixed habitation; raising no corn, and depending entirely upon the chase.

Ques. 4. Over what district of country do they range?

Ans. Over that country which lies between the Yellow Stone river, the Rocky Mountains, and as far north as the Saska-tche-wine river; seldom or never wandering on the Missouri below the mouth of the Yellow Stone river, but sometimes crossing that river, and extending their war or hunting parties as far as the Arkansas. The Arrepahas, who inhabit the country south of the Yellow Stone, and who are also erratic, and depend entirely upon the chase, are a band of the tribe of Blackfoot Indians; making the range of these Indians along the base of the Rocky Mountains, from the Rio del Norte to the Saska-tche-wine.

Ques. 5. Do you know, or have you heard, of any citizens of the United States hunting or trapping in this district? If so, state the particulars.

Ans. The answer to the second query furnishes the first instance that I have heard of. Some time after this, a party hunting south of the Yellow Stone were taken

prisoners by the Spaniards, and carried into Santa Fe. The party of Ashley and Henry, of recent date, and some of the Missouri Fur Company, furnish the only instances of parties hunting or trapping within that district of country. The traders from Missouri to Santa Fe occasionally trap on the waters of the Arkansas and head waters of the Rie del Norte; these traders meet with the Arrepahas, but, as yet, I have not heard of any mischief done by them, though I hear of their threats.

Ques. 6. With whom do the Blackfeet trade?

Ans. Formerly, I believe, through the Assinaboins, with the British establishments on Moose river; at present, with that establishment, and others of the Hudson's Bay Company, extending on as far as the waters of the Columbia river.

Ques. 7. Have you known or heard of any hostilities between the Arickara Indians and citizens of the United States? If so, state the circumstances of each case.

Ans. The first instance was in the case of the Mandan chief, who was returning home, under the protection of the United States; for the particulars of which, I refer to the official reports.

Within the last twelve months, after inviting, as I understood, the Missouri Fur Company to send traders among them with such articles as they wanted, they treacherously attacked the company's post, in which attack the Indians lost two men; they also attacked General Ashley, with his party of trappers, on their way to the mountains in June last, and killed and wounded twenty-six men. For the particulars, I refer to the official report.

Ques. 8. Are the Arickaras a stationary or wandering tribe?

Ans. Stationary. They raise abundance of corn, pumpkins, peas, and beans; live in two villages, on the banks of the Missouri, about one hundred and fifty miles below the Mandans, and which they have fortified; they seldom or never extend their hunting excursions beyond forty or fifty miles from their village. Buffaloes, on which they principally depend, are found in immense herds within that distance.

Ques. 9. Do you know, or have you heard, that any American citizens have hunted or trapped on the grounds

belonging to the Arickaras? Do you know of a letter, purporting to be written by an Indian agent at St. Louis, and published in the Atlantic papers, ascribing their hostility to this cause?

Ans. Never. I have always understood that beaver and otter are found but in small quantities in this country. American citizens, who go into the Indian country for the purpose of trapping, always go where they believe the most beaver is to be taken; distance and difficulties present no obstacles to them. In passing through the Arickara country, they kill of the buffalo a sufficiency for their daily subsistence. I know nothing of the letter written by an Indian agent at St. Louis, ascribing *their hostility* to the trapping on the Arickaras' ground; nor do I believe such a letter could be written by an *Indian agent*.

Ques. 10. Do you know of any cause which led to the attack upon General Ashley's party?

Ans. I have understood the cause which led to General Ashley's attack was a demand made on him for compensation for the two Arickaras killed by the Missouri Fur Company, which was refused by General Ashley. After failing in their various efforts to induce him to pay for the Indians who were killed by the Missouri Fur Company, they consented to open a trade for some of their horses, which General Ashley was much in want of; the trade progressed, and finished satisfactorily to both parties. In the course of the evening, General Ashley was notified, by a chief, of the intention of the villages to attack him that night, or very early the next morning, and advised him to take his horses on the opposite bank of the river. Circumstances that then looked suspicious induced General Ashley to believe it was rather the intention of this chief to steal the horses, by his urging him to remove them across the river, as small parties of Indians were occasionally seen on the opposite side. He, however, strengthened his guard, and paid no further attention to the chief, who continued urging him to move to the opposite side. Early in the morning, the party were alarmed by the firing which they heard, and soon discovered that their guard had not only been attacked, but nearly all killed and wounded.

Ques. 11. Have you any reason to believe that the Hudson's Bay Company excited the Arickaras to that attack?

Ans. I have no reason to believe they did.

Ques. 12. Do you know, or have you heard, of any hostilities between the Assinaboins and citizens of the United States?

Ans. I have not heard of any.

Ques. 13. Are the Assinaboins stationary or wandering?

Ans. I know very little of the habits of those Indians. I know of no traders, other than British, who go among them. They are numerous, and are the nearest Indians to the Hudson's Bay establishment on Red river and its waters.

Ques. 14. Where is the richest fur region beyond the Mississippi?

Ans. I have always understood the northern branches of the Missouri, above the junction of the Yellow Stone, contained more beaver than any known country.

Ques. 15. Can the fur trade of this region be secured to the citizens of the United States, without the aid of a military post at or beyond the Mandan villages?

Ans. I think it cannot. If the hand of Government were extended to the protection of the fur trade of this country, it would be a source of immense wealth to the nation; but, without the protection of a military post above the Mandans, our traders will be compelled to withdraw themselves, and the whole of that rich fur region will be occupied by those from the Hudson's Bay Company, and our traders cut off from any participation of it above the Mandans; below this point, the *fur* trade will be of no value or profit in a few years.

Ques. 16. Can corn, for the supply of a post, be raised or purchased?

Ans. Corn can be raised at the most northern points of the Missouri. The Mandans and Arickaras raise large supplies; but I would suppose a dependance upon an Indian supply would be precarious.

Ques. 17. Is there a trade carried on between Missouri and New Mexico? And what articles are carried out, and brought back in return?

Ans. There is a small trade at present, the continu-

ance of which will very much depend upon the capacity of the Spaniards at Santa Fe to support it. They are miserably poor, and give in exchange, for British and domestic goods, which our traders take to them, jacks and mules, which they get from St. Antoine, and some little silver and furs caught by the Indians in that quarter. Combined with this trade is the trapping carried on by our citizens, who, for that purpose, spend some time on the waters of the Rio del Norte and Arkansas. Though I have generally been informed by the parties returning from that trade that it was not worth carrying on, yet they continue the trade. If these parties, trading to Santa Fe, were less liable to interruption in their trade by depredations of the different Indian tribes through which they are compelled to pass, I believe the trade would be carried on to a greater extent, and the enterprise of our hardy citizens would push it to the more wealthy city of Mexico.

Ques. 18. Is it subject to be interrupted by Indians on the waters of the Arkansas?

Ans. It is. The Camanches, Arrepahas, Pawnees, and Osages, all cross the Santa Fe trail in their hunting or war parties; consequently, are liable to fall in with parties going to or coming from Santa Fe, and are very apt to steal their horses. A part of their route runs through the Osage country. One of the articles of a treaty with that nation provides that no white man shall pass through their country without their permission. They complain of the violation of this article of the treaty. The chiefs say it is impossible for them to keep their young men from stealing from those parties. The assent of the different Indian tribes, through whose country our traders pass, would, I think, facilitate the trade.

Ques. 19. Would a military post, some distance higher up the Arkansas than Fort Smith, contribute to protect the citizens engaged in this trade?

Ans. I am of opinion that a post established at or near the mouth of the Little Arkansas would greatly contribute to the protection of the trade to Santa Fe. Any position below that point would be so far from the track travelled, that but little protection could be extended to those who carried on the trade.

Ques. 20. What is the temper of the tribes which have an intercourse with the British towards the citizens of the United States?

Ans. Generally unfriendly. I have always found those Indians within our territories who visit British posts more unfriendly to us, and more difficult to control.

Ques. 21. What is the temper of the tribes which have no intercourse with the British traders towards the citizens of the United States?

Ans. With those tribes within my own knowledge, very friendly; and generally so, so far as I have understood of others.

Ques. 22. How near do the British trading establishments approach the territories of the United States?

Ans. Those on Red river border immediately on our territories, and some of them, I believe, are within it. There are some situated within one hundred and fifty miles of the Great North Bend of Missouri.

Ques. 23. Is it to the benefit, or injury, of the fur traders, to have hostilities with the Indians?

Ans. By no means to the benefit, but to the great injury of the traders. The very existence of the trade depends upon peace with the different Indians, both with the white people and among themselves.

Ques. 24. Has the abolition of the factory system been the cause of any Indian hostilities beyond the Mississippi?

Ans. In no one instance, within my knowledge.

Ques. 25. What is your opinion of the good or bad effects of hunting and trapping on Indian lands by American citizens?

Ans. I am decidedly of opinion that the hunting and trapping on Indian lands by American citizens produces the most unhappy effects upon the mind of the Indians. They look upon their game as we do upon our domestic animals, and hold them in the same estimation. It is their means of support: they have nothing else to depend upon for subsistence. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to suppose that they will not only steal from, but murder, those who are depriving them of their only means of subsistence. One of the means of putting a stop to this would be, to locate the traders at suitable positions within the Indian countries, and not to permit them to attend the Indians on their hunting parties, as they at present

do, many of them carrying with them their traps. They should be placed at such points as the agent might designate; and the Indian would then know that every white man found on his lands, at any other place than the trading establishment, was a trespasser, and might be taken up and brought to the agent.

* * *

Mr. Pilcher's answers to questions put to him by the Committee of the Senate on Indian Affairs.

Question 1. Have you had an opportunity of becoming acquainted personally, or by information to be relied upon, with the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi?

Answer. Having been engaged in the Indian trade for the last four years on the Missouri river and its tributary waters, I have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted personally, and by information to be relied upon, with most of the Indian tribes in all that region beyond the State of Missouri as far as the Rocky Mountains. The tribes personally known to me, and with most of whom an extensive trade has been carried on, as well by the Missouri Fur Company (to which I belong) as other companies of St. Louis, are the following: The Kansas, whose permanent residence is on the Kansas river; the Ottoes and Missouriias, two small tribes who have villages on the river Platte, a short distance from the Council Bluffs; the Pawnees, a very numerous tribe, whose villages are also on the river Platte, about one hundred and fifty miles from Council Bluffs; the Mahas, residing a little west of the Council Bluffs, on the Elk Horn, a branch of the river Platte—say from four to five hundred men; the Poncas, a small, and, at present, a wandering tribe, who generally range through the country on the l'Eau-qui-cours, as far west as the mountains in which that river takes its rise; and with the different bands of Sioux, neither of which have any fixed residence, but wander over a vast section of country on the right and left banks of the Missouri river—on the right, from the Big Sioux river to the sources of Jacques river, the St. Peter's, and Red river; and on the opposite side, they range through all the country watered by the l'Eau-qui-cours, White river, and the river Cheyenne, as far as the Black Mountains, in which some of those streams rise, and frequently as far north as the heads of the Little Missouri, above the Mandans.

At or near the Big Bend of Missouri, a trade is carried on with these several tribes, which are as follows: The Yanctons, Teetons, Siouones, Ogallallas, Hunkapas, and Yanctonas; amounting in all, I should judge, from their own accounts, and from my own observation, to ten or twelve thousand souls, and perhaps more. A small band of the Cheyenne Indians, another wandering tribe, sometimes visit those establishments for the purpose of trading.

I have also a personal knowledge of the Arickaras, Mandans, and Minatares, (sometimes called Gros Ventres;) these tribes reside permanently on the banks of the Missouri. The Arickaras are from four hundred and fifty to six hundred warriors strong; the Mandans and Minatares, about two hundred and fifty each, from their own accounts, and reside near the same point, in different villages. These are the only three tribes of Indians above the Council Bluffs, east of the Rocky Mountains, who have any fixed residence, or depend on any thing but the chase for subsistence.

The foregoing tribes are the only Indians of whom I have any personal knowledge. There are several wandering tribes south of the Yellow Stone river, known only by the information of persons on whom I can rely, who have been sent into that country with a view of ascertaining the prospect of opening a trade with those tribes, and for the purpose of *trapping beaver*. The Cheyenne, Rappahos, (supposed to be a band of the Blackfeet,) Kayawas, and Crows, are separate tribes, who range through the country south of the Yellow Stone river, from its confluence with the Missouri, through the Rocky Mountains, on the waters of the rivers Platte and Arkansas, and as far as the Spanish settlements. I have no accurate information respecting the numbers of the three former tribes. The Crows, by their own accounts, have about one thousand five hundred men; but, from the information of persons who have spent several winters amongst them, and taken some pains to ascertain their actual strength, I should judge they fall short of that number. The Blackfeet, numerous and powerful; and the Assinaboins, also numerous.

Ques. 2. Have you heard of any hostilities between the Blackfoot Indians and citizens of the United States?

Ans. The Blackfoot Indians have uniformly mani-

fested a hostile disposition to all American citizens who have visited their country, from the time of its discovery by Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, up to the present day. It will be recollected that Captain Lewis, when returning from the Columbia, met with a party of those Indians on Maria's river, or with a party called Minatares, of Fort de Prairie, who were the associates of the Blackfoot Indians, and probably a band of that nation. This party, after the most liberal and friendly treatment on the part of Captain Lewis, attempted to rob him and his men, which produced a skirmish, and some two or three of the Indians were killed. Between the years 1808 and 1810, a company was formed in St. Louis, by a number of respectable citizens, as well for the purpose of *hunting and trapping beaver*, as to open a friendly intercourse and trade with those and other Indians in that country. Several members of this company headed an expedition, and penetrated as far as the Three Forks of the Missouri. I believe nothing was omitted which it was thought would tend to bring about a friendly interview with those Indians, as a friendly understanding with them could alone insure a successful result to the adventure. This object could not be accomplished; the Indians attacked them at all points; and, in a short time, they were compelled to abandon the country, with the loss of many men and some property. Since that time, no American citizens have visited the country, until the spring of 1823. In the summer of 1822, our company fitted out an expedition, under the direction of Messrs. Immell and Jones, the object of which was to extend our business to the sources of the Missouri, as well for the purpose of *trapping beaver*, as to ascertain the prospect of introducing our trade among the Blackfoot Indians, and any other tribes in that country. This party wintered on the Yellow Stone River, near the mouth of the Big Horn, at Fort Benton, a post established in the winter of 1821, for the trade of the Crow Indians, and as a depot for a party of trappers. In the spring of 1823, the party (then consisting of thirty men) left this post, and penetrated as far as the Three Forks of the Missouri. I had instructed the heads of this party to use every effort to obtain a friendly interview with the Blackfoot Indians, and to incur any reasonable expense for the accomplishment of that object; and to impress them with the friendly disposition of American citizens towards them, and with the true object of their visiting the country. The party continued in the country,

without meeting with any Blackfoot Indians, until about the middle of May; having extended their operations to the sources of Jefferson's Fork, when they concluded to return to the Yellow Stone. While descending the Jefferson river, on their return, they met, for the first time, with a party of Blackfoot Indians, consisting of thirty-eight men. Aware of the hostile spirit formerly manifested by them, they were not permitted to approach without some precaution on the part of the whites; finally, one of the Indians exhibited a letter, when they were immediately invited to approach. The bearer presented the letter to Mr. Immell, which was not directed to any person, but was superscribed, in the English language, "*God save the King.*" The paper contained a recommendation of the Indian, stating that he was one of the principal chiefs of his nation, well disposed towards whites, and had a large quantity of furs, &c. The letter was not signed; it was written on the leaf of an account book, which seems to have been headed, before it was taken from the book, "Mountain Post, 1823;" it was dated at the bottom, "1820." The Indians were invited to remain with the party for the night, and did so, making many professions of friendship, and appeared much gratified at the proposition to establish trading-houses in the country; and pointed out the mouth of Maria's river, seventy or eighty miles below the falls of Missouri, as the most desirable spot; stating that they had understood such to be the objects of the company, &c. This was the fact, but how *they* got the information I am unable to divine. They were also in possession of all the information relative to an establishment at the mouth of the Yellow Stone, made the preceding fall by Messrs. Ashley and Henry; their views respecting trapping, hunting, &c. In the morning, the Indians received a number of articles as presents, and left the party apparently well satisfied.

The suspicious appearances of the above-mentioned letter, a good knowledge of the Indian character, and particularly of the treacherous disposition of that nation, induced the heads of the party to move with all possible expedition, and to use every precaution. They succeeded in reaching the Yellow Stone river, and had descended it for some distance below the mountains, and began to consider themselves secure, having met with several hunting parties of Crow Indians, who were known to them, and well disposed. But the Blackfeet had assembled, to the number of three or four hundred warriors, inter-

cepted the party, and selected a favorable position, where they attacked and defeated them. The result was, the loss of Messrs. Immell and Jones, and five other men, and the entire loss of all the property in their possession, amounting to \$15,000 or \$16,000. The chief who bore the letter before mentioned was recognized amongst the party as one of the leaders. About the time these circumstances occurred, a party of Blackfoot Indians attacked a party of trappers headed by Major Henry. at some point between the Missouri and Yellow Stone. killed four or five of his men, and drove them from the country.

Ques. 3. Are the Blackfoot Indians wandering or stationary?

Ans. The Blackfoot Indians are a wandering tribe.

Ques. 4. Over what section of country do they range?

Ans. They range through the country north of the Missouri, from the Saska-tche-wine to Maria's river. over all the country watered by that river: through the Rocky Mountains, on the different tributaries of the Missouri, to the heads of Gallatin's Fork, and to the sources of the Yellow Stone, Platte, and Arkansas rivers: and, from all the information I have been able to collect, the mouth of Maria's river is the most central point of the country through which they wander. But it is difficult to point out the exact limits of any of those wandering tribes, because they observe none themselves. Both the Crow Indians and Blackfeet (particularly the latter) frequently range west of the mountains, particularly on war excursions against the Shoshones, Snakes, Flatheads, and other tribes on the Columbia river.

Ques. 5. Do you know, or have you heard, of any citizens of the United States having hunted or trapped in this district? If so, state the particulars.

Ans. The committee will find an answer to this interrogatory in my reply to those preceding it.

Ques. 6. With whom do the Blackfoot Indians trade?

Ans. There is no doubt but the Blackfoot Indians trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. They are well supplied with arms, ammunition, traps, blankets, stroudings, chiefs' coats, hats, and all other articles of merchandise, used by the different tribes of Indians, who trade in British manufactured goods; and at all the old

Indian encampments about the Three Forks of the Missouri are to be found small rum kegs, and the heads of kegs, branded with the marks of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies. The Indians themselves say they procure those articles from the *British living to the north*. It is well known that they derive nothing of the kind from the Spanish settlements, and that there never has been any trade between them and American citizens. It is known that those Indians were in the habit of trading with those companies many years ago; and all the circumstances combined can leave no doubt that that intercourse is continued.

Ques. 7. Have you known or heard of any hostilities between the Arickara Indians, and citizens of the United States? If so, state the circumstances of each case.

Ans. In relation to the hostile disposition of the Arickara Indians towards American citizens, I would observe, that a minute detail of each case would occupy more time than be spared to its recital. I will therefore only state some of the most prominent cases which have come to my knowledge. It is known to some of the committee, that the Arickara nation attacked and defeated Lieutenants Chouteau and Pryor, about the year 1808, while ascending the Missouri river, under the American flag, with one of the Mandan chiefs and his family, who accompanied Messrs. Lewis and Clarke to the United States on their return from the Columbia. I know that the Arickaras killed a man about the year 1816 or 1817, a little above the Big Bend of the Missouri River, in the Sioux country, who was in the employment of some one of the *fur traders* of St. Louis. I know that a war party of Arickaras, amounting to eighty or ninety men, came down to that country (Sioux country) in the month of April, 1820, and robbed two trading-houses established by the Missouri Fur Company for the trade of the Sioux Indians—one above, and the other below, the Big Bend of Missouri; beat and abused the men in charge of the houses; and that the same party continued down the Missouri still further, to the trading-houses of another company, and robbed them of a considerable amount of merchandise—from the owners' account, not less than \$1,600 or \$1,700.

In September, 1822, I visited the Arickara villages myself, for the first time. I was going to the Mandans and Minatares, for the purpose of establishing trading-

houses for these Indians. I was deceived in the Arickaras in different ways. From their former disposition, I had anticipated difficulties with them. But they received me well; and their conduct was so different from what I had expected, that I made them large presents, and received, in return, many professions of friendship, and promises to commit no further depredations. I left, by their own request, a clerk in their villages, with merchandise amply sufficient for their trade. I was then acting as special sub-agent, having received that appointment from Major O'Fallon, United States agent for the Missouri river; and, from the peculiar good conduct of those Indians on that occasion, I wrote him a very favorable letter respecting them, and the prospect of their future good behavior. The friendly disposition manifested on that occasion, however, was not of long duration. I know that one of the principal and leading chiefs of that nation, after visiting me at the Mandans, and ascertaining the time I intended to descend the river, returned home, raised a party, and waylaid the river, for the purpose of attacking my boat. I know that some of the principal braves of that nation attempted, during the last winter, to rob my clerk, while in their own villages, and committed violence upon him. In the month of March last, after this clerk left their villages, and descended the Missouri, to one of our principal Sioux trading-houses, about two hundred miles below the Arickaras, a party of that nation, consisting of about eighty men, came down to the neighborhood of this house, met six of our voyagers a few miles from it, who were employed in collecting the furs and peltries traded from the Sioux Indians at different points in the vicinity of the house, stripped them naked in the prairie, robbed them of their clothes, stole two or three horses or mules, beat each of the men severely, and left them naked in the prairie. The same party came that night and fired on the house, stole another horse, and went off.

A day or two subsequent to these outrages, another party, amounting to about one hundred and fifteen men, came, in daylight, and attacked this house. Mr. McDonald, one of my partners, his clerks, and eight or ten voyagers, defended themselves and the house, which contained a large amount of property. In this affair, the Arickaras lost two men killed, and probably three or four wounded.

Ques. 8. Are the Arickara Indians a stationary or wandering tribe?

Ans. It will be seen, from my answer to preceding questions, that they are stationary.

Ques. 9. Do you know, or have you heard, that any American citizens have hunted or trapped on the grounds belonging to the Arickaras? Do you know of a letter written by an Indian agent at St. Louis, and printed in the Atlantic papers, attributing their hostility to this cause?

Ans. No party of American citizens, authorized to pass through the Indian country, have ever been in the habit of trapping on the Arickara grounds, to my knowledge. The country affords but very little fur; nor do I know of any hunting in the Arickara country, other than what is necessary for the subsistence of persons passing through.

The letter referred to by the committee, purporting to have been written by an Indian agent at St. Louis, attributing the attack upon General Ashley to this cause, accidentally fell into my hands a day or two before I left St. Louis, in December last. It was published in some one of the Atlantic papers. I have no knowledge of the author of said letter. I am personally acquainted with the different Indian agents and officers of the Indian Department on that station, and feel satisfied that it is not the production of either of them. Major O'Fallon, with whom I conversed about it, was indignant at its contents, and concurred with me in the opinion that it was a fabrication. Major Graham, whom I have seen at this place, is ignorant of the writer of this letter; and he and Major O'Fallon are the only agents on the Missouri river.

Ques. 10. Do you know of any cause which led to the attack upon General Ashley's party?

Ans. I do not positively know the cause of attack upon General Ashley. I think the remote causes may very readily be traced to their uniform hostility to Americans, and disposition to commit all sorts of depredations; but, from my views and *knowledge* of the Indian character, I think it highly probable that the immediate cause originated in a spirit of revenge for the loss sustained in the attack upon our house. Indians are not governed by the principles of right and wrong in such cases, or in the habit of inquiring where the fault lies. When the blood of an Indian is split, his relations are apt to revenge it the first opportunity. But, as so many contradictory statements

have been made in relation to the commencement of this war, I hope the honorable committee will not think it amiss in me to remark, that an investigation upon that particular point would be met with some satisfaction.

Ques. 11. Have you any reason to believe that the Hudson's Bay Company excited the Indians to that attack?

Ans. I have no reason to believe that the Hudson's Bay Company excited the Arickaras to that attack. On the Contrary, I am convinced they did not. The influence of that company does not extend as low as the Arickaras; nor do I believe they have any intercourse with them at present. The Arickaras make nothing, to induce a wish on the part of that company to acquire influence amongst them.

Ques. 12. Do you know, or have you heard, of any hostilities between the Assinaboin Indians and citizens of the United States?

Ans. The only late hostilities, of which I have any knowledge, on the part of the Assinaboins towards American citizens, are the following: They committed a robbery upon Major Henry, in the month of August, 1822, a little above the Mandan villages. He was ascending the Missouri at the head of an expedition, fitted out by Messrs. Ashley and Henry, for the purpose of *trapping beaver*. Major Henry was on board his boat, and had a party of men going by land, with some forty or fifty horses. They met a large party of those Indians, who, by their address, got possession of the horses, and rode them off. Another party of those Indians came to our fort at the Mandan villages, in the month of January last, and, I think I understood from Mr. Vanderburgh, fired on the fort: after which, they stole one or two mules, and retired. This was done in the night.

Ques. 13. Are the Assinaboins stationary or wandering?

Ans. The Assinaboins are a wandering tribe; and, I believe, are a band of the Sioux Indians. They speak the same language; and, from the vast region through which they range, must be very numerous. The principal hunting grounds and country most frequented by such of those Indians as I have any correct knowledge of lies on the Assinaboin river, and left of the Missouri, above the Mandans, on the different streams coming in from the

north, as high as Milk river; and I believe they range as far as Maria's river. They are frequently found on the Missouri, between the Mandans and Yellow Stone river; and I believe their *principal* trade is carried on at those British establishments on the Assinaboin river, about one hundred and seventy miles from the Mandans. American citizens have had no friendly intercourse with them in that section of the country, to my knowledge.

Ques. 14. Where is the richest fur region beyond the Mississippi?

Ans. The richest fur region, of which I have any knowledge, is that through which the Blackfoot Indians range.

Ques. 15. Can the fur trade of this region be secured to citizens of the United States without the aid of a military post at or beyond the Mandan villages?

Ans. The fur trade of that country, and the country lying north of the Missouri river, below, as far as the Mandans, cannot be secured to American citizens until the causes which now and have ever prevented them from participating in it are removed; unless they are protected in extending their business into these remote regions, until such time as they acquire an influence sufficient to counteract that of British trading companies. The committee will observe, that those companies have no intercourse or influence with any of the tribes heretofore mentioned, with the exception of those which range through the country in question. If all trade and intercourse between those tribes and British traders can be cut off, and the American trade introduced, it would very soon protect itself. Most Indians, who have long been accustomed to intercourse with whites, become dependent on them for the supply of particular articles, without which they cannot well live, once having acquired a knowledge of their use. It is not my opinion that the Mandans are sufficiently near the Rocky Mountains to make it a point for protecting the trade on the upper waters of the Missouri river. The falls of Missouri, or Maria's, or the Yellow Stone river, would each be preferable to it; particularly either of the former points, and in the order in which they are named. A large post is now not necessary at the Council Bluffs. A small garrison there, one at or near the Big Bend, one at the Mandans, and the principal one at or beyond the Yellowstone, are, in my opinion, so indispensably nec-

ecessary for the preservation of the fur trade on the Upper Missouri, that, without them, the most valuable part of that trade may be considered as lost to American citizens, and surrendered to the British.

Ques. 16. Can corn for the supply of a post be raised or purchased from the Indians at or beyond the Mandan villages?

Ans. The Mandans and Minatares raise considerable quantities of corn, and frequently supply traders and wandering tribes of Indians who visit them. In the fall season, a good deal may be purchased from them; but still I think it would be a precarious dependence for the supply of a post. The article, however, can as well be raised by whites as Indians. From the same soil, and with sufficient inducements, the Indians would doubtless raise much more than they now do.

Ques. 17. Is there a trade carried on between Missouri and New Mexico? and what articles are carried out, and brought back in return?

Ans. I know there is a trade carried on between the citizens of Missouri and New Mexico, but I am not sufficiently informed upon the subject to enable me fully to answer the question. I believe, however, the only articles brought back, in return for those taken out, are mules, specie, and furs.

Ques. 18. Is it subject to be interrupted by Indians on the Arkansas?

Ans. I have understood that some of those trading parties have been interfered with by Indians on the Arkansas, and several robberies committed, and some murders.

Ques. 19. Would a military post, some distance higher up the Arkansas than Fort Smith, contribute to protect the citizens engaged in that trade?

Ans. I am not sufficiently acquainted with that country to justify me in giving information respecting the effect of a military post above Fort Smith, on the Arkansas; but think it obviously true that such a post would be a great protection to the trade between Missouri and Mexico.

Ques. 20. What is the temper of the tribes who have

no intercourse with British traders towards the citizens of the United States?

Ans. The disposition of such of the Indian tribes on the Missouri as are personally known to me, which have no intercourse with British traders, (excepting the Aric-karas) has generally been friendly, since I acquired a knowledge of them. But where there are so many different tribes and bands of Indians, it is almost impossible to keep them all at peace with each other. Parties of war are continually roving through all sections of the country, and, while on these excursions, have frequently committed some slight depredations, which come within my knowledge; but such things do not originate in a general spirit of hostility on the part of their nation. Amongst those who are ignorant of the character of whites, having but little intercourse with them, such depredations are more frequent, because there is a greater spirit of hostility existing amongst those remote tribes towards each other, than those who have long had intercourse with the whites, and such parties are more numerous.

Ques. 21. What is the temper of the tribes which have an intercourse with British traders towards American citizens?

Ans. It will be seen, from my answer to preceding questions, that the disposition of such tribes of Indians as have intercourse with British traders, particularly the Blackfeet, has been uniformly hostile towards American citizens, in so much that they have had no intercourse with any of those tribes, with the exception of the Mandans and Minatares. It has not been long since British traders had intercourse with these tribes; but they have been so reduced by war and pestilence, the quantity of *furs* obtained from them at present is so small, and the American trade having been introduced amongst them, that there has been no intercourse, to my knowledge, for the last two or three years.

Ques. 22. How near do the British trading establishments approach the territory of the United States?

Ans. The establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company now stretch entirely across the continent, bordering upon the American territory, and at some places, perhaps, are within it. If the country beyond the Rocky Mountains, in the latitude of the Columbia, belongs to the United States, they have four establishments on American terri-

tory; one at the mouth of that river, one near its junction with Lewis' river, one near the mountains convenient to the Flathead Indians, and one other higher up. Fort de Prairie is a very celebrated establishment, and I think it is situated high up on the Assinaboin river. This river is lined with establishments; one very large at the mouth of Moose river, one hundred and seventy miles from the Mandan villages; another on the river Capel, a southern branch of the Assinaboin: both of which must be either within the American boundary, or near to it. The Saskatchewan river, which runs parallel to the Missouri, and but a short distance from it, rising in the same chain of mountains, and flowing into Lake Winnipeg, is also lined with British establishments; and, from Indian information, I have reason to believe that they have an establishment on Maria's river, a branch of the Missouri. It is from these establishments, on the Assinaboin and Saskatchewan rivers, that the Blackfeet and Assinaboins, both numerous and powerful nations, get their supplies of merchandise, arms, and ammunition, and come across to attack the American traders on the upper waters of the Missouri; and the furs robbed from American citizens are doubtless carried to these establishments to trade.

Ques. 23. Is it to the benefit, or injury, of fur traders, to have hostilities with the Indians?

Ans. So far from being to the benefit of persons engaged in the fur trade to have hostilities with the Indians, the very existence of such a trade depends on their pacific disposition; and both the interest and safety of persons engaged in that business require that they should not only preserve a friendly understanding with the Indians themselves, but, so far as possible, keep the different Indian tribes at peace with each other, in order that their property and men may not be exposed to roving war parties, who, particularly amongst those remote wandering tribes, are always disposed to mischief when on such excursions.

Ques. 24. Has the abolition of the factory system been the cause of any Indian hostilities beyond the Mississippi?

Ans. I know of no hostilities on the part of the Indians originating in the abolition of the factory system. I know but little of the operation of influence of these establishments, having been removed far beyond them.

It is hardly probable that the abolition of this system excited the Arickaras and blackfoot Indians to hostilities, neither of those tribes ever having heard of a factory or a factor, removed, as they were, from twelve hundred to three thousand miles from the range of their operations.

Ques. 25. What is your opinion of the good or bad effects of hunting or trapping on Indian lands by American citizens?

Ans. The tribes in the neighborhood of the Council Bluffs have complained of it, and are greatly opposed to it. The Crow Indians have never objected to it, although they have seen it with their own eyes, by parties in the employment of the Missouri Fur Company for two years. These parties have carried it on during all that time, without the least interruption of friendly intercourse, probably because they also traded with the Indians for all they could take. But I consider the case of the Crows an exception, and that the practice must lead to bad consequences. But no Indians, that I have heard of, ever objected to traders, travellers, or others, killing what was necessary for their subsistence. That comes under the notion of hospitality. The trapping done by the men of our company was in conformity with the practice, and not under any license; the one which we receive from the Government is to *trade*.

Ques. 26. Have any other companies, besides General Ashley's and the Missouri Fur Company, hunted or trapped in the Indian country?

Ans. Messrs. Berthold, Chouteau, and Pratte, of St. Louis, who have been largely engaged in the *Indian trade*, and the principal competitors of the Missouri Fur Company in *that* business, have also been, and are still, largely engaged in the trapping business.

The numerous inquiries of the committee being answered, I must beg to be indulged in a few observations relative to the system of trade and intercourse with the Indians; which are most respectfully submitted to the consideration of the committee.

It is now, and has long been my opinion, that the present system of trade and intercourse with the Indians, so far as it applies to the Missouri river, is defective in several particulars. I believe that certain points should be fixed for trading establishments, and that every person

engaged in that business should be strictly prohibited from carrying on any trade out of those trading-houses, either in a direct or indirect manner, or accompanying Indians on their hunting excursions for any purpose whatsoever; and that no white man or half-breed, who has been raised amongst whites, and is considered a citizen, and who is not authorized by license or otherwise, or in the employ of some licensed person, should be permitted to live in the Indian country, or among the Indians, under any manner of excuse or pretence whatsoever; that the points for the trading establishments should be selected by the Indian agent or agents, or the person exercising their duties; and that it should be the duty of said agents frequently to visit each and ever of such establishments in their agency, provided they can be furnished with a competent escort to make themselves respected as the representatives of their Government, particularly when visiting such tribes within their agency as are far removed from civilization.

It would not be proper in me to trouble the committee with any reasoning upon this subject. Suffice it to say, that these were my original views upon the subject, and that every day's experience has impressed me more fully with their correctness, and convinced me that such a system, while it contributed must to the benefit of the Indians in a pecuniary way, would have a tendency to impress them with something like a regular system of business; teach them the true character of the whites, and impress them with a degree of respect for American citizens, which the present mode of roving about is not calculated to do; and, at the same time, would contribute greatly to the safety and convenience of those engaged in the business, without depriving either of any single benefit derived from the present system.

I would further beg to be indulged in making a few statements, to impress the committee with an idea of the value of the Indian trade to the United States. The returns of licenses show that upwards of \$600,000 was embarked last year in the trade; and, if extended into the Rocky Mountains, I should suppose that it would employ a capital of three times the amount now employed in *that* trade, for an indefinite term of years to come. Almost the whole of the articles necessary for this trade can be made in the United States. They consist of hardware, comprehending light guns, knives, hatchets, axes, hoes,

lances, battle-axes, and beaver traps; cottons, comprehending checks, stripes, coarse calicoes, handkerchiefs, &c.; woolens, comprehending coarse cloths, blankets, and flannels; to which may be added, tobacco, powder, lead, and many other articles of smaller value. The company of which I am a member has always kept several blacksmiths' shops in operation on the Missouri, for the manufacture of some of the above-mentioned articles; and, at the time of the commencement of the late hostilities, had one at the Mandans, one at the Big Bend of the Missouri, and two forges in the neighborhood of the Council Bluffs. The woolen and cotton goods, particularly, can be made by American manufacturers of a quality equally as well suited to the Indian trade as British goods, with which the Indians are at present supplied.

With much respect, I am your obedient servant,

JOSHUA PILCHER.

BONNEVILLE'S EXPEDITION TO ROCKY MOUNTAINS

1832-'33, -'34, -'35, -'36

By Gouverneur K. Warren*

The narraitve I have perused is entitled "*The Rocky Mountains; or, Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in the Far West; digested from the Journal of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, of the army of the United States, and illustrated from various other sources.*" By Washington Irving. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard.—1837." This is accompanied by two maps: one on a scale of twenty-three miles to an inch, showing the sources of the Missouri, Yellowstone, Platte, Green, Bear, Snake, and Salmon rivers, and a portion of Lake Bonneville, (Great Salt Lake;) the other, on a scale of fifty miles to an inch, giving the country from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific, between the parallels of 38° and 49° north latitude.

Captain Bonneville's explorations were made in pros-

*First Lieutenant, Corps of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A. From his Memoirs giving a brief account of the exploring expeditions, from 1800 to 1857. 33d Cong. 2d sess. H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 91, p. 31. [Serial 801].

execution of the fur trade, which was his principal object, and very great accuracy in the map is not, therefore, to be expected. His letter of instructions, from Major General Macomb, dated Washington, August 3, 1831, contains the following directions: "The leave of absence which you have asked, for the purpose of enabling you to carry into execution your design of exploring the country to the Rocky mountains and beyond, * * * * has been duly considered and submitted to the War Department for approval, and has been sanctioned. You are, therefore, authorized to be absent from the army till October, 1833. It is understood that the government is to be at no expense in reference to your proposed expedition, it having originated with yourself. * * * * You will, naturally, in preparing yourself for the expedition, provide suitable instruments."

On the 1st of May, 1832, Captain Bonneville, with a train of wagons, took his departure from Fort Osage, and proceeded up the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas. Crossing this stream, he followed very nearly the present travelled road to the Platte, thence along this river to the forks, and up the South Fork for two days. Here ferrying his party over, he struck across the North Fork, followed it to the Sweetwater, and thence up that stream to its source in the South Pass. From this point he proceeded northwesterly to Green river, where he established his grand depot, near the mouth of Horse creek, and abandoned his wagons.* Having organized several hunting parties, he proceeded towards the northwest along the upper sources of Green and Snake rivers, until he reached Salmon river. The winter was passed on the upper portion of this stream and in travelling over the Great Lava plain or Shoshonee valley between it and the Snake river. In the spring a grand rendezvous was held at the caches, in the Green River valley. Having made his arrangements for the year, he visited the Great Salt lake, and saw its northern portions. "To have this lake properly explored and all its secrets revealed was the grand scheme of the captain for the present year. * * * * This momentous undertaking he confided to Mr. Walker, in whose experience and ability he had great confidence."

*There were at this time two rival companies trading in this region—the American Fur Company and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company—both having their principal rendezvous at "Pierre's Hole," in the valley of Pierre's river, an affluent of Snake or Lewis' river.

"He instructed him to keep along the shores of the lake, and trap in all the streams on his route. He was also to keep a journal and minutely to record the events of his journey and everything curious or interesting, and make maps or charts of his route and of the surrounding country." No pains nor expense were spared in fitting out this party, which was composed of forty men, they had complete supplies for a year, and were to meet Captain Bonneville in the ensuing summer in the valley of Bear river, the largest tributary of Salt Lake.

This party endeavored to proceed south over the great barren salt plain lying to the west of the lake, but their sufferings became so great, and the danger of perishing so imminent that they abandoned the proposed route, and struck to the northwest for some snowy mountains in the distance. Thus they came upon Ogden's (Humboldt) river, and followed down it to the "sinks," or place where it loses itself in the sand. Continuing on, they crossed the Sierra Nevada, in which they were entangled for 23 days, suffering very much from hunger, and finally reached the waters of the Sacramento; thence turning south they stopped at the Mission of Monterey. After a considerable sojourn the party started to return. Instead of retracing their steps through the Sierra Nevada, they passed round its southern extremity, and crossing a range of low hills found themselves in the sandy plains south of Ogden's river, where they again suffered grievously from want of water. On this journey they encountered some Mexicans, two of whom accompanied them to the rendezvous appointed by Captain Bonneville. The return route of this party probably was nearly that taken by Captain Fremont in 1842, and known as the Santa Fe trail to California. They thus travelled quite around the Great Basin system.

While this expedition was in progress, Captain Bonneville made an excursion to the headwaters of the Yellowstone. Leaving Green river he moved east to the sources of the Sweetwater, so as to turn the Wind River mountains at their southeast extremity; thence, striking the head of the Popo Agie, he passed down it to Wind river, which he followed through the gap of the Little Horn mountains, and through the Big Horn range. Below these mountains the river becomes navigable for canoes, and takes the name of the Big Horn river. From this point he returned to Wind river and attempted to cross the

Wind River mountains direct to his caches on Green river. In this he was foiled by the chasms and precipices and compelled to take his former route around their south-eastern extremity. From the depot he went up to the sources of Green river, crossed the mountains between its source and that of Wind river, and again returned to Green river by the Sweetwater. He then passed over the mountains to the Bear River valley, and thence to the Port Neuf river, where he established his winter quarters.

During the winter he started to visit the Columbia, passing down the Snake River valley, through the Grand Ronde and over the Blue mountains, to Walla-Walla. He returned to Bear river in the succeeding June. On the 3d of July, 1834, he made a second visit to the Columbia, and returned to spend the winter on Bear river. In 1835 he returned home* by way of the Platte river.

Captain Bonneville's maps, which accompany the edition of Irving's work, published by Carey, Lea & Blanchard, in 1837, (the later editions generally do not give the original maps,) are the first to correctly represent the hydrography of this region west of the Rocky mountains. Although the geographical positions are not accurate, yet the existence of the great interior basins, with outlets to the ocean, of Great Sale lake, of Mary's or Ogden's river, (named afterwards Humboldt by Captain Fremont,) of the Mud lakes, and of Sevier river and lake, *was determined* by Captain Bonneville's maps, and they proved the non-existence of the Rio Buenaventura and of other hypothetical rivers. They reduced the Wallamuth or Multonomah (Willamette) river to its proper length, and fixed approximately its source, and determined the general extent and direction of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. The map of the sources of the Yellowstone is still the best original one of that region.

As there is no name on the published map to show by whom it was constructed, I wrote to Colonel Bonneville in relation thereof, enclosing him a copy of the map. I make the following extracts from his reply:

*Captain Bonneville's long-continued absence after the expiration of his leave, during which time no news was received from him at the War Department, led to his name being dropped from the Army Register. He was, however, restored, and now holds the commission of colonel of the third infantry.

"GILA RIVER, N. M., *August* 24, 1857.

"DEAR SIR: I thank you for your desire to do me justice as regards my map and explorations in the Rocky mountains. I started for the mountains in 1832. * * * I left the mountains in July, 1836, and reached Fort Leavenworth, Missouri, the 6th of August following. During all this time I kept good account of the course and distances, with occasional observations with my quadrant and Dolland's reflecting telescope. * * * I plotted my work, found it proved, and made it into three parts: one a map of the waters running east to the Missouri State line; a second of the mountain region itself; and a third, which appears to be the one you have sent me, of the waters running west. On the map you send I recognize my names of rivers, of Indian tribes, observations, Mary's or Maria's river, running southwest, ending in a long chain of flat lakes, never before on any map, and the record of the battle between my party and the Indians, when twenty-five were killed. This party clambered over the California range, were lost in it for twenty days, and entered the open locality to the west, not far from Monterey, where they wintered. In the spring they went south from Monterey, and turned the southern point of the California range to enter the Great Western Basin. On all the maps of those days the Great Salt lake had two great outlets to the Pacific Ocean: one of these was the Buenaventura river, which was supposed to head there; the name of the other I do not recollect. It was from my explorations and those of my party alone that it was ascertained that this lake had no outlet; that the California range *basined* all the waters of its eastern slope without further outlet; that the Buenaventura and all other California streams drained only the western slope. It was for this reason that Mr. W. Irving named the salt lake after me, and he believed I was fairly entitled to it. The Great Lava plain was never known as such; until my report drew attention to its character, it was even confidently asserted that there was no prismatic basalt columns in that region. I saw it perfectly formed once only, and this on Snake river, below Gun creek. The Three Buttes have often been my camping ground. I wintered once on Salmon river, by my observation 45° 50' 24" north latitude. It was from my observations and plotting that the headwaters of Snake river, of the Columbia, Muscle Shell, and Yellowstone; headwaters of the Missouri and Sweetwater, of the Platte, and those of the Colorado of the West, were brought together in one

view, as reported in my journal; before this these heads of rivers were scattered far and wide. I gave Mr. Washington Irving the three maps I mention; and as the publication was by Carey, Lea & Blanchard, the originals may, perhaps, be found with them. The earliest editions have maps of my making. The one you refer to me I have no doubt is one of the three maps I made.

"Yours, &c.,

"B. L. E. Bonneville,

"Colonel 3d Infantry.

"Lieut. G. K. Warren, *Topographical Engineers.*"

A reduced copy of the map of the Great Basin and sources of the Yellowstone are given with this memoir. Application was made to Mr. Irving and to the publishers of the work to obtain, if possible, the original maps, but they could not be found, as so considerable a period had elapsed that they had been lost or mislaid.

Colonel Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," page 580, says of Fremont's second expedition: "He was at Fort Vancouver, guest of the hospitable Dr. McLaughlin, governor of the British Hudson Bay Fur Company, and obtained from him all possible information upon his intended line of return, faithfully given, but which proved to be disastrously erroneous in its leading and governing feature." * * * * "All maps up to that time had shown this region traversed from east to west, from the base of the Rocky mountains to the bay of San Francisco, by a great river called the *Buenaventura*, which may be translated the *good chance*. Fremont believed in it, and his plan was to reach it before the dead of winter, and then hibernate upon it."

It is evident that Colonel Benton had never seen Captain Bonneville's map, or he would not have written this paragraph.

EARLY DISCOVERIES IN THE GREAT BASIN

The exploration of the Great Salt lake was a favorite object with Captain Bonneville; though called Lake Bonneville by Mr. Irving, its existence was well known to the traders and trappers on his arrival in that country, as was also that of the Ogden's or Mary's river. A short

account of the first discoveries in this region may not be inappropriate in this place.

In Captain Stansbury's report, page 151, he says: "The existence of a large lake of salt water, somewhere amid the wilds west of the Rocky mountains, seems to have been known, vaguely, as long as 150 years since. As early as 1689 the Baron la Hontan * * * wrote an account of discoveries in this region, which was published in the English language in 1735." This narrative of La Hontan of his journey up "La Riviere Longue," flowing into the Mississippi from the west, has for more than a century been considered fabulous. It is spoken of even by Captain Stansbury as an "imaginative voyage up this most imaginary river," up which La Hontan claims to have sailed for six weeks without reaching the source. During this voyage he learned from four Mozeemlek slaves belonging to the Indians living on the river "that, at the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues from the place he then was, their principal river empties itself into a salt lake of 300 leagues in circumference, the mouth of which is two leagues broad; that the lower part of that river is adorned with six noble cities, surrounded with stone cemented with fat earth; that the houses of these cities have no roofs, but are open above, like a platform, as you see them drawn on the map; that, besides the above-mentioned cities, there are above a hundred towns, great and small, round that sort of sea, upon which they navigate with such boats as you see drawn on the map," &c.

Now, this description does not, in any particular, correspond with the Great Salt lake; and, if it was told by the savages to the Baron, might, with as much if not far greater propriety, be considered as referring to the Pacific ocean, with the Columbia flowing into it.

The story of La Hontan excited much speculation and received various additions in his day; and the lake finally became represented on the published English maps of as late date as 1826 (see Plate III) as being the source of two great navigable rivers flowing into the South Sea. Here it was that historians supposed the Aztecs were located before their migration to Mexico.

Father Escalante, in 1776, travelled from near Santa Fe, New Mexico, in a northwesterly direction, to the Great Colorado. After crossing it and passing to the southwest

through the country near its western bank, he turned again to the southeast, recrossed the stream, and proceeded to the Gila, during his journey he probably was in the vicinity of Utah lake. He there met with Indians who told him of a lake to the north whose waters produced a burning sensation when they touched the skin.* This lake was perhaps the Great Salt lake; and its property of making a burning sensation when applied to the skin was probably the effect of the strong solution of salt which it contains. This lake was *not* visited by Father Escalante; and that which he represents on his map, and which is copied on Humboldt's New Spain as Lake Timpanogos, was probably what is now called Lake Utah, into which a stream flows called by the Indians Timpanogos river.

Being convinced that, down to the days of the American trappers, the Great Salt lake had never been seen by white men, nor definite knowledge about it obtained, I addressed a letter to Robert Campbell, esq., of St. Louis, a gentlemen well known for his acquaintance with the early Rocky mountain fur trade. The following is his reply:

"St. Louis, *April* 4, 1857.

"DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 25th ultimo reached me at a very fortunate period to enable me to give you a satisfactory reply to your inquiry as to who was the first discoverer of the Great Salt lake. It happened that James Bridger and Samuel Tullock both met at my counting-room after a separation of eighteen years, and were bringing up reminiscences of the past when your letter reached me. I read it to them, and elicited the following facts:

"A party of beaver trappers who had ascended the Missouri with Henry and Ashley found themselves in pursuit of their occupation on Bear river, in *Cache* (or Willow) valley, where they wintered in the winter of 1824 and 1825; and in descending the course which Bear river ran, a bet was made between two of the party, and James Bridger was selected to follow the course of the river and determine the bet. This took him to where the river passes through the mountains, and there he discovered

*I have, by the assistance of Mr. Moreno, of the Spanish legation, examined a manuscript narrative of his journey of Escalante, now in Colonel Force's library.

the Great Salt lake. He went to its margin and tasted the water, and on his return reported his discovery. The fact of the water being salt induced the belief that it was an arm of the Pacific ocean; but, in the spring of 1826, four men went in *skin* boats around it to discover if any streams containing beaver were to be found emptying into it, but returned with indifferent success.

"I went to the Willow or Cache valley in the spring of 1826, and found the party just returned from their exploration of the lake, and recollect their report that it was without any outlet.

"Mr. Tullock corroborates, in every respect the statement of James Bridger, and both are men of the strictest integrity and truthfulness. I have known both since 1826. *James Bridger was the first discoverer of Great Salt Lake.*

"I am happy in being able to give you the information and of the character that you wished for.

"Your obedient servant,

"ROBERT CAMPBELL.

"Lieut. G. K. Warren,

"Topographical Engineers, Washington City.

"P. S.—A party of the Hudson Bay Company trappers came to the same place in the summer of 1825, and met the party that had discovered the Salt lake that season."

"R. C."

The party of trappers from the Hudson Bay Company, referred to in the postscript to Mr. Campbell's letter, was under the enterprising leader, Mr. Peter Ogden, who discovered the Ogden's or Mary's river in 1825. One of Mr. Ogden's party took a woman for his wife from among the Indians found on this river, to whom the name of Mary was given. From this circumstance the stream came to be called Mary's river. It is also called Ogden's river, after its discoverer.

A portion of the Great Basin system was visited by Father Font as early as 1777, near the Mojave river, (which he called Rio del los Mortires.) He followed its course to the place where it sinks, and then travelled east, crossing the Colorado at the Mojave valleys, and kept on as far as the Moquis villages. A copy of his map was procured in California by Captain Ord, U. S. A., and is now on file in the Topographical Bureau.

HISTORIC DOCUMENT TELLS EARLY DAY DRAMA OF WEST

The death this week of the eldest member of the Loretto Heights college community, Sister M. Aurelia, brings to light an historic document, before unpublished, that recounts the early days of Wyoming settlers on the Sweetwater river. The document forms the recollections of Amanda Z. Archambault, the mother of the deceased Lorette, and was prepared and signed by her in 1907. It now is in the possession of Leon Archambault, grandson of the writer and a nephew of Sister Aurelia.

On the day of Sister Aurelia's death, Mr. Archambault took the manuscript to Loretto Heights college. In discussing its contents with the sisters, he recalled that his grandmother had often told him of pioneer days in Wyoming and also that Sister Aurelia had frequently told her nephew how, when she was a little girl at the trading post, traders would often fill her apron with gold nuggets—so many that the cloth would finally break.

The following account contains excerpts from this authentic and historic document. The children referred to in the article are Sadie Archambault, the recently deceased Sister Aurelia, and her two oldest brothers, Edward and Charles. A third brother, Leon, father of the surviving nephews and niece, was born in Nebraska City, Nebr., and a sister and brother, Blanche and Alfred, were born in Florissant, Mo., to which village the family finally returned.

Alfred A. Archambault (a French Canadian, but a naturalized citizen of the United States) established a trading post in Wyoming on the Sweetwater river in 1853, one mile from Independent rock, where he erected buildings consisting of a residence for his family, a store (a general Indian trading post), a house for the Indians in which to trade, and a house for his employes, i.e., the cattle herders, etc. He also built a bridge over the Sweetwater river, which cost him several thousand dollars.

Instead of having to ford the river, all the emigrant trains, etc., going and coming to California and the West passed over on this bridge, to their great satisfaction and for which privilege they willingly paid a toll of \$3 for each vehicle.

After said Alfred A. Archambault conducted this

trading post and met with great success for about three years, the Indian war broke out, but said party did not leave at once as the Indians were his friends, called him in their language "fair trader," and he felt no fear. Besides, he had recently returned from St. Louis with a wagon train of goods for his store, amounting to thousands of dollars, and he hoped . . . that the war would be of short duration and that he would weather the storm, as he claimed he required only one more year's business to be independently wealthy.

AN ARROW AS A WARNING

But the war grew worse and the Sioux Indians from Powder river (about a mile distant) came over one night, shot his cattle with poisoned arrows, ran off 50 head of horses, and left an arrow at the door as a warning that the trader and his family must leave. About this time Capt. or Lt. Johnson came up from Fort Laramie, which was the nearest military post, and took an inventory of the fort, etc., valuing the bridge at \$3,000, and the store, contents, buildings, cattle, and stock at many thousand dollars. Alfred A. Archambault had the original paper of this inventory and the understanding was that the copy held by Capt. Johnson was to be placed on file in Washington.

On Oct. 2, 1856, Alfred A. Archambault (after making caches and burying such goods as was possible, which were promptly dup up and carried away by the Indians who had watched the performance from mountain peaks) left his fort with his family and several wagons loaded with stocks for Nebraska City, Neb., where they did not arrive until 40 days later after enduring untold hardships and privations, which were experienced by his wife (a Philadelphia woman—a relative of Gen. Robert Schenck, former minister to England), their baby, and two little children. The travelers were nearly frozen to death, with snow everywhere. The stock gave out and wagons loaded with goods had to be left on the prairie, and many narrow escapes were made from the Indians. The party arrived in Nebraska City on Thanksgiving eve with but one wagon and seven head of horses. Before taking his wife to the Indian trading post, said Alfred A. Archambault had spent several years there, building up a fine trade with the Indians and laying the foundation for what promised to be a very large fortune. When the spring emigration

opened, one morning before breakfast he collected \$1,500 in gold in tolls over the bridge.

The following spring Alfred A. Archambault attempted to return to his trading post, but the Indian war continued and he was obliged to go back to Nebraska City, where he had left his family. On the breaking out of the Civil war, Alfred A. Archambault enlisted in Company A, Veteran Volunteers of Iowa, and was wounded in the Battle of Spanish Fort. He was honorably discharged and died on Aug. 15, 1879, in Oakland, Calif., leaving a wife and six children.

Livingston and Kinkaid (spelling not positive) had a large general store in Salt Lake City and passed the Fort in going and coming between St. Louis and Salt Lake City. They made their purchases in the former city. The only wagon road to California and the West was that by the fort. The railroad had not been built or hardly thought of at that period.

SURVIVES HORRIBLE ORDEAL

In the year—I think it was 1855—Mr. Kinkaid, while on his way to St. Louis, with the view of making purchases for his store (he had \$11,000 in silver in his possession), was attacked while a passenger on the Salt Lake City mail coach ("The Brigham Young") between said fort of Alfred A. Archambault and Fort Laramie, by the Sioux Indians. All the passengers were killed (the coach was burned) and Mr. Kinkaid was left for dead, having been shot by seven poisoned arrows. But after the Indians left he regained consciousness, and crept over the prairie (being unable to walk) for several miles until he reached the cabin of "Old Drip," a half breed, who did what he could to relieve Kinkaid's sufferings. In the meanwhile a rescue party was sent out on hearing of the Indians' depredation, and Mr. Kinkaid was taken to Fort Laramie for treatment and later to St. Louis.

A short time afterwards, a band of Indians came to the fort, desiring to make a trade for horses. The chief and "big men" of the tribe had strings of the American silver dollars (that had belonged to Mr. Kinkaid), through which they had made holes. One end of the string was attached to the headdress of feathers, etc., and the other swept the ground. Understanding from the reports that had been brought in from the "runners" and emigrants

that this money had belonged to Mr. Kinkaid, Mrs. Archambault felt so indignant as the Indians proudly strutted about dragging their strings of silver that she told her husband that she was going to tramp on the end and see if she could break it. But he cautioned her that it might result in the murdering of their family and the burning of the fort.

Over a year later Mr. Kinkaid stopped again at the fort on his way to Salt Lake City, having a wagon train of merchandise. Mrs. Archambault could hardly recognize him because he was so changed from the severe illness that resulted from the attack by the Indians. He had to have a silver tube in his throat to assist him in breathing—he had been shot through the front of his throat. He related in detail to Mr. and Mrs. Archambault the terrible ordeal through which he had gone when the coach was attacked by the Indians and his frightful sufferings caused by the poison from the arrows permeating his entire system."

Among the guests at the fort was Major Oldman (I am not sure about the spelling but that is the way it sounds), the Indian agent, who came directly from Washington, D. C. (when the trouble first began), and had his men with him. He had been among the Indians in the interest of the U. S. government and he strongly urged Mr. Archambault to leave for the States, as he advised that "there is trouble ahead"—referring to the Indians. As his carriage drove off, he called to Mrs. Archambault, who was standing in the doorway: "Take care of the top of your head!"

The first contention was brought about by the Indians killing a cow belonging to some emigrants. After a complaint was made, 36 sildiers were sent from Fort Laramie (the nearest military post). As a bluff they attempted to fire over the Indians' lodge, but unfortunately their aim was too low and they shot dead the Indian chief in his tent. The fury of the Indians knew no bounds and only one soldier escaped. The Indians then pulled off the boots of all the soldiers and put them in the cannon, which they threw into the Platte river. All the soldiers were buried in one grave, on the top of which sat the baby daughter of Alfred A. Archambault whilst the family was on its way to the United States.

The Bannacks were the good Indians and did all

they could to protect the fort of Alfred A. Archambault. When they ran across them, they brought in cattle or horses that had strayed or had been stolen. All stock had its owner's initial burned on it. The Bannacks also acted as "runners," keeping the family informed as to the maneuvers of the other Indians.

Another tribe of Indians had all its arrows topped with gold when the braves would come to trade at the fort. They called Alfred A. Archambault something that sounded like "Tchupechee" (Fair Trader) and told him in their dialect (he spoke the Indian languages) that because he was so just in his dealings with them, if he would come they would show him where they had a mountain of this gold, and he could have all he wanted. But his wife would not permit him to go.

* * *

Sister Mary Aurelia Archambault, the oldest member of the Loretto Heights community, died in St. Joseph's hospital, Denver, Tuesday morning, March 2, 1943, after an illness of more than a month's duration.

Sister Aurelia, who would have been 90 years old on her next birthday, was born, Aug. 2, 1853, near Independence Rock, Wyo., on the fur-trading post owned by her father, Alfred Archambault, a native of Montreal, Canada, but a naturalized citizen of the United States. Her mother was Amanda Zerviah Schellinger, daughter of a German immigrant family of Philadelphia. When the little girl, Sadie, was three years old the Archambault family was forced to leave his trading post because of the Indian wars. After spending some time in Nebraska City, Nebr., they went to Florissant, Mo., where they established their home.

The famous old Loretto academy in Florissant was the convent in which Sister Aurelia was educated. In 1870, at the age of 16, she entered the Sisters of Loretto, and was clothed in the religious vesture on the Feast of the Assumption in that year. After a long illness she passed away on Feb. 23, 1943. Interment is at Loretto Heights Cemetery, Denver, Colorado.

Sister Aurelia is survived by one sister, Mrs. James Hartford, and two nephews, Leon and Pierre Archambault, all residents of Denver.

Cheyenne Indian Portraits

Painted By George Catlin

By Marie H. Erwin

We are including in this number of the ANNALS a brief history of the migration of the Cheyenne Indians and of how George Catlin happened to paint portraits of some of the members of the westernmost tribe of the Algonkin family, who claimed and inhabited at that time the greater part of what later became Wyoming, as their hunting grounds.

The Crows and Blackfeet tribes also inhabited a part of this country about the same time, and we plan to treat them in a similar manner in following issues.

The two photographs with this article and those to be included in the ensuing issues of the ANNALS, are from the original paintings by George Catlin in the United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution.

They are a gift to the Wyoming Historical Department from Mr. A. Wetmore, Assistant Secretary of the United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution.

The early history of the Cheyenne Indians, a plains tribe of the Algonkin family, is as vague as that of their neighboring tribes. The Algonkin family which included numerous related tribes were, as early as the seventeenth century, "the largest family of North American Indians within the present limits of the United States"¹ and "were at this period at the height of their prosperity."² The earliest authenticated habitat "of this widely extended group was somewhere between the St. Lawrence River and Hudson Bay,"³ before the year 1700. In the seventeenth century they inhabited the country between New Foundland and the Mississippi and from the Ohio to Hudson Bay and Lake Winnipeg.⁴ Before the year 1700 their habitat was that part of Minnesota between the Mississippi, Minnesota and upper Red Rivers.⁵

It seems to be an established fact that the course

1. Jackson, William H. *Miscellaneous Publication No. 9*, United States Geological Survey of the Territories 1877, quoted in Annual Report, Board of Regents, Smithsonian Institution, 1885, pt. V, p. 91, which is The George Catlin Indian Gallery, by Thomas Donaldson.

2. Brinton, Daniel G., *The Lenape and their Legends*, 1885, quoted in Annual Report, Board of Regents, Smithsonian Institution 1885, pt. V, p. 89.

3. Brinton, Daniel G., *Races and Peoples*, Philadelphia, David McKay, 1901, p. 253.

4. Jackson, W. H., op. cit., p. 91.

5. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, p. 251.

of migration of the Indians was westward and southward; this tradition is especially true of the great Algonkin family.

In around 1700 the Cheyennes drifted from Minnesota toward the Missouri and roamed north and west of the Black Hills.⁶ This tribe while living in that part of the country which later became the state of Minnesota, and along the Missouri River, had established villages, made pottery and were engaged in agriculture; but they lost their arts upon being driven from their permanent villages and migrating to the plains, where necessity for existence made them a roving buffalo hunting people.⁷

In 1804 they were found by those enterprising explorers *Lewis and Clarke*, "west across the Missouri River,"⁸ in the Cheyenne River Valley and along the Black Hills. They then numbered about 1500.

Major T. E. Long in his first expedition 1819-20, reported having seen a small band of Cheyennes who seemed to have been separated from their tribe on the Missouri, joined the Arapahoes, and were wandering about the "Platte and the Arkansas."⁹

In 1825 a commission, including Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, of the United States Army and Major Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian agent, was appointed by President John Quincy Adams, with full powers and authority to hold treaties of trade and friendship with the Indian tribes "beyond the Mississippi."¹⁰

On June 23, 1825, the commission and escort left Fort Lookout, and arrived at the mouth of the *Teeton* River on June 30th, where there was an establishment of the American Fur Company on the right bank of the river. The commission waited here for the Cheyennes to come in from the plains for several days, they finally arrived July 5th; a council was held July 6th, with the Cheyenne

Note: Fort Lookout was 40 miles below old Fort Pierre, now in South Dakota.

6. Wissler, Clark, Curator Emeritus, The American Museum of Natural History, New York City, Letter to Author, July 13, 1943.

7. American Bureau of Ethnology, Bull. 30, p. 251.

8. Jackson, W. H., op. cit., p. 91.

9. Ibid., p. 91.

10. American State papers, vol. VI, Indian Affairs, vol. 11, p. 605.

Chiefs, Headmen and Warriors,¹¹ and the first¹² treaty between the United States Government and the Cheyennes was signed on that date. This Treaty was submitted by the President to the United States Senate for consideration January 9, 1826; was ratified February 6, 1826.¹³

Those who signed this first Treaty between the United States Government and the Cheyenne Indians were,

Commissioners:

Henry Atkinson, Brig. Gen. United States Army.
Benjamin O'Fallon, United States Agent Indian Affairs.

Cheyenne Chiefs:

Sho-che-new-e-to-chaw-ca-we-wah-ca-to-we, or the
wolf with the high back.

We-ch-ga-pa, or the little moon.

Ta-ton-ca-pa, or the buffalo head.

J-a-pu, or the one who talks against the others.

Warriors:

Nine warriors.¹⁴

On November 7, 1825, H. Atkinson and Benjamin O'Fallon reported to the Secretary of War, Hon. James Barbour, the following:

The Chayennes are a tribe of Indians driven by the Sioux some years since from the Red river country across the Missouri, and now inhabit the country on the Chayenne river, from near its mouth back to the Black Hills. Their habits, pursuits, and means of subsistence, and manner of dress, are similar to those of the Sioux. Like them, they live in leather lodges, and rove at pleasure, according to the direction in which buffalo are to be found; use the bow and quiver, but are very well armed with fuses, and have an abundance of horses and mules. They are very friendly to the whites, and at peace with the Ogallalas, Siounes (branches of the Sioux) and Arickaras. They are estimated at three thousand souls, of which from five hundred and fifty to six hundred are warriors. Their principal rendezvous is towards the Black Hills, and their trading ground

11. Ibid.

12. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, p. 251.

13. United States Statutes, 7 Stat. 255-256.

14. Ibid. 7 Stat. 256.

at the mouth of Cherry river, a branch of the Chayenne, forty miles above its mouth. They have had but little intercourse, heretofore, with traders. Their articles of traffic are robes and some beaver.¹⁵

From Lieutenant G. K. Warren's map of *North America Including all the Recent Geographical Discoveries, 1826*,¹⁶ the *Shiennes* were west of the Missouri and between its branches, the *Shienne* and Sarwaccarno Rivers, as far west as the Tongue, a branch of the Yellow Stone River, and through the Black Hills.

From George Catlin's map, *Outline Map of Indian Locations in 1833*,¹⁷ we find the *Shiennes* as far south as the North Platte, and more in that part of the country, which is today Wyoming, and east of the Rocky Mountains.

Bent's Fort was built on the upper Arkansas, (Colorado) in 1832, where a large number of Cheyennes decided to establish permanent headquarters, while the balance remained along the waters of the North Platte, which later became a part of Wyoming. Those remaining in this part of the country are known as the Northern Cheyennes, and those migrating to the Arkansas, the Southern Cheyennes. The only difference being geographical, as they visited back and forth and continued tribal relations.

In a general way the habitat of the Cheyenne Indians has been traced to 1832, establishing the fact that they were living in that part of the Indian country, which later became Wyoming, at the time George Catlin, the noted artist whose paintings of Indians of North and South America are in the Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., journeyed up the Missouri River from St. Louis to Fort Union, a distance of over 2,000 miles, traveling in the most primitive way "to rescue from oblivion" the primitive looks and customs of the North American Indian, in color and pen, and to preserve in picture these interesting but declining and some destined to be extinct peoples.

Catlin left St. Louis early in the spring of 1832, made

15. American State papers, op. cit., p. 606. (Words in parenthesis inserted by the writer).

16. 33d Cong. 2d Sess. H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 91, p. 30. [serial 801].

17. Donaldson, Thomas, *The George Catlin Indian Gallery*, p. 422, which is pt. V of the Annual Report of the Board of Regents, Smithsonian Institution 1885.

the journey up the Missouri in the steamer *Yellow Stone*, and after many delays and difficulties arrived about three months later, June 26, at Fort Union, an American Fur Company post, at the mouth of the Yellowstone River on the north bank of the Missouri River.

Mr. Catlin painted many Indians, scenes, animal life on the plains, etc., while at this post, but it was not until on his homeward journey in the fall of 1832 when he stopped at Laidlaw's Fort (Old Fort Pierre) at the mouth of the Teton River that he encountered a party of Cheyennes who were "on a friendly visit to the Sioux."¹⁹

He relates that on his downward voyage to St. Louis and during his stay at the mouth of the Teton, at Laidlaw's Fort, while painting his portraits amongst the Sioux, he painted a "noble *Shienne* Chief by the name of Nee-hee-o-ee-woo-tis (the wolf on the hill). The Chief of a party of that tribe on a friendly visit to the Sioux,"²⁰ and of the Chief's wife, a Cheyenne woman, Tis-see-woo-na-tis, (She who bathes her knees). The Chief "was clothed in a handsome dress of deer skins, very neatly garnished with broad bands of porcupine quill work down the sleeves of his shirt and his leggings, and all the way fringed with scalp-locks. His hair was very profuse, and flowing over his shoulders; and in his hand he held a beautiful Sioux pipe, which had just been presented to him by Mr. K'Kenzie, the Trader. This was one of the finest looking and most dignified men that I have met in the Indian coun-

Note: Laidlaw's Fort (Old Fort Pierre) was one of the most important and productive of the American Fur Company's post. Laidlaw was another Scotchman and a member as well as agent of the American Fur Company, who with M'Kenzie had the agency of the Fur Company's transactions in the Rocky Mountains and upper Missouri region.²¹

Note: Fort Union was built in 1829 by Kenneth M'Kenzie (*Makenzie* in Patrick Gass's *Lewis and Clarke's Journal to the Rocky Mountains, 1847*) a Scotchman born in the Highlands, who came to America in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company. In 1820 he left the services of the Hudson Bay Company and established business of his own. "In 1829 he crossed to the upper Missouri and established Fort Union";¹⁸ he became a member and agent of the American Fur Company; had control of all the service connected with northwestern fur trade until 1839, when he sold out and moved to St. Louis.

18. Donaldson, Thomas, op. cit. P. 432 (f.n.)

19. Catlin, *Georfe North American Indians*, Philadelphia, Leary Stuart and Company, 1913. Vol. 2, p. 2.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 233.



Ne-hee-o-ee-woo-tis, (wolf on the hill) Cheyenne Chief. From original painting by George Catlin, 1832.

try; and from the account given of him by the Traders, a man of honour and strictest integrity."²² He was considered a rich Indian, owning over 100 head of horses.

The Cheyenne Indian woman, Tis-see-woo-na-tis, possessed all the savage beauty any of these daughters of the earth could ask for; she was beautifully dressed, "her

22. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 2.



Tis-see-woo-na-tis, (she who bathes her knees.) Cheyenne woman, wife of the Cheyenne Chief. From original painting by George Catlin, 1832.

dress being made of mountain-sheep skins, tastefully ornamented with quills and beads, and her long black hair plaited in large braids that hung down on her breast."²³

Catlin found the Cheyennes to be a small tribe of about 3,000, who lived as neighbors to the Sioux on the

23. Ibid.

west of them, and between the Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains. He claimed that "there is no finer race of men in North America, and none were superior in stature, except the Osages; scarcely a man in the tribe, full grown, was less than six feet in height."²⁴ At that time the Cheyennes were undoubtedly the richest in horses of any tribe on the Continent. This can be accounted for in that living in a country as they did where the greatest number of wild horses were grazing on the prairies, they caught them in great numbers and sold them to the Sioux, Mandans and other tribes, as well as to the Fur Traders.

With wars, pestilence and the advance of civilization through the years, the Cheyenne tribe was greatly reduced and was gradually subdued. In 1878-79 the Government attempted to colonize the Northern Cheyennes with the Southern branch, but this had disastrous results, a great number of their Chiefs and warriors being killed. In 1884, by the President's Proclamation, they were assigned to the Tongue River Agency, Montana, where they are still residing.²⁵

The fate of these sons of the earth was that of other peoples, fighting for what they believed to be rightfully theirs. These original tenants of the soil, who became fugitives from the civilized man, were forced to leave their earliest habitat, and become a people of the vast treeless plains, "desolate fields of silence", until another day, when again they were forced to accept a conclusion, which was inevitable. It was "the survival of the fittest" then, as it will be at the end of the conflict of today.

24. Ibid.

25. *General Data Concerning Indian Reservations*, 1929. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Wyoming Scrapbook

SITES FAMOUS IN HISTORY OF LARAMIE CITY MARKED DURING JUBILEE*

Laramie Anniversary in Full Swing; Old Pony Express Rides Again

A merry, laughing troop of D. A. R. members and Old-Timers retraced the trail of history this morning as they posted placards on the sites of a score of historic buildings in Laramie.

The ceremony was the central feature of the second day's program of the sixteenth anniversary Pioneer Jubilee.

The party left the library a few minutes after 10 o'clock and by 11:55 had marked 20 places. One carried a small hammer and a box of tacks, others the large cards. Some wore shawls and other garments having historic interest.

At the beginning of the "expedition" Mrs. Mary G. Bellamy was the final court of appeal in all cases of doubt, but shortly afterward, W. O. Owen, who is visiting here, and Jim Cordiner, both cronies from boyhood, joined the group and added their knowledge of earlier days to that of Mrs. Bellamy.

Three of the sites marked had to do with the first efforts at beautification made in Laramie. One was the Finfrock home next to the Catholic church, where the first flower garden was grown. A placard was posted in the window of the Rex Billiard Parlor on Ivinson avenue, stating that it had been the site of Mrs. Sarah Montgomery's home. It was she who planted the first tree. J. W. Meldrum, now U. S. commissioner in Yellowstone park, was credited, on a placard posted on his former house here, with planting the first lawn. Mr. Owen and Mr. Cordiner laughed at this and reminded themselves that Mr. Meldrum afterward had a fountain with a statue of a nude woman in his yard, which was stolen by the

**The Republican-Boomerang*, July 2, 1928.

University students, taken to the University, painted red and dressed in a light skirt.

ROOT REMINISCES

When the party posted a card on the Opera House stating that back of the lobby stood the original school house, C. B. Root came out of his store and entertained members of the party for a few minutes with stories of the first theatrical ventures here.

"A boy who was going in to see the program one time," he related, "asked me if there was going to be any shoooting in the show. I told him, 'Well, you go on in and if there isn't anybody shot you ask Mrs. Root for your money back when you come out'."

The card for the First Sunday school was posted in the Clippinger Floral store window.

The approximate site of the first newspaper, the Laramie Sentinel, J. H. Hayford, editor, was marked with a card in the window of the Wyoming Pool hall on First street.

The G. W. Story home at 213 Fremont street, originally the First Presbyterian church, was marked, as was also the Second street site of the First Methodist church, now occupied by the Marinello Beauty parlor. The building itself has since been moved across the street, northwest, and remodeled to form the present Moose hall.

The school maintained by the Catholic church, built in 1874, formerly stood on the ground now occupied by the Quality Chevrolet company on Second, and a card was placed in the window.

FORTY LIARS RECALLED

On the alley beside the postoffice, on Ivinson, the party stopped and tacked a card to a telephone pole announcing that here stood the blacksmith shop in which the story telling club made famous by Bill Nye as the "Forty Liars" had met and swapped yarns. Mrs. Bellamy reminded the party that the "Forty Liars" had also been in the habit of assembling around a stove in LeRoy's hardware store, where the First State Bank now stands.

Across the street from the postoffice the party entered the Svenson studio and handed Henning Svenson a

card bearing the information that this was the site of the first jail, M. H. Murphy being the jailer. Mr. Svenson smiled boardly and remarked that some members of the party looked as if Jailer Murphy had just given them their freedom.

The home of the Wyoming National bank, originally Edward Ivinson, banker, was marked with a sign in the window of the Baby shop on Second street, stating that the bank building had been erected in 1869.

The first grocery store, opened by Edward Ivinson in 1868, called for a card in the window of the Metz Brothers store. This was afterward the first drug store, operated by Otto Gramm, and later the dress-making shop of Mrs. Cairra May Simpson.

To C. D. Spalding was handed a window card for the Albany National bank stating that on this site one of the first buildings stood, a structure of railroad ties stood on end, covered by a canvass roof.

OLD WEDDING GOWN SHOWN

At the Kepp-Baertsch store, the women of the party stopped to view an old-fashioned wedding gown which belonged to a Laramie woman.

On the rear of the long metal building housing the wholesale division of the Laramie grocery, signs were posted announcing that the Trabing grocery and the first theatre occupied the building there known as the "Old Blue Front." Here also the first women's jury met, and the first court was held, the case being that of Mike Caroll, who, when his mules were stolen, traced the alleged thief to Green River and brought him back himself.

In the window of the Holliday store a placard was placed stating that the Frontier hotel, one of the first if not the first, occupied the site and had been made of logs.

A window of the Holliday store which had been filled with a liberal display of pictures and mementos, and featured by two old-time high wheeled bicycles and a huge chair formerly used by Bill Nye, attracted the attention of the party for a time.

A short distance up Garfield, at the Quality bakery, a card was placed in the window stating that a stable

had occupied the place, and over it, Bill Nye had published the Boomerang. In approximately the same place as this card had been Nye's sign, "Twist the Tail of the Iron Gray Mule and Take the Elevator."

Mr. Owen related that one of Bill's favorite displays was a stuffed freak he used to keep on his desk, a bird with a duck's body and a hawk's head. "I've seen it in there many a time," said Mr. Owen.

BOSWELL HOUSE MARKED

The N. K. Boswell house and the John W. Donnellan residence were marked with placards announcing that these buildings had been moved in from Fort Sanders, Mr. Donnellan was cashier of the Laramie National bank and served two or three terms as treasurer of Albany county.

As the party broke up, Mr. Owen and Mr. Cordiner found cause for friendly disagreement over the site of the John Kane log house on Second street where three gamblers had been hanged one night, but on walking to the disputed places, reached a tentative agreement that it was on Kearney and Second, where Mr. Cordiner insisted it had been. Here Mr. Owen recounted the tale, as he told it in the Republican-Boomerang Saturday, with a few additional details. The three men had been suspended from a log prop against the house, he said.

Tribute was paid Laramie's pioneers in every Laramie church yesterday, with appropriate services.

The Pioneer headquarters in the Elks building continued to be the mecca today for old-timers, and the "golden" and "pioneer" registers grew steadily longer.

CARAVAN TOUR TUESDAY

The great Pioneer caravan which is to visit the Ames monument, witness the return of the Pony Express and its attack, and participate in a free barbecue at Centennial, will form in front of the Elks' home on Second street tomorrow morning between 8:30 o'clock and 9, leaving promptly at 9. Cars of all sizes, makes and descriptions will be needed for those who have none, for the committee in charge wants everyone to go who wishes.

A historic address of importance will be delivered at

the Ames monument by N. H. Loomis, general counsel for the Union Pacific railroad.

At noon a basket lunch will be served at Dale Creek, and at 1:30 the party will witness the start of the Pony Express over the route of the old Overland Trail near the Colorado-Wyoming line. The caravan will then journey back to witness the finish of the Pony Express ride 12 miles from town on the Laramie-Centennial highway. Here an Indian attack will be staged on the Pony Express rider.

Continuing on to Centennial, the members of the caravan will be treated to a free barbecue at 6 o'clock.

As will be the case tonight, a free band concert will be given down town by the Union Pacific musicians at 7 o'clock, followed by carnival dancing on Iverson at 8:30 and a Pioneer ball at 9 o'clock in the Elks' home.

NEIKOK, INDIAN INTERPRETER

Neikok, a Shoshone Indian interpreter spoke three languages, French, English and Shoshone.

Respected highly by the whites, Neikok, whose name meant Black Hawk, was the son of a French trader, Baptiste; his mother, according to historians, was a Ute squaw who was captured by the Shoshones in a raid when she was a child. It was comparatively easy for Neikok to translate during the course of negotiations, having his father to assist him.

His word was never doubted by those who came in contact with him. This was considered important as he was the official interpreter of all the Shoshones and everything said by the Shoshones in council with the whites or in a case before the courts, and both sides had to be heard by Neikok and his translation was law.

He was so honest in his desire to translate properly that more than once, according to The Indian Guide, published at the Shoshone agency in 1896, he would stop and ask questions before proceeding with the translation. The paper quoted him upon one such instance as follows:

"I don't think I know that word," or "I can't tell that right."

And he would not go until he fully knew what it was that he was to translate. He never was afraid to tell exactly what both sides said while a younger man might fear of giving offense if he spoke the exact truth.

Neikok succumbed to paralysis in November, 1896. As was the custom among his tribe, his body was wrapped in a number of expensive blankets of beautiful colors and his body deposited in a grave on Sage creek, dug by sorrowing friends. In the grave were placed his various trinkets and articles of daily use, without a coffin to enclose his remains.

Neikok was a reputed brave in every sense of the word. He was engaged in skirmishes with the Arapahoes and Sioux during the days of Indian warfare.

A parting tribute was paid Neikok at the time of his death by the agency publication. It follows:

"A very prominent and useful Shoshone Indian died at this home near the Washakie Hot Springs on last Thanksgiving day. This man was called 'Norkok' by the whites, but his Shoshone name was Neikok, which means Black Hawk. He was about 70 years old. The Shoshones as a rule keep no account of time and do not know their own age or their children's after they become a few years old. He was stricken with paralysis * * *. He was buried on Sage creek among his relatives who preceded him * * *. Simply lying in his blankets and embraced in the arms of mother earth, he awaits the final end of time."

WYOMING SHERIFFS

No history of Wyoming nor any sidelights thereof is more colorful than that of the peace officers of the early days of the state and territory—sterling men all.

Among them was Thomas Jefferson Carr, better known as Jeff, who was city marshal of Cheyenne, later sheriff of Laramie county and then in 1885 United States marshal for the territory of Wyoming, to which he was appointed by President Cleveland.

Carr, a man over six feet tall and weighing about 225 pounds, had a red beard several inches long, but no mustache. His beard brought him the appellation of "Red Cloud."

Will Schnitger, also a Cheyenne marshal, succeeded Carr as United States marshal. Then there was Nick O'Brien, an early-day sheriff, who was one of the most popular and genial of peace officers of his time.

Frank Canton and Red Angus were early-day sheriffs of Johnson county. N. K. Boswell, Louis Miller and Jack Brophy each served as sheriff of Laramie when the university town was a cowtown lighted by kerosene.

The circle of prominent Wyoming peace officers would not be complete without mentioning Malcolm Campbell, the first sheriff of Converse county and later marshal of Douglas. At the age of 90 his mind was replete with interesting stories concerning his adventures of the "good old days." He collaborated with Bob David in Casper in publishing a book of his life, in which space was also devoted to Mr. Campbell's recollection of the famous Johnson county invasion. And there was the late Frank Hadsell, one time sheriff of Carbon county, who died at Rawlins while warden of the state penitentiary. He, too, served Wyoming as United States marshal, as did many of the old time officers.

Others include John Ward, several times sheriff of Uinta county; John Williams, sheriff of Converse county; Larry Fee, Billy Lykens and Johnny Owens.

Fremont county, organized in 1884, had as its first sheriff B. F. Lowe, who was elected April 22 of that year. He was succeeded by J. J. Atkins. In earlier territorial days, John R. Murphy was sheriff.

In Sheridan county, when its government was formed in 1888, Thomas J. Keesee was elected its first sheriff at the election that year.

In Carbon county, Jim Rankin, brother of Joe Rankin, who made his famous ride to Rawlins to obtain relief for army troops in the Meeker massacre, was an early day sheriff. Joe Rankin rode 40 hours carrying news to General Merritt of the massacre and subsequent relief to troops cut off by Indians. William Hawley was first sheriff of the county.

At the first county election held at Sundance, Jim Ryan was named sheriff of Crook county. George W. Laney was his deputy.

There were many others, who filled their places in the development of the new frontier state.



In the Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper of July 9, 1870 we find the following sketch and article: AN INCIDENT ON THE PLAINS.—A Passenger Train on the Pacific Railroad Attacked by a War party of Indians. From a Sketch furnished by a Passenger.

Notwithstanding the plaintive assertion of the Indian chiefs that their tribes want peace, and that on the withdrawal of the United States regulars from certain localities, and the removal of certain forts, they will give themselves entirely to agricultural pursuits, such incidents as the one we have illustrated will do more toward preventing the consummation of their wishes than any promises to the contrary.

A passenger train bound east from Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory, on the evening of June 14th, was assaulted by a squad of mounted Indians, who fired upon the travelers through the windows. No persons were injured, neither was the train damaged. Sixteen horses belonging to the party were killed, and a large amount of robes, bows, arrows, etc., scattered along the track. These cases of lawlessness fully justify the presence of well-armed and mounted soldiers; for common humanity, no less than the demands of business, requires the safe passage of every train from Omaha westward.

THE "MAGIC CITY" CHEYENNE, DAKOTA TERRITORY, 1867

(Continued)

Seventeenth street, north side, from O'Neil to Hill street, four squares.

One story frame, 32x90, George Tritch & Co., hardware dealers, owners and occupants—cost, \$6,000.

One story frame, 16x30, saloon, J. E. Meyers, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,200.

One story frame, 17x42, corral 49x90, N. H. Heath & Co., Auction and Commission merchants and coal dealers, owners and occupants—cost, \$3,000.

One story frame, Theatre—particulars unknown.

One story frame, 12x28, Photograph Gallery, M. Sornlenger, owner and occupant—cost, \$500.

One story and half frame, 19x30—addition, 16x26—

Boarding House and saloon, J. N. Slaughter, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,400.

Two story frame, 20x40, Saloon, Carpenter & Welch, owners and occupants—cost, \$3,000.

One story frame, 12x26, Meat Market, Solomon & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$350.

One story frame, 22x40, dry goods house, Lieut. McDonald owner, to be occupied by firm from Denver, name unknown—cost, \$2,500.

One story frame, 18x50, Grocery & Dry Goods House, J. N. Orchard, owner and occupant—cost, \$2,000.

One story frame, unfinished, particulars unknown.

One story frame, ditto, as above.

One story frame, 6½x16, Variety Store, E. H. Brown, owner and occupant—cost, \$250.

One story frame, 16x24, Saloon, H. T. Smith, owner and occupant—cost, \$700.

One story frame, 8x40, Keg House, J. Venine, owner and occupant—cost, \$460.

One story frame, Rogers & Co., bankers—particulars unknown.

One story frame, 20x40, Clothing House, H. Friedenberg, owner and occupant—cost, \$3,000.

One story frame—unfinished, particulars unknown.

One story frame, 6x24, law office, J. S. Ohord, owner and occupant—cost, \$250.

One story frame, 15x30, Central Drug Store, Farrar & Brennan, owners and occupants—cost, \$1,200.

One story frame, 15x40, Saloon, R. H. Underwood, owner and occupant—also occupied by L. N. Greenleaf & Jos., Variety Store—cost, \$2,000.

One story frame, 22x72, Restaurant, Lt. Murran, owner, Parker & Co., occupants—cost, \$4,000.

One story frame, 19x29, Tobacco and Cigar depot, H. J. Bendingham. (absent at present) owner and occupant—cost, not ascertained.

One story frame, 22x60, International Restaurant—Pioneer of Cheyenne—Lt. Murren, owner, Bailey & Williams, occupants—cost, \$1,700.

Two story frame, 24x60, tobacco house, Owens & Co., owners, M. Steinberger, occupant—cost, \$7,500.

One story frame, 16x20, Star Bakery, Heissing & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$900.

One story frame, 12x52, restaurant, Fogg, owner, H. D. Wood, occupant—cost, \$600.

One story concrete, 16x30, addition one story and a half, 16x22, Cassels & Gayler, owners, occupants and proprietors of the Enterprise Bakery, in the building, also occupied by, Weldon, grocer—cost, \$2,000.

One story frame, 26x70, Billiard Hall, Stimpson & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$7,000.

One story frame, 20x30, unfinished, E. S. Oppenheimer, owner—to be occupied as a clothing depot—cost, \$1,500.

One story frame 18x35, Wm. Rotton & Co., Gunsmiths, owners and occupants, also occupied by Camp & Co., Druggists—cost, \$1,300.

One story frame, unfinished, particulars unknown.

One story frame, 18x36, Jones & Gray, owners, J. P. Ward, Grocer, occupant—cost, unknown.

One story concrete, brick front, unfinished, particulars unknown.

One story frame, saloon, particulars unknown.

One story frame, 20x50, Occidental Restaurant, Curle & Williams, owners and occupants—cost, \$1,500.

One story frame, 20x30, Resident, Judge McLaughlin, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,200.

Two story frame, 22x60, Storage & Commission house, Manning & Post, owners and occupants—upper story occupied by the Star and Argus printing offices—cost, \$6,000.

Two story frame, 22x60, Storage & Commission house, Geo. Tritch & Co., owners, Cooper & Preshaw, occupants—cost, unknown.

One story and a half frame, 20x40, Gallatin & Gallup, Saddlers, owners and occupants—cost, \$1,700.

One story frame, 22x50, Jones & Gray, Grocers, owners and occupants—cost, \$4,000.

Two story frame, 22x50, Tremont House, Wm. Botsford, owner and occupant—cost, \$4,000.

One story frame, 16x32, Residence M. Taylor, owner and occupant—cost, \$800.

One story log, Residence, particulars unknown.

One story and a half frame, Residence, ditto, as above.

One story frame, 16x24, Sheppard & Smith, owners, J. S. Riley, occupant—cost, \$1,000.

CHEYENNE CITY COUNCIL

Cheyenne, D. T., Sept. 26, 1867

The City Council met at City Hall, at 7 o'clock, p. m. Present, Mayor Hook, Councilmen Talpey, Preshaw, Harlow, Beckwith and Willis.

An application from Joshua Felton, for the appointment as city jailer, was, on motion laid on the table until the next meeting.

Sundry applications for licenses were presented and upon the recommendation of the License Committee, were granted.

The Committee on streets and alleys reported that they had contracted for the digging of a public well on the corner of 17th and Thomes streets, the contractor to dig and curb the same for \$5.00 per foot.

The city physician's bill of prices for taking care of the sick in hospital, was presented and laid over until the next meeting.

On motion, the City Clerk was directed to issue a warrant on the Treasurer for \$75.00, payable to Dr. Irwin, city physician, to be charged to him on account.

The Fire Warden, Mr. Preshaw, reported having visited all the houses in the city, and that he had directed the owners of the same to construct their chimneys, flues and pipes in accordance with the ordinance concerning the same.

On motion Mr. Munday was appointed Policeman, his appointment to date back to the time of his entering upon the duties of the office by order of the City Marshal.

Messrs. Talpey, Beckwith and Harlow were appointed committee on Police.—(The Cheyenne Leader, Sept. 28, 1867.)

Wyoming Stream Names

Dee Linford

Note: Here is presented the second of a series of articles on Wyoming stream names. From Wyoming Wild Life Magazine.

(Continued)

THE GREEN RIVER principal fork of the Colorado which heads in the Wind River Mountains in western Wyoming and flows southward to drain all of the state between the Divide Basin and the Bear River, figures prominently in the early history of the region. American trappers held their annual mountain rendezvous along the Green regularly for almost 20 years, and the stream was an important landmark to emigrants later on the Oregon and Overland Trails. But the circumstances of its naming are as controversial and as contradictory as those which surround the naming of the Snake and Bear.

First direct reference to the river in available historical records appears to be that of Father Escalante, one of two Spanish Catholic churchmen who set out from Santa Fe in 1776 to find a route to Monterey. The two apparently wandered as far north as Utah Lake in the State of the same name, and Father Escalante's account of the journey describes a "River San Buenaventura" which undoubtedly was the Green. But among other early Spaniards the Green-Colorado River seems to have been known, along with the Rio Grande, as the "Rio del Norte"—River of the North. This name appears on several early maps, applied indiscriminately to both streams, and was used in this ambiguous context by President Thomas Jefferson in 1803.

Jefferson, in a letter of final instruction to Captain Meriwether Lewis who was about to depart on the memorable mission of exploration which has become known as the Lewis and Clark Expedition, wrote (see History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Elliot Coues, 1893): "Although your route will be along the channel of the Missouri, yet you will endeavor to inform yourself, by inquiry, of the character and extent of the country watered by its branches, and especially on its southern side. The

North River, or Rio Bravo (Rio Grande del Norte), which runs into the Gulf of Mexico, and the North River, or Rio Colorado, which runs into the Gulf of California, are understood to be the principal streams heading opposite to the waters of the Missouri and running southwestwardly."

This reference is clearly to the Colorado River, of which the Green now is generally shown as a branch; but most cartographers agree that the Green itself forms the upper main channel of the Colorado, and in early times both streams were more accurately called by the same name. Lewis and Clark did inform themselves of this river "by inquiry," and both included it on their maps of the Northwest. Lewis' map styles it "River Colorado" while Clark prefers the Spanish for North River, "Rio del Norte."

The journal of Wilson Price Hunt who reached the head of Green River in 1810, four years after Lewis and Clark passed through the country to the north, contains the entry, "Halt was made beside the Spanish River, a large stream on the banks of which, according to Indian report, the Spaniards live. It flows toward the west and empties supposedly into the Gulf of California." (Rollins, p. 286).

Hunt and his companions are the first Americans known positively to have reached the Green proper (though it is generally believed that Ezekial Williams' "Lost Trappers" may have preceded them by a few months). Hunt's words, however, suggest that the name "Spanish River" as applied to the Green-Colorado was already established in 1810, and the designation recurs frequently in later records, although it is sometimes applied as well to the Arkansas River.

The Green, Rollins adds in a supplementary note (p. 172), "was the 'Rio Verde' of the Spaniards, the 'Spanish River' of other early voyageurs, and the 'Colorado of the West' of Bonneville in 1837. The Snake Indians who frequented it termed it, so Granville Stuart states, 'Can-na-ra o-gwa,' meaning 'Poor River'; this because the soil adjacent to much of its course was such as not to support either trees or grass. Nevertheless, Gebow, p. 10, has these same Indians term it 'Pe-ah-o-goie.' Fremont avers that its Absarokan (Crow) name was 'Seeds-ke-dee-agie,' meaning 'Prairie Hen River' and applied because of the

prevalence of that bird, *Tetrao urophasianus*, in the river's valley."

Chittenden, who maintains with others that the Green River forms the main upper channel of the Colorado, says, "For a time the name (Colorado) applied to the whole river, but now only to that portion below the junction of the Green and Grand (now Colorado). That part of the stream now called the Green River was very commonly known, down to 1840, as the Seeds-ke-dee, or Prairie Hen River. It generally so appears in the literature and correspondence of the time. The name Green River began to come into general use about 1833, although it dates back as far as 1824. Its origin is uncertain. Bancroft (and Coutant) says it was given for one of Ashley's men, but it certainly was in use before Ashley was in the country, for William Becknell has left a narrative of a trip he made from Santa Fe to Green River in 1824, and the name was evidently a fixture at that time among the Spanish. Fremont says it was the 'Rio Verde of the Spaniards' and adds that the refreshing appearance of the broad river, with its timbered shores and green wooded islands, in contrast to its dry sandy plains, probably obtained for it the name of Green River. This does not seem unreasonable (it certainly cannot be conciliated with Granville Stuart's 'Poor River'), although some who are well acquainted with the characteristics of the river are more inclined to attribute the name to the appearance of the water, which is a very pronounced green than to the foliage of the valley, which is in no marked degree different from that along other streams in this locality."

Charles Larpenteur's journal (Coues, 1898) refers to the Green in 1833 as the "Ques qui di River." Elliot Coues, late distinguished American historian and curator of historical materials who formerly had edited and published the Lewis and Clark Journals, says, in a footnote to Larpenteur's entry: "The author's 'Quesquidi' is . . . the principal fork of the Colorado; the Crow Indian name has uncounted variants in spelling, among which I have noticed Siskadee, Sisedepazzeah, Sheetskadee, and Seedskedeeagie; the word is said to mean Prairie-hen River, with reference to the sage grouse, *Centrocercus urophasianus*. Our name, Green River, translates Rio Verde of the Spanish, who came to it somewhere about 1818 and were struck by the color of its water."

Such is the record of the naming—and the names—of the Green. Circumstances accounting for the designation of most of its tributaries are less controversial, but most are similarly vague. Origin of the name New Fork, for instance, appears to be lost completely. Horse Creek (of the Green), according to Chittenden, "received its name from the circumstances that Thomas Fitzpatrick (Ashley associate) was robbed of his horses there by the Crow Indians, in 1824."

LaBarge Creek, according to the same source, was named (presumably by Ashley) for the father of Captain Joseph LaBarge, well-known Missouri River pilot and boat owner, and a good friend of Ashley. Fontennelle Creek undoubtedly took its name from Lucien Fontennelle, long prominently associated with the American Fur Company in the mountains. The Sandy Forks, Chittenden points out, were named for the character of the country through which they flow, as undoubtedly was Slate Creek.

Clark's map of the Northwest, published in 1814, identifies the Big Sandy as "Colter's River," for John Colter—Lewis and Clark expeditionary who at the Mandan Villages on the return trip in 1806 secured a discharge from the company and remained behind to trap with two companions on the Yellowstone. It was the next year, in 1807, that Colter made his celebrated journey which carried him into present Wyoming—becoming the first known white man to set foot on territory now included in the State. Clark, in tracing Colter's 1807 route after conversing with him—subsequent to Colter's return to St. Louis—takes this solitary explorer to the head of the present Big Sandy and New Fork Rivers, in crossing from the Yellowstone to the Bighorn River. Like Clark's styling of the Snake as Lewis River for his companion on their memorable journey, his designation of this stream for John Colter, unfortunately, was not adopted. There is evidence that the name "Sandy River" was given the stream by Ashley in 1825.

The names Black's Fork and Ham's Fork, other Wyoming tributaries of the Green, date, according to Chittenden, from Ashley's time, though it is uncertain for whom they were bestowed. Henry's Fork, he continues, is believed named for Andrew Henry, who was associated with Ashley after the dissolution of his partnership with Manual Lisa in the Missouri Fur Company, in which capacity he (Henry) first came to the Rocky Mountains.

The Little Snake River which heads in the Sierra Madre Mountains in Colorado and swings northward into Wyoming, is also tributary to the Green, via the Yampa River of Colorado. Conjecture as to the significance of the title "Little Snake" was made under the earlier discussion of the naming of Snake River proper. Battle Creek (and Battle Lake), tributary to the Little Snake, was named from the fact that Henry Fraeb or Frapp, trapper and partner in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, was killed near by with four others of his brigade when attacked by Indians in 1841.

The Missouri River, which receives its headwaters from Wyoming, is the longest river on the North American continent and fifth longest stream in the world.

Hammond's World Atlas and Gazettler (1942) lists the earth's longest rivers as follows: Nile 4,000 miles, Amazon 3,700 miles, Ob-Irtish (Siberia) 3,200 miles, Yangtze (China) 3,100 miles, Missouri 2,945 miles.

Other major world rivers listed by Hammond's Atlas, in order of their length, are:

	Miles		Miles
Amur (Asia)	2,900	Nelson (Canada)	1,660
Congo (Africa)	2,900	Rio Grande	1,650
Lena (Siberia)	2,860	Si (China)	1,650
Yenisei (Siberia)	2,800	Zambezi (Africa)	1,600
Hwang (China)	2,700	Ganges (India)	1,540
Niger (Africa)	2,600	Paraguay (S. A.)	1,500
Mackenzie (Canada)	2,525	Amu Darya (Turkestan) ..	1,500
Mekong (Asia)	2,500	Arkansas	1,460
Mississippi	2,486	Dnieper (Russia)	1,400
Parana (S. A.)	2,450	Rio Negro (S. A.)	1,400
Murray (Australia)	2,310	Ural (Russia)	1,400
Volga (Russia)	2,300	Orange (Africa)	1,300
Yukon (Alaska)	2,300	Ohio	1,283
Maderia (S. A.)	2,000	Red	1,275
Colorado	2,000	Columbia	1,270
St. Lawrence	1,900	Irrawaddy (Burma)	1,250
Sao Francisco (S. A.)	1,800	Saskatchewan (Canada) ..	1,205
Salween (Burma)	1,750	Darling (Australia)	1,160
Danube	1,725	Tigris (Iraq)	1,150
Euphrates (Iraq)	1,700	Sungari (Asia)	1,130
Indus (India)	1,700	Don (Russia)	1,100
Orinoco (S. A.)	1,700	Pease (Canada)	1,065
Syr Darya (Turkestan) ..	1,700	Platte	1,030
Brahmaputra (India)	1,680	Churchill (Canada)	1,000

Actually, however, the Missouri arises farther from the sea than any other stream on the globe. Chittenden gives the distance from the head of Red Rock Creek, upper channel of the Jefferson Fork, to the Gulf of Mexico as

4,221 miles—of which “398 miles is above the mouth of the Jefferson, 2,547 miles is in the Missouri proper from Three Forks to the mouth, and 1,276 miles is in the Mississippi.” Thus, taken together, the Missouri-Mississippi waterway is the longest river system in the world.

Chittenden also shows the Missouri as draining an expanse more than double the watershed area of any other stream of the western United States: Missouri System above Independence (Mo.), 490,000 square miles; Colorado system, 248,000 square miles; Columbia system within the United States, 220,000 square miles; the Arkansas and Canadian above their junction, 146,000 square miles; the Rio Grande above El Paso, 42,000 square miles; the Great Basin (area drained by Great Salt Lake) 215,000 square miles.

As the Missouri eclipses all other western American rivers in geographic and economic importance, so it far surpasses all other western streams in historical interest and significance. It was for decades the great thoroughfare which linked American civilization with the wilderness outpost, by canoe and steamboat, and records show it was known to white explorers hardly 50 years after the Pilgrim Landing at Plymouth.

First known reference to the stream, according to Chittenden, was by the French explorer Marquette, “who saw it in 1673. Upon a crude sketch which he made of the country through which he passed, the Missouri system appears under the name of Pekittanoui. In the region whence it was supposed to flow were noted the names of several tribes of Indians and among them the Oumessourit tribe which lived nearest the mouth, though some distance from it. From this tribe, at an early date, the river came to be known. The name passed through nearly every combination of its letters which the eccentricity of orthographers could devise, but had settled down to its present form before the close of the 18th century. The word seems indubitably to have meant, as applied to the Indian tribe, ‘Living at the Mouth of the Waters.’ Their own name for their tribe was Ne-o-ta-cha (Say) and had the same signification. The most probable theory is that the word Missouri or Oumessourit was the equivalent or translation of this name by some other tribe or nation, probably the Illinois, from whom it passed to the French. There seems to be no foundation for the popular notion

that the name is characteristic, and means simply 'Muddy Water'."

Actually, no part of the Missouri proper lies within the boundaries of Wyoming, but two of its famous Three Forks—the Madison and the Gallatin—head in Yellowstone Park in the northwestern corner of the State. In addition, five other major Missouri tributaries receive headwaters in Wyoming, and these, together with their innumerable affluent streams, drain roughly three-fourths of the State's area. Thus, the Missouri River may well be thought of as arising in Wyoming.

Of the naming of the Madison and Gallatin Rivers the record is, by contrast with the nomenclature of most Missouri tributaries heading in Wyoming, definite and indisputable. The names were bestowed in 1805 by Lewis and Clark, and, unlike many other designations bestowed by the explorers on their famous trek, these two river titles have endured.

On reaching the Three Forks on the outbound journey, the explorers according to their journals (Coues) paused first at the easternmost fork, which "in honor of the Secretary of War (Albert Gallatin), we called Gallatin's River." They then followed the main branch of the Missouri until it forked again, and "on examining the two streams, it became difficult to decide which was the larger or the real (continuation of the) Missouri. We were therefore induced to discontinue the name of Missouri and gave to the southwest branch the name of Jefferson, in honor of the President of the United States, and the projector of the enterprise. We called the middle branch Madison, after James Madison, Secretary of State (later President of the United States)."

Of the five major Missouri River tributaries which receive headwaters in Wyoming—the Platte, Niobrara, Cheyenne, Little Missouri, and Yellowstone—the Platte is the longest, the most interesting historically, and in other ways the most remarkable.

The Platte's broad, shallow channel and shifting sand bars rendered it unnavigable to the small river steamers that plied the Missouri for 50 years prior to the building of the western railroads, but its early history is bound irrevocably with that of the larger parent stream. Its mouth was the accepted landmark which divided the lat-

ter river into the "Upper" and the "Lower" Missouri, and here on the Missouri riverboats, it was regular procedure to subject the uninitiated to the mock rituals of practical jokes familiar to shipboard passengers on the high seas as incident to "crossing the line."

Because of its character, the rivermen regarded the Platte with the kindly, affectionate contempt in which men often hold things which are friendly and harmless, but of no particular use. And the stream at one time was probably the most maligned of all American rivers. This very fact gave the Platte wide publicity, however, when the vast country it drains was comparatively unknown; and even during the riverboat era, the Platte was known almost as widely as the Missouri itself.

Disgusted navigators described it as "a thousand miles long and six inches deep." Washington Irving, with the detachment of a commentator who had never come to grief on its shoals, characterized it as "the most magnificent and most useless of rivers." Another early traveler, apparently lacking Irving's disinterested viewpoint, pictured it as "a dirty, uninviting stream . . . three inches of fluid, running on top of several feet of moving quicksand . . . too yellow to wash in, too pale to paint with . . ."

But because of this same flat, indolent character which the rivermen deplored the Platte was destined to eclipse and eventually to replace the Missouri completely as the Highway to the West. For when the western migration of civilization began in earnest, the wagon was substituted for the boat of the fur trader, and it was the much-maligned "Flat River" which marked the easiest wagon route to the Rocky Mountains. Indeed, so far did it displace the Missouri as the route to the mountains that travelers bound for the Upper Missouri country in 1860's and '70's followed the Platte westward a thousand miles; then in present Wyoming, they turned northward toward their ultimate destination—intruding on hitherto undisturbed Indian domain in so doing, and precipitating the longest and bloodiest Indian war in the history of the Northwest.

Record of the naming of the Platte is relatively specific. To quote from Chittenden, "The name Platte (French, *Plate—flat*) is characteristic and arises from the extreme shallow character of the stream. Its use dates from 1739. In that year, two brothers, Mallet, with six companions

undertook to reach Santa Fe from a point on the Missouri somewhere near the present site of Sioux City (Iowa). They left the river on the 29th day of May and arrived on the Platte on June 2. (Le 2 Juin, ils tomberent sur une riviere qu'ils nommerent la Riviere Plate—De Margry). (On June 2, they came upon a river which they named the Flat River.) The party ascended the main stream and the South Fork to the mountains and reached Santa Fe on the 22nd of July."

It would thus appear that there exists a clear-cut and indisputable record of the circumstances surrounding the naming of at least one major Wyoming river. However, the name appears on maps supposedly drawn before 1739. (Beard's *History of Wyoming*, 1933, contains a reproduction of a "Paris" map of 1720 which charts and identifies the "Riviere Platte," together with its south fork, "R. Platte du Sud.") But these purported early chartings may not be significant, as the practice of antedating maps appears not to have been altogether unusual.

The North Platte—and to a lesser degree the South Platte also—was once known to some cartographers as the Paduca River or Paduca's Fork (also Padouca, Paduka, Padouka, etc.,) perpetuating an ancient Indian ethnic term of vague application which seems to have been applied as well to the Kansas River. Pike identified the Paducas with the Comanche tribes, but most authorities take the view that the name was once applied collectively to all nations located on the headwaters of the Platte and Kansas Rivers — tribes later separated as Arapahoes, Kiowas, etc. Lewis' map of the Northwest identifies the North Platte as "Padoucas Fork," the South Platte simply as the "South Fork." Clark shows no division of the river at all, uses the name "Platt."

With regard to the South Platte, which receives tributaries from Wyoming, Chittenden offers the interesting note that the Arapaho tribe at one time held a series of trading fairs on the banks of the stream, acting as middlemen in exchanging articles received from the Spaniards to the south for goods from the British and the Indian tribes to the north, and that from these gatherings the South Platte was once known as "Grand Encampment River." In this connection, the same authority repeats the theory that the term "Arapaho" signifies "He who buys or trades," celebrating this early Arapaho custom.

Other names applied to the Platte in the past include Nebraska and Flatwater; the latter term, according to some authorities, translates the former Indian work.

THE NORTH PLATTE River receives its first headwaters in Colorado, flows north into Wyoming where it annexes numerous tributaries from the Medicine Bow and Laramie Mountains, then turns east into Nebraska—having drained roughly the southeastern quarter of Wyoming.

The first major Platte River tributary acquired in Wyoming is the Encampment River, which heads in the rugged Sierra Madre Mountains. The book, *Wyoming—A Guide to the People, Highways and History* (1941), records that this stream was originally called the Grand Encampment River, for a trapper's rendezvous held on its banks in 1851. The name, however, would appear to be much older than this. Chittenden's statement concerning the application of the same title to the South Platte River at one time (see WYOMING WILD LIFE, April, 1943) suggests that the Encampment River also may have been named to commemorate the Arapaho trading fairs held in the region before the coming of the whites.

Of the name "Medicine Bow", as applied to the second important tributary received by the North Platte in Wyoming, there is a generally accepted tradition that mountain birch and ash—both admirably suited to the making of bows—once grew in profusion along the stream's course. Various tribes are said to have traveled long distances to secure the "good medicine wood," and battles are supposed to have been fought in the vicinity, when hostile peoples collided. The name appears on Fremont's map of 1842, as applying to both the stream and the mountain range to the south.

The Sweetwater, third important Platte River affluent received in Wyoming, is almost as well known as the Platte itself, historically. The Oregon Trail followed the "Flat River" west from its confluence with the Missouri to the point in present Wyoming where the Platte turns south in a wide oxbow, toward the Saratoga-Encampment Valley and the Colorado State line. At this point, near Independence Rock, west-bound emigrants veered west by north along the Sweetwater and followed it to its source in South Pass—finding its water a delightful change from that of the turgid Platte.

The quality of its water undoubtedly inspired the

river's designation, but the actual circumstance of its naming is controversial. According to Rollins, it was known to some early travelers as the "Eau Sucre", or "Eau Sucree" (Sugar Water), and as the "Riviere de l'Eau-douce" (River of Sweet Water). Father DeSmet called it the Sugar River, accounting for the name by citing the water's natural purity and good taste, as contrasted with the alkaline condition of other streams in the region. Granville Stewart, however, reports that "this stream takes its name from its beautiful clear cold waters, having a sweetish taste caused by the alkali held in solution in its waters, not enough, however, to cause any apparent injurious effects." Chittenden, adding another version, quotes an American Fur Company clerk as saying the name "Eau Sucre" was given the stream because a trader's sugar-laden pack mule once fell and was lost with its pack in the current.

Muddy Creek, chief affluent of the Sweetwater, was the "Deep Ravine Creek" and "Steep Ravine Creek" of some early travelers (Rollins). Principal tributary of the Muddy is Whiskey Gap Creek, so called from the circumstance that a Major O'Fallon encamped there with a troop of cavalry in 1862 found whiskey in camp and poured it out upon the ground, near a spring. The spring assumed a distinct "bourbon" flavor, and thirsty soldiers congregated around it with canteens and mess kits. One intoxicated dragoon is said to have accosted his officer to report the phenomenal spring, averring that it produced the finest water he'd ever tasted.

Lost Soldier Creek, near by, derives its name not from the fact that it actually is a "lost creek," i.e., evaporating and vanishing before it reaches an affluent, but from the circumstance that a soldier from Rawlins became lost in the region in early days, and wandered to the ranch of Tom Sun, prominent Sweetwater valley rancher. Sun was away from his premises at the time, but the latch string was out—in accordance with honored western custom. The soldier did not discover this, and removed a window to gain entrance to the ranch dwelling. Sun, in reporting the incident, observed that "man lacking sense to enter another's house by the unlocked door would get lost anywhere."

Bates Creek, a Platte River tributary received from the northern tip of the Laramie Mountains, was "Poison Creek" to some early cartographers; Fremont called it

Carson Creek, to honor his famous guide, Kit Carson, but the name did not become established. Origin of its present designation is obscure. Source of the name Poison Spider Creek likewise is uncertain; some early maps call the stream simply "Spider Creek." Stansbury refers to it as Red Spring Creek.

Casper Creek bears the name of Lieutenant Caspar Collins, youthful Indian fighter of the 1860's, who died a hero during the Platte Bridge Fight (Spring, 1927). His name was also given to a mountain, a frontier military post, and to Wyoming's second city.

Boxelder Creek is so called, according to Rollins, for the box-elder, the common western term for the ash-leaved maple, *Negundo aceroides*, which grows in the vicinity. "This stream," Rollins elaborates, "was the 'Mikes-head Creek' of Joel Palmer . . . the 'Box Creek' of Clyman, the 'R. Boisse' (Wooded River) of Stansbury, the 'Fourche Boisse' (Wooded Fork) of Delano, the 'Fourche Boisse' of Fremont and of Preuss, the 'Fourch Bois' of Keller, the 'Boisee Creek' of Jefferson, the 'Fourche de Bois River' of Shepherd."

Of LaPrele Creek, Rollins says, "(the) name unless possibly perpetuating that of some French voyageur, was due to the presence of *prele*, the common scouring rush, *Equisetum hyemale*." LaBonte Creek, according to local tradition, bears the name of a French trapper who frequented the stream in the 1830's, and who was killed in later years by Indians, in present Utah.

The Laramie River, largest tributary received by the North Platte in Wyoming, commemorates a French-Canadian employe of the Northwest Fur Company, Jacques Laramie, believed killed by Indians during the 1820's somewhere along the stream which bears his name. Also named for him are a range of mountains, a mountain peak, a section of plains, a frontier military post (now a national monument), a city, and a county, all in Wyoming. Spelling of his name is rendered variously Larama, Lorimier, La Ramee, La Ramie, and de la Rame.

Of the more important Laramie River tributaries, the Chugwater was named—according to a generally accepted legend—from an early Indian custom of stampeding buffalo over the brown chalk cliffs bordering the stream; because of the sound the bodies made, plunging down, the creek is reputed to have been known among these tribes-

•

men as the "Water-at-the-place-where-the-Buffaloes-chug."

The Sybille, local sources say, perpetuates the name of a French associate in the Adams Mercantile Company, which did business at Fort Laramie and on the Chugwater in early days.

The name Horse Creek, as applied to the long Platte River tributary which heads in the Laramie Mountains northwest of the City of Cheyenne, dates back to Fremont's time, but the circumstances for which it was bestowed do not appear. According to Rollins, Nathaniel Wyeth referred to the stream in the 1830's as "Wild Horse Creek."

The Niobrara River, which heads in east-central Wyoming and parallels the Platte River across Nebraska to unite with the Missouri in the northeastern corner of that State, was formerly known interchangeably as the "Rapid River," the "Rapid Water River," the "Running Water," and the "Running Water River." Its French form, "L'eau qui Court" or "Riviere qui Court" (literally, water or river which runs), appears on many early maps, and is corrupted variously into "Qui Court," "Quicurre," "Quicourre," "Quicure," "Quecure," "Ka-cure," and even—evidently by misprint—"Quicum."

It is not recorded when or by whom the name was bestowed. However, the designation is known to predate Lewis and Clark, who passed the river's mouth in ascending the Missouri in 1804, and the following L. & C. entry gives a clue to the reason for this early styling of the stream:

"This river empties into the Missouri in a course S. W. by W., and is 152 yards wide and four feet deep at the confluence. It rises in the Black Mountains (an error) and passes through hilly country, with a poor soil. Captain Clark ascended (it) three miles to a beautiful plain on the upper side, where the Pawnees once had a village; he found the river widened above its mouth and much divided by sands and islands, which, joined to the great rapidity of the current, makes navigation very difficult, even for small boats. Like the Platte, its waters are of a light color; like that river, too, it throws out into the Missouri great quantities of sand, coarser even than that of the Platte, which forms sand bars and shoals near its mouth."

The entry likewise gives a clue to the reason for another name applied to the stream in earlier times, i.e., the "Spreading Water," which term seems to translate the Indian word, Niobrara. Some authorities give both Niobrara and Nebraska as Indian words for "Flat Water"—equivalents of the French, Platte. Lewis' map of 1806 identifies the Niobrara as the "Quicurre or Rapid River," Clark's simply as the "Quicouree."

The Cheyenne River heads in Wyoming north of the Niobrara's point of origin, and, with its numerous tributaries, it drains the entire Black Hills region. It undoubtedly was named for the Indian nation bearing that designation, although it is unknown in this case also when or by whom the title was given. That it was established by the time of Lewis and Clark, however, is indicated by the following L. & C. entry:

"This river has occasionally been called Dog River, under a mistaken opinion that its French name was Chien (dog); but its true appellation is Chayenne (rendered also Schain, Shayen, Chaguyenne, Chaguiene, etc.). and it derives this title from the Chayenne Indians. Their history is the short and melancholy relation of the calamities of almost all Indians. They were a numerous people and lived on the Chayenne, a branch of the Red River or Lake Winnipeg. The invasion of the Sioux drove them westward; in their progress they halted on the southern side of the Missouri below the Warrconne, where their ancient fortifications still exist; but the same impulse again drove them to the head of the Chayenne, where they now rove and occasionally visit the Ricaras. They are now reduced, but still number 300 men."

In a footnote, Coues introduces evidence that the Indian name for the Cheyenne was Wasteg or Wakpa Washte, meaning "Good River," bestowed in antithesis to the Chicha or Shisha Wakpa, meaning "Bad River," which stream Lewis and Clark renamed Teton River (in present Montana), for the Sioux Indians who lived along it.

Largest tributary of the Cheyenne to head in Wyoming is the Belle Fourche (French, beautiful fork), apparently named by early voyageurs. Indeed, the two streams are so near of a size that the Belle Fourche is shown on some recent maps as the "North Fork of the Cheyenne," the Cheyenne's main channel being identified as the "South Fork." Lewis' map of 1806 goes further

and charts the Belle Fourche as the main channel of the Cheyenne, the Cheyenne proper as the "South Fork." Both Lewis and Clark give "Sharha" or "Shar-ha," as a primitive alternative word for Cheyenne. Lewis identifies the stream in question as the "Sar ha or Chyenue River."

Most of the other numerous tributaries acquired by the Cheyenne from Wyoming bear names which are descriptive of the streams themselves, of the surrounding terrain, the wild life, or other natural phenomena associated with the streams in the minds of those anonymous persons who bestow most place names: Dry, Spring, Sand, Lodgepole, Willow, Beaver, Porcupine, Antelope, Thunder, Lightning, Little Lightning, etc. Stockade Creek, also known as Stockade Beaver Creek, takes its name from the circumstance that a government expedition dispatched to the Black Hills to investigate the presence of gold in the early 1870's, encamped on the stream and erected a temporary shelter or "stockade cabin" on its banks. Leader of the expedition was one Walter P. Jenney, a geologist. The shelter subsequently became known as Jenney's Stockade.

Old Woman, Young Woman, and Crazy Woman, as applied to Cheyenne tributaries, appear to be white translations of Indian names. Salt Creek is said to have been named for a number of salt furnaces located on its banks in early times (Clough).

Inyan Kara Creek, tributary to the Belle Fourche, takes its name from Inyan Kara Mountain, near which it heads. The term undoubtedly is Indian, and according to Clough it appears on maps dating back to 1860. It is translated both as "stone-made" and as "mountain-within-a-mountain."

The Little Missouri River, which rises between the Cheyenne and Yellowstone drainages in northeastern Wyoming, takes its designation of course from the larger, parent stream which it joins in North Dakota after weaving a serpentine course through Montana and South Dakota. Here again, circumstances of the naming are lost, but this stream title also was established by the time of Lewis and Clark. The following entry in the Expedition Journals reveals the reason for the appellation:

"In its color, the nature of its bed, and its general appearance, it resembles so much the Missouri as to induce

a belief that the countries they water are similar in point of soil."

Coues, in a foot note, says one Indian name for the Little Missouri was Wakpa Chan Shoka, meaning "heavily wooded river."

The Yellowstone River, principal fork of the Missouri, is the largest and probably the most widely known of the many streams which find headwaters in Wyoming. Arising along the Continental Divide in the rugged Absaroka Mountains just south of Yellowstone Park—to which area the river gives its name—the Yellowstone flows north through the park, drains Yellowstone Lake and most of the park region, then continues north into Montana. In Montana, it turns gradually east by north, bisects that State diagonally, and unites with the Missouri just over the State-line in North Dakota.

Actually, less than 50 miles of this stream's 700-mile course lie within Wyoming. But its numerous tributaries drain almost a third of the State's area, and it is probably more important to Wyoming, geographically, than any other stream.

The name "Yellowstone" is old, as age is reckoned in the West. According to Thwaite (Clough), the term was used as early as 1798 by the English fur factor, David Thompson. But both the name and the river appear to have been unknown to Americans until 1805, when Lewis and Clark came upon the stream's mouth in their outbound journey of exploration up the Missouri. Anonymous French voyageurs seem to have preceded the explorers to the Upper Missouri country, and the following Lewis and Clark Journal entry (Coues, p. 283) suggests that the name originated with these French rivermen—possibly predating Thompson:

"This river which has been known to the French as the Roche Jaune (Yellow Rock), or, as we have it, Yellowstone, rises according to Indian information in the Rocky Mountains . . . It may be navigated in canoes almost to its head."

Coues adds, in a footnote to the entry, "The text reads as if the translation of the French was first made by Lewis and Clark, and in this passage. They (Lewis and Clark) doubtless are the real authors of the word."

In a letter to President Thomas Jefferson after the expedition's return to St. Louis, Lewis uses a literal trans-

lation of the French—"Yellow Rock River." And in the original journals, this French form ranges from "Roghejone" and "Rejone" through "Rejhone, Rochejone, Rochejohn, Rochejhone," etc., to its proper spelling, "Roche Jaune."

Patrick Gass, a sergeant with the expedition whose personal papers were published in 1807, seven years before the appearance of the official Lewis and Clark Journals, uses the form "Yellow Stone" and also "River Jaune" or Yellow River in speaking of the stream. It is generally conceded that the river was named originally for the color of the soil in the country in which it heads, i.e., in the region now embraced principally in the Yellowstone National Park. But another possibility is suggested by a Coues statement to the effect that the Missouri itself was at one time known to the French as "la Riviere Jaune" or Yellow River. This prompts speculation as to whether the name Yellowstone might have been bestowed on the tributary simply as a variation of the term applied to the parent stream.

Clark's map of the Northwest shows the Yellowstone River heading in a large body of water in the approximate position of Yellowstone Lake. This lake is nowhere mentioned in the text of the journals, however; and since Lewis' map does not chart it and since Clark's map was not published until 1814, it appears likely that Clark located the large upland lake from conversations with John Colter, first known white man to view it, in 1807. The lake is identified on Clark's map as Lake Eustis—a name undoubtedly originated by Clark himself to honor a William Eustis who was Secretary of War in 1811, when Clark was reappointed "Brigadier General of the Militia of Louisiana" by President Madison. At this time, Clark was preparing his map for publication along with the manuscript of the L. & C. Journals.

Like so many names bestowed by the explorers, however, this one did not become established, and the lake later took its name from the river which feeds it and drains it. The term as applied to the lake owes its existence to an accident of nature, since the lake at the beginning was drained by Snake River; a prehistoric terrestrial upheaval changed the course of the latter stream, and sent the lake's waters to the Atlantic Ocean rather than to the Pacific, as they at first flowed.

(To be continued)

Eastern Records of Early Wyoming Newspapers

By Douglas C. Murtrie*

Men who are making history are seldom cognizant of the importance of recording it. Yet contemporary record in writing or in print is the only source on which we can confidently depend. While pioneer editors in Wyoming were busy getting out daily or weekly issues under various handicaps incident to work on a new frontier, it is fortunate that one agency in the east was compiling and publishing each year a record of their activities.

George P. Rowell, who conducted in New York one of the first advertising agencies, had carefully compiled and published annually the **American Newspaper Directory**. This publication recorded the salient facts regarding every newspaper in the United States. Complete files of this valuable publication are very rare. The result is that few historians of western publishing have consulted Rowell's record.

This record was, by the way, conscientiously prepared. The editor insisted on basing his listing each year on a current issue of the paper. He would write several times to the editor of each paper believed to be in existence. If no reply was received, he did not draw on his imagination for a listing; he simply noted "No report." The editorial standards of the **Directory** made it far more dependable as a reference work than most publications of similar kind.

Since exact knowledge regarding Wyoming's early newspapers is none too plentiful, I have transcribed the data relating to local newspapers from each annual volume of the **American Newspaper Directory**, from its first issue of 1869 through the volume for 1880, and present the listings herewith for the benefit of local historians. I gave the data exactly as printed without effort to edit it in any way.

*For biography see ANNALS OF WYOMING, Vol. 13, No. 4, p 347.

1869

CHEYENNE Argus: every morning except Monday, and weekly; democratic; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription—weekly \$5; Bedell & Garbanti, editors and publisher.

CHEYENNE Leader: every evening except Sunday, and **Wyoming Weekly Leader**, Saturdays; republican; daily four pages, weekly eight pages; size—daily 25 x 32; weekly 25 x 38; subscription—daily \$20; weekly \$5; N. A. Baker, editor and publisher.

1870

CHEYENNE Leader: every evening except Sunday, and **Wyoming Leader**, Saturdays; republican; four pages; size—daily 24 x 36, weekly 26 x 40; subscription—daily \$20, weekly \$4; N. A. Baker, editor and publisher; circulation—daily about 500, weekly about 800.

CHEYENNE Wyoming Tribune: Saturdays; republican; four pages; size 27 x 40; subscription \$5; established 1869; S. Allan Bristol, editor and publisher; claims 500 circulation; largest paper and largest circulation in the Territory.

LARAMIE CITY Sentinel: every evening except Sunday; republican; four pages; size 19 x 24; subscription \$20; established 1869; N. A. Baker, editor and publisher; J. H. Hayford, associate editor; claims 288 circulation.

SOUTH PASS CITY News: semi-weekly; Wednesdays and Saturdays; four pages; size 16 x 22; subscription \$15; established 1869; S. W. Russell, editor and publisher; circulation about 400.

1871

CHEYENNE Leader: every evening except Sunday, and **Wyoming Leader**, Saturdays; republican; four pages; size—daily, 24 x 36, weekly 26 x 40; subscription—daily \$20, weekly \$2; N. A. Baker, editor and publisher; circulation—daily about 500, weekly about 800.

CHEYENNE, Wyoming News: every morning except Monday; democratic; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$20; established 1870; W. Richardson, editor; H. A. Pierce, publisher; circulation about 400.

CHEYENNE, Wyoming Tribune: Saturdays; republican;

four pages; size 27 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1869; Church & Bristol, editors and publishers; claims 648 circulation.

LARAMIE CITY Sentinel: every evening except Sunday; republican; four pages; size 19 x 26; subscription \$20; established 1869; Hayford & Gates, editors and publishers; claims 288 circulation.

1872

CHEYENNE Leader: every evening except Sunday, and **Wyoming Leader**, Saturdays; republican; four pages; size—daily 22 x 32, weekly 24 x 36; subscription—daily \$16, weekly \$2.50; H. Glafcke, editor; Baker & Co., publishers; circulation—daily about 500, weekly about 800.

CHEYENNE, Wyoming Tribune: Saturdays; republican; four pages; size 27 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1869; Geo. W. Corey, editor; Geo. W. Corey & Co., publishers; circulation 600; co-operative.

LARAMIE CITY Independent: every evening except Sunday; four pages; size 21 x 28; subscription \$10; established 1872; E. A. Slack, editor; Slack & Webster, publishers; circulation about 280; largest circulation of any daily in the Territory, and subscription constantly increasing.

LARAMIE CITY Sentinel: every morning except Sunday; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$10; established 1869; Hayford & Gates, editors and publishers; claims 436 circulation.

1873

CHEYENNE Leader: every morning except Sunday, and **Wyoming Leader**, Saturdays; republican; four pages; size—daily 22 x 32, weekly 24 x 36; subscription—daily \$16, weekly \$2.50; H. Glafcke, editor and publisher; circulation—daily 280, weekly 310; pioneer newspaper of Wyoming; the only newspaper in Wyoming sold on the cars of the Union Pacific Railroad for over 500 miles; official paper of United States, territorial, county, and municipal government; circulates in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, California and Nebraska.

CHEYENNE, Wyoming Tribune: Saturdays; republican;

four pages; size 27 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1869; Geo. W. Corey, editor; George W. Corey & Co., publishers; circulation 520, estimated.

EVANSTON Age: Fridays; four pages; size 26 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1873; W. R. Vaughn, editor and publisher; circulation 480, estimated.

LARAMIE CITY Independent: every evening except Sunday; four pages; size 20 x 26; subscription \$10; established 1871; E. A. Slack, editor; Slack & Webster, publishers; circulation 300, estimated.

LARAMIE CITY Sentinel: every evening except Sunday; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$10; established 1869; J. H. Hayford, editor; Hayford & Gates, publishers; circulation 350, estimated.

1874

CHEYENNE Leader: every morning except Sunday, and **Wyoming Leader**, Saturdays; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription—daily \$16, weekly \$2.50; H. Glafcke, editor and publisher; circulation—daily 300, weekly 340, estimated.

EVANSTON Age: Fridays; four pages; size 26 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1873; M. C. Hopkins, editor; Wm. E. Wheeler, publisher, circulation 504; co-operative.

LARAMIE CITY Independent: every evening except Sunday; four pages; size 20 x 28; subscription \$10; established 1871; E. A. Slack, editor; Slack & Webster, publishers; circulation 342.

LARAMIE CITY Sentinel: every evening except Sunday; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$10; established 1869; J. H. Hayford, editor; Hayford & Gates, publishers; circulation 325, estimated.

1875

CHEYENNE Leader: every morning except Sunday, and **Wyoming Leader**, Saturdays; republican; four pages; size 22 x 32; subscription—daily \$16, weekly \$2.50; established 1867; H. Glafcke, editor and publisher; circulation—daily 260, weekly 300, estimated.

EVANSTON Age: every day except Sunday, and **weekly** Fridays; four pages; size—daily 18 x 26, weekly 26 x

40; subscription—daily \$10, weekly \$3; established—daily 1874, weekly 1872; William E. Wheeler, editor and publisher; circulation—weekly 439; weekly co-operative; sample copies free; the Weekly has the largest circulation in the Territory; also has a large circulation in Southern Idaho.

LARAMIE CITY Sentinel; every evening except Sunday; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$10; established 1869; J. H. Hayford, editor; Hayford & Gates, publishers; circulation 453.

LARAMIE CITY Sun: every evening except Sunday; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$10; established 1871; Slack and Bramel, editors and publishers; circulation 280, estimated; contains more reading matter than any other daily in the Territory.

1877*

CHEYENNE Leader: every morning except Monday and weekly, Thursdays; republican; daily; four pages, weekly, eight pages; size—daily 24 x 36, weekly 30 x 44; subscription—daily \$10; weekly \$2.50; established 1867; H. Glafcke, editor and publisher; circulation—daily 517, weekly 897; official paper of city, county, Territory and United States; the "Leader" reaches all the mining camps in the Black Hills of Wyoming and Dakota.

CHEYENNE Sun: every morning except Sunday; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$10; established 1876; E. A. Slack, editor and publisher; circulation 700, estimated.

EVANSTON Age: tri-weekly, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; independent; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$5; established 1874; William E. Wheeler, editor and publisher; circulation 344; the "Age" is the only paper published in western Wyoming; is the official paper of Uintah and Sweetwater counties, and has a circulation in every city, town, station and mining camp in the Territory; advertising contracts made with responsible parties, or through Geo. P. Rowell

*There was no regular volume published in 1876. Instead was issued a pamphlet comprising brief listings of all United States newspapers exhibited by Rowell at the Centennial Exposition held that year in Philadelphia.

& Co., at low rates; send ten cents for sample copy. Postal card orders "don't go".

LARAMIE CITY Laramie Chronicle: every evening except Sunday; independent; four pages; size 22 x 32; subscription \$10; established 1876; C. W. Bramel, editor; Webster, Johnson and Garrett, publishers.

LARAMIE CITY Laramie Sentinel: every morning, and weekly, Mondays; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription—daily \$10, weekly \$3; established 1869; J. H. Hayford, editor; Hayford & Gates, publishers; circulation—daily 800, weekly 400, estimated.

1878

CHEYENNE Gazette: every morning except Sunday; democratic; four pages; size 22 x 32; subscription \$10; established 1877; Webster, Johnson & Garrett, editors and publishers.

CHEYENNE Leader: every morning except Monday, and weekly, Thursdays; republican; daily four pages, weekly eight pages; size—daily 24 x 36, weekly 30 x 44; subscription—daily \$10, weekly \$2.50; established 1867; H. Glafcke, editor and publisher; circulation—daily 517, weekly 897.

CHEYENNE Sun: every morning except Sunday; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$10; established 1876; E. A. Slack, editor and publisher; circulation 700, estimated.

EVANSTON Age: tri-weekly, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; independent; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$5; established 1874; William E. Wheeler, editor and publisher; circulation 344.

LARAMIE CITY Laramie Sentinel: every morning, and weekly, Mondays; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription—daily \$10, weekly \$3; established 1869; J. H. Hayford, editor; Hayford & Gates, publishers; circulation—daily 700, weekly 400, estimated.

1879

CHEYENNE Leader: every morning except Monday, and weekly, Thursdays; republican; daily four pages, weekly eight pages; size—daily 26 x 40; weekly 30 x 44; subscription daily \$10, weekly \$2.50; established 1867; H. Glafcke, editor; Leader Printing Co., pub-

lishers; circulation—daily exceeding 500, weekly not exceeding 1000.

CHEYENNE Sun: every evening except Sunday and **weekly**, Saturdays; four pages; size—daily 24 x 36; weekly 28 x 44; subscription—daily \$10, weekly \$2.50; established—daily 1876, weekly 1877; E. A. Slack, editor and publisher; circulation, daily not exceeding 500.

EVANSTON Age: Saturdays; independent; four pages; size 26 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1874; Shaffer & Wheeler, editors and publishers; circulation exceeding 500.

GREEN RIVER CITY Rocky Mountain Courier: Thursdays; four pages; size 26 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1878; Shaffer & Wheeler, editors and publishers.

LARAMIE CITY Laramie Sentinel: every morning, and **weekly**, Mondays; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription—daily \$10, weekly \$3; established 1869; J. H. Hayford, editor; Hayford & Gates, publishers; circulation—daily exceeding 500, weekly not exceeding 500.

RAWLINS Carbon County News: Saturdays; four pages; size 26 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1878; Shaffer & Wheeler, editors and publishers.

1880

CHEYENNE Leader: every morning except Monday and **weekly**, Thursdays; republican; daily four pages; weekly eight pages; size—daily 26 x 40, weekly 30 x 44; subscription daily \$10, weekly \$2.50; established 1867; H. Glafcke, editor; Leader Printing Co., publishers; circulation—daily exceeding 500, weekly not exceeding 1000.

CHEYENNE Sun: every morning except Monday, and **weekly**, Saturdays; four pages; size—daily 26 x 40, weekly 28 x 44; subscription—daily \$10, weekly \$2.50; established—daily 1878, weekly 1877; E. A. Slack, editor and publisher; circulation—daily not exceeding 500, weekly not exceeding 1000.

EVANSTON Age: Saturdays; independent; four pages, size 26 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1874; W. E.

Wheeler, editor and publisher; circulation not exceeding 500.

EVANSTON Uinta Chieftain: Saturdays; four pages; size 26 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1879; William T. Shaffer, editor and publisher; circulation not exceeding 500.

GREEN RIVER CITY Rocky Mountain Courier: Thursdays; four pages; size 26 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1878; W. E. Wheeler, editor and publisher; circulation not exceeding 500.

LARAMIE CITY Times: every afternoon except Sunday; four pages; size 24 x 34; subscription \$10; established 1879; L. D. Pease, editor and publisher; circulation not exceeding 500.

LARAMIE CITY Laramie Sentinel: Fridays; republican; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$3; established 1869; J. H. Hayford, editor; Hayford & Gates; publishers; circulation not exceeding 500.

RAWLINS Carbon County Journal: Saturdays; four pages; size 24 x 36; subscription \$3; established 1879; John C. Friend, editor; Rawlins Printing Co., publishers.

RAWLINS Carbon County News: Saturdays; four pages; size 26 x 40; subscription \$3; established 1878; W. E. Wheeler, editor and publisher; circulation not exceeding 500.



CHEYENNE'S FIRST THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENT

Mr. Wm. H. King, and Mr. Metcalf, of the theatre of Julesburg, are making preparations to offer the Cheyennes first class entertainments in the histrionic art. They will open soon, and we shall be pleased to note a splendid success to their endeavors, which we know they must receive.—(The Cheyenne Leader, Sept. 28, 1867.)

In Memoriam

JOHN EUGENE OSBORNE

1858 - 1943

John Eugene Osborne was born in Westport, Essex County, New York, June 19, 1858; graduated from the University of Vermont in 1880, where he studied medicine; came to Rawlins, Wyoming, in the early '80's; appointed surgeon for the Union Pacific Railroad at Rawlins; established a wholesale and retail drug house in 1882; he entered the livestock industry in 1884, and in a few years had the reputation of being the largest individual sheep owner in the Territory; elected to the House of the Territorial Assembly in 1883, but resigned, as circumstances took him out of the Territory; chairman of the Territorial Penitentiary Commission in 1888; elected second mayor of Rawlins in 1888; alternate Democratic National Convention in 1892; elected governor of Wyoming, 1893-95, renominated in 1896 but declined; delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1896; elected to the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fifth Congress in 1896; unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate in 1898; member of the Democratic National Committee, 1900-1920; soon after the inauguration of the Wilson Administration he was appointed First Assistant Secretary of State, an office he held from April 21, 1913, to December 14, 1915; in 1918 received the nomination in the Democratic primaries for the United States Senate, defeated at the general election; chairman of the board of the Rawlins National Bank; a resident of Rawlins for over 60 years. Died April 24, 1943 at Rawlins. Interment at Princeton Kentucky, where Mrs. Osborne is at rest.

Married 1907 to Miss Selina Smith of Princeton, Kentucky, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John P. Smith. One daughter was born to this union, Jean Curtis (Mrs. John W. Todd, of San Antonio, Texas) at Princeton, Kentucky, December 6, 1908.

John Eugene Osborne served his adopted state well; the betterment of Wyoming being his one thought.

Early History of Carbon County

By John C. Friend*

The building of the Union Pacific up the eastern slope of the Continental Divide, during the summer of 1868, marked the first permanent settlement on the site of what is now the most prosperous and active commercial center in Wyoming.

Early in the spring of 1868, the graders reached this point and established their camp at the old springs a half mile west of town which at that time flowed a large volume of water. These springs were called Rawlins' Springs, after an early time hunter and trapper in this section. The postoffice which was established during the summer and the railroad station that was located when the track-layers reached this point in July, 1868 also appropriated the name. Subsequently the name of the station was changed to Rawlins, in honor of General John A. Rawlins, then secretary of war.

*John C. Friend, born at Chandlerville, Cass County, Illinois, July 16, 1847, was the son of Leah and Ezekial Friend, of Illinois. He spent his early life on the home farm in Illinois; when sixteen he enlisted at Benton Barracks in 1863 as a member of Company G, Eleventh Ohio Cavalry, with which he served three years; his regiment was sent to Wyoming in 1865 to help quell Indian troubles; was the last of the Civil War veterans of Carbon County. In 1869 he settled in Rawlins; became very active in all activities for the betterment of Rawlins and Carbon County. He served in the second, third and fifth Territorial Assemblies, first representing Carbon County as a member of the House in 1871; represented Carbon and Sweetwater counties as a member of the Council in 1873; and as member of the House for Carbon County, in 1875. He with others opened the Rawlins paint mines; was identified with mining interests for many years; established, with associates, the Rawlins Metallic Paint Company; in 1874 sold one carload of paint to the president of the Union Pacific Railroad, and this was the first paint used on the Brooklyn bridge. With W. L. Shaffer he published the first paper in Carbon County, 1878, called the *Carbon County News*. In 1879 he purchased the *Carbon County Journal*, of which he was editor and manager until 1892. In 1893 he went to Casper and was manager and editor of the *Derrick* for three months; returned to Rawlins where he was employed by the Union Pacific Railroad from 1897 to 1903; held a number of county offices; was in the insurance business for many years. Married Miss Leah Welch of Ogden, Utah; they had five children. Died January 18, 1922. Interment at Rawlins, Wyoming. John C. Friend holds an outstanding place in central Wyoming history.

RAWLINS MADE A DIVISION POINT

In August of the same year it was announced that Rawlins would be made a division point. Large quantities of material for the depot building, shops and hotel began to arrive. Men were employed to get out rock for foundation and the shops. Business houses from Benton and other points were moved to the new town, and Rawlins became a lively, bustling hive of industry. The new-comers refused to purchase lots, having been fooled too often, some having paid as much as a thousand dollars for lots at Benton. They pitched their tents and erected their temporary shacks along the creek on the south side of the track.

Smith and Wills were given a contract to cut fifty thousand cords of wood. Nearly all the locomotives then in the Union Pacific service being wood burners. Hundreds of men were employed to chop cord wood. The hills north of town were stripped of cedars and all the small canyons south for twenty miles which would afford a few cords of quaking aspen were occupied by wood choppers. Wert P. Noble now a well known business man of Lander and Salt Lake, was book-keeper for the contractors. Only a small portion of the wood was ever delivered, as the mining of coal at Carbon and Rock Springs furnished the railroad company with all necessary fuel.

SOME OF THE PIONEERS

Among the early settlers who have resided here since 1868, are P. L. Smith and wife, John F. Foote and wife, Mrs. L. Hays, and Frank Blake, the latter having served as foreman of the car repair shop during his long residence here.

Of the '69ers left are: Ex-Mayor I. C. Miller, Hon. J. P. Keller, who is now serving as quartermaster's agent for the department of the Platte, Jno. C. Friend, and Mrs. Mae Franklin, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Foote, the first white child born in the town.

The early part of the winter of 1868 was an open one and track laying progressed rapidly, passing Bryan, 13 miles west of what is now the town of Green, before spring. Bitter Creek, 75 miles west of Rawlins, was made another freight division point, but has since been aban-

done. Mr. Timothy O. Baily, lately deceased, was the first master mechanic at that point.

As in all new western towns there were several shooting scrapes in Rawlins during the winter of '68-9, but no one was ever arrested or tried for murder. The victims were generally quietly buried on the hill just south of the Snake river road near the springs.

Heavy snows fell in February and March, 1869. Something like a thousand men were employed between Bitter Creek and this point to keep the track open. The railroad company had no snow plows that were of any use, the cuts were narrow and the sand and snow had to be shoveled out to keep the line open.

The railroad hotel was opened early in the spring of 1869 by Swain & Co., who failed in less than a year. Mr. Swain was one of the members of the first board of county commissioners.

Indians were more or less troublesome. In the fall of 1868 Lieuts. Young and Spence followed up a party which had made a raid on the government stock at Fort Steel and overtook them at what is now known as Young's pass, in the Ferris range, where they had a sharp engagement lasting several hours. They recaptured some of the government stock, the Indians, however, managing to get away with the larger portion. Several soldiers were slightly wounded.

FIRST BUILDING NORTH OF THE TRACK

In the spring of 1869, H. C. Hall & Co. erected the building now known as the Brunswick House. It was located on the lot where the France stone block now stands, and was the first building erected by a business firm on the north side of the track. The business houses in town at that time were: H. C. Hall & Co., general merchandise and liquors; Jerry Sheehan, general merchandise and liquors. Sheehan occupied the building where Magor's saloon is now located. Hunt & Smith, meat market and coal; J. Dyer, stationery, tobacco and cigars. Mr. Dyer was also the first postmaster. His place of business was a small frame building just south of the track and in front of Magor's store. Dawson Bros., liquors, Wm. Baker, manager; M. T. Lockridge, saloon, billiards and barber shop; Donnelly & Brennan, saloon; Larry Hayes, res-

taurant; Chas. Good, shoemaker; John O'Brien, saloon and Fenian headquarters.

Mr. E. Hunt of the firm of Smith & Hunt, conceived the idea that there were millions in raising hogs and fattening them upon game. He sent east for several carloads of hogs, hired hunters and started out to range them about the country, similar to the way sheep are now handled. Antelope, deer and elk were plentiful, so he found no difficulty in securing hog food. The enterprise was, however, not a success and was abandoned after a couple of years.

The first church erected was the Morris Presbyterian which stood upon the ground the handsome stone edifice now occupies. It was erected during the winter of 1869 and dedicated in March 1870 by Rev. Sheldon Jackson.

FIRST TERM OF COURT

The first term of court held in this county was in June, 1870, in a large tent that stood in the street just west of Magor's warehouse, Justice J. W. Kingman presiding; Smith Foote, sheriff; Chas. E. Wilson, prosecuting attorney, and Frank B. Edmunds, clerk. Frank, by the way, was the "Poobah" of the county as he also held the office of county clerk, treasurer, probate judge, justice of the peace. United States court commissioner and deputy United States revenue assessor. No important cases were ever tried.

THE INDIAN RAID IN '70

During the summer of '70, Capt. Thos. B. Dewees' company of the second cavalry were stationed here. They were camped just west of town about where Magor's blacksmith shop now stands. Early in April 1870 a party of a half dozen Indians made a raid around by the slaughter pens and up through the bottom on the other side of the creek, shot into John Foote's house near the springs and attempted to drive off Walter Towse's cows. Towse then lived where the Starzell mansion stands. Walter mounted his old gray horse and started through the cut, recaptured his cows and succeeded in killing one of the Indians which he brought down and threw on the depot platform. Every man, woman, and child went to see that Indian during the afternoon. Towse afterward

scalped, threw the body up on a coal car and sent it down to the post surgeon at Fort Steele.

Along in the summer Sam Parkin and several others came in one Sunday saying they had been attacked by Indians near Bull canyon. Lieut. Young with the soldiers and several citizens started out after the Indians. They overtook them out on Sage creek. After a day's desultory fighting the Indians during the night made their escape over the range, going south. They were thought to be Ute for this reason. There were numerous alarms during the season but fortunately no whites were killed.

ORGANIZATION OF CARBON COUNTY

Carbon County was segregated from Laramie by the legislature during the session in the winter of 1869 and organized as a separate county. Wm. M. Masi made the first assessment of the county in 1870. In September the first county election was held. The campaign was a hot one. Judge Wm. Jones was the Republican candidate for delegate to Congress and Stephen F. Nuckols the Democratic candidate. The Democratic county ticket with the exception of one commissioner was elected, as follows: Peter Lemon, sheriff; E. B. Martin, treasurer, and probate judge; J. P. Keller, clerk; Frank Blake, M. Mooney and Chas. G. Bingham, (Republican) county commissioners; Chas. E. Wilson, prosecuting attorney; Robt. W. Baxter, superintendent of schools. The new board of commissioners organized by the election of Frank Blake chairman.

SECOND TERM OF COURT

Early in the winter of '70 another term of court was held. Judge J. W. Kingman again presiding. Lockeridge's billiard hall was secured, the bar and billiard tables being moved out. The building consisted of two rooms, between which there was a single board partition, with cracks between the board through which you could have run your fingers if a sheet of thin muslin had not been tacked over the partition. This too prevented a person from looking through and seeing what was going on in the next room. Early in the term a jury was secured in a felony case, wherein the defendant was charged with assaulting the prosecuting witness, hitting him over the head with a revolver and threatening to kill him. About noon the

case was given to the jury and they retired to their room. Several ballots were taken and the case fully argued, without being able to arrive at a conclusion, the jury being nearly equally divided as to the guilt or innocence of the defendant. There were several card tables in the jury room, in the drawers of which were cards and checks. Uncle Bobby Reid, an honest-heatred, sturdy old Scotchman was the foreman of the jury and first to discover the cards. Being very fond of the game of cards known as "Old Sledge" he exclaimed: "Come, boys, bide a bit wid the voting; we will have a game of cards." The judge's chair set close to the partition between the court and jury rooms, which enabled him to hear everything that was said in the jury room. Card playing went on continuously during the afternoon with an occasional interruption when a ballot was taken—with Uncle Bobby's usual objection: "Bide a wee till game's out." In his broad Scotch accent he would invariably claim "High, low, jock," and "Sammy Parkins, de'il take ye, ye stole the jock, gi'e me low." There was but little business in the court room that afternoon. The judge, however, did not leave his seat. About half past six in the evening the sheriff was ordered to bring in the jury. They filed into the court room and answered to their names, when the judge without asking them if they had agreed, turned to Hon. L. D. Pease, of Laramie, the clerk, saying: "Mr. Clerk, enter up a fine of two dollars each against this jury for trying to arrive at a verdict by playing cards. Mr. Sheriff they will stand committed until the fine is paid. This court stands adjourned until ten o'clock tomorrow morning." He then clapped on his hat and was out of the court room in three strides. (The writer was one of the victims). The case was continued and subsequently dismissed.

A man named Kelly was tried at this term charged with murdering a man at Benton a couple of years before. Tom Street, of Cheyenne, assisted in the prosecution. W. H. Miller, W. R. Steele and W. W. Corlett, of Cheyenne were for the defense. Kelly was acquitted.

The building on the south side of the track known as the old court house was built in the fall of '70 by John Doty who opened it up as a saloon and billiard room. The next summer it was purchased by the county commissioners for a court house.

DISCOVERY OF SEMINOE

Early in the spring of 1871 Lieut. R. H. Young of Fort Steele, had an assay made of a piece of galena ore which a couple of prospectors had given him some time before. It was known that the specimens came from the Ferris range of mountains. The returns from the assay was a great surprise to everyone, showing over 4,000 ounces per ton in silver and a good percentage in lead. There was great excitement at Fort Steele and this place over the discovery. It was, however, dangerous on account of Indians for small parties to go out to prospect for the new Eldorado. A military expedition was organized at Fort Steele consisting of two troupes of cavalry under Capt. Thos. B. Dewees and Major Burt, Gen'l. Thos. J. M. Thayer of Nebraska, subsequently governor of Wyoming territory, and later governor of Nebraska, Frank and Boney Ernest. Several Nebraska and Upper Platte people accompanied the expedition.

Mr. Friend wrote the above article for the Republican Bulletin, Carbon County newspaper; it was published June 9, 1927.

CHEYENNE'S FIRST BANKER

A want much felt by business men of this place is now supplied by H. J. Rogers, esq., of Denver, who has opened a temporary office, at Cornforth Brothers' place, on Eddy street, for the transaction of the banking business here. Mr. R. informs us that he will immediately commence the erection of a fine bank building on the corner of Sixteenth and Eddy Streets.—(The Cheyenne Leader, Sept. 28, 1867.)

*An Excerpt From the Journal of E. Willard Smith, 1839-1840 **

By J. Nielson Barry

August 6th, 1839 the party started from Independence, consisting of 32 persons, four more joined on the 16th. The leaders were Vasquez and Sublette. With them was a Mr. Thompson who had a trading post on the western side of the mountains. Also two half-breed hunters, one of whom was Mr. Shabenare, (Charboneau), "A son of Captain Clark, the great western traveler and companion of Lewis. He had received an education in Europe during seven years." There were four wagons, drawn by six mules each. "The men were French, American. Spanish and half breeds."

August 15th passed a grove called Council Grove.

August 17th reached the Arkansas River, and traveled parallel to it. (Details of daily routine, hunting, and descriptions usual in such journals are omitted.) "We stand guard by turns, each one being on duty three hours. We had several moonlight nights to cheer the guard."

August 21st, (Began to see buffalo, with much description of hunting).

August 23d. "We passed a great number of buffaloes, the prairie being actually alive with them. They extended probably four miles, and numbered nearly two hundred thousand."

August 26th. "Encamped on the banks of the Arkansas." We shall continue to travel along the Arkansas

*Mr. E. Willard Smith was born in Albany, New York, 1814 and became an architect and civil engineer in Washington, D. C. where he died. He married Miss Charlotte Lansing, of Lansing, Michigan. Their daughter, Margaret, married Edwin Forest Norvell, son of Senator John Norvell of Michigan. This journal was most courteously loaned by her daughter, Mrs. Oliver Belt, of Washington, D. C. It was printed in full in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, September 1913, 26 pages. This abstract gives the more important particulars.

Note: For J. Nielson Barry's Autobiography see ANNALS OF WYOMING, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 117-118.

for ten or twelve days. The river here is the boundary between Mexico and Missouri Territory."

August 27th. "We are getting along rapidly, traveling about twenty-five miles a day." "During the last week we passed several places where men belonging to former parties had been killed by Indians. The other day we passed a place where Mr. Vasquez had a narrow escape," from Pawnees.

August 30th. Overtook Mr. Lupton, a mountain trader, on his way to the trading post on the river Platte. "He had six wagons drawn by oxen. They had started about twelve days before us."

August 31st. "Mr. Lupton encamped with us today as well as last night. He is trying to keep in company with us, but probably will not succeed, as our mules can travel much faster than his oxen."

September 1st. "Today we came in sight of what is called Big Timber, sixty miles from Bent's Fort on the Arkansas."

September 2d. "Today we left Big Timber at noon." "We had a view of the mountains this afternoon, but they are still one hundred and fifty miles distant."

September 3d. "Today we passed Bent's Fort, which looks quite like a military fortification. It is constructed of mud bricks after the Spanish fashion, and is quite durable. Mr. Bent had seventy horses stolen from the fort this summer." By Commanche Indians.

September 4th. "To day we passed a Spanish fort about two miles from Bent's. It was also built of mud, and inhabited by a few Spanish and French. They procure flour from Taos, a town in Mexico, eight days' travel from this place. They raise a small quantity of corn for their own use. We shall continue along the Arkansas River."

September 5th. "Today we came in sight of Pike's peak."

September 6th. "We are still approaching the mountains, which have a very fine appearance. The peak is very high."

September 7th. "We ate our dinner beside a stream called *Fontaine qui bouille*, boiling spring, called so on account of the manner in which it boils from the moun-

tains." "The traders have houses here for trading in winter," with the Arapahoes and Shian Indians.

September 10th. "Today and yesterday we passed through some strips of pine timber, the first I have seen in this part of the country." Mr. Vasquez smoked with some Arapoos Indians.

September 12th. "In the evening we arrived at the Platte river and encamped."

September 13th. "We passed Mr. Lupton's Fort." A little more than an hour later, "We reached the fort of Messrs. Sublette and Vasquez, the place of our destination." "A great many free trappers are here at present. The fort is quite a nice place, situated on the South Fork of the River Platte. It is built of *adobies*, or Spanish bricks, made of clay baked in the sun." "The fort is opposite Long's Peak, and about twenty miles distant. We slept all night at the fort."

September 14th. "Today I moved my quarters to Mr Thompson's camp, a mile and a half from the fort."

September 16th. "Today we left our encampment, and started to cross the mountains. Our party consisted of eight men, two squaws and three children. One of the squaws belonged to Mr. Thompson, the other to Mr. Craig. They are partners, and have a trading fort at Brown's Hole, a valley on the west of the mountains."

September 17th. "Crossed a branch of the Platte river. Camped on a small stream *cache la Poudre*."

September 19th. "Today we began to travel among the hills at the foot of the mountains." "The road we are traveling now is surrounded by hills piled on hills, with mountains in the background."

September 20th. "Today the road became more rough. We had some very high and steep hills to climb." "Messrs. Thompson and Craig went before us and killed three buffaloes."

September 21st. "We have been climbing more hills." "We are encamped in a beautiful valley. It is probably more than sixty miles long, as far as the eye can reach. The view from the surrounding mountains is grand. The valley is surrounded by high hills, with mountains in the background." "There is a large stream flowing through

it, called Laramie's Fork, tributary to the North Fork of the Platte." "In this plain there is a very large rock, composed of red sandstone and resembling a chimney. It is situated on a fork of the Laramie called Chimney Fork."

September 23rd. "This morning the road was very rough. At noon we entered a very large valley, called the Park, at the entrance of which we crossed the North Fork of the River Platte, a very fine stream."

September 24th. "Today we are still traveling in the park."

September 25th. "Today we have had a very rough road to travel over, and at evening encamped on a ridge called the divide."

September 27th. "We passed a place where the Whites had encamped a few days previous, for the purpose of killing buffalo and drying the meat. From the signs around us, we thought they must have had a fight with the Indians." "We saw the skeletons of four horses, killed in the fight. The Whites had thrown up a breast-work of logs for a defense. Tonight we put our horses in an old horse-pen we found at our camping place, which is on Snake River, a tributary of the Colorado of the West."

September 28th. "Today we had a good road and got along well. We are still on Snake River."

September 29th. "Today we left Snake River."
"We encamped at some sulphur springs."

September 30th. (Mr. Smith's horse gave out, and he had to walk, and camped by himself on the Vermilion.)

October 1st. "I left my lonely camp and walked rapidly over the gravel and prickly pears that lay in my path." "After traveling two miles" (he reached the party) "Encamped by a small lake in a valley. My pleasure can easily be imagined. They were just eating breakfast of which I partook with delight, having eaten nothing the day before. At evening we arrived at Brown's Hole, our place of destination. This is a valley on Green River in which is a fort."

October 2d. "Today I heard from Kit Carson the particulars of the fight at the breastworks at Snake River." (Seven men and two squaws went from Brown's

Hole and were drying buffalo meat when they were attacked by twenty Sioux Indians.) "The attack was made toward morning while it was yet dark. The Indians fired principally at one man, named Spillers, as he lay asleep outside of the horse-pen, and they pierced him with five balls, without wounding anyone else. This awakened the rest of the men, and they began to strengthen a horse-pen they had made of logs, to form it into a breastwork. They digged some holes in the ground for the men to stand in, so as to protect them as much as possible. As soon as it became light, they commenced firing at the Indians, of whom they killed and wounded several. After exchanging several shots the principal Indian chief rode up toward them and made offers of peace. One of the white men went out, and induced him with several others to come toward them, when they were within shooting distance, he fell back behind some trees, and gave the signal to his companions, who fired and killed the head chief. The Indians kept up a firing for a short time and then retreated. When the chief was shot he jumped up and fell down, the others were very much excited, and raved and tore around. He was a distinguished chief."

October 3d. "Still at the fort which is situated in a small valley surrounded by mountains, on Green River, a tributary of the Colorado. This is quite a stream, about three hundred yards wide. It runs through a narrow passage or canyon in the mountains, the rocks forming a perpendicular wall on each side, five hundred feet high."

October 6th. "I had intended to go to Fort Hall . . . but the party disappointed me."

October 10th. (A party went on a buffalo hunt on Snake River at mouth of Muddy. They killed 100 buffalo and dried the meat, also killed six grizzly bears quite near the camp.) November 1st they returned to the fort and remained until the 8th. "On the evening of the first there were one hundred and fifty head of horses stolen from the vicinity of the fort by a party of Sioux." "A party of twelve men went over to Fort Hall, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and stole several horses from that company, notwithstanding they had been well treated by the man who had charge of the fort. On their return they stopped at a small encampment of Snake Indians, consisting of three lodges. One of them belonged to a very old man who invited them to eat with him and treated them with great hospitality. At evening the whites

proceeded on their journey taking with them all the old Indian's horses. On returning to Green River, the trappers remaining at the fort expressed their displeasure so strongly at this act of unparalleled meanness that they were obliged to leave the party to go to a trading post of the Eutaw Indians. The whites in the valley, fearing that the Snake Indians might retaliate for the loss of their horses pursued the thieves and compelled them to restore the stolen property."

November 8th. "We moved up the river a short distance to a log cabin, built by some young man, who had come to the mountains last spring, intending to remain there until the following spring.

December 20th. (Visit of twenty lodges of Snake Indians, trading skins.) "There is a large salt lake in the mountains about four days travel from Brown's Hole. This lake is a hundred miles long from north to south and thirty miles wide . . . There are several fresh water streams running into this lake, one of which is Great Bear River . . . Near the headwaters of the Missouri is a valley filled with mounds, emitting smoke and vapor, the ground composing this valley is very soft, so much so that a horse will sink to his girths in the ground. On the west side of the mountains are streams that seem to ebb and flow like the tide. In the mornings their banks are overflowing, at noon they are perfectly dry, the next morning flowing again. The country around the headwaters of the Yellowstone, a tributary of the Missouri, abounds in natural curiosities. There are volcanoes, volcanic productions and carbonated springs. Mr. Vasquez told me that he went to the top of one of these volcanoes, the crater of which was filled with pure water, forming quite a large lake. There is a story told by an Arapahoe chief of a petrified buffalo standing in the lake on the east side of the mountains. It was in a perfect state of preservation, and they worship it as a great medicine charm. There are also moccasin and buffalo tracks in the solid rock along the side of the lake. Nothing would induce this Indian to tell where this sacred buffalo is to be found. Great presents were offered to him in vain. There is a party, going in boats from this valley in the spring down Grand River, on the Colorado of the West, to California. They will be led by Mr. Walker who was with Bonneville in the mountains. They intend trapping for beaver on the way."

"We intended to spend the winter in the valley of Brown's Hole, but soon had reason to fear an attack from the Sioux. The party before mentioned, who lost their chief in an encounter with some whites, had returned to their principal tribe and intend coming in numbers to attack us in the spring. We therefore thought it unsafe to remain until then." "We left the valley of Brown's Hole on the 24th of January, 1840 . . . Our party consisted of twenty persons, fourteen men, four squaws, wives of the trappers, and two children. There were two traders in the company, one, Mr. Biggs, who was a trader for Sublette and Vasquez, the other, Mr. Baker, a trader for Bent and St. Vrain. There were also three free trappers. The others were men hired to the two traders."

January 27th, 1840. "We arrived at Snake River and remained there four days. While there the snow fell two feet deep. We had three Indian lodges with us, in which we slept at night."

February 2d. "We encamped at a creek called Muddy. we found considerable difficulty in traveling through the snow during the day."

February 4th. "The snow became very deep, and in a few days . . . six feet deep . . . our stock of provisions was nearly exhausted."

February 17th. "We encamped on a high hill, and one of the horses gave out, being unable to carry the load any farther. Here we encountered one of the most severe storms I ever witnessed. Considerable snow fell, and the wind blew for two nights and a day. During the night one of the lodges blew down, and its occupants were obliged to remove to one of the others to prevent being frozen. We started with thirty-nine horses and mules, all in good order. Some of them were now dying daily for want of food and water. We traveled but three or four miles a day, on account of the depth of snow. By this time many of us were on foot and were obliged to go before and break the way for the horses. Our provisions were being exhausted, we were obliged to eat the horses as they died. In this way we lived fifteen days, eating a few dogs in the meantime. In a few days we were all on foot. We suffered greatly from want of wood. We were obliged to burn a shrub called sage . . . We obtained no water except by melting snow. During this time we had some very severe storms of wind and snow

. . . We were obliged to make a scaffold of some trees which we found, and leave our beaver skins on it, with all the furs we had collected." (All the horses died) except two, and they were so weak as to be almost unable to drag the tents."

February 23d. Our hunters killed a buffalo which was very poor, the meat, however, was very pleasant to us, after having lived so long on poor horse meat."

February 24th. "The hunters killed three fat buffalo, which was the first fat meat we had seen for twenty days . . . On the afternoon of this day we encamped on the North Fork of the River Platte, which runs through a small valley surrounded by mountains. At this place there was scarcely any snow to be seen, and the weather was quite warm. We were still one hundred and fifty miles from the trading fort. This valley was filled with herds of buffalo. After remaining here four days, three of us started on the 29th of February to go to the fort for horses. We traveled until noon the first day without finding any snow. In the afternoon we met pretty deep snow, and toward night it was two feet deep, covered with a very hard crust." (They went fifteen miles that day) "About dark we stopped on the summit of a hill." (It was a wind-swept, but there was no fuel for a fire.) "We were very wet, having traveled through the snow all day. We were obliged to lie down on the bare ground, with only a blanket apiece to cover us, and were unable to sleep from the severe cold. Next morning we started by daylight and found the snow deeper than the day before, the crust was hard but not sufficiently so to bear one, which made walking very fatiguing. Notwithstanding the difficulty we traveled fifteen miles that day. At sundown we came in sight of a stream, the banks of which were covered with timber." (They saw fresh tracks of Indians. One of the three men had been attacked and robbed by Sioux at this place.) "My companions being both afraid to proceed, we were obliged to return to our party on the North Fork of the Platte . . . We were near what was called Medicine Bow Butte, which takes its name from a stream running at its base, called Medicine Bow Creek." (They started to return that same night) "We traveled all night and stopped just as daylight was appearing, made a fire and rested half an hour. The next night we found ourselves quite near the encampment on the Platte. Our party was very much disappointed to see us return."

March 7th. "Mr. Biggs and a half breed started to the fort by another route . . . They took a horse with them to carry their blankets and provisions. In the meantime the party on the Platte were hunting daily, and supplied themselves abundantly with provisions." (Transposed) "When Mr. Biggs started for the fort . . . we built a fort of logs on the Platte to protect us from Indians." "On the forty-second day from the time of his starting." "Mr. Biggs and Mr. Vasquez arrived, bringing with them horses sufficient to carry the furs, but not enough to furnish saddle-horses for all the party, consequently some were obliged to walk. They also brought some men with them, increasing our number to twenty-two. Mr. Biggs immediately started to return for the beaver that had been left some distance back, and was absent five days."

April 14th. "They left their fort on the North Fork of the Platte."

April 16th. "We ate dinner at the Medicine Bow Creek."

April 19th. "Arrived at Laramie Fork, a tributary of the Platte. At the junction of this stream with the North Fork the American Fur Company have a large trading fort, called Fort Laramie.

April 24th. "In the afternoon, we crossed the South Fork of the Platte with considerable difficulty, as the water was very high. After travelling six miles we arrived at the Fort of Sublette and Vasquez. We remained at the fort nearly two days."

April 26th. "We started in a mackinaw boat which had been made at the fort at the foot of the mountains. This boat was thirty-six feet long and eight feet wide. We had seven hundred buffalo robes on board and four hundred buffalo tongues. There were seven of us in company. The water of this river was very shallow and we proceeded with difficulty, getting on sand bars every few minutes. We were obliged to wade and push the boat along most of the way for about three hundred miles, which we were forty-nine days traveling. We had to unload the boat several times a day when it was aground, which was very hard work."

May 12th. "We killed the first buffalo we had seen since we left the fort."

May 13th. "We arrived at the camp . . . of Shian Indians . . . They were headed by a chief called the Yellow Wolf. His brother was of the party having a name Many Crows."

June 12th. "We arrived at the fork of the Platte. The water in the North Fork of the Platte was pretty high, and we were able to proceed quite rapidly. We sometimes traveled fifty miles a day."

June 14th. "We met five buffalo, the last we saw, as we left the country in which they range."

June 20th. "We passed the Loup Fork and also Shell Creek."

June 21st. "We passed Horse Creek . . . also Saline." "In the evening we arrived at a missionary station, about fifteen miles from the mouth of the River Platte . . . We went to the missionary houses . . . and were much disappointed at finding them deserted, the missionaries having removed to another place."

June 22d. "We arrived at the mouth of the river Platte . . . In the afternoon we stopped at a log house on the bank of the river. Here we saw the first whites who had gladdened our eyes since leaving the mountains."

June 23d. "In the evening we arrived at a settlement, where we procured some fresh meat, bread and coffee."

June 24th. "We stopped at another settlement in the State of Missouri, Buchanan county. On the south side of the river is Missouri Territory, and on the north side the State of Missouri . . . We now traveled rapidly, sometimes eighty miles a day."

July 3d. "We arrived at St. Louis, having come two thousand miles from the mountains in sixty-nine days."

CHARBONEAU

There is a mention in an appendix-note, of "Mr. Shabenare" being with the party in the mackinaw boat, which indicates his movements from August 6th, 1839 to July 3, 1840. He was a son of Touissant Charboneau of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Rufus B. Sage, in his *Rocky Mountain Life*, edition 1847, page 206, tells of meeting a party in the employ of Bent and St. Vrain, August

30, 1842, on an island of the Platte. They had attempted to navigate and were stranded because of low water. Their "camp was under the direction of a half breed, named Chabonard, who proved to be a gentleman of superior information. He had acquired a classic education and could converse quite fluently in German, Spanish, French and English, as well as several Indian languages. His mind, also, was well stored with choice reading, and enriched by extensive travel and observation. Having visited most of the important places, both in England, France, and Germany. He knew how to turn his experience to good advantage." There was a quaint humor and shrewdness in his conversation, so garbled with intelligence and perspicuity, that he at once insinuated himself into the good graces of listeners, and commanded their admiration and respect."

EARLY DAY USE OF ADOBE BRICKS

The most prevalent mode of finishing buildings for winter occupancy in Cheyenne is to wall up the spaces between the studding with adobes, or sun dried brick, following this by a coat of plastering. These buildings must prove to be very comfortable.—The Cheyenne Leader, Sept. 28, 1867.)

Wyoming In World War II

According to a report compiled from official sources by Wyoming's U. S. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, 217 Wyoming men have been reported killed, injured, captured, or missing during American operations on foreign fronts before the Sicilian invasion (July, 1943).

This report includes a complete list, and shows where the men are from, as well as the branch of the service they belong.

According to the Senator's report 10 army men and 33 navy and marine corps personnel are dead, 43 army men and 18 navy and marine corps men are prisoners, 16 army and 33 of the navy and marine corps are missing, 14 army men and 24 of the marine and navy personnel are wounded.

In addition seven civilians are missing and 18 are reported as internees.

Dead

Bandemer, Harold William, Seaman, first class, USN, Lingle

Bauer, Victor C., Corporal, USMC, Garland

Benson, Robert Gerald, Signalman, third class, USN, Rawlins

Buckner, Albert D., assistant cook, USMC, Lander

Carlson, John A., Private, USMC, Casper

Chase, Guy Laverne, Seaman, second class, USN, Casper

Christensen, Elmer Emil, Machinist's Mate, second class, USN, Buffalo

Davis, James Bradley, Fireman, first class, USN, Wheatland

Dutton, William C., Sergeant, USMC, Cody

Eisele, George Raymond, Seaman, second class, USNR, Sheridan

Fisher, Delbert Ray, Seaman, first class, USN, Laramie

Hanson, George, Machinist's Mate, first class, USN, Laramie

Harmon Frank Subert, seaman second class, USN, Cheyenne

Japp, Edwin Henry, Seaman, second class, USNR, Upton

Jones, Charles William, Metalsmith, second class, USN, Casper

Jones, Irvin Eugene, Seaman, second class, USN, Byron

Lane, Edward Wallace, Coxswain, USN, Cheyenne

Larson, Joseph Ernest, Fireman, first class, USN, Douglas

Linton, George Edward, Fireman, second class, USN, Wheatland

McGauran, Raphael R., Sergeant, USMC, Laramie

Moore, Ray A., Private, first class, USMC, Powell

Morgareidge, James Orries, Fireman, second class, USN, Ten Sleep

Murphy, John, Jr., Private, first class, USMC, Worland

Musgrave, Francis Dewey, Seaman, first class, USN, Sinclair

Offenbacher, R. L., Second Lieutenant, USMC, Casper

Phillips, Harold Gordon, Seaman, first class, USN, Sheridan

Schmidt, Herman, Gunner's Mate, third class, USN, Sheridan

Steele, Charles Aron, Ship's Cook, second class, USN, Cheyenne

Stein, Walter Claud, Seaman, first class, USN, Cheyenne

Thompson, John Scott, Aviation Radioman, third class, USN, Worland

Wallenstein, Richard Henry, Seaman, first class, USN, Rawlins

Wolney, George James, Coxswain, USN, Monarch

Wood, Jack S., Private, first class, USMC, Rock Springs

Wounded

Byrd, Robert G., Private, USMC, Laramie

Chaney, Clarence C., Private, USMC, Casper

Davis, Clenroe Willard, Seaman, first class, USN, Laramie

Davis, James O., Private, first class, USMC, Casper

Edwards, Billy R., Private, USMC, Rawlins

Fraley, Harold D., Jr., Private, USMC, Casper

Gill, Glenn G., Private, USMC, Moorcroft

Gillespie, Albert Calloway, Shipfitter, second class, USN, Rock River

Grovum, Elden F., Private, USMC, Casper

Hardee, Charles S., Corporal, USMC, Casper

Hoel, Gene D., Private, USMC, Gillette

Manias, Theodore J., Private, first class, USMC, Casper

Merrill, Arthur Curtis, Aviation Radioman, second class, USNR, Lovell

McCarthy, Daniel P., Private, USMC, Casper

Myers, Roy Alfred, Gunner's Mate, third class, USNR, Powell

Myhre, Leonard Marvin, Seaman, second class, USNR, Kaycee

Nichols, Frank Wilson, Electrician's Mate, third class, USN, Encampment

Sheltren, Walter Allen, Chief Firecontrolman, USN, Evanston

Smith, Arthur Loran Jr., Radioman, first class, USN,
Worland

Stewart, Jesse L., Technical Sergeant, USMC, Green
River

Trujillo, Joe H., Private, first class, USMC, Rock
Springs

Tyrelle, Elwood Lee, Private, USMC, Gillette

Vanderpas, Charles W., Private, first class, USMC,
Greybull

Vesey, William K., Corporal, USMC, Casper

Missing

Clark, Jesse Neilson, Boatswain's Mate, first class,
USN, Mountain View

Corsberg, Howard C., Private, first class, USMC, Lar-
amie

Cusack, Ralph Roger, Radioman, third class, USN,
Greybull

Davis, Howard Earl, Yeoman, second class, USN,
Gillette

Dicken, Marion Upton, Seaman, second class, USN,
Torrington

Dugger, Harold Wayne, Seaman, second class, USNR,
Powell

Flesher, Stanley Russell, Seaman, first class, USN,
Story

Gunnerson, Carl Fredrick, Fireman, second class, USN,
Laramie

Harrison, Morse Grant, Aviation Radioman, third
class, USN, Wamsutter

Henetz, Michael, Private, first class, USMC, Rock
Springs

Hunter, John Stevenson, Torpedoman, first class,
USN, Kemmerer

Kinnison, Willis Leroy, Seaman, second class, USNR,
Cheyenne

Lawson, Raymond Paul, Chief Machinist, USN, Cheyenne

Lindsey, Kenneth C., Private, first class, USMC, Gillette

Marceau, Wilfrid Louis, Seaman, first class, USN, Winton

Mariette, Maxwell Albert, Pharmacist's Mate, second Class, USN, Foxpark

McFarland, John Arthur, Seaman, first class, USN, Cheyenne

Miller, Fred James, apprentice seaman, USN, Rock Springs

Montgomery, Robert Allen, radioman, first class, USN, Casper

Nebel, Alma Rex, Corporal, USMC, Lovell

Oelke, Clayton Lavelle, machinist's mate, second class, USN, Sheridan

Osborn, Arthur Raymond, radioman, second class, USN, Pine Bluffs

Piasecki, Alexander L., Corporal, USMC, Acme

Robertson, Robert Nehls, fireman, first class, USN, Thermopolis

Smith, Raymond E., mess sergeant, USMC, Recluse

Stetz, Frank Charles, apprentice seaman, USNR, Sheridan

Stout, Roy Albert, signalman, third class, USN, Farson

Valhusky, Arthur John, aviation machinist's mate, second class, USN, Hudson

Vesey, Kenneth L., Private, USMC, Casper

Vospahl, Arthur Henry, Lieutenant, USN, Laramie

Walker, Harry Orville, Coxswain, USN, Sheridan

Whitehead, Wallace Albert, storekeeper, second class, USN

Wollam, J. P., Private, USMC, Powell

Prisoners of War

Basye, Frank David, Chief Quartermaster, USN, Jackson

Bissett, Everett A., Private, USMC, Casper

Christensen, Alfred Bennett, Private, first class, USMC, Kaycee

Dickeson, Truman M., Private, first class, USMC, Thermopolis

Dillman, Frank H., Corporal, USMC, Lander

Frost, Lynn Wm., Private, first class, USMC, Casper

McCoy, Clarence William, Boatswain's mate, first class, USN, Newcastle

McDowell, Jack W., Sergeant, USMC, Casper

McVay, William A., Private, first class, USMC, Thermopolis

Miller, Jack "Z", Private, first class, USMC, Rock Springs

Murphy, Robert Bruce, Private, first class, USMC, Thermopolis

Reed, Clifford Milton, Private, first class, USMC, Story

Salsbury, Richard LeRoy, Pharmacist's mate, USN, Cheyenne

Sohn, Rosse E., Field music corporal, USMC, Rock Springs

Winterholler, John, First Lieutenant, USMC, Lovell

Stewart, Jesse L., Tech. Sgt., USMC, Green River

Kirkpatrick, Edward L., Private, first class, USMC, Sheridan

Crichton, Clint Millard, Private, first class, USMC, Burlington

Civilian Internees

Ft. Warren—Ritenour, Charles

The following twenty-five men were employed at Wake, Guam and Cavite, by Pacific naval air base contractors,

at the time of Japanese occupation of those areas:

Casper—Fisher, Marvin C., interned, and Unger, Lewis O., missing

Cheyenne—Bainster, Raymond E., internee

Cody—Christler, Elmer J., internee; Cooper, Robert P., internee; Fenex, Jack A., (also of Glenrock), missing; Freestone, Wm. F., missing; Jernberg, Andrew D., internee; McDonald, Jos. T., internee; Murphy, Gerald L., internee; Patterson, Howard C., internee

Douglas—Esmay, Wayne E., missing

Fox Park—Herndon, Pat H., internee

Jackson—Johnson, Lee, Jr., internee

Lovell—Schmidt, Henry J., internee

Manderson—Johnson, Axel R., internee; Robertson, Chas. B., internee

Midwest—Pease, Gordon H., missing

Rock Springs—McTee, John R., internee

Sheridan—Scott, Lawrence R., internee

Sundance—Graham, Lyle E., missing

Wapiti—Simpers, Wm. T., missing

Worland—Groshart, Jay A., internee; O'Neal, John H., missing

Wheatland—Nelson, Edward A., internee

Army Personnel

Adon—Christenson, Alvin C., Pvt., prisoner

Afton—Hale Blair, 2nd Lt., missing

Aladdin—Giachino, Martin, Pvt., prisoner

Bairoil—Hamilton, Duke L., Jr., Tech. Sgt., missing

Basin—Rosenberry, Harry, Cpl., prisoner; and Russell, Roland W., 2nd Lt., wounded

Buffalo—Scott, Richard, Pvt., prisoner

Byron—Johnson, Keith E. Staff Sgt., prisoner

Carpenter—Schliske, Elmer E., Cpl., prisoner

Casper—Barhaug, Raganar, 2nd Lt., missing; Forsythe, Donald B., Pvt., prisoner; Goldtrap, John C., Maj., prisoner; Helton, Virgil M., Pfc., wounded; Musfelt, Roy W., Pfc., prisoner; Spalding, Jack A., 1st Lt., dead.

Cheyenne—Brevdy, Oscar L., Sgt., prisoner; Calder, Wm. H., Pfc., prisoner; Colvin, Wayne W., Pfc., prisoner; Defreese, Norman E., 1st Lt., dead; Hill, Allen S., Staff Sgt., wounded; Holsteda, Robert E., 1st Lt., wounded; King, Garrett C., 1st Lt., dead; Kline, Allan T., Pvt., wounded; Kozel, Walter, 2nd Lt., missing; McSorley, Raymond A., 2nd Lt., missing; Orr, James S., 2nd Lt., dead; Schmidt, John J., Pfc., prisoner; True, Joe W., Staff Sgt., prisoner; Weppner, John J., 1st Lt., wounded; Yonkoff, John, Tech. 5th Grade, wounded; Zubiri, Leslie B., 2nd Lt., missing

Clearmont—Vaughn, Floyd N., Sgt., wounded

Divide—Moore, Carol C., Cpl., prisoner

Dixon—Pacheco, Reginald, A., Pvt., prisoner

Douglas—Mitchell, Leland E., Pfc., prisoner; Schilling, Wm., Pfc., prisoner

Dwyer—Bowman, Joseph N., Jr., dead

Fort Washakie—Burnett, Finn G., Tech. Sgt., missing

Foxpark—Suazo, Tito C., Pvt., wounded

Gillette—Birdsall, Robert B., Tech. Sgt., prisoner

Greybull—Hankin, Howard H., Pfc., prisoner; Hoover, Chester L., 2nd Lt., missing

Keeline—Deitchler, Floyd J., Pfc., wounded

Laramie—Brown, Elmer B., Sgt., missing

Lovell—Hessenthaler, Chas. F., Tech 5th Grade, wounded; Leach, Albert L., Sgt., prisoner

Lyman—Slagowski, Clyde L., Staff Sgt., missing

Manville—Cramer, Bruce O., Pvt., prisoner

Monarch—Perry, Arthur Jr., 1st Lt., dead

Piedmont—Degman, John Thos., 2nd Lt., missing

Powell—Dawson, Stanley W., Pfc., prisoner; McDonald, Jas. Samuel, Capt., prisoner; Roney, Donald R., Pvt., wounded; Young, Jas. M., Pfc., missing

Reliance—Telk, John F., Pvt., missing

Riverton—Beedle, Clyde E., Sgt., prisoner; Clements, Robert R., Pfc., dead; Griebel, Robert E., missing; Logan, Malcolm H., Tech., Sgt., prisoner

Rock Springs—Cornford, Russell V., dead

Sheridan—Bolinger, Fred J., Pfc., prisoner; Boyle, Albert W., Pfc., prisoner; Jesser, Robert E., Pvt., prisoner; Kelly, Gerald F., Pvt., prisoner; Livingston, Raymond P., Pvt., prisoner; Wall, James R., Pvt., prisoner; Olson, Marvin J., Staff Sgt., prisoner

Story—Chalfant, Rex C., Pvt., wounded

Superior—Sampi, Kenneth C., Pvt., prisoner

Ten Sleep—Rosetti, Louie, Tech. Sgt., missing; Yost, Clifford H., Tech. Sgt., prisoner

Thermopolis—Brunk, Willis L., Cpl., wounded; Stanley, James W., Pfc., prisoner; Todd, Roy A., Master Sgt., died in Japanese prison camp

Torrington—Kieffer, Warren J., Pfc., prisoner; Sharp, Gerald W., Pfc., prisoner

Veteran—Anderson, Marlyn B., Pfc., dead

Wendover—Miller, Rolland E., Pfc., prisoner

Wheatland—Randall, Chas. E., Sgt., prisoner; Wilson, Francis E., 2nd. Lt., missing

Worland—Bower, Rodger D., Capt., missing; Chenoweth, Rolland E., Pvt., prisoner; Johnson, Jas. S., 1st Lt., missing.



ACCESSIONS

to the
Wyoming Historical Department
June 1, 1943 to August 1, 1943

Miscellaneous Gifts

Gordon, Thomas, 420 E. 20th St., Cheyenne, Wyoming—donor of Railroad Pass, Union Pacific System, issued to Thomas Gordon and wife, October 6, 1897.

Stanley, Mrs. S. J., 2713 Ames Court, Cheyenne, Wyoming—donor of an Edison Phonograph, horn, seven disk records, and other accessories.

Hart, Merrill F., Cheyenne, Wyoming—donor of "Wyoming: Bibliographical List."

Spaulding, Payson W., Evanston, Wyoming—donor of "A Statement supported by Proofs and Affidavits, 1877."

Todd, Jean Osborne, donor of the John Eugene Osborne Collection, Letters and Manuscripts—60.

Deming, W. C., Cheyenne, Wyoming—donor of Picture of "Cowboy Reception to Dr. Crane;" "History of Lincoln Highway," Manuscript by E. Emery.

Wetmore, A., Assistant Secretary, U. S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., donor of seven photographs: one of Fort John, Laramie River near the Platte 1844; six of Indians taken from George Catlin's original paintings in the U. S. National Museum.

Baker, A., Casper, Wyoming, donor of a map, Territory of Wyoming, 1876; Father De Smet map, 1851.

Purchase

Life Magazine, July 5, 1943.

JOHN EUGENE OSBORNE COLLECTION

This collection consists of letters, newspaper clippings, photographs, manuscripts, etc., as listed below, which were donated to the State Historical Museum, by Mr. Osborne's daughter, Mrs. Jean Osborne Todd.

Letters to Mr. Osborne from:

	Number
Woodrow Wilson	4
Thos. R. Marshall	1
John C. Gale	1
Franklin Delano Roosevelt, N. Y. Gov.	1
Robert Lansing	1
Frank Polk	1
W. F. McCombe	1
D. R. Tillman	1
William C. Liller	1
Charles C. McChord	1
Comptroller of the Currency, Washington	1
(Name not discernable)	
A. S. Burleasm, Postmaster General Washington	1
Treasury Department, Office of Commissioner of Internal Revenue	1
(Name not discernable)	
John Burke, Treasurer of the United States	1
C. C. Hamlin	1
Including two manuscripts:	
Sugar Tariff by Trueman G. Palmer	1
Sugar Beet Industry in the United States, Tariff, etc.	1
Warren G. Harding	1
W. J. Bryan	12
Roger C. Sullivan	1
Washington G. Valentine	1

Copies of Letters from Mr. Osborn to:

The President, The White House	1
Woodrow Wilson	1

Letters to Hon. William J. Bryan from:

Woodrow Wilson	2
----------------------	---

Miscellaneous Letters:

Democratic National Committee, Rawlin, Wyo., November 20, 1912. Unsigned letter in- cluding list of members of the Democratic National Committee	1
---	---

Letter to:

Mr. William F. McCombe (Unsigned letter)	1
--	---

Photographs:

Andrew Jackson, with autograph	1
Mr. and Mrs. William J. Bryan	1
Home of Bryan	1
"Big Nose George" One photo with negative	2
"Big Nose George" Two views of the death Mash..	2
"Big Nose George" With shoes	2
Speech of Hon. Robert L. Owen	1

Invitations:

President and Mrs. McKinley request company of Hon. J. E. Osborne to receptions	3
Certificate of Election, State of Wyoming, Execu- tive Department, John E. Osborne	1

Telegrams:

John E. Osborne from Emiliano Chamorsro, Presidente De Nacaragua	1
John E. Osborne from Josephus Daniels	1
Public Papers, Message and Proclamation Hon. John E. Osborne, Governor of Wyoming, 1893-4	1

Newspaper Clippings:

Osborne quits Post as aid to Lansing	1
Department of State, Press Release for Publication.....	1

Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 15

October, 1943

No. 4

Contents

	Page
STATISTICAL REPORTS ON THE SICKNESS AND MORTALITY OF THE U. S. ARMY, 1819-1860.....	315
Compiled by Marie H. Erwin.	
WYOMING PIONEER ASSOCIATION.....	376
DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS:	
Reminiscences of Civil War Days.....	377
By Judge Gibson Clark.	
Letter to W. E. Chaplin from Henry Wagner.....	386
RAWLINS FIRST SCHOOL BUILDING.....	390
REVIEW OF LARAMIE CITY FOR 1868-1869.....	391
Laramie Weekly Sentinel, May 5, 1883.....	396
WYOMING SCRAPBOOK:	
Red Cloud's Prayer.....	403
By Judge Gibson Clark.	
The "Magic City", Cheyenne, Dakota Territory, 1867, (Concluded).....	405
WYOMING STREAM NAMES (Con't.).....	413
By Dee Linford.	
ACCESSIONS	417
INDEX for Vol. 15	419

ILLUSTRATIONS

LANDER	Front Cover
MAP, 1849-1858	375
WYOMING PIONEERS	376
J. Abney and F. G. Burnett.	
RAWLINS FIRST SCHOOL BUILDING.....	390

Printed by The Douglas Enterprise,
Douglas, Wyoming

The State Historical Board, the State Historical Advisory Board and the State Historical Department assume no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the ANNALS OF WYOMING.

The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The historical magazine, ANNALS OF WYOMING, is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the ANNALS should be addressed to Mary A. McGrath, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

This magazine is sent free of charge to all State Historical Board members, the State Historical Advisory Board, Wyoming County Libraries and Wyoming newspapers.

It is published in January, April, July and October. Subscription price, \$1.50 per year; single copies, 45c.

Entered as second-class matter September 10, 1941, at the Post Office in Cheyenne, Wyoming, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Copyright, 1943, by the Wyoming Historical Department.

STATE HISTORICAL BOARD

Lester C. Hunt, President Governor
Mart T. Christensen Secretary of State
Wm. "Scotty" Jack State Auditor
Earl Wright State Treasurer
Esther L. Anderson Superintendent of Public Instruction
Mary A. McGrath, Secy. State Librarian and Historian Ex-Officio

STATE HISTORICAL ADVISORY BOARD

Mrs. Mary Jester Allen, Cody	Mrs. Joseph H. Jacobucci, Green River
Frank Barrett, Lusk	P. W. Jenkins, Big Piney
George Bible, Rawlins	E. V. Knight, Laramie
Mrs. T. K. Bishop, Basin	W. C. Laurence, Moran
C. Watt Brandon, Kemmerer	E. A. Logan, Cheyenne
J. Elmer Brock, Kaycee	Howard B. Lott, Buffalo
Struthers Burt, Moran	Mrs. Eliza Lythgoe, Cowley
Mrs. Elsa Spear Byron, Sheridan	R. E. MacLeod, Torrington
Mrs. G. C. Call, Afton	James L. McIntosh, Split Rock
Oliver J. Colyer, Torrington	A. J. Mokler, Casper
J. L. Cook, Sundance	Mrs. Elmer K. Nelson, Laramie
Mrs. Esther Crook, Fairview	L. L. Newton, Lander
William C. Deming, Cheyenne	R. I. Olinger, Newcastle
Dr. William Frackelton, Sheridan	Charles Oviatt, Sheridan
Paul Frison, Ten Sleep	Mrs. Minnie Reitz, Wheatland
E. A. Gaensslen, Green River	E. B. Shaffner, Douglas
Hans Gautschi, Lusk	Mrs. Effie Shaw, Cody
Burt Griggs, Buffalo	Mrs. Tom Sun, Rawlins
Jack Haynes, Yellowstone Park	John Charles Thompson, Cheyenne
D. B. Hilton, Sundance	Russell Thorp, Cheyenne
L. B. Howard, Rock Springs	
Mrs. Mary E. Hunter, Gillette	

STAFF PERSONNEL

of

The Wyoming Historical Department

and

State Museum

Mary A. McGrath, Editor State Librarian and Historian Ex-Officio
Marie H. Erwin, Co-Editor Assistant Historian



WYOMING STATE MUSEUM

Housed in the new Supreme Court and Library Building in Cheyenne, with vault space and fireproof protection, the Museum provides for the preservation and display of the prized possessions of Wyoming pioneers.

Perpetuate your family name by placing your historical collections and relics in your State Museum, where they may be permanently preserved and enjoyed by the thousands of visitors.

Everything that is presented to the Museum is numbered, labeled, recorded and card indexed, thus insuring permanent identification.

Statistical Reports On the Sickness and Mortality Of the Army Of the United States, 1819-1860 *

Compiled by Marie H. Erwin

According to the requirements of medical regulations, medical officers were required to prepare a paper on the medical history of their respective posts. They were requested to describe the geographical position of their respective posts, the physical aspect of the surrounding country; the geological formations; its flora; its fauna, (the animals, trees, and plants belonging to it); the characteristics of climate; the nature and causes of the diseases prevailing at the posts and their vicinity, and how far these diseases could be traced to general and local causes; how far to habits and modes of life, to water, diet, etc. They were also requested to collect as many facts as possible concerning the vital statistics of the inhabitants in the vicinity of their respective posts, particularly of the Indian tribes; to give a brief but clear account of their several diseases, etc., embracing all types of information calculated to prove useful or interesting to the War Department and the medical world.

Statistical reports on the sickness and mortality of the United States Army were compiled by the Surgeon General of the United States Army from the reports made by the medical officers; the reports in compliance with resolutions of the Senate of the Congress in which these reports appeared were printed.

The military posts of the United States were arranged in geographical divisions and these divisions into regions, thereby rendering greater convenience and accuracy in securing statistical and topographical details of the military posts in geographical divisions and regions having similar climatological features.

*This article is compiled from various reports made by the Surgeon General of the United States Army, contained in the United States Congressional Documents.

The first "Statistical Report on Sickness and Mortality in the Army of the United States" covered a period of twenty years, from January 1819 to January 1838, and was published in 1840. There were no military posts in that part of the Northern Division from which Wyoming was carved at the time this report was made.

SECOND REPORT

The Second Report embraced a period of sixteen years, from January 1839 to January 1855, compiled under the direction of the Surgeon General of the United States Army, was published in 1856, by order of the United States Senate.

Fort Laramie was the only military post in that part of the Northern Division from which Wyoming was carved when this report was made. This Division included all that part of the United States north of the 40° N. Latitude and east of the Rocky Mountains.

Second Report on the Sickness and Mortality Among the Troops at Fort Laramie, 1839-1855.*

In the absence of any special topographical report respecting this military station the following brief statement has been collated from Captain Howard Stansbury's report of his "Exploration of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake" in 1849-1850.

"Fort Laramie, formerly known as Fort John, was one of the posts established by the American Fur Company for the protection of their trade. Its walls are built in the usual style of such structures, of adobe or unburnt brick. The soil in the vicinity appears to be sterile, owing, no doubt, to the extreme dryness of the air and almost total absence of dews. The great quantity of coarse conglomerate, too, which, by its disintegration, leaves the surface covered with gravel, must operate as a great impediment to cultivation. The rocks, however, contain the elements of fertility, being composed of limestone, clay, and sand; and, with the aid of irrigation, the bottom lands of Laramie creek might be made to produce most abundant crops. Hay is cut, about eight miles up the stream, in quantity sufficient for the wants of the garrison."

According to Assistant Surgeon G. K. Wood, the fort

*U. S. Congressional Documents, 34th Cong. 1st Sess. S. Ex. Doc. No. 96, pp. 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82. [Serial 827.]

is elevated about twenty feet above the plain immediately surrounding it, which is enclosed by hills at a distance of about a mile, except on the north and southwest. The latter direction is occupied by the valley of the Laramie river, through which the wind sweeps almost constantly with great violence; in summer, raising clouds of dust so dense as to obscure vision for hours; and in winter, the snow, perfectly dry, is similarly raised; and lives are frequently lost on the plains about the post, from the inability of the traveller to discover the direction to pursue.

As regards the geographical position of Fort Laramie, it is in latitude $42^{\circ} 12' 38''$, longitude $104^{\circ} 31' 26''$, as determined by Captain Stansbury. Its altitude, 4,519 feet above the level of the sea.

The mean annual temperature is $50^{\circ}.6$, having an extreme range of 123° ; rising in summer to 102° , and falling in winter to -21° . The mean annual precipitation is 19.98 inches.

The only military stations in this region visited by cholera were Forts Kearney and Laramie. It is well known that in the summer of 1849 the emigrants crossing the western plains suffered with this disease. The garrisons at the above mentioned posts, on the line of emigration, escaped; but two cases being reported—one at each post. Assistant Surgeon William Hammond, jr., at Fort Kearny, states that the case of cholera, included in his report for the quarter ending June 30th, 1849, was brought to that post. No case originated there. The case included in the report for Fort Laramie, really occurred on the march to that post from Fort Leavenworth.

Taking the quarterly reports from Fort Kearney in due order, it is found that in June, 1850, Assistant Surgeon Wm. Hammond, jr., reports the health of the troops good, but adds that "the California emigrants, between Forts Leavenworth and Laramie, have suffered a good deal from a disease called by them cholera, and which, in its sometimes rapid and fatal course, very much resembled that malady; but which was nothing more than an acute form of diarrhoea, brought on by excessive imprudence in diet, and exposure to many hardships on the plains, to which they were entirely unaccustomed at home. The universal use of quack nostrums, called cholera mixtures, composed principally of brandy and Cayenne pepper, has tended to aggravate the disease when formed. I have

seen a great many cases among the emigrants, all of which, when fairly treated with calomel, opium, and astringents, have readily yielded. I do not think there has been any true Asiatic cholera upon the plains this summer."

The quarterly report of this officer for June, 1851, contains the following remarks: "The case of cholera reported above occurred in a recruit, just arrived from Fort Leavenworth, who had been suffering with diarrhoea several days before reaching this post. When brought to the hospital, at 11 o'clock A. M., June 28, he had all the symptoms of Asiatic cholera—constant and profuse rice-water discharges from the stomach and bowels; violent cramps in all the limbs; pulse almost imperceptible; skin cool and shrunken. Gave calomel, 15 grains; opium, 1 grain; and applied blister to abdomen. At 1 o'clock P. M. gave calomel, 30 grains; soon after which, vomiting and purging became less frequent, and ceased about midnight, at which time the pulse had increased in volume, and the skin was slightly warm." This patient recovered.

In transmitting his report for the quarter ending June 30th, 1852, Assistant Surgeon Hammond makes the following statement: "The two cases of cholera reported in June are the first that have occurred among the troops *stationed* at this post. The men had been on detached service at the village of the Pawnee Indians, on the Platte river, about thirty miles from the State line. One of them was drunk several times on the road. They both had diarrhoea while absent, which continued after their return to Fort Kearny, but did not report sick until the rice-water discharges and cramps of cholera announced the gravity of their complaints. When I first saw them, all the violent symptoms of cholera were present, large and repeated doses of calomel were immediately resorted to, and promptly arrested the disease. I have seen some five or six cases of Asiatic cholera among the emigrants; all of which proved fatal. In these cases, there had been premonitory diarrhoea of several days, and even weeks' standing. I have had frequent occasion to treat this diarrhoea, and found it to yield readily under the use of calomel with a very small portion of opium. The treatment which I have found most beneficial, in fully developed cholera, was large and repeated doses of calomel. This remedy has seldom failed to produce a prompt and decided alleviation of the symptoms, when given in doses of from 20 to 60 grains, before the total prostration of the state of collapse."

The reports from Fort Kearny for June and September, 1854, show, that while the troops continued healthy, cholera prevailed among the emigrants. The reports for the summer of 1853 make no mention of this disease.

The case of cholera reported in the abstract for the second quarter of 1850, and the thirty cases in the third quarter of that year, occurred at Fort Laramie. Respecting this disease, Surgeon S. P. Moore makes the following remarks, in transmitting his report of sick at that post, for the third quarter of 1850:

"The Asiatic cholera, one of the most formidable and destructive pestilences the world has even known, made its appearance at this post during the past season. I do not intend to give more than a brief sketch of the epidemic, and to trace its progress to this station. In the spring of 1849, the cholera appeared among the emigrants, in their encampments at or near the towns on the frontier, from whence they took their departure for California and Oregon; the prevalence of the disease hastened the departure of many companies, they believing the extensive and healthy prairies would dissipate all traces of the destroyer; but for a time they were mistaken, for cases of cholera continued to occur to within fifty miles of this post. Three soldiers, forming an escort from Fort Kearny, arrived here in July, 1849; one was attacked with cholera about the end of the same month, and another the first of August, as will be seen by my quarterly report for that period. These were the only cases at the post. This year, the progress of the disease has been somewhat different; it attacked the emigrants after they had left the frontier towns. The disease was prevailing, however, on the Missouri river, and may have prevailed among the emigrants before they took up the line of march for the land of promised riches. The emigrants were healthy when they left; it was after the emigration had been on the route many days that the disease appeared, about the Big Blue, thirty miles from Fort Kearny; from this point to the upper crossing of the Platte river, a distance of about four hundred and seventy miles, the emigrants suffered severely. Beyond the crossing, the disease disappeared. Recruits for this post left Fort Leavenworth last spring, perfectly healthy, and continued so until their road met the one from Independence on one side, and the St. Joseph's on the other, and then they were in the midst of the emigration; on the Big Blue the cholera broke out among

the men. This fort is one mile south of the road to California and Oregon, and overrun by the emigration. The first case of cholera was on the 21st of June. From the healthy state of the troops, I had hoped we should escape. It was not so; diarrhoea became quite prevalent, showing some atmospheric influence at work; and on the 4th of July another case occurred; the last case was on the 20th of the same month. Much has been written as to whether this disease is communicated from the sick to the healthy, in the manner of a contagion, or not. From the foregoing short description, it appears to depend upon a peculiar condition of the atmosphere; that all are liable to it, when under its influence, and in this way predisposed to the disease. The cholera was confined to the road, and among the emigrants. Many Indians remained on the road through curiosity, and for the purpose of begging; they paid a terrible penalty. Other bands of Indians, wiser than the above, left the road so soon as they learned there was disease among the whites, and escaped. Of the thirty cases in July, nine only were of the soldiers, who had arrived here the previous year; the other cases were from the recruits just joined, and who had journeyed with the emigration, and consequently were subjected to the cholera atmospheric influence. The hospital at this post is very small; all the patients were sent to it; yet in no instance did it attack those attached to the hospital, or the other patients. The two cases that occurred in July and August, 1849, were alone; the command continued healthy. Not a single case of cholera occurred at the post; but many persons were necessarily exposed, and, if the disease is contagious, it is incredible that so great a number of persons exposed should escape. It appears difficult to account for all the phenomena connected with the spread of this disease, without the existence of another agency than contagion. Many hypotheses have been raised to explain this influence, but they do not rest on facts, and we must admit our ignorance of the nature of this agency. If epidemic influenza is contagious, so is Asiatic cholera.

"With regard to the meteorological phenomena of the past quarter, there was nothing to be observed. The post was kept in good and strict police; the diet consisting principally of fresh meat and rice. I presume I saw and prescribed for every sick emigrant passing the fort, and many were necessarily left under my charge. Stimulating emetics, in the forming stage, were prescribed with the happiest effect. It is known that active vomiting ex-

cites the action of the heart and arteries, and impels the blood from the central vessels to the surface, and should give a healthy impulse to the circulation in this disease. In the stage of collapse, I am disposed to think that the ordinary remedies of the *materia medica* are not sufficiently powerful; the patient may be considered as lost; the remedy is yet to be discovered; and I have nothing to offer which can elucidate the treatment of this disease. More extensive trials should be given to the inhalation of chloroform and oxygen gas."

Respecting this disease, as it prevailed in the vicinity of Fort Laramie in 1852, Assistant Surgeon G. K. Wood makes the following statement: "In the summer of 1852, the number of emigrants crossing the plains from the Missouri to California was very large, and cholera appeared among them from the commencement of their march. About one thousand deaths occurred on the Platte river. The disease, although affecting all classes of the emigrants—those furnished with every possible comfort, as well as the mendicant begging his way to El Dorado—was not in a single instance communicated to those living in the country, or returning on the road from California. At Fort Laramie, the military hospital was constantly crowded with the sick; they were lying about the garrison and in tents in the surrounding country; were waited upon by the hospital attendants, visited by the soldiers, and treated by the medical officer on duty. Almost all had the disease severely; nearly all died; yet, not in a single instance was the disease communicated even to those of the garrison in most immediate contact with the sick."

With reference to the diseases of the respiratory system at Fort Laramie, Assistant Surgeon G. K. Wood submits the following remarks:

"The climate of those broad and elevated table-lands which skirt the base of the Rocky Mountains on the east, is especially beneficial to persons suffering from pulmonary disease, or with a scrofulous diathesis. This has been known to the French inhabitants of the upper Mississippi and Missouri for many years; and it has been their custom, since the settlement of that portion of the county, to send the younger members of their families, who showed any tendency to diseases of the lungs, to pass their youth among the trappers of the plains and mountains. The beneficial result of this course, no doubt, de-

pend, in a great measure, upon the mode of life led by these persons—their regular habits, constant exercise in the open air, and the absence of the enervating influences incident to life in cities; but that more is due to the climate itself, is shown by the fact, that among the troops stationed in this region (whose habits are much the same everywhere), this class of disease is of very rare occurrence. The reports from the line of posts stretching from the upper Platte, through New Mexico, to the Rio Grande, give a smaller proportion of cases of pulmonary disease than those from any other portion of the United States. The air in this region is almost devoid of moisture; there are no sudden changes of temperature; the depressing heats of the eastern summers are never felt; and, although in the north the winters are extremely cold, a stimulant and tonic effect is the only result of exposure in the open air. * * * *

SCURVY.—This disease manifested itself among the troops at Forts Kearny and Laramie in the first and second quarters of 1849 and 1850. Surgeon S. P. Moore's report for the first quarter of 1850 has the following remarks:

“The scurvy has increased to a much greater degree than was anticipated. Thirteen of the cases were very severe, attended by great lassitude; stiffness of the knees and feet; respiration difficult upon the slightest exertion; the countenance exhibiting a pale, sallow, and bloated appearance; maculae first on the legs, then thighs and arms; oedematous swelling of the legs, and extensive anasarcaous effusions; the gums spongy and tender, and apt to bleed on the slightest touch; the urine turbid and dark colored; the muscular power much prostrated; the blood dissolved. Indurations of the muscles, and severe pain in the thighs, back, and knees, were frequent. In some of the cases, pain in the intestines, and constipation; extensive sub-cuticular extravasations of blood on the extremities and other parts of the body; passive haemorrhages from the gums and nose, the gums separating from the teeth, and the teeth becoming loose in their sockets. In the fatal case, extreme prostration occurred, with anxious and oppressed respiration, dysenteric discharges, and convulsions. The habitual use of salt and unwholesome food, conjoined with fatiguing labor, were the exciting causes of the disease. In treating the disease, the causes have been removed as much as possible; fresh ani-

mal food was given in conjunction with vegetable acid drinks. During convalescence much benefit was derived from tonics, particularly the mineral acids. The solution of nitrate of potash in vinegar, so highly spoken of, failed to produce any beneficial results; on the contrary, it caused pain in the intestines and diarrhoea." In a subsequent report, Surgeon Moore observes that the almost entire exemption of the troops from scurvy is due to the liberal supply of anti-scorbutics furnished by the Subsistence Department.

THIRD REPORT

The third report embracing a period of five years, from January 1855 to January 1860, was published in June 1860. This report includes forts and camps in the Northern Division and the Division of Utah.

The Northern Division was subdivided into regions; the region we are interested in was the Northern Interior Region, which included all that portion of the United States between the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains and north of the 40° N. Latitude. Fort Laramie, Camps Platte Bridge and Walbach, were in this region. The Division of Utah included Fort Bridger and Camp Scott.

Third Report on the Sickness and Mortality of the Troops at Fort Laramie, Camps Walbach and Platte Bridge in the Northern Division, and Fort Bridger and Camp Scott in the Division of Utah, 1855-1860.

NORTHERN DIVISION

SANITARY REPORT, FORT LARAMIE*

Assistant Surgeon E. W. Johns: December, 1858

There is but little of interest to report, with the exception of what relates to scorbutic disease, the tendency to and practical development of which was observed last quarter. The condition of the entire command during this quarter was scorbutic, although only fourteen fully developed cases were recorded on the report. So strongly pronounced was the scorbutic condition that I deemed it advisable to recommend to the commanding officer the administration to the command not on the sick report of the same preparation of the cactus used in the hospital.

*U. S. Cong. Docs. 36th Cong. 1st Sess. S. Ex. Doc. No. 52, pp. 45-47. [Serial 1035.]

The desiccated vegetables seemed unavailing, though most useful otherwise as additions to the food of the men; no other vegetables could now be provided, and a long winter was to be passed through.

For the information of the department, and to show what measures I have taken and recommended, I respectfully inclose the following copies of communications made by me to the adjutant's office of this post.

With respect to the use of the juice of the cactus, (made by cutting the leaves in slices after slightly cooking the outside by holding them a brief period over fire, and then steeping the pieces in water until a thick greenish-brown mucilaginous mixture is obtained,) I would remark that great benefit has attended its administration, as at the end of the quarter all the cases were convalescent. No other remedy appeared to have the slightest effect upon the disease.

I have long since ceased to place any reliance on citric acid, and have seen no good results from the preparations of potash. All the cases were proceeding from bad to worse, until I commenced the use of the cactus, which I had previously employed in Texas.

But amendment was soon apparent under the use of the cactus, though not so rapid as was desirable; still, in the absence of the potato, (the best antiscorbutic,) the cactus was most useful.

In consequence of my recommendation, the commanding officer caused to be procured also, in the last week in December, a supply of wild celery, growing twelve miles from this post, superintending the search for it himself. It is contemplated to make the celery a regular article of diet for the companies during the winter, should it be found in sufficient quantities for the purpose. In the hospital I intend using both the juice of the cactus and celery, and look for good results. I have omitted to mention that the dose of the juice of the cactus is nearly a tumblerful mixed with half a gill of whisky, (bought from the commissary department out of hospital funds, as the hospital liquors would otherwise be expended,) and flavored with extract of lemon.

My observation of scorbutus leads me to conclude:

I. That the *primary* cause of scurvy is the absence of material furnished to the blood by fresh vegetable matter.

II. That from the primary cause the disease is *developed* by,

1. Depression from exposure to cold, particularly during guard duty at night, and the long continued cold of winter.

2. Depression from fatigue.

3. *Insufficient ventilation*, and crowding a number of men in a restricted place, whether in company quarters or on shipboard.

4. Too great a preponderance of salted food.

III. With respect to prevention and treatment.

1. That citric acid alone has but little effect upon the disease, and the same with respect to potash.

2. That the first step is to procure fresh vegetable matter.

3. To issue stimulant and tonic remedies.

4. To supply a sufficient number of cubic feet of pure air for respiration, and the avoidance of the radiated and confined heat and air of rooms heated by stoves.

5. The diet should be full, nutritious, digestible, and chiefly of fresh meat, and *boiled* meat, if possible.

6. To encourage amusements and counteract the mental depression attendant upon the disease.

In conclusion, officers do not have the disease developed, because they have more pure air to breathe, much less exposure, better diet and clothing.

The mountain men of this country do not have scurvy, because they are not crowded, have plenty of fresh air, are subjected to no continued labor or exposure, being strongly inclined to lead a lazy Indian life, and live chiefly on unsalted fresh meat.

The quartermaster's employes do not have scurvy, because they are not exposed to night duty; their pay being better than that of the soldiers, they can afford more luxuries in the way of diet, and their daily duty and exposure are not excessive.

On the other hand, I have seen a command liberally supplied with fresh venison, and saving their meat ration, yet have scurvy badly, vegetables being entirely wanting;

I have also seen a bad case of scurvy occurring in the lime groves of Florida, though it was the only one.

After nearly two years' observation of scurvy, I have come to the conclusion that scurvy is a blood disease with certain alteration of tissue, consequent, dependant primarily upon the absence of certain principles (to me unknown, nor does any writer seem to be particularly clear on this point) furnished by fresh vegetable matter. That this disease exhibits different grades, from a positive development to what might be called only, apparently, a tendency, or rather a scorbutic condition or predisposition. That the primary condition may proceed at once to full development, but that ordinarily it receives its most rapid and favorable development from the circumstances mentioned above, and principally from bad ventilation and insufficient respiration, exposure to long continued and depressing cold, depressing fatigue, and loss of regular nightly rest, and insufficient and badly-cooked food.

The communications referred to by Assistant Surgeon Johns are two in number, dated November 27 and December 29, 1858. In the first, he reports the presence of scurvy among the troops, and recommends the daily issue of desiccated vegetables; the issue four times in each week of pickles, dried apples, molasses, and vinegar; attention to ventilation of the men's quarters, especially at night; personal cleanliness of the men; good cooking; and mental and physical amusements and recreations.

In the second, Assistant Surgeon Johns recommends, in addition to the measures above stated, the daily administration of the juice of the cactus to all the companies, and the use of watercresses. He also expresses the opinion that desiccated vegetables will not remove or cure scurvy, and that to prevent it, they should be issued daily and in much larger quantities than at present. Assistant Surgeon Johns also animadvertes upon the action of the Commissary General of Subsistence in declining to furnish the potatoes called for by the commanding officer at Fort Laramie, and states that they were brought to that post by private individuals after the time when it was deemed impossible to do so by the Subsistence Department.

This report was referred to the Commissary General, with the following abstract of the cases of scurvy that had occurred among the troops stationed at Fort Laramie,

Camp Walbach, at Platte Bridge, and in Utah, in 1857 and 1858:

Abstract of cases of sickness from "scorbutus," in Utah forces, Fort Laramie, Camps Walbach, and Platte Bridge, in 1857 and 1858.

UTAH FORCES			FORT LARAMIE		
Month	Cases of Scurvy	Strength of Command	Month	Cases of Scurvy	Strength of Command
1857, November	2	1,624	1857, November	0	343
December	3	2,069	December	2	329
1858, January	3	1,838	1858, January	6	324
February	3	1,887	February	13	318
March	6	1,723	March	21	316
November	1	3,387	November	4	223
December	2	3,387	December	6	216
CAMP WALBACH			PLATTE BRIDGE		
1858, November	4	97	1858, November	0	75
December	0	95	December	2	77

SANITARY REPORT—FORT LARAMIE*

Assistant Surgeon E. W. Johns: March, 1859

The health of the command, as contrasted with its state in the preceding quarter, shows a marked improvement, and is now, at the end of the quarter, remarkably good. The measures detailed in my last report as adopted to redeem the command from the scorbutic condition in which it had fallen, were attended with success. The effect of remedies was most marked and satisfactory.

The juice of the cactus leaf, as prepared for the cases of scurvy, proved particularly well adapted to their treatment, as, under its use, the first set of scorbutic patients were convalescing before other remedies were additionally employed. Afterwards, in consequence of my recommendation to that effect, the commanding officer caused, weekly, six or eight barrels of water-cresses (improperly called here wild celery) to be obtained from a point twelve miles from the post. These were put in charge of an officer, and issued to the companies as part of their daily food.

*Ibid. pp. 47-51.

In most cases it was relished by the men, and its use in this way (although the cases in hospital were all convalescing under the use of the cactus, before the cresses were obtained) prevented the development of further general scorbutic diathesis in the command. Individual cases of slight importance, particularly towards the end of the quarter, occurred; but in each instance the disease was the result of the carelessness of the patient to his own interests, in the neglect of the vegetable matter thus provided for him.

These cases rapidly recovered under the combined effect of the cactus treatment, cress diet, and exhortations to do all duty they could find to do.

In conclusion, I would remark upon the satisfaction felt from the readiness of the Colonel commanding to listen to, and act in general accordance with, the official and professional suggestions made with regard to measures to be adopted for the removal of the scorbutic disease so prevalent last quarter. In addition to other means, two new wards have been added to the hospital. These are worthy of remark from the excellent working of the arrangement for ventilation which I requested might be made, and which are exceedingly simple, believing, with Mr. Calvert Vaux, architect, "that one quarter of the whole secret (of ventilation) lies in the hole in the bottom, and the remaining three quarters in the hole in the top."

Into these new wards fresh air is introduced by a wooden pipe, six inches square in capacity, carried from the outside of the building, under the floor, to the side of the chimney, from which it enters the *room* just *above* the floor, the bottom of the opening resting on the floor.

This inner opening of the pipe can be reduced to an inch in diameter when a wind storm on that side of the building renders it necessary.

In the center of the ceiling of each ward another wooden pipe of the same capacity springs up and projects through the roof several feet. There is an arrangement at the top by which the wind, striking a slanting surface, according to its direction, pumps, as it were, the air from the room below.

The opening in the ceiling is never contracted, and there is always a sufficient upward draft to carry up any light object placed at the opening, while there are no ob-

jectionable drafts with respect to the results of this ventilation.

The difference between the old and new wards is most marked. In the new wards there is a total absence in the morning of that indescribable, stale, matutinal odor which neither care nor cleanliness will prevent, when, as is the case with the old wards, there is no proper ventilating apparatus.

In speaking of these means of ventilation, as to their manner of working, it should be understood that the period just after the completion of the new wards is the one referred to, as at that time the walls and windows were much more impervious to external air than at the present, when, from the shrinking of green timber, additional ventilation is obtained, and more than is desirable. There was not the proper material for filling in the walls, which, at present, are only composed of the frame-work, boarded and battened externally.

As soon as the season shall be sufficiently advanced, it is proposed to finish the walls by filling in with adobes.

Surgeon General's Office,

March 23, 1859.

Sir: I am instructed by the Surgeon General to inform you that your sanitary report for the fourth quarter of 1858 has received his special attention, and has been referred to the Commissary General, a copy of whose reply is herewith transmitted for your perusal.

While the Surgeon General approves and commends your official course in relation to the prevalence of scurvy among the troops at Fort Laramie, he directs me to invite your attention to a few points connected with the development of that disease, concerning which more specific and detailed information is desirable to give completeness to your report. Your report states that the officers and quartermaster's men at the post, and the mountain men of the adjacent country, are exempt from scurvy. Making due allowance for the different conditions, as to diet, clothing, &c., &c., of officers and enlisted men, and confining the comparison to the three classes, mountain men, quartermaster's men, and soldiers, the conclusion, from the data in this office, is that in all respects, except *fresh air*, and perhaps the *mode of cooking food*, the soldiers should be the least liable to scurvy; that is, provided they

used the means which the officers could command for them. It is usually the case that quartermaster's men, at military posts, have harder work, and are more constantly exposed in the open air than the soldiers, and that they dwell in tents, while the troops are comfortably housed. The only duty of the soldier in garrison which would constitute an exception to this rule, is *guard duty at night*. On referring to the commissary's abstract of issues to the troops at Laramie for the fourth quarter, 1848, it is ascertained that the issues of fresh meat to quartermaster's men, was much less in proportion than to the troops, and that while desiccated potatoes and mixed vegetables were issued to the soldiers, in what might be considered large proportions, none were issued to the quartermaster's men.

Your report states that the mountain men subsist "chiefly on unsalted fresh meat." If they do not eat the "wild celery," or pulp of cactus, or other vegetable food, how is their condition, as regards scurvy, better than that of the troops at a post where the commissariat had 526 head of beef cattle; 7,138 rations of mixed desiccated vegetables; 8,706 rations of desiccated potatoes, and large quantities of dried apples, pickles, vinegar, sugar, and molasses?

The impression left by a careful perusal of your report is, that the scurvy at Laramie is due chiefly to the following causes:

1. To want of sufficient ventilation of the quarters allotted to the troops.
2. To want of a due proportion of regular exercise in the open air.
3. To the manner in which their food is cooked.

These impressions may be erroneous. You, however, have the opportunity for stating facts of much value in relation to the tiology of scurvy, and it is expected that you will cheerfully respond to this call for information. You are, therefore, requested to report upon the following subjects:

1. The kind of buildings occupied by the troops at Laramie; the dimensions of their dormitories; the number of men occupying them; the mode of heating those rooms; the manner of cleaning them, whether by scrub-

bing with much or little water, or with dry sand; how often cleaned; the provision made for ventilation, and if the ventilators can be or are closed by the soldiers at night.

2. The manner of cooking the food; whether the fresh beef is ever broiled, roasted, or baked; whether the desiccated vegetables are first soaked in cold water, and then slowly boiled in the same water.

3. The duties of the troops; the average period of guard duty for each soldier; the length of time on post at night. Is coffee saved from the company kitchens, and served to the guard at night?

4. The duties of the quartermaster's men; their habits as to clothing, exercise, food; whether living in tents or in quarters; if the latter, the size of the rooms and the same particulars as requested concerning the dormitories of the soldiers. Do the quartermaster's men live upon their rations, or do they habitually buy other kinds of food?

The object of these inquiries is to arrive, if possible, at the true cause or causes of this disease in troops at Laramie, for there would seem to be some local cause operating to produce scurvy at that post. In five months, from November 1, 1857, to March, 31, 1858, there were only seventeen cases of scurvy reported in the army in Utah, averaging 1,800 officers and men, while during the same period forty-two cases are reported at Fort Laramie in a command averaging 325 officers and men. During that time the troops in Utah were much exposed in tents, were without vegetables, and did not have some of the component parts of the regular ration with which the commissariat at Laramie was fully supplied.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. C. WOOD,
Surgeon U. S. Army.

Dr. E. W. Johns,

Assistant Surgeon U. S. Army, Fort Laramie, Nebraska.

OFFICE COMMISSARY GENERAL SUBSISTENCE,
Washington, February 19, 1859.

Sir: Herewith are returned Assistant Surgeon John's sanitary report from Fort Laramie for the fourth quarter, 1858, and the abstract of sickness from "scorbutus" in the

Utah forces, Fort Laramie, Camps Walbach and Platte Bridge.

Inclosed, also, is a copy of a letter from this office to Brevet Major Waggaman, declining to send potatoes to Fort Laramie, in compliance with a requisition from Lieutenant Mendenhall, acting assistant commissary subsistence, at that point. The date of Lieutenant Mendenhall's requisition is unknown at this office.

The comparison of the number of cases of scurvy in the Utah forces and Fort Laramie in the winter of 1857 and 1858 presents a remarkable contrast, and when taken in connection with the far greater exposure of the Utah forces, and their want of several of the articles of food furnished by the commissariat at Fort Laramie, would lead to the belief that other causes than exposure and want of fresh vegetable food had produced so much of this disease at Fort Laramie.

The fact that the mountain men, officers, and quartermaster's employes at the post have been free from scurvy, would go far to show that the use of fresh potatoes was not essential to prevent scurvy, and if closely examined into might perhaps point out a mode of life by which this disease among the troops could be prevented.

When the approach of this disease was seen at an early period of the autumn, it is to be regretted that recourse was not sooner had to the fresh vegetables around the post, and which could have been procured at so little expense, viz: the wild celery, cactus, and perhaps other plants; and the use of fresh meats instead of salted provisions, with other attention to the ventilation, &c., as pointed out in Assistant Surgeon John's communications to the commanding officer, of December 29, 1858.

Attempts have on several occasions been made by this department to forward potatoes (fresh) to Fort Laramie from Fort Leavenworth, but the loss and decay has been so great as to make the expense for the benefit conferred, very heavy. On this occasion it was deemed the less necessary, as that post was liberally supplied with desiccated mixed vegetables, and desiccated potatoes.

Herewith is also inclosed a list of stores on hand on the last of December, 1858, at Fort Laramie, which will show the varieties of food at that post.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

J. F. TAYLOR,

Acting Commissary General Subsistence.

Brevet Brigadier General T. Lawson,
Surgeon General.

OFFICE OF COMMISSARY GENERAL SUBSISTENCE,
Washington, August 31, 1858.

MAJOR: Yours of the 27th instant, transmitting a requisition of Lieutenant Mendenhall, fourth artillery, acting commissary subsistence at Fort Laramie, upon the commissary of subsistence at Fort Leavenworth, for potatoes, is received.

Under the circumstances of the case, particularly the fact that it will be almost an impracticability to furnish the matured potato at Fort Laramie, except in a frosted condition, and that an ample supply of desiccated vegetables are at that post, it is deemed unadvisable to comply with this requisition.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. E. SHIRAS,

Captain, Acting Commissary General Subsistence.

Major G. G. Waggaman,

Commissary Subsistence, St. Louis, Missouri.

Return of provisions on hand at Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory,

December 31, 1858.

Beef cattlenumber	526	Candlespounds	2,916
Baconpounds	85,543	Soappounds	15,560
Bacon hamspounds	9,588	Saltbushels	454
Flourpounds	185,254	Vinegargallons	3,587
Hard breadpounds	271,561	Coffeepounds	20,073
Teapounds	737	Sugarpounds	53,170
Ricepounds	5,928	Molassesgallons	653
Beansbushels	624	Picklesgallons	110
Whiskygallons	203	Applespounds	12,462

DESICCATED VEGETABLES

Mixed, rations	7,138
Potatoes, rations	8,706

SANITARY REPORT—FORT LARAMIE*

Assistant Surgeon E. W. Johns: December, 1859.

The reinforcement of the command at this post by the two companies from Cheyenne Pass and the two com-

*Ibid. pp. 51-59.

panies from Platte Bridge, ordered here upon the breaking up of the posts at those points, brought to my hospital an additional number of cases of scurvy: eight cases from Camp Walbach and six cases from camp at Platte Bridge. A new command, with the exception of one company, was also to form the garrison during the coming winter, and new circumstances in the history of scurvy might arise to throw light upon some of the perplexities attending the subject. It therefore seems proper to have deferred reporting until the result of these additional cases should be known, in order that further information, if any of interest should be developed, might be obtained. The last two cases, nearly recovered for duty, left the post with their companies, which was one of the four companies en route for Fort Randall, under Colonel Monroe's command.

Before particularizing the points upon which I am directed to report, I would premise that in the comparison between the three classes, mountain men, quartermaster's men, and soldiers, that, while the gravest point of distinction in the commemorative circumstances of soldiers and of quartermaster's employes is the guard duty of the soldier at night, there is also, I think, another derived from the guard duty during the day; and this opinion is formed from an analysis of guard duty and its influences, physical and mental, and from contrasting it with the mental and physical conditions of the quartermaster's men.

In the topography of a sentinel's post the chief characteristic is the "*bee line*." This is the straight and narrow path—from it there is turning neither to the right hand nor to the left. Longitudinally "thus far and no further" is the fiat; and thus, for two mortal hours, or any given more or less mortal time, according to the exigencies of the service or thermometer, the military pendulum vibrates his monotonous existence until the twice-blessed "*relief*" releases him from the effort to keep his *falx cerebri* in and parallel to the same plane of direction as that of his post.

Thus, there is necessarily a monotony of mental action, depressing in its character, too, from this very monotony affording no stimulus to resist the morbidic effect of exposure. Of course, I particularly refer to the garrison duty of a peace establishment, when there is little to put the soldier on the *qui vive* of mental and

physical vivacity—and in ten years I have never known a sentinel but twice to have a good excuse even to cry “fire.”

Now, add to this hopeless mental monotony the effects of depressing cold, particularly at night, after a day of monotonous *pendulistic* fatigue, and it would seem that no better reagent could be desired for either producing diseases characterized by debility, or for developing such a disease from a germ derived from other causes. This is, of course, as before remarked, more noticeable as connected with guard duty at night, but the same causes of mental monotony, physical monotony, *fatigue* monotony, are also at work in the day-time, though in a less degree.

The same holds good as to the other duties of the soldier. Drill is also another effort to keep the falx in the plane of certain directions and to produce pantographic results with bodies, limbs, and muskets or other weapons. Police duty is a daily funeral procession around the garrison with twig brushes instead of cypress boughs for the mourners.

And so with the individual action of the soldier, when left to himself, after the various processes above have been duly gone through with. Little temptation does he seem to feel to do aught but vegetate in his bunk, with some occasional spasmodic effort at foot-ball or other game—possibly to hunt or fish a little; when, perhaps, there is additional inducement in the shape of a cask in the bushes somewhere near his garrison, whereby, he super-adds to any other bad physical and mental influences those derived from the depression attendant upon alcoholic stimulants most villainously adulterated.

The labor of quartermaster's employes is theoretically greater than that of the soldier, but it is regular. It is not attended by that monotonous routine and confinement which the soldier is subjected to in the performance of his duties. Each quartermaster's man is an *individual*, under general supervision, indeed, but exercising his powers, mental and physical, according to the requirements of the particular work he may have to do. Does he drive a team? He does not drive it up and down over a distance geometrically described as being the shortest between two given points, but he has the management of his animals and varied scenery to employ his thoughts. If he is a carpenter, wheelwright, or blacksmith, his mental

motives and physical employment are those of an *individual* working with forecast, and not by rote. Add to these influences, good pay and regular nightly rest, and the wholesome conviction that his employment depends upon his restraint, to at least a great degree, of whatever vicious tendencies he may have, and the sum shows a balance greatly in favor of the quartermaster's man.

The mountain men of the country are even in still better commemorative circumstances. They are not at all crowded in their accommodations; have plenty of fresh air; do but little labor; and just enough to give them wholesome, but not fatiguing exercise, and to enable them to provide for their families. They have generally domestic relations, of not very elevated degree, indeed, but regular domestic connections with the Indian women, recognized throughout the country. It is true that their diet is chiefly unsalted meat, but it is easy for them to procure, and many of them do procure from the trading stores, many comfortable additions to this diet. And I am credibly informed that they have used the cactus and whatever *greens* they can or are not too lazy to get. They can even obtain desiccated vegetables from the stores, and have been seen to purchase them. Onions are also brought by traders occasionally from New Mexico.

The mountain men then have this favorable conjunction of circumstances. They live a free, open Indian life, crowded neither as to quarters nor as to communities. They have a sufficiently good diet apparently; also sufficiently mixed and varied. Their employments are such as not to fatigue them particularly, nor to expose them, except occasionally, to severe weather, for they love a lodge fire as much as an Indian, and when they are exposed they are well protected by clothing of furs, buckskin, blankets, or ready-made clothing.

With respect to the apparent advantages of the post over the mountain men, as to the items of 526 head of cattle and the abundant supply of desiccated vegetables, the reality is this: that the post cattle (tough and stringy as they are) are more than overbalanced by the unnumbered deer and antelope furnished from nature's commissariat. It has also been seen that the mountain men can and do procure vegetable matter fresh and desiccated. In addition, the desiccated vegetables in the commissary department were next to being useless, from the very limited quantities allowed to be issued. To be of any use

the desiccated vegetables should be used in large quantities, of daily issue, as prophylactics. Carefully stored up in boxes and issued homeopathically the vegetables can, and my observation has taught me to, exercise not the slightest effect in raising a command from a scorbutic condition. They would be most valuable as agents for varying the diet of men, which, physiologically, is almost as important as the most substantial parts of food. It would not seem good policy to store up material until the time in which it could be advantageously used shall have passed and the good effect be negated by the exceedingly diminutive "portions" issued. The other articles of the commissariat, dried apples, pickles, vinegar, sugar, molasses, &c., can all be obtained in the country at trading stores; and, although the diet of the mountain men is "chiefly unsalted fresh meat," it is also possible, and, indeed, easy for them to obtain other additional varieties to their food, while, also, it has been shown that even leaving out of consideration these additions to their food, they are still in a better case than soldiers, on account of differing and superior conditions, mental and domestic. Thus, the condition of the soldier shows little, if any, superiority over that of the mountain men as to the *desiccated vegetables*, while at the same time the superiority as to the *meat* is decidedly in favor of the mountain man by as much as the difference is between wholesome, fat, rich, wild, venison, supported by jerked buffalo flesh; and tough, stringy, indigestible beef, followed up with a due proportion of the salt provision, furnished by decimated multitudes of the species "*sus scrofa*."

As to this point of difference, the comparative value of *dried* meat of the Indian or voyageur (jerked meat) and the dried meat of the soldier, (salt meat,) it should be observed that the jerked meat loses merely the watery portions, while, in meat dried by salt or in salt brine, in the words of Dr. Ure, "it happens that, as kreatine is soluble in brine, but little of this valuable element remains in the contracted and solidified mass known as salt junk, which may either be of beef or pork, and employed as food upon much the same principle as that ascribed to alligators, who swallow stones to appease the cravings of an empty stomach.

"Kreatine has evidently a singular connection with muscular energy, as it exists in greatest quantities in the flesh of animals most remarkable for muscular power

and activity. To exclude it, therefore, is to introduce an element of weakness in the dietary of our seamen that cannot fail, in the long run, to show itself, and hence the enormous prostration of strength which accompanies the sea-scurvy."

In the Encyclopaedia of Chemistry by Booth and Morfit it is very judiciously observed that "the brine of salted meat abstracts and retains all the phosphates, acids, kreatine, &c., necessary to the formation of blood, and hence its scorbutic action, owing to a partial reduction by this process to a mere supporter of respiration; and hence, also, its inability to effect the perfect replacement of the wasted organism."

And the same and more with respect to "land-scurvy," which is the same thing, with this shade of difference, that land-scurvy is said to be, by Dr. Wood, (page 243, vol. 2,) "more obstinate under treatment, probably, because the constitutional tendency must be stronger to have led to the disease under circumstances so much less favorable." And again, "when the causes upon land are as powerful as at sea (and there is great approximation to these in garrison) the ravages of the complaint are not less fearful."

The conflicting commemorative circumstances in the history of scurvy seem to me to be better understood by regarding this disease as being a blood disease, dependent upon both lesion of nutrition and lesion of respiration, resulting from imperfect supply, in a natural or recent state, of the nitrogenous compounds of the starch group, and of the saline and earthy matters entering into the tissues of the body and rejected by various outlets.

This imperfection of supply is not only with respect to quantity, but also to the *ratio* of the supply afforded by the components derived from each class.

Two great divisions of the kingdom of nature, the animal and the vegetable, furnish, in their respective quotas of food-material, components analogous, if not identical; as, for instance, gluten corresponding with coagulated albumen; vegetable albumen with albumen of the egg; casein with avenaceous and leguminous forms of vegetable casein. Both supply nitrogenous food, and it is by many physiologists thought that both furnish material for respiration, "that the carbon given off is partly derived from the gluten or flesh of the food as well as

from the starch or fat." (Johnson's *Elmts. Ag. Chemistry*, p. 340.)

The way in which food furnished from the animal kingdom in, as it were, a *preserved* state, by salt or otherwise, is insufficient for the purpose of renewal of tissue, and thus tends to the development of scurvy, has been already indicated.

Food furnished by vegetables in the winter season is also more or less *prepared* vegetable food destitute, to a great degree, of what the human organism evidently needs to repair its waste and rebuild tissue. That is to say, that while the main principles of sustenance are furnished some of the components of vegetable food in its natural state are necessarily, from the course of preparation, lost; as, for instance, in the desiccation of vegetables, the extracting of lime-juice from the fruit, the alteration from fresh to *dried* peas, beans, apples, or other fruits. Then the *way* in which the food is *presented* seems all important. It may seem to some very practicable to arrive at such a pitch of knowledge as to be able to extract proximate principles to meet certain supposed conditions; but why should death ever put a term to existence, animal or vegetable, or to such reasonings? The human organism is not alone a crucible for producing purely chemical results; nor, as Surgeon Tripler justly remarks, in his pamphlet on scurvy, is lemon-juice all citric acid; nor are potatoes all potash. And Dr. Carpenter, with equal justice and great delicacy, suggests, with reference to Dr. Garrod's theory for the cure of scurvy by the use of alkaline remedies alone, that "a much larger induction is necessary for the establishment of this position."

Thirty-six parts of carbon by weight, with forty-five of water, ought apparently to form one and the same substance; yet, how different are the starches, cellulose, gums, mucilages, and sugars from each other, though belonging to the same group, and, in composition, identical. And in household chemistry every matron knows, though not able, perhaps, to explain why, that given certain cupfuls of this and tablespoonfuls of that, it will not do to mix them indiscriminately, but it is necessary to be "sure" and first "beat up" and then "ad" and then "stir", as the case may be, in a certain definite order of sequence; sometimes even carrying this particularity of prescription to the apparently superfluous direction of "serve while hot."

I believe that were animal and vegetable food resolved into their ultimate components, and these applied *individually*, or even in combination of many of them, to produce results such as are aimed at in attempting to remove scurvy, or any disease depending upon lesion of nutrition whether respiratory or digestive, that nothing satisfactory would be established.

Potash may be given; I and others have found it not to be depended upon; "larger induction" is still necessary. Citric acid may be prescribed; and, as far as experience for several years in Texas and at this post has enabled me to observe, it has not the slightest value. Even vegetable matter restricted to one form may not prevent scurvy; as in the case of scurvy I saw occurring amongst the lime groves at Fort Dallas, Florida, where the parade was covered with lemons, limes and oranges. With reference to this case, however, as well as my recollection now serves me, the troops at that time at Fort Dallas were without fresh beef, and the flour was bad.

It is food in its most perfect adaptation as to quantity, quality, and the proper ratio of the components—in other words, food afforded in its most natural state—that is needed in scurvy and to prevent it.

And herein appears to consist in great measure the superiority of the potato in its natural state—that is, undesiccated. The covering of the potato is *cork*, and it is by this protected in a much greater degree from changes that take place in most other vegetable substances put away for winter use.

Now, the imperfection which causes scurvy would seem to be found in insufficient ratio of fresh vegetable matter to the other constituents of blood and tissue-forming substances. Not that deficiency in *other* departments of food is not of great importance; but, primarily, scurvy would seem to result from this imperfect ratio of fresh vegetable matter to the rest of the diet, much in the same way that the excess of albuminous components favors the arthritic diathesis, and the excess of farinaceous matters tends to the production of the rheumatic diathesis. (Carpenter's Physiology, page 383.)

I am not certain whether I so express myself as to make my meaning clear, but the view of the subject that seems to approach nearest the truth is, that food presented

to the human economy in its most perfect adaptation to the latter in supply, kind, and proportion, is necessary to prevent scurvy; but the *point de départ* of the disease is primarily to be found in the deficiency of the vegetable components, and with respect to these, not only of the *materials* considered as so many items which they should furnish the blood and tissues, but of the vegetable admixture as a *whole*, combined, in all its parts, in a fresh, natural, and, as far as possible, recent state.

This I take as the rule. But it no more follows, given the *primary* condition of the disease that scurvy should always result, than that an individual living in a malarious district should have periodical fever, or exposed to the poison of yellow fever be attacked by it, or unprotected by vaccination be necessarily obnoxious to small-pox when within the sphere of contagion.

Thus, *generally*, nothing further is necessary to produce the disease than these primary conditions; but the apparently anomalous non-occurrence of scurvy when they are present in force, seems to me to be explained by the existence of developing causes additional. Where these are most noticeable, is in the comparison of the classes of persons affected with respect to the commemorative circumstances in which they respectively stand; and also in other cases where scurvy apparently *ought* to follow, but does not. In these, the conditions primary of the disease exist; but they are either counteracted by other influences, or the developing circumstances are wanting—as in the case of officers, of quartermaster's men, of the troops in Utah. The first two classes have already been referred to; yet I may remark in connection, that even officers may sometimes have scurvy, and I have often seen among them a *scorbutic tendency*, showing that the primary conditions of the disease were acting to a certain extent, and only needed the developing causes to make them fully apparent. And it has been seen at this post that where the primary causes, which failed to produce any result as to the quartermaster's men in the early and middle parts of last winter, had become sufficiently *intensified* by long continuance that several cases of scurvy occurred amongst them late in the spring. These cases did not increase in number, as just about the same time the wild onion began to make its appearance.

In accounting for the absence of scurvy in the troops in Utah, mental influence may well be taken into consideration. These troops went into winter quarters in vigorous

health from the wholesome march across the plains. As to the circumstances going to favor their *morale*, they were in a state of excited expectancy; to vary the dull drudging of a peace establishment, with its attendant and harassing Indian police duty, they had actually the prospect of something like real war in the land of the saints, just over the mountain. They seem to have been cheerful; and if the songs (as songs are said to show the *animus* of a people) which the muse of the expedition prompted are to be taken as indications, they appear to have fully adopted Mark Tapley's philosophy, and even to have been "jolly." In the history of all armies in all times, their safety and exemption from disease and defeat have largely depended upon their *morale*, and under no circumstances are mental influence of greater importance than in the prevention and cure of scurvy.

I have now the honor to report upon points indicated in the communication from the Surgeon General's Office, of March 23, 1859, and in the order in which they occur in that paper:

I. "The kind of buildings occupied by the troops at Laramie, &c." These are substantial, but in my opinion, too small. For the better information of the department, the following plans are given, as they will show at a glance the dimensions of the rooms. The quarters were cleaned by scrubbing with a moderate supply of water, and generally once a week. No provision is made for ventilation, except in the adobe buildings, which have the windows arranged so as to admit air at the top if desired. These were, however, seldom or never opened, and only, perhaps, a window occasionally, in fine warm weather, so that the ventilation practically amounted to nothing.

II. "The manner of cooking, &c." This was by cooks detailed in turn from their companies, entirely ignorant of M. Soyer and his principles. The fresh beef was always boiled and never cooked otherwise, as far as I have been able to ascertain. The desiccated vegetables were first soaked in cold water and then boiled, whether slowly or not, I cannot ascertain.

III. "The duties of the troops" were the usual duties of the soldier, guard, police, and when the weather permitted, drill. The following official statement from the Adjutant's office will show the average period of guard duty for each soldier, and the length of time on post:

Statement of the number of guards performed by each private of the companies of the fourth artillery stationed at Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory, from the 1st of September, 1858, to the 31st May, 1859.

Year	Months	Average number of men for duty each day during the month	Average strength of the guard	Average number of guards performed by each man during the month	Number of hours on post during the tour of guard, (24 hours)*	Average number of nights in bed to each man
1858,	September	64	11	5	8	5
	October	64	14	6	8	4
	November	59	14	7	8	3
	December	45	14	9	8	2
1859,	January	50	14	8	8	3
	February	64	14	7	8	3
	March	67	14	6	8	4
	April	84	14	5	8	5
	May	138	18	4	8	6

*Each relief of the guard remained two hours on post and four off.

H. A. HASCALL,

Second Lieutenant Fourth Artillery, Post Adjutant.

I am unable to state whether coffee was served habitually to the guard at night.

IV. "The duties of the quartermaster's men" were such as are usual in a quartermaster's depot. Some of the men were employed in the carpenter's shop and in the blacksmith's shop, others as teamsters and herders. All were well protected from the weather, and none liable to injury from excess of fatigue. They had quarters in garrison, not as well furnished as those of the soldiers, but affording adequate shelter. A large new building was erected for them in the course of the winter. Small parties may occasionally have been in tents while on temporary duties, such as hauling wood or hay, though I am not aware of the fact. Their position with respect to shelter was no worse than that of the soldiers, while it was much better as regards their food and duties. They not only had their rations and quarters, but, their pay being much better than that of the soldier, they were enabled to avail themselves of other diet which could be

purchased; and I am informed by the sutler that they bought largely and habitually of fresh can fruits, oysters, and other luxuries.

They had a Mormon woman to cook for their mess a great part of the time. Their clothing was good, though albeit not of the most fashionable cut. In the matter of exercise they had decidedly, in my opinion, the advantage over the soldiers. I never observed that any of them seemed likely to injure themselves by overwork; and the more favorable nature of their employment as to mental influences I have already commented upon. The greatest and most overbalancing point in their favor in comparing their circumstances with those of soldier's is found in their exemption from guard or any duty at night. Good, wholesome, unbroken nocturnal rest, with better pay, better food, and practically as good clothing and quarters make the sum of circumstances in their favor, circumstances all tending to prevent or retard the development of scorbutic disease. It has already been observed that later towards spring a very few cases occurred amongst the quartermaster's men.

During the past quarter nothing new as to the character of the disease has been observed, and the same measures and treatment for its prevention and cure were adopted as hitherto. There is one point in the history of scurvy this winter, however, of interest. It is, that the disease was entirely confined to the two companies (D and F) of second dragoons, while the infantry entirely escaped.

These two dragoon companies suffered greatly from scurvy last winter, the one at Fort Bridger and the other at this post, and have had no further benefit from fresh vegetables than the wild onions could afford.

The infantry came here in good *vegetable* health, having had the benefit of fine gardens at Fort Randall, so that their previous good health, together with the means adopted in the fall and through the winter, have been sufficient to repress, thus far, the development of scorbutic disease.

The troops have not been so crowded as in last winter—F company, second dragoons, occupying a new set of quarters—and the guard duty this winter has been lighter as to the period of time on post, the sentinels having been relieved every half hour in severe weather at night, and

when the mercury was much below zero the sentinels were taken off entirely and patrols substituted.

In the third quarter of 1859 I recommended to the commanding officer that the companies should take daily the cactus juice, prepared as in hospital. And to obviate the difficulty and impossibility of getting the men (as was the case the autumn before) to take the cactus juice, I recommended that *whisky* should be given with it, literally, as a *placebo*. The cactus juice thus *went down* in more senses than one, and to this early supply of fresh vegetables matter I ascribe the immunity of the infantry, their previous good health largely assisting to prevent the development of the disease. In the case of the dragoons the scorbutic tendency was too strongly pronounced to be repressed. It required a more certain antiscorbutic. Potatoes would have afforded adequate means, I believe from experience, for the preservation of these companies from scorbutic disease.

During the past quarter the cases in hospital have been treated entirely with the wild cress given at meal time as a salad, and by half a tumbler full of cactus juice, flavored with citric acid and sugar. Whisky was added when it could be obtained without making a draft upon the hospital liquors.

The cases are all convalescent, and unless the supply of cress fails, the sick report bids fair soon to be nearly a blank.

The companies have had every week also a supply of the above fresh vegetable matter issued to them.

But there is difficulty to be apprehended from the probable failure of this supply, as it is even now obtained with difficulty. Last year I did not commence using the cress until the middle of winter, and the supply gave out before the onions came.

And in this connection, before concluding, I am led to a consideration of the communication of the Acting Commissary General of Subsistence in his letter to the Surgeon General, dated February 10, 1859, wherein he regrets that recourse was not had earlier in the autumn (of 1858) to the cactus and wild celery.

An acquaintance with the resources of this post as to the supply of this vegetable matter will show this to

have been impracticable. It was impossible to get the companies, as such, to use the cactus juice. I had no power to control this matter in the company, and all I could do was to administer it when the men became sick and came on my report. It was then only a remedy, not a preventive. And this year it was only practicable to get the men in their companies, not on the sick report, to take the cactus juice when mixed with whisky. Unfortunately the whisky gave out, and so yielding up the cactus except for hospital, I commenced upon the cress, or celery as it is locally called, which I had held in reserve for fear that there would not be enough fresh vegetable matter to last until spring.

Now the celery was exhausted last year before spring, when I did not commence using it until about Christmas, and *this* winter being compelled to use it earlier, the supply is reported to be nearly exhausted; and I fear that although now my sick list is rapidly decreasing, before the onions can be had in the spring, scurvy will again increase, and will probably not be confined to the dragoons, but may extend to the infantry. Now had we a full supply of potatoes for winter use, I believe that my sick report would exhibit a very happy exoneration from scorbutic disease, and would show but few other cases, as the climate being naturally very healthy, and the scorbutic condition removed, the men would be seldom sick.

It would seem, at least so it appears to me, that it would be less expensive, and indeed better policy, to afford to frontier posts, such as this, a sufficient supply of such an undoubted antiscorbutic as is the potato, when it is taken into consideration that, being in the heart of an Indian country, the troops at such a post are liable any year to engage in expeditions against the Indians. Now by just so much as they are affected with a scorbutic condition throughout the winter, will they be less able to do efficient service. They are liable, I believe, even in the summer war-path, to have scurvy developed if their physique has been impaired during the winter from this cause, and the difficulty in obtaining vegetable food in the wilderness remaining about the same as in winter. Thus an expedition can be hampered with a large sick report, and for the want of a thousand or two bushels of potatoes may be shorn of the best results, when, perhaps, thousands of dollars may have otherwise been expended in preparing it. I do not mean to say that scurvy re-

sults from a want of potatoes only, or that nothing else than potatoes will prevent and cure scurvy; but I desire to be understood as meaning that scurvy results primarily from the imperfect supply of fresh vegetable matter to the human system, although developing conditions may be necessary to establish the disease; and the best, the most reliable, and eventually the *cheapest* form in which to obtain this vegetable matter, is the potato.

Towards the latter part of last October, being on detached service at Fort Kearny, I purchased and sent up for my family several bushels (at \$1.50 per bushel) of potatoes from the market wagons which were frequently coming into that post with potatoes, apples, onions, and other vegetables. These potatoes, without the loss of a single potato from freezing or otherwise, reached Fort Laramie very early in November, being on the road at a time when the cold was so severe that the Platte was frozen over, as I found it when I crossed it. Potatoes also purchased and sent to officers and some by the sutler were transported at the same time from Kearny in an *ox-train*, and they reached Fort Laramie in good condition, and with only a few of the outside ones frosted.

In conclusion, I would respectfully remark, that I hold the proposition to be true that scurvy results primarily from imperfect supply and ratio of supply of the three kinds of material for the body, azotized, non-nitrogenous, and earthy—the *point de depart* being the want of fresh vegetable matter; I believe, also, that the greatest developing cause, in the case of the soldier, is *guard duty at night*.

UTAH DIVISION

In the summer of 1857, a portion of the army that had been previously concentrated at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, commenced its long march of over twelve hundred miles across the prairies for Salt Lake City, Utah Territory. This army corps passed the winter of 1857 and 1858 at Camp Scott and at Fort Bridger, in Utah, and in the spring moved on to Salt Lake City, beyond which it finally encamped at a point which became known as Camp Floyd.

In the summer of 1858, the troops in Utah were largely reinforced by commands moving from Fort Leavenworth across the plains.

SANITARY REPORT—CAMP SCOTT*

Assistant Surgeon Roberts Bartholow: December, 1857

Camp Scott lies along Black's fork, in the vicinity of Fort Bridger. This camp is the winter quarters of the army of Utah.

Black's fork, a tributary of Green river, is a rapid mountain stream of inconsiderable size, but whose water of crystal clearness and purity is immensely valuable in this arid and thirsty region. The valley has an average width of about one mile, and is separated from the higher table-land by a range of irregular sand hills. The creek is winding, with numerous channels, which at the annual rise are overflowed, inundating the whole valley. The soil of the valley is a mixture of sand, aluvium, and vegetable loam, having but little depth, and interspersed by immense quantities of rubble stone; sand predominates. In the vicinity of the camp, upon the banks of the stream, magnesian limestone (*dolomite*) and slate-rock crop out. A considerable portion of the valley is covered by a thick growth of a species of willow, (*Salix herbacea*,) with here and there a grove of cottonwood, (*Populus canadensis*,) and that miserable shrub, the artemisia. The valley during spring and summer is covered with an abundant herbage, and offers a most striking contrast to the barren waste on either side. Cultivation, however, has not produced very great results to Mormon enterprise. Besides the potato and some of the most common of the leguminiferae and cruciferae, I am not aware that this people have succeeded in their agricultural attempts, and consequently the colony established at Fort Bridger procured their principal supplies in the Salt Lake valley. This region, as well as the Great Plains, like the Steppes of Tartary, is adapted only to herds and grazing, and a nomadic population of savages or Indian traders, with their squaws and cattle, or Mormon freebooters; it can never become a nursery of civilized heroes; and thus in the New World, may be revived, in somewhat the same form, the ancient patriarchal life, now almost extinct in the Old. From the very necessity of their position, the wretched inhabitants must prey upon the rest of mankind, and procure by violence and rapine that subsistence not to be wrung from the unwilling soil.

Exclusive of the Mormon population, now gone into

*Ibid. pp. 288-293.

Salt Lake valley, there are two classes of inhabitants—Indians and traders—of whom the former are infinitely more respectable, humane, and gentle. Two tribes belong to this country; the Utah and the Snake Indians, long at animosity, but between whom during the present winter some sort of peace has been made. There are no special differences in these two tribes in habits or character, nor do they differ in physical development. I was unprepared to witness in mountain tribes, remote from civilization, so many evidences of decay. In stature they are low, square built, and without symmetry, ungainly in gait, and having an appearance of premature age. The face is triangular, mouth large, cheek bones prominent, forehead low and retreating, hair black, coarse, and very thick. As a rule, the squaws are more athletic and vigorous than the men, but are far from approaching any elevated standard of beauty. Both these tribes, so far as my observation extends, are very debased, having none of the refined sentiments attributed to Indian heroes in *Hiawatha*. In fact, the Indian races are yielding to a destiny, not the result of contact with a more vigorous race but an immutable law of nature. Having served their purpose in the social economy of humanity, they are made subject to a process of change, impressed not only upon the earth, but its various nations and empires.

The class of traders, of whom not a few reside in this valley and the neighboring valleys of Smith's fork, Henry's fork, and Green river, are a peculiar people. Having, early in life, fallen out with the restraints of civilized society, or exiled by crime, they quickly adapted themselves to a careless and indolent life in the mountains. They commence their career by taking, in Indian fashion, a squaw or two, who perform all the labor, whilst they hunt game, rob upon the public highway, steal cattle, or trade in whisky and tobacco with the Indians. When not engaged in these delectable employments they sit in listless indolence around the wigwam fire smoking a pipe, or lay outstretched upon the ground basking in the sun. They manifest extraordinary activity, notwithstanding their native indolence, at any prospect of pecuniary gain, undergoing, with great intrepidity, danger, suffering, and even facing death itself, where the reward is commensurate. Their principal talent lies in romancing, in which they greatly excel, very much to the prejudice of a character for veracity. By long association with the Indian tribes, they have learned much craftiness, and the are of

lying with so unmoved a countenance that it seems more natural than the truth. The Indian wives of the traders are models of industry, perform all the manual labor, and are very attentive to the wants and wishes of their lazy lords. Usually exceedingly prolific, around every wigwam may be seen crowds of dirty half-breed children playing as noisily and in somewhat the same mode as civilized children everywhere. A case of novelty to the Indians is the twin offspring of a traders' squaw, now wintering at Camp Scott. These twins excite the astonishment of the most stoical Indian. A similar case having never occurred among them, they attribute some supernatural virtue to the trader, and style him, in their language of compliment, "a medicine man." The squaws manifest as much affection for their offspring as the most devoted of civilized mothers—an affection tender, sympathizing, and indulgent. If we form an opinion of the mountain men from the reports of poetic explorers we would probably accord them many virtues—integrity, steady friendship, a noble sense of justice, and high personal bearing. I did not find the original of this description in real life. They have some of the good qualities of the Bedouin Arab, many vices to which he is a stranger, but not many of the virtues of a good citizen. A country like the Great Plains, which has its analogue in the deserts of the East, would be incomplete without that other characteristic—a wandering people having a strong thirst for plunder, and acknowledging no law but the *lex talionis*.

My observations upon the climatology of this country have had but a limited scope, extending through the fall to mid-winter. I have been very agreeably impressed, thus far, with the comparative mildness of the climate. Minus 18° Fahrenheit is the lowest degree to which the mercury has yet fallen, and that was during the month of November; a degree of cold not since experienced.

The greater part of the month of October, during which the army was encamped upon Ham's fork, the atmosphere had that peculiar softness and haziness characteristic of the Indian summer. At the close of the month snow fell to the depth of four inches, but, under a warm sun, disappeared in a few days. From the 1st to the 20th November the cold became severe and snow-storms were frequent; but from this time to the termination of the month many of the days were warm and pleasant. The month of December was characterized by

several snow-storms, not severe or protracted. These storms were remarkable for their regularity, both as to recurrence and duration. They continued usually about forty-eight hours, and the fall of snow but seldom exceeded two inches. Higher up within the mountain ranges snow-storms prevail almost daily, and the snow has already fallen to very great depths, blocking up the passes, and rendering communication with the States extremely difficult if not impossible. Looking up into the mountains from the valley, some of the most magnificent exhibitions may be daily witnessed. Whilst the sun shines warmly upon the creek bottom, the snow-clouds drift along the mountain tops, discharging their fleecy showers. Anon, the clouds float away, and the mountain peaks glisten in the bright sunshine like burnished silver, contrasting beautifully with the dark green of the pine-covered hills far below.

One distinguishing feature of this climate is its equability and dryness. No sudden transitions have been observed, and during the winter proper, whilst the cold has at no time been severe, the thermometer has rarely risen above the freezing point. The absence of moisture is well shown by the dryness and contraction of all kinds of woodwork, and the freedom of surgical instruments and arms from the slightest traces of rust.

Before going into winter quarters the arrangement of proper hospital accommodations was a frequent subject of anxiety. Our anticipations of severe weather were heightened by reports of the extraordinary severity of the two preceding winters. Timber not being sufficiently abundant for building purposes, the ordinary hospital tent had to be arranged for the winter. I was much surprised as well as gratified at the results produced by the means at my disposal. With an ordinary sheet-iron stove at one extremity, an adobe chimney at the other, and a flooring of hides, the hospital of the volunteer battalion has a degree of comfort quite beyond expectation. Thus far, as singular as it may appear, no difficulty has been experienced in maintaining a sufficiently high and equable temperature. Wintering in the Rocky Mountains, with no other protection from the cold and storms than an ordinary canvas tent, would excite the incredulity of any one unacquainted with the country except by the reports of imaginative travelers. Granting that life might be maintained under such circumstances, most men would

be ready to assert that such an existence would be intolerable. I do not find that the army of Utah suffer any extraordinary hardships. Many of the officers live in wall tents, variously arranged, according to individual peculiarities of tastes and habits, and heated by sheet-iron stoves to a very agreeable temperature; some of them in a combination of the wall and Sibley tent. Some burrow in the ground; others hide within the ample covers of the thick growing willow. A great many ingenious appliances to comfort have been contrived, not only as regards interior use and decoration, but as a protection externally against storms.

Curiously wrought chimneys, unexpected stoves, and marvelous chairs and tables, demonstrate how great a virtue may be made of necessity. The enlisted men are quartered in Sibley tents, an invention suggested by the wigwam of the Sioux, and now for the first time used in the military service. They are decidedly well adapted to the use for which they are designed by the inventor, which the severe test they have been subjected to during the present winter sufficiently demonstrates. Twenty men may be accommodated in each tent, but if proper regard be paid to comfort and convenience, sixteen is a large enough number.

The company kitchens are, I believe, without exception, built of logs, and have adobe chimneys, are cleanly kept and well arranged.

Some of the trains containing supplies for the army having been stopped by the approach of winter, a necessity arose for the reduction of the rations, and for a limitation to the same standard of the sales to officers. It is a favorite theory with chemical physiologists that to maintain the animal heat in high and cold latitudes requires an increase in the amount of carbon consumed, and this theory is found to be correct both by observation and experiment. It became necessary, however, to diminish, in the Rocky Mountains, in winter, an amount of nutriment not considered superabundant in less rigorous climates. With what result? Those who have been accustomed, habitually, to consume much larger quantities of food found that the ration, as reduced, by proper care, was sufficient to sustain the body in a state of active and vigorous health, even under considerable fatigue and exposure. I find no one, except some civil functionaries, who carry any superfluous fat in the cellular tissues;

consequently, I opine, none of the military have a superabundance of food and leisure to favor such deposit. The deprivation of salt, at first, more than any other article, excited bitter complaints, but gradually the desire for its use wore off, and when a supply of what before was considered a *sine qua non* arrived it did not arouse so great an interest as might be imagined. Entire abstinence from salt is not incompatible with the most perfect health, of which numerous examples are afforded by the mountaineers, traders, and others, who, though accustomed to its use early in life, lose, eventually, all inclination for it. Notwithstanding these apparent privations, the army does not suffer from any important diseases. Military duties are sufficiently numerous to prevent the vices attendant upon idleness, and various amusements have been judiciously introduced to give zest and variety to a life which might otherwise prove irksome. Balls, concerts, and theatrical entertainments, though not properly subjects for a medical report, are, nevertheless, deserving of mention as means of employing leisure which an idle soldiery might expend in various acts prejudicial to health.

From all the foregoing statements I conclude that, how deficient soever this region may be in the more humanizing influences, it has at least the great merit of being extremely favorable to health and longevity. There are two diseases which occasionally prevail—erysipelas, in an epidemic form, and mountain fever, of which I shall have something to say in a subsequent part of this report. As spring is the season at which the erysipelas prevails, I have had no opportunity of observing it. Besides these, I know of no disease which may be said to have characters peculiar to this country. Small-pox and syphilis make great ravages amongst the Indian tribes, but they do not differ from the same diseases elsewhere.

A question well worthy of consideration: Is this climate adapted to the amelioration and cure of the tubercular diathesis? As phthisis is annually on the increase in the United States, and as the subject of its hygienic management proves to be more important than the treatment by medicaments, the consideration of the climate is, necessarily, of the first consequence. In my report for the third quarter I remarked the beneficial influence of the journey over the plains upon those in whom "a phthisical tendency was marked and imminent." The purity of the atmosphere and the equability and dryness of the

climate are conditions highly favorable to such improvement. The entire immunity of the mountaineers from all forms of pulmonary disease indicates the healthfulness of the country in this particular. Moreover, the various commands stationed at Fort Laramie have been remarkably free from all forms of pulmonary disease, and all such as came thither laboring under the incipient or well-established symptoms of consumption speedily improved. Assistant Surgeon G. K. Wood, in a report from that post upon this subject remarks:

"The climate of those broad and elevated table-lands, which skirt the base of the Rocky Mountains on the east, is especially beneficial to persons suffering from pulmonary disease, or with a scrofulous diathesis; * * * * that more is due to the climate itself, is shown by the fact, that among troops stationed in this region (whose habits are much the same everywhere) this class of disease is of very rare occurrence."

The present superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Utah, (Dr. Forney) assures me that the journey over the plains and residence at Camp Scott has relieved him almost entirely from certain alarming symptoms of phthisis with which he set out. To an improved hygiene, inseparable from a life upon the plains, may be attributed much of the benefit experienced in these cases; to the dryness and equability of the climate much more. This is no doubt a part, but not the whole of the truth. In my recent examination before the Army Medical Board, this question was propounded by Surgeon McDougall: What influence has elevation upon respiration and pulmonary disease? To the latter part of the question, I replied, that the improvement in pulmonary disease, was, in my opinion, due to improved hygiene; but, as the examiner remarked, this did not express the whole truth, since at considerable elevations, determination took place to the surface, thereby relieving internal congestions—a consideration of much importance, and quite as obvious as important. From these facts it appears to me evident, that to the subject of an hereditary or acquired predisposition to consumption, the Great Plains and the mountains offer more certain relief than any other climate in our country. A journey over the plains is not so formidable an enterprise as a few years since; it can be made now both with safety and celerity. As the overland route to California, the main roads are being con-

stantly traversed by parties going and returning, so that the invalid would have no difficulty in availing himself of the protection afforded by these.

I conclude my present report with an account of an epidemic of periodical fever, mentioned in my report for the third quarter, as having commenced soon after our arrival upon Ham's fork. To the unusual fatigue which the Tenth Infantry had undergone in a highly rarified atmosphere, I was disposed to attribute a predisposing influence. Several cases had happened upon the march along the Platte valley but from Fort Laramie to Ham's fork, the poison, if it existed among the command, was in abeyance. I also remarked that if we can predicate the occurrence of malarial diseases upon peculiarities of soil, temperature, and productions, then may the Platte valley be considered a settled habitat of malaria. The valley of Ham's fork, is in many respects similar to the Platte valley; the soil consisting of sand intermingled with an alluvial deposit and vegetable loam; the banks of the stream fringed with the willow and cottonwood, and being subjected to periodical overflow. It differs, however, in a material respect—in elevation.

After the termination of the third quarter, we continued for some time upon Ham's fork, moving occasionally a few miles for better grazing. For the first half of the month of October, the weather was warm, and the atmosphere had all those peculiarities which unite to constitute "Indian summer." It was during this period that the Tenth Infantry suffered so severely from the intermittent and remittent fevers. The intermittents, if not quickly controlled by the heroic administration of quinine, passed into the remittent, whilst the remittents tended to assume the typhoid type. These fevers differed in no respect from the same forms of disease in the low country, if I may except this adynamic tendency. The type of the fever was usually quotidian, the remission occurring in the morning. A large proportion of the cases commenced by a severe rigor, variable in duration. During the exacerbation the pulse was full, soft, and sometimes dicrotic; skin hot and dry; tongue heavily furred in the centre, red and dry at the tip and edges; no sordes accumulated. There were present, also, intense cephalalgia; severe aching in the back and limbs; suffusion of the eyes; loathing of food; and sometimes nausea and vomiting. At the acme of the exacerbation in some cases,

I observed delirium, sometimes noisy and violent. In the remission the debility was considerable, accompanied by listlessness and indisposition to the slightest exertion; countenance dull and tinged a peculiar dirty yellow; pulse small, quick, and feeble. Diarrhoea was in all cases a persistent symptom, requiring astringents. The stools were thin, dark brown, greenish, or black, and very offensive in odor. Large doses of quinine were not only borne with impunity, but absolutely required; and I had the most satisfactory evidence of the power of the antiperiodic in jugulating the febrile action. Ten, fifteen, or twenty grains administered at a single dose during the remission, manifested all the antidotal power observed in malarial regions, except in a few cases, which, uncontrolled, passed into that adynamic condition, by common consent denominated typhoid—a state characterized by extreme muscular debility, low muttering delirium, subsultus tendinum, &c. Two of the cases thus protracted proved fatal.

These are the facts: Intermittent and remittent fevers occurring at an altitude of 6,240 feet above the sea manifesting all the phenomena of similar or identical forms of disease in low countries and controlled by the same remedy. In the consideration of these facts three questions arise:

Is this periodical fever a distinct and peculiar disease, to be properly designated as mountain fever?

Is the poison malarial in origin and brought into the mountains in a state of incubation and there developed by a process of zymosis?

Is malaria a product of this region?

A remittent febrile affection, denominated the "mountain fever," is described by Dr. Ewing, in the *St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal*, for March, 1855, as a disease peculiar to the elevated regions of the Rocky Mountains. He considers it as totally distinct from the fever of malarial origin, but it seems to me upon insufficient grounds. He founds his differential diagnosis upon the accident of situation and the absence of nausea in the mountain fever. Upon a careful consideration of his description, I do not find that the mountain fever differs very materially from the febrile disease herein described, and I make no doubt what Dr. Ewing saw was precisely what it has happened to me to see. We differ as to nomenclature and as to

cause. The term "mountain fever" is in common use among the hunters and trappers; but, certainly, rarity of air cannot be considered as a cause of disease, as Dr. Ewing intimates, in those who have been long habituated to it; nor has this cause in any other mountainous region, as far as I can ascertain, produced similar effects. Moreover, the coincident occurrence of intermittent fever evidently indicates a different origin. The cause must, in my opinion, be sought elsewhere than in rarified air.

A certain fact with regard to the behavior of malaria, long known, may be adduced in explanation of this apparent anomaly. It is well ascertained that the poison may be conveyed from a low country, where the usual developments may or may not have occurred, to a high, salubrious, and mountainous region, where all the phenomena of this species of poisoning are made manifest. This circumstance has not unfrequently occurred, it is not a matter of opinion, and *may* explain the occurrence of the epidemic herein recorded; but not with absolute certainty. Upon inquiring into the previous history of the cases of fever, I find some who have been living in malarial regions; some residents of the northern States, where malaria is unknown; all, however, transiently exposed to it at Camp Walbach, on the Missouri, and along the valley of the Platte.

The third inquiry—Is malaria a product of this region?—may be considered as an altogether absurd inquiry, so antagonistic is it to the commonly received doctrines upon this subject. I have already intimated my opinion that many of the conditions usually considered necessary to its elaboration exist in these mountain valleys. The constitution of the soil, productions, periodical inundations, &c., render the similarity between them and the low malarial countries striking. Having these conditions, let it be supposed that there prevail for several months a continuously, high temperature—not improbable either—might not the peculiar aerial substance known as malaria become developed? Not, it may be, *constantly* at the ordinary season, but capriciously at long intervals, when, as it may but seldom happen, various coincident circumstances conspire to develop it. At all events, the subject is deserving of some attention.

The second inquiry, according to present received doctrines, explains most satisfactorily the occurrence of periodical fever in the elevated regions of the Rocky

Mountains; but if we deny that malaria can be here elaborated, many anomalous circumstances remain unexplained. Notwithstanding there is much known with certainty upon this subject, more continues obscure, and we are consequently continually surprised by new phases and unexpected developments.

I have been thus particular in recording in this and a preceding report the history of this epidemic, not in the vain expectation of adding any new facts to medical science, but the rather of exhibiting old facts under somewhat novel and extraordinary circumstances.

SANITARY REPORT—CAMP SCOTT*

Assistant Surgeon John Moore: December, 1857.

Camp Scott, the wintering place of the army of Utah, is in latitude $41^{\circ} 18' 12''$ No., longitude $110^{\circ} 32' 23''$ W. from Greenwich; this is on the authority of observations made by Captain Stansbury, in 1849, 1850, at Bridger's Fort, an Indian trading post near our camp, and now used as a public storehouse. The altitude of our present position, as near as can be ascertained from geognostic profiles, made, I think, by Captain Beckwith in his railroad survey, is about 7,800 feet. Distance from Fort Laramie, by the emigrant road, over the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, 440 miles; and from Great Salt Lake City in a northeast direction, 124 miles.

Our encampment is in the valley of Black's fork of Green river, a tributary of the Colorado of the West. The average width of the valley is from one to two miles, with a depression below the surrounding plains of eighty to one hundred feet. The strata in the surrounding hills, so far as they can be seen, are nearly horizontal, consisting of magnesian limestone, clayey and slaty shales, and sandstone. The soil is made up of the detritus of the surrounding rocks intermingled with some vegetable mould. The stream is one of considerable size, water excellent, with a rapid current over a bed of small boulders, composed principally of metamorphic sandstone. It has its source in the Uintah Mountains, a lofty chain some fifty or sixty miles to the south, and whose summits—in plain view from our camp—reach the altitude of perpetual snow.

Clumps of cottonwood, willow, hawthorn, black and white currant, fringe the borders of the stream, and

*Ibid. pp. 293-297.

scrubby cedars grow on the escarpments of the hills, some three or four miles distant. It is said that coal has been found in the neighborhood, but none has been seen since our arrival. It is not improbable, however, that it exists, as the red sandstone of the carboniferous period, has been seen cropping out within a day's march of this place. The plains in our vicinity are in no respect different from those extending for hundreds of miles on every side of us. They are utterly barren; covered with artemisia, (*Artemisia tridentata*,) asters, and cacti, interspersed with occasional clumps of grass.

Our arrival here was in the midst of winter: and as the ground has been almost constantly covered with snow, but limited opportunities have been afforded for geological investigations. No chemical analysis of the soil has been made, because of the want of necessary chemicals.

In the absence of topographical details, some observations of a more general character may not be without interest. We are encamped in the midst of the "Great Basin" of Fremont; in speaking of which, it is perhaps not generally known that the term "Great Basin," is applied to one of the most remarkable plateaus on the surface of the globe; being greater in area and almost if not equal in altitude to the table-lands of Mexico. In a direction east and west, it extends from Fort Laramie, which is at an altitude of 5,300 feet, to the Wahsatch range of mountains some fifty miles to the west of our camp; and in a course north and south, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallels of latitude.

From Fort Laramie to the South Pass, there is a gradual but constant swelling of the ground to the "divortia aquarum," or culminating ridge, where it attains an altitude of 7,490 feet. The distance between these two points is about 300 miles. Although this is an elevation greater than that of the famous passes of the Simplon, (6,576,) of the St. Gothard, (6,865,) and but little short of that of the Great San Bernard, yet the ascent is so gentle as to be scarcely perceptible, and, without artificial improvement, to afford a beautiful road for every description of wheeled carriage. In thus offering an easy communication between the valley of the Mississippi and the growing States on the Pacific, it exerts an important influence on the social progress of the country, and there can be little doubt that a region so elevated and so extensive in length, corresponding to the distance from

Maine to Georgia, and in altitude varying from 5,000 to 8,000 feet, must exert an important climatic influence on the portions of the continent to the east and south of it.

FLORA.—Of the botany of this locality I am unable to add anything to the few specimens already mentioned as skirting the stream or covering the plains.

FAUNA.—Animals, with the exception of the large and small prairie wolf, rabbits, and hares, are not numerous during the winter. The black and grizzly bear are occasionally met with in the mountains. In the more protected valleys to the north and south of us the common and black-tailed deer, elk, and antelope are found. The following, though not abundant, are sometimes seen, viz: Rocky mountain sheep, red fox, grey fox, mink, ermine, badger, muskrat, beaver, prairie squirrel. Few birds have been seen since our arrival, except the crows, ravens, and turkey-buzzards attracted by the offal of the slaughtering pens around the camp; but in summer I am told that wild geese and ducks of various kinds, among which are the mallard and the greenwinged teal, with other migratory birds, are numerous.

Any attempt to enumerate either the flora or fauna, from such limited observations as could be made in a few weeks in the rigor of winter, must necessarily be incomplete. Any omissions in this respect can be supplied by some future observer, as measures are being taken to establish a permanent military post in this neighborhood.

From the old hunters I learn that the buffalo (*Bos americanus*) has not been seen west of the Rocky Mountains within the last thirty years, although, previous to that time, this country was one of his favorite feeding grounds. This is attested by the numerous skulls and other portions of his skeleton found bleaching on the prairie in every direction over the valley included between the Rocky and Sierra Nevada mountains. The fact is familiar, that he has retreated before the advancing settlements from Virginia and Kentucky, to his present habitat on the plains of the Missouri and Arkansas rivers. But it would be interesting to know why he has abandoned the plains west of the Rocky Mountains in *advance* of civilization. The only explanation I have heard of a phenomenon so singular, is, that about thirty years ago they were all killed by an unusually sever winter, and that subsequent to that time they have never been seen here.

INDIANS.—When Bridger's Fort was used as a trading post, it was frequented by the Shoshones or Snakes, whose wintering place is some hundred miles to the north of our camp; and by the Uintahs and Utahs, about the same distance to the south. Owing to the scarcity of provisions, they have not been encouraged to visit us; in consequence I have rarely seen them, and so know little of their customs or diseases. In regard to the Snakes, I have been assured by old hunters, who have spent a considerable portion of their lives among them, that within thirty years past, they have been reduced by epidemics of small-pox, from 900 lodges to a fourth of that number. Their treatment for this as for almost every other disease, consists of hot vapor baths, followed immediately by plunging into cold water. The result in almost every case was fatal. They believe that the disease was designedly introduced among them by the Hudson's Bay Company. Syphilis is a very common and destructive disease among them; but whether of domestic origin or foreign importation, seems uncertain.

From these same hunters I learn another interesting ethnological fact, which is, that their language is identical with that of the Camanches, inhabiting Northern Texas, except in reference to the names of such animals or implements, as have been introduced among them since their contact with the white man. Thus proving beyond question, that prior to this event, these two tribes, now so far removed from each other, with other tribes intervening, were one and the same.

I have seen it somewhere stated, that the Camanches have a tradition that some four or five centuries since, their ancestors emigrated from South America; whether the Snake have a similar tradition, I have not been able to learn. It is not improbable, that this similarity of language between tribes so remote from each other, may be well known; but being new to me, I thought it of sufficient interest to be mentioned.

I will now speak more immediately of that portion of the command, with which I am serving. From the first of the present quarter to its close, the Tenth Infantry in common with the Fifth, have been exposed to more than the usual hardships of active service in the field, in a winter climate of unusual severity; and during the first part of the quarter, many of the men were poorly clad, and furnished with a very limited supply of blankets.

The vigilance required for the protection of long trains of wagons, and large herds of animals, from the marauding attacks of Mormons, who were daily seen in our neighborhood, made it necessary to mount large guards, for a time only allowing the men two or three nights in bed in the week. For several days, during the early part of October, the thermometer ranged in the hottest part of the day, from 80° to 90° in the shade; the nights at the same being below 32° . The regiment was then encamped on Ham's fork of Green river, at an elevation of about 6,000 feet. An encampment of ten days was made here. During this time two companies were on guard nightly, and the whole command drilled three or four hours daily. The great alternations of temperature experienced during these hot day, told on the health of the men. Fifteen of the twenty cases of malarial fever, and two-thirds of cases of diarrhoea, reported for the quarter, occurred here. From the previous history of those attacked with remittent and intermittent fever, together with the nature of the locality in which it occurred, I am convinced it was due to exposure on the Missouri or other miasmatic regions, before leaving Fort Leavenworth. From men who have lived for fifteen or twenty years in this country, I learn that fever and ague is entirely unknown as an indigenous disease.

Between the 20th of October and the 10th of November, while on the march, we had four or five falls of snow, each varying from two to five inches in depth. About the latter date, the arrival of a large train with clothing, tents, &c., afforded the means of making the men much more comfortable than they had been previously. The conical or Sibley tent was issued to the whole command in place of the one before used, the common bell tent. This new tent, in cold weather, will very comfortably accommodate twelve or fifteen men; and having an aperture at the top for the escape of smoke, a cheerful fire may be built in the centre, either on the ground, or in a pot, or in any other method that ingenuity can devise.

In a climate like this, where men are to winter under canvas, the Sibley tent I think a great improvement over any heretofore in use in our service.

From the 10th to the 15th of November, the thermometer, at 7 A. M., ranged from -4° to -16° . Some ten or twelve men, while on guard or picket, had their feet and toes more or less frozen. All recovered without loss

of substance, except one. In this the last phalanx of the four lesser toes sloughed off. In addition to the remedies usually employed, the fresh gall of the ox was used with great benefit in all cases where the injury was superficial. It was applied as a liniment, or by pieces of lint saturated with it.

On the 20th of November the whole body of the command had reached this camp, having been sixteen days in making the last fifteen miles. The weather was excessively cold, and the Tenth Infantry coming up in several detachments, as escorts to ox trains, were often detained until midnight on the road, and when, half frozen, they reached the camp, had to pitch their tents on the snow, and seek that rest so necessary after the day's fatigue, and which only the weary can know. As an indication of the severity of the weather on this last part of the march, it may be stated that in making the last sixteen miles before reaching this camp, more than two thousand of our animals died from cold and starvation. Notwithstanding all this exposure, the number of sick was much less than during the warm weather in the early part of October. Since the arrival of the regiment at this camp, the soldiers have been as comfortable as it is possible for men to be in tents. They are not required to go on guard oftener than once a week; but as all our animals have been sent to a distant grazing ground, our wood has to be hauled by the soldiers from a cottonwood grove two or three miles distant. This, with drilling and the ordinary police duty of the camp, keeps them for the greater portion of each day in the open air. As the weather, although cold, has been dry, bracing, and sparkling, this outdoor exercise has, without doubt, been of great advantage.

No new cases of scurvy have occurred during the present quarter, and all those reported in the previous one are either well or recovering. This immunity, I think, is probably due, in a great measure, to the desiccated vegetables supplied by the commissary department, in praise of which, as a wholesome and agreeable addition to the ration, too much cannot be said. In consequence of the limited supplies on hand, the entire ration has been reduced one fourth, with the exception of beef; this has been increased to two pounds. It is, however, of a very inferior quality, being the flesh of the oxen that was used in drawing our train from Fort Leavenworth, a distance

of one thousand miles. For nearly two months past no salt has been issued; but up to this time I have seen no bad effects from this reduction of the ration. If scurvy should not make its appearance in the spring, the exemption will be one of the most remarkable in the history of the army.

For hospital, I have one hospital tent and three Sibley tents. The Sibley tents I have floored with dry beef-hides, which keeps the bedding from the dirt and dampness of the ground, as well as adding materially to its warmth. In one of these tents six or seven men can be made more comfortable than in any other method heretofore adopted in the field.

SANITARY REPORT—CAMP SCOTT*

Assistant Surgeon Aquila T. Ridgely: January, 1858.

In accordance with existing regulations, I have the honor to submit the following remarks, to accompany my quarterly report of sick and wounded for the fourth quarter of 1857:

During the whole of the quarter now ended, the Fifth Infantry has been engaged in military operations within the Territory of Utah. Until November 17 they were actively employed in the field. The almost constant presence of the enemy, who hovered about our flanks in small bodies, endeavoring to cut off stragglers from the command and seize upon animals, caused the duty of the men to be excessively arduous, and entailed upon them much exposure to the elements. In consequence of there being no mounted force with our army, until after the 2d of November, the Mormons, who were upon good horses, were very bold, and could only be kept beyond the range of our small arms. This rendered it necessary to have large guards with the mules and oxen, and to post pickets upon commanding heights by night as well as by day, in cold weather as well as in warm. The scarcity of grass and the consequently large range required, made the duty doubly onerous. The long line of our ox trains likewise demanded protection, and frequently several companies would not reach their tents until after the night was far advanced. Occasionally the morning would find them absent from the camp, and more than once, I believe, they have passed two consecutive nights upon the

*Ibid. pp. 297-299.

road. All this has been performed when the thermometer indicated a temperature considerably below zero.

Since the arrival of the command at its site for a winter encampment, its condition has been much ameliorated. Nevertheless, its task continues to be a hard one. The sustaining of out-posts and pickets, the maintenance of a strong guard, and the procurement of fuel, tax all the energies and almost all the time of the soldier.

The climate of this region is certainly a cold one. Never have I seen such severe weather, at the same period of the year, as we experienced in October and early in November. Upon the morning of October 19 the mercury stood at 4° Fahrenheit; upon November 5 the mercury was at ½° Fahrenheit; upon the mornings of November 12 and 14 the mercury stood at -17° and -13° Fahrenheit. It may be stated, in general terms, that the cold was extreme and unseasonable during the month of October and a large part of November, during which time we were upon the march.

The snow commenced to fall early in October, and was frequently repeated during the campaign.

Upon the night of October 17 it covered the earth to the depth of about one foot in and around our camp. Sometimes it was accompanied with drifting particles and a strong cold wind, which were difficult to face; but the necessities of our situation admitted no delay, and we were compelled to move onward.

Since our arrival at Camp Scott, contrary to all expectation based upon the past, the winter, though regularly cold, has been moderately so. The mercury has not, I think, been lower than -12° Fahrenheit, although frequently it is but little above zero or somewhat below it.

The troops are quartered in the Sibley tents. These, as they admit of a fire within them, around which their occupants can sit and keep warm, and thus forget the storm without, are vastly more comfortable than the tents previously furnished. Those officers who possess stoves, with an adequate supply of stovepipe, almost universally prefer the wall tent for their own residence, but, as soldiers are seldom in enjoyment of such luxuries, I deem the introduction of the Sibley tent the greatest boon which has, of late years, been conferred upon them. It is to be hoped that the Quartermaster's Department, with its ac-

customed liberality, will, at an early date, authorize the issue of these tents to laundresses and the servants of officers, as the health of these individuals is surely entitled to some consideration.

The hospital accommodations of the regiment consist, at present, of one hospital tent and three Sibley tents, but will doubtless be enlarged should the number of sick render it desirable.

The clothing of the men has been sufficient, so far as my knowledge extends.

The cleanliness of their persons has not been remarkable, in consequence, I suppose, of the difficulties attending the performance of ablutions.

They have usually been temperate, as they seldom obtained the means of intoxication.

Notwithstanding the hardships and exposure to which the men have been subjected, the health of the command has been good. The ratio of sickness is not large, and of those reported a very considerable proportion are classed under the heads of "wounds and injuries."

Of the 202 persons taken sick, no less than twenty-one suffered from frost-bite, or almost ten per cent of the total number treated. The frequent occurrence of diarrhoea during the months of October and November, I attribute principally to the deprivation of the men from the use of common salt as a condiment, and to the fact of the meat ration consisting chiefly of fresh beef. The alimentary canal having been accustomed to the stimulus of salt, probably required its presence for a due enervation of the tissues concerned, and its withdrawal was followed by a consequent relaxation. By the month of December the system had become reconciled to the new order of things, and upon that month the number of those affected was only one half as great as upon the previous month.

The fewness of the cases of serious thoracic diseases may be among the good effects resulting from the employment of the Sibley tent. This tent, being open at the top, permits the free escape of heated air, the place of which must be supplied from without. This produces a constant though imperceptible current of air through the apartment, and, by preventing it from becoming unduly heated, renders the change less great to one upon emerg-

ing from it into the open atmosphere. It may be, too, that the perpetual renewal of oxygen imparts to the lungs a healthy tone, which renders them less impressible to vicissitudes of temperature and other disturbing causes. The absence of scorbutus is a gratifying feature in the accompanying report. I have seen a few symptoms of this disease among those who were sick from other complaints, but it has chiefly been in the persons of employes of the staff departments. This immunity is probably the result of the occasional issue of desiccated vegetables to the men. It is to be hoped that subsequent experience will confirm this opinion.

Camp Scott is situated upon Black's fork of Green river, one and three quarter miles above Bridger's Fort, and about one hundred and ten miles from the city of the Great Salt Lake. The stream is a mountain torrent, and has a fall of many feet per mile. The water is pure and pleasant to the taste. The banks are skirted with a wide growth of willow bushes, with here and there a grove of the bitter cottonwood, interspersed with a few stunted box-elders. The neighboring hills have, in places dense groves of cedar within their ravines and upon their slopes. The distant mountains are also partially covered with heavy growths of timber. I have not been to them, but I imagine that the pine and fir predominate.

The valley of Black's fork at this point does not exceed half a mile in width, and, owing to the tortuous course of the stream, we are, to a great extent, sheltered from the winds by the high hills or bluffs which arise immediately from the valley. Beyond these, to the southward and to the westward, may be seen the lofty peaks and elevated ridges of the Wahsatch mountains, nowhere, probably less than twelve miles from our camp.

The dazzling whiteness of their summits, compared with the dark green of the forests below, forms a beautiful and pleasing contrast. Owing to the presence of the snow and the inclemency of the season, I have not been able to investigate the geological peculiarities of the vicinity.

Magnesian limestone has been found in abundance in the neighborhood.

SANITARY REPORT—FORT BRIDGER*

Assistant Surgeon Roberts Bartholow: March, 1859.

HISTORY.—For many years past Fort Bridger has enjoyed some celebrity as a trading station, occupied by James Bridger, a famous mountaineer. The fort originally consisted of an irregular collection of log houses, surrounded by a stockade, arranged in part for defense against the Indians, in part for the kind of trade here carried on. When the Mormons occupied the valley of Salt Lake, and grew into a formidable community, the fort came into their possession, and was further strengthened by the erection of a quadrangular wall. Upon the arrival of the army, in the fall of 1857, nothing remained of Fort Bridger but this wall, all the wooden structures having been burned by the Mormons when they could no longer maintain possession.

The erection of the necessary quarters for a garrison of five companies commenced immediately after the advance of the army in June, 1858; but, owing to the scarcity of the indispensable materials, the buildings, though in a state of considerable forwardness, are, as yet, uncompleted. The hospital was so far advanced toward completion as to be considered habitable in December last, and the company quarters a few weeks later. In this half-finished state, the officers' quarters were occupied in January. The quarters are built in a substantial manner of logs. The work of completing them is still going on as vigorously as the coldness of the weather will permit: they make haste slowly.

MEDICAL TOPOGRAPHY, &c.—For Bridger lies in latitude $41^{\circ} 18' 12''$ N., and longitude $110^{\circ} 32' 38''$ W., and in the valley of Black's fork, a mountain stream tributary to Green river. The valley of Black's fork has an average width of about one thousand yards; wider at this point than elsewhere. The transition from the valley to the table-lands is much more gradual in the vicinity of the fort than at any other point, and consequently this part of the valley is more exposed to the prevalent high winds. The bluffs which bound the valley consist of sand, conglomerate, and shale, and, in some situations, magnesian limestone, (dolomite.) The soil of the valley is a sandy alluvium, light, porous, and superficial in depth, and incapable of sustaining a luxuriant vegetation. Un-

*Ibid. pp. 306-310.

der the soil lies a stratum of sand and rubble stone of great thickness, through which the water constantly percolates. Numerous ravines and mounds of exposed rubble stone attest that the valley is overflowed when the melting snows swell the stream.

The herbage of the valley is sufficiently luxuriant to contrast strongly with the barren table-lands covered with the wild sage, (*Artemisia tridentata*.) The cottonwood (*Populus angustifolia*) and an herbaceous willow are the only trees which grow in the immediate vicinity of the post. On the hills, five miles distant, grow groves of stunted cedar trees, from which the fort is supplied with fuel. The buildings recently erected are arranged in a quadrangle, the wall of old Fort Bridger forming one side. Through the parade ground, and in front of the line of officers' quarters, runs one of the numerous branches into which Black's fork is divided at this point.

CLIMATOLOGY.—The mean height of the barometer for the five months during which observations have been taken at this post, is 23.48 inches. By a recent calculation, I determine the elevation to be 6,646 feet. Accordingly, at an elevation so great as this, and at the forty-first parallel of north latitude, the climate of Fort Bridger properly belongs to the "upper or cold regions" of meteorological writers. The mean height of the thermometer for eight months, commencing in July last, is 39.22°. The proportion of summer months in this estimate is too large for the mean of the year, which would be lower. The lowest degree of the thermometer since the occupation of this post was -22° Fahrenheit. Extreme cold is less appreciable to the senses, owing to the dryness of the atmosphere; and a less amount of clothing is necessary than will suffice in latitudes warmer but moist. The most annoying, as the most prominent, feature of this climate is the almost constant prevalence of high winds. This prevailing wind is from the southwest. Few days are without it; and Fort Bridger, unprotected by bluffs, is fully exposed. Snow-storms are frequent; in fact, no month in the year is exempt from such visitations or greater or less intensity. A few miles up the stream, on the summit of the Uintah, the domain of "perpetual snow" is reached; there great fields of snow lie all summer.

The barometer, as a weather indicator, may be confidently relied upon at this post. A considerable fall of the mercury constantly portends high winds and a snow-

storm, whilst a rise, no matter how threatening the appearance of the clouds, as constantly indicates fair weather and calm.

HYGIENE.—The foregoing observations, with great propriety, introduce the subject of hygiene. I include, under this designation, air, exercise, food, clothing, habits, and the duties and employments of the troops in so far as these influence their sanitary condition.

From the preceding account of the situation and climate of Fort Bridger, it will be at once perceived that due ventilation has been secured by the location and plan of that post. The Company quarters now occupied are much too small for the full standard of strength; consequently additional buildings are in process of construction. By crowding the men into too confined a space, sufficient regard has not been paid to cleanliness. This is more especially the case with the dragoons, who, by reason of their employments, are more exposed to filth, yet are, personally, less regardful of appearances.

The hospital, built in all respects like the other quarters, is sufficiently commodious, but sadly defective in arrangement. I desire to record that I am in no respect responsible for the plan of this building. I was not consulted by the architect, and, of course, abstained from making suggestions which would have met with no attention.

Since the arrival of the present garrison at this post, a large portion of it has been engaged in the labor of building, and of the necessary police. These employments have not influenced the health of the command, except by the occurrence of such injuries as happen from the use of cutting tools by unskillful hands.

The water supplied by the branch of Black's fork, which runs through the parade, is clear and free from visible impurities. If this were the only beverage used by men in this command, my professional duties were the lighter. A vile concoction, known as whisky, has been from time to time surreptitiously sold to the troops, notwithstanding prohibitory orders from the commanding officer. Manufactured by traders from alcohol, tobacco, and other narcotics, this liquor has, in one instance, produced an immediately fatal effect, and more or less alarming symptoms in various instances. The only death during the present quarter was from this cause; a private of

company F, Seventh Infantry, having swallowed a considerable quantity of this liquor, died in a few minutes, and before relief could be obtained.

DISEASES.—I arrange these into two classes:

I. Ubiquitous diseases, which occur under all circumstances of climate and local conditions, including fevers, inflammations, and specific diseases.

II. The diseases belonging more especially to this region, including scorbutus, neuralgia, rheumatism, and a certain febrile state, known as "mountain fever." Certain surgical diseases and injuries may be considered under this head.

It has happened me not to meet at Fort Bridger many of the diseases included in the first class. During the past fall I had under treatment in the hospital several cases of common continued fever, (typhoid.) Its behavior at this elevated position was, in many respects, anomalous, and deserving of consideration. This continued fever constantly assumed the periodical form, and was not easily distinguished from the "mountain fever," a periodical affection, which as constantly determined toward the continued type. In two instances only was a hesitating diagnosis confirmed by the discovery of the characteristic "rose spots." In all were absent, to a great degree, those external symptoms, pathognomonic of typhoid fever: coma, subsultus tendinum, low muttering delirium, floccitatio. The nature of the fever was recognized by its duration, by the impossibility of arresting it by the heroic use of quinine, by the mental disturbance and stupor, by the epistaxis and cophosis, by the gurgling on pressure over the ileo-caecal valve, and the peculiar, greenish-colored stools. The only instance of death in the hospital from this cause disclosed a lesion so peculiar as to justify the insertion of the note of a *post mortem* examination.

Private Hilt, of company "I," Second Dragoons, died on the 10th of November, 1858: autopsy, twelve hours after death.

Body much emaciated; numerous bed-sores over the sacrum, trochanters, scapula, and left ribs. Left nipple and mammary gland inflamed, and containing pus.

Thorax.—Cavity of pleura contained about six ounces of serum. Lung healthy, except post-mortem congestion in dependent portions; sack of pericardium contained one

ounce serum; heart normal in size and healthy, and upon section about one ounce of dark fluid blood, flowed out.

Abdomen.—Liver healthy, weighing four pounds and fifteen ounces; spleen friable and enlarged, weighing fourteen and a half ounces; stomach healthy, of normal size, and containing a small amount of ingesta; not fat in the omentum majus, very transparent; upper portion of small intestine healthy, and distended by some gaseous accumulation; some dark points of congestion near ileo-caecal valve; Peyer's patches thickened, indurated, and in some places ulcerated, in other healing; large intestine, healthy, except a general diminution of caliber; in some places dilated into pouches containing scybala; left kidney, friable, enlarged, and upon pressure drops of pus exude from the cut surface; left suprarenal capsule, disorganized, pulpy, diffuent; right kidney in great part disorganized, and occupied by a large abscess, containing about sixteen ounces of thick, creamy pus; bladder, healthy; urine clear, amber-colored, normal.

Brain.—Frontal sinuses very healthy — dura mater healthy; small quantity of fluid (serum) in lateral ventricles; sub-arachnoid space filled with serum; substance of verëbrum, healthy; left lobe of cerebellum softened and pulpy; medulla oblongata, healthy.

There had been no symptom in this case to indicate so serious a lesion of the kidney. Beside the lateritious sediment common in typhoid fever, the urine afforded no evidence of disease. A deposit similar in character and amount, was observed in the other cases which proceeded to a favorable termination.

This command has been singularly free from the inflammations; common inflammations as opposed to specific. The tendency in high latitudes and considerable elevations, is said to be, to thoracic inflammations: manifestly an error as regards this region. No cases of idiopathic pneumonia or pleuritis, have fallen under my observation, and but few cases of catarrh. The most interesting fact, however, with regard to the influence of this climate upon the thoracic affections, is the amelioration and cure of the pulmonary tubercular disease. Not a single case of phthisis has occurred at this post, and those who came hither, laboring under the symptoms more or less advanced, notably improved. How this change is accomplished, other than by the increased expansion of the lungs in consequence of diminished barometric pres-

sure, by the determination to the surface, and by the purity of the respired atmosphere, does not appear. The same facts are true and apposite with respect to other inflammations, except the rheumatic.

The exanthemata prevail occasionally as epidemics, modified, as typhoid fever, by the conditions consequent upon elevation. Large numbers of Indians were formerly carried off by variola. Syphilitic affections rapidly improved; at least, the secondary symptoms, which, only, I have observed.

Again, certain diseases manifest for this climate an aptitude, whose invariability amounts to a special affinity. The neuralgic and rheumatic affections only, belong properly to this class. Whilst scorbutus is an ubiquitous disease, it may be said to have a special affinity for this region. Ten cases are, at present, under treatment in the hospital.

Most usually, the first symptom of an attack of scorbutus, is a pain in the popliteal space or calf, with lameness of the muscles. This pain persists for some days, before the appearance of the discoloration and swelling. The discoloration is peculiar; like the discoloration of a bruise, yet in reverse order, the yellowness preceding instead of following the dark brown, dark blue, or black hues. A general anaemic condition, with sponginess of the gums, fetor of breath, and hemorrhages follow the pain and discoloration.

At the head of the causes of this disease, I place drunkenness. Filth, despondency, ennui, and an unvaried diet from which vegetables are absent, are next in frequency the producing causes.

The treatment I have finally adopted, consists of certain hygienic means; cleanliness, regularity of habits, such mental amusements as may relieve the tedium of confinement, and the use of an exclusive vegetable diet. In but few cases are medicaments administered. The first cases of scorbutus it happened me to treat, I put in practice the various methods of cure by medicinal agents, but with a less satisfactory result than the plan here adverted to.

Having, in former reports, discussed the question of "mountain fever," it is unnecessary for me to add anything further, except to declare my unaltered conviction,

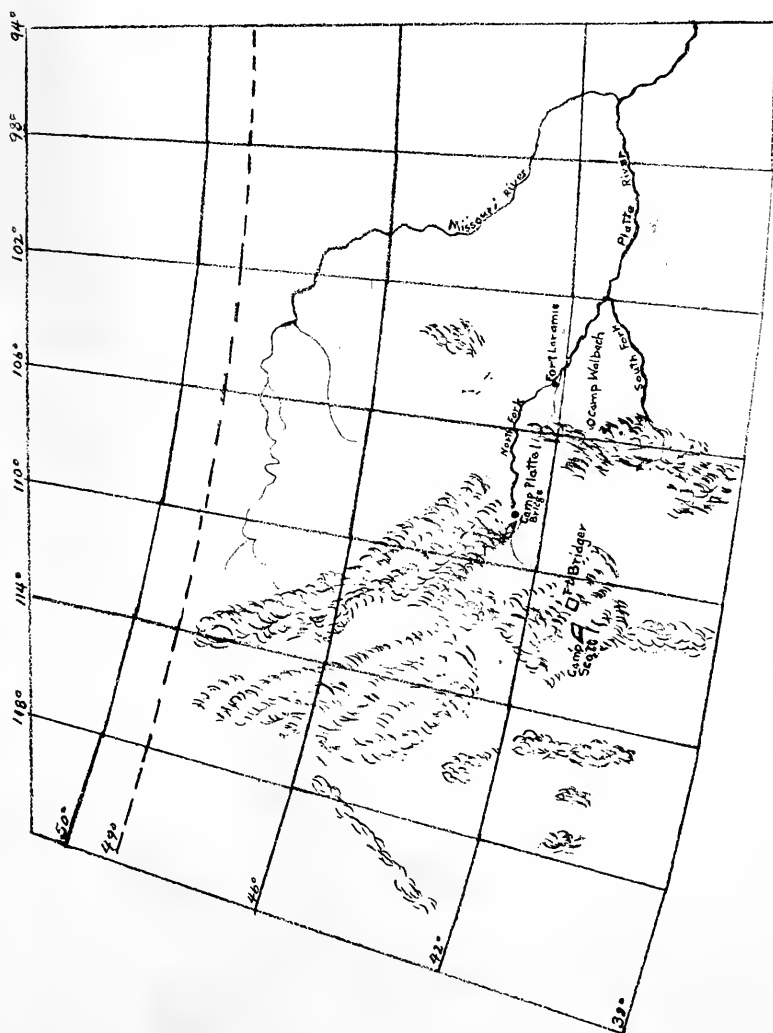
that this febrile disease, is a modified form of periodical or malarial fever.

The surgical diseases included under the class of diseases belonging to this region, are, the affections resulting from the application of cold.

PHENOMENA OF FROST BITE.—Exposed to cold, a greater or less period according to intensity, the parts; usually the feet or hands, lose sensibility; become, in common parlance, benumbed. If examined at this stage, the integument is found to be white, bloodless, shrunken, and insensible to irritants; but yet capable, by very gradually applied warmth, of being restored to health. The return of circulation under the proper manipulation, is announced by severe “stinging pains” in the bitten part, and a generally diffused blush or redness. If, however, whilst frozen, the hands and feet are thrust before the fire, as is usually the case with teamsters and soldiers, the reaction induced is excessive, and passes sufficiently beyond the healthy condition to constitute inflammation. Under these circumstances, the parts become covered with large vesicles, filled with brownish-yellow serum, and turn bluish-black. Sensibility for a time is excessive (hyperaesthesia); severe nocturnal pains harass the patient, and prevent sleep; but these soon subside, and deep incisions may then be made, with but little appreciation on the part of the patient. The parts, then gradually turn black, and shrink, and the line of demarkation is established. Where the *vis vitae* is accomplishing the separation of the dead from the living parts a disagreeable odor is exhaled, but the mortified parts are dry and free from odor.

TREATMENT.—When a frozen part is seen before reaction has commenced, it should be rubbed diligently with snow, and if this is not at hand, should be immersed in cold water, in a room without fire, until the pains and redness indicate a restoration of the circulation. If these means have not been resorted to, and the part is covered with vesicles, I evacuate the fluid and direct the parts to be covered with lint, moistened with the following: O1, terebinthinae, alcoholis, tinct. camphorae, aa. oz. 1. Depletion by blood-letting or purging, is necessary. When the sloughs form, use polutices of flax-seed and elm to favor separation. The most important question with regard to the treatment, is the question of amputation. I have acted upon this plan: wait until the line of demarkation is established; if the separation proceed favorably,

no interference is necessary, except the section of the bones and tendons, or disarticulation, if the line of separation is in the vicinity of joints. After the sloughs are entirely detached, use water-dressings, until the healing process is completed. Under this treatment, the formation of pus is prevented, and granulations are never exuberant.



Military Forts and Camps included in these reports, located in a territory which later became Wyoming, 1857-1859. From maps in U. S. Cong. Docs., 34th Cong. 1st Sess., S. Ex. Doc. 96; 35th Cong. 2nd Sess., S. Ex. Doc. 978; 36th Cong. 1st Sess., S. Ex. Doc. 1035.



The "Wyoming Pioneer Association," first met as "Old Timers Meeting" in 1914, during the 10th Session of the Wyoming State Fair at Douglas.

The above picture of two of Wyoming's oldest pioneers was taken in front of the fire place in the Wyoming Pioneer Association's building, at Douglas. The building is of logs in keeping with pioneer days, and is located at the State Fair grounds.

James Abney located in Cheyenne on his arrival in what was then Dakota Territory, later located in Converse County. He was a member of the House of the First Territorial Legislative Assembly, 1868.

Finelius G. Burnett came to Fort Laramie, then Dakota Territory, in 1865; later located at Fort Washakie. He was present at the hanging of the three Indian chiefs at Fort Laramie in 1865, when Chiefs Little Thunder, Walks-under-the-ground, and Two Face were hung by order of General Patrick Edward Connor, in command of the Powder River Expedition.

Documents And Letters

REMINISCENCES OF CIVIL WAR DAYS

By Judge Gibson Clark*

In reply to your request that I give you my military history, I have to state, that I was born at Millwood, Clarke County, Virginia, on December 5, 1844, the son of James H. and Jane A. Gregory Clark. On June 21st, 1863 I joined as a private soldier, Parker's Battery, Alexander's Artillery Battalion, Longstreet's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, with which command I served until the surrender at Appomattox C. H., April 9th, 1865. On July 2d and 3d, 1863 I participated in the battle of Gettysburg, my battery becoming engaged about three o'clock p. m., on the 2d continuing so until about eight o'clock p. m., of that day, and again becoming engaged just at dawn on the 3d and with some few intermissions, so continuing under fire until night fall; the gun at which I served retiring from the field by its own recoil, having fired over 300 rounds. Our battalion loss in this battle was 144 men out

*Upon the close of the Civil War, Gibson Clark returned to Virginia, where he remained but a short time; in 1866 moved to St. Louis, Missouri, and during that same year left for Fort Laramie, arriving December 4, 1866. He was employed as a clerk and bookkeeper in the post trader's store until 1872; was a member of the Democratic Party; elected to the house of representatives of the Territorial Legislative Assembly in 1871; engaged in mining from 1872 to 1883 in Nevada and Utah; while in Utah he was admitted to the bar; moved to Fort Collins, Colorado in 1883, where he practiced law until 1886, when he moved to Cheyenne and established a law practice. In November 1892 elected Justice of the Supreme Court serving until September 1894, when he resigned to accept the appointment of United States Attorney for the District of Wyoming; his term of office expired 1898; he continued in the practice of law until his death, his successive partners being Robert W. Breckons, William A. Riner, and his son, John D. Clark, and later Clark and Clark. He served many years as a member of the board of trustees of the Cheyenne school district, and was a member of the University Board of Trustees, and a member of the vestry of St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Cheyenne.

Gibson Clark was a very public spirited citizen; one of the finest grade schools of Cheyenne, the Gibson Clark School, was named in his honor for the loyal service he rendered to the Cheyenne schools.

Married Miss Frances Johnston of Iowa, in 1881; to this union was born four sons, James H., Francis G., John D., and Robert G.

Judge Clark passed away December 14, 1914, in Cheyenne, Wyoming, where he was laid to rest.

of a total strength entering the fight of about 300, of this loss 139 were killed and wounded and 5 missing.

In September 1863 the battalion accompanied Hood's & McLaw's Divisions of Longstreet's Corps to Tennessee to assist Bragg's Army in opposing the advance of Rosecranz's Union Army. We arrived at the field of Chittanooga one day after that battle, and soon took position on the extreme top of Lookout Mountain(overlooking the city of Chattanooga, around which was gathered the Union Army, still under the command of General Rosecranz. From this position we were frequently engaged in shelling the Union lines around Chattanooga. We remained in this position until about the middle of November, 1863, when our Corps was sent to Knoxville, Tennessee; on our way there my battery was engaged in sharp skirmishes at Concord station and Lenoir station, and upon arriving in front of Knoxville about November 22d, 1863 was engaged in its siege for four or five days; about the 27th or 28th of November the siege of Knoxville was raised because of the advance from Chattanooga of a large federal force under the command of General W. T. Sherman, and we passed around the city and proceeded eastward toward Virginia. In this section of east Tennessee during the winter of 1863-64, we engaged in a desultory sort of campaign advancing upon and retiring from the enemy. Early in December 1863, we had a sharp fight with the federal troops at Bean's station in which my battery was engaged. The winter was exceedingly severe. I recollect that January 1st, 1864, was the coldest day I ever experienced, and that a few days before in marching to Morristown, Tennessee, there were four or five inches of snow on the ground and to get through it, I had a shoe on one foot and rags bound around the other, they were good rags and enough of them, so I have no recollection of leaving any bloody tracks in the well beaten snow. Until about the 15th of January, 1864, we were practically cut off from all communication with the south and hence had to live off the surrounding country, and often were without rations, on one occasion for a week at least we lived on parched corn and a little bacon, 2 to 4 ounces per day, this we would put in a skillet with the corn when parching it. In those days I thought a good quantity of parched corn flavored with bacon and a cup of parched corn coffee sweetened with sorghum made a very appetizing menu. During this time I was made a corporal; the highest rank I obtained.

About the middle of January, 1864, we moved from Morristown to Dandridge, Tennessee, on the French Broad River, and there we were almost in paradise, with abundance of food about us and obtainable; we had plenty of splendid fat chickens, eggs, pork and vegetables, words would fail me were I to attempt to describe our delight. Early in March 1864, we again moved, this time to near the Virginia line within a few miles of Bristol, Tennessee. Here I reenlisted for the war and was fortunate enough to draw the prize of a thirty days furlough which was issued to me on April 15th, 1864. I spent a few days of the time at Abingdon and Marion, Virginia, with relatives, and part of the time at New Market in the Shenandoah Valley not being able to get nearer my home at Millwood, because of the occupation of the country north of New Market by the enemy's forces. My father came to New Market to see me. I enjoyed being with him very much and indeed my whole stay at New Market. On May 5th, 1864, I learned that Grant had crossed the Rapidan and opened the campaign. Although my furlough had not expired by ten days, I at once started back to rejoin my command which I reached on the 7th or 8th of May on the road between the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court House. At Spottsylvania we were placed on the line at a point about half a mile north of what was called the Block House, as I now remember. Here we threw up breast works and remained for five or six days almost continuously under fire of more or less severity. One afternoon between the 9th and 13th of May the portion of the line we occupied was charged by the enemy in great force, three or four heavy lines of battle advancing upon us. It so happened that several guns of our battalion were so placed that when the enemy reached a point about 50 yards in front of our infantry, in breast works extending for a mile or so to the left of our battalion, we of the artillery, had an enfilading fire straight down their line; we waited until they reached this point and then opened with our guns double shotted with canister; the slaughter was terrible, but they were brave men, for they were American soldiers of the famous Sixth Corps and on they came line after line but not a man ever got nearer our breast works, than the point reached by their first line of battle, and where it had been swept out of existence. After their repulse, I went over the field in front of our works, and it seemed to me when I got to the point reached by the enemy's lines of battle, that I could step from dead man to dead man for more than a

mile without once touching the ground. It was appalling, but such is glorious war.

We remained at and in the vicinity of Spottsylvania until about the 20th day of May, 1864, when Grant resuming his famous swinging movement from his right to the left, we entered upon a race with him for the North Anna River and beat him in it. We crossed this river on what I now remember was called the Telegraph Road Bridge, at the north end of which was a small fortification occupied I think by a regiment of Mississippians, as gallant men as ever heard the shriek of a shell or the whistle of a bullet; after crossing the river, we filed off to the left taking position on the line of bluffs situate about one hundred yards south of the river and awaited the approach of the enemy. In a few hours they appeared, debouching from a heavy body of woods situate about a thousand yards north of the river and of the fortification mentioned, and advancing upon it. The men in the fort, and our artillery consisting of 25 or more guns opened upon them and drove them back into the woods, this happened three or four times, finally they came again, and some general officer attended by a numerous staff galloped around the left of his line, seized a regimental flag, and holding it aloft, with its bright stripes gracefully swinging to the breeze, galloped straight up to the earthwork, and upon the embankment, and there drove the staff down into the sand; of course his men followed him, what else could they do? And our men scampered out of the work, ran across the bridge and set it on fire, as they were ordered to do. While we fired upon them as they advanced, as soon as we saw our men leave the works and that the man with the flag intended to and would take them, we stopped firing, took off our hats, waved them and cheered him until he and his men were over and into the fortification; as I then thought and still think, a beautiful and soldierly tribute from the gallant Americans of the South, to the gallant Americans of the North, Americans all and soldiers every inch of them.

From North Anna River, Grant resumed his swinging movement and we next found ourselves in front of him at Cold Harbor, within a few miles of Richmond. Here, on I think, June 1st, 1864, he met with a disastrous repulse, losing 12,000 men while our loss was less than 2,000. He simply sent his men into a slaughter pen,

against the protest of his corps commanders. We confronted him at Cold Harbor and White Oak swamp until the 15th to 20th of June, 1864, when he moved to the James River, crossed it at City point and advanced upon Petersburg where he again found General Lee in his front; my command with Pickett's Division was not taken as far as Petersburg, but placed on the line between the James and Appomattox Rivers, in front of Bermuda Hundreds, my battery being a few hundred yards in front of an old church building and about a mile south of the Howlett house, at this point we remained until the night of the 2d of April 1865. During the first few months of our stay at this point picket firing was steadily kept up so that the exposure of one's head above the breast work always brought a shot, and the shriek of shells and the zip-zip of rifle balls became very familiar music. During the fall of 1864, while we were at this point a great wave of religious fervor swept over the army of Northern Virginia; chapels made of logs capable of seating 300 to 500 men were built along the whole line, extending over a distance of forty miles, and services frequently held; the most eminent clergymen of the south giving their services towards the uplifting and comforting of men who were in sorrow and distress. The outlook was bad, hope had bade farewell to many hearts, it was apparent to all of us that the cause for which we had fought so long and so hard and suffered so much and which was still so dear to us was in desperate straits, and the future was full of gloom, and we all felt that our only hope was in God's tender mercy, and our only consolation was in the belief that He would be a present help in our troubles. Among the clergymen rendering us this service, I particularly remember, Philip F. August, of the Methodist Church, full of eloquence and devoted to his calling, a genuine prophet of God, and Dr. Jos. C. Stiles of the Presbyterian Church, a profound logician and a most earnest disciple of his Master. A series of sermons by the former from that wonderful 55th Chapter of Isaiah, and particularly from the verse "Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous men his thought," etc., and by the latter on the "Doctrine of the Atonement," so impressed me that they have remained with me to this day. I remember on one occasion that Dr. Stiles in speaking of the patriotism and piety of a confederate officer in our Western army, suddenly held himself erect, with head thrown back and hands held aloft, exclaimed "Patriotism and Piety, the one brings the whole power of man and the other the

whole power of God, to the accomplishment of worthy ends." The scene was about as dramatic and the expression as epigrammatic, as I have ever witnessed or heard.

We remained at this place throughout the winter 1864-65, with little either to eat or wear, but upheld by the consciousness that we were doing our duty as best we could.

On the morning of April 2d, 1865, we were quite heavily attacked, but succeeded in repulsing the enemy, capturing several hundred of them; these prisoners were brought within our lines, passing through our battery, as they passed by my gun I stopped one of them who was well dressed wearing a good felt hat, asked him to exchange it for my ragged worn out cap, which he did, I then asked him if he had any money, he responded by handing me about 75 cents in silver, which I took and he passed on with his comrades to what we called the bull pen, the place where we kept prisoners of war under guard. His face remained imprinted upon my mind, as it is to this day, and I began to think about the transaction, and began to find excuses for it in my own sad plight. I was ragged, almost shoeless, dirty, hungry, penniless and exposed to the storms, my necessities were almost overwhelming but the more I attempted to justify my conduct the more ashamed I became, my excuses turned into bitter accusations, so that early in the afternoon I could stand it no longer. I felt not only ashamed and humiliated, but also that we could expect no help from God for our cause, if we the soldiers of the South did such wicked things. I posted off to the Bull pen, found my friend of the morning, told him how much ashamed of myself I was, most humbly begged his pardon, made all the reparation I could, gave him back his hat and money, which he begged me to keep saying that as a prisoner, he could easily do without either the hat or money, while he knew from my appearance that I needed them more than he, and he not only was willing but wanted me to keep the hat and money, the hat especially. But I could not bring myself to do so. I left this man, the only man I ever so wronged, with a warm spot in my heart for him which still remains with me. This I can assure you my dear madam and through you the ladies of your chapter, was the only case of highway robbery in which I ever participated. After the repulse of the enemy at this point, we lay quietly in our breast

works the rest of the day, listening to the roar of musketry and artillery at Petersburg, a few miles to our right, and to the deafening explosions of fifteen inch shells from the Federal gun boats on the James River about a mile to our left. During the early hours of that night, I lay upon the ground watching with intense interest, the flight through the air of the gun boat shells with fuses aflame and their brilliant explosions high in the air lightening up the surrounding space, but doing no special damage, further than making us who were in their line of fire slightly uneasy, as the pieces of exploded shells flew around carelessly like. It was the most wonderful and interesting pyrotechnic display I have ever witnessed. About 9 or 10 o'clock on that Sunday night we withdrew from the lines so long held by us, and the retreat to Appomattox began. We marched all night and reached Amelia Court House about noon the next day April 3d, 1865. Here we expected to find rations of which we were sadly in need, but I learned that through the stupid blunder of some officers of the Commissary or Quarter Masters' Department a train load of provisions which our Grand Commander, Robert E. Lee, had ordered to be sent to Amelia Court House for his army had been sent on through that place to Richmond where it fell into the hands of the Union troops, who did not need them, very much to the discomfort of us who did need them; so we continued our fast which had commenced the previous morning. At Amelia Court House, our battery was divided, two guns in charge of Lieut. Brown continuing the retreat and going by a southern route through Farmville and by way of Sailors Creek, and the other two guns in charge of Captain Parker going by a parallel route, but some miles north of the first mentioned route. Nothing of interest occurred with our part of the army during the next four or five days of the retreat; conditions were very unpleasant owing to the rain, mud and lack of provisions. On the night of the 8th we approached Appomattox Court House and rejoined the other part of our command, with the exception of that part of our battery from which we separated at Amelia Court House, it with all its men and officers having been captured at Sailors Creek; on this night rations were issued to us consisting of a little flour to each man. I recollect mixing mine up into a dough and cooking it on a spade. It probably when cooked in such fashion was not the kind of bread which a connoisseur would consider good bread in these

days, but I am sure that I found it very palatable and felt very grateful for it.

The next morning, that fateful Sunday morning of April 9th, 1865, we were formed with the rest of our corps in line of battle. The outlook was not encouraging for it was plainly evident that the enemy were all around us, to paraphrase Tennyson's lines:

There were Yankees in front of us.
Yankees to the right of us,
Yankees to the left of us,
Yankees all around us,
As far as the eye could reach in every direction,
There they were,
Standards on standards,
Men on men,
In slow succession still.

But so far as I could perceive, every man of us was ready for the fray, and the thought of surrender was in no man's mind. About nine or ten o'clock one of our men, named John Glenn, who had the happy faculty of finding out everything that happened, and who had been rustling around for something to eat came to the battery, and told us that General Lee has surrendered the army. I recollect going up to him and telling him in language more forcible than polite that his statement was not true, adding very grandiloquently like a true son of the South, that there were not enough Yankees on earth to make the army of Northern Virginia surrender Sir: and that he would not be allowed to come on that line and say such things, he ought to be ashamed of himself. But it soon transpired that John's report was true, and we were dumbfounded for what we deemed impossible had happened. In a little while General Lee mounted on Traveller, rode down the lines and such greetings of love and affection and confidence from the soldiers of a surrendered army to its commander, the world never saw, they crowded around him with tears streaming from their eyes simply trying to touch the hem of his garments and with expressions of "God bless you General Lee, lead us, lead us, lead us against the enemy and we will cut our way through," they cried, but he simply waved his hand and shook his head, for he knew that further blood shed would be wicked because it would be useless, and Robert E. Lee was made of that stuff that made him believe in his very soul, that duty was the sublimest word in our

language, and he always dared to do it. Then, Robert E. Lee the pages of all history record the name of no man who stood more erect before his God, and before his fellowmen.

Then followed the saddest day I ever have experienced, it seemed to me that everything making life worth living or even endurable was blotted out of existence. Henceforth I would no longer be a free man, for freedom with a shriek of despair had bade the world farewell, and liberty was gone. During the afternoon the chaplains of the various commands held religious services, which were well attended; at one of them I saw strong war worn, smoke begrimed, powder burnt men who had faced death without a tremor upon a hundred battle fields, lying upon the ground with tears streaming from their eyes and crying like little children and praying God for help in this their hour of great distress. Later in the afternoon I took my bible and left our camp seeking a quiet secluded place where I could be alone with myself and my Heavenly Father. I found it in the bed of a small stream, beneath the frame work of an old dismantled saw mill, there I read my bible and prayed for help and that God would deliver me from the body of this living death, for young as I was I was in the depths of despair and I hoped that some of the heavy timbers hanging down and above me, would fall upon me and end my suffering. I returned to the camp about sun down and soon after the Union soldiers came among us and talked to us. I now want to record the fact that I never once saw the slightest sign of exultation upon the face of one of them, I never once heard an expression of exultation from one of them, there was not even an intimation of boasting, they were soldiers and they were full of soldierly sympathy for us, and they unhesitatingly expressed it, constantly assuring us that while they rejoiced in their success, the war was over, the country was reunited and henceforth we and they would be fellow citizens, of a common country, and that they, the soldiers of the Union would see to it that our rights as their fellow countrymen were fully preserved, and this they did after a long struggle, for with few exceptions it was not the soldiers we met upon the battlefield who were engaged in the horrible doings of the reconstruction days, the perpetrators of those deeds were those patriots who never bared their breasts to the storm of war, men who were valiant in peace but were laggards in war.

About dark, rations were issued to us, kindly furnished by General Grant, at the request of General Lee, and before we went to sleep we learned of the unanimous and generous terms agreed upon between General Grant and General Lee as to the conditions of the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia, an army whose heroic deeds and steadfast devotion to duty are written in imperishable words upon the everlasting pages of the World's History. Those terms simply were that we should go to our homes and there remain undisturbed so long as we observed the laws of the land. I must confess that before I went to sleep that night, because of the soldierly sympathy of the Union soldiers visiting our camps, coupled with the generous terms of our surrender, and the rations (don't forget the rations) so kindly furnished us, I began to regard my future with very different eyes from those through which I viewed it in the afternoon when I kneeled full of despair beneath the hanging timbers of the old saw mill. And now more than forty seven years after that sad day I thank God that I and my children and my people are citizens of this great Union, the proudest and freest and best government that exists or ever existed on God's footstool; and I earnestly pray that we soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies who still survive and our children and their children after us will follow old Glory the flag of a reunited country, and love, cherish and protect and hand down in all their purity, the things it stands for as faithfully, as devotedly, as conscientiously, and with as high a sense of duty as the men of the South and the North followed their flag during the troublesome days of 1861 to 1865.

422 South Penn.
Denver, Colo.
Oct. 5, 1924.

Mr. W. E. Chaplin,
Cheyenne, Wyoming.

My Dear Sir:—

Today while looking over the Wyoming Historical Collections I noticed your statement about Bill Nye. I wish you to correct the statement made. I arrived in Laramie City, Dakota, in January, 1868. CAPT. O'Neil

sold the town lots. In February, 1868, I bought the corner lot where Trabing Bros. later built their store, opposite J. W. Connor's log building, and started a store, in clothing, hats, caps, etc. Then, later in fall of 1871, I erected a two-story frame building next to Brennan & Smith's saloon and in 1872 put in the first stock of dry goods in the building you called the Kidd Building. The upstairs I rented to Albany County for Court and also for a meeting place for the County Commissioners. Gov. Campbell appointed L. T. Wilcox, T. D. Abbott and Henry Wagner, County Commissioners when the Territory of Wyoming was organized. Every second Sunday the upstairs was used by the Rev. Father Kelley of the Catholic Church for services.

I corresponded with E. A. Slack, then editing a paper in Sweetwater County, and made him a proposition to come to Laramie and start a daily paper, guaranteeing him one thousand dollars in advertising. I also got other merchants to pledge support. He moved here and I gave him the use of the old building that I vacated for his paper free of rent. Later the Cheyenne people made him a better offer, so he moved to Cheyenne. After that I had erected the first two-story brick building on the lot I purchased of Tom Dillion, next to A. T. Williams and moved in it, and sold the two-story building to Mr. Kidd afterwards known as the Kidd Building. If you look at the Albany County records you will find I am correct.

Bill Nye was working for the Weekly Sentinel, started by Mr. N. A. Baker of Denver. I see him often; he is still alive. He put Dr. J. H. Hayford in charge. I was President of the Board of Trade and one day asked him—this was early in the morning—to write up Laramie City and its resources and have it published in southern papers and I would give him \$10.00 for every paper he produced with his letter. He took up my offer. In a very short time he brought me ten papers. I called a meeting of the Board of Trade and gave him a check for \$100. The next time he brought me 15 papers and got a check for \$150. Then I called a halt. One day he came in my store and asked me for an ad. I said "None to-day." I was very angry, so he passed through. I was piling up pants. He went to the dry goods department and when he came back he said, "I have a local". I said, "What is it?" He would not tell, but when the Sentinel came out the local was "Wagner's Pants are Down." One morning early he came into my office. We had a chat; I said,

"Bill Nye, how would you like to start a daily paper?" He remarked "That would suit me." This was about 9 o'clock. I said, "Come in at two O'clock and I will let you know." By that time I had called on A. S. Peabody, Robt. Marsh, Trabling Bros., Will Holliday, and others and had raised \$3,000. I asked him what he was going to call the paper. He said, "I will call it after my pet mule, Boomerang." When the press came I gave the upstairs over the clothing store adjoining the Wyoming National Bank. It proved a grand success. Bill Nye's health failed him and he left for Greeley, Colorado.

He got the most of his book in my store as every day after closing up we had Bill Nye, Bill Root, Buck Bramel, my brother, Charles Wagner, and Charles Bramel telling jokes sitting around a big base burner stove with a large sawdust box around. Bill Nye would take down in his book. Before he got married he would get drunk Saturdays and several times I took him in the store to sober up. He married a Miss Smith of Cheyenne, a telegraph operator. After that he braced up. When he became prosperous he had a beautiful home on Staten Island. My wife and children spent the summer at his home, after his death, on his farm at Ashville, North Carolina. The bank that he had his funds in failed and his widow lost all. She died shortly after his death. His son, the last I heard of him, was employed on the Kansas City Star. I do not know what became of his two daughters. My wife and I often played whist at his home in Laramie and he and his wife at my house.

I arrived in Cheyenne, Dakota, July 3, 1867, the day they sold lots, and opened a store there. Mr. A. R. Converse was in business in Omaha next to my place of business.

He came into my office and said, "Wagner, let us pack up and go to Cheyenne" which we did. I sent my wife and children to DeSota, Missouri. Converse was engaged in the china and glassware business and prospered there. He started the First National Bank. He went East and hired F. E. Warren at Brockton, Mass., at \$125.00 per month to come to Cheyenne and give him charge of the mercantile business. After Mr. Converse's death his widow married his cashier in the Bank, Mr. Hicks. I could write a great deal more of the early days. I was one of the leaders of the G.O.P. was chairman of Albany County Convention. Was Chairman of Territory of Wy-

oming Convention at Point of Rocks, when W. W. Corlett, Judge W. T. Jones, and Col. J. W. Donnellan were aspiring for the nomination for Delegate to Congress; Church Howe was U. S. Marshal. Col. Donnellan came to me and whispered, "Harry, take a recess for 15 minutes," which I did. When out, Church Howe took me by the arm and said, "Mr. Wagner, here is \$500.00 vote for me." I said, "Church Howe, I would not sell my vote for five thousand dollars." He said "For God's sake, don't give me away." In these prosperous days I had political influence as I had three thousand in my employ. I had a U. S. Government contract to carry 10,000,000 lbs. of freight from Rock Creek to Ft. Fetterman, and McKinney; also contract from Rawlins, Wyoming to Fort Washakie. General Crook and I rode over the road from Rawlins with an odometer to measure the distance, 125 miles. Had a contract from Rawlins to Meeker, Colorado. I could not haul the Indian supplies to Meeker on account of the heavy snow, so wired General Crook at Omaha. He wired back to turn the Indians in and feed them that winter. I also had a contract at Fort Laramie to put in 3,000 cords of wood and 1,800 bushels of charcoal and the contract for building the Sisters' Hospital and the public school. Had Peter Gumry attending to that part. I also had 14 stores on the line of the U. P. at Cheyenne, Laramie, Fort Steele, etc. We were ordered away so moved to Benton, now called Rawlins, Rock Springs, Carbon, Green River, Wasatch, Evanston, Bryan, and Corrinne, Utah. Pardon for writing at this length, but consider me a pioneer of Dakota and Wyoming, I also had a bank, Wagner & Dunbar, in Laramie. He was drowned in Hutton Lake. On my return from the East, J. R. Brophy, conductor over the hill from Cheyenne to Laramie, told me that Clarence Dunbar was drowned. As I had too many irons in the fire, I gave up the banking business.

Again pardon me for this long epistle.

Yours truly,

(Sgd.) Henry Wagner.



Rawlins first school building. It is interesting to contrast the present large school buildings in the city with this school building of the pioneer days. Old timers in the city say that this building was situated on the edge of town and that the children were afraid many times to attend classes on account of the Indians in the vicinity. Mrs. Lillie Heath Nelson, Lillie Jungquist, Homer A. France, Forest D. Burnfield and Harry B. Jennings, who graduated from this school in 1888, are all living.

Laramie City

Review of Laramie City for 1868-1869*

Ever as the years roll around, and ever as the first of May comes and adds another to the volumes of the SENTINEL—the pioneer paper of Laramie—our minds naturally revert to the past and we desire to review it as we plant another milestone in the onward march of our city.

With this issue we commence Volume XV of the SENTINEL. In this rapidly moving country and age, and especially in the continuous mutations of a frontier city, this seems almost an age. The present editors and proprietors of this paper have been its sponsors from the day of its birth—fourteen years ago. The little boys and girls who were running around our city ragged and bare-foot, but many of whose names we find from month to month upon the “roll of honor” in our report of the public schools, have now come to be our business men, our law makers and officials, our staid matrons with flocks of children, the very pillars of the church and state.

And so it seems as though we had been in Laramie through a whole generation. A boy—a son of the editor—now sets type in the office and distributes the SENTINEL to our subscribers, whose mother came to this country a joyous, light-hearted girl, years after we had been publishing this paper. And during all these years the same names have stood at the head of our columns. No other newspaper in this territory, not one west of the Missouri river, so far as we know, can boast such a record. It has long been the custom of our contemporaries—half in earnest, half in jest—to apply to us the honorable sobriquet of *Father of Laramie*. This cognomen is nothing to be ashamed of, surely. It is a healthy, promising child, of which any father might feel proud.

This year as the first of May drew near we conceived the idea of making a brief review of the past history of Laramie. We thought we would, in a column article, refer to its past growth and prosperity and cast the horoscope

*Laramie Weekly Sentinel, May 5, 1883. Vol. XV No. 1.

of its future. As we began to look over our back files with this object in view, we found so much of interest that the undertaking grew upon our hands. We concluded we would devote several columns to it; then we assigned a full page to this object, and finally the matter became so ponderous that we found a full page would scarce suffice to review the record of a single year, and at last we decided to run this review serially, and try to summarize the history of each year of the past for each issue of the paper until we caught up with the present time.

We find even this a Herculean task. A great deal occurs in a year. The historical events which we review in this first issue are, from the broken condition of our files somewhat imperfect and incomplete. For the balance of the years our files are perfect, and the review will be more in detail. From it everyone in Laramie can *correct his family record*. In this number we confine ourself mainly to prominent General Events, and with this introduction we enter upon our task:

HISTORICAL

The survey of the Town of Laramie City was made in the fall of 1867. Its location upon the banks of the Big Laramie river, with the large spring brook running through it, and in the midst of the fertile Laramie plains—the richest and most productive portion of the territory—surrounded by mountains on all sides rich in mineral and timber, furnished an aggregation of natural advantages unequalled anywhere upon the line of the great trans-continental railroad.

The following spring, on the 20th day of April, 1868, the Union Pacific Railroad company commenced the sale of town lots. Several hundred people had already located here beneath their tents and wagon covers, and were only waiting to obtain title to lots to commence erecting their future homes. Within the first week over 400 lots were sold, and in less than two weeks 200 or 300 buildings had been commenced, the material for many of which was nothing more than rough logs, or condemned ties, from which the walls were constructed, and which were covered with canvas or cotton cloth.

On the 9th of May, 1868, the rails were laid to and through the town, and on the 10th of May the first train of cars came into Laramie, loaded with freight, consisting mainly of railroad ties, plows, scrapers, tents, shanties and lumber, which had been brought from Julesburg and Cheyenne, together with groceries, provisions, peddlers with their packs, stores, crockery, etc., wines and liquors of all kind and varieties, on top of which, riding on open flat cars was piled a motley crowd of men, women and children. Within three months from the time the rails reached Laramie, it was estimated that the population of the place aggregated five thousand souls. Half of these people were employees, directly or indirectly, of the railroad company; the other half were largely composed of adventurers, fully fifty per cent of which were made up of desperate men and disreputable women, gamblers, thieves, robbers and cut throats, who lived by preying upon the community and who depended for their success upon robbing the employees of the company.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Alarmed at the character of this mass of depraved humanity, the better element took steps to organize some system of government which would secure them protection against the desperate characters who flocked in here in such immense hordes.

On the 8th of May there was posted up a call for a mass meeting of the citizens for the purpose of organizing a provisional local government. This meeting was held at Tivoli Hall, and M. C. Brown was named for mayor; John Guerrelle, for marshal; E. Nagle, J. C. Crissman, G. P. Drake and M. Townsley, for Trustees, and P. H. Tooley, for clerk. An election was held on the 12th day of May—at which over 900 votes were polled — and the above-named gentlemen were declared elected. It must be borne in mind that, at this time, Wyoming Territory was not even organized, nor was there any county or municipal organization by authority of which any local government could be established. These gentlemen, however, made a vigorous effort to put in motion the machinery of this provisional government, but backed by no legislative authority they found it impossible to stem the current, and three weeks after Judge Brown, the mayor, resigned his position and declined to head any further effort in that direction. For some weeks anarchy ran riot, murder and robbery were common, and neither life nor property were safe.

THE VIGILANTES

This condition of things gave rise to a general feeling of insecurity and steps were soon taken to organize a vigilance committee. The first organization of this kind was effected in August, but not more than twenty-five or thirty men were engaged in it. It was not numerous nor strong enough, nor composed of a sufficient number of resolute men to meet the emergency. The only fruits of this organization was the hanging, on the 27th of August, of a young man known as the "Kid", who was hung in a partially completed building belonging to John Keane. The death of this insignificant individual merely sufficed to arouse the ire of the worst element among the roughs, and they at once organized a counter association, with the avowed purpose of avenging his death. This organization was turbulent and defiant, and was headed by some of the worst desperadoes in the country, among whom were Con Wagon, Asa Moore, Big Ned, Sam Dugan, Tiger Bill, Morris Kohn and Dave Mullen. For a time it ruled the town and by its acts of outlawry struck terror into the hearts of all respectable citizens. Robberies were committed in the open streets and in broad daylight, and nobody dared to interfere. But this condition of things could not long exist. The law-abiding element of the community, in which were included the railroad employees, formed a defensive alliance and organized a vigilance committee—numbering from 400 to 500 men. The organization was very thorough and perfect in its details, headed and controlled by resolute and cool-headed men. An attack was planned upon several of the dens of infamy, which was to take place on the night of October 18, 1868. This committee of safety met on that night at the round house, arranged all the details, divided up into several squads, and silently proceeded to the localities where these desperadoes had their haunts. It was supposed that the arrangements and plans were perfect, and at a given signal the attack upon all these places was to have been made simultaneously, but for some reason the company detailed to capture a notorious dance house known as the "Belle of the West," after surrounding the place, gave the signal by the firing of a pistol, before the other companies were ready for the attack, and the scheme in a measure miscarried. But the company sent to the Belle of the West found that place filled with gamblers, pimps and prostitutes and made their attack as agreed upon and a regular pitched battle ensued, the inmates being all

well armed, and hundreds of shots were fired on both sides. The desperadoes fought like wild beasts, and above the din of arms was heard the curses of men and the shrieks of women. This battle lasted for about fifteen minutes, when the place was carried by storm. Con Wagon, Asa Moore, and Big Ned were taken from the place and hurriedly conducted to the same building where the "Kid" was hung and summarily executed by being hung to the projecting beams of the building. In the fight three men were killed, one of them a member of the vigilance committee, one a musician of the hall and the third one of the desperadoes. Fifteen men were wounded, some quite severely. The next morning another one of the leaders of the gang known as "Big Steve" was captured and hung to the telegraph pole opposite the railroad house. This summary proceeding struck terror into the hearts of the desperadoes and many of them fled from the town. There was still however, a strong element of this class left, and for some time it was a question as to whether they or the law-abiding citizens were to control the destinies of Laramie. An effort was then again made to organize a provisional government and L. B. Chase was elected mayor, with a full corps of other city officers.

ANOTHER FAILURE

Thomas D. Sears was acting as deputy sheriff for Laramie county and in that capacity arrested a young man by the name of Moritz, and committed him to the city calaboose, which consisted of a little pen made of telegraph poles and ties driven into the ground and covered with cross ties and dirt. This young man was charged with being guilty of theft up in the Bitter Creek country—whether truly or not, is not known. The vigilance committee went and took him from this pen and hung him. The committee had by this time degenerated both in numbers and character, many of the desperadoes having joined it, partially to divert suspicion from themselves and partly to use it as a means to revenge themselves upon their personal enemies, and the hanging of this man Moritz can scarcely be justified even by the emergencies of the time. One Lee Griswold was at that time acting in the capacity of city marshal, and he was the one who led the attack which took Moritz from jail and hung him, and it is some satisfaction to know that he was afterwards shot and killed by an officer in Denver while attempting to escape from jail in that city, where he was confined on a charge of murder.

In December, 1868, the legislature of Dakota organized the county of Albany, and framed and passed a bill incorporating a city government for Laramie, and filling the various offices, temporarily appointing M. C. Page as mayor, N. K. Boswell, sheriff, L. T. Wilson and T. D. Abbott, county commissioners, and Dr. J. H. Finrock probate judge and treasurer. This is the first effort at anything approximating a legal government, and it was scarcely more successful or effective than its predecessors. Some idea of its character may be formed from the fact that the city police one time organized and conducted an attack upon their own jail in March, 1869, for the purpose of taking out of the jail and hanging one George Hays, who had been imprisoned that day for drunkenness. It is said that this act was undertaken for the purpose of gratifying the personal spite of two members of the police—Douglas and Rodapouche. A man by the name of Irwin and M. H. Murphy were in the jail as guards, and during the attack Irwin was killed and Murphy severely wounded. Hays made his escape in the melee. Hays was a tie cutter and only temporarily visiting the town, and threats were made by his friends, the tie cutters, and serious fears entertained that they would be carried into effect, to come in and burn the whole town in revenge for the indignity offered to their comrade. This affair, headed and conducted by the ostensible guardians of the peace, under the city government, brought it into such disrepute that its usefulness was thereby practically ended.

GOVERNMENT AT LAST

About this time an organization of the territory of Wyoming was perfected by the appointment of Federal officers, and the governor and other officials reached the territory in May, 1869, and immediately proceeded to put in motion the machinery of government for the new territory. They appointed county officers and instituted courts, and the first regular term of a court was held in Albany county, in June, 1869, Judge William T. Jones, associate justice of the supreme court, presiding, with N. K. Boswell as sheriff of the county. This term of court was effectual in establishing law and order and gave to long harassed people a feeling of safety and security.

THE FIRST PAPER

The Laramie SENTINEL was started in this city by N. A. Baker, of Cheyenne, proprietor, with J. H. Hayford

as editor and business manager. The first number was issued on the first day of May, 1869. It was a small, five column folio paper, printed one page at a time on a half-medium Gordon press. Prior to that time, in the winter of 1867-68, the Frontier Index, a nomadic little sheet which was following the construction gang across the continent, was printed at Fort Sanders as a weekly. In May, 1868, it was moved into Laramie where it was printed for a while and shortly afterward moved on with the road to Benton, and soon after from there to Bear river, where it was destroyed by a mob, and its editor, Fred K. Freeman, narrowly escaped being lynched. This sheet was never located here permanently, but had been following the construction train from Omaha west. Thus the LARAMIE SENTINEL may justly claim to be the pioneer paper of Laramie city. Our files of the SENTINEL for first year of its existence have been badly scattered or destroyed, and very few of them can be obtained. At the end of the first year of the existence of the paper, May 1st, 1870, it was purchased by Hayford & Gates, the present proprietors, and since that time complete files have been preserved and bound. We are enabled, however, to gather from the remains of the files of the first year many historical events of public interest, but we cannot give as detailed a statement of all the *PERSONAL* events of Laramie, such as births, marriages, deaths, etc., as we would wish, and hence our chronology of that date must be confined mainly to the leading events in the history of our city, while the subsequent narrative will be complete in all those little matters of personal interest to the old pioneers.

CHRONOLOGICAL

The first white child born in Laramie was Patrick S. Keane, son of John and Mary Keane, born June 21, 1868.

The first substantial building erected in Laramie, was the small stone block of Dawson Brothers, on South A street, now owned and occupied by Charles Kuster, and cost at that time about \$5,000. It was built in the spring of 1869. The next erected, during the summer of 1869, was the present Wyoming National bank building, by Colonel J. W. Donnellan, of the firm of H. K. Rogers & Co., and cost about \$10,000. The third substantial building was the fine stone block on Second street, erected by M. G. Tonn, for a drygoods and clothing house, and costing about \$16,000. The erection of these buildings was regarded

as of great interest to the city, and were the first events which inspired the people with confidence in the substantial permanency and future growth of our city.

In August, 1869, Captain W. J. McIntyre, clerk for Superintendent Fillmore, was voluntarily tendered and accepted a first-class appointment in the treasury department by Secretary Boutwell. We chronicle this event because it was the first, and, so far as we know, the last appointment ever rendered to a citizen of Wyoming in any department of the government at Washington.

The first public school ever opened in Laramie was organized and put in operation, February 15, 1869, by Miss Eliza Stewart, now Mrs. E. S. Boyd.

The first religious services were instituted by Mrs. E. Iverson, Mrs. C. A. Wright and Miss Jennie Wright, who started a Sabbath school, July 15, 1868.

CHURCHES

The Episcopal Church was organized by Rev. Joseph C. Cook, of Cheyenne, October 2, 1868. This was the first church organization in our city. Rev. J. W. Cornell was its first rector, and commenced his ministrations on the 21st of February, 1869. The church building had been completed, costing \$4,000, and was dedicated on that day by Rt. Rev. Bishop Randall, of Colorado, as St. Matthew's Episcopal church.

The Methodist church of this city was organized by Rev. G. F. Hilton, in the spring of 1869, the exact date of which we have not the means of ascertaining.

The Roman Catholic church was organized here in the spring of 1869, by Rev. Father Kelly, a missionary priest from Omaha. Colonel J. W. Donnellan, Henry Wagner and J. W. Connor were the first trustees. They commenced the erection of their fine stone edifice in May, 1869, but it was not completed until the fall of 1871. Rev. Father Cusson was the first pastor of this church. It cost about \$7,000.

The Baptist church was organized on the 8th day of January, 1869, by Rev. George W. Freeman, superintendent of Baptist home missions. Their present church building was erected the following summer at a cost of about \$5,500. Rev. D. J. Pierce was the first pastor.

Laramie Lodge, No. 18, A. F. & A. M. was organized under a dispensation issued by the Grand Lodge of Colorado, February 14, 1870, with J. H. Hayford as its first master, and J. E. Gates, as Secretary.

The first lodge of I. O. O. F. was instituted in June, 1869.

POLITICAL

Immediately upon his arrival here, our first governor, John A. Campbell, proceeded to district the territory into legislative districts, and issued a proclamation for the election of a legislature. This legislature convened in Cheyenne in November, 1869, and remained in session for sixty days, and provided the territory with a general code of laws for its government. This legislature was composed exclusively of democrats in both branches, so that there was no opportunity for any political squabbles or contentions during its lengthy session. As might have been expected, while it was composed of men of good, sound sense, they were nevertheless generally inexperienced in law-making, and many of its acts were necessarily crude and ambiguous.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

Among the most important of the acts passed at that session, was the one conferring political rights upon the women of Wyoming territory. This act was exceedingly simple and brief, occupying but half a dozen of lines in our statute book, and simply provided that women who were citizens of the United States, and of the Territory of Wyoming, or had declared their intention to become such, were hereby invested with all the political rights, duties, franchises, and responsibilities of male citizens. This act was approved December 10, 1869. There was not, so far as we know, at that time in all Wyoming Territory a single aggressive advocate of women's rights, either man or woman. The motives which prompted the legislature to lay aside its conservatism and take this new departure were, so far as can be judged, an ambition to immortalize themselves and out Herod-Herod with the spectacle of a democratic legislature manifesting more progressiveness and liberality than any republican body could boast; and secondly they were influenced by the idea that this act would materially serve to advertise our young territory, and bring it into notoriety abroad. Sub-

sequent events demonstrated their wisdom and foresight, at least so far as the second motive was concerned.

WOMAN JURIES

The first opportunity that occurred, for practically testing the experiment of women suffrage was at the session of the court following its enactment and probably no court in the history of Laramie awakened so much local interest and excitement or created such a sensation throughout all the country as this. Inasmuch as Wyoming had consented to be the first among all the states and territories to try the much talked of experiment of woman suffrage, the SENTINEL took pronounced ground in favor of giving the experiment a fair and thorough test. Many had regarded the passage of the act as a mere joke, as something which would remain as a dead letter on our statutes but the county commissioners were finally induced, in selecting the names of jurors, to select from both sexes, and the first knowledge the community had of the fact was when the SENTINEL came out with the names of the jurors drawn for the coming court, in which list appeared the names of some twenty of the most prominent ladies of Laramie City.

It would be impossible to describe at this remote period the excitement which this event created, and the fact was telegraphed, not only throughout the country, but over the whole civilized world. The following are the names of the lady jurors selected for that term of court:

GRAND JURY

Sarah W. Pease
Agnes Baker
Mary Mackle

Eliza Stewart
Mrs. G. F. Hilton

PETIT JURORS

Nettie Hazen, Retta J. Burnham, Jennie Lancaster, Mary Wilcox, Lizzie A. Spooner, Mrs. J. H. Hayford, Mrs. Rowena Hutton.

In addition to this regular panel several were summoned during the term as talesmen. Some three or four weeks were to intervene after the selection of the jury before the term commenced and the SENTINEL and its editor used all their influence to induce the ladies named to serve, and to educate public sentiment up to the point

of regarding the innovation with favor, and endeavoring to give the experiment a fair trial. In this we were materially aided by a letter from Chief Justice Howe, who was to preside at the term of court, and who, in this letter pledged to the ladies, all the support, aid and encouragement which the court could give them in the discharge of these new and novel duties of citizenship. A reluctant consent was at last obtained from the ladies to discharge their duties as jurors. In view of this interesting event, Sheriff Boswell had made special exertions to fit up the rough, primitive court house and jury room with neatness and taste, in honor of our lady jurors.

On the morning when this court convened, the jurors selected and summoned were all present and without anyone demurring or objecting they were duly sworn and charged as a grand jury, and empanelled as a petit jury. In order that the legality of the question might be tested and settled Colonel Downey moved to quash the panel upon the ground that the jurors sworn were not all male citizens, which motion was argued by Colonel Downey for, and W. R. Steel and T. J. Street attorneys, in opposition. The court overruled the motion, Associate Justice J. W. Kingman, sitting on the bench concurring. This settled the validity of the law, so far as it could be done by the courts of Wyoming territory. It will readily be believed that this term of court was largely attended by the citizens of Laramie, who watched the novel scenes with intense interest.

THE RESULT

If we had the space to review more minutely the history of this term of court at Laramie, the details would be of great interest, particularly to the old citizens of that time, but we have only room to briefly summarize it. The court was a lengthy term, and very many important cases, both civil and criminal were tried, in all of which we believe women served as jurors. At the close of the term the universal verdict was that even-handed and exact justice had been done in every instance; law and order established; crime punished; persons and property protected, and rights enforced effectually, honestly and impartially.

Some idea of the interest which this event awakened abroad may be gathered from the fact that when this jury was empanelled, and sworn and charged by Judge

Howe, all the material facts together with the judge's charge, were telegraphed throughout the country by the associated press, and also by cable to all the civilized countries abroad, and within twenty-four hours afterwards King William of Prussia, sent a congratulatory dispatch to President Grant, upon this evidence of progress, enlightenment and civil liberty in America.

OUR BUSINESS MEN

We recall to mind the following names of several of the business men of that early period. It does not embrace all of the pioneer business men of Laramie. We select some of them mentioned because they have died or left the country and many of them are forgotten, and we select others because they staid with us, continued in business and most of them acquired a competence or independence.

Lawyers—Hurlburt & Brown, M. C. Page and L. P. Casey.

Physicians—J. H. Finfrock, H. Latham and G. F. Hilton.

Dentist—J. J. Clark.

Dry Goods—McMurray Brothers.

Clothing—Silversten Brothers and Frank & Appel.

Ladies' Goods—Mrs. A. Hatcher.

Groceries—Brown & Pattan, E. Ivinson, and Laycock & Co.

General Merchandise—Freeman & Wright, M. G. Tonn, C. A. Wright and L. T. Wilcox.

Restaurant—S. A. Rice and J. B. Wands.

Hardware—Schuler & Spindler, and C. R. Leroy.

Tobaccos and Cigars—Altman & Co.

Liquors—Dawson Brothers and Tom Dillon.

Guns and Ammunition—Freund Brothers.

Builder—James Vine.

Bakery and Confectionery—A. T. Williams.

Lumber—N. T. Weber and W. H. Holliday.

Wyoming Scrapbook

RED CLOUD'S PRAYER

Written by Judge Gibson Clark,

For the *Wyoming Churchman*, January, 1912.

On the 5th day of October 1870, at Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory, a Council or Conference was held between the United States Indian Peace Commission, represented by Mr. Felix R. Brunot of Pittsburg, Pa., and Mr. Robert Campbell of St. Louis, Mo., and a large delegation of Sioux Indians headed by Red Cloud (Makh-pi-ah-lu-tah) and as I now remember, by Spotted Tail (Scintey Tegeliska), for the purpose of making arrangements for the concentration of the Indians on a temporary reservation situated on the North Platte River, at or near the east boundary of Wyoming. At this council, which was held in a large hall, a half breed French-Canadian and Sioux, named Baptiste Pourier, was one of the interpreters. The writer, at the time, was the book-keeper for Seth E. Ward, then, and for many years before, the Post Sutler at Fort Laramie. The Council convened in the morning of the day stated, with Messrs. Brunot and Campbell and their Secretary and other assistants and advisers sitting behind a long table at one end of the room, while the Indian Head Men were ranged around the other three sides of the room, Red Cloud being at the end of the room opposite Messrs. Brunot and Campbell, others of the more influential Head Men being arranged on either side of him.

About an hour or an hour and a half after the opening of the Council, Baptiste Pourier, the interpreter, came into the office of the store where I was engaged in conversation with Lieutenant Edward L. Bailey of the 4th U. S. Infantry, and told us this story:

That upon the assembling of the Council, Mr. Brunot, who was a very devout churchman, arose and in a brief prayer invoked the blessing and guidance of Providence, and finishing stated to the assembly, and particularly to the Secretary of the Commission, that the council was opened and ready to proceed with its business.

Thereupon Red Cloud arose and standing erect and holding his arm and hand aloft, fully extended, exclaimed, "No! No!! the White Man has prayed to the Great Spirit, now the Red Man will pray to Him for His help"—and then earnestly, solemnly, reverently, trustfully and hopefully offered up the following prayer:

"O! Great Spirit! I pray You to look at us. We are Your children and You placed us first in this land. We pray You to look down upon us so that nothing but the truth will be spoken in this Council. We don't ask for anything but what is right and just. When You made Your red children, O, Great Spirit! You make them to have mercy upon them; now we are before You today praying You to look down on us and take pity upon Your poor red children. I pray You to have nothing but the truth spoken here. You are the protector of the people born with bows and arrows as well as the people born with hats and garments, and I hope we don't pray You in vain. We are poor and ignorant. Our forefathers told us we would not be in misery, if we would ask for Your assistance, O, Great Spirit! look down on Your red children and take pity upon them."

After hearing Pourier's recital of the story, it occurred to Bailey and me that the prayer was worth preserving, and we got Pourier to carefully repeat it to us while we took it down in writing, and as above given it is taken verbatim from the written statement taken down at the time, by Lieut. Bailey, in my presence, which is now and ever since October 5th, 1870, has been in my possession.

Of course the prayer uttered by Red Cloud was in his own language and of course no stenographic notes were made at the time, but I have no doubt that the above is an accurate and correct translation of it as uttered. My experience of six or seven years with such unlettered men as Pourier, induces me to believe that the memories of unlettered men as in those days, when they trained themselves to rely, in their most important affairs, upon their recollection, were very accurate and correct.

Red Cloud was a very handsome man, about forty-five years of age, at this time, nearly six feet tall, splendidly proportioned, with a massive, high, broad, protuberant forehead; clear, bright, large eyes, finely chiseled nose and mouth, and a chin showing great decision of char-

acter; mentally of great acuteness and ability, a splendid orator and faithful and devoted to his people and to their interests.

Now, when my mind goes back to the days of which I have written, and I realize now as I did not then, that in those days I was brought daily into contact with a dying people, this prayer of the wild Indian of the Plains, seems to me to be full of pathos and beauty; its simple eloquence, its reverence, its trustfulness, its truthfulness, all impress me with the belief that when Red Cloud thus poured out the deepest longings of his soul, he felt and believed that he was looking up into the very face of Him whom men for nineteen hundred years have called "Our Father," into the face of his and his peoples' God, the ever present Ruler of the Universe.

THE "MAGIC CITY" CHEYENNE, DAKOTA TERRITORY, 1867

(Continued)

Sixteenth street, north side, west from Hill street (Capitol Ave.) to Benton street, (Bent) five squares.

Between Hill to Eddy streets, two squares:

One story frame, 24x60, billiard hall, Tilton & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$3,400.

One story frame, 18x30, wholesale wine and liquor depot, F. L. Tilton, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,000.

One story frame, 22x50, furniture house, A. R. Converse, owner and occupant—also occupied by E. A. Allen & Co., druggist—cost, \$1,500.

One story frame, 21½x60, A. R. Converse, produce dealer, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,500.

One story frame, 22x60, hardware and crockery, A. R. Converse, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,500.

One story frame, 24x105, dry goods and groceries, Glenn & Talpey, owners and occupants—cost about \$8,000.

One story brick, unfinished; particulars unknown, except that it is to be occupied by Lowe & Poole, Druggists.

One story concrete, 22x40, clothing house, S. Bloom, occupant,—Baylies owner—cost, \$3,500.

One story concrete, 30x40, clothing house, B. & I. Hellman, owner and occupants—cost, \$2,500.

One story adobe, 20x40, Temple of Fashion, A. B. More, owner and occupant—cost unknown.

One story frame, 20x30, keg house, G. J. Dozier, occupant, B. Ellinger, owner—cost, \$2,000.

Two story frame, 24x40, Saloon, C. N. Greer, owner and occupant—cost, \$5,000.

One story frame, 14x32, F. Schoolfield, Gunsmith, owner and occupant—also occupied by H. Schoolfield, Watchmaker—cost, \$1,200.

One story frame, 8x20, Keg House—Bunker, occupant—F. Schoolfield, owner—cost, \$100.

Two story frame, 44x132, Rollins House, J. Q. A. Rollins & Bro., owners and occupants—cost, \$20,000. This is one of our largest buildings.

Two story frame, 24x50, first floor, saloon, Wm. Lindemier, owner and occupant — upper story occupied by Chas. Alter's Daguerrean Gallery—cost, \$4,000.

One story frame, 22x36, clothing house, Ruth & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$1,500.

Between Eddy and Benton streets, three squares:

One story frame, 22x44, ceiling 12 feet high, Kountze, Bro's & Co., bankers, owners and occupants—cost, \$4,000.

One story frame, 24x44, ceiling 13 feet high, Rogers & Co., bankers, owners and occupants—cost, \$5,000.

One story frame, 12x24, news, stationery, and notion depot, L. B. Josephs, owners and occupants—cost, \$600.

One story frame, 16x24, Mr. Corlett, owner, Lowe & Poole, druggists, occupants—cost, —.

One story concrete, 22½x85, Coburn owner, J. H. Voorhies & Co., auction and commission, occupants—cost, —.

One story concrete, 22x60, J. N. Voorhies owner, William Wise, proprietor of the U. S. Restaurant, occupant—

one of the finest and most popular restaurants in the city—cost, \$2,000.

Two story concrete, 44x60, J. S. Galbraith, owner and occupant of first floor—saloon—first floor also occupied by Sternberger, tobacconist—first floor also occupied by Lidell, Robertson & Brown—cost, \$12,500.

One story and a half, size unknown, Holman House, John R. Waller, owner, O. B. Holman, occupant—cost, —.

One story frame, 20x45, Clothing House, William Lee, owner, J. P. Frank, occupant—cost, \$3,000.

Two story frame, 24x80, unoccupied, E. C. Beauvais, owner—cost, \$6,000.

One story frame, 22x80, Restaurant, Wolff & Davis, owners and occupants—cost, \$3,000.

One story frame, 20x40, additions, 16x24 lumber office; A. L. Wait, lumber dealer, owner and occupant—entire cost, \$3,300.

One story frame, residence, further particulars unknown.

This completes the north side of Sixteenth street, going westward.

Sixteenth Street, South side going east from Reed to Hill streets, five and a half squares:

Between Reed and Ferguson streets, four and a half squares.

One story log, 20x20, City Jail, City, owner—occupied by blacklegs—cost, \$1,770.

One story frame, 12x20, Residence, E. McLanger, City Marshal, owner and occupant—cost, \$500.

One story frame, 20x40, Grocery, O. C. McDonald, owner and occupant—cost, unknown.

One story frame, 20x40, Lodging House, Sergt. McDonald, owner—W. S. Belknap, occupant—cost, \$2,100.

One story frame, 22x32, unfinished, McDonald & Heenan, owners—cost, \$1,500.

One story frame, 24x50, Saloon, McDonald & Heenan, owners and occupants—cost, \$3,000.

One story and a half log, 24x41, unfinished, Mallally & Granger, owners—cost, \$4,000.

One story frame, 20x40, Boarding House, L. Hays, owner and occupant—cost, unknown.

One story frame, 25x25, Dexter House, Wm. Nuttall, owner and occupant—cost, —.

Two story frame, 25x40, Wines, Liquors, Tobacco, etc., —Code, owner—T. A. Kent & Co., occupants—cost, \$6,000.

Two story frame, unfinished, further particulars, unknown.

One story frame, 12x20, Office of Judge J. P. Bartlett, U. S. Commissioner, owner—cost, \$700.

Two story frame, 24x72, Saloon, Stevenson & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$4,500.

One story frame, 15x24, J. W. Turril, Druggist, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,000.

One story frame, 12½x24, Barber Shop, Dougherty & Smith, owners and occupants—cost, \$726.

One story and a half log, 20x36, Saloon, Chas. Brown, owner—G. Singleton, occupant—cost, —.

One story frame, 6½x19½, H. S. Coburn, owner—Ryan & Co., Tobacconists, occupants—cost, \$250.

One story frame, 16x48, Saloon, S. Deon, owner—J. G. Walker, occupant—cost, —.

Two story frame, unfinished, Ford & Co., owners, further particulars, unknown.

One story frame, 25x100, Restaurant, one of the largest and finest in the city; B. L. Ford & Co., owners and occupants—cost, —.

One story frame, further particulars unknown.

One story frame, ditto as above.

One story frame, 15x15, canvass covered, Barber Shop, Jno. Bannister, owner and occupant—cost, \$130.

One story frame, 20x45, Boot & Shoe Shop, C. H. Edwards, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,200.

Between Ferguson to Hill streets, one square.

One story frame, size (?), J. H. Creighton, County Recorder; owner and occupant—also occupied by telegraph office—cost, \$3,500.

One story and a half log, 20x40, Willis & Co., grocers, owners and occupants—cost, \$2,500.

One story frame, 14x13, canvass covered, lunch house, Smith & Kentner, owners and occupants—cost, \$100.

Ferguson street, east side, going north from Fifteenth street to Nineteenth street—four squares.

One story frame, 22x40, lunch house, Cline, owner, P. S. Reed, occupant—cost, \$2,500.

One story frame, 14x37, saloon, L. Bresnahan, owner and occupant—cost, \$4,000.

One story frame, unfinished, further particulars unknown.

One story adobe, 12x14, Restaurant, Coburn owner—Charles Siebert, occupant—cost, —.

One story adobe, 20x40, Clothing House, Day & Co., owners and occupants—cost, —.

One story frame, 16x48, Bakery, J. Majewski owner and occupant—cost, \$3,500.

One story frame, 20x22, Carpenter Shop, Kratz & Crookshank owners and occupants—rear addition, 14x20, residence, Kratz owner and occupant—entire cost, \$600.

One story frame, residence, further particulars unknown.

One story frame, ditto as above.

One story and a half adobe, 18x36, Restaurant, Castle & Co., owner and occupant—cost, \$2,100.

One story frame, 16x20, Boot and Shoe Shop, J. Borges owner and occupant—cost, \$1,000.

One and a half story frame, 23x34, Union Hotel, J. Borges owner, B. Eppler occupant—cost, \$4,000.

One story frame, Residence, further particulars unknown.

Ferguson street, west side, going south to Fifteenth street—two squares from Seventeenth.

One story frame, 12x16, meat market, Heisselberg & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$450.

One story log, 16x18, boarding house with two additions in the rear, the first a one story log, 16x16, the second a one story frame, 12x16, owned and occupied by J. Victor—entire cost, \$1,400.

One story frame, 9x18, rear addition frame of same height, 14x16, storerooms, Heisselberg & Co., owners—entire cost, \$400.

One story frame, 16x33, Boarding House, J. G. Shoefler, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,200.

One story frame, 16x24, Grocery, Marks & Fanger, owners and occupants—cost, \$800.

One story frame, 16x24, Bakery and Grocery, Weigold & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$1,200.

One story frame, 10x16, office of Drs. Irwin & Graham, owners and occupants—two story frame, 24x34, in the rear, Public and Private Hospital, Drs. Irwin & Graham owners—cost, \$2,500.

One story frame, unoccupied, further particulars unknown.

One story and a half frame, 18x32, unfinished, P. Syme, owner—cost, \$1,000 when completed.

One story frame, 8x19, Grocery, Lorenze & Kulkopf, owners and occupants—cost, \$250.

One story frame, 20x32, Boarding House, O. Hinne-man, owner and occupant—cost, \$700.

One story frame, 12x14, residence, Mrs. Mitchell, owner and occupant—cost, \$250.

One story frame, 16x48, Sherman House, Jas. Dolan, owner and occupant—cost, unknown.

One story and a half frame, Valley Hotel, further particulars unknown.

One story frame, further particulars unknown.

One story frame, Keg House, further particulars unknown.

One story and a half, 18x24, Grocery, V. Cordella, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,000.

Eddy street, east side, going north to Seventeenth, two squares, from Fifteenth street.

One story adobe, 25x38, unfinished, owner refused to give further particulars.

One story frame, 20x20, Shoe Shop, S. Bon, owner and occupant, also occupied by Drs. Bedel & Veirs—cost, \$900.

One story frame, 16x35, Tobacco, Liquors and Wines, Dawson & Bro., owners and occupants—cost, \$2,000.

One story and a half frame, 16x24, Grocery, L. Quaintance, owner and occupant—cost, \$800.

One story adobe, 16x24, Clothing Store and Pawnbroker's Shop, M. J. Doherty, owner and occupant—cost, \$2,000.

One story frame, 15x25, J. Strauss, Boot and Shoe Store, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,325.

One story frame, 20x30, Residence, further particulars unknown.

One story frame, 16x40, Saloon, G. Schneider, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,600.

One story frame, 18½x29½, Pacific Coffee House, Grubb & Blythe, owners and occupants—cost, \$1,800.

One story frame, 12x20, Clothing House, Harris & Wagner, owners and occupants—cost, \$600.

One story frame, 16x34, Champion Saloon, Riley & Co., owners and occupants—cost, \$1,500.

One story frame, further particulars unknown.

One story frame, 16x24, H. M. Cohen, Pawn Broker, owner and occupant—cost, \$1,500.

One story frame, 18x50, Clothing House, William Ruth, owner and occupant—cost, \$3,000.

One story frame, 22x65, Freund & Bro., Gunsmiths, part owners and occupants—Picard & Co., Hardware, part owners and occupants—also occupied by John Kupfer & Co.—cost, \$5,000.

One story frame, 16x44, City Saloon, Copeland, owner and occupant—also occupied by P. H. Lee, as residence—cost, —.

One story log, further particulars unknown.

One story frame, 22x66, Restaurant, Cook & Bro., owners and occupants—cost, \$2,500.

One story frame, further particulars unknown.

One frame building, 20x66, not yet entirely completed—addition on the south side, 12x40,—addition on the north side, 18x40. This building is occupied as an Art Museum, Prof. J. McDaniels, owner and proprietor. It has cost thus far, \$10,000. It is finely furnished inside with two elegant bars, and is the most popular place of amusement in the city.

One story frame, 20x30, Keg House, A. C. Harvey owner and occupant—cost, \$750.

One story frame, 12x18, Paint Shop, J. Masterson owner, Ayers & Cavalli, occupants, cost unknown.

One story frame, 12x30, City Bakery, Boswell & Black, owners and occupants—cost, \$650.

ADOBES AND IRRIGATION IN UTAH, 1858

The "Army of Utah" upon reaching its destination in September 1858, located upon a site designated for the permanent camp, which was known as Camp Floyd, named so in honor of the Secretary of War, John B. Floyd.

Adjoining the camp was a small Mormon settlement. Near the head of a stream adjacent to this settlement, the Mormons had built an acequal, and by means of many small ditches, they irrigated their lands. Upon their arrival the troops found about 1,600,000 adobe bricks, made and laid out on the outskirts of the camp; these adobes, and many others, were furnished to the troops by the Mormons, and used in the construction of many of the camp buildings. [U. S. Cong. Doc. serial 1035, p. 299.]

Wyoming Stream Names

Dee Linford

(Continued)

For record of the nomenclature of streams in the Yellowstone River system, the student of place names must rely almost entirely on the journals of Lewis and Clark. It is therefore especially unfortunate that those portions of the journals which deal with the Yellowstone are disappointingly brief and inadequate.

Lewis and Clark did not explore the Yellowstone on the outbound journey, beyond dispatching a single observer to a distance of eight miles above the mouth. On the return journey from the Pacific in 1806, however, the explorers separated near the present Montana-Idaho State-line, Lewis retracing the expedition's west-bound route of the year before to investigate tributaries entering the Missouri from the north, Clark turning southeast to find the upper course of the Yellowstone and to follow the stream to its mouth.

Clark on this side-trek reconnoitered the Bitterroot and the Big Hole regions, then struck southeast from the Three Forks, encountering the Yellowstone near the point where Livingston, Montana, now stands. Here his party was as near to present Wyoming as the expedition was to come. Strangely enough, however, the explorer did not ascend the river in an effort to chart its headwaters, but turned immediately downstream toward its confluence with the Missouri, where a reunion with Lewis' party had been arranged.

In light of Clark's earlier zeal to explore lesser important streams to their sources, his apparent lack of interest in the principal fork of the Missouri is difficult to understand. He seems throughout the entire reconnaissance to have been impatient to rejoin Lewis and to continue the homeward journey. At any rate, he neglected to name many important landmarks discovered by his party, and his journal entries from the time he left the Three Forks are casual and fragmentary in the extreme.

Record of the names and naming of streams in the Yellowstone system suffers accordingly, and much historical information seemingly possessed by the explorer is not now known.

Circumstances accounting for the naming of one tributary only—the Clark's Fork—are reported specifically, albeit casually and indirectly. "This stream we supposed to be the Bighorn," the journal records, "but afterward, when the Bighorn was found, the name of Clark's Fork was given this stream"—undoubtedly to commemorate its discoverer. Later cartographers, however, have varied the title into "Clarke's, Clarck's and Clake's" Fork or river.

The name Big Horn, as applied to the Yellowstone's largest and most important tributary, also makes its first appearance in American literature in the record of this reconnaissance. However, evidence indicates the name did not originate with Clark.

"This is the river," the journal reports, "which has been described by Indians as arising in the Rocky Mountains, near the Yellowstone and the source of the Platte . . . In its long course, it receives two large rivers, one from the north and the other from the south (probably Wind River and the Popo Agie) . . . It is inhabited by beaver and numerous other animals, among them those from which it derives the name of Bighorn."

The wording of the above entry and of the notation concerning Clark's Fork (i.e., "this river we supposed to be the Bighorn") suggests that Clark in listing the name "Bighorn" accepted and continued a term already established—probably among the Indians who described the stream to him.

The Indian name for the big-horn sheep was rendered "arsata" by Lewis and Clark and "ahsata" by Irving, while Raynolds reports the river title was derived from the Absarokian "Ets-p-ot-agie"—"Ets-Pot" meaning sheep, "agie" river. Lewis' map of the Northwest lists the stream as the "Arsata or Big Horn River," Clark's map simply as the "Big Horn R."

Clark's map interesting shows the Big Horn arising in a "Lake Biddle" below his "Lake Eustis" (see previous installments of this article), in the approximate position of Jackson Lake. No such lake is mentioned in the journal text, however, and since John Colter is generally

credited with having discovered Jackson Lake, in 1807, it appears that Clark must have added the lake to his map after conversations with the former Lewis and Clark expeditionary after Colter's return to civilization. Colter, it must be concluded, supposed that the upper Big Horn (Wind River) headed in present Jackson Lake.

Clark, in naming the lake, appears to have wished to honor one Nicholas Biddle, Philadelphia lawyer and a close friend of the explorer, who assumed the initiative in having the Lewis and Clark papers published, after the death of Meriwether Lewis by murder or suicide in 1809.

There has been some dispute as to whether Clark did not err in tracing origin of the Big Horn River's name directly to the mountain sheep. Some take the view that the river must have been named for the Big Horn Mountains which border the river to the east—the mountains having previously been named for the sheep. These authorities contend in favor of their argument that mountain sheep would have been more likely to have ranged the mountains than the banks of the river. There is, however, little evidence to support the view. Most early western journals of exploration and travel report the presence of mountain sheep in the lowlands and valleys, and the Lewis and Clark papers contain repeated observations of big-horns along the shores of various streams in the Rocky Mountain region.

It thus appears reasonable to assume that Clark's report is correct, that the river was named for the animal, and the mountains for the river. Indeed, since rivers naturally received the first attention of explorers and travelers, their titles were almost always bestowed before surrounding mountains were named. And, in cases where streams and mountain ranges bear identical names, the mountains in most cases took their styling from the rivers (e.g., Laramie River, Laramie Mountains; Snake River, Snake River Mountains, etc.).

Unimportant but interesting variations of the name Big Horn occur in several early works dealing with the West. According to Coues (1898), the term "Big Horse River" ran through several early editions of Irving's *Astoria*, apparently by misprint; and in the manuscript of David Thompson the stream is called "River of Large Corn"—evidently mistranslating the French, *Grosse Corne* (Big Horn).

A vexing riddle of the Big Horn is the styling of its upper channel the "Wind River." It is not, for one thing, clear just where Wind River becomes the Big Horn. Some geographers have the Big Horn formed by the union of the Wind and Popo Agie Rivers, near present Riverton. Others identify the Popo Agie as a tributary of Wind River; these have the latter stream continue north and enter rock-ribbed Wind River canyon as the "Wind," emerging as the "Big Horn." Still others designate a definite point in the canyon where the Wind is supposed to change its name, and call the point the "Wedding of the Waters." This term also is confusing, since it implies a coming together, and no tributary joins the Wind River at this point.

Origin of the name "Wind River" itself is obscure. It does not appear in any of the Lewis and Clark papers, and Clark does not use the term on his map of 1814. Yet, when Wilson Price Hunt encountered the stream, three years before Clark's map was published, he wrote as if the name and the peculiar division of the river were already established:

"We reached (today) the banks of the Big Horn, here called Wind River because in winter the wind blows so constantly that it prevents the snow from lying on the ground."

Washington Irving followed Hunt's use of the term in recounting the latter's adventures in *Astoria* (1836), and the name has since appeared consistently in the literature of the West.

(To be continued)

ACCESSIONS

to the

Wyoming Historical Department

August 2, 1943 to October 1, 1943

Miscellaneous Gifts

Hodge, Wallace B., West Plains, Missouri—donor of a sheet of music, "2d Cowboy Cavalry March," written and dedicated to Col. J. L. Torrey by F. A. Thole in 1892, with the original envelope. Two letters and one telegram to Col. J. L. Torrey. Copy of a bill introduced by Senator F. E. Warren March 1898, 55th Cong. 2d Sess. S. 4296. "To provide for the organization of a regiment of mounted rangers, in the interest of the public safety." A note in favor of this bill from General Alger is attached to this bill. Received September 1943.

Erwin, Marie H., Cheyenne, Wyoming — donor of six photostats of an 1864 map showing Nebraska, Dakota, Montana and Kansas.

State of Wyoming, Visitors' Register of "Wonderful Wyoming Exhibition," International Exposition, Golden Gate, San Francisco, June 1939.

Thomas, Lewis C., President of Wyott Manufacturing Co., Cheyenne, Wyoming—donor of a program of the Presentation of the Army-Navy "E" to the Wyott Manufacturing Co., the first War Plant in Wyoming to receive this honor.

Christensen, Mart T., Secretary of State, Cheyenne, Wyoming—donor of a typed copy of an extract from the "Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah including a Reconnaissance of a New Route Through the Rocky Mountains."

Brosnan, Dominic A., East Natick, Massachusetts—donor of a magazine of Philately "Stamps" which contains a very interesting article "The Utah Expedition 1857-1858" by Mr. Brosnan.

Books Purchased

Sandos, Mari—Crazy Horse. New York. Knopf, c 1942. \$2.41.

McMurtrie, Douglas—Early Printing in Wyoming and the Black Hills. Hattiesburg, Mississippi, Book Farm, 1943. \$3.00.

Books—Gifts

Iktomi—America Needs Indians—donor J. O. Burdette, Denver, Colorado. Bradford-Robinson, c 1937.

Morris, Robert C., Collection of the Wyoming Historical Society, volume I—donor Horace Jenkins, Cheyenne, Wyoming. Sun-Leader Publishing House. 1897.

Roddis, Mrs. Charles, 1725 Central Ave., Cheyenne, Wyoming—donor of Swinton's Word Primer. Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co., New York & Chicago, 1878. James Montieth's Elementary Geography. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, Chicago and New Orleans. 1876.

Miscellaneous Purchase

Photograph of Members of the 1897 Rawlins Cycling Club
Purchased from Mr. Myers, photographer at Rawlins.



General Index

PART I

ALPHABETICAL INDEX

Volume 15

A

Abbott, T. D., 15:4:396
Abney, James, 15:4:376
Accessions. See in each issue of Annals under this title or 15:1:93; 15:2:181; 15:3:307; 15:4:417-418
Actors and Actresses, Cheyenne Opera House, 15:2:159
Adobes and Irrigation in Utah, 1858, 15:4:412
Adobes, 15:3:297
Albany County Organized, 15:4:396
Algonkin Indians, 15:3:234
American Fur Company, 15:3:221, 235 (f.n.), 238 (f.n.), 257, 264, 295; 15:4:317; 15:2:106, 170, 178
Archambault, Z., 15:3:229-233; Sadie, 229, 233; Alfred A., 229, 230, 231, 232, 233; Leon, Edward, Charles, Alfred and Blanche, 229
Argus, The, 15:2:153
Arickara Indians, hostilities and causes, 15:3:201, 210-214; range, 200
Arnold, C. P., 15:1:69
Arrepaha Indians, 15:3:199, 200
Ashley, General, 15:3:200, 201, 212, 213, 218, 227, 256, 257; 15:2:173, 174
Assessed valuation of Wyoming Territory, 1884, 15:1:69
Assinaboin Indians, trade with British, 15:3:202; hostilities, 213; range, 202, 213-214
Astor, 15:2:136, 166, 167, 170, 171, 173
Atkinson, Brigadier General Henry, 15:3:235, 236; Colonel, 15:2:140, 142
Aurelia, Sister Mary, 15:3:229, 233
Averell, Jim, 15:1:49
Ayer, Charles E., 15:1:18, 19

B

Baggs Ranches (L7), 15:1:15-19; Maggie Baggs, 16-18; George Baggs, 9, 16, 19

Bailey, Lieut. Edward L., 15:4:403, 404
Baily, Timothy O., 15:3:282
Baker, N. A., 15:4:386; William, 15:3:282
Baird, John C., 15:1:40, 41
Baldwin, Noyes, 15:2:179 (f.n.)
Barry, Nelson, *An Excerpt From the Journal of E. Willard Smith*, 1839-1840, 15:3:287-297
Bartlett, Judge J. P., 15:2:186
"Beaver Dick" Leigh, 15:2:173; 15:1:81 (f.n.) 83
Belknap, Secretary of War, 15:2:118
Benham, Alex, 15:2:177
Bent & St. Vrain, 15:3:293, 296
Benton, Colonel, 15:3:225; Honorable Thomas H., 15:3:198, 225
Berthol, 15:2:136, 137
Bevins, Bill, outlaw, 15:1:60
Bible, 15:3:193
Biddle, Thomas, 15:2:140, 141, 142; Nicholas, 15:4:415; Lake, 413
Big Elk, 15:2:138
Biggs, Mr., 15:3:293-295
Blackfoot Indians, range, 15:3:199, 209; trade, 200, 209-210; hostilities, 199, 200, 206, 207-209
Blair, Jacob B., 15:1:39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45
Blake, J. W., 15:1:44; Frank, 15:3:281
Blunt, Major General James J., 15:2:150
Bonneville's Expedition to Rocky Mountains, 1832-'33, '34, '35, '36, by Gouveneur K. Warren, 15:3:220-228; G. K. Warren (f.n.) 220; "Pierre's Hole", (f.n.) 221; American Fur Company and Rocky Mountain Fur Company (f.n.) 221; Captain Bonneville departs from Ft. Osage, 1832, 221; Bonneville's maps, 223, 225, 226, 228; Humboldt River, 222-223; Rio Benuaventura, 223, 224, 225; Bonneville's letter to G. K. Warren, 224-225; Lake Bonneville, later Great Salt Lake, 224,

- 225; Colonel Benton, 198, 225; Captain Stansbury, 226; Bonneville's absence, 223 (f.n.), Fremont, 222, 225; Great Salt Lake, discovery, etc., 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227; Baron La Hontau, 226; Father Escalante, 226, 227; Robert Campbell letter to, Lake Timpanogos, 227; G. K. Warren, 227-228; James Bridger, Samuel Tullock, 227, 228; Henry & Ashley, 227; J. Bridger discovers Great Salt Lake, 228; Hudson's Bay Company trappers, 228; Peter Ogden, 228; Ogden and Mary's Rivers named, 228; Father Font, 228
- Boomerang, 15:4:388
- Boswell, N. K., 15:3:245; 15:3:248; 15:4:396
- Bramel, Nick, 15:4:388; Charles, 15:4:388
- Brands, (L7) 15:1:31-35
- Brayer, Herbert O., *The L7 Ranches*, 15:1:5-37; H. O. Brayer's biog. 5
- Breckons, Bob, 15:1:41
- Bridger, James, 15:3:227, 228; 15:2:106, 174
- British Establishments, 15:3:200, 210, 216-217
- Brock, J. Elmer, *Timely Arrival*, 15:1:63, 67
- Brophy, Jack, 15:3:248; J. R. 15:4:389
- Broseau, 15:2:136, 137
- Brown's Hole, 15:3:289, 290, 293
- Brown, M. C., 15:4:392, 402
- Brunot, Felix R., 15:4:403
- Bryan, 15:2:177-178
- Buenaventura, Rio, 15:3:223, 224, 225
- Burnett, F. J., 15:4:376
- Burnfield, Forest D., 15:4:390
- Burt, Major, 15:3:286
- Buildings at Fort Bridger, 15:4:368, 370; Fort Laramie, 316, 330, 342; Camp Scott, 351, 352
- Buildings in Cheyenne, Dakota Territory, 1867, 15:2:153-154; Manning and Post, 153; The Daily Rocky Mountain Star, The Argus, 153, George Tritch & Company, The Masonic Hall, Gallatin & Gallup, Jones & Gray, 154
- Buildings in Cheyenne are numbered, 1867, 15:2:154-155
- C
- Campbell, A. C., Judge, Fading Memories, 15:1:38-49; Robert, 15:4:403; 15:3:227, 228
- Carbon County, Early History of, 15:3:280-286
- Carson, Kit, 15:3:265, 290-291; 15:2:136
- Carter County, Wyoming, 15:1:67
- Catholic Hospital (Laramie) 15:4:389; church, 15:4:387; school, 15:3:243
- Catlin, George, 15:3:234, 237, 238, 240, 1941
- Champion, Nate, 15:1:48
- Charboneau (Sharbenare), 15:3:287, 296, 297
- Cheyenne City Council, Dakota Territory*, Sept. 18 and 26, 1867, 15:3:197, 253; Council Hall, 197, City Cemetery, 197; Public Well on 17th and Thomas, 253; Members, 197, City Hall, 197
- Cheyenne First Bank, 1867, 15:3:286
- Cheyenne Indians, Migration of, 15:3:234, 235, 236, 237
- Cheyenne Indian Portraits, Painted by George Catlin in 1832*, by Marie H. Erwin, 15:3:234-241; Algonkin Indians, 234; Lewis & Clarke, 235; Migration of Cheyenne Indians, 234, 235, 236, 237; Major T. E. Long, 235; Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, 235, 236; Major Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian Agent, 235, 236; First Treaty between Cheyennes and United States Government, 235, 236; Forts Lookout and Pierre, 235, and (f.n.); American Fur Co., 235; Report on the Cheyennes by the Commission in 1825, 236, 237; Reference to Maps, G. K. Warren, 1826; George Catlin, 1833, 234, 237, 238, 240, 241; Bent's Fort, 237; Laidlaw's Fort (Old Fort Pierre), Fort Union, 237, 238 (f.n.); Catlin encounters Cheyenne Indians and paints, 238 (f.n.); Nee-hee-o-ee-woo-tis, (Wolf on the hill), 15:3:238-239; Tis-see-woo-na-tis, (she who bathes her knees), 15:3:240
- Cheyenne Opera House, 1882, 15:2:156-159; opens, 156; Water Works System for Cheyenne, 157; Territorial Library, 158; Telephone Exchange, 148; Actors and Actresses at, 159; closed, 159; Cheyenne Opera House and Library Company, 159
- Chinese Riot, Rock Springs, 1885, 15:1:47
- Cholera at Forts Kearney and Laramie, 15:4:317-323

Chouteau, Francis, 15:2:136-137;
Seres, 136-137; Lieut., 15:3:210
Clark, Judge Gibson, Reminiscence of
Civil War Days, 15:4:377-386; Red
Cloud's Prayer, 15:4:403-405; Biog-
raphy, 15:4:374; 15:1:41; Clarence
D., 15:1:37, 45
Coad, Mark, 15:1:61
*Collection and Preservation of Wyom-
ing War Records*, 15:1:92
Collins, Colonel, 15:2:151-152
Colter, John, 15:2:102-104; Coulter,
John, 134; 15:3:257, 270; 15:4:414,
415
Comstock, Prof. Theodore, 15:3:118
Connor, T. W., 15:4:387; General
Patrick Edward, 376
Converse, A. R., 15:4:388
Cook, C. W., 15:2:108
Corlett, W. W., 15:4:389
Council between United States and
Sioux, at Laramie 1870, 15:4:403
Countries in Wyoming in 1884, 15:1:
69
Court House, Cheyenne, 1867, 15:2:
Inside Cover
Cow Creek Ranch, "71", 15:1:13-14
Cowpunchers' Attire, 15:1:19-20
Craig, Brigadier General, James, 15:
2:150, 151, 152
Craig's Trading Fort, 15:3:289
Crisman, J. C., 15:4:393
Curry, George, (flat-nose George)
15:1:64-67

D

Daily Rocky Mountain Star, The, 15:
3:153
Daley, Frank, 15:1:56, 57, 59
Dawson Brothers, 15:3:282
Day, John, 15:2:170, 171
Day's Hole, 15:2:170, 171
De Lacy, Walter W., 15:2:107
De Lorion, 15:2:136, 137
Democratic Convention, First in Wyom-
ing, 15:1:91
De Smet, Father, 15:2:106; 15:3:264
Deweese, Thomas B., 15:3:286
Dillon, Tom, 15:4:388
Directory, Business and General, by
Saltiel & Barnett 1868, 15:2:159-160
Donnellan, Colonel J. W., 15:3:245;
15:4:389
Donnelly & Bennau, 15:3:282
Doty, John, 15:3:284
Drake, G. P., 15:4:393
Dramatic Performance in Wyoming
1864, 15:1:84
Doane, Lieut. Gustavus, 15:3:109,
114, 116, 118

Dunbar, Clarence, 15:4:389
Dyer, J., 15:3:282

E

Early History of Carbon County, by
John C. Friend, 15:3:280-286; biog-
raphy of J. C. Friend, 280; Rawlins,
280; Pioneers of Carbon County,
281, 282, 283, 284, 286; Wert P.
Noble, P. L. Smith, John F. Foote,
Mrs. L. Hays, Frank Blake, I. C.
Miller, J. P. Keller, John C. Friend,
Mrs. Mae Franklin, 281; Timothy
O. Bailly, H. C. Hall, Jerry Sheehan,
E. Hunt, J. Dyer, Dawson Brothers,
William Baker, M. T. Lockridge,
Donnelly and Brennan, Larry
Hayes, 282; Charles Good, John
O'Brien, 283; First Church, 283;
First term of court, 283; Carbon
County organized, 284; county offi-
cers elected, 284; second term of
court, 284; old court house, 1870,
284; John Doty, 284; silver and lead
discovered at Ferris Range, 1871,
286; Captain Thomas B. Dewees,
Major Burt, General J. M. Thayer
(later Governor of Wyoming Ter-
ritory), Frank and Boney Ernest,
286
*Eastern Records of Early Wyoming
Newspapers*, by Douglas C. Mc-
Murtrie, 1869-1880, 15:3:271, 278;
American Newspaper Directory,
271; George P. Powell, 271
Ell Seven Cattle Company, 15:1:8-9
Ellis, Mrs. Charles, Robert Foote,
15:1:50, Mrs. Ellis, biography, 50
Encounter, An, 1867, 15:2:132
Ernest, Frank and Boney, 15:3:286
Erwin, Marie H., *Cheyenne Indian
Portraits Painted by George Catlin*,
1832, 15:3:234-241; *Statistical Re-
port on the Sickness and Mortality
of the Army of the United States*,
1819-1860, 15:4:315-375
Escalante, Father, 15:3:226, 227, 254
Eustis, William, 15:3:270; lake, 270
Everts, Truman C., 15:2:108, 112-114
*Excerpt From the Journal of E. Wil-
lard Smith*, 1839-1840, by J. Nelson
Barry, 15:3:287-297; Biography of
E. W. Smith, 287; Mr. Thompson,
287, 289; Messrs. Vasquez & Sub-
lette, 287, 288, 289, 293, 295, 296;
Mr. Sharbenare (Charboneau) 287,
296, 297; two hundred thousand
buffalo, 287; Arkansas River
boundary line between Mexico and
Missouri Territory, 287, 288; Mr.

Lupton, 288, Lupton's Fort, 289; Bent's Fort, 288; Spanish Fort, 288; Fort of Messrs. Sublette & Vasquez, 289; Mr. Craig, 289; Thompson and Craig's Trading fort, 289; Brown's Hole, 289, 290; Mr. Spillers, 291; Kit Carson, 290-291; Fort Hall, 291; Hudson's Bay Company, 291; Petrified buffalo, 292; Mr. Walker, 292; Mr. Biggs, 293-295; Mr. Baker, 293; American Fur Company, 295; Fort Laramie, 295; Yellow Wolf, Many Crows, 296; Missionary Station, 296; Messrs. Bent and St. Vrain, 296

F

Fading Memories, by Judge A. C. Campbell, 15:1:38-49; Bill Nye, 39; James B. Sener, 39; Jacob B. Blair, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45; Samuel C. Parks, 39, 40; Lawyers (Cheyenne), 40, Territory, 41-42; Joseph W. Fisher, 40, 41; Gibson Clark, 41; John C. Baird, 40, 41; Bob Breckons, 41; William Ware Peck, 40, 42; Judges, Territorial Supreme and District Courts, 42, 43, 44, 45; Ben Holliday's Pony Express, 46; Chinese trouble, Rock Springs, 47; cases tried by A. C. Campbell, 47, 48, 49; Ella Watson (Cattle Kate), 49; Jim Averell, 49

Ferris, Warren Angus, 15:2:106

Finfrock, Dr. J. H., 15:3:242; 15:4:396

First County Library Law in United States, 15:1:84

First Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, 15:2:121

First Term of Court, Buffalo, Wyoming, 15:1:45

First Treaty between Cheyenne Indians and United States Government, 15:3:235, 236

Fisher, Joseph W., 15:1:40, 41

Fitzpatrick, Thomas, 15:3:257

"Flat Nose George", George Curry, 15:1:64

Folsom, David E., 15:2:108-109, 111

Font, Father, 15:3:228

Fontennelle, Lucien, 15:3:257

Foote, John F., 15:3:281

Foote, Robert, by Mrs. Charles Ellis, 15:1:50-62; Mrs. Ellis' biography, 50; Herman Haas, 51; horse stealing, 51; Colonel Moonlight (f.n.) 55; Fort Laramie and Fort Halleck post trader, 55; Rockdale Stage Station, 56; Bill Bevins, outlaw, 60;

Mosgrove, outlaw, 61; Mark Coad, woodtrain owner, 61; Norris, Amanda, (Mrs. R. Foote), 60, 62

Forney, Dr., (Indian Agent), 15:4:375

Forts and Camps:

Bent's, 15:3:237, 288

Benton, 15:3:207

Bridger, 15:1:69; 15:2:152; 15:4:268-375

Craig's Trading, 15:3:289; Thompson & Craig's, 15:3:289

de Prairie, 15:3:207

Ellis, 15:2:109

Fetterman, 15:4:389

Hall, 15:3:291; 15:1:75, 76, 83

Halleck, 15:1:55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62

Henry, 15:2:169

In Wyoming, 1884, 15:1:69

Laidlaw's, 15:3:238 (f.n.)

Laramie, 15:1:51, 55, 59, 69; 15:3:231, 232, 295; 15:4:316-323, 323-347, 389, 376, 403

Lookout, 15:3:235 (f.n.)

Lupton's, 15:3:289

McKinney, 15:1:69; 15:4:389

Pierre, 15:2:152; 15:3:235 (f.n.), 238

Platte Bridge, Camp, 15:4:323, 327, 332, 334

Randall, 15:4:344

Russell, 15:1:69

Scott, Camp, 15:4:348-358; 358-364, 364-367

Smith, 15:3:203, 215

Spanish, 15:3:288

Steele, 15:1:61, 69; 15:4:389

Sublette & Vasquez, 15:3:289

Union, 15:3:237, 238 (f.n.)

Walbach, Camp, 15:4:323, 327, 332, 334

Washakie, 15:1:69

Franklin, Mrs. Mae, 15:3:281

Friend, John C., *Early History of Carbon County*, 15:3:280-286; Biography of, 280

Frontier Index, 15:4:397

Fryxell, Fritiof, *Thomas Moran's Journey to Tetons*, by, 15:1:71-84; Fryxell's biography, 71; (f.n. on Thomas Moran, 71-72)

Fur Trade, 15:3:214; region, 202

G

Gallatin & Gallup, 15:2:154

Gas, Patrick, 15:3:270

Gibbon, General John, 15:2:118

Gold first discovered in Sweetwater district, 15:2:178

Good, Charles, 15:3:283

Governor Francis E. Warren A Cham-

pion of Woman Suffrage, by W. T. Jackson, 15:2:143-149; biography of W. T. Jackson, 143; letters to and answers from Francis E. Warren, 145-149

Graham, R., 15:3:198, 212

Gray, or Grey, John, 15:2:170, 171

Gray's or Grey's Hole, 15:2:170, 171

Green, Emmet C., 15:1:9

Grinnell, George Bird, 15:2:118

Guerrelle, John, 15:4:393

Gumry, Peter, 15:4:389

H

Haas, Herman, 15:1:51

Hall, H. C., 15:3:282

Hat Ranch, (L7), 15:1:11-13

Hauser, Samuel T., 15:2:108

Hayes, Larry, 15:3:282

Hayford, J. H., 15:4:388

Hays, Mrs. L., 15:3:281

Hazen, Joe, 15:1:66

Hedges, Cornelius, 15:2:115, 116

Henderson, Harry B., Sr., *Looking Backward*, 15:1:68-70

Henry and Ashley, 15:3:209; and Ashley, 15:3:208, 213, 227, 255

Henry's, Andrew, Missouri Fur Co., 15:2:167, 169

Hicks, Mr., 15:4:387

Historic Document Tells Early Day

Drama of West, by Amanda Z.

Archambault, 15:3:229-233; Sister

Mary Aurelia, Sadie Archambault,

229, biography, 233; Alfred A.

Archambault, 229, 230, 231, 232,

233; Leon, Edward, Charles, Alfred

and Blanche Archambault, 229;

trading post of Sweetwater in 1853,

229, 230, 231; toll bridge over

Sweetwater River, 1854, 229, 230,

231; Sioux Indian War, 230, 231,

232; Captain Johnson, 230; Mr.

Livingston, 231; Mr. Kinkaid sur-

vives horrible ordeal, 231, 232; mail

coach, "Brigham Young", 231;

"Old Drip", 231; stock branded,

1853, 233; Fort Laramie, 231, 232;

Indians kill cow, causes disaster,

232; Indian arrows topped with

gold, 233; Sister M. Aurelia born

1853, near Independence Rock

(Wyoming), 233

Historical Sketch of Yellowstone Na-

tional Park, compiled by John H.

Rafferty, 15:2:101-132; John Colter,

102-104, 105; Potts, 103; "J. O. R.

Aug. 19, 1819", 105; Warren Angus

Ferris, 106; Rocky Mountain Fur

Company, 105; Hudson's Bay Com-

pany, 105; Father De Smet, Cap-
tain W. F. Reynolds, 106; Walter
W. DeLacy, James Stuart, George
Huston, 107; David E. Folsom, 108-
109, 111; C. W. Cook, 108; Wash-
burn-Langford Party, and expedi-
tion, 109-116; Lieut. Gustavus C.
Doane, 109, 113, 116, 118; General
Henry D. Washburn, 108; Samuel
L. Hauser, 108; Truman C. Everts,
108, 112-114; Cornelius Hedges,
115, 116; first idea for a National
Park, 115-116; Act of Dedication,
116-118; General John Gibbon,
U. S. A., William A. Jones, Prof.
Theodore Comstock, Captain Wil-
liam Ludlow, George Bird Grin-
nell, Secretary of War Belknap,
General W. E. Strong, General W.
T. Sherman, General O. M. Poe,
General O. O. Howard, Secretary
of Interior Carl Schurz, General
Crook, 118; Two-Gwo-Tee Pass,
118; General John W. Hoyt, Major
J. W. Mason, U. S. A., General
Sheridan, 118; Presidential expedi-
tion, 1883, 119; Nathaniel P. Lang-
ford, first superintendent, 121; su-
perintendents of the Park, 122-124;
Park Administration, 121-125; Wy-
oming Territory assumed protection
of Park, 123; Wilf life, 126-128;
Geological descriptions, 128-132

Hoback, John, 15:2:169-170, 173, 174

Hole-in-the-wall, 15:1:64, 65

Holliday, Will, 15:4:388

Holliday's Ben, Pony Express, 15:1:46

Hook, H. M., 15:2:155

Hospital, Sisters (Catholic), Laramie,
15:4:389

Howard, General O. O., 15:2:115, 116

Howe, Church, 15:4:389

Hoyt, Governor John W., 15:2:118

Hudson's Bay Company, 15:2:105,

170, 172; 15:3:200, 201, 209, 210,

213, 215, 216, 217, 225, 228, 238

(f.n.), 291; 15:4:361

Humboldt River, 15:3:222-223

Hunt, Wilson P., 15:2:136, 166, 167,

168, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174; 15:3:

255; 15:4:416

Hunter, John, 15:1:51, 52, 53, 55

Huntley, C. C., 15:2:177

Huston, George, 15:2:107

I

Immel & Jones, 15:3:207, 208, 209

Incident in the Economic Develop-
ment of the Western Cattle Indus-

- try, An, (*The L7 Ranch*), by H. O. Brayer, 15:1:5-37
- Incident on the Plains*, An, from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper July 9, 1870, 15:3:249-250; Indian attack on U. P. train, 250
- Index to Annals of Wyoming, 15:1:91
- Indian Attack Overland Stage Road, 1865, 15:1:57
- Indian Portraits, Cheyenne, 15:3:234-241
- Investigation as to the Causes of Indian Hostilities West of the Missouri River, 1824*, 15:3:198-220; Blackfeet, range, 199, 209, trade, 200, 209-210, hostilities, 199, 200, 206, 207-209, hunters, prisoners of Spaniards, 199-200; Arickaras, hostilities, causes, 201, 210-213, range, 200; Messrs. Ashley & Henry, 208, 213; Assinaboins, trade with British, 202, hostilities, 213, range, 202, 213-214; Indian tribes on the Arkansas River, 203; Arrepaha Indians, 199, 200; General Ashley attacked, 200, 201; Hon. Thomas H. Benton, 198, 225; Minatare Indians, 215, 216; Missouri Fur Company, 200, 201, 205-210, 218; British establishments, 200, 204, 210, 216-217; Messrs. Lewis & Clarke, 207, 210; Fort de Prairie, 207; Hudson's Bay Company, 200, 201, 209, 210, 213, 215, 216-217; Lieut. Chouteau, 210; Indian Agent letter, 201; Lieut. Pryor, 210; richest fur region, 202; Mandans, 200, 202, 213, 215, 216; Spanish trade, 203; Fort Smith, 203, 215; British cause hostilities, 215, 216, 217; trade between Missouri and New Mexico, 202-203; British traders, 216-217; Major R. Graham, 198, 212; Joshua Pilcher, 205-220; Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi River, their habitats and trade, 205-206; Messrs. Immell and Jones, 207, 208, 209; Fort Benton, 207; Major O'Fallon, 211, 212, Mr. Vandenburg, 213; Fur trade for U. S., 214; trade and intercourse with Indians, 218-220; Mr. McDonald, 211; Messrs. Berthold, Chouteau, Pratte, competitors of Missouri Fur Company, 218
- J
- Jackson, W. Turrentine, *Governor Francis E. Warren, A Champion of Woman Suffrage*, 15:2:143-149; Mr. Jackson's biography, 143
- Jennings, Harry B., 15:4:390
- Johnson, Captain, 15:3:230
- Jones, William A., 15:2:118; W. T. 15:4:389
- Jones & Gray, 15:2:154
- Judges, Territorial Supreme and District Courts, 15:1:42, 43, 44, 45
- Jundquist, Lillie, 15:4:390
- K
- Keller, J. P., 15:3:281
- Kidd, Mr., 15:4:388
- Kinkaid, Mr., survives horrible ordeal, 15:3:231, 232
- L
- La Hontan, Baron, 15:3:226
- Lake Bonneville, later Great Salt Lake, 15:3:224, 225
- Langford, Nathaniel P., 15:2:105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 116, 121, 122
- Laramie City, Review of, from 1868-1869, from Laramie Weekly Sentinel May 5, 1883, 15:4:391-402
- Laramie, Jacques, 15:3:265
- Larimer, William, 15:2:177
- Lawyers, Cheyenne, 15:1:40-41; Territory, 41, 42
- Legarc, 15:2:137
- Letters of 1862 Reveal Indian Trouble Along the Overland Mail Route*, North Platte and Sweetwater routes, 15:2:150-152, (From Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, series I, vol. 13, pp. 362, 468-469); Brigadier General S. D. Sturgis, 150; Brigadier General James Craig, 150, 151, 152; protection of the Overland Mail-Route, 150-151; Captain Thomas Moonlight, 150; Major-General James J. Blunt, 150; Colonel Collins 151-152; Indian depredations, 151; Forts Pierre and Bridger, 152
- Lewis and Clarke, Messrs., 15:2:167, 168, 169; 15:3:207, 210, 235, 266, 267, 269, 270; 15:4:413, 414, 415, 416
- Library, First, County, in Wyoming, 15:1:67; Laws, 15:1:84; Territorial, 15:2:158
- Linford, Dee, *Wyoming Stream Names*, 15:2:163-174; 15:3:254-270; 15:4:413-416; biography, 15:2:163
- Lisa, Manuel, 15:2:102, 103, 134, 135, 136; 15:3:257
- Little Thunder, Chief, 15:4:376
- Livingston, Mr., 15:3:231, 232

Logan & Lonabaugh (outlaws), 15:1:66
 Long, Major T. E., 15:3:235
Looking Backward, by Harry B. Henderson, Sr., 15:1:68; First herd of cattle north of Platte River, 68; Military Forts in Wyoming in 1884, 69; counties in Territory of Wyoming in 1884, 69; assessed valuation 1884, 69; oil drilling, 69; ranches, 70
 Lupton, Mr., 15:3:289

M

Magic City, The, Cheyenne, Dakota Territory, 1867, 15:2:160-162; 15:3:250-253; 15:4:405-412
 Mail Coach "Brigham Young", 15:3:231
 Mandan Indians, 15:3:200, 203, 213, 215, 216
 Manning & Post, 15:2:153
 Many Crows, 15:3:296
 Marsh, Robert, 15:4:388
 Mason, Major J. W., U. S. A., 15:2:118
 Masonic Hall, 1867, 15:2:154
 Masonic Meeting, July 4, 1920, 15:3:191
 Maxwell, Tom, 15:1:51
 McClinnon-Crook, 15:2:135, 136
 McDonald, Mr., 15:3:211
 McKenzie, (Mackenzie) Kenneth, 15:3:238; Donald, 15:2:173
 McLeland, Thomas E., 15:2:155
 Meek, Joseph, 15:2:105
 Meldrum, John M., 15:1:44, 45
 Miller, I. C., 15:3:281; Joseph, 15:2:173, 174
 Minatare Indians, 15:3:215, 216
 Missouri Fur Company, 15:2:135, 136; Andrew Henry's, 15:2:167, 169; 15:3:200, 201, 205, 210, 218, 257
 Moonlight, Colonel, 15:1:55 (f.n.)
 Mosgrove (outlaw), 15:1:61

N

Nagle, E., 15:4:393
 Nelson, Mrs. L. H., 15:4:390
 Noble, Wert P., 15:3:281
 Norris, Amanda, (Mrs. Robert Foote), 15:1:60, 62
 Northwest Fur Company, 15:2:173; 15:3:265
 Nye, Bill, 15:3:243, 245; 15:4:387, 388
 O
 O'Brien, John, 15:3:283

O'Fallon, Major Benjamin, 15:1:211, 212, 235, 236, 264
 Ogden, Peter, 15:3:228
 Old Oregon Trail, 15:3:191-197
 "Old Pierre", 15:2:172
Old Trail to An Empire, The, by William A. Riner, 15:3:191-197; Masonic Meeting, July 4, 1920, 181; Altar, 191; Bible, Oregon Trail started, 193; Marcus Whitman, 194; Cholera, 195; Song of the West, 196, 197; Daniel Webster, 193, 194
 Osborne, John Eugene, 15:3:308-309
 Overland Stage, Indian Attack, 1865, 15:1:57

P

Pacific Fur Company, 15:2:173
 Parks, Judge, 15:1:39, 40
 Peabody, A. S., 15:4:388
 Peck, William Ware, 15:1:40, 42, 43
 Pepin, 15:2:137
 Performance, Dramatic, in Wyoming, 1864, 15:1:84
 Perkins, 15:2:136
 Petrified buffalo, Indian Legend, 15:3:292
 "Pierre's Hole", 15:3:221 (f.n.); 15:1:75
 Pilcher, Joshua, 15:2:136; 15:3:205-220
 Place Names, Wyoming, 15:1:85-90
 Poe, O. M., 15:2:118
 Pony Express, Ben Holliday's, 15:1:46
 Post Office, O'Neil street, (Cheyenne), 15:2:155
 Post sutler, Fort Laramie, 1870, 15:4:403
 Post trader, Fort Laramie, 15:1:55, Fort Halleck, 55
 Pourier, Baptiste, 15:4:403
 Pratt, 15:2:137
 Prior, Lieut., 15:3:210

R

Rafferty, John H., *Historical Sketch of Yellowstone National Park*, 15:2:101-132
 Rawlins First School Building, 15:4:390
 Raymond, R. W., 15:2:178
 Reynolds, Captain W. F., 15:2:106; 15:4:414
Red Cloud's Prayer, by Judge Gibson Clark, 15:4:403-405; Council between United States and Sioux Indians, 1870, 403; Felix R. Brunot, 403; Robert Campbell, 403; Red

- Cloud, 403, 404, 405; Spotted Tail, 403; Baptiste Pourier, 403, 404; Gibson Clark, 403, 404; Seth E. Ward, 403; Lieut. Edward L. Bailey, 403, 404; Red Cloud's Prayer, 404; Post sutler, Fort Laramie, 403
- Reminiscence of Civil War Days*, by Judge Gibson Clark, 15:4:377-386; Gibson Clark's biography, 15:4:377
- Republican Convention, First in Wyoming, 15:1:91
- Review of Laramie City, from 1868-1869, from Laramie Weekly Sentinel May 5, 1883, 15:4:391-399; Laramie City first surveyed, 392; Union Pacific Railroad sells town lots, 392, 393; first building, 393, 397; Union Pacific Rails reach Laramie City, 393; provisional government, 393; M. C. Brown, John Guerrelle, E. Nagle, J. C. Crisman, G. P. Drake, M. Townsley, P. H. Tooley, 393; Vigilantes, 394-395; Albany County organized, Laramie County seat, 396; N. K. Boswell, L. T. Wilson, T. D. Abbott, Dr. J. H. Finrock, 396; Wyoming Territory organized, 396; Wyoming Territory, Government, 396; first regular term of court, 396; first newspaper, 396, 397; Frontier Index, 397; Laramie Sentinel, 397; first white child born in Laramie, 397; first substantial buildings, 397; first public school, 398; churches, and lodges, 398-399; Territorial Politics, 399; Woman's Suffrage, 399; Woman Juries, 400-402; Woman Jurors of the first term of Court, 400; business men of, 402
- Reznor, Jacob, 15:2:169
- Roberdeau, 15:2:137
- Robinson, Edward, 15:2:169
- Rockdale Stage Station, 15:1:56
- Rocky Mountain Fur Company, 15:3:221 (f.n.), 258; 15:2:105, 174
- Root, Bill, 15:4:388
- Ross, Alexander, 15:2:172
- S
- Schurz, Carl, 15:2:118
- Sener, James B., 15:1:39
- Sheehan, Jerry, 15:3:282
- Sheridan, General Phil, 15:2:118
- Sherman Station, 1869, Union Pacific Railroad, 15:3:inside cover
- Sherman, General W. T., 15:2:118
- Sites Famous in History of Laramie City Marked During Jubilee*, from The Republican Boomerang, July 2, 1928, 15:3:242-246; Finrock home, 242; Sarah Montgomery home, 242; Opera House, original school house, site of first newspaper, First Presbyterian Church, First Methodist Church, Catholic School, "Forty Liars" Club, Bill Nye, 243; first jail, first grocery store, first drug store, first building, Trabling grocery, first theatre, first women's jury met, first court, Frontier Hotel, 244; Bill Nye's sign "Twist the Tail of the Iron Gray Mule and Take the Elevator", Home of the Boomerang; N. K. Boswell and John W. Donnellan residence; John Kane log house, 245
- Sioux Indian War, 15:3:230, 231, 232
- Slack, M. E. A., 15:2:178; 15:4:387
- Smelter, first in State, 15:1:37
- Smith, Jedediah S., 15:2:174; Willard, 15:3:288; P. L., 15:3:281
- Snake River Cattle Company (L7), 15:1:9, 11
- Song of the West, 15:3:196-197
- Stansbury, Captain, 15:3:226
- Statistical Report on the Sickness and Mortality of the Army of the United States, 1819-1860*, compiled by Marie H. Erwin, 15:4:315-375; First report, 1819-1838, 316; Second report, 1839-1855; Fort Laramie, 316-323; American Fur Company, 317; cholera at Forts Kearny and Laramie, 317-323; scurvy, 322-323. Third report, 1855-1860, 323-375; Northern Division includes, Fort Laramie, Camps Walbach and Platte Bridge, 323-347; Utah Division includes Fort Bridger and Camp Scott, 347-375; Camps Walbach and Platte Bridge, 323, 327, 332, 334; Fort Laramie, December 1858, 323-327; March, 1859, 327-333; December 1859, 333-347; Camp Scott, December 1857, 348-358; December 1857, 358-364; January 1858, 364-367; Fort Bridger, March 1859, 368-375; scorbutic diseases treated with cactus juice, wild vegetables, etc., 324-327, 328, 332, 345, 346; two new wards added to Fort Laramie, 328; buildings at Fort Laramie, 1849-1859, 317, 330, 342, 343; at Fort Bridger, 368, 370; breaking up of Camps Platte Bridge and Walbach, 1859, (Cheyenne Pass), 333-334; Fort Randall, 1859, 344; Camp Scott, winter quarters of the Army of Utah,

1857, 348; hospital at, 351, 364, 366; canvas tents at, 351; wall tents at, 352; Sibley tents at, 352, 362, 365, 366; entertainments at, 353; Dr. Forney, 354; small pox at Fort Bridger, 1857, 361; Hudson's Bay Company, 361; dried beef hides for hospital flooring, 364; winter quarters, 365; Fort Bridger, quadrangular wall, 368; mountain fever, 371
 Strong, General W. E., 15:2:118
 Stuart, Robert, 15:2:167, 170, 172, 173, 174; James, 107
 Sturgis, Brigadier General S. B., 15:2:150
 St. Vrain, 15:3:293, 296
 Sublette & Vasquez, 15:3:289; William, 15:2:105
 Superintendents of Yellowstone National Park, 15:2:121-125
 Swan Land and Cattle Company, 15:1:12
 Swan, William Franklin, biography, 15:1:6-8
 "Sweetwater Miner", 15:2:178
Sweetwater Stage Company, The, 1869, 15:2:177-180; Alex Benham, 177; Wells Fargo Company, 177; C. C. Huntley, 177; Bryan, 177-178; M. E. A. Slack, 178; William Larimer, 177; gold in Sweetwater district first discovered in 1842, 178, 179, 180; American Fur Company, 178; H. S. Reedall, 179; Noyes Baldwin, 179 (f.n.); R. W. Raymond, 178; "Sweetwater Miner", 178

T

Telephone Exchange, 1882, (Cheyenne), 15:2:158
 Tenonee, 15:2:136
 Tents, canvas, 15:4:351; wall, 352; Sibley, 352, 362, 365, 366
 Thayer, General J. M., 15:3:286
Thomas Moran's Journey to Tetons, by Fritiof Fryxell, 15:1:71-84; F. Fryxell biography, 71; foot notes on Thomas Moran, 71-72, 73-74, 75; "Beaver Dick" Leigh, 81, 83 (f.n.); excerpt Moran's Journal, 76-84; Mount Leidy, 73 (f.n.); Fort Hall, 15:1:75, 77 (f.n.)
 Thompson and Craig's Trading Fort, 15:3:287, 289
 Thompson, David, 15:3:269
 Thorp, Russell Collection, 15:2:182-186
Timely Arrival, A, by J. Elmer Brock, 15:1:63-67; Mr. Brock's bi-

ography, 63; George Curry, "Flat Nose George", 64-67; Wilcox train robbery, 66; Joe Hazen, 66; Logan & Lonabaugh, outlaws, 66; Hole-in-the-wall, 64, 65; Walt Monett, 66 (f.n.); Barbara Curry, 64

Toll bridge over the Sweetwater River, 15:3:229, 230, 231

Tooley, P. H., 15:4:393

Trabing Brothers, 15:4:397, 388

Trade and Intercourse, Indian Affairs, Missouri River, 1820, 15:2:133-142; Manuel Lisa, 134, 135, 136; John Coulter (Colter), 134; Missouri Fur Company, 135, 136; Blackfeet Indians, 134, 135; McClinnon-Crooks, 135-136; United States boats carrying Mandan Chief attacked by Arickaras, 135; Wilson P. Hunt, 136; Astor, 136; Trade of Missouri River, 136, 137; Indian tribes and traders, 136-137; Indians mistrust whites, 138-139; Big Elk, 138-139; whiskey given to Indians, 137, 138, 139; placing Indian trade in hands of the government, 140; Colonel Henry Atkinson, 140, 142; Major Thomas Biddle, 140, 141, 142; traders, List, Pilcher, Perkins, Wood, Carson, Williams, Tenonee, Seres and Francis Chouteau, Legarc, Roberdeau, Pepin, Buthol, Pratt, Vasquez, Broseau, De Lotion, 136, 137; Indian tribes trading at or near Missouri River, 1819; Ottoes, Missourias, Ioways, Mahas, Pawnees, Piankeshaws and Sioux; on the Osage River, Osages and Kansas Nations, 136, 137; United States Factory (trading post) 137; conduct of traders, 138, 139, 141, 142; Government control of Indian trade, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142

Trading Post on Sweetwater River, 1853, 15:3:229, 230, 231

Tritch & Company, George, 15:2:154

Tulloch, Samuel, 15:3:227, 228

Two Face, Chief, 15:4:376

U

Union Pacific Railroad tracks, 1867, 15:2:149

United States Factory (trading posts), 15:2:137

V

Vanderburgh, Mr., 15:3:213

Vasquez, 15:3:228, 289, 293

W

- Wagner, Henry, letter to W. E. Chaplin*, 15:4:386-389; Bill Nye, Captain O'Neil, Trabing Brothers, J. W. Connor, L. T. Wilcox, T. D. Abbott, E. A. Slack, 387; Albany County court room, 387; Catholic Church, 387; Tom Dillon, A. T. Williams, Mr. Kidd, Bill Nye, N. A. Baker, J. H. Hayford, A. S. Peabody, Robert Marsh, Trabing Brothers, Will Holliday, 388; Weekly Sentinel, 387; daily paper, 388; Boomerang, 388; Bill Nye, Bill Root, Buck Bramel, Charles Wagner, Charles Bramel, 389; A. R. Converse, 388; F. E. Warren, 388; Mr. Hicks, 388; Convention at Point of Rocks, 389; W. W. Corlett, Judge W. T. Jones, Colonel J. W. Donnellan, Church Howe, 389; United States Government Contracts, 389; Sisters' Hospital, Public School, Peter Gumry, 389; Bankers, Wagner & Dunbar, 389; J. R. Brophy, Clarence Dunbar, 389
- Walks-under-the-ground, Chief*, 15:4:376
- Ward, Seth E.*, 15:4:403
- War Records, Collection and Preservation of Wyoming*, 15:1:92
- Warren, Governor Francis E., A Champion of Woman Suffrage*, 15:2:143-149
- Warren, Gouverneur K., Bonneville's Expedition to Rocky Mountains, 1832-'33, '34, '35, '36*, 15:3:220-228, 220 (f.n.)
- Washburn-Langford*, 15:2:105, 106, 109-116, 121; General D., 108
- Water Works System (Cheyenne)* 1882, 15:2:157
- Watson, Ella (Cattle Kate)*, 15:1:49
- Woman, juries*, 15:4:400-402; jurors, 15:4:400; suffrage, 15:2:143-149; 15:4:399
- Wyoming in World War II*, 15:2:175-176, by Senator J. C. O'Mahoney, 15:3:298-306
- Wyoming Place Names*, 15:1:85-90
- Wyoming Sheriffs*, 15:3:247-248; Thomas J. Carr, 247; Will Schnitger, Nick O'Brien, Frank Canton, Red Angus, N. K. Boswell, Louis Miller, Jack Brophy, Malcolm Campbell, John Ward, John Williams, Larry Fee, Billy Lykens, Johnny Owens, B. F. Lowe, J. J. Atkins, John R. Murphy, Thomas J. Keese, Jim Rankin, Joe Rankin, William Hawley, Jim Ryan, George W. Laney, 248
- Wyoming Stock Growers Association*, 15:1:7
- Wyoming Stream Names*, by Dee Linford, 15:2:163-174; D. Linford's bibliography, 163; catalogue of Wyoming Streams, 164; interesting stream names, 165; Snake River, 165-168; Yampa "Yam-pa-pah" River, 166; Pacific Creek, 168; Two Ocean Creek, 168; Hoback River, 169; John Hoback, 173, 174; Edward Robinson, Jacob Reznor, 169-170; Wilson P. Hunt, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174; Astor, 166, 167, 173; Andrew Henry's Missouri Fur Company, 167, 169; Grey's River, John Gray, 170-171; Robert Stuart, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174; Salt River, 171, 172; Ashley, 173, 174; Lewis and Clark, 167, 169; Teton River, 172; "Beaver Dick" Leigh, 173; Bear River, 173, 174; Donald McKenzie of the Northwest Fur Company, 173, 174; Hudson's Bay Company, 170, 172; American Fur Company, 170; Thomas Fork, 174
- 15:3:254-270, Green River, 254-257; La Barge Creek, 257; Fontennelle, 257; Big Sandy, Black's Fork and Ham's Fork, Henry's Fork, 257; Little Snake, Battle Creek, 258; List of major world rivers as listed in Hammond's Atlas, 258; Missouri, Mississippi water-way, 259; Missouri River, 259, 260; Madison and Gallatin Rivers, 260; Platte River, 260-262; North Platte, South Platte, 262-263; Encampment River, Medicine Bow River, 263; Sweetwater River, 263-264; Muddy Creek, Lost Soldier Creek, 264; Bates Creek, 264, 265; Casper Creek, Boxelder Creek, LaPrele Creek, LaBonte, Laramie River, 265; Chugwater, 265-266; Sybille, Horse Creek, 266; Niobrara River, 266-267; Cheyenne River, 267, 268; tributaries of the Cheyenne, 268; Old Woman, Crazy Woman, Inyan Kara Creek, Belle Fourche, 268; Little Missouri, 268-269; Yellowstone River, 269-270; Lake Eustis, 270
- 15:4:413-416; Yellowstone River System, 413; Clark's Fork, 413, 414; Big Horn, 414; Jackson Lake, 415;

Lake Biddle, 414, 415; Wind River,
414, 416; Lewis and Clark, 413,
414, 415, 416; Wilson P. Hunt, 416;
W. F. Raynolds, 414; John Colter,
414, 415

Y

Yellowstone National Park, Histor-
ical Sketch of, compiled by John
H. Raftery, 15:2:101-132; 15:3:270

