

Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 18

January, 1946

No. 1

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



These two cottonwood trees marked the old entrance to Fort D. A. Russell in 1884. They are still standing (1945). The larger tree to the right, at one time marked the entrance to Camp Carlin. It is the only tree left of those by-gone days. Photograph donated to the Wyoming Historical Department by Captain T. D. Conklin of Public Relations, Fort Francis E. Warren.

Published Bi-Annually
by

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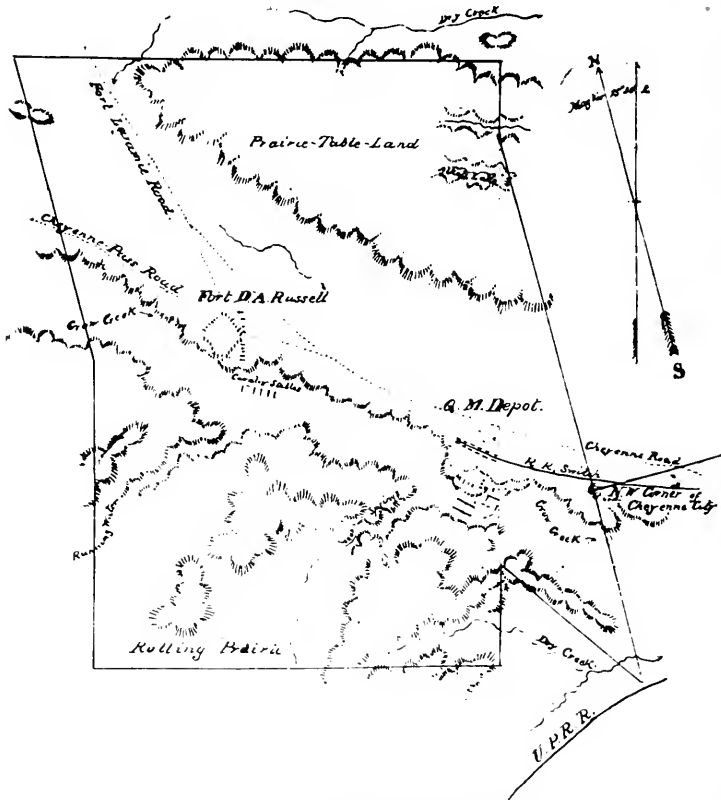
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Printed by
THE WYOMING LABOR JOURNAL
Cheyenne, Wyoming

Military Reservation of Fort D. A. Russell, W. T.
 1869



**Description of Military Reservation
 at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming**

Beginning at the N. W. corner of the City of Cheyenne. Thence due south one mile to Union Pacific Railroad. Thence north $51\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ West (by compass) 73 chains thence south (by compass) 40 chains, thence west (by compass) two miles. Thence north (by compass) one mile 40 chains, thence due north one mile 45 chains, thence east (by compass) two miles 33 chains, thence south (by compass) 33 chains, thence due south one mile 62 chains, to the point of beginning.

The magnetic variation is $15^{\circ} 30'$ East.

(Copied from photostat.)

History of Fort Francis E. Warren

JANE R. KENDALL

Fort Francis E. Warren Today

The Military Reservation of Fort Francis E. Warren is located in the southeastern part of Wyoming, west and directly adjacent to Cheyenne, the State capital. The reservation is roughly rectangular in shape, with an area of 7,520 acres. It is crossed in the southern part by Crow Creek, a small prairie stream flowing eastward. The surface of the reservation, particularly where the buildings are located, is rather unevenly terraced, rising in irregular plateaus or benches from Crow Creek bottoms to the higher rolling prairie land above. The sandy soil contains much fine gravel; it drains readily and is seldom muddy.

The climate of southeastern Wyoming is characteristic of the great plains area in which it lies. The elevation is around 6,000 feet and there is, naturally, considerable wind, but never of great destructive force. There is much clear weather with bright sunshine throughout the year. Summer days are seldom hot and the nights are cool and refreshing. Winter weather may be moderate both as to snowfall and low temperatures, or it may be extreme in both. There may be sudden weather and temperature changes at any season of the year and at any time of the day. This feature is not always agreeable, but on the whole, the climate in this part of Wyoming is healthful and invigorating.

Cheyenne, the close neighbor of Fort Francis E. Warren, is a thriving western town with a population of about twenty-five thousand. The country surrounding Cheyenne is range land, with here and there a dry land farm. The important and most profitable industry of the locality is, and has always been, livestock raising.

Cheyenne and the Fort Francis E. Warren Military Reservation have a highly strategic location in the United States, being approximately 755 miles from the Mexican Border and 710 miles from the boundary line of Canada. They lie within a distance of 1,618 miles from New York and about 1,252 miles from the Pacific coast (Los Angeles). They are close to the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, not far from Sherman Pass, a great natural land bridge, that extends from the open prairie to the top of the range thirty miles away. This pass over the

mountains is used by the Union Pacific Railroad and the Lincoln Highway.

Fort Francis E. Warren is named in honor of Senator Francis Emroy Warren, who was, for many years United States Senator from Wyoming. President Herbert Hoover changed the name of the reservation by proclamation, January 1, 1930. Previous to that time, the reservation bore the name of Fort D. A. Russell, in honor of General David A. Russell, a Civil War hero who fell at the moment of victory at Opequan, Virginia, September 19, 1864. In the early history of the reservation, the name, Fort D. A. Russell will be used.

Fort Warren proper is situated on the north side of Crow Creek. The permanent buildings are red brick. The grounds are well laid out and landscaped. There are barracks for a garrison strength of 3,367 men, quarters for 225 officers, 71 sets of non-commissioned officers' quarters, and numerous service buildings.

Until October, 1940, Fort Francis E. Warren had seen little change except that which comes with slow, steady growth and improvement. When the unlimited national emergency arose in 1940, making expansion of the Army imperative, changes on the reservation were profound and rapid. Plans for the building of the Quartermaster Replacement Training Center were quickly put into action. From December, 1940 to July, 1941, a military city, consisting of 282 temporary type frame buildings, complete with all utilities and streets, was built on the south banks of Crow Creek opposite and about half a mile distant from what is now referred to as "the old post".

Further construction was authorized and the Quartermaster Replacement Training Center at the declaration of War December 8, 1941, has 387 buildings, sufficient for a garrison strength of 20,000 men.

Western Exploration and the Railroad Surveys

The early history of Fort D. A. Russell, as the post will now be called, is full of interest, romance and adventure. Beginning with the Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803, the first western land acquisition of the United States, and following through the early explorations of this immediate part of the West, a logical and continuous historical background can be quickly and easily established.

The Louisiana Purchase Treaty had not yet been signed when President Jefferson, in a confidential message to Congress, suggested that a small, select group of able men be sent to explore the Missouri river and to find the best route of communication with the Pacific Ocean. He suggested that twelve men from the military service would make a sufficiently large

exploring party and that \$2500 should cover all costs. The men taken from the service were to volunteer for the expedition and, as the thrifty President remarked, would have to be paid by the army anyway. He also suggested that the men could be rewarded upon their return by grants from the public lands.

Captain Lewis and Lieut. Clark, 1st Infantry, were the able leaders chosen and their journey was certainly successful. They "ascertained, with accuracy, the geography of the country, its commerce and its inhabitants". Whether or not Jefferson set the pattern for western exploration, for years afterwards small, select groups of able men from the military service explored the western lands, "ascertained the geography and learnt the characted of the country." This branch of the service later became the Topographical Engineers.

The idea of a route of communication with the Pacific Ocean was dominant in the minds of some of the eastern financiers, perhaps on account of the rich trade with the orient. At any rate, John Jacob Astor, with a purely commercial idea in mind, sent a party of explorers known to history as the Overland Astorians, to find a practical commercial route to the Pacific Ocean. The party crossed Wyoming on both the westward and the eastward journeys, 1811-12.

In 1832, when the nation possessed about 120 miles of railroad, a magazine called "The Emigrant" published an article suggesting that a transcontinental railroad be built. A little later (1845), Asa Whitney, a Boston merchant, presented a memorial to Congress explaining how a railroad to the Pacific Ocean could be built and what was equally important, how it could be financed by land grants to the builder. At this period it is important to note that a trade treaty with China had been made (1844). Oriental trade, however, languished for a time because the Chinese medium of exchange was gold and that the United States did not have, until after the California discoveries of 1849.

Then in 1855, Commodore Peary opened trade negotiations with Japan. In the meantime Texas had joined the Union in 1845 and the Mexican cession was completed by treaty, 1848. After our territorial claims were secure from ocean to ocean, the time had come for a great interior expansion and development, and this marked the beginning of the most fascinating period of our national history.

In 1853, Congress passed a law providing for a "Survey for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean."¹ The War Department was in charge of the Survey.

1. The Railroad Surveys were conducted on the authority of the Army appropriation act of March 31, 1853. The findings were published by the War Department, 1854-55.

The Topographical Engineers did the work under the direction of Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War. Five routes west of the Mississippi River were surveyed between the international boundaries of Canada and Mexico. These routes were designated as (1) The Northern Route of the 47th and 49th parallels; (2) The Overland Route, the Mormon Trail or the Central Route of the 41st and 42nd parallels; (3) The Buffalo Trail on the 38th and 39th parallels; (4) the route on the 35th parallel, and (5) the route on the 32nd parallel, called the Southern Route. The findings of these Pacific Railroad Surveys were published in twelve large volumes, 1855-56.

Following the Jeffersonian precedent of advancing geographical knowledge they were complete in topography, geology, botany, ornithology, zoology, and anthropology. The narrative accounts, as written by the Engineers, are seldom read today, but in 1856 they presented the first accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the unknown West. One fact stood forth; there were many practicable railroad routes to the Pacific Ocean. In Congress it was not a question of whether a Pacific Railroad should be built, but which one should be built first.

The New England senators favored the northern route, the South wanted the southern route, and the Middle West wanted the central route. Localism and extreme sectional interests prevented any constructive legislation until the opposition of the Southern senators was removed by the secession. The central route was then chosen and the Railroad Act of 1862 was passed.

The Railroad Act of July 1, 1862² was the charter of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. While this act was not a war measure, it is doubtful whether it could have been passed at any other time or by any other Congress. It provided for large subsidies in land to the Union Pacific, and in return the United States was to be guaranteed the use of the railroad for mail and for military transportation. The law prescribed the route which the railroad should follow. A single clause practically predetermined the location of Cheyenne and Fort D. A. Russell five years before the actual sites could be selected and surveyed. This clause required the definite location of the "east base of the Rocky Mountains" on the line of the railroad survey by a presidential representative. From that particular point westward the railroad subsidy was to be trebled. In other words, the Union Pacific Railroad Company was to receive \$48,000 a mile in subsidy for mountain construction instead of \$16,000 a mile as had been received for construction over the comparatively level prairie.

The eastern terminus of the Union Pacific was located by President Lincoln at Omaha. Construction began in December

2. U. S. Stat. 12:493.

1863 but no rapid progress was made until after the Civil War was over (April, 1865) and the nation could turn its attention to the frontier.

General Grenville M. Dodge, who had proved his ability in the construction of communications during the Civil War, resigned from the Army and became the Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific in May, 1866. The previous summer, General Dodge was on an Indian campaign in the Powder River country and it was while going from Fort Laramie southward on the Fort Laramie-New Mexico road that he discovered the famous Sherman Pass.

Under General Dodge the railroad construction acquired a distinct military character, due to the previous Civil War experience of many of the men and to the necessity for protection from the hostile Indians in the country through which the railroad was built.

Late in 1866, the end-of-track reached Julesburg, Colorado Territory. The final survey of the line over the Black Hills, as the mountains to the west of Cheyenne were then called, had been completed by Mr. Evans and his party. The survey west from Pine Bluffs, Wyoming had been delayed because of Indian hostilities and "a revision of the location" of the line of survey from the Lodge Pole Creek valley over to the Crow Creek valley. Before the discovery of Sherman Pass the line of survey followed Lodge Pole Creek and crossed the Black Hills at Cheyenne Pass about ten miles north of the present route of the Union Pacific.

General Dodge left the end of track at Julesburg, June 28, 1867; accompanied by Mr. Jacob Blikensderfer, Jr., the presidential representative who was to "fix" the east base of the Rocky Mountains. General J. A. Rawlins, Chief of Staff, U. S. A., was also in the party as well as high railroad officials. The line surveyed by Evans crossed Crow Creek and this point was called Crow Creek Crossing. Here General Dodge was joined by Gen. C. C. Augur, Commander of the Department of the Platte.³

General Augur's instructions were to locate a military post where General Dodge located the end of a railroad division. Both locations depended on the point fixed by Mr. Blikensderfer as the "east base of the Rocky Mountains". This point Mr. Blikensderfer fixed at 525.78 miles west from Omaha and 6.637 miles west from Cheyenne.

On July 4, 1867, General Dodge selected and named the site of Cheyenne, and General Augur selected the site of the military reservation that he was to locate where General Dodge

3. U. S. Congressional Documents, serial 1346, H.R. Ex. Doc. 331, P. 1-3, 18, 45, 48.

located the division of the railroad. After these sites were selected, General Rawlins delivered an impressive and patriotic Fourth of July address, and then everybody celebrated.

Later in July, Lieut. R. W. Petriken, Corps of Engineers, surveyed the military reservation, three miles long, two miles wide, length north and south magnetic meridian. The "town and claim" of Cheyenne, two miles square, was surveyed by the Union Pacific surveyors, also on the magnetic meridian. The declination was $15^{\circ} 30'$ E. This perhaps explains the off compass directions of the streets of Cheyenne. The military reservation received its name, Fort D. A. Russell, formally on September 8, 1867.⁴

General Angur, while still at Crow Creek Crossing, directed Brevet Brigadier General John D. Stevenson, Colonel 30th Infantry, to assume command of all the troops in that vicinity and of all the detachments engaged in escorting and protecting employees of the Union Pacific Railroad. General Stevenson was also commanded to "assume and exercise such control of all inhabitants of the vicinity as was needful to preserve good order and protect property in the absence of all civil authority." In addition to those duties, General Stevenson and the 30th Infantry laid out and built Fort Russell, proper, during the fall and early winter of 1867.⁵

In August, 1867 Colonel Elias B. Carling selected the site of the supply depot which he was to establish on the military reservation about a mile and a half down the creek from Fort Russell proper. It was about half way between Fort Russell and Cheyenne. This was a military "camp" and was usually garrisoned by a detached company of infantry. It was called Camp Carling in honor of Colonel Carling. From the beginning there was confusion in spelling the name, sometimes it was Carling, sometimes Carlin—even in official records. The granite marker that now stands on the site of the old flag pole says "Camp Carlin." The official name of the supply depot was "Cheyenne Depot."

Building the First Post

Construction began at Fort Russell and Camp Carlin in September, 1867. As with other commonplace things of long ago true descriptions of these first buildings are difficult to find. Colonel Carling, Quartermaster at Cheyenne Depot, advertized for bids on building materials in the Rocky Mountain News, published in Denver, Colorado. According to the Secretary of War's Report, the contract for these materials was given to J.

4. U. S. Congressional Documents, serial 1368, H.R. Ex. Doc. 1, Pt. 2, Dept. of the Secretary of War, P. 1197.

5. War Dept., Surgeon General's Office, Circular 4, Dec. 5, 1870.

Mason as follows: for green lumber, \$80 per thousand feet; for seasoned lumber, \$90 per thousand feet; for clear lumber, \$100 per thousand feet; dressed, \$10 additional; for tongue and groove, \$15 additional; for shingles, \$12 per thousand. There were no contracts for logs although the early *Records of Medical History* says, "Temporary log huts for the enlisted men were erected in September."

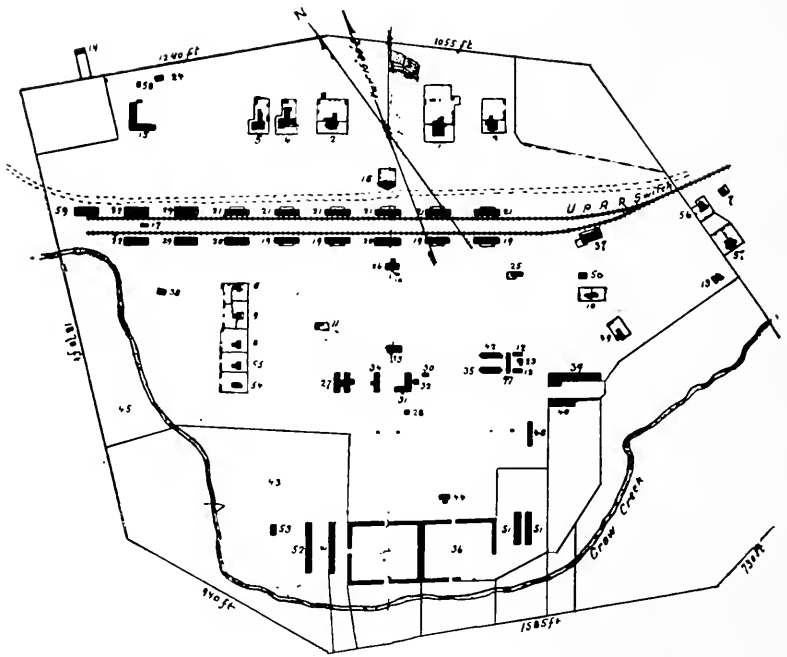
The officers remained in tents. Permanent company quarters were erected in October and November, 1867. Officers quarters were completed and occupied in February, 1868. Drawings in the *Records of Medical History* show each officers quarters to have been a five room, story and a half frame house, built double. These houses were built of rough boards placed upright with the cracks battened. The inside was finished with planed boards and battens instead of plaster. The barracks were constructed in the same manner except that the walls were filled to the eaves with adobes. This method of building barracks can still be seen today at old Fort Laramie. A local newspaper article of the day said that a favorite method of building in Cheyenne was to fill the spaces between the studding with adobes and then plaster over the whole. Dr. Hayden in his geological report of 1868 says that a fine quality of lime was found in the foot hills west of Cheyenne and was much used by the people as it made a fine white plaster. Later Quartermaster reports on repairs show the barracks as being lathed and plastered. Not one of these first buildings remain on the reservation today. Four cavalry stables were built in Crow Creek bottoms, of rough lumber, stockaded.

The original form of the post was diamond shaped, one axis 800 feet; the other, 1,040 feet. Fort Russell never had a stockade. An early description of the post says that it was surrounded by an adobe wall, four feet high. The post entrance faced east, the infantry and cavalry barracks were on the southeast line of the diamond, adobe laundresses quarters on the southwest line, the hospital and officers quarters were on the northwest and northeast lines. A row of quartermaster sheds was near the east entrance, outside the post. Laundresses quarters, forty-six of them, were south, southwest, and west of the post. A row of these quarters was also built across the creek. These buildings were built, according to *Records of Medical History*, of pine slabs, stockaded, and were used by married, enlisted men as well as laundresses.

There were service buildings, carpenter shops, blacksmith shops, a bake house with ovens for 600 rations, an amusement hall and a post trader's store. Each company had its own wash house back of the barracks. Cows and chickens could be kept by officers and these buildings were back of the quarters.

Cheyenne Depot, Wyo., 1884

Scale—One inch to 800 feet.



At Camp Carlin, large warehouses were built along the railroad siding so that freight cars could be unloaded on the platforms. There were deep cellars for storage of vegetables and potatoes and other supplies that might be damaged by frost. There were large stables and corrals for mules and horses, and living quarters for the packers and wagon masters. As to the actual number of civilians employed at Camp Carlin, accounts vary. Some say as many as 800 men were employed there. In the *Records of Medical History* the number of civilian employees at Cheyenne Depot averaged 285.

The road from Fort Russell to Cheyenne followed Crow Creek and passed through Camp Carlin, a convenient half-way stopping place on the way to and from the "city."

Early Patrols and Scouts

During the Civil War Indian depredations increased throughout the West. Troops could not be spared, however, a few were required to garrison the frontier posts properly. Western travel on the Oregon Trail had been forced southward, following the South Platte River and the Lodge Pole Creek valley over the Cheyenne Pass. In 1866, the route changed again and went from Julesburg south-west to Denver, then northward to Fort Sanders near Laramie, and then on west to Salt Lake City.

When Fort Russell was established, the first duty of the troops was the railroad patrol. Every railroad surveying party and construction gang worked under protection of the troops. There were escort parties for travelers and emigrants, and scouts after stolen livestock. The distances of these scouts varied, some were only a few miles, others were two or three hundred miles away.

In 1867, Major Frank North was in command of a battalion of Pawnee Scouts. They were stationed along the Union Pacific right-of-way from Plum Creek, Nebraska to the Laramie Plains. In 1871, they were stationed at Fort Russell.⁶ The Pawnee Scouts, being hereditary enemies of the Sioux, were particularly valuable to the army at the time. The Union Pacific was completed by the Gold Spike ceremony, May 10, 1869. The Indians did not bother the railroad after its completion but troops were stationed along the right-of-way from May to November for some years afterwards.

There were no Indian Reservations near Fort Russell. The Indian title to the lands south of the North Platte River had been extinguished by a treaty with the Cheyennes in 1865.⁷ The Sioux treaty of 1868 set aside the lands north of the North Platte River and east of the summit of the Big Horns for the

6. U. S. Cong. Doc. serial 1324, p. 59.

7. U. S. Stat: 14:703.

Sioux hunting grounds.⁸ Indian raids were conducted from this reserve on which no white man could legally enter.

The last Indian scout from Fort Russell ended in October, 1895.

Early Garrison Life

The garrison life of the frontier troops depended upon the location of the post at which they were stationed. Fort C. F. Smith in the Big Horn Valley, Montana, was called "the place nearest to hell and yet not in it." Fort Russell was different. There were no hostile Indians close by and no isolation in the full meaning of that word. There were dangers and hardships, but none greater than those on any frontier.¹²

During the months when grass was good and the Indian ponies were strong, the troops were in the field on scouts and patrols. A common saying among the pioneers was, "Spring is here, and so are the Indians." *Grass is five inches high* meant only one thing: the Indians could leave their reservations to hunt and if they chose, steal, plunder and murder.

While the troops were away the garrison strength was often very low, frequently under a hundred men.

In the winter when the companies returned to the post the strength would increase to as many as six or seven hundred officers and men.

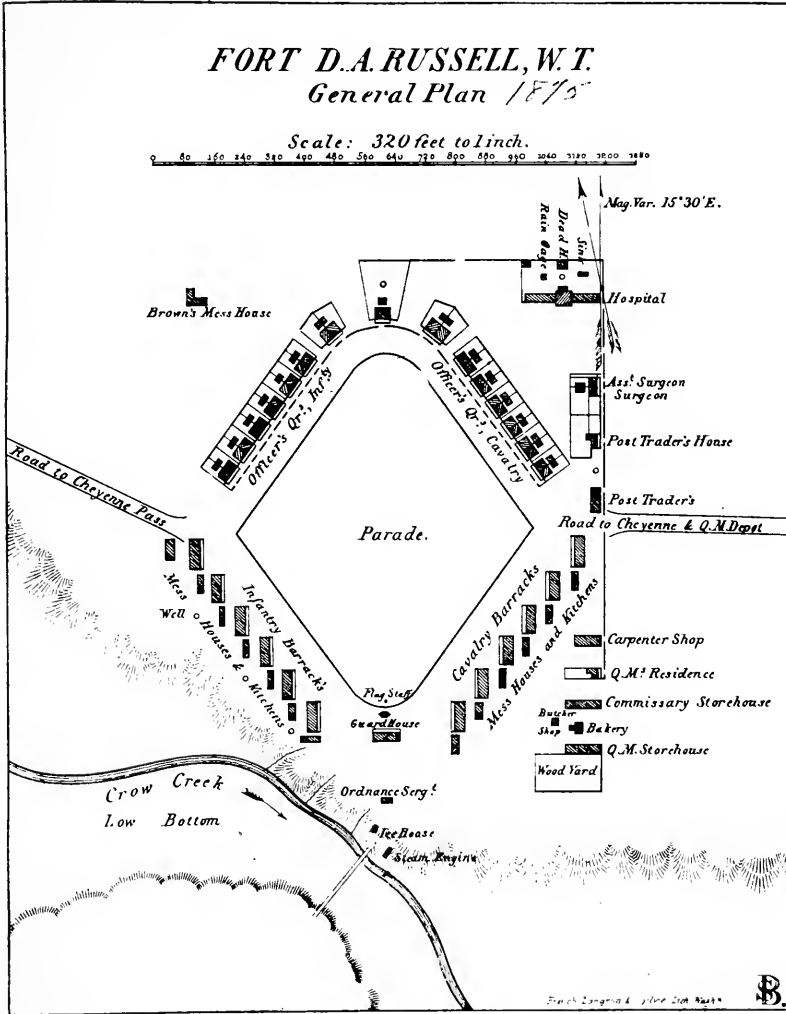
At western posts the labor of building and repairing was performed by the troops, for in many localities there was none other available. The men so employed received the extra pay for constant labor at the rate of 35c a day. After July, 1884, the pay for extra duty was increased to 50c a day.

The everyday ways of living in pioneer times hold a deep human interest, and especially since those ways have so nearly disappeared. While there is something about the army that verges upon the eternal some of the old things have gone and perhaps may never return.

In the matter of clothing it is certain that the troops will never again be issued buffalo overcoats made from tanned buffalo skins, nor will they again be issued seal skin helmets and gauntlets as they were during the 1870's. Buffalo shoes and buffalo moccasins were part of frontier equipment. Arctic overshoes, "snow excluders," were experimental clothing in 1876. Sheepskin lined overcoats came later after the material for the buffalo overcoats became a scarcity.

8. Ibid 16:635.

12. New York Life Insurance Company advertised policies without extra premium for residence on the frontier. May, 16, 1868. Cheyenne Leader.



Socks were "stockings" then, and worsted ones were 41c a pair. Gloves were issued three to a pair—two rights and one left. The infantry uniform was dark blue jersey—the cavalry wore dark blue blouses, sky-blue trousers. For some reason the "dragoons" did not care for the sky-blue overcoats, even at a far off frontier army post, and would not draw them with their clothing issue. The coats had to be returned to the Philadelphia depot.

Army shoes were frequent experimental clothing for both officers and men. In those days of long marches, shoes were important equipment. Even practice marches were long, sometimes five to six hundred miles. Shoes, it seemed, had to have stitched soles—otherwise the pegs, nails or screws would work loose and cause trouble. Corns were a common affliction in those days. Cavalry boots were huge, knee length, and very heavy.

As to barracks furniture: chairs were made by prison labor at Leavenworth; bunks were "iron" and in the early 1880's for the first time, woven wire bunk bottoms were used with mattresses instead of bed sacks filled with straw. Whether barracks pillows were feather is not stated, but the hospital pillows were stuffed with horsehair, as shown on a bill for cleaning and repairing them—25c each.

The foot lockers were made according to the specifications stated in the Army law of 1866, not much different in size from those of today.¹³

The barracks were heated by stoves, with wood for fuel, during the first years; and later as Wyoming coal fields were developed, coal, especially Rock Springs coal, was used. One time the garrison supply of coal was very low, but the contractor could not furnish more until the Chinese miners at Rock Springs finished their New Year's celebration, and went back to work. In the bitter cold of 1883, the post overdrew its coal allowance, and the Quartermaster was held responsible for the shortage. After considerable trouble involving weather reports and average temperatures (coal was allowed on a low temperature basis) the allowance was increased one-third.

The Quartermaster's requisitions for stoves and stove repairs were very large. The stoves were cast iron and in those days there were no standard parts. The quality and durability of today could not be bought then. It did not exist.

For lighting there were candles, and the candle lantern, candles being a component part of the ration. Sperm oil and mineral oil were used in small brass lamps, which held about a half pint. The mineral oil issue was measured in ounces, not hard to understand when the price ranged from \$2.50 down to

13. Wyoming State Museum has a foot locker belonging at one time to Col. E. B. Carling.

a dollar a gallon. Sperm oil was furnished when it was cheaper than kerosene, as late as 1876. As time passed, mineral oil (the Army always called it mineral oil) became cheaper and the post had "exterior illumination," twenty street lamps, and after 1890 there were thirty. These lamps were cared for and lit by the prisoners.

The Quartermaster's requisition for illuminating supplies always asked for many "lamp chimneys," seven or eight hundred for the lamps in twenty-nine rooms. The old barracks were cold and draughty and the lamp chimneys were none too durable. When the lights were put out, they could be heard cracking for an hour afterward. The Quartermaster always added a note of apology for such large requisitions. "It's a very windy country," so he said.

There was another recurring item asked for in the Quartermaster's stores for expenditure; two hundred feet of walnut for coffins for those who died on the reservation and were buried in the post cemetery.

Then, as today, there was experimentation with various kinds of army equipment—arms, intrenching tools, and field equipment.¹¹ During the 1890's a bicycle brigade was seriously considered, and earlier, a cannon that could be fired from the back of a mule—the mule didn't like it and the bicycle troops never materialized. There was a combination bayonet and intrenching tool that wasn't exactly satisfactory either. From the report it seems that the commanding officer marched the troops out to the hardest gumbo that he could find (no mention is made of deliberate purpose) and timed the men in the trial. Twenty minutes were required to scoop out a sufficient shelter, not to mention earth protection from gun fire, so the bayonet-intrenching tool never became a part of equipment.

The general reorganization law of the army after the Civil War provided for schools for enlisted men and post children at frontier army posts. School at Fort Russell was held in a room set aside in whatever building had unused space. At one time or another the school room was in unoccupied quarters in the old post hospital and in a partitioned off space at one end of the amusement hall. A school house was never built, although at one time the Post Quartermaster was notified by the Omaha depot that lumber for that purpose had been shipped to Fort Russell. The instruction was under the supervision of an officer. The teachers were enlisted men who received extra duty pay. The subjects taught were those of the common branches of English education, but after the Spanish American War, Spanish was a "recommended" subject. All books, supplies, and school equipment were furnished by the government. Attendance varied with the garrison strength, and, as with many other

things in the army, the interest of the Post Commander was a great factor for success.

The company laundress was an army institution that passed away upon the introduction of steam laundries and Chinese laundrymen. According to an old army law, each company was allowed one laundress to each nineteen men, or fraction thereof. These women were usually wives of enlisted men and drew rations on the same basis as the men. The company wash house was back of the barracks and here the laundresses washed the company clothes. These women lived with their families in the little frame and adobe houses just outside the post proper, south and west of the post across the creek. A row of these cottages was still standing at the time of the flood in 1904. The first steam laundry with its accompanying Chinese was installed by 1893, for a complaint about the sanitary condition of the Chinese laundrymen's quarters was made a matter of medical record by the post surgeon.

Food is always an interesting subject and army rations especially so at this particular time. In 1802 Congress provided an army ration of meat and bread, and one gill of rum, whiskey or brandy daily, and to every one hundred rations; two quarts of salt, four quarts of vinegar, four pounds of soap, and a pound and a half of candles. Quantities as to bread and meat varied from time to time and the spirit ration was later replaced by sugar and coffee. As foodstuffs increased in variety and the food habits of the nation changed, army rations changed, too. When the process of preserving perishable foods by canning was perfected, army rations were greatly improved and the variety increased. On the frontier, game was added to the ration, and troops were issued ammunition for hunting purposes. Frontier posts were required to plant gardens, and the men, it seems, had to share in the cultivation of them. At Fort Russell, the drawback to success was the lack of sufficient irrigation water. After the Spanish American War no record of gardens is shown on any report. Fort Russell troops never suffered for adequate rations while at the post and the greatest privation ever reported was on General Crook's Big Horn Expedition in 1876, when a nine day march was made on two days rations and horsemeat.

The post exchange replaced the post trader and was a great improvement in all ways. Fort Russell's Exchange has been, through the years, well managed and profitable. The first exchange was established about 1890.

The post had a library from the very beginning, and certain magazines and newspapers were supplied by the government. In this matter the Post Commander also exerted considerable influence.

Winter was the happiest time at Fort Russell in the early days. The Indians went back to their reservations and the

troops came in from the field for the winter's rest. The town was friendly and there was the exchange of hospitality and good will that comes from isolation and a certain dependence for safety. At the nation's "notables" visited the West, Cheyenne and the Fort entertained all who came their way.

For amusements of their own there were dancing clubs and dramatic clubs; for sports there were the usual athletic contests, hook and ladder contests, horse racing and the fads of the day.

It was not until the 1890's that organized recreation was recognized as a valuable asset to the army as a morale builder and not until after the reorganization following the Spanish American War was it made an integral part of army training.

The Indian Campaigns

The subjugation of the Indian by the white settlers of the United States covered roughly a period of three hundred years, assuming that the conquest began with the arrival of the first colonists at Jamestown and ended with the last sporadic uprisings of the western tribes during the 1890's.

In 1785, while the influence of William Penn was yet strong, Congress passed a law recognizing the right of the Indian to the lands over which he roamed and claimed as his own. The law further provided that the right and title to that land could be obtained by the United States only through purchase and by treaty agreements. The Indian tribes were "domestic dependent nations" but nevertheless the United States executed treaties with them on the same basis as with foreign powers, as late as 1872. At this time Congress reduced the Indian Treaty to the status of a simple "agreement."

Out of the many Indian treaties, two of them were of particular importance to Fort Russell. By the Treaty of 1865 the United States obtained from the Cheyennes and Arapahoes the title to the lands to be crossed by the Union Pacific Railroad, and thus removed those hostile Indians from the immediate vicinity of the Post. The second treaty was that made by the peace commissioners at Fort Laramie in 1868. This treaty set aside the lands north of the North Platte River and east of the summit of the Big Horns as a hunting reserve for the Sioux. This joined their permanent reservation in Dakota on its western boundary. As a model of appeasement this treaty was unsurpassed. The military posts, Fort Reno, Fort Phil Kearney, and Fort C. F. Smith, the farthest outpost in Montana, were abandoned. And it was further provided that no white person could legally enter that reserve. These provisions made the territory the soul and center of the Indian hostilities that finally culminated in the Sioux War of 1876.

The Indians could and did use the southern part of that rough country as a base from which to conduct their raids on the white settlers, and to steal their livestock. From the time of the territorial organization of Wyoming until the abrogation of the Treaty in 1877, in the thinly settled strip of country lying between the Union Pacific Railroad and the North Platte River, the Indians stole six hundred thousand dollars worth of livestock and killed seventy-three settlers. Wyoming's total population at the time did not number ten thousand whites.

It was into this strip of country that the troops from Fort Russell on the railroad, and from Fort Fetterman and Fort Laramie on the North Platte, went on their scouts for the protection of the settlers and the recovery of stolen stock. Very little stock was recovered, chiefly because the whites could not cross the North Platte River in pursuit of the well mounted and well armed marauders.

The troops from Fort Russell were also sent on scouts into Colorado and western Kansas. This country was indeed buffalo land—and where there were buffalo, there were Indians. There were no engagements of particular importance on the part of Fort Russell troops in that locality, although scouts were frequent in that direction.

The Sioux War began early in 1876. Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, with small bands of anti-reservation Sioux, refused to come into their home reservation upon the order of the Secretary of Interior. As the dead line date of January 31 was ignored by the red men, the War Department took over the situation, February 7. General George Crook, Commander of the Department of the Platte, gathered all available cavalry at Fort Fetterman. Under the command of Col. J. J. Reynolds an attack was made on the renegade Indians in March. A great number of the Indian ponies were captured, but the weather suddenly became extremely cold and the Indians recaptured their horses. Thus the troops lost a decided advantage. They were forced to withdraw to neighboring posts and await warm weather. The Indians mobilized and recruited from surrounding restless tribes. The villages of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse numbered about a hundred tepees at the opening of hostilities. The village that Custer sought to attack in June contained about 2,000 lodges, swarming with warriors.

There were a number of commands in the field and the general idea was to fight the Indians where the troops met them—in a battle field that covered 90,000 square miles. The troops from Fort Russell joined Crook's command at Fort Fetterman late in May and moved northward through the sinister Powder River country. There was a battle with the hostiles on the Rosebud, June 17. Nine men were killed, twenty-three were wounded.

General Crook established his cantonment at Camp Cloud Peak on Goose Creek, northern Wyoming. On the evening of June 25, Col. Anson Mills reported a heavy pall of smoke in the northwest, but not until June 30 was word received that General Custer and his entire command had been wiped out.

General Crook received reinforcements and recruits at Camp Cloud Peak and then began his epic march in pursuit of the fleeing Indians through the rough, wild country, between the Big Horns and the Black Hills. Crook took no wagons on this march. Rations became low and before the little town of Custer, Dakota, was reached the troops were eating their horses. Lieutenant Joseph Lawson, Irish and a Kentuckian, said—"Eat my horse! I'd feel like a cannibal!" Cannibals or not, horses were eaten, and mules and captured Indian ponies, too.

The Fort Russell troops returned to their station November 2. The *Records of Medical History* says—"The hospital funds are low, due to extra rations for the emancipated men returned from the 'Big Horn Expedition'."

On March 2, 1877, Congress abrogated the Treaty of 1868 and the great Sioux Reservation existed no more. "Glory to God"—so said the Cheyenne Leader of March 3, 1877.

Immediately, new military posts were built in the country retrieved from the Indians. The summer of 1877 saw troops well armed and equipped, sufficient in number and under central command, ready to cope with any situation that might arise.

In late September, 1879, Nathan Meeker was brutally murdered by the Utes at the White River Agency in western Colorado. Nathan Meeker was the founder of Union Colony, now Greeley, Colorado. While unrest among the Utes was reported and troops were asked for by those who understood the situation, no steps were taken for protection—until too late.

On August 6, 1879, the Military Notes in the *Cheyenne Leader* said, "The Fifth Cavalry is enjoying the first summer leisure it has had in many years. Over fifty percent of the troops at Fort D. A. Russell have never been on a scout." Then on September 18: "The Fifth Cavalry is to report at once to the Commanding Officer at Fort Fred Steele." Thus began the campaign against the Utes in 1879. Accounts of the uprising have been given from more than one point of view, and one outstanding fact is evident. The strength, maliciousness, and treachery of the Indians were under-estimated by Nathan Meeker who was so brutally whipped to death at the White River Agency, simply because he advanced the theory that work didn't hurt anybody, either white or red; by the governor of Colorado who did not ask for a sufficient number of troops—in time; by Major Thornburg, who started on his march to the White River Agency, September 25, from Rawlins with only three companies of cavalry and one of infantry in his com-

mand; and by the outside commentator who said, "In all probability they (Thornburg's command) will march to the Agency and never see an Indian."

From Bear Creek, Colorado, Major Thornburg sent his last telegram. "Have met some of the Ute Chiefs. They seem friendly and promise to go with me to the Agency. Do not anticipate trouble." This on October 2: "Major Thornburg's party was ambushed within 15 miles of the White River Agency, September 29th. He was killed and Grafton Sowery, a scout." Captain Payne, Fifth Cavalry, took command and sent for reinforcements. The wounded—Captain Lawson, Surgeon Grimes, Lieutenants Paddock and Wolf, and 35 men. One hundred and fifty horses and mules were killed.

General Wesley Merritt, Commanding Officer at Fort Russell, left Cheyenne immediately for Rawlins with three hundred men and six hundred horses to relieve Captain Payne and remount the cavalry that had lost its horses. General Merritt reached Payne's command after a severe fight with the Indians, killing 37, with no loss to his command. On October 18th, two cars filled with the wounded from the Milk River fight were run into Camp Carlin and transferred to the post hospital. A long trip for the wounded—over three hundred and fifty miles.

During the 1880's Fort Russell enjoyed comparative peace. The post was rebuilt in 1885. The Quartermaster's record read rather monotonously—"No expenses incurred by Indian uprisings."

In 1890, a strange thing happened—a delusion called the Messiah Craze broke out among the western tribes, and a ceremony called *ghost dancing* became prevalent almost everywhere among the Indians.

At this time the Indians had a just grievance, for the Congressional policy of "work or starve" was in full swing, and the Indians were starving at Pine Ridge, not because of not working, but because of the "irregularities" of the Indian agent.

On November 18, 1890, General Mizner, commanding Fort Russell, received orders to have seven companies of the 17th Infantry in readiness to move against the Sioux at the Pine Ridge Agency. On December 17, the troops left by special train for Rushville, Nebraska, with full equipage for a winter campaign.

In the meantime, Sitting Bull, the anti-reservationist of 1876, and still a leader, was killed while resisting arrest, by Indian police, December 15, 1890.

There was no further serious trouble with the Sioux at the Pine Ridge Reservation after rations were issued and the starving Indians fed. The troops returned to the post early in January. Later remarks leave the impression that the garrison was

not too well equipped for a winter campaign in the field, particularly in transportation equipment.

The last Indian scout from Fort Russell left the post on July 23, 1895, and returned on October 13 the same year. There were no engagements with the Indians, and, in fact, no trouble except such as was caused by an undue amount of newspaper publicity. The Bannock Indians at the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho were accustomed to making frequent visits to their friends, the Shoshones, on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. The Indians, in crossing the game country that lay between the reservations, were inclined to help themselves to more than their share—if they were supposed to have any share. (A U. S. Supreme Court decree said later that they did not.) At any rate, the newspaper build-up was such that it appeared as if every inhabitant in Jackson Hole was in imminent danger of being scalped; so the troops were ordered into the field. The guard reports and the morning reports of this scout are among the old records at Fort Russell. There is no harrowing account of battle or bloodshed. The sentry wrote his report with his "one lead pencil," the only guard property for which he signed. These reports may not be exactly classic, but they tell with an unmistakable finality the end of a conquest.

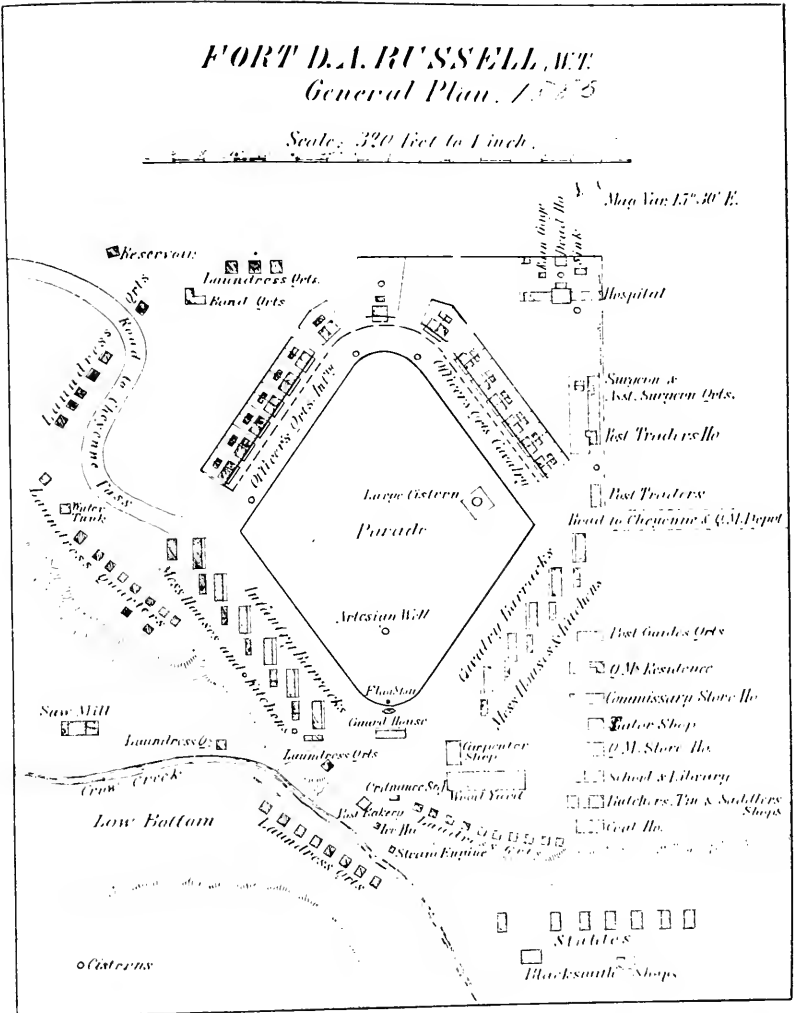
The sentry made a record of all who passed by. It read from day to day like this: "An old man and a little boy in a wagon drawn by a horse and a mule—after wood." "A man on horseback to Jackson Hole on business." "A wagon, two women and five children to visit the camp." "A Mr. Stevens on horseback, and Miss Stevens, his daughter." And only once, "A Bannock, going to Jackson to recover his property."

The West now belonged to the man on horseback, the women and children, to Mr. Stevens and his daughter.

The New Post

The permanent and substantial growth of the West began after the subjugation of the Indians and the recognition of the value of western irrigated lands and western cattle ranges, as well as the mineral resources of the country.

After the Indians were fairly well confined to their reservations, new military posts were established nearby to provide a certain amount of necessary protection for the settlers in the surrounding country. After the new reservations were established, some of the old Wyoming posts could be abandoned, particularly Fort Sanders near Laramie and Fort Fetterman near Douglas. This was done in 1882. Fort Russell, having a strategic value because of its location on the railroad, was made a permanent post by the War Department. The last cavalry was withdrawn from Fort Russell, June 26, 1883, and when the post



was rebuilt in 1885, it was as an Infantry Post for only eight companies.

Upon rebuilding, the form of the old post was changed. The entrance was moved eastward several hundred feet to provide a suitable place for the new brick barracks and new officers' quarters. A row of non-commissioned officers quarters was also built to the south of the barracks.

There are today two large cottonwood trees still standing that mark the entrance to the "New Post" of 1885. These trees are in line with the eastern end of the row of one story barracks and the non-commissioned officers' quarters built at the same time. The Quartermaster's Record shows that \$400 was expended by the War Department for trees for Fort Russell, and also that fifty bushels of grass seed were received from Omaha with hope that it would be successful. Twenty-seven buildings were constructed in 1885, and those still standing are in use today. The old hospital was built later, 1887, and an administration building in 1894. There was an amusement hall that was the center of social life for the troops. The amusement hall was also the chapel and the school. The wash houses, located back of the barracks, were later barber and tailor shops. The railroad station was located at the west end of the Post. The station called "Russell" had not yet been built. Stables and carriage houses were back of the officers' quarters. The post exchange was not far from the stone building now numbered 253. Merchandise was sold in one building; in another was the restaurant and bar.

The water system is shown on the same tracing with the fire plugs at regular intervals. There was no sewer system until 1890.

Letters Sent—1882-86

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To

*Quartermaster General
U. S. Army
Washington, D. C.
Thru: Regular Channels*

*Fort D. A. Russell, Wyo.
April 19th, 1886*

Sir:

In compliance with G. O. No. 113, A. G. O. 1882, I have the honor to report that since last Annual Report the form of the post has been completely changed. A number of new buildings have been erected and the old buildings overhauled and repaired which work was placed under the superintendence and direction of Captain James H. Lord, O. Q. M. who it is presumed has rendered full report as to character and capacity of buildings, but to render this subject complete, the following summary is respectfully submitted:

NEW BUILDINGS FOR OFFICERS' QUARTERS

One double brick house for Commanding Officers' quarters, capacity 10 rooms and cellar under back extension, two-story shingle roof. Six quarters for Captains, brick, capacity nine rooms including attic rooms with cellar under back extension one-story shingle roof. The old double frame quarters have not been changed in form but were partially repaired in the way of new floors, painting in and outside, and paper on walls. All of the old buildings, sheds, etc. were torn down and new ones erected in their stead, a very great improvement giving the buildings a uniform appearance throughout and helping greatly sanitary conditions. Owing to the great amount of work which was required to be done to comply with the requirements of the War Department to make the post complete in the way of buildings, etc., some repairs had to be necessarily postponed for another year. The necessary estimates for the same accompany this report.

Men's Barracks

Six new brick barracks have been constructed with extension of frame, being the old barracks added to or moved to meet the new form of the post. The capacity of barracks or main building 30 x 105 divided as follows: dormitory 93 x 30, orderly room and storeroom back of same 12 x 30. The back of the extension is 80 x 30 divided as follows: day room, two store rooms or shops, dining room, kitchen, cook's room, wash and bath rooms.

The main or new buildings need but few repairs such as whitening the walls and compartments of shelves for convenience of the men for uniforms, etc. The flooring in the extensions need to be renewed, also a few of the locks and sash, estimates for which are herewith transmitted. Two of the eight companies occupy the old barracks, improved, but for comfort and convenience they do not compare with the new ones, besides they are off the parade proper being in the rear of the barracks taking the new order of things into consideration.

When regular barracks are built they might be turned into storehouses with advantage as additional storage room is very much needed at the post. These buildings need general repairs in the way of new floors, sash, locks, etc., estimates for which accompany this report. The Band occupies its old quarters—new quarters should be built as soon as possible—this no doubt will be done should the appending appropriation become law.

Miscellaneous Buildings

Six small one-story brick buildings have been erected for non-commissioned staff officers—they are small and comfortable for man and wife, but when there are a number of children in the family they are too small and decidedly uncomfortable and unhealthy, but this defect in case of a large family can be remedied by a small extension, one which is provided for in my estimate for the commissary sergeant who has four children. The capacity of these buildings is three rooms, shingle roof. One oil house, brick, capacity 18' x 30', shingle roof. One frame shop for all purposes of the Quartermaster Department, dimensions 25' x 80'. One frame ice house, capacity 1,000 tons, dimensions 30' x 80' x 16'. One brick bake house, capacity 20' x 55.' capacity of oven (rations) 500 men. One brick magazine, shingle roof. One brick engine house, shingle roof, capacity 20' x 25'.

Since last report a water system has been introduced and so far has given entire satisfaction with the exception of a few minor defects which are provided in estimates accompanying this report. The system consists of four-inch cast iron main which encircles the post, except the east side or entrance to the post. There are fire plugs at regular intervals and the water is conducted to men's barracks and officers' quarters by inch pipe. There is direct pressure from the engine house and pressure by gravitation from a large tank elevated sixteen feet above the parade ground, capacity 20,000 gallons.

In connection with my personal report of last year, I deemed it proper to mention to the Quartermaster General the subject of steam laundries at posts where steam power is available. A laundry of this character is in my opinion very desirable especially now since the great improvement in the men's buildings, etc. Washerwomen are few at the post and the ones now remaining are not always reliable. I think there would be no serious trouble in its management as the work done would meet all current expenses. Rules based upon the management of laundries in cities might be devised, the simpler they are the better. In order to bring this matter more directly to the attention of the Quartermaster General, plans, and detailed estimates for a laundry to be constructed at this post are herewith transmitted.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant

JAMES REGAN

1st Lieut. R.Q.M. 9th Inf.

A.A.Q.M.

1890-98

The last decade of an eventful hundred years in our national history seems to mark the end of an era, perhaps because it marks the end of our isolation and the beginning of our off-continent wars. Wealth had increased enormously and our population was beginning to stabilize itself as American. The West was no longer an unknown quantity, and aside from the Indian Wars, 1898 marked the end of thirty-three years of peace. From 1874 until the Spanish-American War the strength of the army had been frozen at 25,000 officers and men, a ratio in the 1890's of one soldier to 3,000 civilian population.

It is needless to say that the United States Army reached its lowest ebb during this time and that this neglect of the fighting forces was causing deep concern among thoughtful army leaders.

Appropriations from Congress for the army were meagre and hard to obtain. Military posts fell into disrepair, and in the case of Fort Russell, almost dilapidation. The morale of the army was low and desertions were very common. The type of recruit was not always the best either. Colonel Poland reports, "There have been twenty-five desertions since August 1, 1893, fifteen less than the preceding twelve months. As there has been no material change in customs of service, duties at the post, or general treatment of the men, it is to be inferred that the regiment has been supplied with fifteen better men than mustered in last year." He comments further—"Winter recruits as a rule are unreliable, as only temporary shelter and subsistence is sought." Boards of Survey reported upon desertions and made no particular deduction, except the very general one—"instability of human nature."

The new barracks erected in 1885 were not large enough to accommodate a full company with the minimum allowance of 800 cubic feet of space per man. The old guard house was a source of aggravation, too, being small and hard to maintain in a sanitary condition. The water system of 1890 and the sewer system of about the same date were, however, very important improvements.

Camp Carlin was dismantled in 1890, and some of the buildings were sold to Cheyenne residents. Some of them were moved up to the post and according to the newspaper "the thirty handsome cottonwoods which formerly stood at Camp Carlin have been taken up and replanted at the Fort. The trees were very large, being over 15 years old." One cottonwood remains at Camp Carlin to this day, not far from the granite marker. There is only one stone building on the reservation and it was built with the old foundation stones from Camp Carlin. It can be said, without dispute, that

building number 253 contains one remnant of the original construction material used on the reservation in 1867.

The mule has done its part of faithful service in the army and now, no less than the cavalry and artillery horse, is passing into legend. At Fort Russell during the 1890's, there was a mule pack train that was the pride of the 17th Infantry—"the only thoroughly trained pack train in the army and the best in the world." In this train was General Crook's mule "Apache." When she was condemned, Captain Roach wrote a very eloquent appeal asking that she, as the riding mule of a distinguished officer, might live out her days in the train she served so faithfully. The request was granted.

It was from this pack train that the first of Fort Russell's "cadres" were sent out to "activate" other trains at other stations.

Three times between 1890 and 1895 troops left Fort Russell for service in the field. First, to the Pine Ridge Agency against the Sioux in 1890; again in western Wyoming along the Union Pacific against a part of Coxey's army, in 1894; and the last Indian scout in the Teton Pass country in the late summer and fall of 1895.

The Indian campaigns come under another topic so the Coxey Army Affair will be described here as it has a certain historical significance.

Colonel John S. Poland reports under the topic, Troop Movements:

Commonweal Army. May and June, 1894.

On the 13th of May, 1894, a telegram was received advising that the troops be held for quick action to proceed west and assist in preventing interference with the property of Union Pacific Railway by Coxeyites, Commonwealers, tramps, et al. On the 15th, the Second Battalion, 17th Infantry, B, C, E, and F companies under command of Colonel J. S. Poland left the post at about 3:30 p. m., Cheyenne at 4:00 p. m. for Green River, arriving there at 5:00 a. m., May 16. U. S. Marshal Rankin, Wyoming, requested troops to hold as prisoners 147 Commonwealers charged with seizing a train on the Oregon Short Line, Idaho Division of the U. P. R. R. at Montpelier, despite the officials of the road and U. S. Deputy Marshal (sic) *and hauling the same to Green River.*

On the 18th, these 147 prisoners were examined by the U. S. Circuit Judge Renit, and adjudged guilty of an offense committed in Idaho, and ordered their return to Boise. Major Bisbee, 17th Infantry, with Captain Lovering, 4th Infantry, left Green River at 4:00 p. m. for Pocatello, Idaho, as guard, with orders to escort these prisoners to Boise, Idaho. At Pocatello, Captain J. M. Burns, Company "E" 17th Infantry,

was left to protect railroad trains and property, and the remainder of company "C", 4th Infantry was picked up and proceeded with Major Bisbee's command to Boise, delivering the said prisoners into the jurisdiction of Judge Beatty, U. S. Circuit Court for the District of Idaho. On the 21st, Major Bisbee with Company "F" returned to Pocatello and took station until relieved, June 15th, to return to post, June 14, 7:00 p. m.

The two companies retained at Green River, "B" and "C", 17th Infantry remained at that station, Captain C. S. Roberts, 17th Infantry, commanding, until June 9 when they returned to the post the same day. The colonel of the regiment rejoined his station May 28, 1894. This movement of the troops of the 17th Infantry entirely broke up the march of the so-called Commonwealers eastward, over the lines of the Union Pacific Railway from Ogden and Pocatello.

One little thing was overlooked by Colonel Poland. Idaho was a part of the Department of California and he had no jurisdiction there. This was later the subject of considerable correspondence between the departments. However, the Commonwealers were "stopped" and Colonel Poland added one more pertinent remark. "A great moral force," so he said, "is a bayonet on a gun and a web-belt full of cartridges."

The following extract from Colonel Poland's request for change of station for his regiment is eloquent in its simplicity and truth. He was perhaps unaware at the time that he had lived and helped to shape the destiny of the West in its richest and most colorful era, when it was, as he said "beyond the ragged edge—".

The 17th Infantry has made an excellent record, shown by recent inspections, as soldiers, conforming to regulations and orders with intelligence, cheerfulness, and persistency. No serious public events have occurred to mar its reputation as a peaceable, law-abiding, well-behaved organization, and worthy, for its extraordinarily long service at remote posts on the frontier since 1866, of a change to some eastern post which will afford every advantage of education and association with cultivated, intelligent society of that civilized country.

How such a privilege would be enjoyed after twenty-seven years of rough and tumble life beyond the ragged edge of civilization, even can better be imagined than described.

"In conclusion, I respectfully recommend feeling that my regiment has an almost incontrovertible claim to the consideration recommended, that the 17th Infantry be permitted to succeed the troops now occupying Fort McPherson or Fort

Thomas, when their removal is decided upon—I have the honor to be

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JOHN S. POLAND.”

Note:

(After the Spanish-American War, the system of keeping army records changed and the fine examples of military literature found in the narrative reports of the army officers were to be forever lost—in impersonal printed forms).

The Spanish-American War began abruptly with the torpedoing of the battleship, *Maine*, in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, February 15, 1898. President McKinley lost little time in calling for a volunteer army and for a formal declaration of war by Congress. The Eighth Infantry, then stationed at Fort Russell, left for field service in Cuba, April 21, 1898, two days before the war was declared. A small detachment of the infantry troops was left at the post to care for company property. The Wyoming National Guard was mustered into the service on May 16 at Fort Russell as the First Wyoming Infantry, U. S., Major Frank M. Foote, commanding. This battalion moved to San Francisco and from there to Camp Dewey, Manila, arriving July 31. The troops disembarked August 6 and the city was entered and occupied August 13, 1898. The First Wyoming Battalion was the first organization of the First Brigade to reach the wall of Manila. At 4:15 p. m. of that historic afternoon, Major Foote received orders from General Anderson to occupy the Luneta Barracks. At 4:45 p. m. the battalion flag was hoisted—the first American flag raised in Manila. This flag now rests in the Historical Museum of Wyoming. These troops later took part in the Filipino Insurrection and did not return to the United States until September, 1899.

General Wesley Merritt, who commanded at Fort Russell during the years of the Indian campaigns, was in command of the forces at Manila.

Colonel Torrey's Rough Riders were also mobilized at Fort Russell. They were mustered in as the Second United States Volunteer Cavalry. The regiment left Fort Russell for Camp Cuba Libre, Jacksonville, Florida, on June 22. The regiment saw no action and was mustered out, October 22, 1898.

On September 29, 1898, four companies of the 24th Infantry took station at Fort Russell. The 24th had just returned to the States from Siboney, Cuba, where the regiment had rendered heroic service at the time of the yellow fever epidemic during the months, July to September, 1898.

Fort Russell, 1900-1920

After war—reorganization.

The war with Spain lasted about one hundred days, long enough, however, for the United States to acquire foreign possessions and to assume responsibility for them. The Reorganization Act of February 2, 1901, fixed the maximum enlisted strength of the army at 100,000 men, including the Philippine Scouts. Not until the National Defense Act of June 30, 1916, was the maximum strength increased, and then only to 170,000 officers and men. The American people have always abhorred the idea of a large armed force, and will not adequately provide for one until the enemy compels them to action.

After the reorganization in 1901, the question arose again as to which military posts should be rebuilt and enlarged. The water supply at Fort Russell had to be guaranteed by a new contract before any building program could be started. This was done by the city contract of 1903. The first of the new building was the construction of two sets of artillery barracks and stables in 1904. In that year an electric light plant was installed, the first electric lighting of the post, although Cheyenne had had a plant in operation since 1882.

In 1905, William H. Taft was Secretary of War. He recommended that the "old frontier posts" should be rebuilt on modern lines, and a definite effort made to group the buildings properly and improve the general appearance of the post. In 1906 Taft recommended that Fort Russell be enlarged to a brigade post, as at the time there were barracks and quarters for a regiment of infantry, two batteries of field artillery and four troops of cavalry. There was also a target and maneuver reserve of 36,800 acres. This was done in the following three years. The first artillery at Fort Russell had arrived, September 29, 1901.

Troop movements during the years 1900 to 1910 are interesting chiefly because the regiments had seen overseas service. The 18th Infantry, Companies E, F, G, Field Staff and Band arrived at Fort Russell, October 22, 1901, and left for the Philippines, March 21, 1903. This regiment of Regulars had been in the Islands at the capture of Manila in 1898. On March 24, 1904, the 11th Infantry arrived at Fort Russell from the Philippines. In 1905 an insurrection arose against the organized government of Cuba, and the President of the Republic requested intervention by the United States. An expeditionary force was sent under Brigadier General Bell. In October, 1906, the 11th Infantry left Fort Russell, this time as a part of the Army of Cuban Pacification. They were stationed at Morro Barracks, Santiago, Cuba, until February 21, 1909. This

army was a "moral force," small in numbers, but covering every nook and corner of the Island, just as the frontier army of the West covered every nook and corner of a million square miles of territory. The 11th Infantry remained at Fort Russell from March 9, 1909 until February 26, 1913.

Trouble began on the Mexican border in 1911. In March of that year troops were mobilized for maneuvers at San Antonio, Texas. There were two innovations of far-reaching results, compulsory typhoid prophylaxis, and the use of aeronautical equipment in maneuvers. This mobilization for maneuvers involved 16,000 officers and men. The mobile strength of the army within the United States borders was only 31,850 once again causing uneasiness among military men for the ration of mobile strength to population was lower than in 1876.

The Army Air Corps saw its beginning as a branch of the Signal Corps. General Allen, Chief Signal Officer, wrote in 1910, "Aerial navigation has taken hold of the entire civilized world as no other subject in recent times, and represents a movement that no forces can possibly check.

"In its military aspects, it is a subject we must seriously consider whether we wish to or not, and the sooner this fact is acknowledged and measures taken to put us abreast with other nations, the better it will be for our national defense."

The Field Service Regulations, 1910, provided for the organization of aeronautical companies of the Signal Corps and for wireless companies as well, and for "aero-wireless battalions on the same basis as field companies and battalions."

Henry L. Stimson was Secretary of War in 1911. He remarked that our army was more of a local constabulary than a national organization, and that we were left far behind in the one indispensable adjunct of war—the airplane. Congress finally voted an appropriation of \$125,000 for aeronautical equipment in the army appropriation bill of 1912.

In the meantime Madero had overthrown the Diaz regime in Mexico. It became necessary for the United States to patrol the border to enforce the neutrality laws. Later there were revolutions against Madero, and he in turn was overthrown by Huerta, February, 1913. On February 26, the 11th Infantry and 4th Field Artillery left Fort Russell for the Mexican border. There is no consolidated Morning Report for February 25, 1913, the only occurrence in all available records.

Carranza promptly instituted military operations against Huerta. The fighting occurred along the border, and the wounded that fell into American hands were cared for by army personnel. The troops were as busy keeping curious sightseers out of harm as they were in keeping the hostile Mexicans from crossing over and fighting on American soil. While it was not actual war, it was trying service for the

troops and was so well accomplished with so little display that it was accepted simply as a part of the day's work for the army. For the first time trucks, six of them, were used between the camps on the border and the base depots. Nineteen motorcycles were used for messenger service and reported upon as satisfactory.

In 1914, conditions were still very bad. The 1,703 miles of Mexican border were patrolled by 359 officers and 8,260 enlisted men. Vera Cruz, Mexico, was occupied by troops under command of General Funston. On June 30, 1914, the mobile army within the United States was 1,495 officers, 29,405 enlisted men. And on July 18, Congress finally authorized the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps, 60 officers, 260 enlisted men. The garrison strength at Fort Russell averaged about 350 officers and men from February 1913 until February 1916. During 1915, depredations on the border continued and on the nights of March 8-9, 1916, Francisco Villa attacked Columbus, New Mexico, killing American soldiers and civilians. On March 10, the following day, General John J. Pershing was put in command of the United States forces on the border. This command marched 400 miles into Mexico. All cavalry regiments of the army except the Second were in the field at this time. The first tactical unit of the aviation section was put into the field from the base of the First Squadron at San Antonio, Texas. Much was learned about aviation in this "practice war" that was very valuable later on. Truck transportation became an integral part of army transportation simply because there was no other in that land without railroads.

General Pershing's column withdrew from Mexico, February 5, 1917. The purpose of the Punitive Expedition was accomplished after eleven months of hard campaigning.

The outbreak of the war with Germany, April 6, 1917, found the United States with an unprepared army. The first draft legislation was passed May 18, and the first registration, June 5. There were three recognized armies—the Regulars, the National Guardsmen, and the National Army. Fort Russell was a point of mobilization and later for training field artillery and cavalry. The outbreak of the war found the United States with no airplane industry and no system of training aviators. Newton D. Baker called the Liberty Motor "America's first victory in the air." He trusted to American ingenuity to accomplish the rest.

New branches of service were created, and others placed under different commands. In July 1917, the Signal Corps received the Pigeon Service. On May 20, 1918, it was relieved of its aviation duties. Chemical Warfare Service was created as a separate branch June 28, 1918. The Tank Service of the

National Army was placed under the control of the Chief of Engineers, February 1918. The Ordnance Department remained in charge of the design and production of the tanks.

One thing was true, when the American people settled down to production during the first World War, the results were astounding.

The Armistice was signed November 11, 1918. The demobilization plan for the army was by military units at the posts nearest home for the troops. Fort Russell, under this plan, received its first "casuals" in March 1919. Brigadier F. W. Wilson commanded the post during demobilization. Morning Reports of March 31, 1919, showed 385 casuals at the post; June 22, 1919, showed 1377; and September 30, 1919, showed 37. The garrison strength December 31, 1919, was 592 officers and men. December 31, 1920, showed no change in organization, and a garrison strength of 1,000.

The Reorganization Act of June 4, 1920, provided for a maximum strength of the Army to be 280,000 enlisted men and 17,717 officers.

The Years of Peace

The Reorganization Act of June 4, 1920, created new branches of army service, particularly the Finance Department, Detached Officers List and Detached Enlisted Men's List, Chemical Warfare Service, and Air Service. Provision for reserves was made by the President, and the Enlisted Reserve and Reserve Officers Training Corps. The Tank Service created in 1918 was made a part of the infantry. This reorganization of the armed forces did not immediately affect Fort Russell, however, the reservation was at one time inspected as a possible air base.

The 15th Cavalry was transferred to the 13th Cavalry and the 53rd Infantry was placed on the inactive list. For five years, 1922-27, the post was garrisoned entirely by artillery and cavalry organizations. At this time it was not unusual for the animal strength to outnumber the garrison strength of the post.

From the time of the first Frontier Days celebration in Cheyenne in 1897, the troops have always contributed to its success, especially the parades. While the garrison was composed of field artillery and cavalry organizations, the Frontier parades were the most picturesque ever staged in Cheyenne, or ever likely to be, for the grim utility of modern war equipment cannot compare in glamour with the magnificent cavalry troops of that day. The horses were some of the finest the army ever owned, for they were selected as nearest to standard from the thousands of World War purchases; and a G. I. truck can't inspire the same romantic thrill as the old white covered supply wagons drawn by the army mules.

In June 1927, cavalry troops were withdrawn from Fort Russell for the second and perhaps the last time.

Years of peace at army posts are usually pleasant years, or so it seemed at Fort Russell. By 1925 the United States had lapsed again into a profound state of peace. The commissioned strength of the army had been reduced to 12,000 officers, and the enlisted strength to 125,000 men. The garrison of Fort Russell was not affected by the reduction in any particular way, but followed the old tradition and turned its collective attention to improving living conditions, making roads and beautifying the grounds.

Relations between the post and Cheyenne were cordial and cooperative. Fort Warren bowl was built and sports received considerable attention. While the "horse" organizations were here, polo was the great game. There were three polo fields on the reservation, two practice fields and one exhibition field.

During the late 1920's an extensive reforestation program was under way. Western yellow pines were brought down from Pole Mountain and planted according to a definite landscape plan. A detachment of men was sent to the Pike National Forest in Colorado for evergreens. They returned with two thousand trees, and today there is on the reservation ample proof of the success of their mission. Major Orlando Ward, 76th Field Artillery, and Lieutenant Jean Edens were the reforestation officers.

Several interesting activities were carried on during 1928. The buildings for the Reserve Officers Training Corps and the Citizens Military Training Camp were completed. A boundary survey of the reservation was made, the first since 1910. The old water tank, part of the water system of 1890, was used as a point of triangulation in the survey. This old tank was dismantled a few years later. A topographical survey was made in 1929, and the first aerial survey in 1930. The Department of Commerce installed its first radio station on the reservation that same year. On January 1, 1930, the name of the post was changed to Fort Francis E. Warren, in honor of Senator Warren, one of Wyoming's most distinguished men.

Senator Warren came to Wyoming in 1868, and throughout his life was closely identified with the political interests of Cheyenne and of Wyoming. He served as United States Senator from 1890 to 1893 and from 1895 to 1929. Senator Warren was on the Military Affairs Committee in Congress and worked consistently for the welfare of the army and particularly for the reservation that now bears his name. He was the father-in-law of General John J. Pershing.

The early 1930's were uneventful, aside from the depression years complicated by a rather extensive drought. In 1934

the War Department enlarged the rifle range by the purchase of about 1600 acres. In 1939 an exchange of a very small acreage was made, and to the present time the boundaries remain unchanged.

The new post theater and the gymnasium were completed in 1939. And so ends the era of peace at Fort Warren.

On September 8, 1939, President Roosevelt declared a state of national emergency, and a year later, September 16, 1940, the Selective Service and Training Act was approved at 3:08 p.m., E. S. T. The act provided for an armed force sufficient for the defense of our continental and territorial possessions.

In order to house this new army and provide for training, cantonments were established at various locations throughout the United States. At Fort Warren, construction was immediately begun for a Quartermaster's Replacement Training Center. Beginning October 1940, the surveys on the reservation were quite as important as those in 1867. Crow Creek again assumes importance.

It is the dividing line between the old and the new. Fort Warren proper is the "old post." The cantonment across the creek is the "center." The National Guard units from Utah, North Dakota and California left the post, December 1941, and for the first time in its long and colorful history "no combat organizations are stationed at Fort Warren."

PART II

THE WATER RIGHTS OF FORT WARREN

Of all western history, few things offer more interest or hold more significance than the water and the water rights of the so-called arid western lands. The western lands of the public domain were brought into private ownership by well established customs and laws beginning even before our national independence. The laws governing the waters of these western lands, especially the running waters, are an altogether different subject—their beginnings go back into old Spanish and Mexican law and even to the customs of the Indians themselves. Upon the discovery of gold in northern California, water, so necessary in placer mining, and the ditch that carried it, assumed great importance. It was here the "first come, first served" theory of priority rights prevailed. In southern California the theory of pueblo rights, meaning the superior rights of the group, prevailed. And on the whole the water itself was considered, in California, property of the government to give according to first use and first need. The ditch,

the "artificial watercourse," that carried the water to the place of use was considered separate from the water itself, and was subject to private ownership as any other real property. The only property right existing to the running water in a stream was the use of the water. The running water was not considered a part of the land. Thus the water and irrigation laws of the western states, concerning the waters of non-navigable streams, have their origin in two things—the placer gold mines and the domestic and agricultural needs of the Spanish mission settlements in California.¹⁴

In 1866, Congress passed the first national water rights legislation entitled, "An act granting the right-of-way to ditch and canal owners through the public lands, and for other purposes." The purpose and wording of this bill was "obscure" and further legislation on such a controversial subject as western water rights was not recommended. It was thought better to leave the regulation of water and water rights to local use and custom. However, the vested and accrued rights of the first appropriators of water were protected by that law and the United States was the recognized "proprietor" of those rights at that particular time.

When Fort Russell and Cheyenne were established during the late summer of 1867, the water supply for both was directly "out of the creek" for men and animals. At that early date the need for a domestic supply of water did not seem paramount—fire protection was just as important—and after that came the "gardens, trees, and lawns."

It is interesting to note that General Dodge and General Stevenson devised the first scheme for the joint water supply of Cheyenne and Fort Russell.

This is the account of Mr. Baker who visited Fort Russell on behalf of the city and published an account of the interview in the *Cheyenne Leader*, February 19, 1868.

"It appears that from what we then and there learned, that General Dodge on the part of the Union Pacific Railroad Company and General Stevenson on the part of the military authorities have already decided to bring the waters of Pole Creek and Crow Creek by means of a canal through the military reservation north of the city and thence through the town site. It was and is understood by and between those gentlemen that the Union Pacific Railroad Company is to perform all the necessary surveying and engineering on the line of the canal, and that the military will construct and complete it to the south line of the reservation, and then the water can be readily diverted to any part of the city that may be desired. Before any definite action was taken, General Dodge was sud-

14. Wiel, Samuel C., *Water Rights of the Western States*, Bancroft-Whitney, San Francisco, 1908.

denly called away and the project is only awaiting his return to have definite action taken." Then, on January 23, 1869, the *Cheyenne Leader* contained this article:

Fire and Water

"One of the handiest things in case of an extensive fire is an abundance of water. Cheyenne has never been guaranteed an unceasing supply of water, although last summer a bill of five hundred or six hundred dollars was presented for carriage hire, charged against the city as for vehicles used in surveying a ditch from Pole Creek. The ditch was really surveyed to the summit of the divide which is as far as necessary, as from that point the water could be brought hither by natural channels. It was stated at that time that the commanding officer at Fort Russell had agreed to put on men to dig the ditch if the city would survey it, as Fort Russell was to receive the first use of the water. On the strength of these military promises, the city procured the survey at considerable expense and without having received even a drop of water or other benefit for that expenditure. . . . We have a good engine, and with the water we expected to have, the town would be provided with pretty good insurance against any very extensive fire.

The fire department of Cheyenne still has the "good engine" of 1869. The proposed diversion in 1868 of the waters of upper Pole Creek to the Crow Creek watershed has never been done although it has been seriously considered.

On July 6, 1870, several citizens of Cheyenne organized a company for the purpose of constructing a ditch to conduct water from Crow Creek to the city of Cheyenne. The Company was called the "Wyoming Ditch and Water Company." Water was to be taken out of Crow Creek at a point two miles from headquarters of Fort Russell. The right-of-way for the ditch, according to the corporation papers, was to extend across the reservation. Cheyenne bought the ditch from the company in 1872, but apparently did not use it, nor was it extended across the reservation. By 1874, Fort Russell was using the ditch to fill reservoirs and cisterns and for irrigation purposes. This continued for about ten years. In 1883, the city laid a pipe to the reservoir on Crow Creek that supplied the Fort Russell ditch, and in that way deprived the post of irrigation water that it formerly used. The following year the city and Fort Russell entered into an agreement by which the city was to furnish water to the post in exchange for the ditch and for the right-of-way across the reservation.

This is a description of the post water supply written by the Quartermaster in compliance with a circular letter, December 10, 1883.

December 10, 1883.

To:
Chief Quartermaster
Department of the Platte
Omaha, Nebraska.
Sir:

In compliance with circular letter dated War Department, Quartermaster General's Office, November 19, 1883, I have the honor to report that there is no regular system of water supply to this post, the method being one of the most primitive order.

The present means of water supply are two shallow plank wells in the bottom, southwest of the post, which are fed through gravel beds from Crow Creek, a shallow stream coursing by the post. These wells are in dimension 6 x 6 and 8 x 12, and contain two feet of water. The water is pumped from the wells by two force pumps of four horse power each, which are old and defective, connected with a horizontal engine of ten horse power, by a system of belts and pulleys, the engine being also used for sawing the necessary cord wood for the post. The lifting power of this engine is very slight and would not do to force water through the post. The water is supplied to the post by means of a water wagon, drawn by eight mules, which is filled at the engine house. It takes this wagon from early morning to late in the afternoon to supply the water required by the officers and enlisted men. During the summer months the post was supplied with water for irrigating purposes, by a shallow ditch connected with a dam about two miles above the post, but since the city has laid their pipes to connect with this lake this supply has been stopped.

As a reserve supply of water there are four cisterns constructed at the post—two capable of containing 22,000 gallons each and two 27,000 gallons each. The accompanying diagram will show the location of these cisterns. The cisterns are non-effective at present, by the plaster work inside being defective and broken owing to the severe rains and poor quality of the cement. Requisitions are pending to put these cisterns in proper repair.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant

JAMES REGAN

1st Lieut. R. Q. M. 9th Inf.

A. A. Q. M.

About this time the War Department ordered the abandonment of frontier posts that no longer served a military purpose. Fort Russell, because of its favorable location, was selected by the War Department for a permanent post, and plans were made for re-building with brick buildings. At

this time a system was devised to use the underground flow of Crow Creek for a supply of domestic water. A tank was installed and a four inch pipe was laid encircling the post, bringing running water into the barracks and quarters for the first time. Fire plugs were also installed. The agreement of 1884 marks the actual beginning of the joint water supply of the post and Cheyenne.

After the water rights law of 1866 was passed, the recommendation for more national legislation was evidently followed. In the meantime another theory of water rights was growing in the western "irrigated" states, that of state control and state ownership. The territorial legislature of Wyoming passed a law in 1886 requiring a statement of claim to be filed by all users of water from Wyoming streams, for the purpose of setting priorities. The city of Cheyenne, now in possession of both the pipe and the ditch diverting water from Crow Creek, based its claim upon these two, nine (9) second feet for the ditch, three and four hundred eighty-one thousandths (3.481) second feet for the pipe. The total amount of water claimed was 12.481 second feet.

The adjudication of the waters of Crow Creek was made April 19, 1888. Cheyenne was allowed its claim in that decree, but the Clerk of the Court in copying the figures in the Journal wrote them in words, twelve thousand four hundred and eighty one and in figures 12,481. That adjudication rests. The city of Cheyenne is entitled to 12,481 second feet of water from Crow Creek.

Fort Russell, not having possession of the ditch, could not file a claim for irrigation water under the law of 1886.

Wyoming became a state July 10, 1890. In the constitution of Wyoming are two significant sections, one concerns the control of water, the other, the ownership of the waters of the state. They are:

"Sec. 31—Water—Control of—Water being essential to industrial prosperity, of limited amount and easy of diversion from its natural channels, its control must be in the State, which, in providing for its use, shall equally guard all the various interests involved."

"Art. VIII. Sec. 1. Water is state property. The water of all natural streams, springs, lakes or other collections of still water, within the boundaries of the state are hereby declared to be the property of the state."

However, "percolating waters, developed artificially," meaning underground water obtained from wells, belong to the owner of the land on which the waters are so developed.

It seems that Cheyenne did not keep the agreement of 1884. The following letter written by Colonel Poland, com-

manding Fort Russell, explains the circumstances quite fully. This is referred to as the letter of June 29, 1894.

Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming

*To the
Mayor and Council,
City of Cheyenne, Wyo.
Sirs:*

June 29, 1894.

It has been officially reported to me that the agreement entered into between the Commanding Officer, Fort D. A. Russell, Wyo., and the city of Cheyenne, on the second day of December, 1884, has not been complied with by the City of Cheyenne, the past three weeks, by its failure to give Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation (such being the peculiar arrangement of discharge pipes at the stone gate house) an adequate supply of "water taken from Crow Creek . . . at a point or points on said stream where the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation heretofore obtained water and freely and daily without interruption," and this notwithstanding it has been practicable during the same period of time "to obtain the water from Crow Creek." (See agreement referred to).

Further, by this failure to perform the conditions therein specified, the Post garden, lawns and trees are suffering damage.

I respectfully invite the closest attention to the condition of that agreement, and beg to inform you that the City of Cheyenne—either through indifference or design—failed in a similar manner to observe and fulfill the said conditions last year; and caused Fort D. A. Russell the loss of valuable produce from the Post garden, and a large number of shade trees at this post, at the same time they permitted the citizens of the City of Cheyenne to use water for three hours, from 5 to 8 o'clock p.m., less and more, daily to sprinkle and cultivate gardens, lawns and public parks.

I also invite your attention to the interviews had with you by the Post Quartermaster, April 17 and June 23, 1894, requesting you to take steps to remedy by supplying the post with sufficient water—the effects of your non-fulfillment of the conditions imposed upon the City of Cheyenne by that agreement. In your written communication to him, dated April 17, 1894, you *assumed to grant authority to the command at Fort D. A. Russell to use the water in the ditch laid across this military reservation leading to the City of Cheyenne, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays* of each week. You were not asked to grant what has never been and is not now in your power—as that has always been and now remains in the power of the original grantor of the permit to use "water from Crow

Creek taken at points where the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation *heretofore obtained water,*" viz.: The Commanding Officer of Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming. You were asked to so arrange the operation of the pipes at the stone gate house located on the ditch near the dam, that this post could receive, have, and enjoy, at least three-sevenths of the water per week taken from the said Crow Creek, which right to have and use the said water is pledged by the City in the agreement referred to. The interview was to secure the rights of the original grantor. You have been reported, and I believe correctly, as saying in your interview with the Post Quartermaster, June 23, that the City of Cheyenne could not *afford* water to irrigate the post garden at Fort Russell and that you intended "the City of Cheyenne should be supplied first."

I assume this to be your premeditated deliberate intention, and in order that your citizens may irrigate lawns, private gardens and public parks, you have resolved to ignore the conditions of the agreement in which the Commanding Officer of Fort D. A. Russell, generously but unwisely granted the city the use of dams, ditches, pipes, etc., and also the use of land within the military reservation to obtain water from Crow Creek. I also rightly infer, I think, that you propose to cut off any supply of water due Fort D. A. Russell to accomplish that purpose. I take this opportunity to inform you that if you persist in your design to deprive this post and reservation of at least three-sevenths, and more, or of any part or portion of the water—if the whole shall be needed at or on this military reservation—any action tending to accomplish that design will speedily and certainly terminate the agreement of December 2, 1884, of which you will receive prompt notice. If on the contrary you shall recognize the rights of the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation, I will in the same spirit of comity that influenced my predecessors to permit your citizens to enjoy the benefits of the water not needed at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming, submit the following propositions:

1. That on and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, or as soon thereafter as practicable, but without any delay, the City of Cheyenne having by or through its agents placed a pipe twenty inches in diameter to convey water into the City of Cheyenne across the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation (pursuant to and subject to certain conditions specified in an agreement of December second, eighteen hundred and eighty-four between the Commanding Officer of Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming and the said city) at a depth of eighteen inches, more or less, *below* and between centers of the discharge pipe for Fort D. A. Russell, Wyo., and having by their agents, selected and placed an iron pipe of an inferior

diameter, of twelve inches more or less, and of a little more than one-third of the volume of the discharge pipe for the City of Cheyenne by which the right to and use of water by Fort D. A. Russell has been impaired to the injury of the post, and by such arrangement has prevented the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation from obtaining water from Crow Creek —“At the point *where* said Fort D. A. Russell heretofore obtained water”—during the summer season for the purpose of irrigation; therefore, it, the said City of Cheyenne shall substitute for the said discharge pipe another pipe of twenty inches diameter and lay the said pipe, on the same and exact level of the discharge pipe conveying water to the City of Cheyenne; and further that the City of Cheyenne shall, without delay, provide and put in each of the two discharging pipes conveying water to Fort D. A. Russell and the City of Cheyenne, a valve of the same or similar design and efficacy or of superior make and efficiency if such can be procured, as those heretofore used in the pipes in and near the White Stone Well, so called, in order that either or both of said pipes may be closed against or opened for the flow of water into and through them.

2. That on the 1st day of July, 1894, this year and after the completion of the adjustment of the pipes as stated in proposition 1—the City of Cheyenne shall deliver to the Post Quartermaster in order that duplicates may be procured there-of for the use of Fort D. A. Russell, the keys, implements, etc. necessary to enter or close the “White and Red Wells,” so called, situated upon the ditch and to close or open the valves in the discharge pipes conveying water to Fort D. A. Russell or the City of Cheyenne as may be, and whenever needed, to regulate the use of the water taken from Crow Creek.

3. That thereafter the City of Cheyenne shall draw from said reservoir, dams, ditches, stone gate house, etc., water from Crow Creek, from seven o'clock a.m. on Tuesdays until seven o'clock a.m. Wednesdays; from seven o'clock a.m. Thursdays until seven o'clock a.m. Saturdays; from seven o'clock a.m. Sundays until seven o'clock a.m. Mondays, if required.

4. That the Fort D. A. Russell Military Post and Reservation shall draw water from the same sources and through the same reservoirs, pipes, ditches, etc. mentioned above, from seven o'clock a.m. Mondays; Wednesdays and Saturdays until seven a.m. on the days next immediately following, if required.

5. That if the City of Cheyenne shall refuse to re-adjust the relative sizes and positions of the discharge pipes as required in proposition 1—it shall immediately on and after the first day of July, this year, afford without hindrance or delays an opportunity and sufficient time to the Post Quartermaster, Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming, to change the size and position

of the discharge pipe conveying water to the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation to a pipe of twenty inches diameter and to lower and place this pipe on the same and exact level with the lowest pipe leading or carrying water from Crow Creek to the City of Cheyenne—and for connection with the pipe to permit the Post Quartermaster to lower the ditch conveying the water from Crow Creek to Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation; that the latter shall no longer be deprived of the benefit of the obligations assumed by the City of Cheyenne in the agreement referred to.

6. That thereafter the level of any and all pipes carrying or conducting water through the Fort Russell Military Reservation to the City of Cheyenne shall not be changed without the consent of the Commanding Officer of Fort D. A. Russell, during the continuation of the agreement of December 2, 1884, between the Commanding Officer at Fort D. A. Russell and the Mayor of the City of Cheyenne.

7. That all waste of water shall be prevented as far as possible by such Orders and Ordinances as the parties to said agreement can enforce.

8. That until the permanent remedy for the illegal deprivation of the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation of the water from Crow Creek is effected, the City of Cheyenne will deliver a duplicate key to the lock on the White Stone Well to the Post Quartermaster to enable him to enter therein, and to close and open the discharge pipe conveying water to the City of Cheyenne on the days specified in propositions 3 and 4, and which can be properly effected by a temporary gate made in the shape of a wooden disk and fitted to the head of said pipe.

The earliest possible reply to this communication is requested. Fort D. A. Russell has been without water from Crow Creek for three weeks, during which time the City of Cheyenne has been using daily (assuming for illustration that it has a population of fifteen thousand) one million five hundred thousand gallons, more or less, or about ten gallons per head. I intend that this unwarranted appropriation of all the water taken from Crow Creek at the head of the ditch where this post "heretofore obtained water" shall be stopped.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. S. POLAND,

Colonel 17th Infantry,

Commanding Post.

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Colonel Poland's propositions were complied with and while the question of "rights" was not settled, a satisfactory agreement with the city was reached.

The Spanish American War was fought in 1898 and the United States acquired overseas territory. This meant an expansion of the army and the enlargement of military posts. In 1902, the water controversy between the post and Cheyenne was reopened. This time the United States made it very plain that until the water rights of the post were secured by another contract with the city, no new improvements would be made on the reservation. Furthermore, upon the failure to comply with all terms of the agreement, the city would be compelled to remove its pipe line from the reservation. The new contract, called the agreement of 1903, involved irrigation water only. The post had its own water system dating from 1884 and much enlarged by 1890, for its garrison supply.

Between 1904 and 1910 Fort Russell was expanded, and Cheyenne, in order to meet the steadily growing demand for water, had to enlarge its supply. In doing this, the points of diversion from Crow Creek were changed to Granite Springs in 1904 and to Crystal Lake in 1910. These points of diversion involved the construction of reservoirs and pipe lines. In 1908, the post and the city entered into another contract. This is called City Contract No. 5. It provides for the joint water supply now used by the city and the post. The United States paid to the City of Cheyenne the total sum of \$400,000 as its share in construction.

The Round Top Filter Plant was built in 1911 and the gravity system was started in 1912.

In 1911 the Wyoming Legislature passed a law with specifications that apply to Cheyenne alone. The act, approved February 16, 1911, was this: "An act empowering special charter cities having a population of not less than ten thousand inhabitants to enter into and perform contracts with the United States Government, its departments, or representatives to supply water for the use of military posts, forts, or stations adjoining such cities and validating such contracts heretofore made." Section 2 of that law validates the previous contracts between the city and the post. For a considerable period there were neither difficulties nor discussions of the water situation.

A pumping plant was installed on Crow Creek near Silver Crown in 1933 making another point of diversion. In 1934, a pumping plant was also installed on the creek at Ware, and because it lay below the old city pipe line of 1883 was not considered a new point of diversion, but simply a change in the manner of conveying water. The water is pumped to the Round Top Plant.

The city still further increased its water supply by a series of wells west of the reservation. This supply, being "percolating water" needs no adjudication or any permit from the State Board of Control for a pipe line.

Major George C. Donaldson, 20th Infantry, Acting Judge Advocate, prepared a very complete record of the water rights at Fort Francis E. Warren dated Oct. 3, 1930. He does not mention any contracts or agreements subsequent to 1908. The purpose of Major Donaldson's investigation was to secure a fair distribution of the available supply of water.

In the meantime certain tracts of land on the Crow Creek water shed near and adjacent to the Granite Springs, Crystal Lake and North Crow Reservoirs were withdrawn from the public lands and set aside for the protection of the water rights of Fort Francis E. Warren. This was done by executive order, April 3, 1931, and the lands were transferred to the War Department. Some of these lands were then leased to the City of Cheyenne under certain Special Use Permits dated August 30, 1933.

The years following were drought years and the city water supply was very low. Irrigation was limited and at times almost ceased. Once again the city had to find just a little more water. The agreement for pumping the artesian wells on the reservation May 25, 1935, explains itself.

This artesian well was not a single well but a series of several wells connected together by pipes. These wells were drilled in 1904 and are very shallow for artesian wells ranging in depth from 140 to 165 feet. The "underground" waters of Crow Creek offer quite an interesting subject for study as do the surface waters of its watershed.

The unlimited national emergency proclaimed by President Roosevelt on September 8, 1940, meant the immediate expansion of the armed forces. The building of the Quartermasters Replacement Center on the Fort Warren Military Reservation required another contract with the City of Cheyenne providing for its water supply. This agreement covers a supply taken from wells, percolating waters only. If that source of supply fails then the water for the center may be taken from the Round Top Reservoir.

This contract provided for the proper chlorination of the water.

The following is the Replacement Center agreement:

AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT made and entered into in December A. D., 1940, by and between the City of Cheyenne, a Municipal Corporation of the State of Wyoming, party of the first part, and the United States Government, party of the second part, WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS party of the second part is building a Replacement Center for the location of a large number of troops on

the Fort Francis E. Warren Military Reservation, which is adjacent to the City of Cheyenne; and

WHEREAS the location of said Replacement Center will be beneficial to the said City of Cheyenne, and will contribute to the prosperity of said City;

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the above premises and other good and valuable consideration, it is mutually agreed as follows:

FIRST: The party of the first part agrees to furnish and deliver to the party of the second part at a 1,000,000 gallon steel storage tank to be located near the Round Top Filter Plant and thence through a 16" pipe line to be constructed, the following quantities of water for use at the Fort Francis E. Warren Replacement Center:

1. Average daily consumption of 1,200,000 gallons.
 2. Peak consumption at rate of 2,500,000 gallons per day.
 3. An average daily consumption during summer months of 1,500,000 gallons.
 4. Fire protection at peak rate of 3,000,000 gallons per day.
- Said water above mentioned shall be taken from the following wells:

Koppis No. 1, Koppis No. 2, Bailey No. 3, and the Eddy; party of the first part further agrees to drill an additional well to also be used for the purpose above stated.

SECOND: The party of the first part further agrees that should the supply of water from the wells be exhausted or the wells be out of service for any reason whatsoever, the party of the first part agrees to furnish said water from the distribution reservoir at Round Top. Said water will be delivered to the 16" pipe line serving said Replacement Center through a connection to be installed between the 16" line and the main valve house at Round Top.

THIRD: Party of the first part further agrees to install pumps and meters on the said wells hereinbefore described, and construct pipe lines connecting said wells with the present 18 inch line near the so-called Homman well, which 18 inch line has as its point of discharge the distributing reservoir of the party of the first part at Round Top.

FOURTH: The party of the first part further agrees to construct a 16 inch pipe line connecting with the 18 inch line from the wells and discharging at the 1,000,000 gallon storage tank hereinbefore mentioned.

FIFTH: The party of the first part further agrees to install and operate sterilization equipment to assure a safe and potable supply of water for use of said Replacement Center.

SIXTH: It is further agreed between the parties hereto that if said Replacement Center should be abandoned, or its use discontinued, then party of the first part shall have the right to use said water from the above described well for other municipal purposes.

SEVENTH: Party of the second part agrees to pay party of the first part one dollar (\$1.00) in full payment of all obligations herein undertaken by party of the first part.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals, they being duly authorized, the day and year first above written.

CITY OF CHEYENNE, A MUNICIPAL CORPORATION,
Party of the First Part

By ED WARREN (Signed)
Mayor

(SEAL)

Attest: J. E. STODDARD (Signed)
City Clerk

Witness:

A. J. CHRISTENSEN (Signed)
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT,
Party of the Second Part

By LESLIE D. HOWELL (Signed)
Leslie D. Howell, Lt. Col. Q.M.C.
Constructing Quartermaster

Witness:

FRED O. STENGER (Signed)
Fred O. Stenger, Capt. Q.M.C.
Asst. Constr. Q.M.

Note:

Due to lack of space, the texts of the following instruments have been omitted:

1. The Agreement of 1884.
2. The Agreement of 1903.
3. The City Contract No. 5.
4. The Articles of Agreement of 1935.

Copies of the text of each of these Agreements and Contracts may be found in the Wyoming State Historical Department.

Land Acquisitions and Losses

The military reservation of Fort D. A. Russell was set aside by executive order, June 28, 1869. The boundaries of the original two miles wide, three miles long reserve survey by Lieutenant Petriken in 1867, were extended enough by the Department of Interior survey to include 4,512 acres. This tract remained intact until May 23, 1898. The act of admission of the State of Wyoming to the Union in 1890 bestowed upon the state 260,000 acres of land from the public domain, to be selected by the governor from whatever was considered suitable for state ownerships. In the range country the "state selections" were made from lands containing valuable springs and water holes, strategic locations for the cattle men who were at the time the sole power in the state. These lands were subject to sale, but not for less than ten dollars an acre. The one hundred sixty acre tract of the Fort Russell reservation that fell into the category of lands suitable for state ownership was the one containing the lakes so vital at that time to the post water supply, the present site of the Cheyenne Country Club. This valuable tract was transferred to the state of Wyoming for use as the "State Agricultural and Industrial Exposition" grounds, and was considered in part satisfaction of the 260,000 acre federal grant to the state. Thus it was subject to sale. This sale was made to the City of Cheyenne September 28, 1907, after the state legislature amended the act of 1891 doing away with the advertising of state public lands previous to sale. It has been extremely interesting to observe how the pioneer forefathers in contemplating any particular "skullduggery" always covered the procedure by protective legislation, intelligent, if not always commendable. This is particularly evident in laws concerning land and irrigation rights in the state. After the city obtained possession of the tract and received a patent for it, according to the State Land Commissioner's Record, in 1914, it was in turn leased to the Cheyenne Country Club, November 12, 1921. This lease violates the original purpose of the sale to the city as that was specified in the contract as for "public park purposes." However, being a long time ago and nobody discussing the matter, and few people knowing the truth anyway, the Country Club still enjoys its illegal privileges for twenty-five dollars a year.

In 1903 at the time of the second city water contract small parcels of land were acquired from Claus Sievers and from Frank Ketchum for a right of way for a conduit. This conduit or pipe line was a part of the already intricate water system of the city and the post. In 1909, the first large purchases of land were made by the War Department for the extension of the target range, approximately 1,400 acres. Not until 1934

was additional land added to the reservation proper, this time about 1,699 acres, also to enlarge the rifle range, bringing the reservation proper to 7,520 acres, its present area.

The Fort Francis E. Warren Target and Maneuver Range lies on the crest of Pole Mountain about 30 miles west of Fort Warren. Its high and rugged skyline is plainly visible on clear days from the post. The elevation lies between eight and nine thousand feet and the magnificent mountain scenery makes it one of the most picturesque and attractive maneuver grounds in the United States. The terrain is sufficiently varied to meet all demands of field artillery drill. The elevation and its accompanying cold, even in summer, have been considered drawbacks, but now with battlefields ranging from pole to pole the factors of cold and elevation may be real assets for training.

The nucleus of the present reserve was set aside in 1879-80 by executive orders. This consisted of four alternate sections arranged checker board fashion to form a hollow square alternating sections being Union Pacific lands. This reserve was used by Fort Sanders near Laramie, and by Fort Russell and Camp Carlin for wood and timber supplies from their first establishment. Nothing further was done with this odd-shaped tract until 1900. Then, on October 10, a forest reserve including the original four sections was created by executive order. This was called the Crow Creek Forest Reserve. It was placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture at the time the area contained 56,132.96 acres. Then in 1903, the forest reserve was transferred by executive order to the War Department for military purposes with the understanding that the use of the lands by the army should not interfere with the original purpose for which the reserve was created—forest protection. At this time the reserve was named the Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range. In 1912, the reserve was enlarged and consolidated by purchase of additional lands by the War Department. There were no further changes in administration, title, or boundaries until 1925. At this time, June 5, the reserve became a part of the Medicine Bow National Forest. Control is jointly administered by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Agriculture, subject to the unhampered use for purposes of national defense by the army. The present area is 67,915.79 acres, more or less. The name of the Target and Maneuver range was changed by General Orders No. 20, War Department, 1929, to Fort Francis E. Warren Target and Maneuver Range.

Upon completion of the joint water system for Cheyenne and Fort Russell in 1912, certain lands in the Crow Creek water shed were withdrawn from Department of Interior lands and placed under the control and administration of the Secretary of War. These small parcels of land comprising 7,640

acres in all are held for the protection of the water supply of the post. Executive Orders covering the withdrawals of these lands began in 1913 and continued through the years until 1931. The plats of the Department of Interior surveys of these lands were received in the general land office at Cheyenne, July, 1938. Executive Order, No. 5592, April 3, 1931, can also be found in the Department of Interior land office, Cheyenne, filed under the title, Fort Warren Lands, No. 132.

Fort Francis E. Warren Target and Maneuver Range

LOCATION—Situated in Albany County about 30 miles west of Cheyenne.

AREA—67,915.79 acres, more or less.

HISTORY—Originally known as Crow Creek Forest Reserve having been proclaimed as such by the President on October 10, 1900. Designated Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range by General Orders No. 162, War Department, 1904. By General Orders No. 20, War Department, 1929, name changed to Fort Francis E. Warren Target and Maneuver Range in honor of Honorable Francis E. Warren.

By Executive Orders of November 4, 1879 and February 25, 1880, approximately 2,540.64 acres were set apart from the public lands as a wood and timber reservation for the use of the posts of Forts D. A. Russell and Sanders, and for the Cheyenne Depot. By proclamation of October 10, 1900 certain tracts of public land were set apart as a forest reserve, which tracts were transferred to the War Department by Executive Order of October 9, 1903 (G. O. 40, W. D., October 23, 1903) excepting certain lands as stated therein with the understanding that the use of the lands for the purposes of a military reservation would not interfere with the objects for which the forest reserve was established.

By Executive Order No. 1080 of May 28, 1909 (G. O. 114, W. D., June 11, 1909), the Executive Order of October 9, 1903, was amended so as to exclude from the reservation for military purposes a certain designated tract.

By Executive Order No. 1192 of April 19, 1910 (G. O. 83, W. D., May 5, 1910) the Executive Order of October 9, 1903 was modified to provide that the lands reserved by the latter order for military purposes except the tract excluded from the reservation by Executive Order No. 1080 of May 28, 1909 should be held as a military reservation for target and maneuver purposes and should no longer be regarded as a reservation for forest purposes.

By letter of March 23, 1908, 160 acres were transferred to the Department of Agriculture for administrative purposes of Forest Service with the provision that the same would be returned if needed for military purposes.

By act of March 13, 1908 (35 Stat. 42) an exchange of lands for lands in private ownership was authorized whenever it was deemed by the Secretary of War that certain lands within the limits of the reservation were needed for the enlargement of the military maneuver grounds.

In 1911-12, under authority of the act of March 3, 1911 (36 Stat. 1052), additional land was acquired by purchase and condemnation subject to certain reservations set out below under Easements, etc.

By Executive Order No. 4245 of June 5, 1925, all of that part of the Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Reservation established by Executive Orders dated February 4, 1879, February 25, 1880, and October 9, 1903, as amended by Executive Order of April 19, 1910, and subsequent consolidations by purchase excepting certain designated tracts were established as a national forest known as the Pole Mountain District of the Medicine Bow National Forest, the said Pole Mountain District of the Medicine Bow National Forest to be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture under such plans as may be jointly approved by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of War, to remain subject to the unhampered use of the War Department for purposes of national defense.

By Executive Order No. 5592, April 3, 1931 (G. O. No. 5, W. D. July 6, 1931) approximately 7,640 acres, withdrawn by Proclamation No. 1259 dated December 20, 1913, and Executive Orders Nos. 2257, 2291, 2497, 2523, and 3040 dated October 14, 1915, December 27, 1915, December 7, 1916, January 30, 1917, and February 25, 1919, respectively as amended and modified by Executive Order No. 4678, dated June 29, 1927, for the protection of the water supply of Fort Francis E. Warren, were placed under the control and administration of the Secretary of War, subject to all public and private valid existing easements thereon and other valid existing rights and claims thereto.

JURISDICTION — Exclusive jurisdiction over the original reservation was ceded to the United States by the Act of February 17, 1893, set out in Section I, under General Legislation. Exclusive legislation over the additions to the reservation was ceded by the act of February 13, 1897, also set out in Section I, under General Legislation.

EASEMENTS. etc.—(1) Permit November 1, 1921, to State Highway Department of the State of Wyoming to extend, construct, and maintain a road across the reservation.

(2) License August 12, 1924, to Kiwanis Club of Laramie to construct a concrete base and cover for spring.

(3) Permit July 26, 1930, to United States Department of Commerce, Lighthouse Service Airways Division to use a plot 200 feet square for the purpose of a beacon site, a beacon

tower 50 feet high, and suitable buildings for the caretaker of the light.

(4) Permit August 30, 1933, to City of Cheyenne to maintain a reservoir on 48 acres for the use of said city.

(5) Permit February 24, 1941, to Highway Department of the State of Wyoming to extend and maintain a road.

(6) Reservation in deed dated October 24, 1911, recorded in Book 107 of Deed Records, page 213, Albany County, from Minna Kassahn of vested and accrued water rights for mining, agricultural, manufacturing, or other purposes and rights to ditches and reservoirs used in connection with such water rights as recognized by law and local customs; also to the right of the proprietor of a vein or lode to extract and remove his ore therefrom, should the same be found to penetrate or intersect the premises granted.

Fort Francis E. Warren

LOCATION—Situated in Townships 13 and 14 North, Range 67 west of the sixth principal meridian, adjoining the city of Cheyenne, in Laramie County.

AREA—7,511.43 acres, more or less.

HISTORY—Original reservation known as Fort D. A. Russell was set apart for military purposes by Executive Order of June 28, 1869 (G. O. No. 34 Hdqrs. Dept. of the Platte, June 3, 1869). Name changed to Fort Francis E. Warren by General Orders No. 20 War Department, 1929 in honor of Honorable Francis E. Warren.

The area of the reservation was reduced on May 23, 1898, by the transfer to the State of Wyoming of 160 acres for the use of the State Agricultural and Industrial Exposition, under authority of act of Congress approved March 2, 1895 (28 Stat. 946).

In 1903, perpetual easements for right-of-way to construct and maintain a water conduit for irrigation purposes were acquired by purchase and condemnation.

In 1909, additional land acquired by purchase and condemnation for rifle range purposes. By Executive Order No. 1124 of August 27, 1909, 40 acres additional were reserved from sale or other disposition and set apart for the same purpose. In 1913, additional land acquired by purchase. Authority: Act of March 3, 1909 (35 Stat. 747).

An additional 1,597.57 acres were acquired in 1935 by condemnation under authority of the act of June 14, 1934 (48 Stat. 955). In 1939, 34.55 acres additional were acquired by exchange for the same number of acres under authority of the act of July 17, 1939 (53 Stat. 1048).

By agreement dated December 2, 1884, and supplemental agreements dated March 25, 1903, November 30, 1908, and June

10, 1935, with the City of Cheyenne, certain water rights were acquired by the United States. By these agreements the City of Cheyenne was authorized to make certain installations on the reservation.

By ordinance August 4, 1909, the City of Cheyenne granted permission to the United States to construct and maintain a sewer along certain city streets. Approved by the Secretary of War, September 2, 1909.

By agreement dated September 9, 1913, with the Colorado and Southern Railway Company, the right to lay a railway crossing over the main line of the railway company was granted to the United States.

By agreement approved February 23, 1924, with the City of Cheyenne, the perpetual right to discharge sewage in the city system in certain streets described therein was acquired by the United States.

By instrument dated August 26, 1935, the County Commissioners of Laramie County quitclaimed to the United States all the interest of Laramie County in and to certain described county roads located within the boundaries of the reservation.

JURISDICTION—Exclusive jurisdiction over the original reservation subject to the right to tax persons and corporations, their franchises and property, was ceded by the act of February 17, 1893, set out in Section I under General Legislation. (Exclusive jurisdiction over the 1903, 1909, 1913, 1935, and the 1939 additions to the reservation was ceded by the act of February 13, 1897, set out in Section 1, under General Legislation).

EASEMENTS, etc.—(1) Act of June 30, 1886 (24 Stat. 104), granted to the Cheyenne and Northern Railway Company a right-of-way, not to exceed 100 feet in width, across Fort D. A. Russell, subject to the approval of the Secretary of War. Approved by the Secretary of War on August 20, 1886.

(2) License August 27, 1886, to County Commissioners of Laramie County to maintain a certain road known as the Happy Jack Road.

(3) License August 4, 1888, to the County of Laramie, to construct and maintain a road (now Hynds Boulevard) over lands described therein.

(4) License March 11, 1909, to the Colorado & Southern Railway Company to erect, operate and maintain a building, for use as a railway station and as a residence for the station agent and family.

(5) Act of March 2, 1911 (36 Stat. 1012), granted to the Colorado Railroad Company authority to do business in the State of Wyoming and to build its line or railroad on that part of the reservation as described therein.

(6) Act of March 2, 1911 (36 Stat. 1012), granted right-of-way to County of Laramie for a road across and upon the lands described therein.

(7) Permit March 31, 1911, to the Board of Commissioners of the County of Laramie to extend county road across, along and within the reservation.

(8) Easement October 15, 1915, granted to Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company for a right-of-way for pole lines.

(9) License February 26, 1925, to the Cheyenne Motor Bus Company to operate motor bus line.

(10) Permit November 23, 1927, granted the Cheyenne Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, to place a stone marker on the reservation inscribed "Camp Carlin 1867-1927."

(11) License February 7, 1929, to the City of Cheyenne to use and occupy a portion of the reservation for the purpose of a park and the maintenance of necessary appurtenances.

(12) Permit December 26, 1929, as amended August 24, 1933, for five years to the Department of Commerce to construct, operate, and maintain a radio station and a directive radio beacon installation in the locations described therein. Although this permit has expired by its terms, the use is continued upon consideration for renewal.

(13) Easement July 9, 1931, to the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company, for a period not to exceed 25 years for a right-of-way for pole lines.

(14) Permit April 22, 1932, to Mrs. Francis E. Warren, to erect and to place a memorial tablet on one of the posts at the entrance to the reservation.

(15) Easement October 19, 1933, to Cheyenne Light, Fuel, and Power Company for a period not to exceed 25 years for a right-of-way for the installation, operation, and maintenance of an electric power pole line.

(16) License June 8, 1938, for a period not to exceed five years, to the City of Cheyenne to operate and maintain a telephone pole line, and to use one circuit in Signal Corps underground telephone cable, for the purpose of providing telephone service to the municipal waterworks.

(17) License April 18, 1940, for five years commencing February 15, 1940, to the Colorado and Southern Railway Company to operate a transportation service over those portions of the railroad trackage owned by the licensee, and certain portions of railroad trackage owned by the United States.

PART III

COMMANDING OFFICERS

FORT D. A. RUSSELL—1867-1929

FORT FRANCIS E. WARREN—1930-1945

- 1867-68: Brevet Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson, 30th Infantry.
 1868-69: Major J. Van Vost, 18th Infantry.
 Brevet Brig. Gen. H. W. Wessels, 18th Infantry.
 1869-70: Brevet Brig. Gen. L. P. Bradley.
 1870-73: Col. J. H. King, 9th Infantry.
 1873-74: Col. J. V. Bombard, 9th Infantry.
 1874-76: Col. J. J. Reynolds, 3rd Cavalry.
 1876-77: Col. Wesley Merritt, 5th Cavalry.
 1877-78: Captain G. L. Luhn, 4th Infantry.
 1879-80: Col. Wesley Merritt, 5th Cavalry.
 1880-82: Col. Albert G. Brackett, 3rd Cavalry.
 1882-83: Col. J. P. Carlin, 4th Infantry.
 1883-86: Col. John S. Mason, 9th Infantry.
 1886-87: Col. Alex Chambers, 9th Infantry.
 1887-88: Lieut. Col. R. H. Offley, 17th Infantry.
 1888-91: Col. Henry R. Mizner, 17th Infantry.

Dec. 10, 1894 to May 10, 1895: Col. G. M. Randall, 8th Inf.

May 11, 1895 to Mar. 30, 1898: Col. J. J. Van Horn, 8th Inf.

Mar. 31, 1898 to Apr. 20, 1898: Capt. E. B. Savage, 8th Inf.

Apr. 21, 1898 to Sept. 29, 1898: 1st Lieut. Charles Gerhardt, 8th Inf.

Sept. 30, 1898 to Dec. 23, 1898: Capt. N. H. W. James, 24th Inf.

Dec. 24, 1898 to July 5, 1899: Major A. C. Markley, 24th Inf.

July 6, 1899 to Feb. 4, 1900: Capt. J. G. Galbraith.

Feb. 5, 1900 to Mar. 6, 1900: 1st Lieut. H. D. Berkeley, 1st Cav.

Mar. 7, 1900 to Mar. 23, 1900: 1st Lt. C. Saltzman, 9th Cav.

Note:

The Brevet rank was conferred on officers by the President with the consent of the Senate for gallant, meritorious or faithful conduct in the volunteer service prior to appointment in the army. 14 U. S. Stat. 517. The brevet rank did not entitle an officer to precedence or command except by special assignment of the President. Such an assignment did not entitle any officer to additional pay.

Mar. 24, 1900 to July 20, 1900: Capt. J. G. Galbraith,
1st Cav.

July 21, 1900 to Aug. 9, 1900: 2nd Lt. H. C. Smither,
1st Cav.

Aug. 10, 1900 to Sept. 20, 1900: Capt. W. H. Allaire,
23rd Inf.

Sept. 21, 1900 to Oct. 25, 1901: Capt. D. B. Devore, 23rd
Inf.

Oct. 26, 1901 to Mar. 21, 1903: Col. J. M. J. Sanno, 18th
Inf.

Mar. 22, 1903 to June 16, 1903: Capt. L. W. Foster, 2nd
Inf.

June 17, 1903 to Oct. 22, 1903: Major H. L. Bailey, 2nd
Inf.

Oct. 23, 1903 to Mar. 19, 1904: Col. Francis W. Mansfield,
2nd Inf.

Mar. 20, 1904 to Aug. 17, 1904: Lieut. Col. Walter S.
Scott, 11th Inf.

Aug. 18, 1904 to Oct. 4, 1906: Col. Albert L. Myer, 11th
Inf.

Oct. 5, 1906 to June 19, 1907: Major R. M. Blatchford,
11th Inf.

June 20, 1907 to Jan. 31, 1909: Col. L. W. Taylor, 2nd
F. A.

Feb. 1, 1909 to July 25, 1909: Lieut. Col. L. W. Foote,
2nd F. A.

July 26, 1909 to Apr. 4, 1910: Brig. Gen. Fred A. Smith.

Apr. 5, 1910 to Apr. 18, 1910: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Apr. 19, 1910 to July 17, 1910: Brig. Gen. R. W. Hoyt.

July 18, 1910 to Aug. 13, 1910: Capt. Earl W. Carnahan,
11th Inf.

Aug. 14, 1910 to Nov. 10, 1910: Brig. Gen. R. W. Hoyt.

Nov. 12, 1910 to Mar. 9, 1911: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Mar. 10, 1911 to Mar. 29, 1911: Capt. F. S. Armstrong,
9th Cav.

Mar. 30, 1911 to July 14, 1911: Lieut. Col. J. A. Maney,
2nd Inf.

July 15, 1911 to July 30, 1911: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

July 31, 1911 to Oct. 24, 1911: Col. Arthur Williams,
11th Inf.

Oct. 24, 1911 to Feb. 26, 1912: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Feb. 27, 1912 to May 17, 1912: Col. Arthur Williams,
11th Inf.

May 18, 1912 to Oct. 2, 1912: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Oct. 3, 1912, to Feb. 17, 1913: Brig. Gen. Clarence R.
Edwards.

Feb. 18, 1913 to Feb. 25, 1913: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Feb. 26, 1913 to May 1, 1913: Major J. A. Cole, QM Corps.

- May 2, 1913 to Apr. 27, 1914: Capt. F. Parker, 12th Cav.
 Apr. 27, 1914 to Jan. 8, 1915: Capt. Samuel B. Pearson,
 QM Corps.
 Jan. 9, 1915 to Sept. 5, 1915: Capt. F. Parker, 12th Cav.
 Sept. 6, 1915 to Dec. 31, 1915: Capt. L. S. Carson, 12th
 Cav.
 Jan. 1, 1916, to Jan. 27, 1916: Capt. L. S. Carson, 12th
 Cav.
 Jan. 28, 1916 to Feb. 5, 1916: Capt. Roy B. Harper, 12th
 Cav.
 Feb. 6, 1916 to Mar. 23, 1916: Col. C. W. Penrose, 24th
 Inf.
 Mar. 24, 1916 to May, 1917; Capt. Samuel A. Smoke,
 QM Corps.
 May, 1917 to Aug. 22, 1917: Col. Frederick S. Foltz, 1st
 Cav.
 Aug. 23, 1917 to Sept. 20, 1917: Col. E. S. Wright, U. S.
 Cav.
 Sept. 21, 1917 to Dec. 25, 1917: Col. J. C. Waterman,
 1st Cav.
 Dec. 26, 1917 to Jan. 7, 1918: Lieut. Col. Wilson G.
 Heaton, 83rd F. A.
 Jan. 8, 1918 to Mar. 17, 1918: Major T. M. Coughlan,
 83rd F. A.
 Mar. 18, 1918 to Apr. 5, 1918: Major Samuel A. Smoke,
 QM Corps.
 Apr. 6, 1918 to May 19, 1918: Col. Walter C. Short, N. A.
 May 20, 1918 to June 4, 1918: Lieut. Col. G. Williams,
 315th Cav.
 June 5, 1918 to Sept. 5, 1918: Col. Walter C. Short, N. A.
 Sept. 6, 1918 to Dec. 8, 1918: Capt. H. S. Bunting, 21st Inf.
 Dec. 9, 1918 to Dec. 25, 1918: Lieut. Joel R. Burney.
 Dec. 26, 1918 to Feb. 5, 1919: Major E. F. Koenig, 21st Inf.
 Feb. 6, 1919 to Aug. 31, 1919: Brig. Gen. P. W. Davison.
 Sept. 1, 1919 to Nov. 29, 1919: Col. M. O. Bigelow.
 Nov. 30, 1920 to Aug. 8, 1921: Col. Thomas B. Dugan,
 15th Cav.
 Aug. 9, 1921 to Sept. 20, 1921: Lieut. Col. George B.
 Rodney.
 Sept. 21, 1921 to Oct. 2, 1921: Col. Roy B. Harper.
 Oct. 3, 1921 to May 28, 1922: Brig. Gen. William H. Sage.
 May 29, 1922 to Aug. 17, 1923: Brig. Gen. Edmund
 Wittenmyer.
 Aug. 18, 1923 to Nov. 4, 1927: Brig. Gen. John M. Jenkins.
 Nov. 5, 1927 to Jan. 30, 1929: Brig. Gen. Dwight E.
 Aultman.
 Jan. 31, 1929 to May 25, 1929: Brig. Gen. Frank C. Bowles.

- May 26, 1929 to Dec. 25, 1931: Brig. Gen. Charles R. Howland.
 Dec. 26, 1931 to July 27, 1933: Brig. Gen. Frank S. Cocheu.
 July 28, 1933 to Sept. 13, 1935: Brig. Gen. Casper H. Conrad.
 Sept. 14, 1935 to Aug. 30, 1937: Brig. Gen. C. J. Humphrey.
 Aug. 30, 1937 to Oct. 18, 1940: Brig. Gen. E. D. Peek.
 Oct. 19, 1940 to April 12, 1941: Brig. Gen. F. E. Uhl.
 1941-1942: Col. George Blair, Inf.
 1942-1943: Col. J. B. Johnson, Cav.
 1943: Brig. Gen. John A. Warden.
 1943-1944: Col. B. G. McGary, QMC.
 1944: Col. G. O. A. Dautry, Inf.
 March, 1944: Brig. Gen. H. L. Whittaker.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS

FORT D. A. RUSSELL—1867-1929

FORT FRANCIS E. WARREN—1930-1945

- October 1867: 30th Infantry, 2nd Cavalry.
 July, 1868: 9 companies, 2nd Cavalry, 18th Cavalry.
 Camps on railroad near Fort Russell, 2nd Cavalry, 27th Infantry.
 October, 1869: 8 companies, 5th Cavalry, 9th Infantry.
 October, 1870: 13 companies, 5th Cavalry, 9th Infantry, 14th Infantry.
 October, 1871: 10 companies, 5th Cavalry, 9th Infantry, 14th Infantry.
 October, 1872: 9 companies, 3rd Cavalry, 9th Infantry, 14th Infantry.
 October, 1873: 9 companies, 3rd Cavalry, 4th Infantry, 8th Infantry.
 October, 1874: 5 companies, 3rd Cavalry, 23rd Infantry.
 October, 1875: 2 companies, 23rd Infantry.
 November, 1876: 4 companies, 5th Cavalry, 3rd Cavalry.
 October, 1877: 6 companies, 5th Cavalry.
 October, 1878: 1 company, 4th Infantry.
 October, 1879: 7 companies, 5th Cavalry, 4th Infantry.
 October, 1880: 7 companies, 5th Cavalry, 4th Infantry.
 October, 1881: 5 companies, 3rd Cavalry, 4th Infantry.
 October, 1882: 5 companies, 5th Cavalry, 4th Infantry, 9th Infantry.
 October, 1883-1886: 9th Infantry.
 July, 1886 to Sept. 1895: 17th Infantry.

Sept. 1895 to April, 1898: 8th Infantry.
 April, 1898 to Sept. 1898: Detachment, 8th Infantry.
 Sept., 1898 to June, 1899: 24th Infantry.
 June, 1899 to July, 1900: 1st Cavalry.
 Aug., 1900 to Sept., 1901: 23rd Infantry.
 September 29, 1901: 13th Field Artillery.
 Oct. 22, 1901 to March, 1903: 18th Infantry.
 Feb. 1, 1902 to July 21, 1902: 14th Cavalry.
 Aug. 18, 1902 to March, 1904: 10th Cavalry.
 June 17, 1903 to Aug. 31, 1904: 2nd Infantry.
 Mar. 24, 1904 to Oct. 1906: 11th Infantry.
 Jan. 11, 1905 to Feb. 1, 1906: 8th and 13th Field Artillery.
 May 21, 1906: 12th and 19th Field Artillery.
 Oct. 5, 1906 to Mar. 1, 1907: 10th Cavalry.
 May 20, 1907 to May 12, 1908: 8th Cavalry.
 June 27, 1907 to June 1, 1910: 2nd Field Artillery.
 Nov. 21, 1908 to Feb. 26, 1913: 4th Field Artillery.
 Mar. 9, 1909 to Feb. 26, 1913: 11th Infantry.
 June 18, 1911 to Sept. 8, 1912: 9th Cavalry.
 May 2, 1913 to Mar. 22, 1916: 12th Cavalry.
 Feb. 6, 1916 to Mar. 22, 1916: 24th Infantry.
 May, 1917: 1st Cavalry.
 October, 1917: 24th Cavalry, 25th Cavalry.
 December, 1917: 83rd Field Artillery.
 April, 1918: 315th Cavalry.
 May, 1918: 312th Cavalry.
 August, 1918: 60th, 61st, 71st, 72nd Field Artillery.
 September, 1918: 23rd Battalion U. S. G.
 December, 1918: 21st Infantry.
 December, 1918 to July 28, 1919: 21st Infantry.
 June 28, 1919 to October 21, 1921: 15th Cavalry.
 October 21, 1921: 15th Cavalry transferred to 13th Cavalry.
 Oct. 21, 1921 to June 16, 1927: 13th Cavalry.
 June 28, 1922 to 1941: 76th Field Artillery.
 Oct. 23, 1924 to June 16, 1927: 4th Cavalry.
 June 28, 1927 to March, 1941: 1st Infantry.
 June 28, 1927 to March, 1941: 20th Infantry.

From August 1909 until February 1913, Fort Russell enjoyed real years of peace. The garrison strength varied hardly at all, remaining for the most part between 2600 to 2700 officers and men. After the troop movements to the Mexican border in February 1913, the garrison strength dropped to about 300 officers and men. Upon the departure of the 24th Infantry and 12th Cavalry to the border in March 1916, Captain Samuel A. Smoke, Q.M. Corps was in charge of the post. After the declaration of war April 6, 1917, line officers were again present and in command. The preceding list of organizations is as complete as can be determined from the sources available.

Fort Russell was a post for demobilization after World War I. The first casualties arrived in March and continued throughout the summer. These figures taken from the Morning Reports of 1919 are interesting:

- March 31, 1919: Casuals at Post—385.
- June 2, 1919: Casuals at Post—1044.
- June 22, 1919: Casuals at Post—1377.
- July, 1919: Casuals at Post—805.
- Sept. 30, 1919: Casuals at Post—37.

CHRONOLOGY

This list contains dates of events significant to Fort Francis E. Warren (Fort D. A. Russell). Other historical data included are: dates of establishment and later abandonment of surrounding military posts; local events of importance to both the military reservation and to Cheyenne; weather data; army reorganization acts.

- 1834: Fort Laramie on the North Platte River, 90 miles north of Fort Russell, established first as Fort William, later called Fort John; the first permanent fur trading post in Wyoming. Purchased by the United States from Pierre Choteau in 1849 for a military post. Abandoned 1890. Remaining buildings on 220 acres, now a national monument.
- 1853: Railroad surveys conducted by the topographical engineers.
- 1858: Gold discovered in Colorado. These early settlements were later important to Fort Russell.
- 1862: July 1. Railroad Act passed by Congress. By authority of this act the Union Pacific Railroad Company came into ownership of the right-of-way of the old Camp Carlin Siding on the reservation, now jointly owned by the Union Pacific, and Colorado and Southern Railroads.
- 1863: Construction of Union Pacific begun.
- 1864: Fort Collins established on Cache LaPoudre River, 50 miles south of Fort Russell, to guard the Overland Trail. Abandoned, 1871. Fort Sedgwick, near Julesburg, Colorado, established to guard the Overland Trail following the South Platte River, about 117 miles to the east of Fort Russell. Abandoned, 1884.
- 1865: Sherman Pass discovered by General Grenville M. Dodge.
- 1866: Fort Sanders established near the present site of Laramie, to guard the Overland Trail. Abandoned, 1884. March. Army Reorganization Act, following the Civil War.

- 1867: July 4. Selection of the site of Cheyenne by General Dodge, chief engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. Selection of site of Fort D. A. Russell by General C. C. Augur, Commanding Department of the Platte. August, September; construction begun at Camp Carlin (Cheyenne Depot) and Fort Russell proper on the reservation.
September 8. Fort D. A. Russell formally named.
November. Barracks completed and occupied.
November 13. First train on the Union Pacific reaches Cheyenne.
- 1868: February. Officers' quarters at Fort Russell completed and occupied. Peace treaty with Sioux signed at Fort Laramie, July 25. Organic Act for organization of the Territory of Wyoming approved by Congress.
- 1869: May 10. Completion of the transcontinental railroad and the Gold Spike Ceremony near Promontory, Utah. The Department of Interior survey of the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation.
May 19. Completion of organization of territorial government of Wyoming by Governor John Campbell.
- 1870: June 25. Completion of Denver and Pacific Railroad. Denver's first railroad service.
Population U. S. Census, Wyoming, 9,118; Cheyenne, 1,450; Fort D. A. Russell, 828; native, 449; foreign, 379. Disastrous fire in Cheyenne, property destruction valued at \$250,000. Fire at Camp Carlin (Cheyenne Depot) with partial destruction of \$200,000 worth of hay. First diversion ditch from Crow Creek constructed.
- 1872: Purchase of the first diversion ditch by the City of Cheyenne. Fort Russell "acquired" the ditch and used it until 1883.
- 1874: Strength of the United States Army fixed by law at 25,000 officers and men. However, this did not affect the garrison at Fort Russell. Reconnaissance of General George Custer in the Black Hills of Dakota. Discovery of gold confirmed.
- 1875: The year without a summer.
January 4. Destructive fire at Fort Russell. Six sets of officers' quarters were burned to the ground and other quartermaster property. One life was lost.
January 9. Low temperature, -38°, (lowest temperature recorded at Cheyenne to date, 1942).
- 1876: February 7. War Department takes over Indian situation in northeastern Wyoming. The Sioux War of 1876 begins. The troops ordered into the field from Fort Fetterman under the command of Colonel J. J. Rey-

- nolds. March 11. -3° zero. The mean temperature for the month was 27.7. This extreme weather caused delay in putting troops into the field at the beginning of the Sioux War, thus giving the Indians time to mobilize.
- May 19. Troops leave Fort Russell enroute to Fort Fetterman for service in the field under the command of General George Crook.
- June 17. Battle of the Rosebud. Captain Guy V. Henry, 3rd Cavalry, wounded. Nine men killed. Lieutenant Robinson, A. A., QM. Fort Fetterman informs Post QM. by telegram that invoices for grain would be forwarded on the 21st of June. Letters received Quartermaster's Department (1875-1886) P. 108. This is important. Telegraphic communication was possible with the northern post within five days of the Custer Massacre.
- June 25. General Custer and his entire command wiped out on the Little Big Horn, Montana.
- July 5. News of the Custer Massacre reached the outside world as published in the *Cheyenne Leader* of that date.
- July 22. G. O. 65, Hqrs. of the army. Provides for construction of military post in northern Wyoming and the Yellowstone.
- November 8. Troops stationed at Fort Russell return to their stations from the "Big Horn Expedition."
- 1877: March. Abrogation of certain parts of Sioux Treaty of 1868, opening northeastern Wyoming to white settlement.
- 1879: September. Meeker Massacre at Ute White River Agency, northwestern Colorado. September 29. Major Thornburg and his command ambushed within 15 miles of the agency; Major Thornburg killed. October. Troops return to Fort Russell from the Milk River fight. The wounded were, insofar as can be determined, the only ones ever brought into the hospital of Fort Russell directly from a battlefield.
- 1880: Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 20,789; Cheyenne, 5,047.
- 1882: July 1. The first telephone installed between Cheyenne and the Post.
- 1883: Cheyenne installs electric lighting system (said to be the first city in the United States to install electric lighting system).
June 1. Cavalry withdrawn from Fort Russell for the first time since the establishment of the Post.
February 3. Temperature, -37° .

- 1884: War Department selects Fort D. A. Russell as a permanent military post.
December 2. First water agreement between the city of Cheyenne and the War Department. This agreement involved the reservation rights of the waters of Crow Creek. First water system at Fort Russell.
- 1885: Fort D. A. Russell is rebuilt with permanent brick buildings, twenty-seven new buildings in all.
Camp Pilot Butte is established as a sub-post of Fort Russell after the Chinese riot at Rock Springs. Abandoned, 1898.
- 1886: August 20. Easement by the War Department granting a right-of-way across the reservation to the Cheyenne and Northern Railway Company.
August 27. Revocable license to Laramie County Commissioners to enter the reservation and maintain the "Happy Jack" road and to permit travel upon it. This road remains unchanged (1945).
- 1888: August 4. Revocable lease to Laramie County to construct a county road along the east side of the reservation. This road is today Hynds Boulevard. There is a slight discrepancy in the boundary surveys of the city, the county, and the reservation.
- 1889: Revocable lease for a street railway line. Constructed in 1908. Abandoned in 1925.
- 1890: May 31. Final dismantling of Cheyenne Depot (Camp Carlin) "Telephone removed as it will no longer be needed."
December 17. Troops ordered into the field against the Sioux at the Pine Ridge Agency, Dakota. Construction of first sewer system. Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 60,705; Cheyenne, 11,690.
July 10. Wyoming enters the Union as the 44th state. Water system for domestic supply of the garrison completed. Cost, about \$50,000.
- 1891: Hospital Training Corps established at Fort Russell.
- 1893: January. Post Exchange established replacing Sutler's Store.
- 1894: May. Troops sent against Coxey's Army, Green River, Wyoming. Colonel Poland enforces the water contract of 1884.
- 1895: July. Troops leave for the field in the Teton Pass Country against the Bannocks. The last Indian Scout from Fort Russell.
- 1897: September. The garrison of Fort Russell took active part in the first Frontier Days celebration in Cheyenne.

- 1898: April. Declaration of war against Spain. The 8th Infantry leaves Fort Russell for service in Cuba.
 May 23. The loss of 160 acres, present site of Cheyenne Country Club, to the State of Wyoming.
 September. Detachments of 24th Infantry (colored) who gave heroic service in the yellow fever epidemic at Siboney, Cuba; stationed at Fort Russell.
- 1899: June. Cavalry troops again stationed at Fort Russell, the first in sixteen years.
- 1900: Crow Creek Forest Reserve proclaimed by President McKinley. This reserve later became the target and maneuver range.
 August 8. Garrison strength aggregate 37, officers and men. The lowest garrison strength on record.
 Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 92,531; Cheyenne, 14,087.
- 1901: February 2. Reorganization Act following Spanish American War.
 September 29. Artillery is stationed at Fort Russell, for the first time. Maximum strength of the U. S. armed forces 60,000 officers and men.
- 1903: March 25. The second water contract with Cheyenne involving irrigation water only.
- 1904: May 20: Crow Creek rose fifteen feet above its normal level and caused some property damage on the reservation. The damage in Cheyenne was much greater and for the services of the troops in the emergency, Cheyenne voted a reward of \$500 for the men of the garrison. Total precipitation for May, 6.66 inches, maximum for month in 71 years.
 Granite Springs Reservoir built. A series of artesian wells are drilled in Crow Creek bottoms—still flowing, 1942.
 Two sets of artillery barracks and two artillery stables are built. The barracks are the first two story barracks to be built upon the reservation and the stables are the first to be built up out of the creek bottoms. A boundary survey of the reservation is made.
 Crow Creek Forest Reserve is designated as Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range.
- 1905: The year of the big snow, 110.9 inches; 46.5 inches falling in April. Highest annual precipitation recorded, 22.68 inches. Photographs are made a part of the Quartermaster's record.
- 1906: Fort Russell recommended for expansion to a brigade post by Wm. H. Taft, Secretary of War.

- 1907: Expansion of Post begun by construction of cavalry barracks, additional artillery barracks, brick stables and Cavalry Drill Hall, as well as new officers' quarters and non-commissioned officers' quarters. The building program was completed about 1910.
- 1908: City contract No. 5. The agreement entered into by the City of Cheyenne and the War Department for the joint water supply of the City and the Post. The War Department contributed \$400,000 as its share of the expenses.
- 1909: First land acquisition for extension of rifle range. First sewer contract with the City of Cheyenne.
- 1910: Underground telephone cable laid on reservation. Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 145,865; Cheyenne, 11,320.
Boundary survey. The last survey until 1926. August, 71 year low, temperature for month, 25°. Crop damage from freezing, enormous.
- 1911: Construction of Round Top Reservation.
- 1912: Land acquisitions by purchase in Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range.
- 1913: Presidential Proclamation withdrawing certain public lands in the Crow Creek water shed for the protection of the water supply of Fort Russell. These withdrawals cover a period of years and the total acreage is about 7,648 acres. Ownership later confirmed by Executive Orders (1931).
February. Troops leave Fort Russell for Mexican border.
- 1913-16: Garrison strength averages about 350 officers and men.
- 1917: April 16. Declaration of World War I. Cavalry and Field Artillery organizations are activated at Fort Russell.
- 1918: November 11. Armistice of World War I.
- 1919: Fort Russell made a demobilization post. Demobilization continues throughout the year.
The Signal Service installs the first wireless station.
- 1920: June 4. Reorganization Act following World War I. Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 194,402; Cheyenne, 13,829.
- 1920-30: Period of remarkable weather. Temperatures on ten year average, .4° below the mean. Precipitation, ten year average, 17.57 inches; 2.89 inches above average. This meant prosperity in surrounding country and ample water for city and post.
- 1922: June 22. 76th Field Artillery, less 2nd Battalion, takes station at Fort Russell.

- 1924: February. The second agreement with the City of Cheyenne concerning the right for sewer lines through the city.
- 1925: June 5. Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range is made a part of the Pole Mountain District of the Medicine Bow National Forest to be jointly administered by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of War.
- 1927: June. The 4th and 13th Cavalry leave Fort Russell, the last Cavalry organization to be stationed here. The 1st and 20th Infantry take station.
- 1928: Boundary survey of Reservation.
Camp for R. O. T. C. and C. M. T. C. is built.
- 1929: Topographical survey of the reservation is made.
G. O. No. 20, War Department, name changed to Fort Francis E. Warren.
- 1930: Department of Commerce constructs and operates a radio station on the Reservation.
An aerial survey of the Reservation is made.
Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 225,565; Cheyenne, 17,361.
- 1931: July 6. G. O. No. 5, War Department, Final Executive Order concerning withdrawn lands in Crow Creek water shed.
- 1933: January. Highest wind velocity, 65 miles per hour. The year of wind.
- 1934: July. Highest mean temperature for month, 72.7.
- 1939: Lowest rainfall in 50 years, 9.84 inches.
September 8. Period of national emergency declared by President.
- 1940: Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 240,742; Cheyenne, 22,474.
September 16. Selective Service and Training Act, 54 Stat. 897.

SACAJAWEA BIBLIOGRAPHY

A splendid Sacajawea Bibliography by Inez Babb Taylor, Assistant Historian for the State of Wyoming from 1939-1941, has been donated to the State Historical Department. We take occasion to mention this work as it is and will be of great assistance to students of Wyoming History.

Mrs. Taylor is also the author of a very fine article "Sacajawea," published in the *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 13, No. 3, July 1941. Through an oversight her name as author was omitted.

Documents and Letters

Wyoming Statehood Stamp*

By George C. Hahn, A. P. S.



Approved Design.

The History of Wyoming

“In the far and mighty West,
Where the crimson sun seeks rest,
There’s a growing splendid state
That lies above
On the breast of this great land;
Where the massive Rockies stand
There’s Wyoming young and strong,
The State I love!”

(Wyoming State Song)

*The American Philatelist, Vol. 58, No. 9, June, 1945.

Wyoming, known as the "Equality State" by reason of having been the first to grant the same suffrage rights to women as those accorded to men, abounds in enchanting traditions and folklore of the West. The State truly embodies the gallant, intrepid spirit of its pioneers and its many outstanding scenic attractions make Wyoming an integral part of the magnificent, historic, and romantic West.

The musical name "Wyoming" probably is an imprint left by immigrants on their westward trek from Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. The word means "Mountains and Valley alternating." It is a corruption of the word "Maugh-wau-wa-na" of the Delaware Indians, meaning "The large Plains."

The name "Wyoming" probably first was used by J. M. Ashley of Ohio, who as early as 1865 introduced into Congress a Bill to provide a temporary government "for the Territory of Wyoming." This territory was to be formed from portions of Dakota, Utah, and Idaho Territories. Credit for popularizing the name "Wyoming" is given by Historian Coutant to Leigh Richmond Freeman, publisher of a newspaper, "The Pioneer Index," at Fort Kearny. His numerous articles advocating the name of Wyoming undoubtedly had their effect on the people of the country and on those who afterward inserted this name in the Bill for creating the Wyoming Territory.

Five different countries flew their flags over parts of Wyoming before the Territory of Wyoming was created. In addition to Spain—France, Great Britain, Mexico, and the Republic of Texas claimed parts of what now is the State of Wyoming.

John Colter, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, was the first white man of record to have entered, in 1807, Wyoming. Undoubtedly other explorers entered the country before Colter but the records are vague and not definite regarding the earlier phases of the explorations of Wyoming. On his journey Colter entered the Yellowstone country and opened an era of exploration and fur trapping. Four years later, an expedition under Wilson Price Hunt of the Pacific Fur Company, and a partner of John Jacob Astor, crossed Wyoming westward in search of a land route from the Missouri River to the Oregon Territory.

In the years following this expedition many trappers, explorers, and adventurous pioneers led an ever-increasing number of men into the territory. Among them was General William H. Ashley, the institutor of the rendezvous system of fur trading. The rendezvous was a colorful gathering of Indians, traders, and fur companies' employees for the purpose of meeting the pack trains of the companies and exchanging the furs for their next year's supplies.

The most celebrated expedition into the Wyoming territory was that of Captain Benjamin L. E. de Bonneville in 1832,

who established on August 19th of the same year Fort Bonneville. The story of the expedition was immortalized by Washington Irving in his "Adventures of Captain Bonneville."

The first trading post, known as the "Portuguese Houses," was established in 1828 by Antonio Mateo on the middle fork of the Powder River in north central Wyoming. In 1834 Fort Laramie was built by traders and named after Jacques La Ramee, one of the early trappers. Fort Laramie remained an important trading post until 1849, when the United States purchased it for use as a military post for the protection of the increasing number of emigrants.

The fur era was succeeded by the emigration period, which had its beginning in 1842. Hundreds of thousands of emigrants indelibly marked Wyoming as they toiled westward bound for the Oregon country, the Mormon colonies in the Great Salt Lake valley, and the California gold fields. Additional forts were established and the government supply freighters for these forts soon began to intermingle with emigrant trains. A stage line was started in 1851 and the early 1860's brought the Pony Express and the telegraph across central Wyoming.

In 1862 Indian warfare swept the region and came to a climax in 1866, the year known as "the bloody year on the plains," when Colonel William Judd Fetterman and eighty men were killed by the Indians at Fort Kearny. The Indian wars continued with many skirmishes engaging soldiers detailed to protect the stage stations, emigrant and freight trains, and the pioneers. A treaty of peace was concluded in 1868 with Red Cloud, Chief of the Sioux tribes, however, it was not until 1874 before the final battle with the Indians took place at Bates Hole.

The Union Pacific Railroad commenced building its tracks across the State, rapidly pushing forward and entering Cheyenne on November 13, 1867. To protect and govern the new settlements along the railway, the Territory of Wyoming came into existence by an Act of Congress on July 28, 1868. Territorial officials however were not appointed until the following year, when on May 19, 1869, the territorial government formally was inaugurated. On September 2nd of that year the first territorial election was held and the first territorial legislature convened in Cheyenne on October 12.

The first outstanding act of the territorial lawmakers was the granting of suffrage to women. Governor J. A. Campbell, on December 10, 1869, signed the "Female Suffrage" Bill, which was promoted by Esther Morris, who was known as the "Mother of Woman Suffrage" in Wyoming, and who also was the first woman Justice of the Peace. This Act of the Legislature resulted, for the first time in the history of the United

States—and perhaps of the world—in the granting to women equal political rights with men.

The decades between 1870 and 1890 were occupied by the further settlement of Wyoming. Due to the excellent feeding conditions, more than a million cattle poured into Wyoming over the Texas trail, starting the livestock industry, one of Wyoming's major industries. Wyoming, however, is not an agricultural state alone for it possesses important mineral resources such as coal, petroleum, and phosphates.

Twenty-one years after the inauguration of the Territory of Wyoming, the Territory became the forty-fourth state of the Union, having been admitted to statehood on July 10, 1890, by the signature of President Benjamin Harrison. To commemorate this historic milestone in the history of Wyoming and in the history of our country, the Post Office Department issued the Wyoming Statehood commemorative postage stamp.

Announcing the Wyoming Statehood Stamp

The Post Office Department set a precedent, when issuing in 1939 a commemorative postage stamp in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of admission to the Union of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. This was followed a year later by the Idaho Statehood stamp. Consequently it was not surprising that the Post Office Department was urged to issue a commemorative stamp in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the admission of Wyoming to the Union.

The Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs particularly was active in requesting the issuance of such a stamp and urged the State Congressional Delegation to place the matter before the officials of the Post Office Department. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, a former First Assistant Postmaster General, transmitted in a letter to Postmaster General James A. Farley on January 27, 1939, the desire of the citizens of Wyoming to have a stamp issued to commemorate the golden anniversary of the State.

In the past, with the exception of the two issues mentioned above, a state had to be at least a century old before it is honored with a stamp. According to the *Washington Post*, however, it was argued before the officials that "Wyoming, out in the Golden West, took the attitude that what other states could do in 100 years it had done in fifty."

Postmaster General James A. Farley announced on April 24, 1940, for release in morning papers, Thursday, April 25, 1940, that "A special commemorative postage stamp will be issued by the Post Office Department on July 10, 1940, in connection with the Fiftieth Anniversary of the admission to statehood of the State of Wyoming."

Following this news release, Ramsey S. Black, Third Assistant Postmaster General, issued the following notice, which appeared in the *Postal Bulletin* of May 28, 1940:

“FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF STATEHOOD OF
WYOMING COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

*Third Assistant Postmaster General,
Washington, May 24, 1940*

Postmaster and employees of the Postal Service are hereby notified of the issuance of a special postage stamp in the 3-cent denomination in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the admission of Wyoming to statehood. The stamp will be first placed on sale at the Cheyenne, Wyo., post office on July 10, 1940. It will be available at other post offices as soon after the date as stocks can be printed and distributed.

The new stamp is 84/100 by 1 44/100 inches in dimensions, arranged vertically. It is printed in purple by the rotary process and issued in sheets of 50.

The central design is a reproduction of the State Seal of Wyoming, extending the full width of the stamp. In a curved panel with dark ground forming an arch above the central design is the wording “State of Wyoming 50th Anniversary” in white roman arranged in two lines. In a horizontal panel with dark ground at the top of the stamp is the inscription “U. S. Postage” in white roman. In a similar panel, at the lower edge of the stamp in white roman lettering, are the words “Three” at the left and “Cents” at the right, separated by a large circular panel with dark ground containing the numeral “3” in white. In the space between the lower panel and the central design are the words “1890” at the left and “1940” at the right in large white numerals.

Stamp collectors desiring first-day cancellations of the new stamp on July 10 may send a limited number of addressed covers, not in excess of 10, to the postmaster at Cheyenne, Wyo., with a cash or postal money order remittance to cover only the cost of the stamps required for affixing. Postage stamps will positively not be accepted in payment. At first-day sales in the past, many covers have been undelivered because the sender has failed to properly address the same. Each cover must be addressed and should bear a pencil endorsement in the upper right corner to show the number of stamps to be attached thereto. It is also necessary to allow sufficient space to affix the stamps and the postmark. Envelopes should not be smaller than 3 by 6 inches. The use of large and irregularly shaped envelopes should be avoided. All cover envelopes should either be sealed or sent with the flaps turned in. Better cancellations will be provided if the envelopes contain medium-weight enclosures.

Requests for uncanceled stamps must not be included with orders for first-day covers to the postmaster at the above office.

For the benefit of collectors desiring stamps of selected quality for philatelic use, the new stamp will also be placed on sale at the Philatelic Agency on July 11, 1940. To insure prompt shipment, mail orders to the Agency must exclude other varieties of stamps.

Postmasters at Direct- and central-accounting post offices may submit requisition on Form 3201-A, endorsed "Wyoming Statehood," for a limited supply only of the new stamp. All such requisitions should reach the Department not later than June 15 if shipment on the first order is desired. Postmasters at district accounting post offices may obtain small quantities of the new postage stamp by requisition on the central-accounting postmasters.

Postmasters receiving advance shipments of the new stamp are hereby cautioned not to allow any of the stamps to be sold before July 11.

RAMSEY S. BLACK,
Third Assistant Postmaster General."

The Design

When Senator O'Mahoney urged the issuance of a commemorative stamp in honor of Wyoming's golden anniversary of statehood, he also suggested the use of the Great Seal of the State of Wyoming as the central design. This suggestion met with the approval of the Post Office Department and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing was instructed to prepare a model of the stamp.

Alvin R. Meissner, an artist of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, designed this model and the same was submitted on January 17, 1940, to Postmaster General James A. Farley, who approved it on February 1, 1940.

The Great Seal of the State of Wyoming was adopted in its present design by the second State Legislature and approved on January 10, 1893. This Act was amended by the sixteenth Legislature and approved on February 15, 1921. By this amendment the width of the Seal was reduced from two and one-quarter inches to one and one-half inches.

The significance of many features of the seal is readily apparent. In the center of the design stands the draped figure of a woman, a reproduction of the "Victory of Louvre" statue. From her left wrist hang links of broken chain, and in her right hand is held a staff, from the top of which floats a banner with the words, "Equal Rights." The broken links of chain and the banner suggest the political status women always have

known in Wyoming and is symbolic of their political equality. The lighted lamp on each pillar signifies the light of knowledge.

Standing at the right of the statue is the figure of a man with a broad brimmed hat holding a lariat. This figure represents the livestock and grazing industry of the State. To the left of the statue stands the figure of a miner with pick in hand, symbolic of the State's mining industry. Inscribed on the pillars at each side of the statue are the words "Live Stock," "Grain," "Mines," "Oil," representing the State's chief industries.

On the pedestal, on which the statue is standing, the number "XLIV" is inscribed together with a star on a shield, emblazoned with vertical stripes, on which an eagle is resting. This heraldic design signified the fact that Wyoming was the forty-fourth state to be admitted to the Union.

The two dates on the bottom of the Seal, "1869-1890," respectively commemorate the organization of the Territorial government and Wyoming's admission into the Union.

The Printing of the Wyoming Statehood Stamp

The order for the printing of the Wyoming Commemorative postage stamp was placed with the Bureau of Engraving and Printing by the Post Office Department on March 23, 1940, and a quantity of 48 million of the stamps was ordered. The Die Proof was approved by Postmaster General James A. Farley on April 17, 1940.

The vignette of the stamp was engraved by Charles A. Brooks and the lettering, frame, and numerals were engraved by Edward H. Helmuth, both artists of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Plates 22583, 22584, 22585, and 22586 were assigned for the engraving of the Wyoming Statehood stamp in March 1940. The first two plates were sent first to press on May 3, 1940, and plates 22585 and 22586 went to press on May 6, 1940.

The plates were 200-subject electric eye convertible type plates, divided into post office panes of fifty stamps each, arranged in ten horizontal rows and five vertical rows of stamps. The stamps were printed on the rotary presses on regular unwatermarked stamp paper and perforated 10½x11.

The official announcement covering this stamp described the color as purple, with which description few will agree. Scott's *United States Stamp Catalogue* lists the color as brown violet, which approximates the color of the stamp more closely than the Post Office Department's official color description. No major shade varieties have been noted and as a matter of fact the shade seemed to remain quite constant.

The First Day of Sale

Cheyenne, the Capital of the State of Wyoming, was chosen as the First Day of Sale city and elaborate preparations for the efficient handling of the thousands of first day covers were made by the Post Office Department and Postmaster William G. Haas of Cheyenne.

According to the *Wyoming State Tribune* of July 9, 1940, "orders for 200,000 of the Wyoming 50th anniversary stamps have already been received from stamp collectors all over the world. The Cheyenne Post Office has 500,000 of the stamps. In observance of Wyoming's 50th anniversary, Postmaster Haas urged that Cheyenneites mail letters with the new stamps to all of their friends and relatives Wednesday, the first day of issue. 'We will have two special stamp windows open from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. The cancelling machines will be right at the windows so we will be prepared for a large volume,' said Haas." The first delivery of the new stamps was made on June 28, 1940, to the Post Office at Cheyenne and orders for the new stamps began arriving as early as June 18. Among orders for the new stamps to be affixed to covers have been those placed by President Roosevelt, Postmaster General James A. Farley, four assistant postmaster generals and many other government officials.

The first sheet of stamps sold on July 10, 1940, was purchased by U. S. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney from Postmaster William G. Haas. The Senator, after autographing the sheet, presented it to the Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Lena P. Shawen, Secretary to the Superintendent, Division of Stamps, Post Office Department, Washington, D. C., was in charge of the first day sales arrangements, which were handled in a most efficient manner. Mrs. Shawen sold the second sheet of the new stamps to Miss Madelyn Seabright, President of the Wyoming organization of Business and Professional Women, and the third sheet was purchased by Miss Margaret B. Laughlin, Secretary of the Cheyenne Business and Professional Women's Club. W. D. Rhoades was the official canceller of the thousands of first day covers.

A large crowd of local collectors was at hand to watch the proceedings and the post office building was crowded all day with stamp collectors, some of whom had travelled quite some distance.

A total of 100,000 Wyoming Statehood stamps were sold at the Cheyenne Post Office between the time of opening and noon of July 10, 1940, according to Postmaster William G. Haas. The *Wyoming State Tribune* stated that "the sale of 50,000 stamps to J. E. Greer, Union Pacific freight agent, made

Wednesday morning, is the largest individual sale of stamps since the post office was established on October 5, 1869. Greer said the stamps will be distributed to thousands of Union Pacific offices throughout the United States and will be affixed to all Union Pacific mail."

A total of 325,982 stamps were sold on the first day of issue and 156,709 covers received the official "First Day of Issue" cancellation.

First Day covers received the usual "First Day of Issue" cancellation, consisting of the round machine town cancellation, reading: "CHEYENNE/JUL 10/ 9-AM/1940/WYO." with the two thin straight lines above and below the legend—"—FIRST DAY OF ISSUE—" to the right. A number of covers also received the usual hand stamp "First Day of Issue" cancellation.

First Day covers were issued for the commemorative stamp, under sponsorship of the women of Wyoming, led by Mrs. John L. Jordan, of Cheyenne, president of the Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs. The cachets on these first day covers depicted the meadow-lark, the State bird, and the State flower, the Indian paint-brush, "gorgeous with the orange and scarlet of the Wyoming summer sunsets." There also were many other cachet designs, including the Golden Anniversary seal with the familiar bucking horse and cowboy.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, a member of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, remembered many of his friends with a first day cover. In a letter, enclosed in these covers, the Senator called attention that "the Wyoming Constitution is notable, not only because of the provision for woman suffrage, but also because it contains an eloquent and forceful declaration of those principles of human freedom upon which this Republic was founded and which seems today to be undergoing the supreme test."

Cheyenne, the First Day of Sale city, was founded in 1867 by a group of United States army officers and engineers of the Union Pacific Railroad. It was incorporated as a city two years later. From the very beginning, Cheyenne held a glamorous position in the development of the West. It quickly acquired a colorful reputation with which it possibly will always be associated. Its inhabitants are descendants of the hardy and fearless pioneers whose robust and courageous life made Cheyenne the bustling metropolis of today.

Varieties

The only varieties reported are contained in a listing made by John F. Lanka in the September 1940 issue of the *Bureau Specialist*, the official organ of the Bureau Issues Association. Lanka lists a thin line one half millimeter from and parallel to the center line on plate 22585, lower left, stamps 1, 10, 20, 30 and 40. This line extends across the entire left edge of the sheet. I shall be grateful to receive reports or references to any other varieties which may have been located.

Conclusion

The Wyoming Statehood Commemorative Postage stamp was withdrawn from sale at the Philatelic Agency in Washington, D. C., at the close of business of July 19, 1944, having been on sale a little over four years.

According to official records, the following quantities of the Wyoming Statehood stamp were printed:

Year ending June 30, 1940--	500,000 stamps
Year ending June 30, 1941—	48,147,500 stamps
Year ending June 30, 1942—	1,377,500 stamps
Year ending June 30, 1943—	9,400 stamps

Total—50,034,400 stamps

In addition to the above total there were issued 363 specimen stamps.

The Wyoming Statehood Commemorative postage stamp, unquestionably well designed and a "thing of beauty," was a popular stamp and a reminder to many citizens of Wyoming of that memorable night fifty years ago when Wyoming Territory celebrated her Statehood with fireworks and cannon shots all over the State from Evanston to Cheyenne. It also will be a reminder to future generations of the valiant men and women who founded the State. Senator O'Mahoney, in a special article written for the 50th anniversary edition of the *Wyoming Eagle*, appropriately stated that these men and women "were moved by the determination to set up a government in which each individual would be free, free to work, free to speak, free to pray." The devotion to the principles of liberty and freedom are not aroused alone by the people of Wyoming but also are in the hearts of every American, who, proud of his heritage, realizes that only by the preservation of these ideals free government can and will be preserved.

Wyoming Scrapbook

DEAD MAN'S TRAIL

One of the functions of the Wyoming State Historical Department is to record factually, for posterity, events and incidents of state or local interest.

I am setting forth the story of the tragedy responsible for the name "Dead Man's Trail" as told me by Mr. T. F. Carr.

Mr. Carr is now retired from active ranch operations and residing in Buffalo, Wyoming. For many years he had extensive land and live stock holdings in the proximity of "Dead Man's Trail."

Elmer Brock.

Mr. Carr relates as follows:

Dead Man's Trail is located about nine miles west of Kaycee and on the north side of the middle fork of Powder River. It branches off the present Kaycee-Barnum road near the Rinker ranch, running north a short distance, then west, turning back south to connect with the main road again near the Beaver Creek Falls. This roundabout route was used in early days to avoid two river crossings when the stream was too high to ford.

One day in the spring of 1886, probably about June, the *LX* roundup was camped at Beaver Creek Falls, this being a regular roundup campsite. In the evening there was some trouble over gambling followed by several fights. One of the combatants, known only as Pushroot Jim, had quite a reputation as a fighter and is alleged to have beaten up one Simon White, foreman of the *LX*. Jim was nighthawk for the *LX*.

The morning following the fight, White fired Jim. Jim had no horse or saddle and started out along the trail before the riders went on circle. The drive that day was from the Red Fork of Powder River country to the north of Beaver Creek Falls.

Before the men had scattered Simon White left the group, returning before the drive reached the roundup ground.

Charlie Devoe and wife, with a team and buckboard, were returning from a visit with H. W. (Hank) Devoe family at the C ranch. (Hank Devoe¹ at that time was foreman of the C ranch owned by Peters and Alston.) While traveling along what is now known as Dead Man's Trail they heard a shot. A

1. This is the same H. W. Devoe who was one of the 25 who signed the minutes of a meeting of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association February 23, 1874.

few minutes later, where the trail runs along a rim rock, they came upon the body of Pushroot Jim. He had been shot. It took the Devoes a day and a half to get to Buffalo and notify the authorities. By the time the Sheriff and Coroner reached the scene of the murder, the corpse was in such a state that it could not be moved. It was placed in a nearby depression and covered with pine boughs and a few rocks. This slight covering was soon weathered away and Jim's remains were exposed to the elements and prowling predators. Eight or nine years after the murder was committed George Curry, Hi Bennett, Bob Smith, possibly Tom O'Day, and four or five other members of the Hole-In-the-Wall gang, gathered up the remains and buried them at the foot of a scrub cedar tree at the scene of the crime. It is something of an indictment of the local authorities that they left a decent burial of an unnamed murdered man to a noted outlaw, alleged train robber and his associates.

Mr. Carr says that he did not come to this country until 1887, a year after the murder. At that time he rode the roundup with many of the men who were there at the time of the murder. He says it was the concensus of opinion that Simon White killed Jim when he left the other men the morning of the tragedy. Mr. Carr thinks Jim was unarmed and was shot only once.

Carr says he never heard of any attempt by the authorities to find out who committed the crime.

When questioned as to why the murdered man bore the name of Pushroot Jim, the only name we know for him, Mr. Carr said because he was from the Lander Country. He said the cowboys called all the men from the Lander Country, "Pushrooters," but he did not know why.²

The 1880's were adventurous times in this part of Wyoming. It was not at all uncommon for a man to find his last resting place an unnamed and unmarked grave. Time soon erases all memory of event or place.

In the case of Jim, some local history is involved. Before time erases this incident from memory, or what is often the case, exaggerates and distorts it out of all proportion, we hope you will record it for future generations.

2. Billy Johnson, a rancher from the Lander country, who was there in the 80's explains the name as follows:

Back in those early days of the open range, settlers came in and started farming on a small scale. They had little bunches of cattle, but they weren't brought up in the cow business because of the fact they were farmers and knew nothing of the ranch business. The Texans and Californians and old time cow punchers applied the name "pushrooters" to this class of people. He said they were a pretty good kind of people but their cattle got away and drifted in the winter, so they would try to rep with the outfits, but the cow punchers would cut their cattle for them because they could scarcely read their own brands.

SOME WYOMING EDITORS I HAVE KNOWN

W. E. CHAPLIN*

I came to Wyoming in 1873, locating in Laramie. After attending the public school for a brief period, necessity compelled me to seek employment. Having learned from one of the employees that the Laramie Daily Independent was in need of an apprentice, I made application for the position. The man who greeted me in the editorial and business office combined, was more than six feet tall, with powerful physique, and probably at that time, weighed 230 pounds. He looked me over in a searching way, asked me many questions about my parentage, my schooling, my previous occupation, etc., and told me I could go to work at once if I chose to do so.

The next morning, a bright day in January, 1874, found me at work as a printer's devil. Col. E. A. Slack, the editor and manager, was a man of all work. He edited the paper, frequently made it up, did a large portion of the job work, often took a turn at the hand press and was as busy as a newspaper man could be. His life was one of incessant toil, mentally and physically. The plant he had, consisted of a Washington hand press, a few fonts of advertising type, perhaps three hundred pounds of newspaper type, a job press, a scanty supply of job type and other job material. The entire outfit would sell today for less than 50% of the cost of one of the linotypes used in a modern printing house. Colonel E. A. Slack had previously conducted a daily newspaper in South Pass City, where he was burned out, his venture there being a financial loss. He conducted the Laramie Daily Independent until some time in 1875, when its name was changed to the Laramie Daily Sun and the firm was changed from Slack & Webster to Slack and Bramel. In 1876, some of the enterprising men of the state capitol made him an offer to move to Cheyenne. Their proposition was accepted and in March of that year he made the change, selling his lot and building to Hayford and Gates who were at that time conducting the Laramie Daily Sentinel. I was given the option of changing my residence to Cheyenne or entering the employment of Hayford and Gates. I chose the latter and remained at Laramie, working for Hayford and Gates and subsequently for Mr. C. W. Bramel on the Laramie Daily Chronicle, for a period of about six months. I then changed to Cheyenne and worked for Col. Slack for about two years. During my somewhat intimate acquaintance with him, covering a period of more than

*For biography of W. E. Chaplin, see *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. II—No. 1—pp. 49-51.

thirty years, I had an excellent opportunity to learn his true character. He was a man of indomitable energy, tremendous will power, and high personal character. He believed in running a newspaper for a purpose and not for financial gain; at least he never made a dollar out of the business. This may seem strange, but it is a fact that he accumulated during the last six or seven years of his life, and entirely aside from his life business, all the property he left his family—a goodly inheritance. As a writer he used the sledge-hammer, pounding into shape such mental material as came to hand. When he got thoroughly interested in a subject he seemed to accumulate more and more of it from day to day until his adversaries were literally overwhelmed and driven from the field of action. To his help he was kind, sympathetic and agreeable, or exacting, domineering and exasperating, as the man or mood moved him. His advice to the young men in his employ was always for the best. He was a philosopher and it pleased him to talk to those who would listen to his wisdom. Frequently he devoted hours on a Sunday or a holiday in talking to me, and if he was not through at meal time he would insist upon taking me, a mere boy, to his house where I enjoyed the splendid dinner provided by Mrs. Slack, while he pursued the particular subject uppermost in his intensely active mind. He paid good wages, insisted upon good work and was a tremendous factor in keeping the newspaper business of Wyoming on a high plane. He was not a good business manager. In the early days of his newspaper life in the state he did not think of copying a letter, his books were kept in a haphazard, careless manner, and he never really knew whether he was making or losing money. It is not probable that a statement of his business was ever made. His editorial desk was confusion confounded. He was not methodical in any sense of the word, and yet he was able to accomplish a great deal. He preferred to reach things by approximation, going across lots rather than by the beaten path.

Dr. J. H. Hayford, of the Laramie Daily Sentinel, was the opposite to Col. Slack. He was not a practical printer, as was his competitor, yet I have known him to run the old Washington hand press, which his paper never outgrew. His writing was keen, forcible and went straight to the point. He had the power of condensation to an extraordinary degree. Judge Bramel used to say that Doc Hayford could sling more mud with a teaspoon than he could with a scoopshovel. He was a pioneer of the pioneers, coming to Wyoming from Colorado. *The Sentinel* was established in 1868, and was conducted continuously as a daily until January 1, 1879, when it was discontinued, the weekly being continued until about 1893. He had pronounced opinions upon all subjects and was free to express

his mind. He was a member of the Presbyterian church, took an advanced position upon temperance, and was exceedingly alive to all matters connected with the state and local government. He served as territorial auditor, postmaster, justice of the peace, and judge of the Second Judicial District. He was an anti-race suicide man both by practice and inclination. One day I happened to be in his office when a little blond girl came running in. He said to me, "That is my twenty-first child." He was married twice. Like Col. Slack, he made no money out of the printing business, merely a living; and died a poor man, but he left his impress upon Wyoming journalism and it was bettered by his having engaged in it.

In 1876, about the balmy month of May, there came to Laramie a tall, light complexioned individual by the name of Edgar Wilson Nye. He was loosely constructed, angular in form, and awkward in gait. His home had been in the state of Wisconsin, at the little town of Hudson. He bore a letter of introduction from a Wisconsin gentleman to Hon. N. L. Andrews, who introduced him about the city. He was of an amiable nature and soon acquired many friends. He obtained employment upon the *Daily Sentinel* at a salary of ten dollars a week, boarding at the home of the editor. His duties were to report the city news. At the same time he corresponded with several outside papers, among them the old *Denver Tribune*, which was edited by Mr. O. H. Rothacker, and in the city department of which was that great poet and humorist, Eugene Field. Field's attention was called to the quaint humor that ran through the correspondence from Laramie signed "Bill Nye." He sought his acquaintance and urged him to continue to build up in this line, that it was worth while. Nye prospered, married a talented and excellent woman and became one of the most noted writers of the west. His humor was readily accepted by such papers as the *Detroit Free Press*, *Puck*, and *Texas Siftings*. After the death of the *Daily Sentinel*, January 1, 1879, the Republicans of Albany County chafed under the fire of the *Laramie Daily Times*, conducted by Pease & Bramel, and decided to establish a daily Republican paper. A stock company was organized in the latter part of 1880 and Nye was selected as the editor and manager. The company was stocked for \$3,000; \$1,800 of the amount being spent for printing material and the remainder placed in the treasury for expenses while the paper was getting on a paying basis. The first issue of the *Boomerang* was in March 1881. It was successful from the beginning, if occupying the newspaper field can be counted as a success, but Nye was not a business man and troubles of a financial nature soon clouded the paper's career. In the first place, the mistake had been made of buying a handpress, which was soon out-grown. The next bad error was to rent quarters

over a foul-smelling livery barn. No one visited the office only through sheer necessity and the fumes from the barn carried illness to the employees above, Nye becoming a victim. Meanwhile his fame had assumed national proportions. Subscriptions for the weekly were coming in by the score and a power press was secured. His fame was so great that the *New York Sun*, a paper that never exchanged with any other paper, sent ten dollars for a year's subscription. Associated with Nye upon that paper were at least two of the best newspaper men the state ever produced—R. G. Head, the first city editor, and M. C. Barrow, the second city editor. In 1882 Dr. Hayford's term as postmaster of Laramie expired and Nye fought his reappointment. One day in the early autumn Nye received a telegram from Hon. Frank Hatton, first assistant postmaster general, to the effect that Hayford would not receive the appointment and asking him to make a recommendation. After consultation with the writer, Nye wired Hatton that he would like the place, it being agreed that Mr. C. W. Spalding, a Laramie pioneer and an excellent postoffice clerk, would be able to handle the postoffice, leaving Nye free to look after the editorial and business management of the Boomerang. Of course, this was not all Nye had to do. He was at the same time United States commissioner and justice of the peace. He was not a bookkeeper, nor in any sense methodical. All the books that were at that time kept in the office of the Boomerang was a red cash book in which all receipts were entered, and ledgers for subscriptions and general accounts. Methods were crude and exceedingly unsatisfactory. Practically all the money received from the various sources went into Nye's somewhat capacious pockets and it was an exceedingly difficult matter to get it out in a methodical and accurate manner. Nye's letter to Mr. Hatton, accepting the appointment as postmaster, was a choice bit of humor and as it is short I quote it in full, as follows:

“Office of Daily Boomerang

“*Laramie City, Wyoming, August 9, 1882.*

“*My Dear General*—I have received by telegraph the news of my nomination by the president and my confirmation by the senate, as postmaster at Laramie, and wish to extend my thanks for the same.

“I have ordered an entirely new set of books and post-office outfit, including new corrugated cuspidors for the lady clerks.

“I look upon the appointment, myself, as a great triumph of eternal truth over error and wrong. It is one of the epochs, I may say, in the nation's onward march toward political purity and perfection. I do not know when I have noticed any stride in the affairs of state which so thoroughly impressed me with its wisdom.

"Now that we are co-workers in the same department, I trust you will not feel shy or backward in consulting me at any time relative to matters concerning post office affairs. Be perfectly frank with me and feel perfectly free to just bring anything of that kind right to me. Do not feel reluctant because I may at times appear haughty and indifferent, cold or reserved. Perhaps you do not think I know the difference between a general delivery window and a three-em quad, but that is a mistake.

"My general information is far beyond my years.

"With profoundest regard and a hearty endorsement of the policy of the president and senate, whatever it may be,

"I remain sincerely yours,

BILL NYE, P. M.

"*General Frank Hatton, Washington, D. C.*"

General Frank Hatton, as perhaps all of you know, was at one time one of the greatest American humorists, being connected with the Burlington, Iowa, *Hawkeye*, hence his friendship for Bill Nye.

Nye occupied the position of postmaster for about a year, when he was taken sick and left Wyoming never again to take up his residence in the state. His resignation was just as laughable as his letter of acceptance.

"*Postoffice Divan, Laramie City, W. T.,*

October 1, 1883.

"*To the President of the United States:*

"Sir—I beg leave at this time to officially tender my resignation as postmaster at this place, and in due form to deliver the great seal and the key to the front door of the office. The safe combination is set on the numbers 33, 66 and 99, though I do not remember at this moment which comes first or how many times you revolve the knob or which direction you should turn it in order to make it operate.

"There is some mining stock in my private drawer in the safe, which I have not yet removed. This stock you may have if you desire it. It is a luxury, but you may have it. I have decided to keep a horse instead of this mining stock. The horse may not be so pretty, but it will cost less to keep him.

"You will find the postal cards that have not been used under the distributing table, and the coal down in the cellar. If the stove draws too hard, close the damper in the pipe and shut the general delivery window.

"Looking over my stormy and eventful administration as postmaster here, I find abundant cause for thanksgiving. At the time I entered upon the duties of my office the department was not upon a paying basis. It was not even self-sustaining. Since that time, with the active co-operation of the chief execu-

tive and the heads of the departments, I have been able to make our postal system a paying one, and on top of that I am now able to reduce the tariff on the average-size letters from three cents to two. I might add that this is rather too, too, but I will not say anything that might seem undignified in an official resignation which is to become a matter of history.

“Through all the vicissitudes of a tempestuous term of office I have safely passed. I am able to turn over the office today in a highly improved condition, and to present a purified and renovated institution to my successor.

“Acting under the advice of General Hatton, a year ago, I removed the feather bed with which my predecessor, Deacon Hayford, had bolstered up his administration by stuffing the window, and substituted glass. Finding nothing in the book of instructions to postmasters which made the feather bed a part of my official duties, I filed it away in an obscure place and burned it in effigy, also in the gloaming. This act maddened my predecessor to such an extent that he then and there became a candidate for justice of the peace on the democratic ticket. The democratic party was able, however, with what aid it secured from the republicans, to plow the old man under to a great degree.

“It was not long after I had taken my official oath before an era of unexampled prosperity opened for the American people. The price of beef rose to a remarkable altitude, and other vegetables commanded a good figure and a ready market. We then began to make active preparations for the introduction of the strawberry-roan two-cent stamps and the black-and-tan postal note. One reform has crowded upon the heels of another until the country is today upon the foam-crested wave of a permanent prosperity.

“Mr. President, I cannot close this letter without thanking yourself and the heads of departments at Washington for your active, cheery and prompt co-operation in these matters. You can do as you see fit, of course, about incorporating this idea into your Thanksgiving proclamation, but rest assured it would not be ill-timed or inopportune. It is not alone a credit to myself. It reflects credit upon the administration also.

“I need not say that I herewith transmit my resignation with great sorrow and genuine regret. We have toiled on together month after month, asking for no reward except the innate consciousness of rectitude and the salary as fixed by law. Now we are to separate. Here the roads seem to fork, as it were, and you and I, and the cabinet, must leave each other at this point.

“You will find the key under the door-mat, and you had better turn the cat out at night when you close the office. If

she does not go readily you can make it clearer to her mind by throwing the cancelling stamp at her.

"If Deacon Hayford does not pay up his box-rent, you might as well put his mail in the general delivery, and when Bob Head gets drunk and insists on a letter from one of his wives every day in the week, you can salute him through the delivery window with an old Queen Anne tomahawk, which you will find near the Etruscan water-pail. This will not in any manner surprise either of these parties.

"Tears are unavailing. I once more become a private citizen, clothed only with the right to read such postal cards as may be addressed to me personally, and to curse the inefficiency of the postoffice department. I believe the voting class to be divided into two parties, viz.: Those who are in the postal service and those who are mad because they cannot receive a registered letter every fifteen minutes of each day, including Sunday.

"Mr. President, as an official of this government I now retire. My term of office would not expire until 1886. I must, therefore, beg pardon for my eccentricity in resigning. It will be best, perhaps, to keep the heart-breaking news from the ears of European powers until the dangers of a financial panic are fully past. Then hurl its broadcast with a sickening thud."

The advent of Merris C. Barrow (Bill Barlow) ante-dated the *Boomerang*. He was a postal clerk running into Laramie as early as 1878. He was city editor of the *Laramie Times* in the latter part of 1879 and 1880. The humorous style of Nye unquestionably had a tremendous effect upon his writing and yet his work was more like that of Brand or Hubbard. He evolved a vocabulary that was tremendous in its scope and very expressive. At times his English was a trifle difficult to follow, yet it was pleasing to thousands of American readers. From the *Times* he went to the *Boomerang* and thence to the *Rawlins Republican*. In 1886 he established Bill Barlow's Budget at Douglas and continued its publication until his death. *Sagebrush Philosophy*, the little magazine upon which he put so much of his time was a creation of later years. Its circulation leaped to national proportions. He was genial, optimistic and the life of a social gathering. He did everything he attempted with a great deal of ability.

There were other editors in the early days of Wyoming who had a great deal to do with the progress and prosperity of the state, but it is not my purpose to enter into extended notice of the living. When I first located in Cheyenne, Major Hermann Glafeke was the editor and proprietor of the *Daily Leader* and continued its publication for many years. Later John F. Carroll became the editor of that paper. Carroll was one of

the best and most versatile writers that ever graced a Wyoming editorial chair. In scoring an enemy his pen was as keen as a Damascus blade. He now occupies one of the seats of the mighty—the editorial chair in the office of the *Portland Oregonian*, the position so ably filled for thirty years by Harvey Scott, perhaps the greatest editorial writer of the Northwest. In the seventies there was another bright young newspaper man who worked in southeastern Wyoming. His name was James Barton Adams. His first work of importance was upon the *Laramie Daily Sun* in 1875. During the Black Hills excitement of 1876 he was in Cheyenne, working for the *Sun*. Later he worked in many metropolitan cities and finally located in the city of Denver, where he wrote the *Denver Post*-scripts for a number of years and where he now edits the *Rocky Mountain Elk*.

During the eighties, one William Lightfoot Visscher arrived in the territory of Wyoming. He came with a theatrical troop called the "Through Death Valley Company." They reached the valley in Wyoming and died. Visscher obtained employment on one of the Cheyenne papers and became a noted character in the territory. He was remarkable for two things. He had an insatiable appetite and an extremely large and homely nose. The nose was the color of a rose geranium. He was a prolific writer and had considerable literary ability.

Wyoming editors have not achieved much greatness in the financial world. Ira O. Middaugh of the *Wheatland World* changed to the banking business at Cody and was shot in cold blood by a bank robber. George W. Perry of the *Rawlins Republican* and *Sheridan Post* is the vice president of a national bank at Sheridan and is amassing a competence. One of Cheyenne's old newspaper boys, Robert Shingle, is at the head of a large banking institution in Honolulu and is one of the foremost men of the Hawaiian Islands.

Today the editorial fraternity of the state embraces many talented men, but none are widely known. They are men who are working earnestly and intelligently for the communities in which they live and for the state at large. For the most part, I believe they are sharing in the general prosperity of the state and the nation, something the early editors failed to do.

In this brief paper it is not my purpose to discuss the editors who are today doing business in the state. They must quit the business or pass beyond before their epitaphs are written by me.

Few Wyoming editors have attained national renown, and yet in proportion to the number engaged in the profession I believe that the state has contributed more than its share. Those who have attained prominence throughout the West and

the nation at large may be counted on the fingers of one hand—*John F. Carroll, Merris C. Barrow, James Barton Adams and Bill Nye:*

(Note: *E. A. Slack* issued the first number of the *Laramie Daily Independent*, December 26, 1871.

Edgar W. Nye became assistant editor of the *Sentinel* May 9, 1876.)

*For W. E. Chaplin's biography see *Annals of Wyoming*, 11; 1:49-50; 12: 3: 167, 169.

Note: This address was delivered by Mr. Chaplin April 21, 192-(?). Mr. Chaplin does not recall the year nor the occasion, but is certain it was before 1922 and delivered before the Young Men's Literary Club of Cheyenne.

**Names Mentioned in
SOME WYOMING EDITORS I HAVE KNOWN**

		Approximate Dates
Adams, James Barton	Laramie Daily Sun The Sun, Cheyenne Denver Post Rocky Mountain Elk, Denver	—1875 —1876
Andrews, N. L.		
Barrow, M. C.	The Laramie Times The Boomerang, Laramie Wyoming Tribune, Rawlins Douglas Budget	1879—1880 1881—1884 1884—1886 1886—
Bramel, C. W.	Laramie Daily Sun Laramie Daily Chronicle Laramie Daily Times	—1875 —1876 1878—1881
Carroll, John F.	Daily Leader, Cheyenne Portland Oregonian	
Chaplin, W. E.	Laramie Daily Independent Laramie Daily Sun Laramie Daily Sentinel Cheyenne Daily Sun Laramie Daily Chronicle The Boomerang, Laramie The Republican, Laramie Republican-Boomerang, Laramie	—1874 1875—1876 —1876 —1877 1881—1890 1890—1920 1920—
Field, Eugene	Denver Tribune	
Gates, J. E.	The Cheyenne Leader The Laramie Sentinel	1867—1870 1870—1895
Glafcke, Major Herman	Daily Leader, Cheyenne	1872—
Hatton, General Frank	Assistant Postmaster Gen.	
Hayford, Dr. James H.	Rocky Mountain Star, Cheyenne The Laramie Sentinel	1867—1869 1869—1895
Head, R. G.	The Laramie Sentinel The Boomerang, Laramie	1881—
Middaugh, Ira O.	Wheatland World	1894—
Nye, Edgar Wilson (Bill)	The Sentinel The Boomerang	1876—1879 1881—1883
Pease, L. D.	Laramie Daily Times	1878—1881
Perry, George W.	Rawlins Republican Sheridan Post	
Rothacker, O. H.	Denver Tribune	
Slack, Edward Archibald	Laramie Daily Independent Laramie Daily Sun Cheyenne Daily Sun Cheyenne Daily Leader	1871—1875 1875—1876 1876—1895 1895—
Spalding, C. W.	Postoffice clerk	
Visseher, William L.	(Cheyenne paper)	
Webster, T. J.	Laramie Daily Independent	1871—1875

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

May 2 to October 16, 1945

- Casemen, Dan D., Manhattan, Kansas; donor of four letters dated 1867, to Gen. John S. Casement.
- Peterson, Ivan A., Wheatland, Wyo.; donor of one Civil War gun with one powder horn; Indian arcraft—in three picture frames; five boxes of miscellaneous Indian arcraft; three staples for oxen yokes; one picket pin to picket horses and cattle; one anklet for Oregon boots to chain prisoners; one sun dial; one chain guide for oxen train.
- Schaedel, Mrs. John, 609 E. 27th St., Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one photograph (3½" x 4½") of her father, Ernest A. Logan.
- McCreery, Mrs. Alice Richards, 550 Pacific Avenue, Long Beach, California; donor of W. A. Richards' diary, 1873; one pamphlet on the Lewis & Clark Expedition; one pamphlet—Big Horn Expedition; clippings on Wyoming birds.
- Spring, Mrs. A. T., 1314 Elizabeth St., Denver, Colorado; donor of two photographs of Miss Alice M. Hebard, and a copy of address delivered at the dedication of the Alice Marvin Hebard plaque in the Johnson School, Sept. 30, 1937.
- Wyoming Stockgrowers' Association; the Association's collection, donated through Mr. Russell Thorp, Secretary of the Association. It will be listed in the next number of the Annals.
- Bon, Mrs. Kendall, 214 E. 17th St., Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one framed picture of Cheyenne, 1882; one framed picture of Cheyenne, 1869.
- Talbot, Fred R., 2609 Bent Avenue, Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one rifle, one saber, and one framed picture of Cheyenne, 1900.
- Mallin, Charles F., Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one picture of the members of the tournament team of the Alert Hose Co., 1905 (Fire Dept.); the "harness" worn by the members of the tournament team sent by the Cheyenne Volunteer Fire Dept. to Fort Collins, 1905; and one pair of running shoes worn by one of the runners.
- Swan, Henry, U. S. National Bank, Denver, Colorado; donor of a pigskin purse which belonged to Louise Swan Van Tassel.

Books—Purchased

- Coues, Elliott, *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark*, New York, Francis P. Harper, 1893. Four volumes. Price, \$50.00.
- Dobie, Frank, *The Loughorns*, Little, Brown, and Company, Boston. Price \$10.00.
- Burpee, Lawrence J., *The Search for the Western Sea*, The Macmillan Company of Canada, Toronto, 1935. Two volumes, new and revised editions. Price, \$9.50.

The American Guidebook. Published by the Help-One-Another Club, Cheyenne, Wyoming. Price, \$1.00.

Young, Ann Eliza, (the 19th Wife of Brigham Young), *Life in Mormon Bondage.* Limited Edition. Philadelphia Aldine Press, Inc., Boston and London. Purchased from Jane R. Kendall. Price, \$5.00.

Gifts

Mattes, Merrill, *Fur Traders and Trappers of the Old West.* Pamphlet. Donated by Mr. Mattes.

Bowles, Samuel, *Our New West,* Hartford Publishing Co., Hartford, Conn., 1869. Donated by Arthur Calverley, Charleston, South Carolina.

Story of the Wild West and Camp Fire Chats By Buffalo Bill. Donated by Arthur Calverley, Charleston, South Carolina.

Miscellaneous Purchases

Canadian Geographical Journal, Canadian Geographical Society, Montreal. Vol. VI, No. 4, (April, 1933). Cost, \$1.00.

Four group pictures of Indian Peace Commission and Indian Chiefs—at Fort Laramie, 1867 and 1868. Bureau of American Ethnology. Cost, \$1.15 for four prints.

Eight photographs of the Stock Growers Collection in the State Museum. E. W. Blew, Cheyenne Photographer. \$24.50.

Two photostats of general plans of Fort D. A. Russell, 1870 and 1875, (Fort Francis E. Warren) Mrs. J. R. Kendall. Cost, \$.80 each.





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It is published in January and July, subscription price \$1.50 per year.

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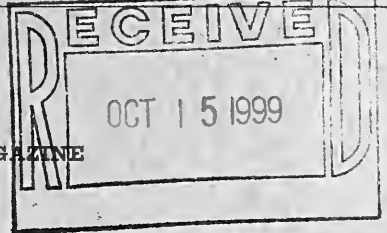
Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 18

July, 1946

No. 2

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Fort Laramie Abandoned. Photograph taken about 1910. Sandercock ranch in foreground. Next to the river are ruins of the Administration Building, and the Old Guardhouse, with corral for livestock. Other major buildings, left to right, are various officers quarters including two-story Old Bedlam, the sutler's store, the hospital, cavalry barracks, noncommissioned officers quarters, new guardhouse, commissary and bakery.

Published Bi-Annually

by

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Cheyenne, Wyoming

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Annals of Wyoming

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Printed by

WYOMING LABOR JOURNAL

Cheyenne, Wyoming



The Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie, showing the original adobe section started in 1849 and the stone section (with plaster remaining) constructed about 1852.

The Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie

by

MERRILL J. MATTES

Historian for Fort Laramie National Monument

I

From 1849 to 1890, Fort Laramie grew from an obsolete adobe trading post, bought from the fur traders, to a huge sprawling cantonment. Buildings mushroomed, tottered and fell, and new ones were erected on their ruins. Today most of the structures which once graced the old parade ground and its environs have disappeared, ravaged by time and the heedless hand of man. Only twenty structures survive, and half of these are mere shells. Only three date back to the middle of the nineteenth century, and thus witnessed the entire military period. One of these is the sutler's store.

The sutler's store at old Fort Laramie is not valued for its aesthetic or its architectural qualities. It is a squat, squalid, hybrid and rheumatic old structure; but it has an aura of venerable antiquity which proclaims it to be a shrine of Western American history, worthy of kinship with such other notable survivors as the California Missions and the Alamo. Nothing spectacular occurred here. No heathens were converted, no battles were fought against overwhelming odds, nor were there any famous births or deaths. Yet the sutler's store is unique. Here the harsh, heroic, kaleidiscopic life of the frontier came into sharp focus. For over forty exciting years it was a favorite rendezvous for the restless folk who followed the Oregon-California Trail, or who loosely inhabited the Central Plains—soldiers, Indians, traders, travelers, emigrants, bull-whackers, Pony Express riders, stage-drivers, cowboys and ranchers. From these countless thousands can be gleaned an imposing roll-call of immortals, including Kit Carson, Jim Bridger, Nick Janis, Buffalo Bill, Jack Slade, Brigham Young, Horace Greeley, Gen. William S. Harney, Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Gen. P. E. Connor, Gen. W. T. Sherman, Red Cloud, Roman Nose, Spotted Tail and Falling Leaf. To all these the sutler at Fort Laramie was host.

According to Webster's *New International Dictionary*, the term "sutler" is derived from the Dutch verb "soetelen" and the German "sudeln," meaning "to undertake low offices, to do dirty work, etc." In modern usage a sutler is "one who follows an army and sells to the troops provisions, liquors, and the like."

The heyday of the sutler was the climatic period of Indian warfare on the Western Plains, from 1849 to 1876. In the late nineteenth century the term seems to have been discarded in favor of the more euphonious "post trader," and today we know only of "canteens" and the famed "PX."

Many itinerant sutlers who followed the military expedition against the Sioux and other unregenerate tribes may have been rather menial characters and the extremely arduous conditions under which they operated help to explain the dubious origins of the profession. However, the sutlers who through political influence secured concessions at fixed military posts were usually dignified and highly respected individuals, catering to Indians and civilians as well as soldiers, and achieving a startling degree of opulence. This is distinctly true of the successive post sutlers at Fort Laramie, who were key figures in the social and economic life at that illustrious frontier station. The sutler's store was their peculiar domain. The origin, the evolution and the uses of this timeworn building, together with related incidents, constitute the object of our inquiry.

The structure is located at the northwest corner of the parade ground, adjoining the temporary entrance road, and consists of two single-story conjoined parallel wings, approximately 75 feet in length with a combined width of 60 feet. The south half of the east wing is made of adobe bricks, laid double to a 27 inch thickness. Frames are variously hewn, whip-sawed and machine-sawed. The other half of the east wing is of grayish rock with mud mortar and hand-hewn timbers. These two sections of the east wing with roof shingled, constitute the older portion of the building. The entire west wing of lime-concrete or "grout," a crude form of masonry, with roof sheet-metaled, was erected relatively late in the fort's history. Except for the gables, the entire exterior wall has been covered with plaster, which has fallen in patches which expose the original materials.

The few buildings which yet remain at Fort Laramie, fifty-six years after its abandonment, have undergone repairs, alterations and additions, together with elements of destruction, which make it difficult to interpret their architectural history. The known available construction records are scanty enough in the case of the Army buildings, the progress of which is roughly sketched in the archives of the War Department. They are non-existent in the case of the sutler's store, which was a private concern, outside the notice of official records. To visualize its past we have only the crude outlines depicted in the successive official and semi-official ground plans of the post; the fleeting impressions of the few contemporaries who kept journals; the authentic oral recollections of those living few who saw the

fort during youth or childhood, when it was still a proud Army post; and a few scarce business records and memoirs of the sutlers themselves. From this filmy texture we will try to weave a web of understanding.

II

Adobe-walled Fort John (Fort Laramie) was purchased from the American Fur Company by the United States Government in June, 1849.¹ The first post sutler moved in with the Army, surveyed the possibilities, and in the summer or autumn of 1849 started construction of the adobe building which now comprises the southeast wing of the sutler's store. The work may not have been actually completed until the spring of 1850. The primary evidence is found in the Adjutant General's "Plan of Fort Laramie in the winter of 1849."² This rough sketch is without dimensional data, but an oblong enclosure entitled "Sutler's Store" is in proper position relative to two other structures erected about that time, which likewise survive today. These two nearby century-old companions are the stone magazine and the two-story officers' quarters renowned as "Old Bedlam." Thus the sutler's store, while possibly not "the oldest building in Wyoming," as it is frequently represented, could perhaps make valid claim to being *one of the three oldest buildings in Wyoming.*³

Certain misconceptions concerning the origins of the sutler's store have gained currency. One writer states, in effect, that the front adobe wall "is a remnant of a fur trader's store which was built by the American Fur Company in 1836" at some distance from the main adobe fort, and that this wall was so staunch that it was incorporated into the later permanent structure.⁴ Another writer has it that this building contains "a fragment of the trading post erected on this site in 1836 . . . and it is still stout enough to justify the workman who hauled it a hundred yards or so for use in the new postoffice and sutler's building."⁵ There is a secondary error implied in both statements, since 1836 could not have been the date of the adobe bricks even if their connection with Fort John could be proved. Adobe-walled Fort John did not replace its log-walled predecessor, Fort William, until 1841.⁶ However, there seems to be no solid evidence to support the belief that the adobe section of the sutler's store was in any way a carry-over from the fur trade era which ended in June, 1849. If it is suggested that the adobe structure was in existence prior to the advent of an Army Post sutler, it can be pointed out by reference to contemporary ground-plans that the sutler's store site is several hundred yards removed from the Fort John site, so it could not represent any upright "remains" of Fort John. As for the theory

that it was a separate structure used by the fur traders, there is no hint of a structure of any kind outside of Fort John prior to 1849, in any of the dozens of references available; and the fact that this building is square with the parade ground laid out in 1849 also argues against an earlier date. There is some plausibility in the theory that the adobe bricks were taken from Fort John ruins. In 1849 this stockade was acknowledged by the post commandant to be in need of repairs; yet it does not appear that it was then in such a precarious state that a portion of it was abandoned.⁷ In fact, at that time it was the principal shelter for the military, since new construction had not far progressed. There is ample evidence to support the belief that Fort John remained intact in 1849, and that it was not raided for building material until the middle fifties. There is no known documentary or structural evidence to refute the belief that the sutler's store represented *new construction in 1849*, not survival or salvage.

John Hunton, who first arrived at Fort Laramie in 1867 as an assistant to the post sutler, told Dr. Grace R. Hebard that "the front of the old store building was constructed in 1849."⁸ This could only refer to the adobe section, and it is reassuring to have this independent substantiation from one who has been generally regarded as the sage of Fort Laramie.

John S. Tutt was the first post sutler, receiving his appointment under President Zachary Taylor, and held this position until 1857. He was associated with Lewis B. Dougherty.⁹ Tutt and Dougherty apparently had a monopoly of the sutler-ships along the Oregon Trail, as in 1854 there is evidence that they were also firmly entrenched at Fort Kearney.¹⁰

Tutt probably personally supervised the construction of the original sutler's store. It is likely that the use of adobe was influenced by the example of Fort John, and that Mexicans, who are known to have been associated with the American Fur Company establishment, were employed in this work, which was agreeable to their native talents. In 1850 Assistant Quartermaster Van Vliet wrote his superior that to counteract the white labor shortage on Army construction projects, caused by the gold fever, he was sending an agent to Taos to hire Mexicans, who "work cheaper and are much better than any other people for the use that I wish to make of them."¹¹ Van Vliet must have had at hand an example of Mexican labor to inspire him.

The earliest "Forty-niners" found the fort still in the hands of the fur company. Although the Army took over formally on June 26, and building activity commenced immediately, there could not have been much construction completed at Fort Laramie by the time the last emigrants slogged westward in September. Accordingly we cannot expect to obtain

testimony from emigrants themselves as to a sutler's store. That year they obtained whatever supplies there were available through the good graces of the Post Quartermaster, who was authorized to sell supplies at cost to those actually in need.¹² The earliest specific reference to the sutler's store found in emigrant journals was made by H. A. Stine on July 4, 1850: ". . . the fort itself is composed of unburnt brick . . . outside of this is quite a number of houses. The Post Office, Suttler's store and so on."¹³

Writing on June 1, 1850, James Abbey mentions no store but tells of certain "Mountain traders . . . keen on a trade as any Yankee wooden nutmeg or clock peddler you may meet within the states. I will give you some of their prices: sugar 25 cents per lb., bacon sides, 18c, ham 25c; flour \$18 per cwt., loaf bread 50c, whiskey one dollar a quart, brandy \$18 per gallon."¹⁴ These traders may have been Tutt and his associates, colorful characters in their own right, but Dr. LeRoy Hafen suggests that they were Kit Carson and friends who came up from Taos to trade with the goldseekers.¹⁵ It is known that Carson arrived on the scene about June 1 with forty to fifty head of mules and remained about a month, selling his animals to good advantage.¹⁶ If he sold the other articles mentioned he was in competition with the sutler. Thus, it may have been with some relief that Tutt wrote the following to John Dougherty on July 1: "I have sold \$1200 worth of Indian goods at 50% . . . Kit Carson and Bill Bent have just left."¹⁷

In none of the U. S. Army correspondence have references been found to the sutler's store, though there is considerable material on all other structures. The store was a civilian affair from start to finish and the post commandants, forever hounding their superiors for more and better housing, simply never concerned themselves with the sutler's problems. We are led to assume that the sutler financed, designed, and supervised all of his own construction work; and once having got his building up, he would surely give no thought to recording such matters. However, the chief engineer of the Army, Joseph G. Totten, reported on November 30, 1850:

A powder magazine 17'x27' wide of which the stone walls are now up, will doubtless be finished before winter . . . The frame building erected last year, containing 4 sets of officers quarters—3 rooms in each set—has been floored, lathed and plastered, and is now nearly finished. 200,000 brick have been burnt, of which about 150,000 will remain for the operations of next year . . . The results of the year at both posts (Fort Kearny and Fort Laramie) have been decidedly less than those anticipated a few years ago. At both places the horse power sawmills which are

mainly relied upon for the production of lumber, were broken and continued idle many months, until the machinery necessary for their repair could be obtained from St. Louis.¹⁸

While telling nothing about the sutler's store, this letter leaves one or two suggestions. Here we have official confirmation of the 1849-1850 date for Bedlam and the magazine, the two ancient companions of the sutler's store. As to the burnt brick, these were the same used to fill the walls of Old Bedlam. It may be suggested that the sutler may have borrowed from the quartermaster's ample stockpile, to build his adobe room, but there are two objections to this theory. The bricks used in the sutler's store are not artificially burnt and are of regular dimensions, unlike those used in Old Bedlam, thus ruling against the idea of a common source. Also, the sutler's construction problems were no concern of the quartermaster and it is not likely that he would manufacture bricks for the sutler's convenience.

A plan of Fort Laramie in 1851 shows, in its true location, a sutler's store size 37' 9"x40'.¹⁹ This is divided into three sections. The largest or east section is marked size 23'x40'. This corresponds with the existing adobe section, the measured dimensions of which are 25'x40'. The two smaller sections to the west, each 14' 9"x20' represent an accretion, probably storage-space, which has long since disappeared.

It has been observed that the grayish rock with mud mortar in the present northeast wing of the store closely resembles the construction detail of the powder magazine, completed in 1850. This peculiar type of masonry is evident no where else among surviving structures. This suggests to the writer that the second or northeast wing of the sutler's store was built shortly thereafter, with the same architectural influence at work. The hand-hewn timbers are similarly suggestive of a very early date. The second wing is not shown on the plan of 1851 but it is definitely in evidence in a plan drawn up in 1854.²⁰ This, coupled with the tie-in with the stone magazine, impels us to ascribe to it the date of 1852.

In 1852 the emigrants provide fleeting glimpses. On June 8, Thomas Turnbull found at the fort "hard bread \$13 per c. Loaf bread worth 10 cts in Chicago, 60 cts here, tobacco 65 per lb. Vinegar \$2. per gallon, tea \$21. per lb. Every thing very dear."²¹ On the same day William Lobenstine reports "a good store" among the buildings comprising the fort.²² G. W. Kendall, correspondent for a St. Louis paper, tells of "three bakeries where the poor emigrant can obtain an apology for a loaf of bread at 40c and a small dried apple pie for 50c . . . Mr.

Tutt superintends the store, where a full supply of "chicken fixins" can be obtained at remunerating prices."²³ G. L. Cole undertook to deliver the mail for his emigrant train and found the post-office in the sutler's store. Here also he renewed acquaintance with a young Sioux, wearing soldier's garb, who was in possession of several fresh Pawnee scalps.²⁴ The best picture to date is provided by J. H. Clark:

A store and a post office are kept for the mutual benefit of trader, Indian, soldier and emigrant. The store is quite an extensive one, embracing a great many different articles, a much greater variety than one would suppose would be needed for this part of the world; a good many clothes are sold to the Indians and travelers. Two or three clerks were kept busy while we were there . . .²⁵

Despite this testimony as to the volume of business at the post sutler's, it is clear that, at least during the fifties, the Post Quartermaster alone was capable of taking care of the emigrants' bulk needs, such as flour, sugar, stock feed, wagon gear, etc. Thus caution is necessary in ascribing all purchases mentioned by diarists to the sutler, whose stock was limited. This point is emphasized by an editorial which appeared in the *Daily Missouri Republican* of April, 1852, cautioning emigrants not to load their teams too heavily as at Fort Laramie "the United States' Government has a very large supply of provisions, which the Commander of the post furnishes to emigrants at its cost. . . ."²⁶ This is further substantiated by John Brown, one of an east-bound company of Mormons which reached the fort on October 9: "Here we purchased supplies of the govt. store; we get them at cost and carriage . . ."²⁷

On June 17, 1853 George Belshaw describes "a pleasant looking place" including "a post office and store . . . Dried apples 12 dollars per bushel, vinegar 2 dollars per gallon. Everything else in proportion."²⁸ An interesting impression somewhat in contrast is this July 16 excerpt from the diary of Dr. Thomas Flint: "Officers quarters . . . two stables and a store, all in a dilapidated condition. Thermometer 80 degrees in the shade hanging on the adobe wall at noon. Made the ice water kept on hand by the barrel most inviting."²⁹

Generally speaking, the emigrants who put in an early appearance at the fort were well taken care of, while late comers took pot luck. In June of 1853 James Farmer found "stores here where we can purchase anything we need but very high flour 15 dollars a sack."³⁰ On the other hand William K. Sloan gloomily reports in late July that "the commissary claimed to be short themselves, having had to furnish others who were ahead of us, more than was expected. We had to be content

with two barrels of mushy pickled pork, three sacks of flour and one sack of beans."³¹

J. Linforth does not mention the sutler's store, but brings in a related factor: "The proprietors of the ferry have also a blacksmith shop, and do considerable business in supplying emigrants with horses, mules, grain, outfitting goods, etc."³² It does not appear that the sutler and the proprietors of the ferry were one and the same. Hence these dignitaries were in a sense rivals of the sutler as well as the Post Quartermaster, and this re-emphasizes caution in judging the extent to which the sutler alone provisioned the emigrants.

Frederick Piercy, a companion of Linforth's, has left us a painting of the fort in 1853 which is worthy dozens of diaries.³³ Looking north from across the Laramie we can see Fort John in the foreground, still looking fairly serviceable, except for the props which seem to be holding up the west wall. To the left, in its present identical position, is the quite dignified-looking Bedlam and beyond is the low squatting sutler's store. Other post buildings are obscured by the Fort John edifice. Off to the right, on the river bank at the Oregon Trail crossing, are small shapeless buildings which might have housed the ferry operators, blacksmith, etc., mentioned by Linforth. The survival of Fort John thus far serves again to nullify the theory that the sutler's store was built from Fort John ruins.

Mormons seemingly made up the bulk of emigrants in 1854. One who reached Fort Laramie on September 15 writes: "There are only 42 soldiers stationed here at present. Provisions seem scanty with them. They would not sell flour under \$20 per bag of 100 lbs. There is a post office and settler's [sutler's] store at the fort."³⁴

In the aforementioned official ground-plan of 1854 the sutler's store shows the accretion of the stone or northeast wing (1852) and the shed adjoining to the west, which survives from 1851; while nearby but unconnected is a new "Sutler's store-house." We have no way of knowing just what this extension was made of, but it was probably something crude and of temporary design, for by 1863 it has disappeared.

The years 1854 and 1855 at Fort Laramie were dominated by military excursions and alarms featured by the Grattan massacre and General Harney's subsequent punitive expedition against the Sioux. An English traveler has left us a picture of the sutler's store in these harrowing times:

There is no fortification at Laramie, but the buildings are considerable, including storehouse and barracks, and all now was in a state of bustle and activity on account of the Indian war; particularly as General Harney was near, and expected to march in a day or two. There is a very good

store here, but prices, of course, are high; whiskey could not be obtained without a written order from the Governor, though many soldiers, having just received pay, tried hard by sending civilians, protesting it was only for themselves. Soldiers coats cost \$12.; lemon syrup .75 a pint bottle; preserved peaches \$4. a quart. Some of our men indulged in these and other luxuries, besides wholesale in woolen shirts, socks, etc. and tobacco. One or two bought first rate buffalo robes for \$5. each. On the door of the store was posted a notice of pains and penalties to whoever would presume to trade with any of the Sioux nation, then at war with the United States; also another notice that some persons had, for evil purposes, spread among peaceful Indians a false and wicked rumor that General Harney meant to kill every Indian he could catch, whether Sioux or not, and that such persons and all others were forbidden to publish this rumor under pain, etc. . . . I bought very little; only three boxes of yeast powder (at .30 each) to improve our bread, as saleratus is poor stuff, and a good-sized loaf of bread for myself from the bakery . . .³⁵

One emigrant of 1856 who lingered at the fort gives us an illuminating insight: "Tutt and Dougherty were the Sutlers. The store was built outside the Fort, so that you need pass the guard to get in or out . . . The store was a doby building about 70 feet long and sixteen feet wide. The store room was in the south end, the kitchen in the north and the Sutler's living rooms in the center."³⁶ Of particular interest here is this earliest known description of the interior of the building, and the outside dimensions indicated. The writer is going by distant memory, and the dimensions are therefore not entirely trustworthy. Certainly the width of 16 feet is too short since two earlier ground plans show a width of at least 20 feet for this same building. However, the 70 foot length, coupled with the fact that there were three separate compartments or rooms, substantiates the dimensions suggested by the ground-plan of 1854, and strengthens our 1852 theory for the second or northeast wing. Of course the question is immediately raised as to why, if the present northeast wing of *stone* was the same described in 1856, the entire building is referred to as a "doby building." The answer lies in the probability that the exterior walls of the entire building, adobe and masonry, were faced with a uniform plaster, possibly mud; or a lime-plaster may have been used even at this early date, which treatment we know was accorded the Army's adobe buildings. Hence, any "plastered" building, of whatever material in fact, might be considered "adobe." Even if such were not the case, and the stonework section were

exposed, the adobe was still the *dominant* material, and a casual observer would thus easily refer only to a "doby building."

III

Seth Edward Ward, who had been in partnership with William Guerrier at a trading post west of Fort Laramie, received his appointment as post sutler in 1857, and retained it for fifteen years. Ward's first partner was Norman Fitzhugh, who dropped out of the picture in 1858, whereupon Ward formed a lasting partnership with Col. William G. Bullock.³⁷ The names of Ward and Bullock are intimately associated with the decade of the sixties, which was perhaps the most stirring time in Fort Laramie history.

The Annual Report of the inspection of public buildings by the Post Commander for 1857 comments that the buildings are in a deplorable condition and that the men, as well as the public property, are constantly at the mercy of the elements.³⁸ It may be assumed that the sutler had similar difficulties, and that his building was undergoing constant repairs, re-roofing and makeshift stabilization. The original roof was probably planks covered with mud, to judge from occasional hints. In 1858 the diary of a young bull-whacker refers to a store built of mud and roofed with sods.³⁹ Captain John Irwin of the 6th Michigan Cavalry, who was stationed at the fort in 1865, has stated that at that time all buildings had sod roofs.⁴⁰

There was an accentuation of military activity at the fort in 1857 and 1858 occasioned by the campaign against the rambunctious Cheyennes and the rebellious Mormons. Long lines of cavalry and freighting trains now moved across the prairies. With teamsters, emigrants and soldiers crowding the fort at this time we can imagine that the sutler, dispensing items of comfort and cheer, must have been a busy man, but references are scarce. On June 23, 1857, Corporal Lowe of the Dragoons writes: "Everybody getting ready for the Cheyenne campaign. This is the last chance for any sort of outfit until it is over. Mr. Seth E. Ward, the sutler here, has a good stock of campaign goods."⁴¹ In a letter to his wife dated September 6, 1857, Captain Gove of the Tenth Infantry advises that "I left with Mr. Fitzhughes, sutler at Fort Laramie, \$100. to be sent to you about the 8th of this month."⁴² In 1858 the sutler's regular duties were apparently not too strenuous to prevent him from undertaking a contract to supply six companies of cavalry with hay.⁴³

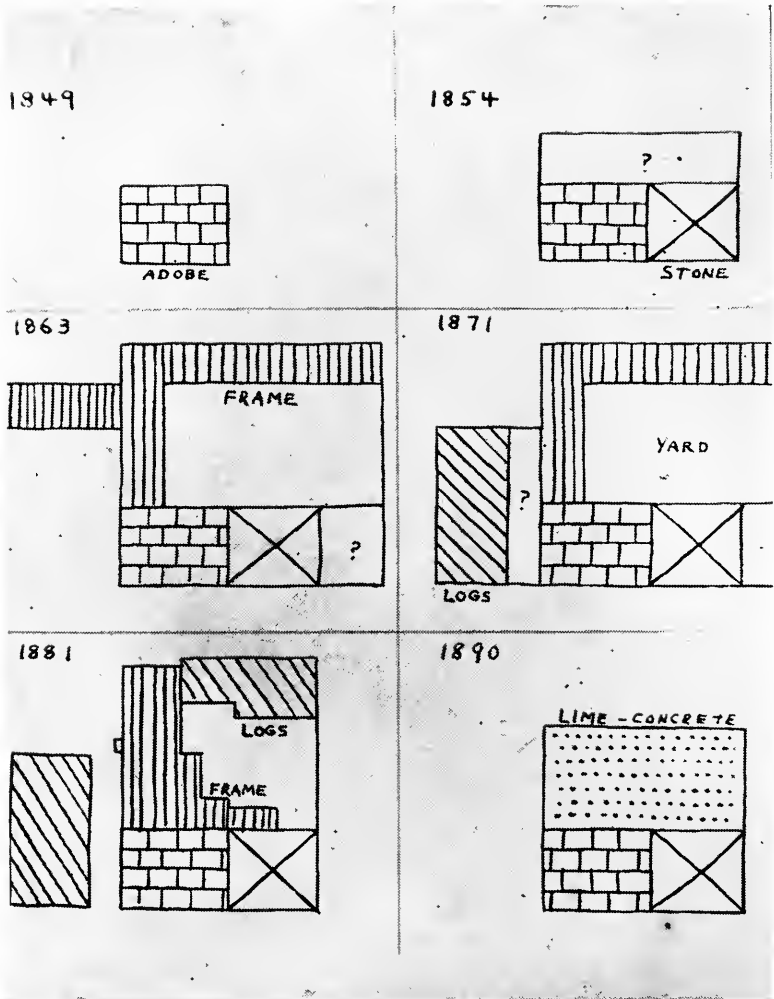
In 1859, the year of the gold rush to the Pikes Peak region, Fort Laramie figured prominently as a supply depot and base of operations, but nothing very helpful survives to illuminate our subject. Horace Greeley, the famed journalist who advised

the young men of America to "Go West," spent five restful days at the fort, a respite from the rugged experience of being a passenger on the transcontinental stage coach.⁴⁴ A manuscript by his daughter reveals that Sergeant Leodegar Schnyder was commissioned postmaster at Fort Laramie October 31, 1859 and held office for seventeen years.⁴⁵ Since the post office was quite intimately related to the sutler's store, being located in or near that building intermittently, it is regrettable that Sergeant Schnyder was not the introspective diary-keeping type.

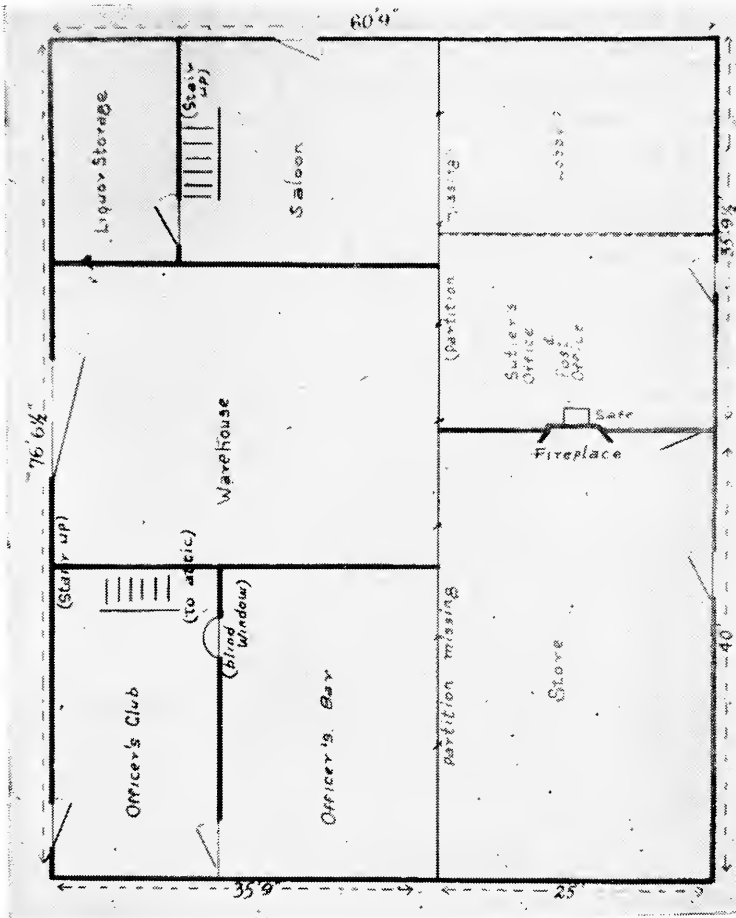
The years 1860-61 saw fleet Pony Express riders churning their way into Fort Laramie, doubtless spurred by the prospect of a cool refreshing beverage at the Ward and Bullock emporium, as well as the exacting demands of their itinerary. According to Henry Avis, one of the riders, Seth Ward was the Pony Express station keeper, although it would seem that Postmaster Sergeant Schnyder would be a more likely candidate for this office.⁴⁶ The terroristic Jack Slade, division agent for the Overland who was later hanged in Montana by vigilantes, was a frequent caller at Fort Laramie in these days, but there is no evidence that he there indulged his little whimsy of "wrecking the saloon."⁴⁷ A different type of visitor was Edward Creighton, who supervised construction of the first transcontinental telegraph line through Fort Laramie.

On August 14, 1860 the celebrated English traveler Richard Burton investigated the fort, referring contemptuously to "the straggling cantonment . . . sutler's stores and groceries, which doubtless make a good thing by selling deleterious "Strychnine" to passing trains who can afford to pay \$6. per gallon."⁴⁸ In May, 1861 Cheyenne Indians "stole one or more horses from Mr. Ward's herd" and were pursued by the cavalry, apparently without result.⁴⁹ About this same time three youths known as the Davenport brothers, who had occasionally traded at "Judge Ward's store," ran off with two or three hundred horses, the property of military officers, the stage company and private citizens. A posse caught up with them in Utah.⁵⁰

The map of Fort Laramie in 1863, prepared by the post commandant, Col. W. O. Collins, shows that the sutler's store had by this time undergone some face lifting.⁵¹ The wings to the west indicated in the plan of 1854 are gone, and the structure is now in the shape of a reclining letter "U". The main wing or right side of the "U", including the original adobe structure, with a courtyard, is given dimensions of 26'x99', indicating a third extension northward since the description of 1856. It is not clear of what material this wing was composed, or how long it survived beyond 1873, when last in evidence. The bottom and left portions of the "U", respectively 74' and 99' in length, are only ten feet wide. These were probably



Evolution of the Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie—1849-1890—Diagrammatic sketch.



Floor Plan of the Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie, 1890—Diagrammatic sketch.

frame sheds for storage and quarters. Extending south from the bottom of the "U" is a shed given as 13' by 100' divided into the following compartments—"post office, mechanic shop, mach. ph. [?], barber, mech. sh., mech. sh., and armorer." The sutler's residence, about 50 yards north of the sutler's store, appears for the first time.⁵²

In Captain Marcy's famous guidebook, *The Prairie Traveler*, published in 1863, the description of Fort Laramie includes a "mail station and post office . . . , with a sutler's store well stocked with such articles as the traveler desires."⁵³ On his visit to the fort in June, 1863, Col. Samuel Ward, a Montana-bound emigrant, complains: "Sutler sells everything high, 12 to 20c for bacon, \$12. to \$18. per hundred for flour, smoking tobacco \$1. per lb., whiskey \$1. a pint, mean at that . . ."⁵⁴

One of the classics of this period, Captain Ware's *Indian War of 1864*, furnishes some picturesque sidelights. It seems that there were benches in front of the sutler's store which became a focal point of social intercourse among all classes of frontier characters. A frequent bench-warmer was dignified white-bearded Major Thomas S. Twiss, graduate of West Point and one-time Indian agent, who was usually surrounded by several squaws finely dressed in mackinaw blankets. Here also came Ah-ho-ap'pa or "Falling Leaf," comely and ill-fated daughter of the proud Sioux Chief Spotted Tail, to sit and gaze wistfully out upon the parade ground while the soldiers smartly drilled.⁵⁵ Here on these benches of a summer evening soldiers and civilians would foregather to gossip and debate, and to be regaled with stories of adventure by the incomparable Jim Bridger. This was also a favorite spot for the Fort Laramie Glee Club, serenading with old refrains which moistened the eyes of the hardened plainsmen. Ware has this to say about the management:

The post sutler was a man by the name of Ward. His manager was named Bullock, the most courteous old school gentleman I ever saw. He was as dignified as a Major-General. Ward gave no personal attention to the sutler store, but he was making a great deal of money out of it. He had an enormous stock of goods, and as he had no competitors and as his prices were fixed by the post administration, he got the price, and sold enormous quantities. Bullock told stories of all the generals of the [Civil] war. One afternoon he took about an hour and a half in explaining to me, and instructing me in making, a whiskey toddy. It was with him a work of art. I never could see anything in his toddies that was anything more than normal, but somehow he had a reputation that none might hope to equal. In addition to this he had a mint-bed in a secluded place

which was carefully watered every day, and more attention given to it than most anything else around the post.

At another point Ware tells of "happening in the back room of the sutler store where an almost continuous game of poker was going on."⁵⁶

Other references for 1864 are scanty. A. J. Dickson tells of making purchases from Seth Bullock, whom he knew later in the mercantile business in Deadwood, in the Black Hills.⁵⁷ Private Lewis Byram Hull has left an entertaining account of life at Fort Laramie at this time, describing the drunken brawls, the bedbugs, the minstrel shows, the Indian raids, and even postmaster Sgt. Schnyder's marriage "to cross-eyed Julia," but he disappoints us in our efforts to catch a glimpse of specific doings at the post sutler's. The only mention occurs on August 21: "Sutler's train starting east. O'Brien's company go along as escort. Indians getting troublesome."⁵⁸

As a lad of 19 or 20 Will H. Young left his home in Missouri to spend a year as clerk in the sutler's store. His diary for 1865 is replete with homely but significant details. He tells of inventories, of the arrival of the sutler's supply train, of busy days when cash sales exceeded \$1,000, of dull hot days when the garrison slumbered in the scanty shade, and cold, windy dusty days when the fireplace in the sutler's store replaced the aforementioned benches in popularity. He tells also of fights, mutinies, gastronomic orgies and cozy evenings by the fire while "old Maj. Bridger" reeled off stories of Montana gold or gave a noisy exhibition of Indian dances.⁵⁹

The sutler's store figured prominently in the gruesome affair known as "The Hanging of the Chiefs." When in May, 1865, Two Face and Blackfoot brought two captive white women into the fort for ransom, the garrison held an indignation meeting here. At the peak of fury the crowd burst from the store determined to lynch the Indians. In this they were dissuaded by the stalwart Colonel Bullock, who addressed them from the porch of the building.⁶⁰ Another aspect of the Colonel's colorful career was his proverbial hospitality. This is reflected in the entry of an emigrant's journal dated July 25, 1865: "Capt. T. and me called on Mr. Bullock, the post sutler, who invited us to his house, and treated us to ice and sugar, etc."⁶¹

In August, 1865 Fort Laramie was honored by the presence of Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, then surveying a route for the Union Pacific Railroad. He was entertained royally by Gen. P. E. Connor, Nick Janis, a celebrated French guide, and Colonel Bullock, who produced the ingredients for a feast. The sutler disclaimed responsibility, however, for the soup which, it

developed, was brewed by old Nick from a fat Fort Laramie puppy.⁶²

A rough "Plan of Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory," of 1866 shows an outline of the sutler's store which conforms with the picture which obtained in 1863, with the "U" shape in evidence, and the adjoining line of shops, but these are not labelled.⁶³ J. L. Campbell's guidebook, published in 1866, states briefly: "Fort Laramie consists of both military and trading stations. A good assortment of merchandise is kept here."⁶⁴ The George W. Fox Diary indicates "30 or 40 houses, barracks, officers' quarters, warehouses, a blacksmith and suttler, etc. such as is seen at such posts . . . Traded some with the suttler . . ."⁶⁵ In a letter of reminiscence an old soldier, W. F. Hynes writes:

Fort Laramie in 1866 was rectangular in form and, as my memory recalls, consisted principally, in the sense of popularity, of the Sutler's Store, Post Office, and the quarters of Seth E. Ward, the sutler. These were under one roof, of adobe material, facing southeast, and were some of the cabins constructed by old hunters and traders which, later with the buildings here named below, became Fort Laramie . . . This was Fort Laramie when I first entered it on July of that year, as a member of the E. company of the 2nd. U. S. cavalry, commanded by Major Wells . . .⁶⁶

It is enlightening to note that the building thus described by Hynes is from all appearances the same indicated in 1856 and 1863, that is, the original adobe structure, with an extension to the north, consisting of three rooms. The fact that the upper part of the "U" structure indicated in the maps of 1863 and 1866 is not described as a part of the building tends to support our theory that this long addition consisted merely of a narrow shed, probably for storage. Hynes' testimony also reinforces the belief that the most historic part of the present sutler's store is the southeast room, the original 1849 building. It is interesting to note his implication that the building is a relic of the fur trade. Apparently this legend had its beginnings early in the post history.

While peace commissioners were dickering with the Sioux tribes for passage through their hunting grounds over the Bozeman Trail, Colonel Carrington arrived on June 13, 1866 with an impressive array of troops. The colonel's wife, accompanied by other ladies of the command, went shopping at the sutler's store, and has drawn for us this colorful picture:

The long counter of Messrs. Bullock and Ward was a scene of seeming confusion not surpassed in any popular,

overcrowded store of Omaha itself. Indians, dressed and half dressed and undressed; squaws, dressed to the same degree of completeness as their noble lords; papooses, absolutely nude, slightly not nude, or wrapped in calico, buckskin, or furs, mingled with the soldiers of the garrison, teamsters, emigrants, speculators, half-breeds, and interpreters. *Here*, cups of rice, sugar, coffee, or flour were being emptied into the looped-up skirts or blankets of a squaw; and *there*, some tall warrior was grimacing delightfully as he grasped and sucked his long sticks of peppermint candy. Bright shawls, red squaw cloth, brilliant calicoes, and flashing ribbons passed over the same counter with knives and tobacco, brass nails and glass beads, and that endless catalogue of articles which belong to the legitimate border traffic. The room was redolent of cheese and herring, and 'heap of smoke;' while the *debris* of mounded crackers lying loose under foot furnished both nutriment and employment for little bits of Indians too big to ride on mama's back, and too little to reach the good things on counter or shelves . . .

To all, . . . whether white man, halfbreed, or Indian, Mr. Bullock, a Virginia gentleman of the old school, to whose hospitality and delicate courtesy we were even more indebted in 1867, gave kind and patient attention, and his clerks seemed equally ready and capable, talking Sioux, Cheyenne, or English, just as each case came to hand.⁶⁷

The hospitality of Colonel Bullock, here alluded to by Mrs. Carrington, occurred on the dismal occasion in February, 1867 when she accompanied her husband on the return to the States after the Fetterman disaster at Fort Phil Kearny.⁶⁸

J. C. Birge visited the fort at the time of Carrington's arrival, and paid his respects to the sutler:

We modestly approached the pompous Mr. Ward, who we were told was the sutler. He wore fine clothes, and a soft, easy hat. A huge diamond glittered in his shirt front. He moved quietly round as if he were master of the situation, and with that peculiar air so often affected by men who are financially prosperous and self-satisfied. He seemed to be a good fellow and was in every respect courteous . . .

As business proposition, it was manifestly to the advantage of the sutler and agents that some treaty be made, for the reason that every Indian treaty involves the giving of many presents and other valuable considerations. Whatever the Indians may finally receive become articles of exchange in trade. In this the astute sutler profits largely,

as the Indians have little knowledge of the intrinsic value of manufactured goods and the sutler enjoyed exclusive rights of traffic with them at the posts.⁶⁹

Still further illumination is provided by the reminiscences of Major Ostrander, a drummer boy attached to the Carrington expedition :

I spent hours in the store of the post trader, Colonel Bullock, listening to the conversation and stories told by the mountain men, guides, hunters, and trappers. They all made Colonel Bullock's store their headquarters. Old Nick Janis seemed to be the leading spirit among the old-timers still left at the fort. Many of them had made history in that country, and their stories were most entertaining, but I "cottoned" to Old Nick more than to any of the others . . .

Colonel Bullock kept a good line of guns and revolvers, and I looked them over longingly. Finally, I selected a Colt revolver of thirty-eight caliber and asked the price. 'Twenty dollars,' he told me, and he would throw in fifty cartridges.

On his return trip to Fort Laramie Ostrander relates that he found lodgings "in a store-room belonging to the sutler."⁷⁰

The "Fort Laramie, D. T." plan of 1867 shows the outline of the "sutler's store" in the same above mentioned "U" shape, with courtyard.⁷¹ The line of adjoining shops which in 1863 numbered seven, from "post office" to "armorer," and which in 1866 were unlabelled, are now labelled "camp shops." The "post office" appears to be a separate building now altogether, quite some distance removed from the sutler's building, to the east.

According to Hebard, John Hunton appeared on the scene in May, 1866, driving a mule team belonging to Ward. He intended to extend his journey to Nevada, but he was persuaded to remain at Fort Laramie. He clerked in the sutler's store until October, 1870 when he went into the cattle and freighting business.⁷² Hunton's own reminiscences reveal a slight discrepancy as to the date :

My residence commenced at Fort Laramie in June or July, I think in June, 1867, as a clerk and roustabout in the store of Seth E. Ward. My duties were, to sell goods as a clerk, to be porter and do such jobs as were required of me, to be a teamster and haul freight, wood or hay and to occasionally herd mules or oxen.⁷³

Hunton relates that it was at this time that the use of sutler's store "coins" was inaugurated:

Business . . . averaged more than \$100 a day in cash taken in over the counter besides some sales going on the books. The average garrison of the soldiers was 450 and there were about 300 teamsters, hay handlers and woodchoppers. Green backs consisted of one dollar bills up to one thousand dollars. Shinplasters consisted of five cent, ten cent, twenty-five cent and fifty cent notes. On them through mutilation and discount amounted to a considerable sum each day to the Sutler store as we sometimes had as much as fifty dollars of them taken in during the day's business . . . To avoid the loss and inconvenience of careful handling, Mr. Ben Mills, the bookkeeper, and Mr. Gibson Clark, his assistant, and right hand man, talked the matter of the copper checks or coins over with his close personal attention for a few days and then sent an order to his business manager in St. Louis to have them struck off and sent by express as soon as it could be done. They did not arrive until about the last of October, 1867 . . . I think, but am not certain, there were 15,000 coins made; six thousand 50 cents, the size of a half dollar; six thousand 25 cents, the size of a quarter, and three thousand 10 cents the size of about two-thirds of a quarter, as I remember all were stamped on one side, "S. E. Ward, Sutler, U. S. A., Fort Laramie, D. T." and on the other side "Good for 50c in Sutler Goods" or . . . as the case might be . . . The coins were intended for the use of soldiers only.⁷⁴

It appears that the sutlers who followed Ward, namely the Colinses, London and Hunton all resorted to this convenient medium of exchange. Some of these tokens have been recovered in the course of archeological excavation.⁷⁵

In October, 1867, Jim Bridger, who had been serving as scout and guide at Fort Phil Kearny, secured a leave of absence and journeyed to Fort Laramie to rest and recuperate his failing health. At this time, according to Hunton, there were six subordinate employees at the sutler's store, three of whom, "John Boyd, Hopkins Clark and myself, occupied the bunk room in the sutler's store, and Bridger was given a bunk in the same room. Here he remained, occupying the room with us most of the time, until about the middle of April, 1868."⁷⁶ According to Hebard, another bunk-mate was Gibson Clark, later Chief Justice of Wyoming's Supreme Court. Also, she relates that about 1925 "Mr. Hunton took me through the building and showed me on which side of the fireplace Bridger's cot was."⁷⁷ The only fire-place in the present building is at the north end

of the original adobe section or southeast room, which in 1867 was indubitably used as the main store, rather than "the bunk room." Mr. Ed Kelly of Guernsey recalls that Hunton told him that he and Jim Bridger slept in the northeast room, or stone section, of the sutler's store, which seems a more plausible location.⁷⁸ However, the seeming discrepancy as to the exact location of the famous sleeping quarters does not detract from the lustre which accrues to the sutler's store from the fact that "Jim Bridger slept here."

In November, 1867 Peace Commissioners held a conference with the Crow Indians at Fort Laramie. Accompanying them was a French mining expert, M. Simonin, who recorded his impressions. He describes the sutler's residence as "a sort of Swiss chalet . . . This elegant dwelling puts to shame the mean appearance of the low, gloomy canteen." His account tends to confirm the existence of a post office separate from the sutler's store at this time.⁷⁹

The year 1868 is of primary importance because of the treaty with the Sioux which concluded the unsuccessful campaign against Red Cloud's warriors on the Bozeman Trail. The momentous conference at Fort Laramie that spring was attended by such high dignitaries as Gen. Alfred H. Terry, Gen. C. C. Augur and Gen. Wm. S. Harney, all famed Indian fighters, Gen. W. T. Sherman, Civil War hero, and such renowned Sioux chieftains as Spotted Tail, Fast Bear, Fire Thunder and Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses.⁸⁰ Subsequently the Secretary of the Interior recommended to the Congress an appropriation to pay a debt due to S. E. Ward for goods furnished Indians at Fort Laramie by order of the Peace Commission, the goods apparently amounting to around \$8,000. The articles so furnished included everything that an Indian's heart could desire, from brass tacks to mirrors and blankets, and fancy costumes for the chiefs.⁸¹ However, the sutler's hitherto lucrative trade with the Indians later suffered as a result of the treaty which, while describing lands north of the North Platte River to be "unceded Indian territory," in effect barred them from the south side of the river. In order to implement these provisions Gen. C. C. Augur, on November 4, 1868, issued an order prohibiting further trade with the Indians at Fort Laramie.⁸²

The dominant role played by the sutler's store in the economy of the frontier as a banking and trading center is revealed in fascinating detail in surviving copies of correspondence conducted by Ward and Bullock during 1868-70, now part of the Hebard Collection at the Wyoming University Library. These papers were ably transcribed and edited by Mrs. Agnes Wright Spring under the title "Old Letter Book" in *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (October, 1941). No duplication of these

interesting documents is warranted here, except to note one letter of May 13, 1868 from Ward to a certain Collins Dixon, by which it appears that he offered for sale (without success) his entire impressive investment at Fort Laramie. This is described as "goods on hand" together with 3,000 bushels of corn, 136 mules, 20 mule wagons, 130 yoke of oxen, 26 ox wagons, mowing machine, hay press, "a comfortable dwelling house . . . and a store with two warehouses and a sitting room and sleeping room for the clerks" and "a billiard Room and two tables." The description of buildings, which Ward values at \$8,000, is helpful in suggesting the use made of the wing extensions which comprised the U-shaped structure shown in the ground-plans beginning in 1863. The Billiard Club was organized by the sutler for the benefit of officers. On August 13, Bullock informed Colonel Dye that he would have "to take the tables, as but few persons had paid their portions of the shares."⁸³ However, there is evidence that this recreational project continued for several more years.

Valuable evidence is offered by a photograph of the entire fort taken in 1868 from the south side of the Laramie River, the original being now in the files of the United States Geological Survey.⁸⁴ One can faintly discern the main adobe section of the sutler's store, and extending beyond it is a fence-like projection which fits in with the theory that this was a low shed, serving the purposes of storage and possibly also, sleeping quarters. Extending south from this shed, looking like white-faced adobe, is the row of mechanic's shops. In back of the store is a large building which answers the description of the post hospital of that date, while to the right is the peaked gable of the "Swiss chalet" which was the sutler's residence.

IV

In 1871 Seth E. Ward was replaced as post sutler by one J. S. McCormick. Ward retired to Kansas City, Missouri, while Colonel Bullock turned his attention to pioneer ranching enterprises in the Laramie River Valley. In this he was joined by his former capable employee, John Hunton.⁸⁵ In December of 1872 Gilbert Collins was appointed under President Grant as post trader, holding this position until 1877. John S. Collins, brother of Gilbert and a friend of Grant's, served until 1882. John Morrison managed the store for him. John London, brother of one of the resident Army officers, next occupied the position by appointment under President Chester A. Arthur. In 1888, during the administration of Grover Cleveland, John Hunton became proprietor of the store and operated it until April 20, 1890, when the United States Army abandoned it to its fate.⁸⁶

The Adjutant-General's plan of Fort Laramie in 1870 shows no new alterations in the outline of the sutler's store, but does disclose that the "billiard room" mentioned in Bullock's correspondence is a separate structure close to the south.⁸⁷ Across the river is "Brown's Hotel," which was a private enterprise with a saloon in conjunction which undoubtedly offered the sutler brisk competition for the soldiers' pay checks.⁸⁸

In the Army's annual report for 1870 on the condition and capacity of public buildings at Fort Laramie it is indicated that of the 49 in existence only three buildings survive from 1849.⁸⁹ These are Old Bedlam, a rough board bake house with stone oven, and a small adobe post office. Of course the sutler's store, being a private affair, is not mentioned. Little is known of the "bake house," which has long since disappeared, but it is believed that this report errs in omitting the stone magazine from the "charter membership," even though it may not have been completed until 1850. The existence of the post office as a separate affair is confirmed by the ground-plans; however, there is no proof that this structure was always used as a post office. In fact, it will be recalled that the plan of 1863 indicates a post office immediately in conjunction with the store. It appears that the building indicated in 1866 and 1867 as the post office is the same which in 1863 was marked "telegraph office." In earlier plans it corresponds with a small block labelled "chaplain's quarters." The post office seems to have been shifted around frequently, but we know it was part of or immediately adjoined the sutler's store in 1852, 1863 and 1866, and was housed in the stone wing of this building in the 1880's.

In a "Plan of Fort Laramie, W. T." in 1871 we find the sutler's store still in the same courtyard arrangement first noted in 1863. However, the companion row of shops has disappeared. The "Billiard Hall" has mysteriously expanded and now appears to have joined in to the original adobe section. In the official plan of 1873 "accompanying application for additional buildings at the Post" this auxiliary unit appears to be separated once more from the main structure and reduced to the original size.⁹⁰

Sometime between 1873 and 1881 the sutler's store underwent drastic alterations. The original adobe and stone sections of course remain, but the north projection from the stonework disappeared, and the straight narrow sheds were replaced by two wider sheds of irregular shape, respectively composed of frame and logs. However, the courtyard and the general "U" shape of the conjoined structure was preserved. On the engineer's plan of 1881 the revamped layout is labelled "Post Office, Post Trader's Store," with overall dimensions of 75'x85'.

A separate "Club Room," size 26'x51', composed of logs, is to all appearances identical with the earlier "Billiard Room."⁹¹

A list of public buildings at Fort Laramie in 1882 includes two sutler's frame "storehouses," each 120'x30' and their condition is described as "very bad indeed."⁹² These obviously were no part of the sutler's store itself. It may be that at the time they were used by the sutler, but it is believed that they correspond with buildings indicated in the aforementioned ground-plan of 1881 which were designed as Quartermaster's or Commissary storehouses. It is curious that this is the only hint of a sutler to be found in the successive Army building reports.

The "Fort Laramie, Wyoming," plan of 1888 lists "Post Trader's Store" of "adobe and stone," which corresponds with the existing structure.⁹³ The "club room" and all trace of the "U" with courtyard, as revised before 1881, is gone. It has not been ascertained from records thus far available whence came the large new lime-concrete or "grout" addition to the west, but it was presumably between 1881 and 1885 when many other buildings of this type were erected. Suggestive is the fact that the concrete officers' quarters which today is located on the south side of the sutler's store was completed in 1884.

Intimate glimpses of our subject during the seventies and the eighties are rare. This era is characterized by the final large-scale Indian campaigns; the advent of the Black Hills gold rush and the Cheyenne-Deadwood stage line, of which Fort Laramie was a major station; the brief but colorful career of the cowboys of the open range; and the coming of the homesteader. The transition stage from Indians to settlers is not conspicuous for its contributions to source material, and not many helpful diaries or reminiscences survive.⁹⁴ Indeed, diary-keeping practically died out with the passing of the transcontinental emigrants, of whom there were relatively few over the Platte route after 1869, when the Union Pacific Railroad was completed.

There were numerous homicides and other acts of violence at or near the fort in those lawless days. One of these is of special interest. The story goes that on Christmas Day of 1872, Peter and William Janis came to an untimely end in a bar-room brawl at the sutler's. Their mother was a Cheyenne, their father was Nick Janis, of French extraction, prominent scout, guide and interpreter, the same whose antics at the sutler's store have been described by General Dodge and Major Ostrander, and whose name is affixed to the Sioux Treaty of 1868. The circumstances of the tragic affair are somewhat cloudy, but it is reported that they were beaten to the draw by a man named Montrose, who quite promptly disappeared. Old Nick buried his two boys in the post cemetery, where they were later joined

by their sister Mary, whose story rivals that of Falling Leaf. She was likewise a beautiful girl whose dark skin frustrated her romantic inclinations in a society of white men, and she likewise died tragically, of typhoid fever. The Janis tombstones today constitute one of the poignant attractions of old Fort Laramie.⁹⁵

Mr. Thomas Walker of Omaha, who lived at the fort in the seventies when his father worked for the sutler, recalls that the store was a large enterprise, the main source of supply for civilians in the region, and the favorite rendezvous for all the colorful characters of the frontier.⁹⁶ Among these was the pacified Chief Spotted Tail, come to claim the body of his daughter, entombed for ten years on a scaffold overlooking the fort. Another was William F. Cody, the "Buffalo Bill" whose name is synonymous with the Old West. His dashing figure, straight and slender, with scarlet shirt and long hair, was recognized in 1876 at the sutler's store, where he paused en route north as a guide for the Fifth Cavalry.⁹⁷ This was the climactic year of the ghastly battle on the Little Big Horn and other large-scale engagements which broke the power of the Sioux nation. Several expeditions of unprecedented force were launched from Fort Laramie, a major base of operations, and it must have been a banner year for the post sutler. Unfortunately, for lack of eye-witnesses interested in preserving the picture for posterity, we have to rely pretty much on our imagination.

J. S. Collins has written some interesting memoirs in his *Across the Plains*. He tells of big game hunting expeditions based on the sutler's store in the seventies. Several prominent generals of Civil War fame, accompanied by a military escort, participated in these diversions. The Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, also went with Collins on such an expedition, in 1880. Collins built and operated the "Rustic Hotel" from 1873 on, north of the sutler's store. This appears to have been a hunting lodge or hostelry to accommodate his private friends, rather than the public.⁹⁸

Ernest A. Logan, late resident of Cheyenne, who at one time was a stagedriver on the Cheyenne-Deadwood route, has recorded his first visit to Fort Laramie in December, 1877:

J. S. Collins owned the sutler's store at that time and John Morrison was in charge. I was greatly impressed with Mr. Morrison for he was a kindly person and a favorite at the Fort. Joe and I wanted to write some letters home the day after we arrived at Fort Laramie, so we asked Mr. Morrison for paper, envelopes and stamps. He gave us the requested materials, but refused to accept any money for them. Now this struck a couple of young fellows just about

right and we were loud in our praise of him ever after. Some years later John Morrison ran the "G. H. and J. S. Collins Saddler Shop" in Cheyenne and afterwards owned several banks in Nebraska . . . A. B. Hart was chief clerk at the store, and the bar-keepers were the two Fitzgerald boys whom all old-timers will recall. Mr. Hart was still at the Fort in 1881 when I was carrying mail and express for the Black Hills Stage Company. He had charge of the officer's mess that year, and I remember that I bought some butter for him, on one of my trips to Rawhide Buttes, for one dollar a pound. Butter was a luxury in those days, but Mr. Hart spared no expense when it came to keeping his reputation as one of the best caterers in the country.⁹⁹

When the news arrived early in 1890 that Fort Laramie would be abandoned, John Hunton had about \$7,500 worth of merchandise on hand at the store which he figured would be valueless for civilian purposes. Through the influence of a former Army friend Congress granted him a consideration for his losses in the form of the donation of the abandoned Fort Laramie buildings.¹⁰⁰ However, before this grant could be consummated the Army vacated the post and on April 9 an auction of the property was conducted by Lt. Charles M. Taylor of the 9th Cavalry. Thus other citizens got hold of some of the Government buildings but Hunton was the successful bidder on others, principally the row of officers' quarters alongside the sutler's store, including old Bedlam and the converted magazine. The store itself was of course his property to begin with. The quarters immediately next to the store he subsequently used for many years as his residence. Thus John Hunton, with his rich associations and deep reverence for Fort Laramie, was able to ensure the survival of its oldest and most historic structures, while others were un sentimentally consigned to oblivion.

V

A few notes in retrospect may be helpful in rounding out the chronology of the sutler's store. In 1921 Bill Hooker, ex-bullwhacker, joined his old friend John Hunton in re-visiting and re-living scenes at Fort Laramie. He gives a nostalgic account:

I am riding into old Fort Laramie in a taxicab! The last time I entered this oasis in the then great desert, I drove seven yoke of oxen attached to two big canvas-covered wagons loaded with more than six tons of shelled corn, while Mr. Hunton, owner of the wagon train, rode a splendid

horse, directing the movement. A band was playing, away out there in the wilds of America, jackasses brayed, soldiers . . . swarmed around us, together with a number of half-breed Canadian French Indians, all anxious to hear the news from along the trail . . .

. . . as the clouds move the moon discloses the roofless hospital building, and the sashless windows in walls that still contain the iron bars of the original guard-house. The sway-backed roof of the sutler's store, built of adobe and plastered without, supporting a tottering chimney, is disclosed. Oaken doors, the planks of which are held together with bands of iron and crude hinges fashioned by some company blacksmith, perhaps as early as 1849 or 1850, are there as firmly as they were when Indians lurked on a dark night like this waiting for some indiscreet soldier or civilian inhabitant to show his head as a mark for an arrow . . .

In the old sutler's store we rummaged among the debris that has accumulated in a span of more than two average life-times, and found on a top shelf, covered with fully one-half inch of dust, two boxes of cartridges, where they had been placed, Mr. Hunton believed, by some former clerk more than 50 years ago—these are Poultney's patent metallic for Smith's breechloading carbine—50-100 calibre, and were made in Baltimore . . . In an account book found in a great pile of other documents were notations made by Mr. Hunton on September 14, 1867. I tore out the leaves to add to the Historical Museum at Cheyenne.¹⁰¹

The sutler's store is at once the pride and the despair of the historian. It is a matter of rejoicing that its essential exterior features survive, but it is sad to reflect upon the things that happened inside in recent years. When Hunton vacated the premises in the early twenties the interior walls, partitions, ceilings, floors and furnishings were essentially intact as of 1890; shelves of the store still carried molding merchandise and, as Hooker puts it, "a great pile of documents" which must have been a historian's dream, for here was sheaf after sheaf of the sutler's correspondence, ledgers and accounts, post office records and other priceless data, some of it going back to the days of the lumbering ox-drawn freighters, the bouncing Concord stage and the meteoric Pony Express.¹⁰² Historians, like policemen, seem to be plentiful except when they are needed most. Today the authorities on old Fort Laramie appear to be numerous; but where was the historian in 1890 when the auctioneer sounded the death-knell of this great military post? Why didn't some imaginative soul appoint himself custodian of the "pile of docu-

ments'' until a historian showed up to take inventory? What happened to the wooden floors, the old bar, the shelves, the chandeliers, the cracker-barrels, the ox-yokes and the long-horns? These questions are, of course, merely rhetorical. When Hunton moved out the building was acquired by others who used it for utilitarian purposes of their own, and the increasing number of tourists who paused at Fort Laramie found it difficult to restrain an impulse to carry off souvenirs. Interior furnishings of the sutler's store which may survive today are strewn all over the United States.

A few odds and ends of the sutler's documents survive in public trust. The Ward-Bullock correspondence in the Hebard Collection aforementioned is a notable work of salvage. The Wyoming Historical Department has acquired a handful of these papers, presumably including the leaves of 1867 torn out of a book by Mr. Hooker. (One wonders why it never occurred to him to save the whole book.) Some Wyoming people have kindly turned over their acquisitions to the National Park Service. These include a few articles of furniture and some commercial correspondence and accounting records of the late 1880's. Other public-spirited citizens have indicated their intentions of turning other items over whenever the anticipated museum at Fort Laramie National Monument becomes a reality. (The writer takes this opportunity to appeal to others who may possess authentic Fort Laramie relics or documents to donate them to the Government for permanent safekeeping in their original home. These things will be seen and remembered by countless Americans of future generations).

During the 1920's private owners made some rather drastic alterations to the old building, apparently with a museum as their object. The old bar did not fit into their plans and was moved out-doors.¹⁰³ Considerable money appears to have been spent on the project, which included uprooting the floors and replacing the west wall of the original adobe section with three concrete pillars. In the course of the excavations a quantity of old coins were reportedly found in the dirt under the ancient wide-board flooring of the original store.¹⁰⁴ An archeological project undertaken in 1940 under National Park Service supervision revealed evidence of an old cellar here which by scientific screening yielded an additional collection of sutler's tokens and U. S. coins dating back to 1829. An intriguing assortment of whiskey bottles, burned adobe brick, hardware, food labels, clay pipes, Indian trade beads, tooth-brushes, rings, keys, bottle caps, gun flints, cartridges, lead pencils, safety pins and sealing wax was likewise recovered.¹⁰⁵

The interior of the store today, in spite of the missing and altered parts, is still worth looking into. The architectural de-

tails of the adobe, stone and grout walls, the famous fire-place, the windows and doorways, are fascinating to the layman as well as the historian and the architect. Still in existence is the letter-drop in the post office, the officers' club, the ponderous safe imbedded in the wall of the sutler's office. The historic uses of the various rooms is a subject for some speculation, but valued data has been contributed by old-timers who once lived at or near Fort Laramie before 1890. One of these is Tom Powers, late resident of Torrington, whom we quote:

The canteen or sutler's store was in the building just south of the large Oregon Trail marker now at the fort. This building was about 80x60 feet in size and the sutler, or manager of the store, secured his appointment from the government. In the old days the northeast room of the building was the lobby of the post office. Then in the middle of the east portion of the building was the room partitioned off for the office proper with its boxes and fixtures. The safe was imbedded in the masonry which formed the large chimney for the building. In the south portion was the store proper, the principal stock of merchandise being liquor. The civilians called it a saloon. The northwest room was the club room proper for the general run of people at the fort. The southwest corner room was the club room given over to the use of officers at the fort, and the women who drank and consorted with the officers. Between this room and the sutler's store was a special window that had something of a mystery about it . . . Officers in their club room went to the blind window, laid down their money in a small opening in a small revolving keg, and gave their order. Nobody was in sight but the keg turned around and the purchaser found a bottle of liquor in front of him. It was beneath the dignity of the U. S. Army to buy liquor in the room where the common rabble drank, hence the blind key . . . Over the officers club rooms was an attic finished to provide sleeping quarters. Hart, the postmaster roomed there at one time, and Jack Hunton and Jim Bridger used that room for sleeping quarters one winter in the 70's just before Bridger moved west to establish Fort Bridger . . . Some of the loud and sensational wall pictures provided for the saloons 40 and 50 years ago have of recent years been taken from the building, and now adorn the room of historical societies.¹⁰⁶

Except for the anachronism relative to Bridger's sleeping quarters this seems like a fairly accurate description. The "blind window" referred to is still in evidence.

Mr. Mead Sandercock of Fort Laramie and Mrs. M. Robertson of Torrington, childhood residents of the fort, were interviewed in 1940 and they contributed their recollections of the floor plan of this building. Their conception does not differ in any important respect from that of Mr. Powers. According to them, the original adobe section was the main store. North of this was the sutler's office and post office. In the newer west section of the building, the two rooms to the south were the officers' bar and private club room. In the center was a large store-room and at the north end was the saloon, the "club room" for the enlisted men and the rank and file of civilians. Mr. Sandercock also contributed valued data on the location of missing doorways, the counter and shelves of the store, and the bars and billiard tables.¹⁰⁷

Patriotic and persistent citizens of Wyoming long urged that something be done to save old Fort Laramie and, after some abortive attempts, in 1937 the State of Wyoming acquired what was left of it from private owners for the adjudicated sum of \$15,000. (The whole fort, complete, brought less than one-tenth this amount at the auction in 1890).¹⁰⁸ In 1938 the property was deeded to the United States Government and the National Park Service assumed the custodianship. The sutler's store, along with the other surviving structures, was finally assured protection. The accumulated debris of decades was removed and weakened walls were buttressed. Measured drawings of all architectural features were made for the Historic American Buildings Survey. The work of essential stabilization, suspended by the war, will be resumed as plans and funds permit.

The sutler's store was the busiest place at Fort Laramie throughout its forty years of military history. It was a focal point of social intercourse for all classes of men in the melting pot of frontier society. It was a vital supply link for travelers on the great transcontinental wagon road to Oregon, California and Utah and a banking and trading center of Dakota, Nebraska and Wyoming Territories. As it approaches its one hundredth birthday it stands as one of the few surviving citadels of the Old West. In its span of life it has seen Indian travois caravans and ox-drawn Conestoga wagons creeping over the land, and it has heard the drone of airplanes overhead. The pioneer folk who entered here are gone, but their dauntless spirit of freedom and enterprise lives on today in those Americans who march confidently onward toward new horizons.



The west wing of the Sutler's Store, composed of lime-concrete or "grout," was built in the early 1880's. Both views of this historic building were taken in June, 1932 by George Grant, photographer for the Department of the Interior. The weakened walls have since been braced with timbers.

(FOOTNOTES TO "SUTLER'S STORE" MANUSCRIPT)

1. Prior to 1849 the name "Fort John" was replaced by the more popular "Fort Laramie" but the earlier official designation is here used to preserve the distinction between the original adobe fort and the buildings which were later erected outside its walls.
2. The parade ground and adjoining buildings are on an approximate axis of southwest to northeast. However, in describing the sutler's store in this paper, to eliminate confusion "east" will be understood to mean the front of the store facing the parade ground.
3. The chronology of the other surviving structures at Fort Laramie is the subject of a separate study by the writer.
4. John C. Thompson, "Wyoming's Most Distinguished Doorway," *Guernsey Gazette*, July 4, 1937.
5. Irene D. Paden, *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner*, New York, 1944, p. 167.
6. LeRoy R. Hafen and Frances Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1854-1890*, Glendale, 1938, pp. 69-70.
7. McKay to Jessup, July 31, 1849, *Fort Myer Archives*.
8. John Hunton, "Old Fort Laramie," *Manuscript*, Wyoming Historical Department. This is confirmed by Grace R. Hebard and E. A. Briminstool, *The Bozeman Trail*, Cleveland, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 103. On p. 104 the authors make a contradictory reference to "the sutler's store building, built of adobe in 1852," probably confusing this with the stonework addition of that approximate date.
9. John Hunton Papers, Wyoming Historical Department.
10. Letter of August 13 from "a correspondent at Fort Laramie," Nebraska State Historical Society *Publications*, Vol. XX, p. 256.
11. Van Vliet to Jessup, July 23, 1850, *Fort Myer Archives*.
12. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.
13. "Letters and Journal of Henry Atkinson Stine," *Manuscript* copy, Missouri Historical Society.
14. James Abbey, "California. A Trip Across the Plains," *Magazine of History*, Vols. 46 and 47, New York, 1932-33, p. 26.
15. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
16. Milo M. Quaife, ed., *Kit Carson's Autobiography*, Chicago, 1935, p. 138.
17. Dougherty papers, Missouri Historical Society, quoted by Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 166. John Dougherty, prominent trader and Indian agent at St. Louis, is not to be confused with Tutt's partner, Lewis Dougherty.
18. Annual Report of the Chief Engineer, U. S. Army, in *Senate Documents*, I, 31st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 363.
19. "Fort Laramie, Indian Territory, 1851," *War Department Records*.
20. "Plot of Fort Laramie," *War Department Records*.
21. F. L. Paxson, ed., "Thomas Turnbull's Travels from the United States Across the Plains to California," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, for 1913, p. 170.
22. *Extracts from the Diary of William C. Lobenstine, 1851-1855*, privately printed, 1920, p. 30.
23. G. W. Kendall, "Letter from the Plains, Written on the Platte River, opposite Fort Laramie, June 9, 1852," *St. Louis Intelligencer*, July 14, 1852.
24. Gilbert L. Cole, *In the Early Days Along the Overland Trail in Nebraska Territory, in 1852*, Kansas City, 1905, pp. 53-55.
25. Jno. H. Clark, "A Trip Across the Plains in 1852," *typescript*, E. E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.
26. Nebraska State Historical Society *Publications*, XX, p. 238.
27. L. D. S. *Journal History*, November 2, 1852, quoted by Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

28. Gwen Castle, ed., "Belshaw Journey, Oregon Trail, 1853," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXII, 3, p. 228. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 202, quoting from a copy of the journal in the Huntington Library, indicate the date as May 17.
29. Dr. Thomas Flint, *California to Maine and Return, 1851-1855*, Claremont, California, 1924, p. 32.
30. Quoted in *The Oregon Trail (American Guide Series)*, New York, 1939, p. 172.
31. "Autobiography," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 245.
32. James Linforth, *Route From Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake Valley*, Liverpool, 1855, p. 92.
33. Original sketch is in Linforth, *ibid.*, opposite p. 94; copy in Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 204.
34. L. D. S. *Journal History*, October 28, 1854, quoted in Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
35. William Chandlers, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, London, 1857, p. 94.
36. *Manuscript* copy, Scotts Bluff National Monument.
37. John Hunton Papers, *op. cit.* Ward paid Tutt and Dougherty \$3,000 for their interest. The bill of sale is reprinted in *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 5, No. 1.
38. Higgins to Jessup, June 30, 1857. *Fort Myer Archives*.
39. T. S. Kenderdive, *A California Tramp*, Newtown, Pa., 1888, p. 68.
40. Captain Irwin revisited Fort Laramie in 1939 and at that time was interviewed by Custodian Jess Lombard.
41. Percival G. Lowe, *Five Years a Dragoon*, Kansas City, 1906, p. 253.
42. Capt. Jesse A. Gove, *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858*, New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928, p. 51.
43. Babbitt to Jessup, June 23, 1858. *Fort Myer Archives*.
44. Horace Greeley, *Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859*, New York, 1860, p. 182. Brigham Young, the patriarch of Salt Lake City, was another famous passenger of the overland stage, of which Fort Laramie was a major stop. See John Bratt, *Trails of Yesterday*, Chicago, 1921.
45. Mrs. Louise Nottingham, "Sgt. Leodegar Schnyder," *Manuscript*, Wyoming Historical Department.
46. Arthur Chapman, *The Pony Express*, New York, 1932, p. 274. John Hunton reportedly came into possession of a leather letter pouch left in 1867 at the sutler's store by ex-Pony Express rider Bob Sanders, later killed in a quarrel with Ed Moss.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-197.
48. Richard Burton, *City of the Saints*, New York, 1862, p. 90.
49. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
50. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.
51. "Map of Fort Laramie, 1863," *Collins Collection*, Colorado Agricultural College, Fort Collins. Two good illustrations of Fort Laramie in the early sixties complement the Collins map. One sketch by Bugler C. Moellman is found opp. p. 112. Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1. Another by an unknown soldier of the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, appears on the cover of *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (January, 1945).
52. Agnes Wright Spring, "Caspar Collins Papers," *Caspar Collins*, New York, 1927, p. 147. This part is imperfectly described as follows: "East [north] of the first sutler's store was another sutler's store and shed 94x69." Comparison with the map shows that this has reference to the residence, not "another sutler's store." The residence itself was 18'x45' with a wing 20'x28'. The sutler's residence was demolished in 1890 or shortly thereafter.
53. Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler*, London, 1863, p. 80.
54. Col. Samuel Word, "Diary of a trip, 1863," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, VIII, p. 50.

55. G. O. Houser in *Guernsey Gazette*, July 4, 1937, reports that John Hunton's translation of the Indian name was "Brings Water," but Ware says it was "Wheaten Flour," this being the Indian symbol for whiteness or purity. She was stricken with tuberculosis in 1866. Many romantic legends are woven around her.

56. Eugene F. Ware, *The Indian War of 1864*, Topeka, 1911, pp. 273-347. Ware was with the 7th Iowa Cavalry and for a while was Post Adjutant.

57. Arthur J. Dickson, *Covered Wagon Days*, Cleveland, 1929, p. 82.

58. Myra E. Hull, ed., "Soldiering on the High Plains. The Diary of Lewis Byram Hull, 1864-1866." *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, VII, 1.

59. Will H. Young, "Journals and Travels," *Annals of Wyoming*, VII, 2.

60. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-333; Robert B. David, *Finn Burnett, Frontiersman*, Glendale, 1937, pp. 29-43. The Indians were executed on the following day by Colonel Moonlight, it is said upon receipt of hastily wired instructions from General Connor. It is doubtful if they appreciated the fine distinction between a lynching and a formal hanging. In Burnett's version three chiefs were hung, and "Colonel Baumer" was their intercessor. George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, New York, 1915, p. 181, says the Indians came in voluntarily to prove their friendliness. Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150, quote Colonel Moonlight to the effect that the Indians were captured red-handed.

61. B. F. Rockafellow diary, *manuscript* notes at Colorado Historical Society.

62. J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War*, Indianapolis, 1929, p. 185.

63. *War Department Records*.

64. J. L. Campbell, *Handbook and Guide for the Emigrant*, Chicago, 1866, p. 67.

65. *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 8, No. 3.

66. Letter of September, 1926 to Mrs. Cyrus Beard, Wyoming State Historian.

67. Mrs. Henry B. Carrington, *AB-sa-ra-ka, Land of Massacre*, Philadelphia, 1879, pp. 76-77.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

69. Julius C. Birge, *The Awakening of the Desert*, Boston, 1912, pp. 178-179.

70. Maj. Alson B. Ostrander, *An Army Boy of the Sixties*, New York, 1924, pp. 102-104, 227.

71. *War Department Records*.

72. Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 102-103.

73. John Hunton, "Early Settlement of the Laramie River Valley," *Fort Laramie Scout*, August 18, 1927.

74. John Hunton, "History of the old Sutler Store Coins," *Fort Laramie Scout*, December 12, 1928.

75. J. W. Hendron, "Introduction to Fort Laramie Archeology," *Manuscript*, National Park Service files.

76. J. Cecil Alter, *James Bridger*, Salt Lake City, 1925, pp. 469-471. Bridger was restored to duty in May, but discharged later in the year at Fort D. A. Russell. This ended his brilliant career on the Plains.

77. "Notes on Fort Laramie," *Torrington Telegram*, April 28, 1934.

78. Interview with Custodian Jess Lombard in 1941.

79. Wilson O. Clough, ed., "Fort Russell and Fort Laramie Peace Commission in 1867," *Sources of Northwest History* No. 14, University of Montana.

80. Red Cloud himself would not come until later in the year after the white man had ignominiously destroyed his hated forts on the Bozeman Trail.

81. *House Documents*, 40th Congress, 3d Session, Vol. 2, Book 1336, p. 488.

82. *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 248, 321-330. The Indians were reluctant to leave the vicinity of Fort Laramie and did not actually do so until 1873, when the "Red Cloud Agency" on the Platte, near the present Nebraska-Wyoming line, was moved north.—George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, Norman, 1937, pp. 187-205. Indian outlaws plagued the neighborhood as late as 1877.

83. Spring, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 278.

84. Reproduced in Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 346. Most of the other known general views of the fort are not helpful. In this instance the soldiers' barracks which usually hides the store has been razed to make way for a new structure, and only the scaffolding intervenes.

85. Bullock foresaw the future when the peace treaty of 1868 was concluded. At that time he concluded a partnership with Benjamin B. Mills who went east that year to purchase the first herd to be grazed in that part of Wyoming.—John Hunton Papers.

86. John Hunton Papers; John S. Collins, *Across the Plains*, Omaha, 1904, pp. 65-67.

87. *The National Archives*.

88. A picture of this establishment appears in Bushnell's *Burials* (Bulletin No. 83 of the Bureau of American Ethnology). It is mentioned occasionally by travelers. It was a log and adobe affair dating about 1867 to 1871.

89. Report of Capt. F. L. Luhn, June 30, 1870, *Fort Myer Archives*.

90. *War Department Records*.

91. *National Archives*.

92. Report by W. P. Hall, March, 1882, *Fort Myer Archives*.

93. *War Department Records*.

94. One notable exception is the unpublished diary of John Hunton which begins in 1875. It is in the safe-keeping of Mr. L. G. (Pat) Flannery of Fort Laramie and Cheyenne.

95. G. O. Houser, ed., *Guernsey Gazette*, July 4, 1937; Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186. "Nick Janis" is apparently a corruption of Nicholas Jeunesse. A brother Antoine was equally well-known around old Fort Laramie.

96. Interviewed by E. A. Hummel, August 21, 1941.

97. Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

98. Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-84.

99. "Some Incidents at old Fort Laramie. Year 1877." *Guernsey Gazette*, *op. cit.*

100. Interview by E. A. Hummel with Mr. Thomas Walters of Omaha. The deed that Mr. Walters obtained from Mr. Hunton for his property, sold about 1924, contained this information.

101. William Francis Hooker. "Back-trailing in Modern Wyoming." *Erie Railroad Magazine*, XVII, 9.

102. Grace R. Hebard, "Notes on Fort Laramie." *Torrington Telegram*, April 28, 1932.

103. O. U. Hinrichs. "Reveries—Fort Laramie." *The Goldenrod*, Cheyenne, 1931, saw the weather-beaten bar in a state of advanced disintegration.

104. G. O. Houser. "A Fiction Story of old Fort Laramie." *Guernsey Gazette*, July 5, 1935. Herein is an interesting account of the varied misfortunes which befell the proposed museum.

105. Hendron. *Ibid.*

106. Thomas G. Powers, "More History of old Fort Laramie." *Torrington Telegram*, March 22, 1934.

107. Interview with Custodian Jess Lombard of Fort Laramie National Monument, 1940.

108. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-409.

**Letter of December 20, 1945 from G. O. Reid to
Merrill J. Mattes, giving reminiscences of old
Fort Laramie and vicinity**

Mr. M. J. Mattes
Gering
Nebraska

High River Alberta
Box 327
December 20'' 1945

Dear Mr. Mattes.

Am enclosing a rough map that I drew from memory, And did not scale it to the inch, But guess you can make out the main points on the map.

First I will begin with a little personal history, I was borned at Fort McPherson Nebraska, on the 28'' day of January 1872, my father at that time was coral boss there, and drove the Grand Duke of Alexis of Russia on his famous buffalo hunt, in an army ambulance with four cavalry horses for the team, My father worked as a stock tender on the poney expres during 1859. at Rocky Point station, then he drove stage when the stage coaches was put on, covering the stations from Indepence Rock to Salt Lake City, during the year of 1862 he was put in charge as Supt, from three crossings on the Sweetwater to Julesburg on the Platte River, during this year the Indians commence to burn the stage station and run of the stage horses, in a scrap near Devil Gap, he was badly wounded in the back, and finally went to Salt Lake City for threatment. during this period he traveled up and down thee line through Fort Laramie. Wyo.

At the age of two years my parents moved to North Platte City two miles east of the Fort, Where Buffalo Bill (Cody) and his wife and two children lived with us, while Cody was out on indian campaigns, during the fall of 1875 my father was transfered with his wagon trains to Fort Laramie, on account of the pending indian uprisings, Then he sent for mother and us children, we traveled by U. P. Rly, to Cheyene then to Fort Laramie by stage coach, Arriving at Fort Laramie we were taken by my father to the place marked on the map as Reid,s Ranch near the old adobe coral, where my father was in charge as train master of the mule and wagon trains,

He had bought this place from an ex-soldier named John O. Brine we lived there until the fall of 1880, when my father got in a scrap with a gambler, and after things blew over we were orderd off the reservation by Col. Gibbon, we moved down the Platte River about six miles to an old wood camp in the river timber and then known as ol man Callahans place, we was there about two months when we moved to the old Pierre Baptise ranch then known as the B P. ranch and owned by Heck Reel a cattle man whose brand was HR. we lived there until the fall of 1882, then my brother Will took up a homestead on

the Platte River ten miles west of Fort Laramie, and now known as part of Reg Cliff, Our first house was built of the old sand stone rocks used in the Sand Point Pony Express Station, but moved back as the river bank kept caving off in the river during high water,

during 1883, we were drowned out by the high water, so we built a new house on the west end of our land on a bench about ten feet higher a than the previous high water, mark. during the spring of 1892 we sold our place to Chas A Gurnsey, for whom the town on the north side of the river was named. We then moved with our cattle and horse to western North Dakot to the town of Medora, near where Gen Custer and his command crossed the Little Missouri, River on his way west on the fatal expedition which cost him and most of his commands life, So much for our personal history.

we kept a bunch of cattle at our place near the Fort and supplied the Fort patrons with milk and cream for the officers, on pay days we used to gather mushrooms, and catch large green frogs for their legs for the officers then when they wanted to go fishing we kids used to make a dip net out of chees cloth, and catch live minnows out of the Laramiec River for the officer to go fishing for pike in the Platte River. our best place to go catch frogs was in the slough S. W. of the Fort on the Deer Creek

1. You will note the two indian girls graves on the map, they were buried on scaffolds, one was Spotted Tails daughter Falling Leaf, and Red Clouds daughter White Fawn.

2. The old hospital in your picture was under the charge of Staff Sgt. John Tomamichel as hospital steward, over him was Capt Dr Brown, Jake Tomamichel the son of the hospital steward now lives at Medora North Dak, during the small pox epedemic during 1878 among the soldiers and indian scouts, dr Brown gave the soldiers a medicine they duded Dr Browns Milk punch, nine tenths of them died, in the Pawnee Indian Scout camp north of our house they also died like rats, us kids wore bags of aspedia around uor neck tied to a string, we used to go among the indians and their kids but we never got the disease,

3. The old sutler store and saloon was run by and owned by Snyder and J. S. Collins when we moved there, and in 1884 sold by Snyder and Collins to Morrison and Snyder, Morrison was a former clerk in the store and my brother Will worked there as a clerk, J. S. Collins after selling out the sutler store moved to Cheyenne and started a saddle shop, under the firm name of J. S. Collin & Co, Jack Hunton was running the stage station at Bordeaux the second stage station from the Fort, the first was at Eagle Nest and run by George Hawke, the first time I seen Jack Hunton in the old sutler store was in April 1890

when I worked at the Fort digging up the water mains and taking the plumbing out of the officers quarters to be shipped to Fort Robinson Neb,

4. The place called the old guard house was used as a magazine for storing ammunition ever since I can remember, it possibly might of been used as a guard room before my time.

5. The mule skinnners and artisans employed around the Fort was all civilians under the quartermasters department. Major Drew was in charge of the Q. M. Depmt, he was there for a long time under Col, W. Merritt, Col. J. Gibbon, and Col. H. C. Merriam, my father being employed as trainmaster and coral boss, with his assistant. Jim Hilton. in the spring of 1876 they started out from Fort Laramie under Gen, Crook to bring back the indians to their respective reservations, but with no results, But the battles of the War Bonnett, Creek, Battle of the Rosebud, and battle of the Lame Deer Creek, where the indians delayed Gen. Crook command while the Custer battle was going on, on arrival of Crooks command at the battle ground next day, they helped to bury the dead and remove the wounded down the Little Bighorn river to the steamer Far West, about eight miles below the battle ground. Crooks command then had orders to chase the indians back to their reserves, the winter of 1876-77 they spent the winter at what became later as known now as Camp Crook ariving back at Fort Laramie in the late spring of 77, badly worn out after the hard winter at Camp Crook on the Little Missouri, and chasing the stray indians back to the Pine Ridge Agency and enroute the battle of Slim Buttes where Buffalo Chips the scout, Jim Whie. was killed in this battle.

6 There was all kinds of tough characters who used to come into the Fort and get drunk then on pay days the soldiers and cowboys used to get in all kinds of fights, which we used to watch with glee, I remember on one occasion during 1881 a tough bunch of cowboys came to the Fort, got drunk then headed by a man called Red Jack Burnett they got on their horses and started galloping around the parade ground in front of the officer quarters the officer of the day ran out and tried to stop them but the cowboys ran over him and commenced to shoot things up, the adjutant called out the guard then the cowboys took to the road running north of the post towards the bridge over the Laramie River west of the Fort, the guards ran to the N. W. corner of the parade ground and started shooting with their springfield rifles at the cowboys, they sure raised a dust behing the fleeing cowboys, who kept hollering back shoot you B. B. S. B.

7. The buildings were mostly lumber. with the exception of the Calvary Barracks, Hospital, Old Magazine, i, e guard

house, Sutler Store, Coral adobe, and some of the officers quarters built of adobe plastered on the out and inside.

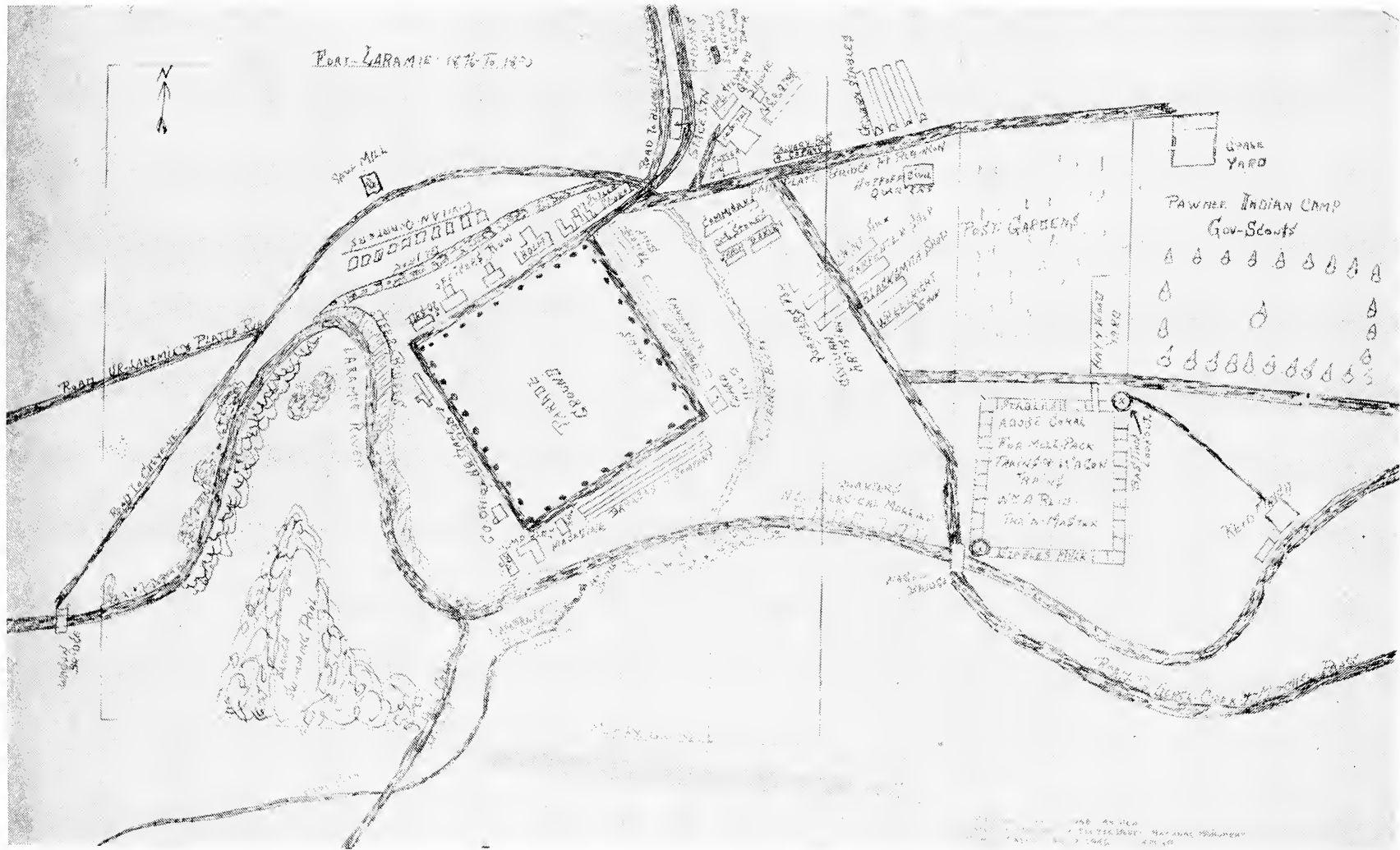
8. The Rustic Hotel. (and Stage Station) was run by Charley Charlton, and later by Newcomb and Hogle. Old Bedlam was usually the scene of loud parties after each payday with dances and general hurrah.

9. The guard house was usually full of drunks on pay days, with lots of desertions, I remember one offender who had to carry a fifty pound sack of sand back and forwards between the sentries at the guard house, all of a sudden he threw the sand bag and ran for the Laramie River which was very high, the guards kept shooting at him but he jumped into the river and they kept shooting at his head so he would dive, keeping down the river finally came out on the other side of the river opposite our place in Bull Park and escaped, On another occasion, we had a race horse, and the deserters allway tried to steal our horses, so we got a bull dog, one night about two o'clock in the morning after pay day we heard an a full yell, we rushed out and Tom the bulldog had a soldier by the leg, he had saddled the race horse, and as he had crawled through the small back window, before saddling the horse, the dog did not get a chance at him but when he opened the stable door the dog grabed him all he could yell was tie up your dog he eating my leg off, We called the dog off and the deserter hobbled back to the Fort for medical aid.

10. The freighters who used to haul suplies for the Post Trader one I especially remember was Joe Wilde, a rough and tumble fighter, He was a bullwhacker and could lick several men at a time in a fight, then there was John Ryan know as Posey Ryan, because he called all the girls poseys, he owned a freight outfit, of mules and horses he had a brother named Dan Ryan who used to work for him they had a ranch on the Laramie River about seven miles west of the Fort, across the river from the B. P ranch Old portugese Phillips also had a freight outfit and later on ran the stage station at Lodge Pole Creek, north of Cheyene,

Then Cooney & Coffee were noted charcters who ran a road ranch on the north side of the Laramie Rive four and a half miles west of the Fort, this place was built in a square just off the reservation line, there was also a joint on the south side of the river from the Cooneey and Coffee joint, dont just remember the men who ran it.

11. I havent much recolection about the Scotts Bluff and Horse Creek, and Ribeaudeaux. Pass, only I covered that ground three springs working as a cowboy for the diamond a ranch, Stevens & Misner and two years for the Heck Reel cattle outfit, on the round ups from the Sidney Bridge in Nebraska to the



Map of Fort Laramie, 1876-1890. Drawn from memory by G. O. Reid. Sent with letter of December 20, 1945 to Merrill J. Mattes.

Heck Reel ranch on the little Laramie River west of where the town of Wheatland now stands, Heck Reel was a freighter until he went into the cattle business with Vest Sherman as his foreman, Heck Reel sold his cattle to the Mitchell Bros, George and Sandy Mitchel later on of Glenrock Wyoming, The old place used as a blacksmith shop east of the Fort on the south side of the Platte River used by Ribedeaux was known as the old Rock Ranch, and owned by Pratt & Ferris cattlemen and my brother Will worked for this cattle outfit,

Yours Very Truly,

G. O. Reid

**Letter of January 25, 1946 from Merrill J. Mattes to
Mrs. Marie H. Erwin, explaining circumstances
of foregoing letter, and giving additional
biographical data on Mr. Reid.**

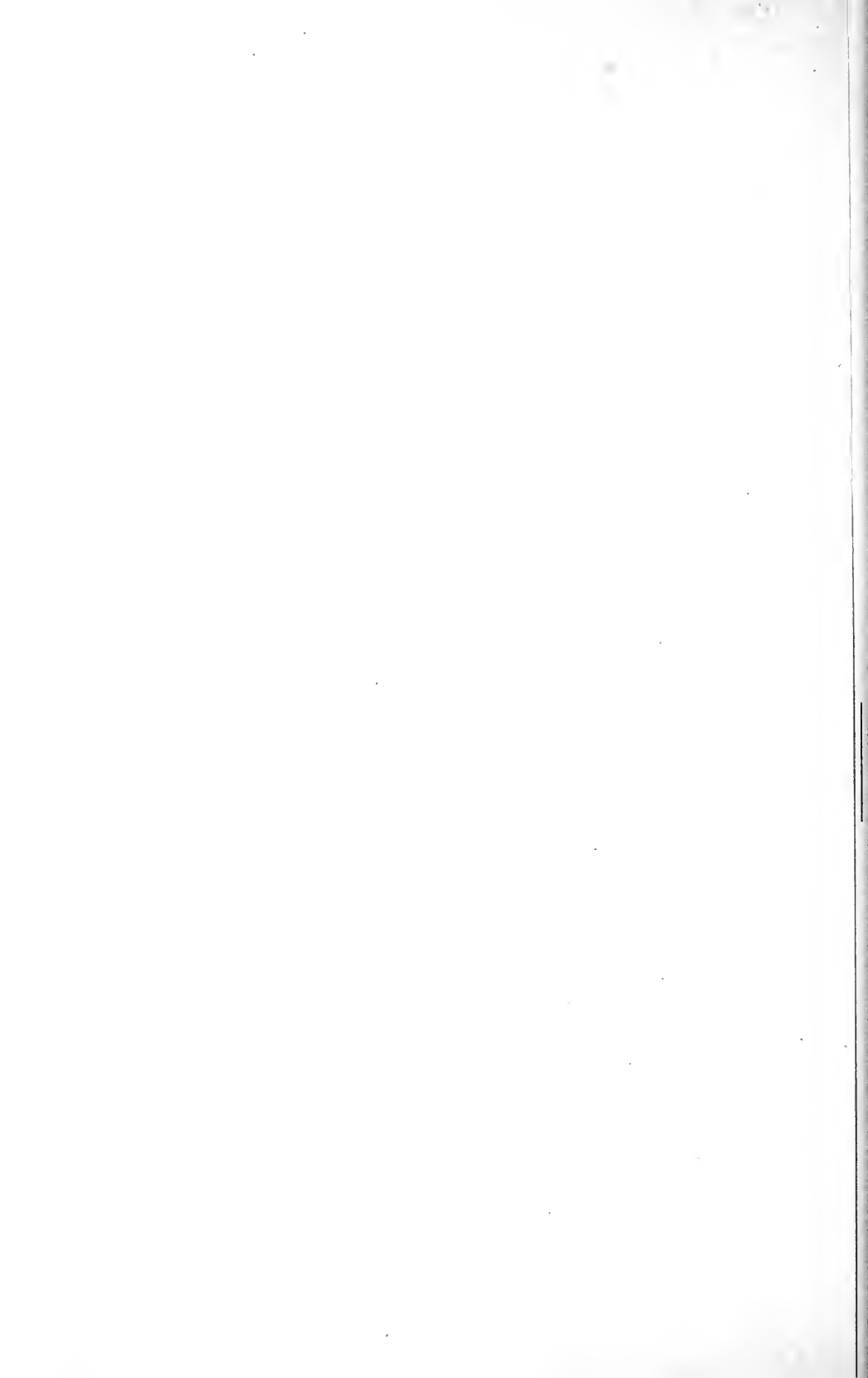
January 25, 1946.

Marie H. Erwin,
Wyoming Historical Department,
Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Dear Mrs. Erwin:

Attached herewith is the original of a letter of reminiscences dated December 20, 1945 and a photostatic copy of a map of old Fort Laramie sent to me by Mr. G. O. Reid of High River, Alberta, Canada. He has indicated his willingness to have this material published in *Annals of Wyoming*.

Mr. Reid wrote to me originally on November 12, 1945, having seen my letter on Fort Laramie history reprinted in the *Pony Express* for October, 1945. He briefly outlined his life as a youngster around Fort Laramie from 1875 to 1892, and asked about Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen's book on the subject. Realizing that I had struck "pay dirt" I asked Mr. Reid if he would be kind enough to give us more of his recollections, which might be of value in the research program at Fort Laramie National Monument. The result was this extremely interesting letter which takes us back 70 years ago when the old fort was a going concern, with illuminating sidelights on Fort Laramie buildings and incidents, and on events and personalities famous in Wyoming history. The map of Fort Laramie, drawn from memory, is remarkably accurate as to known features and their relative location, with certain new information added. The sincerity and enthusiasm with which Mr. Reid gives us this glimpse into the past provides an arresting and colorful document which I know will be welcomed by the readers of *Annals of Wyoming*. Possibly there are some who were acquainted with train master Reid and his family.



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The letter of December 20 needs no elaboration, but I might round out Mr. Reid's story with facts supplied from his other letters. He writes: "After moving from Medora, N. D. the former stamping ground of our former President Theodore Roosevelt, I became sheriff of Billings County for a term of four years from 1902 to 1906, two terms all the law allowed at that time. After coming up to Canada I joined the Royal North-west Police, serving as a Detective Staff Sergeant for twenty three years receiving two medals . . . I have been with the Royal Canadian Air Force for the last four and a half years . . . I came here to High River to be Chief Guard at the Air Port . . . just finished the 15th of November, and now have some leisure time to do some writing."

Mr. Reid revisited Fort Laramie in March, 1937, taking several pictures of the old buildings, many of which were constructed during his childhood. We hope that this grand gentleman who was so much a part of early Wyoming history can come again.

Sincerely yours,

Signed

Merrill J. Mattes,
Historian for Fort Laramie
National Monument.

INDIAN PEACE COMMISSION AND CITIZENS AT FORT LARAMIE IN 1868

The following are photographs of some of the people mentioned in the previous article "The Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie". While not a part of this article they are so apropos to the article, that we were pleased to receive them in time to use them here.

The four photographs on the following pages were acquired by the Wyoming Historical Department from the Bureau of American Ethnology, through the courtesy of Mr. M. W. Stirling, chief of the Bureau. These were all taken by government photographer Mr. Gardner, in 1868.

The citizens and Indian chiefs in photographs one and two were identified by Mr. W. M. Camp for the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri, about thirty or thirty-five years ago from the time of writing, 1945. The names were obtained by Mr. Stirling, from the Missouri Historical Society.

The names of those in photographs three and four were given by Mr. Stirling, as they are recorded at the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The group of citizens in photographs one and two were some of the settlers at and around Fort Laramie, in 1868. Some biographical data on these people follows.

William G. Bullock was employed by Seth Ward, sutler at Fort Laramie, as agent and general manager of Mr. Ward's large interests at Fort Laramie, from 1858 to 1871. He was present during the conferences of the Peace Commissioners of 1866 and 1868; was engaged in the cattle business, and reported by Sila Reed, surveyor general of Wyoming Territory, as having 4500 head of cattle on Horse Creek in 1871.

Benjamin B. Mills, in 1858, was commissioned by the Indian agent, Thomas S. Twiss, agent of the Upper Platte River (North Platte River) Nebraska Territory, as a trader and clerk in the sutler's store. He was the bookkeeper in 1867. W. G. Bullock and Mills became partners in a cattle enterprise, running the stock in the vicinity of the Laramie River, Chugwater, and Bordeaux. B. B. Mills died in 1867.

Isaac Bettelyoun was an early day cattleman, who ran his stock on the Chugwater, 1867. He was a brave Indian fighter, and a close friend of W. G. Bullock.

John Finn. We find the following in the Cheyenne Leader, October 10, 1867, p. 1:

“Col. John Finn, the contractor for furnishing beef to the military post at Cheyenne has lately built a large cattle yard at Omaha from which he loads fat beeves on to cars for transportation westward; some days he sends out one dozen cars.”

James Bordeaux, a French Canadian was an “old timer” around Fort Laramie in 1868. He had a road house and a small trading post about nine miles east of Fort Laramie, on the south side of the North Platte River in the 1850's. Upon the establishment of a government road between Fort Russell and Fort Laramie, Bordeaux established a small store and road ranch in 1867 on the government road intersecting the new Fort Russell-Fort Laramie road. The road ranch developed into the town of Bordeaux where in 1877 a post office was established. James Bordeaux also had large cattle and ranching interests.



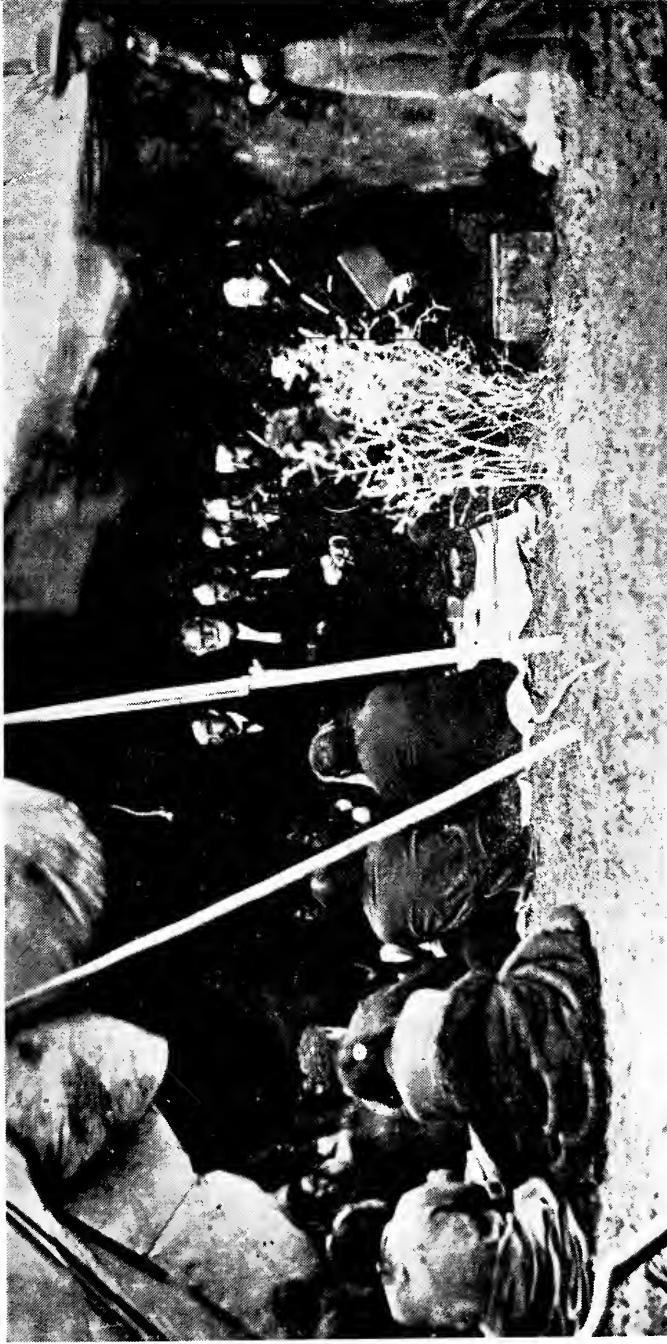
Citizens and Indian chiefs in the vicinity of Fort Laramie, 1868. Left to right—unidentified; Packs-His-Drums, an Ogalala Sioux, sitting; John Finn; Amos Bettelyoun, standing; W. G. Bullock, sitting; Old-man-afraid-of-his-horses, chief of the Ogalala Sioux; Benjamin Mills; Red Bear; James Bordeaux.



Citizens and Indian chiefs in the vicinity of Fort Laramie, 1868. Left to right—Red Bear; Benjamin Mills; Packs-His-Drum, an Ogalala Sioux; W. G. Bullock; Amos Bettelyoun, standing in doorway behind Bullock; Old-man-afraid-of-his-horses, chief of the Ogalala Sioux; John Finn. There are two men in the doorway who can hardly be seen, who no doubt are James Bordeaux and the unidentified man in picture no. 2, as this is the same group.



The Peace Commission of 1868 at Fort Laramie. Left to right—Alfred H. Terry, Bvt. Major General; William S. Harney, Bvt. Major General; William T. Sherman, Lieut. General; Sioux squaw; N. G. Taylor, President of commission (Commissioner of Indian Affairs); S. F. Tappan; C. C. Augur, Bvt. Major General.



The Peace Commissioners and Indian chiefs in council at Fort Laramie in 1868. Left to right—S. F. Tappan; Gen. W. S. Harney; Gen. W. T. Sherman; unidentified; Gen. C. C. Angur; Gen. A. H. Terry; unidentified behind the bush; N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. J. B. Henderson and J. B. Sanborn, members of the commission are no doubt the unidentified men.



GOVERNOR THOMAS MOONLIGHT
1887-1889

The Administration of Thomas Moonlight

1887-1889

By W. TURRENTINE JACKSON*

Wyoming's Time of Trouble

With the election of Cleveland as the first Democratic president since 1861, the members of his party in Wyoming anticipated a change in territorial administration. Their hopes were shattered by a swift political move of the Republicans, under the leadership of Congressional delegate Joseph M. Carey, who prevailed upon President Arthur to nominate Francis E. Warren for the governorship before Cleveland assumed the presidency. Warren's acceptance, wired to the Interior Department in Washington, arrived two days prior to the inauguration. As Cleveland and his party had endorsed the principle of "home rule" for the western territories in the campaign for the presidency, pressure was exerted upon him to fulfill the party's commitments by retaining Warren who was an old Wyoming resident and among the foremost cattlemen-politicians in the territory.

The Democratic administration was likewise pledged to terminate the illegal fencing of the national domain by lumber "kings" and cattle "barons". The practice of fencing the alternate sections of land belonging to the government between those purchased from the Union Pacific Railroad had for years been a recognized procedure in the "Cattle Kingdom", and Warren was not the least among the offenders. Small land owners repeatedly protested to the administration about his "Railroad Steals" and accused him and delegate Carey of land grabbing for the purpose of establishing a monopoly. When Cleveland requested Warren to submit an explanation, the political pressure became acute, and in November, 1886, he was suspended from the governorship by the President. In Wyoming, Cleveland had thus achieved his desire to eliminate from public office those men who had fenced the public domain; and in order to carry out his promise of "home rule", he named another Wyoming cattleman, George W. Baxter, as chief executive. This young West Pointer, recently arrived in the territory, served only a month because his commission had not been signed twenty-four hours when he also was accused of illegally fencing land. This charge was speedily substantiated in the Interior Department. Cleveland was now convinced that the majority

*For Mr. Jackson's biography, see *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 15:2:143.

of Wyoming's cattlemen-politicians, who were the most potential gubernatorial candidates, were engaged in illegal fencing, and he resolved to violate his "home rule" principle by appointing a reliable Kansas Democrat, Thomas Moonlight, to the governorship. The Moonlight appointment was looked upon with misgivings by Republicans and Democrats alike, for another non-resident had been imposed upon them.¹

Moonlight, a soldier of fortune, had served in the Federal Army during the Civil War, and was introduced to Wyoming in 1865 while stationed at Fort Laramie. His Eleventh Kansas Cavalry had been assigned the duty of protecting the telegraph line and overland stage route in southeastern Wyoming. Colonel Moonlight returned to his Kansas farm at the close of the war and entered upon a political career. As a conservative Republican he supported the Johnson administration and was rewarded with an appointment as Collector of Internal Revenue for Kansas. The following year he was a successful Republican candidate for secretary of state. Moonlight switched party allegiance in the decade of the seventies, and, with the enthusiasm of a new convert, he presided over the state Democratic convention in 1880. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Kansas governorship in 1886, but Cleveland compensated him for making the race by the appointment as territorial governor of Wyoming.²

In Cleveland's letter of appointment he expressed his determination that the public lands were not to be fenced by the cattlemen and that the public domain should be held for actual settlers. Moonlight, a Granger in politics, was interested in the cause of the pioneer farmer; and when he arrived in Cheyenne on January 25, 1887, he was pledged to break the political power of the cattle interests. Within a month he wrote the Secretary of the Interior requesting the appointment of an associate justice of the supreme court who would in turn name as clerks and deputies in the various Wyoming counties the local

1. W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Governorship of Wyoming, 1885-1889, A Study in Territorial Politics", *The Pacific Historical Review*, XIII (March, 1944), 1-11. The attitude of the Cleveland administration relative to the status of the national domain is more clearly revealed in W. A. J. Sparks, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1885, 1886, and 1887". These reports were published as a part of the "Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior" to Congress and may be located in the volumes of *Message and Documents*. Sparks' attitude was naturally reflected by Thomas Moonlight, the administration's agent in Wyoming. For those interested in the land question, a splendid account may also be found in John B. Rac, "Commissioner Sparks and the Railroad Land Grants", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV, 211-230.

2. Ichabod S. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming* (Chicago, 1918), I, 181-182; Frances Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming from Territorial Days to the Present* (Chicago and New York, 1933), I, 391-394.

Democrats in harmony with the reform policy of the administration. He stated further

In view of the fact that many important questions connected with land entries and fencing upon which a large body of the wealthy of this territory hold different opinions from those entertained by the administration it is very important that all the branches of the government of the United States in this territory should be in harmony with the administration. That wealth is power we must all acknowledge; that the wealth of this territory, so far as developed, consists largely of cattle and horses, combined with land interests or ranches, is true. These interests are in the hands of the few, who succeeded by the power of wealth in interesting the many, but the fact remains.³

Plans for the Economic Development of Wyoming

The new governor sought to change the economic and political pattern of the territory and began immediately to encourage immigration and economic diversification. Writing to a Lusk resident shortly after his arrival, he said,

I shall do all that I can to encourage immigration into the territory, and believe that more people and less land per capita, will do more to develop and enrich Wyoming than anything else that can be done. We want the people and the people will find the wealth now hidden and in some instances ignored. "Land for the Landless" ought to be as good for Wyoming as any other locality. A quarter of a million of honest, hard-working citizens, ought to find homes in Wyoming before 1890 shall expire. Not only will they turn over the soil and in the way of food for man and beast make Wyoming more than self-sustaining, which is not the case now, but they will develop mineral interests and give Wyoming a boom . . . small ranches will give more people more production of the soil—more cattle;

3. Thomas Moonlight to L. Q. C. Lamar, February 24, 1887. This letter is in the Executive Proceedings of the Wyoming Territory, The National Archives. These proceedings include the official correspondence of the territorial executive office forwarded twice each year to the Secretary of the Interior. The source materials upon which this study is based are for the most part in manuscript form in The National Archives. The author has purposely quoted the previously unpublished letters of Moonlight at great length. The governor's personality and attitude toward local developments are more clearly revealed in these letters than in any other source, and Wyoming residents interested in the history of the territory will find them of outstanding value.

and ten times more wealth than the large ranches possibly can do.⁴

These large ranching interests, which had attempted to monopolize the land and cattle activities in the territory, had built their wealth by exploiting the public domain, and the governor's bitterness and resentment against them is shown in his remarks to a prospective settler.

Witnessing the settlement of Kansas from 1857 to 1886 and since that time in Wyoming, I have become deeply impressed that the domain is rapidly slipping away from actual settlers The 'Homestead' meant at one time, a home, an actual home for the homeless, now, I fear, it means in many instances, a speculation in the interest of those who have lands enough for hundreds of homes, and still conspiring against the people for more. You ask me how this can be possible? I answer, by getting Tom, Dick, Harry and Jane to make entries and proofs which have been accepted, perhaps according to the letter of the law but not in the spirit or interest. These speculators desiring to obtain the lands, advance the money for making a show of improvements and paying the land office fees. Then have Tom, Dick, Harry and Jane deed the land to them upon the receipt of a U. S. patent. You will say, 'Can men do such things and escape?' I answer, 'Yes, right along,' and many of them consider it 'quite the thing you know' I look upon the Public Domain as an outlet for the crowded portions of our country and the safety valve. . . . I am well aware that the rushing popular sentiment may consign me to the company of the 'old gran-nies' for daring to place one straw in the way of the onward march of the gobbling up process.⁵

As soon as the winter's snows melted sufficiently to make travel comfortable, Governor Moonlight planned a tour of the territory to become acquainted with Wyoming residents and to gather information for his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior. From June 22 to August 5, 1887, he was away from the territorial capital in Cheyenne. In Johnson County, near Buffalo, Moonlight discovered what he designated as satisfactory agricultural lands, and he favorably considered a petition of

4. Moonlight to J. K. Calkins, Lusk, Wyoming, February 28, 1887. The punctuation in all quoted materials is Moonlight's.

5. Moonlight to I. E. Hirsch, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, November 30, 1888.

the county commissioners and the mayor of Buffalo for the abandonment of the McKinney Military Reservation and the transfer of 360 acres of that land as a site for an agricultural college. Upon his return to Cheyenne he wrote the Commander at Fort McKinney

Johnson County is beyond any doubt the best agricultural county in the territory, and the most fitting place and location for an Agricultural College, such as must sooner or later be established. The 360 acres asked would abundantly satisfy the demands of an Agricultural College, for experimental and training purposes.⁶

Although the University of Wyoming, which had been established by the territorial legislature in 1886, had just opened its doors the preceding month and was struggling to get a good start, the governor resolved to insist upon a division of the higher educational system by pushing the agricultural college idea. He pressed the commandant for political support, and suggested

The legislative assembly meets in January, 1888, and were 360 acres set apart by the Government of the U. S. for the purpose of having a Territorial Agricultural College, there is no doubt but what the Legislative Assembly would approve of the same by passing necessary legislation. The government of the U. S. would be the gainer all through because the business of agriculture would receive such an impetus as to make the cost of forage and provisions for Fort McKinney much less than at the present time.⁷

In Laramie, the new governor was impressed by the Laramie Chemical Works, owned by the Union Pacific Railroad, for producing lye, soda, and salt cake. He also visited the Laramie Glass Factory and wrote the owner later, "I am very anxious to give in my report a short and concise history of your glass factory showing the *immense* importance of the manufacture to Laramie and to the Territory."⁸ When the annual report for 1887 was prepared, Moonlight called attention to the fact that the only window glass factory west of Rock Island, Illinois, was successfully operating in Laramie. Belgians, who were skilled glass workers, had been imported by the manage-

6. Moonlight to General James G. Brisbin, Commander at Fort McKinney, Wyoming, October 26, 1887.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Moonlight to Colonel J. W. Donnellan, Laramie, Wyoming, September 5, 1887.

ment and all the essential raw materials, soda, sand, and coal, were available in the vicinity.⁹ Detailed references in his report to the production of the coal mines at Carbon, Rock Springs, and Almy, to a copper and silver smelter established in Cheyenne, to a successful flour mill near Sheridan are evidence of the governor's resolve to attract attention to the manufacturing and mining resources of Wyoming. He included in his report the suggestion that in the absence of a territorial publicity and immigration bureau the advertising work should be done by private corporations like the colonizing corporation of Cheyenne.¹⁰

Just before the governor left Fort Bridger on his trip of inspection, a petition to President Cleveland for the opening up of the Old Fort Bridger Reservation was handed him with the request that he endorse it. He promised to consider the document upon his return to Cheyenne. The original reservation in southwestern Wyoming was some twenty-five miles square but was reduced by 1887 to four by six miles. Moonlight felt the bottom lands along the stream in this area could be used for agricultural production and hoped that the Homestead Law would be the basis for their disposition. In forwarding the petition of the settlers to Washington, he elaborated the point by saying

The valleys are capable of maintaining and supporting quite a population and I would earnestly recommend that the land be opened to "Homestead Settlement", exclusively, so that the rich valleys may provide homes for actual settlers, and the outlying lands, incapable of supporting settlement to remain open alike for all, for grazing purposes. Where any person may already [have] availed himself of a Homestead right, in some other part of the country, I would recommend that he be given the right of pre-emption instead.

I apprehend that the policy of the administration is not to make money for the government out of any portion of the public domain, but to sacredly preserve what is left for homes for the many, and to afford every facility for the many to secure homes at the lowest possible cost. There would follow many evil results from the policy of selling to the highest bidder in small or large tracts. The poor could not compete with the rich, and the land would pass into the hands of those seeking it for the purposes of speculation, and for the

9. Thomas Moonlight, "Report of the Governor of Wyoming" in "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1887", *Message and Documents*, 50th Cong., 1st sess., 1009-1069.

10. *Ibid.*, 1013.

establishment of large ranches while the needy homesteader would be excluded. I believe that the true policy for the future of Wyoming is to have all the bottom and valley lands covered with settlers, on small ranches, cultivating the soil and allowing their cattle to run at large on the great public domain embraced in the high, rolling, and broken lands fit only for the grazing and the common heritage of all.

I could not recommend any other policy.¹¹

Moonlight sent a copy of his endorsement to Van A. Carter, whose family had pioneered in the Fort Bridger region and who was the spokesman for the community, with the notation, "I found it quite difficult to say what I desired . . . The recommendations I have made I believe for the best interests of all concerned and the true policy of the government. I shall be glad to hear from you on the subject."¹² By return mail, Carter accused the governor of wording his endorsement to make it appear that hay crops were produced without labor and irrigation and had only to be gathered. This he considered unfair and, furthermore, he thought the governor's recommendations would discriminate against those now occupying a portion of the land if they had a homestead elsewhere.¹³ Moonlight's lengthy reply opened with the statement, "It seems we clearly differ upon the point of the natural productiveness of the bottom lands without irrigation." He then restated and summarized his viewpoint relative to the disposition of the public domain.

An abandoned military reservation, according to Congressional action, is not classified with the ordinary public domain, but must be appraised and sold in small tracts to the highest bidder. We both agree that this course of action, if applied, would work injustice and you desire the general land laws applied to the Fort Bridger reservation the same as are now applied to other public lands.

This raises the whole question of public policy and I am not willing to give an unqualified endorsement of the 'Desert Act' or 'Timber Culture Act' as heretofore carried out in Wyoming. More frauds have been committed under these acts, and more injury has been done the territory by their application than from any and all causes.

- 11. Statement of Moonlight accompanying petition of Fort Bridger residents to Washington, D. C., October 27, 1887.

12. October 27, 1887.

13. November 4, 1887.

. . . The general land laws could not be applied without manifest partiality to those who, without any legal right, settled upon these reservations, and sought out the desirable spots for their own special purposes. . . . I know it will be argued that the settlers who have for years been occupying the land on the reservation ought to be entitled to the first consideration when the land comes into the market. I quite agree that every person living upon the land, should have, and would have, the first opportunity to secure it as a 'Homestead', but the person claiming ownership and authority over thousands of acres of the choicest land, and who for years had been holding it and utilizing it for his own purposes and profit, to the exclusion of others, and without having paid one cent for it or for the use of it should at any time claim a prior right to have and to hold the same forever, against all comers, seems to me to be against the spirit of our free institutions and in direct conflict with the tenor and scope of our land laws, ever liberally construed. I am quite sure you can not portake [sic.] of this spirit of monopoly which the national administration is earnestly striving to uproot; and I am also quite sure you would not advise the doing of anything that did not commend itself to your best judgment: hence, my deep regret that we cannot reconcile our views on this subject.

My real reason for advising that when any person had elsewhere used the homestead privilege he might be allowed the pre-emption right instead, was to insure to the persons now occupying the lands, the opportunity [sic.] to secure them finally, and was clearly in the interest of the settlers . . . I can not see how my recommendation or advise would injure them. . . .

What Uinta County needs is population—settlers on the land, and they will produce wealth. What is true of Uinta County in which the reservation is located is true of Wyoming from one end to the other and to this end I will cheerfully give my best wishes.¹⁴

This extensive correspondence was sent to L. Q. C. Lamar, the Secretary of the Interior, with a typical Moonlight comment, "It will be noticed that the endorsement did not commend itself to the views and opinions of Dr. Carter." He further informed the Secretary that there were

14. November 8, 1887.

. . . several reservations in Wyoming and I know the general feeling is in favor of 'Homestead' settlement, and this sentiment is daily becoming more pronounced. Upon reflection, I became satisfied that the President would not likely take any action without the advise of the Secretary of the Interior, and hence I have sent a copy of the endorsement both to the department and to the President. I earnestly invite the attention of the Secretary to this correspondence.¹⁵

Because the large ranching interests of the territory advocated a public land policy diametrically opposed to his own views, the governor began the crusade against the cattlemen which lasted his entire administration. "In days past," he reported to the Interior Department, "the word has gone out rightfully or wrongly, I shall not constitute myself to judge, that farmers, tillers of the soil, were not wanted in Wyoming, that the country was only good for horses, cattle, and sheep, and that grazing was the one profitable business in the territory."¹⁶ At times his patience was strained to the breaking point, as when he wrote a prospective Iowa immigrant, "Wyoming is just beginning to develop and people are just beginning to talk about her. There is a future for this territory as soon as men begin to satisfy themselves that Cattle! Cattle!! Cattle!!! are not the only things."¹⁷

The winter of 1886-1887 was one of the most dismal the ranchers of the West had experienced. The preceding summer had been hot and dry all over the Plains, grazing was difficult, and prairie fires frequent. Early in the fall heavy snows came and soon long periods of cold formed ice over the snow. Cattle were denied food, and losses were disastrous with some outfits losing as much as 80 percent of the herd.¹⁸ The governor dismissed the plight of the cattlemen in his report to the Secretary of the Interior by saying, "owing to a very large profit coming from the cattle industry upon the ranges, the business was overdone and the supply of grass gave out before the last winter set in and the cattle were compelled to travel farther for food than their strength would permit."¹⁹ Moonlight looked upon the heavy shipments of cattle to market as a sign of the liquida-

15. November 9, 1887.

16. December 6, 1887.

17. Moonlight to James Holliday, Exira, Iowa, January 27, 1888.

18. Ernest Staples Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis, 1929), 218-222; Louis Pelzer, *The Cattlemen's Frontier* (Glendale, California, 1936), 113-115; Harold E. Briggs, "The Development and Decline of Open Range Ranching in the Northwest", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XX, 521-536.

19. Moonlight, "Report of the Governor of Wyoming" in "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1887", *loc. cit.*, 1028.

tion of the large outfits. To him this was a favorable omen. He also recorded in his report that the sheep men were "happy, buoyant, and hopeful"²⁰ and remarked, "wherever the sheep range, the cattle have got to go, and so there is no love lost between the sheep men and the cattle men." When he was reminded that disaster in the ranching industry would widespread depression for the whole territory he responded, "I fully realize the possibilities of hard times in Wyoming from the transition period from cattle alone to the many industries, particularly farming and mining . . . My hope is in immigration during this period of depression, by reason of the breaking up of the large herd business."²¹ Moonlight was without doubt thoroughly convinced that Wyoming's greatest need was "farmers, practical everyday farmers, who will put their hands to the plow and not look back", and through them the territory would become a "blossoming landscape of farm productiveness."²² The economic development of Wyoming since Moonlight's time has proven how mistaken the governor's views were, but no colleague could convince him of the error of his opinion. The cattlemen of the territory felt the governor had forsaken them in their period of greatest need; as an economic interest they became his political opponents, a few ranchers became his personal enemies.

Attitude Toward the University of Wyoming

The main building of the University approached completion in the spring of 1887 and Governor Moonlight went to Laramie to confer with J. H. Finckle, chairman of the board of trustees. Two members of the board who had been appointed in 1886, Samuel Aughey and former governor John W. Hoyt, were out of the territory at the time and the governor wrote them, "the members of the Board of Trustees of the University are very anxious for a series of meetings of the full board to make arrangements for a proper organization of the faculty. Much depends upon a good, fair, business like start or commencement . . . Will you soon return to reside in the territory, and will you be able to attend to your duties as Trustee of the University?"²³ Moonlight was particularly concerned over the fact

20. Moonlight, "Report of the Governor of Wyoming" in "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1887", *loc. cit.*, 1030.

21. Moonlight to Lusk, January 21, 1888.

22. Moonlight, "Report of the Governor of Wyoming" in "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1887", *loc. cit.*, 1009-1010.

23. Moonlight to Aughey, Hot Springs, Arkansas, May 2, 1887; Moonlight to Hoyt, Los Angeles, California, May 2, 1887. Aughey wrote Moonlight on May 8, 1887, submitting his resignation, and Moonlight notified him on May 12 that Dr. Louis D. Ricketts had been named his successor. Hoyt returned to Wyoming as first president of the University.

that the law organizing the University had placed the institution under the control of the trustees and had failed to require a periodic report to the chief executive. In his legislative message of 1888 he remarked

The law places the entire management of the university in the hands of a Board of Trustees composed of seven members, three of whom shall always be residents of Laramie. Strange to say, the law requires no report from the Board of Trustees or accountability for their acts, and yet they are the custodians of all the property including buildings and grounds, and receive and disburse public monies [sic.] coming to their hands. . . . It would surely be more in the interest of good government were the Board of Trustees required to make a biennial report.²⁴

To one applicant for a faculty position, he wrote, "I regret to say the appointing power is not in my hands, but in that of the Board of Trustees."²⁵ This did not stop him, however, from making recommendations to the board relative to the selection of the first president. The governor's candidate was from his native state of Kansas. He notified Doctor Finfroek

I send you two letters received by me in reference to the presidency of the university. Prof. James H. Canfield of Lawrence of the State University of Kansas is the gentleman concerning whom I spoke to you . . . He will not seek the place, the place must seek him. He is not only a member of the National Education Association of the United States, but is its secretary. This gives you some idea of his standing among educational men of the country. He is a young man comparatively speaking and has before him a grand future, as he is a worker. If you can secure the services of such a man, the success of the university would be insured from the start. I shall do all I can to help to

24. Messages of the Governors of Wyoming to the Territorial Legislatures, 1873-1888. The messages of each governor, which were originally published in pamphlet form, are included in this bound volume in the University of Wyoming Library. The Moonlight message of fifty-three pages was printed by the Cheyenne Leader Book and Job Print, 1888.

25. Moonlight to George B. Morton, St. Louis, Missouri, May 23, 1887.

secure a live educator with business ability as head of the university.²⁶

A second candidate for the presidency who had written directly to the governor was Professor J. P. Blanton, President of the State Normal School at Kirksville, Missouri. In answer to his request for detailed information, Moonlight explained

Laramie is a city of about 4000 inhabitants, beautifully situated and located, with the very best and purest spring water running along the gutters and supplying all the houses as well as the natural pressure for the fire department. The University building is a very handsome, roomylike structure, not yet quite finished within. The University will be what the faculty make it. The government is in the hands of seven Trustees who will have the selection of the President and of course the faculty, but the President will be able to guide and mould the institution to his will. . . . The seventy-two sections of government land granted under an act of Congress, are now being selected for future use . . . There is no other endowment at the present. There is by law of the territory a levy of one fourth of one mill for University purposes which at present makes nearly eight thousand dollars, but of course this is just the beginning. In my judgment, Laramie city will grow, all things are in its favor. It is very healthy.²⁷

The governor forwarded his correspondence with Blanton to the chairman of the board of trustees and suggested that if Canfield was not acceptable, he was prepared to endorse this Missouri college president. He made the comment, "I have no doubt that President Blanton is a very able man, and would be admirably qualified for the position. The field is broadening for Wyoming."²⁸

Without consulting the governor, the board of trustees met during the second week in May and voted to request John W. Hoyt to return from California to assume the responsibility of

26. May 9, 1887. Moonlight was justified in his high regard for Canfield. The Kansas educator was chosen president of the National Education Association in 1890 and was called to the University of Nebraska as chancellor the following year. After a successful administration of four years, Canfield became president of the Ohio State University. Serving another four-year term as a university president, 1895-1899, he became Librarian at Columbia University. He represented that institution at educational conferences in France and England and was recognized as one of the outstanding educators of his time.

27. May 9, 1887.

28. Moonlight to Finrock, May 9, 1887.

the university presidency. Moonlight was not only incensed at the method by which the selection was made but had no confidence in the person chosen. He confided to a friend

I have seen through the papers that the Board has recommended or rather tended the appointment to the late Gov. Hoyt of this territory. . . . It is not for me to misjudge the board, but I think the result will bear me out in surmising the complete failure of the institution under such management. The President of a University, College, or Normal School, or other public or private institution of learning must have a very strong business turn of mind, so as to be a practical worker, and not a mere theorist.²⁹

At the close of the summer, the trustees began to make plans for the dedication and inauguration of the university on September 1. Both Finrock and Hoyt communicated with the governor requesting his presence at the ceremonies, but Moonlight, piqued because he felt he had not been properly consulted in university affairs, refused to attend. To Hoyt he wrote, "I am now quite sick, and so must deprive myself of the pleasure of being with you."³⁰ To Finrock, "I regret exceedingly that it will be impossible for me to be present on account of an accumulated pressure of business. . . . I wish the University prosperity in all departments of finance, members and education: for without the first two there will not be much of the latter."³¹ So the university was dedicated without the presence of the governor.

Although Moonlight did not approve of the university administration, he made every effort to secure good title to the university lands and to carefully administer their leasing to private individuals. When Franklin O. Sawin, university land commissioner, notified him of the location of the seventy-two sections allotted by Congress, he wrote Lamar in the Interior Department to have them certified. Moonlight noted that some of these sections of land were located between sections originally a part of the Union Pacific land grants, but which were now in the hands of cattlemen. Knowing the extent to which the practice prevailed of fencing the sections between those purchased

29. Moonlight to Morton, May 23, 1887. Hoyt had been widely recognized in educational circles for his interest in agricultural education. He had edited the *Wisconsin Farmer*, first agricultural journal in that state, and had served as secretary of the state agricultural society before coming to Wyoming as governor. Joseph Schafer, *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1922) gives information on Hoyt's career in that state. See also Harry B. Henderson, "Wyoming Territorial Governors", *Wyoming Annals*, XI (October, 1939), 237-254.

30. August 31, 1887.

31. August 25, 1887.

from the railroads, he thought it might be the part of wisdom to check on the status of the land.³² To the close of his administration he insisted that these lands should be classified according to their highest value before any leasing was done in order that the university might not be deprived of the maximum income possible.³³ Relations with University President Hoyt presented another picture. The antipathy between the two men led to open hostility over the report of the first board of visitors which inspected the campus.³⁴ Defects in university administration, the lack of students, and inadequacy of equipment were mentioned directly by the visitor's report and the inference was left that a change in administrative personnel would not be amiss. This sentiment was included when the governor transmitted the report to the legislature. Hoyt wrote a stinging protest,³⁵ and Moonlight replied immediately

The visiting committee desired to be fair and just, and perform the duty required by law, without partiality. In preparing my message I was governed by the same principles . . . Of course, there will not be found perfection in any one man, but with reasonable ability, application, and experience, and integrity of purpose much can be accomplished in the direction of justice, and his mistakes will be forgiven. It would have been easier for me in every respect, to pass along, and present a message in every way pleasing and complimentary to everybody and everything but unfortunately I am troubled with a conscience which will give me no rest in matters of this kind, and so I prefer to settle with myself at the risk of being considered meddling.³⁶

The patronizing tone of the governor's letter did not ease the tense situation, and rumors of his criticism of the university administration, although sometimes false, came to Hoyt constantly. The president wrote a bitter note to Moonlight when he heard the governor had spoken of a performance in the gym-

32. November 18, 1887.

33. Moonlight to M. E. Hocker, Rawlins, Wyoming, September 7, 1888.

34. *The Revised Statutes of Wyoming* required "the governor to appoint biennially a board of visitors to consist of three persons whose duty it shall be to make a personal examination into the state and condition of the University and all its affairs, at least twice each year to report to the governor, suggesting such improvements as they deem proper, which report shall be submitted to the legislative assembly at its next session." R. E. Field and I. C. Whipple of Cheyenne and Professor Fred Shannon of Carbon composed the first visitor's committee.

35. Hoyt to Moonlight, January 12, 1888.

36. Moonlight to Hoyt, January 14, 1888.

nasium as improper, and the governor responded, "I have read your letter of yesterday with amazement for I can not concieve [*sic.*] what you have reference to. I never heard anything about the boy's and girl's gymnasium performance and so could have no feeling on the subject."³⁷

The board of trustees, representing an influential part of Wyoming's citizenry, supported the administration of Hoyt. When the legislative assembly convened, Moonlight attempted to reorganize the board by filling all vacancies with his henchmen. An antagonistic council rejected as many as three nominations for some places on the board, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the governor obtained confirmation of the required appointments.³⁸ After forwarding a commission to one of these third-choice trustees who had been confirmed, Moonlight wrote Finrock, the chairman, in disgust. "I first tried to appoint a man who was always present with you, but your delegation in the council saw that he was not confirmed. I sincerely trust that they were the true friends of the university."³⁹ The governor by this time had convinced the board that he was opposed to the University's best interests, and the friends of the institution joined the cattlemen in the ranks of those who wanted a change in the governorship.

Relations with the Tenth Legislative Assembly

Only one session of the Wyoming territorial legislature, the tenth, convened during the Moonlight administration. When the legislators assembled in Cheyenne, January 10, 1888, the chief executive shortly delivered a message which emphasized two themes, the absolute necessity for economy and the fact that the governor's power of appointment had been disregarded by earlier assemblies. He noted, for example, that the capitol and university building commissions, as set up, had the power to fill vacancies created by death or resignation, and he complained, "I have no information concerning the capitol building . . . The law authorizes a building commission with power to perpetuate themselves . . . and requiring no report to be made to any authority until the building is finished. . . . [This] policy is like 'locking the stable after the horse is gone.'"⁴⁰ He closed his message with a warning, "I desire

37. February 24, 1888.

38. Moonlight to John A. Riner, president of the council of the Tenth Legislative Assembly of Wyoming, March 9, 1888; Moonlight to J. F. Crawford, Saratoga, Wyoming, March 15, 1888; Moonlight to S. D. Shannon, Cheyenne, March 30, 1888; Moonlight to A. S. Peabody, Laramie, March 30, 1888.

39. March 26, 1888.

40. Messages of the Governors of Wyoming to the Territorial Legislatures, 1873-1888. Moonlight message to the Tenth Legislative Assembly. 42-43.

to impress upon you the necessity for strict economy in providing for all the public and needed wants of the territory, so that not one dollar may be appropriated where it can possibly be saved, without injury to the public service.'⁴¹

Although the house and council went on record as approving the governor's remarks, their debates soon revealed that his recommendations were to have little weight. Bills authorizing new appropriations for territorial buildings and the creation of more self-perpetuating commissions were introduced in the early days of the session.⁴² The governor, notoriously strong-willed and dogmatic, resolved to use his veto power to force the acceptance of his viewpoint. The first major altercation came on February 14 when he returned to the assembly with veto messages two bills that would have amended Wyoming statutes relative to corporations and the issuance of stock. He assumed somewhat of a lecturing tone when he stated

. . . at the last session of the legislative assembly the present code of civil procedure was adopted. It was prepared by a commission of able lawyers and presented to the assembly. The commission gave great care to the selection of a code and . . . if we should now attempt to make radical changes in the code as adopted it must inevitably result in litigation.⁴³

In 1888, the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, which had directed the affairs of the cattlemen in the territory for fifteen years, found its political influence declining because of increasing animosity against the cattle barons. Cattle losses during the two previous cold winters had bankrupted enough stockgrowers to reduce greatly the membership and resources of the association. However, only four years previously, the association had reached the height of its political power when through legislative enactment it became a quasi-official agent of the territorial government in supervising the annual roundup. The proceeds from the sale of mavericks were placed in the treasury of the association. Antipathy against the association was now directed against this so-called "Maverick Law"; and when a strong movement for repeal was inaugurated, the executive committee of the association endorsed a bill trans-

41. Messages of the Governors of Wyoming to the Territorial Legislatures, 1873-1888. Moonlight message to the Tenth Legislative Assembly, 52-53.

42. *Journal of the Council of the Tenth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming* (Cheyenne, 1888), 11-15. *Journal of the House of the Tenth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming* (Cheyenne, 1888), 14-16.

43. *Seven Vetoes by Thomas Moonlight, Governor of Wyoming Territory, Tenth Legislative Assembly, 1888* (Cheyenne, 1888), 4. This pamphlet is available in the University of Wyoming Library.

ferring the responsibility for the round-up to a territorial board of livestock commissioners. The governor was foremost among the leaders in the crusade to allay the feeling existing against the Association. When the bill creating the new livestock commission was first passed by the assembly, to the amazement of all, Moonlight returned it with a veto because he discovered an encroachment upon his prerogative of appointment. The new commissioners were to be appointed for two years and to hold office until their successors had been nominated by the executive and confirmed by the council. The governor assumed that the legislative council might perpetuate the original commission by denying confirmation to his future nominees. This, he reasoned, would make the council supreme over the governor in the matter of appointments.

After they are once commissioned, [he wrote] they are absolutely free to do as they please. They are beyond the power of removal . . . and are subject to no authority. . . . [They] can snap their fingers in the face of the governor, can laugh at the House of Representatives, can defy all territorial officers but they must render allegiance to the Council.⁴⁴

After presenting a half dozen further objections to the legislation, the governor assured the assembly that he earnestly wished to cooperate in eliminating the obnoxious "Maverick Law" to satisfy the public demand, but a revision of the first draft must be made. The plight of the stockgrowers association was desperate and its friends in the assembly worked ceaselessly until a revised bill, acceptable to the governor, was enacted into law transferring the jurisdiction over the round-up to a territorial commission.

The legislature next antagonized the governor by passing a bill with generous appropriations for the erection, completion, or maintenance of public buildings throughout the territory in spite of recommendations for rigid economy. Moonlight was alarmed over the tax burden which he felt would retard settlement and he thought the legislators were extravagant, illogical, and also misinformed relative to the necessity of the construction. His attitude the legislators interpreted as a lack of confidence in Wyoming's economic potentialities and only the "wails of a pessimist". The assembly passed an omnibus measure authorizing \$125,000 for the addition of wings to the territorial capitol in Cheyenne, \$100,000 for the construction of a penitentiary at Rawlins, \$25,000 for improvements on the university building in Laramie, \$30,000 for an insane asylum

44. *Ibid.*, 8-11.

at Evanston, and \$25,000 for a poor asylum at or near Lander.⁴⁵ In his veto message, Moonlight first reprimanded the lawmakers again for attempting to restrict his appointing power by establishing a capitol building commission with power to fill vacancies. The capitol he felt was sufficient for the requirements of the territory for at least six years; furthermore, the improvements suggested could not be completed with the sum appropriated and more funds would be demanded later.⁴⁶ The appropriation meant increased taxes at a time when the cattle industry was depressed and poverty was staring many in the face. He warned the assembly that

. . . the selfish spirit of locality, combining together as now, will impose additional taxes until property, real and personal, will sink under the burden. The time to call a halt is now, this moment, before the evil is beyond remedy, and in this spirit I appeal to the hearts, consciences and good senses of the Tenth Legislative Assembly.⁴⁷

Nor did the governor accept the university appropriation. He considered one fifth of the amount allotted, or \$5000, sufficient to complete the original building. Enrollments did not justify further construction. Moonlight noted that the exact purpose of the other expenditures was not clearly presented, and the whole measure was basically unacceptable because

The Bill was rushed through both houses under a suspension of the rules without debate or amendment being allowed, was signed by the respective presiding officers of both houses and placed in the hands of the Governor inside, of two hours. The bill was enrolled the night before its passage by four different clerks, not officers of either house, and in a private office away from the capitol and is not an exact copy of the enactment as it passed the House and Council. The bill was called up in the dusk of evening, when the members of both houses were unprepared to present objections, and when many of them had left. The whole surroundings of the bill are dark and mysterious. A great public measure appropriating a large sum of public money should not be afraid of public discussion.⁴⁸

45. Beard, *op. cit.*, 407-410.

46. *Seven Vetoes by Thomas Moonlight, Governor of Wyoming Territory*, 13-14. Bartlett, *op. cit.*, 182-183.

47. *Seven Vetoes by Thomas Moonlight, Governor of Wyoming Territory*, 16.

48. *Ibid.*, 18. Earlier quoted by Beard, *op. cit.*, 410.

In the council and house the bill for building construction and improvements immediately received the two-thirds vote necessary to make it a law over the governor's veto. Although Moonlight's objections to this legislation were logical, the method whereby he stated them was certain to be both offensive and ineffective. History has justified the contentions of the chief executive because the completion of these public structures placed a heavy financial burden upon Wyoming, but at that time he only succeeded in gaining the ill will of several influential politicians in the territory.

Prior to the tenth session of the assembly, Wyoming had eight counties. When this session adjourned, she had eleven, all that were to be created prior to admission to statehood. The governor had recommended the creation of new counties in his message in order to reduce distances between county seats and to facilitate the transaction of business. Upon his suggestion, the legislators established Natrona, Converse, and Sheridan Counties.⁴⁹ The governor had no objection to dividing Johnson County to create Sheridan, nor did he object to the boundaries proposed for Natrona. The county of Converse, created by joining the northern portions of Laramie and Albany Counties, presented a problem. The board of commissioners for Laramie County had protested the creation of the new county on grounds that the former residents of Albany County would not want to pay taxes on the bonds issued by Laramie County to build the Cheyenne Northern Railway.⁵⁰ Furthermore, ninety percent of the population of the new county resided in northern Laramie, and they could maintain their own government without accepting the northern portion of Albany.⁵¹ This veto was received by the council during the last days of the session; and in an attempt to secure the approval of the executive, the majority in the assembly resorted to the obvious political maneuver by attaching the bill to the general appropriation measure. The governor considered this "the most wonderful piece of legislation ever presented to an executive for approval". He told the assembly

There is but one course left the Executive. He can not in honor or in justice give his approval to an enactment embracing the measure . . . which had been by him denied approval but a few hours before.

49. Natrona County, as established, had the same boundaries as today; Converse included the present Niobrara; Sheridan County extended west to the Big Horn River, now it extends to the Big Horn Mountains. Counties created since 1890 have caused a shift in the boundaries of Converse and Big Horn.

50. H. B. Kelly, chairman of the county commissioners of Laramie County, to Moonlight, March 8, 1888.

51. *Seven Vetoes of Thomas Moonlight, Governor of Wyoming Territory*, 20.

The same conscientious conviction of duty requires and commands the same action now. Were it possible to approve the appropriation part of the bill, I would gladly do so, but since this is impossible, without approving that portion of the bill already and heretofore vetoed, the responsibility for the failure of the appropriations, if they shall fail, will not attach to the Executive.⁵²

The assembly proceeded, as in other instances, to pass the bill over the objections of the governor. Moonlight complained bitterly to the Secretary of the Interior over his treatment by the Wyoming assembly and in forwarding a complete record of his relations with the legislators remarked

I wish to call your attention to the question of appointments and confirmations as viewed by the Council, composed of 9 Republicans and 3 Democrats . . . Some of these matters are run with a high hand . . . There is another thing. In nearly all the laws creating officers to be appointed by the governor, there is no provision for the governor to remove for cause, and were an act of Congress passed to authorize the governor to remove for cause it would stop much of the scheming now going on. I believe this suggestion worthy of consideration.⁵³

Organization of New Counties

Moonlight did not accept defeat by the legislature gracefully and became somewhat obnoxious in fulfilling his responsibilities of organizing the new county governments. The residents of Converse County petitioned the governor to appoint county commissioners who could set up the new administrative machinery, but their petition was returned on the grounds that it carried a date prior to the final passage of legislation creating the county and that the three hundred signees had not proved they were *bona fide* residents.⁵⁴ In April, 1888, the governor was convinced that the detailed provisions of the law had been observed and the three commissioners were named, one each from Douglas, Glenrock, and Lusk.⁵⁵ To an interested party

52. *Ibid.*, 22-23.

53. Moonlight to William M. Springer, February 27, 1888.

54. Moonlight to E. H. Kimball, Glenrock, Wyoming, March 12, 1888, and March 13, 1888.

55. Moonlight to C. E. Clay, Douglas, Wyoming, April 12, 1888; Moonlight to Frank R. Lusk, of Lusk, Wyoming, April 12, 1888. The commissioners appointed were J. M. Wilson of Douglas, E. J. Wills of Glenrock, and J. K. Calkins of Lusk.

he wrote, "the commissioners named will represent the various localities and various interests in the new county . . . That there is a strong feeling existing between the places looking for county seat honors, we all know full well and [I am] giving each of the three towns aspiring to such honors one commissioner to look after their respective interests in the organization of the county."⁵⁶ The *Budget* of Douglas, an influential paper in the territory, had bitterly criticized Moonlight for his veto of the bill creating Converse County and for his delay in establishing the county government after his publicly expressed desire to have new counties organized. Moonlight wrote a friend that he considered the feeling of the citizens of Douglas as "very unjust and very unfair".

My action has been public, candid, fair and above all petty feelings. At all times I have been guided by a high sense of justice, yielding to no scheme and influenced only for the good of all. My official conduct is in harmony with my utterances. The time will come when fair minded men will repudiate the malignity now exhibited. What I have done, I would do again under the same circumstances, so that I am at peace with myself. This is to me everything.⁵⁷

In regard to the organization of Sheridan County, Moonlight wrote the president of the Citizens' Business Club of Buffalo, Wyoming, "It becomes my duty to carry out the intentions of the law, although well convinced that it 'was born in sin, and brought forth in iniquity.'"⁵⁸ The first petitions for the organization of the new county were forwarded by the governor to Hugo Douzelmann, attorney general in Cheyenne, for examination to see if the provisions of the law had been fulfilled. The attorney general noted that the reference to the law creating the county was incorrectly stated, that the petition bearing the required three hundred signatures of residence was submitted in sixteen sections rather than as a unit, that some sections were not properly authenticated, and finally recommended that the governor could not legally take any action.⁵⁹ A month passed before the first commissioners were appointed and the county government organized.⁶⁰

56. Moonlight to Clay, April 12, 1888.

57. Moonlight to Daniel Prescott, Glenrock, Wyoming, May 22, 1888.

58. Moonlight to H. R. Mann, April 12, 1888.

59. Moonlight to Douzelmann, March 16, 1888; Douzelmann to Moonlight, March 19, 1888.

60. Moonlight to H. A. Coffeen, Sheridan, Wyoming, April 12, 1888. The commissioners named were Henry Baker of Dayton, Cornelius Boulware of Big Horn, and Marion C. Harris of Sheridan.

The county government of Natrona was not established until the following year. When citizens of the area first approached the governor on the subject he remarked, "I know full well from a personal examination of the county that there is not wealth or taxable property sufficient to sustain or support a county government. If the petition is in strict conformity with the law, I presume in the absence of sufficient protest the organization would have to go on."⁶¹ An extensive debate relative to the advisability of creating a government for Natrona County continued during January and February of 1889. The governor announced that all petitions, documents, and papers for and against the organization should be submitted at a public hearing on February 26.⁶² At the conclusion of the hearing he wrote a Casper resident who greatly desired the creation of the new county government that many of the three hundred people who signed the petition were known to him personally to be neither taxpayers nor electors. Furthermore, some forty men had requested that their names be withdrawn; twenty had been disqualified. He reminded the petitioner that the electoral records of Carbon County, which had included the new Natrona County, revealed that only two hundred and eight voters lived in the area. The tax assessors records revealed \$523,000 property evaluation in Natrona County. Those advocating the creation of the new government represented only \$40,000 of this property; their opponents the remaining \$487,000. The governor noted, "It should be remembered also that the owners of this large unrepresented sum are the men, if the county is organized, that it must lean upon for support morally and financially."⁶³ The Natrona County question was still in the controversial stages a month later when Moonlight terminated his term as governor.

Opposition to Statehood

During the Moonlight administration public opinion in Wyoming had slowly crystallized in favor of statehood. Old time residents and politicians had inaugurated a movement for admission into the Union, but Moonlight, disappointed that his optimistic plans for economic diversification and immigration into the territory had not been fulfilled, not only failed to cooperate but discouraged their activities. The issue largely hinged upon the population of the territory. Moonlight wrote the Interior Department that former Governor Warren had

61. Moonlight to V. C. Shickley, January 31, 1889.

62. Moonlight to Shickley, February 4, 1889; Moonlight to A. J. Bothwell, Sweetwater, Wyoming, February 4, 1889; Moonlight to Summer Beach, Glenrock, Wyoming, February 4, 1889.

63. Moonlight to Carl C. Wright, Casper, Wyoming, February 26, 1889.

overestimated the population in his reports of 1885 and 1886, and that as he had used Warren's figures as a basis, his own estimate of 85,000 for 1887 and 1888 was excessive. He was convinced toward the close of his administration that the population could not be more than 55,500.⁶⁴ Writing an old Kansas friend who encouraged him to work for statehood, the governor responded, "Wyoming is not ready for statehood. Patience!"⁶⁵ To many conservatively minded people who had admired the governor for his forthright viewpoints on controversial issues, this attitude regarding statehood was proof that he was not in sympathy with the progress of Wyoming.

The governor, moreover, never forgot the desires of his political party, and he revealed his partisan politics by participating in the election of Congressional delegate in 1888. Although he refused to address the territorial Democratic convention on the grounds that such action might be construed as an attempt to influence the choice of candidates and principles, he assured the members of his party that once they had chosen candidates, he was a Democrat and had "a right like any other citizen to render the nominees of my party such assistance as good citizenship has ever accorded," and that he would be found working until the polls closed.⁶⁶ Moonlight wrote the Secretary of the Interior that he had urged all officers appointed by the administration to remain away from nominating meetings and conventions of the Democrats for fear that charges of undue outside influence would be brought and perhaps split the party ranks. "There are many people in the party in Wyoming who have no love for us," he confided. The governor, in this same communication, asked and later received permission to campaign for his party's candidate for Congress, C. P. Organ, of Cheyenne, who had endorsed the Democratic administration in Washington.⁶⁷ Moonlight and his party were disappointed on election day for Organ was soundly defeated by Joseph M. Carey, influential member of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association and Republican candidate. One intelligent observer expressed very forcefully the concensus of opinion about Moonlight when he wrote

The present administration's appointees are not so satisfactory as it was hoped they would be, especially the governor. [He] seems to mean well enough but is lacking in practical knowledge and experience and is

64. Moonlight to William F. Vilas, December 11, 1888. The governor's figures were not extremely conservative for the official population in 1890 was declared to be 60,705.

65. Moonlight to Z. Jackson, Ellsworth, Kansas, December 10, 1888.

66. Moonlight to the territorial Democratic convention, October 5, 1888.

67. Moonlight to Vilas, October 8, 1888.

too contracted and narrow minded to administer the laws for this section of the country. Gov. Moonlight is pig-headed and dogmatic and he thinks he knows more about the wants of the Territory than any man that was ever in it.⁶⁸

No territorial governor ever took the responsibilities of his office more seriously than Thomas Moonlight and few advocated the principles which he deemed right more vociferously. That his views were not in harmony with prevailing opinion in Wyoming was obvious from the beginning of his administration; that he possessed a lack of judgment and fact was continuously displayed during his term. Moonlight antagonized the stockgrowers, the friends of the university, the legislators chosen by the people, and the advocates of statehood. These groups, representing a powerful bloc, joined the Republican territorial organization in a veritable crusade to remove the governor and to obtain the nomination of a local resident. Former Governor Warren became their candidate, and with the aid of delegate Carey and the territorial newspapers, both Democratic and Republican, Warren's name was again associated with the "home rule" movement. The election of Benjamin Harrison as president in 1888 assured his appointment.⁶⁹ Warren was named Moonlight's successor on March 29, 1889, and the turbulent administration came to a close.⁷⁰

68. John Hunton to Bullock, May 24, 1887. Letter files of John Hunton, Fort Laramie, March 18, 1883, to August 27, 1888. These letter books are in the Historical Records Room of the University of Wyoming Library and the author is indebted to Lola M. Homsher, Archivist, for the location and use of this letter. Hunton, an early freighter, came to Fort Laramie in 1867. He was clerk to the post trader for four years, started ranching on the Chugwater in 1871, and in 1888 was appointed post trader at Fort Laramie. When the post was dismantled, he purchased buildings and engaged in merchandising. *Progressive Men of Wyoming*.

69. W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Governorship of Wyoming, 1885-1889. A Study in Territorial Politics", *loc. cit.*, 7-11.

70. During the second Cleveland administration, Moonlight was named minister to Bolivia, a post which he held from 1893 to 1897. He died in February, 1899. Beard, *op. cit.*, 392-393.

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

October 16, 1945 to May 1, 1946

- Snow, Mrs. William C., Worland, Wyoming; donor of a silk flag and five letters, all with reference to woman suffrage. November 19, 1945.
- Hunt, Governor L. C., from the office of; governor's flag of Colorado, October 1945.
- Freund, Lieut. Colonel Archer F., P. O. Box 59, Cheyenne, Wyoming, c/o Mrs. E. R. Taylor; donor of one American flare gun; one Nazi flag from Eichen, Germany. January 1946.
- Marks, Miss Mary, Librarian, University of Wyoming; donor of one print 3"x6" of Dull Knife, Cheyenne Indian chief. November 1945.
- Morrison, W. W., 3922 Warren Avenue, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of twenty-one scenes along the Oregon Trail between the south Platte and the Sweetwater Rivers, (all in one frame). December 22, 1945.
- Williams, Major L. O., 2722 Warren Avenue, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of a German sub-machine gun, Bergman Q.M.M. automatic. January 9, 1946.
- Gregory, Ronald W., 612 E. 5th Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of a mammoth's tooth. January 15, 1946.
- Lanetot, Dr. Gustave, Dominion Archivist to Public Archives, 330 Sussex Street, Ottawa, Canada; donor of a 1737 map of the discoveries in the west of Canada, of oceans, rivers, lakes and Indian nations.
- Sevetson, Mrs. L. W., 810 W. 26th Street, Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one long photograph of Carey Avenue and 16th Street, Cheyenne in about 1900. February 25, 1946.
- Richardson, Warren, Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one large lithograph, in color, of the House of Lords, London, 1880, and one print, key to the lithograph. February 19, 1946.

Books—Purchased

- Dakota Historical Collections, Volume XIII, Hipple Printing Co., Pierre, South Dakota, 1926. Cost, \$2.35.

Gifts

- Burtscher, William J., *The Romance of Walking Canes*, Dorrance & Co., Philadelphia, 1945.

Miscellaneous Purchases

- One print of 16th Street, Cheyenne in 1869, from Mr. Barnard. January, 1946. Cost, \$1.00.
- One print of Indian delegation at Washington, D. C., in 1877. Taken in the Corcoran Galleries, Washington, D. C., April, 1946. Cost, \$.40.
- One print and negative of the Tweed Ranch, Lander, Wyoming, from Mr. Barnard, April, 1946. Cost, \$1.50.

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It is published in January and July, subscription price \$1.50 per year.

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