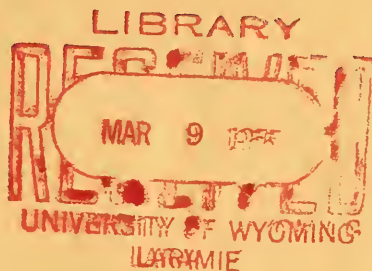


Annals of Wyoming

VOLUME 27

APRIL 1955

NUMBER 1



Official Publication
of the
WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Published Biannually
by
THE WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
CHEYENNE, WYOMING

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The ANNALS OF WYOMING is published semi-annually, in April and October, and is the official publication of the Wyoming State Historical Society. It is received by all members of that Society as a part of their dues. Individual copies of the current issues of the ANNALS OF WYOMING may be purchased for \$1.00 each. Available copies of earlier issues are also for sale. A price list may be obtained by writing to the Editor.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

A change in publication date of the *Annals of Wyoming* is being made with this issue. Publication date will henceforth be April and October rather than January and July.



Fort Caspar Restoration, general view taken in 1947

Platte Bridge Station and Fort Caspar

By

OLAF T. HAGEN*

Platte Bridge Station, enlarged and briefly known as Fort Caspar,¹ occupied an important place on the South Pass route to the Pacific Coast. Situated at the last or "upper crossing" of the North Platte, the historic cavalcade which passed it was a long one, traceable at least to 1812. Fur traders, missionaries, explorers, and emigrants were followed by communication and transportation services which enhanced the history of points on this route. When the Civil War broke out the speedier communications provided over this most direct overland route heightened its importance. On April 12, 1861, when the Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter opened, the Pony Express, which had demonstrated the feasibility of the route, was still in operation; that year the daily overland mail was transferred to this northern route; that fall the Pacific telegraph was completed. All passed Platte Bridge.

A small cantonment or "block station" was constructed for the shelter of garrisons who guarded the bridge and patrolled the travel routes. Its brief history was climaxed by an Indian fight on July 26, 1865, when a small force under Lt. Caspar Collins escaped the surrounding Indians only after the loss of their leader and several comrades. Although not among the decisive battles of Plains Indian warfare, this dramatic affair looms large among the heroic traditions of the Wyoming frontier. A restored stock-

*Olaf T. Hagen, who died in August 1949, wrote this paper in connection with studies relating to the historical program of the Region Two Office, National Park Service. The paper has been edited for publication by Westerner Merrill J. Mattes, the present Regional Historian, National Park Service.

1. The fort was so called in honor of Lt. Caspar Collins, but it appears that the order naming the post incorrectly spelled his name (Agnes Wright Spring, *Caspar Collins*, New York, 1927, p. 96). Although the misspelled name is given in Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* (Vol. 2, p. 466), writers familiar with the history of the post, Coutant, Hebard, and Hafen, in works to be referred to hereafter, all spell it "Fort Caspar," thus correcting the War Department's error whether official or not. Since the confusion has been created, there appears sufficient reason to accept the correct spelling even though it may be argued that the incorrect spelling is official.

ade, with crude log buildings adjoining, on the western edge of the modern city of Casper, Wyoming, is a reminder of this frontier episode.

Among the first, if not the first, to use the remarkable South Pass and North Platte River routes were the Astorians returning under Robert Stuart. Their abortive winter camp in 1812, described by Washington Irving, was not many miles west of the big bend of the river, where the later historic route continued westward toward the Sweetwater and South Pass.² These early fur traders found here a wilderness abounding in game. Bison, elk, bighorn sheep, and grizzly bear continued to be plentiful in the region even after heavy emigration had depleted vegetation and had driven the wildlife away from the immediate vicinity of the traveled route.³

A decade after the Astorians found it, the renowned South Pass had been rediscovered by other fur traders, and some of their traffic used this gradual ascent to the western mountains and valleys and others used it to push on to the Pacific shores. Missionaries with Nathaniel J. Wyeth, in 1834, after a fortnight or so along the Platte, bid adieu to the river with some regret, as did later travelers who found its valley not inhospitable. In 1836, "the first white women overland to the Pacific," the wives of the Oregon-bound missionaries, the Reverend H. H. Spalding and Dr. Marcus Whitman, reached the Platte River which, like other swollen streams to be crossed, was a barrier. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding camped on the south bank one Sunday, but their Sabbath quiet was disturbed by the men of the fur company building boats for the crossing.⁴ Contrary to some assertions, the river was not generally fordable to wagons carrying spoilable goods, except at certain seasons, although, like other streams—even the Missouri—it was commonly forded with herds of cattle.

2. The location of the Astorians' camp near the Platte Crossing is given as Bessemer, Wyoming (C. G. Coutant, *The History of Wyoming*, Laramie Wyo., 1899, Vol. 1, p. 112), and at the mouth of Poison Spider Creek, 18 miles west of Casper (Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 33).

3. W. J. Ghent, *The Road to Oregon* (New York, 1929). A synopsis of the early background is also found in Hebard and Brininstool, pp. 25-58. The wildlife is given some attention in *Astoria* by Washington Irving (New York, 1861, pp. 412-420). Other detailed observations are found in the original Collins papers appearing in the life of Caspar Collins, edited by Spring.

4. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon* (New York, 1844, p. 117). W. H. Gray, *History of Oregon* (Portland, 1870, p. 117). Mention is made of the crossing of the Platte below Red Buttes in 1836, where buffalo were killed and the sewed hides were stretched over willow frames to make boats. Mrs. Spalding's diary for July 26, 1836, is quoted, page 15 of *The Coming of the White Women*, 1836, by T. C. Elliott, reprinted from the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*.

Rushing out of narrow gorges of the Black Hills, as the mountains west of Fort Laramie were long known, the Platte here was a swift, deep, and cold stream during June and July when most of the emigrants reached this point. Late rains and early snows at times made it difficult to ford at other seasons.⁵

In 1839, men of the stamp of Sutter and Lassen were among the few who forged their way overland to California by way of Oregon. Soon they were followed by Bidwell, Applegate, Fremont, Burnett, and others prominent in early emigrations to the West Coast. From the diaries and accounts written by them and their fellow travelers can be reconstructed the story of the traffic over the trail as a whole or at some particular place as this crossing of the north fork of the Platte.⁶

In 1847, four years after the "great emigration" to Oregon, the Mormons were confronted with this obstacle on the route which they also took from "Winter Quarters" on the Missouri in seeking homes in the wilderness. To ease the difficulties of their following brethren, the enterprising "Saints" established a ferry in the vicinity of the upper crossing. A "leather skiff" was used by them.

Indians had known how to make bull boats which the fur traders also employed as well as rafts. Some of the emigrants developed their own version of the bull boat by nailing green buffalo hides flesh side out to wagon boxes used to ferry goods across the river. The variety of craft was considerable. Most were basically rafts. Early ferries were little more. Their buoyancy was increased when poles were fastened transversely across canoes shaped by hollowing out cottonwood logs. Some of these rafts or ferries, with ropes fastened to each end, were drawn to and fro by men standing on shore. Later they became "current

5. Earlier observers varied in their estimate of the width of the river. The differences may in part be attributed to different points at which the river was seen and the different seasons at which it was seen. Traveling with the Mounted Riflemen in 1849, Colonel Loring estimated the width at 150 yards and Major Osborne Cross with the same expedition estimated it at not over 400 yards. *The March of the Mounted Riflemen . . .*, Raymond E. Settle, ed. (Glendale, 1940, pp. 116, 333).

6. No attempt is made here to reconstruct the story from the original journals. In *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner*, Irene D. Paden (New York, 1945) has written in popular style a comprehensive story of the trail, based on a knowledge of the great number of the eyewitness accounts and the physical character of the country they described as seen today. Her 25-page bibliography, pages 479-504, is the most nearly exhaustive one available. While the bulk of the titles listed may be generally known, the list includes many manuscript accounts which have seldom been, if ever, used in published accounts. One chapter, "The Ferries of the North Platte," pages 192-201, deals particularly with the crossing concerned here. It is regrettable that Francis Parkman in his classic *Oregon Trail* gives no particular space to the crossing although he describes scenes in the nearby mountains and at La Bonte's.

ferries," guided by a pulley or pulleys on a rope or other cable stretched across the river.⁷ Some employed oars.

The Mormons found the ferrying of "gentiles" lucrative in a vital way. Here their service had the miraculous power of gaining provisions, more prized than gold in the distant wilderness. They continued in the business and "Mormon Ferry," located near the Upper Platte ford, was perhaps the best known of the ferries. There were, however, several ferries between the mouth of Deer Creek and the Red Buttes, some distant below which was the upper ford or last crossing. Some were transitory affairs, established by emigrants seeking to replenish their funds or supplies. As the route north of the river was developed, a portion of the traffic did not have to cross the North Platte at this point. But with the great swell in travel caused by the gold rush, there was no lack of patronage.⁸

Overland mail service to the settlements established by the Argonauts, Oregonians, and Mormons developed slowly during the fifties. A monthly mail service to Salt Lake City did not

7. Mormon Ferry became the designation of the crossing known as the "Upper Platte Ferry or Ford." See W. Clayton, *The Latter-Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide of 1848* (reproduced in *A Journal of the Birmingham Emigrating Company*, pages 137-176, by Leander V. Loomis, edited by Edgar M. Ledyard, Salt Lake City, 1928, p. 158). An 1850 guide indicates at least three ferries between Deer Creek and Red Buttes, there being some 28 or more miles between the "Upper" and "Lower" ferries (Hosea B. Horn, *Horn's Overland Guide*, New York, 1853, pp. 20-21). This guide locates this "third ferry" at 41° 50' 40" (Clayton, 158). Some of the incidents, including quotations from original accounts, related to the origin and location of Mormon Ferry are told by Coutant, I, 344, 364-365; *The Oregon Trail*, by the Federal Writers' Project (New York, 1939, pp. 180-182), quotes extensively from the journal of Appeltan Harmon, which is not listed alphabetically in the bibliography of that work (*Ibid.*, 228-230).

The craft used for crossing are described in several original accounts as suggested by Mrs. Paden. One of the most interesting descriptions is found in *Across the Plains and Among the Diggings* by Alonzo Delano (New York, 1936, pp. 34-37). Descriptions by Appeltan Harmon, quoted in the *Oregon Trail Guide* (p. 180) are also very good.

Much is said about the ferrying charges. They fluctuated a great deal, but, although the rate was lower at first, in 1849 and after a charge of \$4 to \$5 per wagon and from 50¢ to \$1 per head of stock appears general. Payment was often made in goods. The later toll bridge charges were not less. Consequently many tried to find a satisfactory ford before paying the price asked. When unsuccessful they were permitted to pay the toll in goods—even "baby wagons," which, though cherished, seemed unnecessary if they met the price exacted. Even the military, at times, decided that crossing on rafts of their own construction seemed unwise when at the Mormon Ferry wagons would be crossed for \$4 each and same guaranteed delivered on the other side without damage. Even using this precaution they were "so unfortunate as to have two men drown." Quoted by Settle (*op. cit.*, 112).

8. Delano (*op. cit.*, 36) is among those who mention transient ferry keepers.

meet its schedule with regularity. Military operations in Utah, however, caused increased governmental interest in improved service, and by 1858 the service to Salt Lake City was weekly. Like the earlier mail, which went westward from Council Bluffs or Omaha, the 1858 mail from Independence, Missouri, followed the route which crossed the Platte in the vicinity of the present Casper, Wyoming. The Utah Expedition, 1857-58, appears also to have led to the establishment in 1858 of a small temporary military station at the bridge which spanned the Platte at the upper crossing.)

(On June 13, 1858, Companies D and E of the 4th Artillery marched from Fort Kearny, Nebraska Territory, with instructions to occupy the bridge over the North Platte, and arrived and took post at the Platte Bridge on July 29, 1858. By General Orders No. 7, District of the Platte, dated April 13, 1859, the post was ordered abandoned as soon as possible. On May 1, 1859, Companies D and E, 4th Artillery, departed thence for Fort Laramie.)

In May 1859 the mail contract was assigned to Jones, Russell and Company, the operators of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express. Backed by the freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, the company, reorganized as the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, to provide speedier service and to demonstrate the practicability of the central route, launched the Pony Express. In 1861, when secession of the Southern States was imminent, the daily overland mail was transferred from the longer Butterfield route to this central line.¹⁰

(To facilitate the mail services and the freighting of supplies for the Utah Expedition, the crossing had been bridged. As early as 1853 emigrants found a structure some six or seven miles below Mormon Ferry. Near the latter place a second bridge was constructed late in the fifties. The existence of two rather costly bridges, so near each other in country so distant from the settlements, seems an incongruity but attests to the importance of the route.¹¹)

9. National Archives letter of September 4, 1947, by Elizabeth B. Drewry for Director War Records Office.

10. Le Roy Hafen, *The Overland Mail* (Cleveland, 1926), 53, 165, *et seq.*

11. The basic secondary source on the Platte Bridge appears to be Coutant (I, 364-367). He points out that the history of bridges in Wyoming is not too clear. Stating that the bridge at Mormon Ferry, above Casper, had been built in 1859 by Louis Ganard, he mentions also the one seven miles below it, constructed earlier by John Reshaw or Richaud. An 1865 participant in the military operations in the vicinity spoke of the "upper bridge" and the "lower bridge." He also located the fight of July 2 with the Indians as on "Reshaw (Richard) Creek, 4 miles from lower bridge." (Quoted in Hebard and Brininstool, I, 162-164.)

The publications of the Wyoming Landmarks Commission do not treat Mormon Ferry as a separate site. Their map, unlike some others, shows

Indian troubles along the central overland route, even with its great use, had been sporadic in the fifties. The Grattan massacre in 1854, Harney's Ash Hollow attack in 1855, and the Cheyenne Expedition in 1857 recall outstanding clashes. There were other conflicts but of no major consequence. Simultaneously with the outbreak of the Civil War there was a rash of depredations along this central route. Ostensibly, for this reason the daily overland mail soon was transferred to the more southern Cherokee Trail in the summer of 1862. That was the year of the Sioux outbreak in Minnesota. There is little proof, however, that any of these Indian troubles were of Confederate inspiration.¹²

The loot to be gained from plundering the relatively unprotected communication lines was sufficient incentive for some depredation along travel routes, and growing discontent, as a result of dealings with white men, was not such as to deter even peacefully inclined tribes from making violent demonstrations of their resentment. Until the Civil War was virtually over, however, the Government's policy toward Indians along the Platte route was sporadic and less punitive than it was after the War Department was less busy on other fronts. General Connor's "Battle of Bear River" (Utah, January 29, 1863), in which over 200 Indians were killed, and the notorious Sand Creek massacre (Colorado, November 24, 1864), under Col. J. M. Chivington, were exceptions; but they showed the Indians that the temper of some of the military leaders on the frontier could be unmerciful.¹³

The guarding of the overland routes west from Fort Laramie to South Pass was entrusted largely to the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry until 1865 when considerable reinforcements arrived to operate under General Connor in the Powder River Indian Expedition.¹⁴ It was apparently with some disappointment that members of the Ohio regiment found themselves diverted from other battle fronts to Indian country. Serving almost continuously from 1862 to 1866, some of the regiment found pleasures as well as risks in this frontier assignment where they certainly were spread thin over a large area.¹⁵

Platte Bridge somewhat nearer Casper than the Mormon Ferry. *First Biennial Report of the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming, 1927-1928* (Casper, 1929, map following p. 34).

Although it is probable that the bridge and ferry were not on identical land, it seems they were in proximity.

12. Frederic L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (New York, 1928, pp. 227, 235, 243 *et seq.*); Hafen, 230.

13. *Ibid.*, 241-249; Spring, *Caspar Collins*, 45.

14. In 1862 Caspar Collins mentioned two companies of regular cavalry and a Mormon company. Letter of June 16, 1862, reproduced by Spring, *op. cit.*, 118.

15. *Ibid.*, 86.

(The removal of the daily mail to the southern Cherokee Trail in 1862 nearly doubled the mileage to be protected by troops between Fort Kearny and Bridger's Pass. The telegraph line on the North Platte route still had to be maintained and required military protection.) While small details of troops were distributed to smaller stations, on the southern route Fort Halleck and Camp Collins became important military points. Escorts, of course, could aid the mail coaches in getting through, but, as depredations increased, the operators withdrew their stock from dangerous parts of the route and discontinued operations, demanding garrisons of at least 30 men at each station.¹⁶

Fort Laramie, on the North Platte route, continued to be the hub of military operations for both routes.¹⁷ Besides posts, as Camp Mitchell near Scottsbluff to the eastward, at least eight stations were maintained between Fort Laramie and South Pass in the following order: Horseshoe Creek, La Bonte or Marshall, Deer Creek, Platte Bridge,¹⁸ Sweetwater, Three Crossings, Saint Mary's or Rocky Ridge, and South Pass, near Pacific Springs. For a time at least these were constituted into two divisions of four stations each, with the eastern group's headquarters at La Bonte and the western one at Three Crossings or the Sweetwater.¹⁹

The details assigned to these "block stations" varied in size, but they were small, consisting at times of only half a dozen or less men. One company had to garrison several posts and escort emigrants or mails or Government wagon trains.²⁰

16. *Ibid.*, 42-49.

17. Le Roy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, 1938, pp. 303-330).

18. National Archives data, apparently not complete, Miss Drewry's letter of September 4, 1947, states the muster rolls of Co. G, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, show it was stationed at Platte Bridge from October 1864 until July 22, 1865. According to the rolls the detachment at Platte Bridge commenced building the fort on February 2, 1865, and finished all but the corral and stables on February 20.

19. For descriptions of these posts, see Spring, *op. cit.*, 70 n2; 71 n1, 2, 3, & 4; 74 n1; 75 n1; 77 n1; also 61 n1, 2, 80.

Several contemporary illustrations of those posts have survived. A few of them are by Caspar Collins, Co. G, 11th Ohio, and some by C. Moellman, a bugler in the same company. A partial list of references to these follows: Horseshoe Creek, by Moellman (Hebard, I, 83); La Bonte or Camp Marshall (Coutant, 368; Hebard, I, 103); Deer Creek, by Collins (Spring, frontispiece; Coutant, 361; Hebard, I, 103); Platte Bridge, by Collins (Spring, 66; Hebard, I, 173; also opposite p. 352, "The Eleventh Kansas Regiment at Platte Bridge," by S. H. Fairfield, pp. 352-362, *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society*, Vol VIII, 1903-1904); Sweetwater, by Collins (Spring, 34; Hebard, I, 83); Three Crossings (Hebard, I, 83); St. Mary's or Rocky Ridge (Hebard, I, 87); Bridger Pass (Hebard, I, 121; Hafen, *Overland Mail*, 343).

Collins, when in charge of the western division made his headquarters at the Sweetwater Station (Spring, 74, 158).

20. *Ibid.*, 74, 76.

The appearance of the posts was as varied as their numbers for, except possibly for the sod roofs, there is little that can be classed as typical. While often described as stockaded, they had a less formidable appearance than did their prototype of the fur-trading era east of the Rockies or the "block house era" in the Pacific Northwest. Primarily these places were small "cantonments." Besides sheltering troops, however, they also housed the telegraph station and operator and at some, as in the case of the Platte Bridge Station, there was a trading post and the dwelling of the toll bridge owner. Some of the posts showed the influence of earlier developed telegraph and stage stations from which they evolved.²¹

The life of the troops assigned to garrison these posts can be glimpsed in the work on Caspar Collins by Agnes Wright Spring. This publication contains detailed descriptions of several of the posts and reproduces many of the letters by Lt. Caspar Collins and his father, Col. William O. Collins, who commanded the 11th Ohio until 1865. Either from a desire for refraining from alarming relatives at home or because of a natural inclination, young Collins appeared to have been more preoccupied with his observations on ethnology, the flora and fauna, and hunting and sketching familiar scenes on his route than with fighting Indians. By 1865 he is said to have succeeded to the command of his company, having charge of the four stations in the western division, that is, from the Sweetwater to South Pass.²² Every fortnight or so he made the rounds of these posts, covering 104 miles. The bitter cold of December 1864 did not stop him from riding 220 miles, mostly alone, to Fort Laramie.²³ Still, he had scarcely arrived on the plains in 1862 when he prophetically and wisely observed: "I never saw so many men so anxious in my life to have a fight with the Indians. But ponies are faster than American horses, and I think they will be disappointed."²⁴

The Indians periodically took up their annoying forays, stealing horses and other stock and now and then killing a man, and occasionally taking a woman or child captive. They cut the telegraph lines, attacked and destroyed mail coaches, and burned stations, interrupting communication and transportation services. Generally, the depredations were committed by small bands which

21. Hebard and Brininstool, I, 135. National Archives letter by Miss Drewry, September 4, 1947, states that muster rolls of Co. G, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, show post built February 2-20, 1865, except for corral and stables. This times very closely with the Mud Spring's fight.

22. Miss Drewry, September 4, 1947, states that Lt. H. C. Bretney commanded the company.

23. Spring, 71-2, 74, 158, 171-73.

24. Collins' letters, April 15, 1865, December 13, 1864, June 30, 1862. *Ibid.*, 121-122, 158-159, 168-170.

swooped down on isolated posts, running off stock and even cutting telegraph wires within a few yards of the stations, but seldom stopping for a standing fight as some military men hoped they would do. Pursuing troops had difficulty in making contact with them. After the attack on the Mud Springs Station, some 100 miles east of Fort Laramie, Colonel Collins, early in February 1865, did succeed in overtaking an unusual concentration, estimated as high as 2,000 warriors, and in July the number in the fight at Platte Bridge was estimated at 1,000 or more warriors.²⁵

This gathering along the route has been interpreted by some as evidence of a planned general Indian uprising.²⁶ Others have asserted that the concentrations were in part the results of Sully's expeditions against the Sioux in Dakota and the treatment of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Sand Creek.²⁷ On the whole, the Indians appear to have made no real concerted effort at particular points on the route, but rather it was small parties that plundered the route where they could. These attacks well may have been the normal reactions of different Indians to similar provocations in different areas.²⁸ The festering of cumulative causes of Indian discontent arising out of the encroachments of the aggressor nation was not helped by the aggressive attitude of some military leaders. When two Sioux chiefs, Two Face and Black Foot, were brought into Fort Laramie, in May 1865, with the captive Mrs. Eubank and daughter, victims of a raid, Colonel Moonlight, of the 11th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, Commanding, meted out arbitrary punishment. He derisively reported his action: "I concluded to

25. Because of the nature of the work the significance of the engagements may appear to be somewhat overemphasized by Mrs. Spring, especially if compared with the more casual treatment given these same events in more general studies by Hafen or Paxson.

In a list of 19 engagements of the 11th Ohio (Spring, 97) for the period from November 1862 to August 1865, 15 were fought between February 6 and July 26, 1865. See report by Col. Wm. O. Collins, March 2, 1865, and mention by Lt. Collins' letter of April 15, 1865 (Spring, 170).

26. "Gathering of the Tribes" is the title of one chapter by Mrs. Spring which speaks of the concentration of the Indians in the Powder River country. George B. Grinnell, *Fighting Cheyennes* (New York, 1915), 185-194.

27. Hebard and Brininstool (*op. cit.*, 125, 129, 138) give a rather alarming picture of the situation which reflects the tone of reports of some of the military leaders. The feeling is suggested that the Indians were in complete control of the district. Colonel Moonlight, of the 11th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, commanding at Fort Laramie, is quoted as confirming the opinion of other officers when he stated: "The Indians are now determined to make it a war of extermination and nothing short of five thousand men can make it extermination for them."

28. Paxson, *op. cit.*, 244.

tie them up by the neck with a trace-chain, suspended from a beam of wood, and leave them without any foothold."²⁹

Moonlight was soon mustered out of service. He was discredited when shortly after this hanging incident the Indians made away with his command's horses while he was on an expedition against them after one of their bands had turned on their soldier escort and escaped to join the hostiles.³⁰

Friends of the Indians asserted that reenforcement of the hostiles' forces was due in part to rumors of harsh measures with which they were threatened by the military.³¹ Unfortunately, these rumors were too well founded in fact. General Connor announced that bands of Arapahoe and Sioux who had been fed near Fort Halleck and Camp Collins, suspecting that their part in the depredations along the mail route had been discovered, left for the warpath. He declared that "none of them are to be trusted. They must be hunted like wolves. The severest punishment is necessary before we can have any peace with them." He ordered that all Indians along the mail route be treated as hostiles and that no quarter be shown males over 12 years of age.³²

The depredations of the Indians were actually of such report that the Department of the Interior had turned the troubles over to the War Department. "We have got these Indian matters now in our hands and we must settle them" wrote General Dodge to Connor on July 21, 1865.³³ Although a scout on the Little Arkansas had been ordered by General Sanborn to be careful to observe instructions requiring that no acts of hostilities be committed by the troops unless attacked,³⁴ General Dodge informed him "When you get there [Indian country] you can determine whether you can make peace safely before whipping them. If not fight them, and then make the agreement. I want it settled

29. Hebard and Brininstool, I, 149-150.

30. Hafen, *Fort Laramie*, 334.

31. Vital Jarrot, U. S. Indian Agent for the Upper Platte Agency, blamed the threats of army officials for driving friendly Indians to join the hostiles. (Letter of August 8, 1865, in *House Ex. Doc.*, 39th Cong. 1 Sess., Ser. No. 1248, p. 617.) He also mentioned misdeeds of Indian Agents which alienated some of the tribes (July 15, 1865, *Ibid.*, 616-617). His observation may reasonably be assumed to have been directed at Connor's orders.

32. See P. Edw. Connor, Brig. Gen., Commanding, District of the Plains, Fort Laramie, July 3, 1865, to Maj. Gen. G. M. Dodge, Department of the Missouri, in *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. 48, pt. 2 (102), p. 1045. (*War of the Rebellions Compilation of official records of Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington, 1880-1901, 70 vols. in 130.)

33. Dodge to Connor, July 21, 1865. *Ibid.*, 48, pt. 2 (102), pp. 1112, 1115.

34. Maj. John H. Sanborn, Fort Riley, Headquarters Upper Arkansas District, July 13, 1865. *Ibid.*, 48, pt. 2 (102), p. 1077.

while you are in the country, and they can see our power and you understand in making any agreement we can only make it for a cessation of hostilities, keeping away from our lines of travel, and we desisting from molesting them."³⁵

General Pope, superior to both Dodge and Connor, had heard "from several sources unpleasant news about General Connor's doings."³⁶ Loathe to believe anything to his discredit, he asked Dodge to look into it. When he received copies of the orders issued the commanders of the assembling Powder River Indian Expedition, reading "You will not receive overtures of peace or submission from Indians, but will attack and kill every male Indian," Pope officially denounced them as "atrocious" and "in direct violation of my repeated orders." He commanded that these infamous orders be rectified without delay on threatened penalty of the officer's commission, if not worse.³⁷

Still, Pope wrote to Dodge stating that he did not wish to interfere "with your expeditions until they are over,"³⁸ and preparations for the Powder River Expedition, under General Connor, were allowed to go ahead.

Fate may have sided with the Indians for the punitive expedition did not get under way without difficulties. Although the meeting of Generals Grant and Lee at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9 had freed the War Department to give more attention to Indian warfare, retrenchment made it necessary to hurry the reduction of the military forces to the essential minimum. In addition, many of the reenforcements arriving in the Indian country consisted of volunteer regiments having many members who felt that since the war was over their term of service was up. Their defiance of orders was termed mutinous by officers who had no less harsh medicine to bring about their subordination than for the Indians.³⁹

The seriousness of the threat to Platte Bridge in 1865 is not altogether evident. The success of the Indians in stopping mail service and in breaking telegraphic service was considerable. Some weeks after the Mud Springs attack, the Indians resumed their forays against the southern route. The mail service was again interrupted. Several stations were abandoned. On June 8

35. Dodge to Sanborn, July 24, 1865. *Ibid.*, 48, pt. 2, pp. 192, 1117.

36. *Ibid.*, 48, pt. 1, 352, Pope to Dodge, August 7, 1865.

37. *Ibid.*, 48, pt. 1, 356.

38. *Ibid.*, 48, pt. 1, 352, 356.

39. Hafen, *Fort Laramie*, 337. Many references to conduct of different volunteers termed mutinous are found in materials published in the *Official Records* cited. 48, pt. 2 (102), 1059, 1084, 1112, 1122-1123. Connor ordered one mutinous regiment suppressed "with grape and canister," and the leaders brought to trial; but others he felt he could not punish because they were scattered, and their services could not be dispensed with.

the Sage Creek Station was burned. The operators lost several head of stock and withdrew the balance from the exposed sections of the line. They did not want to resume service until larger military garrisons were provided.⁴⁰

The telegraph service was also broken by the cutting of the wires and burning of poles. Toward the end of May, St. Mary's Station was burned and lines were cut for some distance, at times quite close to the stations. A scout in force developed no fights and found only a barren country.

On June 3, Indians appeared near the Platte Bridge. The sergeant commanding called for help from troops from nearby Camp Dodge and did what appears to have been the common practice, "ordered the men to fire on the Indians." Three shots from the 12-pound howitzer "drove the Indians over the bluffs." Soon Colonel Plumb was chasing them for five miles or so. In this fray the casualties were small as was usually the case in such fights.⁴¹

On July 25, the Indians appeared again near the Platte Bridge. This time they came in larger force. Again help was called for. A Cheyenne chief, Highbacked Wolk, was killed. Before his body was recovered by the Indians it is said to have been scalped and mutilated by some soldiers in retaliation for the mangling of their fallen comrades.⁴²

During the night of July 25 or early in the morning of July 26, Lt. H. C. Bretney and a detail of men en route from the West to Fort Laramie arrived at the Platte Bridge Station. They reported passing a wagon train with a military escort also eastward bound. Therefore, on the morning of July 26 Lieutenant Collins, who had been on the plains since 1862 and who recently had arrived at the station on his way back to his posts to the westward, either volunteered or was ordered to lead what has been called a "forlorn hope" to relieve and bring in the wagon train.⁴³ With 25 men he set forth across the bridge. Soon the force was surrounded by Indians rising from ambush in the ravines. In a charging retreat, all but five of the force escaped the foe, but Collins and four enlisted men lost their lives. Mrs. Spring has reconstructed what happened as follows:

The evidence is not exactly clear, but it appears that Collins ordered a retreat by his left, which movement faced his command towards the post and left him as rear guard. The Indians were by that time

40. Hafen, *Fort Laramie*, 329-337; *ORWOR*, 48, pt. 1, 255, 294, 295, 296, 815.

41. *ORWOR*, 48, pt. 1, 296; Spring 77. Two men are listed as killed in this affair. In proportion to the number engaged, such losses were high. Colonel Plumb was later U. S. Senator from Kansas (Coutant, I, 478).

42. Spring, 81-83. Sgt. Isaac B. Pennick and Lt. Wm. Y. Drew, Co. I, 11th Kansas Cavalry, in Hebard and Brininstool, I, 160, 182.

43. Spring, 82-85; Hebard and Brininstool, I, 166-172, 183-200.

massed so closely around the little band that they were afraid to shoot for fear of killing each other, and consequently the fighting was for the most part hand to hand.

One man who was riding beside Lieutenant Collins said that Caspar was shot in the hip as he rode down the hill, but that he said nothing about it, so that the soldier could not tell whether the wound was severe. When they reached the bottom of the hill, Caspar heard the cries of a wounded soldier who had fallen from his horse and went back to his rescue. Caspar reached the wounded man, whom he partially raised and tried to assist to a position in front of him, when his horse became unmanageable and whirled. Collins was last seen with both revolvers drawn as his horse dashed into the crowd of Indians. His horse, which was wounded and later captured by the Cheyennes, was known as hard-headed and was always running away.⁴⁴

A day or two later the bodies of the slain were searched for. The horribly mangled remains of Caspar Collins were found some distance from the fight. Only one of the victims appears to have escaped these indignities.⁴⁵

On the day of this Platte Bridge fight, the wagon train was approaching the vicinity of the Red Buttes, within a few miles of the bridge, when the Indians fell upon it. Of a force of about 25, only 3 escaped. The treatment of the victims was even more fiendish than that handed those who failed to escape to the bridge earlier that day. Officials of the Indian Service agreed that the atrocities were "very numerous and shockingly revolting" in their details.⁴⁶ Friendly agents, critical of the military, saw "the necessity of keeping the Indians from the main roads."

The casualties of the troops in the fights of July 26 at Platte Bridge and the Red Buttes numbered 26 or 27 killed and 9 wounded. Through the gloom cast by this loss there appeared to the troops one bright ray: Scouts reported that "the Indians threw away all scalps they had taken. . . a sure sign they had lost more than they had killed."⁴⁷ The number of Indians engaged is variously estimated. The official report given the day after the fighting by General Connor reads:

One thousand Indians attacked Platte Station on Tuesday; fighting two days. Lieutenant Collins, Eleventh Ohio Cavalry and 25 men, Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, killed; 9 wounded. Bodies scalped and horribly mutilated. Note picked up on field to-day evidently written by a prisoner who stated that he was captured on the Platte, states the Indians say they do not want peace and expect an increase of

44. Spring, 86-87.

45. *Ibid.*, 94; Fairfield, 359-360.

46. *House Ex. Doc.*, 39 Cong, 1 Sess. (Ser. 1248), pp. 581-4, E. B. Taylor, Supt., Northern Superintendency, Omaha, Nebr., September 15, 1865.

47. *ORWOR*, 48, pt. 1, 358.

1,000 men to their force. They are now three miles west destroying the telegraph line. The left column is now en route there; the balance will leave in two days. I start for Platte Bridge myself on Saturday.⁴⁸

Connor's Powder River Indian Expedition, which had been assembling for a final settlement of these Indian troubles by force, finally got under way with a considerable body of troops. It did mete out harsh punishment to all Indians it caught, but it failed in accomplishing its intended settlement of the Indian problem by whipping them in a "standing fight" or trapping large numbers and thus crushing them. There was no repetition of the battles or massacres at Ash Hollow, Bear River, or Sand Creek. As young Lieutenant Collins had foreseen, the alerted Indians used their greater mobility to advantage, and ran away. More moderate voices prevailed upon governmental officials to change their policy. Connor was soon relieved of the command in the district and peace emissaries were sent out to the Indians.⁴⁹

The Platte Bridge Station escaped further troubles. During 1865 it was apparently made a permanent post and enlarged, and on November 21 it was renamed "Fort Caspar" by an order reading:

II. The Military Post situated at Platte Bridge, between Deer and Rock Creeks, on the Platte River, will be hereafter known as Fort Casper, in honor of Lt. Casper Collins, 11th Ohio Cavalry, who lost his life while gallantly attacking a superior force of Indians at that place.⁵⁰

Unfortunately the order misspelled the name of the fallen hero whom it honored.

Negotiations with the Indians led to a treaty providing for the opening of the Powder River or Bozeman road, traversing choice Sioux hunting grounds. But when Forts Phil Kearny, C. F. Smith, and Reno were established on that route in 1866, the resentful Indians soon held them virtually in constant state of siege. On December 21, 1866, they annihilated Fetterman and his command of 80 men. In the Wagon Box Fight the next August, the Sioux were repulsed, but they did not accede to the

48. *Ibid.*, 357, July 27, 1865, by E. P. Connor. The note picked up after the battle is published by Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, I, 192.

49. Hafen, *Fort Laramie*, 338; Hebard and Brininstool, I, 237-261; Coutant, I, 505-539; Grinnell, 203-4. When Connor returned to his base at Camp Connor he found orders recalling him and relieving him of the command, and peace negotiations were ordered in this district as they had been in the Arkansas District and in Dakota.

50. Hebard and Brininstool (I, 175), as did Coutant before them (I, 478), reproduce the order spelling the name "Fort Caspar." See Note 1 above.

The short life of Fort Caspar as such was no doubt due to the fact that while fairly close to the focal point where the Bozeman Trail crossed the route to the Pacific it was not at the junction where Fort Fetterman was established.

treaty of 1868 creating the Great Sioux Reservation until the objectionable forts were abandoned.⁵¹

One fort established in 1867 where the Bozeman Trail crossed the Oregon Trail and the North Platte near La Bonte or Marshall Station at the mouth of La Prele Creek was named for the leader of the Fetterman disaster. It continued until 1878. Even before its establishment, however, the importance of the post at the site of the Platte Bridge fight had waned and in 1867 the new Fort Caspar was abandoned.⁵²

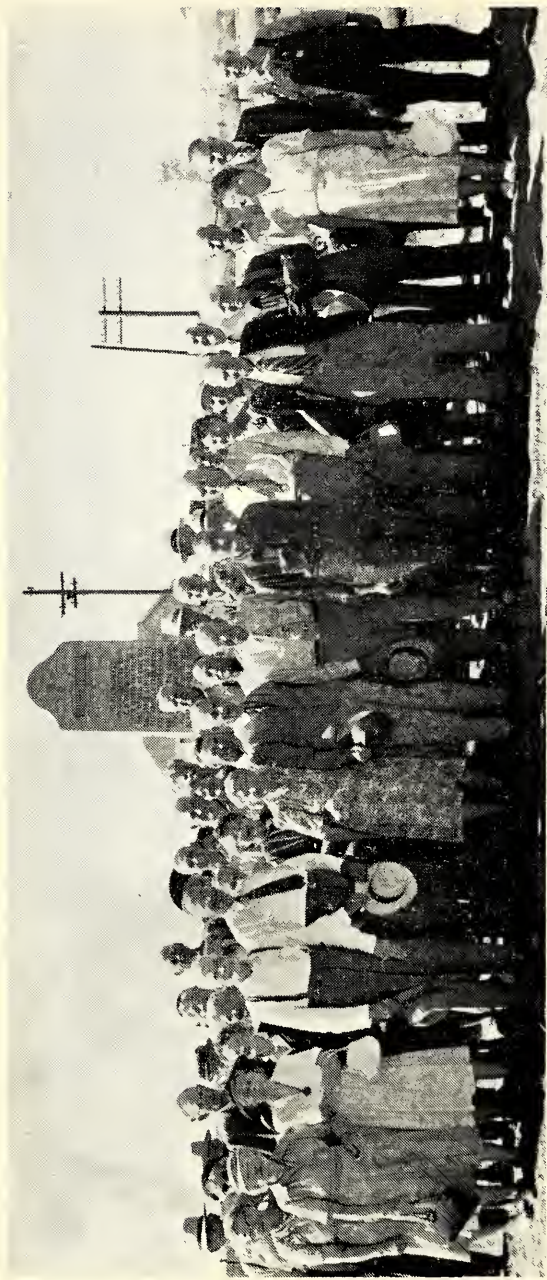
Plans and pictures of Fort Caspar suggest that it was of the general type of western Army post or fort as these military cantonments were called.⁵³ Incorporated in it were parts of the old block station, the enlargement of which is said to have been ordered during 1865.⁵⁴ It was the Platte Bridge Station known to young Collins and his comrades rather than Fort Caspar, however, which represented the climactic period of this site. The temporary crude block station, simply constructed out of peeled logs and with sod roofs, the inelegant dirt-floor quarters of the officers, and the small squad rooms and mess rooms pushed right up against the stable and corral are not things of beauty even in their present reconstructed state. But to the trooper and soldier guarding overland communications, they must have been a source of physical comfort after patrols through subzero winter weather and an ideal refuge when confronted by a foe numerically superior. Thus the station, like others of similar construction, served a real military purpose.

51. Hafen, *Fort Laramie*, 339-361.

52. Coutant, I, 594; Drewry, *op. cit.*

53. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.* p. 480. The illustration appears to be an idealized one. An undated plan (after 1865) obtained from the National Archives shows the arrangement of the post before the expansion had been completed. The new developments were further away from the river than was the station.

54. The above plan mentions some buildings as worthless. From it, it appears that the one wing of the Platte Bridge Station was returned completely to civilian use. Buildings numbered 18, 19, and 20 of the plan are described thereon as the "Bridge Proprietor's dwellings and store—W.U. Telegraph Office—Boarding House and Rancho," respectively. These appear to be part of the old station buildings. Copies of a sketch plan of the earlier station by Collins are also available. There was also a "Post Sutler's Store (Old Fort Block House)" and a "Mormon Supply Depot."



*Oldtimers at Dedication of State Marker of Original Townsite of Worland
August 27, 1954.*

1st row, left to right: Myrtle Compton, Mrs. Frank S. Coulter, Mrs. C. F. Robertson, Alex Leiper, W. A. Woodrow, Ruth Palmer Kennedy, Mrs. A. A. Palmer, A. A. Palmer, H. Clyde Shirk, Albert Bosch, Charles Watkins, S. S. Halstead, Frank Farley, Mrs. W. F. Bragg, Sr., Wellington Rupp, J. D. McNutt.

2nd row: Herb Horel, Mrs. Horel, J. S. Russell, Mrs. J. S. Russell, Mrs. Emile Faure, Mrs. H. Clyde Shirk, Mrs. W. A. Woodrow, Dean Palmer, Loyd Wilson, Mrs. Loyd Wilson, Robert E. Stine, Roy Russell, Mrs. Roy Russell, Mary Bosch White, W. F. Bragg, Sr., Gaden Russell.

3rd row: Joe Salzman, Mrs. Salzman, Mrs. E. M. Conant, J. L. McClellan, Mrs. Elizabeth Bosch George (black hat), George Wortham, Mrs. Wortham, Amandus Erickson, Mrs. Erickson (Esther Claycomb), Mrs. R. H. Stine, C. H. Stark, Elmer Packer, Guy Woodrow, P. F. McClure.

Dedication of Worland Townsite Marker

By

MARY F. BRAGG*

A low hill west of the Big Horn River, surmounted by modern farm buildings now, but scarred by indentations where the first Worland settlers lived in dugouts and cabins, looms above a stone marker of enduring granite. At this spot adjacent to Highway 20 and not far distant from the river bridge, old timers and many of the younger generation, Washakie county and Worland city officials with Joseph S. Weppner, Cheyenne, secretary of the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming and scores of others met on Friday 2 P.M., August 27, 1954 to pay tribute to the pioneers whose dreams converted a raw sage and greasewood desert into a green and fertile valley.

The occasion was the dedication of the monument marker of the original town-site of Worland. The monument, installed on a site deeded to the Landmark Commission by the Holly Sugar Corporation, serves as a silent reminder to all who pass of perils overcome and prosperity assured for future generations. Sponsored by the Worland Woman's Club, organized in 1914, through a committee of the Past Presidents with Mrs. William F. Bragg, chairman, the project took shape last year when the commission agreed to furnish the marker.

On the face of the marker is a fine example of the stone carver's art. It is an engraving of the first postoffice and stage station erected and operated by C. H. "Dad" Worland, original homesteader on the site and for whom the settlement was named.

Records from "Historical Review and Development of the Worland Valley" by the late C. F. Robertson, first mayor of Worland, indicate that the log cabin was established as a post-office with C. H. "Dad" Worland as the first postmaster in 1904, about the time of the incorporation of the Hanover Land and Irrigation Company on June 20, 1904.

The survey party for the company was headed by Mr. Robertson. Officers, now deceased, were W. L. Culbertson, Carroll, Ia., president; Rev. D. T. Pulliam, Loveland, Colo., vice president; R. E. Coburn, Carroll, Ia., treasurer; Mr. Robertson, Omaha, Neb., secretary and manager. The original sponsors included Dr. N. B. Rairden, Supt. of Baptist Missions for several western states.

Many avenues and streets of Worland, when incorporated on the east side of the river, were named in memory of the pioneers and town founders.

Mr. Robertson tells in his book of arriving in camp west of the river in 1903 with the group to survey future irrigation lines. Here he first met "Dad" Worland who had homesteaded near Fifteen Mile Creek and was then living in a dugout which he called "The Hole in the Wall". The genial pioneer had been all over the west trailing sheep from Oregon and Washington east and engaging in a myriad of other enterprises. He first came to the Big Horn Basin selling fruit trees for the Stark Nurseries of Missouri. A hundred miles from the nearest railroad he took up his land, dug in, and waited cheerfully for civilization to come his way. Which—eventually—happened.

Old timers were invited to meet near the original "dug-out" and select the site for the marker on Dec. 13, 1953 with the Worland Woman's Club committee. Early day residents present were E. M. Conant and the late Mrs. Conant, Messers and Mesdames Lloyd Wilson, Noel Morgan, Fritz Loudan, George C. Muirhead, A. G. Johnson, Herb Horel, Mrs. Henry Mammen, Mrs. Elsie Shryack, Frank S. Coulter and committee members Mesdames Bragg, St. Clair, Bartholomew and Waldo.

To obtain the deed from the Holly Sugar Corporation for the site selected Mrs. Bragg appointed E. M. Conant, George C. Muirhead, Noel Morgan, Lloyd Wilson and Frank S. Coulter to the committee. Mr. Glen Yeager, Worland Holly Sugar superintendent, was very helpful. The marker was placed on the site July 15, 1954.

Joseph L. McClellan of Billings, Mont., who was a clerk for "Dad" Worland in the early days sent the picture of the old log cabin which was selected to be used on the marker at an open meeting for all pioneers interested in choosing the most suitable picture. With the picture he wrote that his duties consisted mainly of collecting thirty-five cents per meal from each patron arriving on the stage from Garland to Thermopolis. He was a lad of sixteen and was proud that "Dad" said it was the first time his hotel ever made him any money.

Below the engraving on the marker is the inscription:

"To all pioneers and in memory of C. H. "Dad" Worland for whom the town is named. He erected the stage station on the old Bridger Trail about 100 yards north of here. That spot was the original townsite established in 1904. The town moved across the river in 1906. Erected by the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming."

Dedication ceremonies were in charge of Mr. Weppner. After selections by the Worland Junior High School band directed by

Basil Broadbent, the Rev. Arthur P. Schnatz, D.D., pastor of the Zion Evangelical Lutheran church gave the invocation in memory of the pioneers.

Frank R. Watson, mayor of Worland, gave the welcome address and introduced Mr. Weppner.

Giving a brief history of the Landmark Commission, Mr. Weppner thanked the Worland Woman's Club for their request for the marker saying that it is the first request from the Big Horn Basin. He said that over thirty markers have been placed since the 1927 state legislature established the Commission when the late Frank Emerson, former Worland resident, was governor. Warren Richardson, chairman; and Mr. Weppner, secretary; both of Cheyenne, are the only original members left and have served continuously since appointed.

Glen Yeager, Holly Sugar Corporation superintendent at Worland, and Mr. McClellan of Billings, Mont. were introduced by Mr. Weppner. He thanked Mr. Yeager on behalf of the state for the site and to Mr. McClellan he expressed appreciation for the photograph used on the marker. Both responded with short talks.

Wellington Rupp of Seattle, Wash. told some early day history. He said that his father the late A. G. Rupp had located a post-office called Welling west of the river from Rairden in 1900. The log store and postoffice building was the only one between Thermopolis and Basin City. Goods were brought from Montana and later from Garland, Wyoming by six horse teams and Studebaker tandem wagons. The Rupp family, consisting of father, mother, two sons and a daughter, also cared for travellers coming through by stage or their own buckboards. The father also operated a ferry across the river. Later Rupp moved to Worland in 1904.

Another speaker telling of early days was Wilbur A. Woodrow of Thermopolis, whose wife Gertrude is the daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Frank Thomas, pioneer operators of the Hotel Elma which was later moved across the frozen river in January 1906 with many other buildings as the C. B. and Q. R. R. was laying the track on the east side of the river. There was no bridge spanning the river as today.

Mr. Woodrow pointed out locations of many buildings of the old town including the hospital, Hanover office managed by E. M. Conant, Bebb's Store in charge of the late Ashby Howell, Sam Black's Hardware Store, Big Horn Canal office, Hotel Elma, McIntyre's Barber Shop (McIntyre was also town marshal and justice of the peace), the late O. C. Morgan's livery barn (he brought many landseekers by rig from the nearest railroad point at Garland), Rupp's Store, part of which was used for a school-room (Miss Carrie Ley then Mrs. Alice Rhodes were the first teachers, assisted by Robert E. Stine), the Chinese Laundry, the

stage station and postoffice. Among some of the anecdotes he told were of Ashby Howell's ferry across the river also of a packrat incident at the cattle camp of Ray S. Hake. The camp was located on the site of the present Worland railroad depot.

Verification of the original townsite being on the old Bridger Trail first marked in 1866 by the famous Jim Bridger as a safe road to the Montana Gold Fields is contained in a photostatic copy of a U. S. War Department map of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers and their tributaries explored by Capt. W. F. Reynolds, US Top. Engs. and 1st Lieut. H. E. Maynadier, 10th US Infantry in 1859 through 1860 and revised up to the year of 1876 by Maj. G. L. Gillespie, US Engineers.

William F. Bragg, writer and native son of Lander, told of Jim Bridger opening the trail in 1866, as did John Bozeman whose route to the gold fields skirted the eastern flank of the Big Horns. Records of pioneers on the Bridger route are scant and will bear further research but the Bridger road was known to be safer than Bozeman's trail since it did not run through the domain of the fighting Sioux tribes. Fierce fights east of the Big Horns were attacks on Fort Phil Kearney, Fort C. F. Smith, the Fetterman Massacre and the Wagon Box fight.

This map was discovered by William F. Bragg, Jr., an instructor on the faculty of the Southeast Center of the University of Wyoming at Torrington. Serving as U. S. Ranger and Historian at the Fort Laramie National Monument this summer he presented the copy of the map to his father of Worland. It shows that while the Bozeman Trail swung northwards east of the Big Horns from Fort Fetterman on the North Platte, Bridger continued to Fort Caspar, crossed the river there then swung northwest and reached Badwater Creek. From the spot now occupied by Lysite, Wyo. he followed up Bridger Creek, crossed the Big Horns through Bridger Pass, came through the Kirby country then crossed the Big Horn to the west side a short distance north of the mouth of Nowater Creek. His road followed the river closely until opposite the present town of Manderson. His road then veered north through Pryor's Gap, across Clarks Fork River and eventually joined Bozeman's road east of the present town of Bozeman, Mont.

The old map shows two passes here—each named after one of the old scouts. In 1866, the entire Big Horn Basin was practically unexplored territory with but a few streams marked east of the river. Badwater, Nowater and Nowood appeared to have been known to these early explorers but few others. Streams west of the river were better known due to scouting by soldiers and Shoshoni scouts from military camps over in the South Pass area.

So "Dad" Worland's old log cabin marked a historical road which had almost faded from memory of the early pioneers whose settlement is now commemorated by the silent sentinel placed

there by the State of Wyoming just fifty years after a U. S. post-office was established in the log cabin stage station.

After the talk by Mr. Bragg there was a moment of silence in memory of the pioneers and those unable to be present.

Mrs. Bragg and the committee expressed appreciation to all who had assisted with the project. A group picture of the pioneers present was taken at the foot of the marker. They were registered by Charles R. Harkins. A pioneer picnic was held in the evening at the Sanders city park. Both events were well attended.

Registrations of the pioneers and the younger generation were:

Mr. and Mrs. Rico H. Stine, Vista, Calif.; Mr. and Mrs. Lee S. Hake, Jr. and Frances Hake, Los Angeles, Calif.; Mr. and Mrs. Robert F. Gillespie, Ralph and Barbara, Detroit, Mich.; Mr. and Mrs. William E. Taylor and Edward, Phoenix, Ariz.; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph L. McClellan, Billings, Mont.; Wellington Rupp, Seattle, Wash.; Tom Cotter, Dodson, Mont.; Mrs. William Dolphin, Butler, Wis.; Miss Helen Taylor, New York City; Joseph S. Weppner, Cheyenne; Robert E. Stine, Casper; Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Black, Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur A. Woodrow, Charles Watkins, all of Thermopolis; Mr. and Mrs. Amandus W. Erickson, Burlington; Mrs. Echo Sweet Pickett, Ten Sleep.

Mayor Frank R. Watson and Mrs. Watson, Messers and Mesdames J. S. Russell, E. M. Conant, H. C. Shirk, A. A. Palmer, A. G. Johnson, Earl T. Bower, Cecil D. Black, Ray F. Bower, Frank S. Coulter, their daughter Mrs. Tom Turnbull and granddaughter Mary Evelyn Turnbull, Ray S. Hake and daughter-in-law Ray Hake, Jr. and son Steven Ray Hake, Russell Laird, Roy Russell, C. H. Stark, A. H. Ellbogen, H. D. Rauchfuss, Bert Agee, Clair Barngrover, Fred Greet, W. J. Gorst, H. H. Horel, George C. Muirhead, Harry A. Taylor, Albert Girod, A. J. Knisely and daughter Mrs. Leonard Bonine and son, E. M. Paris, William F. Bragg, Don H. Babbitt, Lloyd Wilson, A. J. Klein, E. L. Evans, Joe Salzman, Gordon McGarvin all from Worland; Miss Anna F. Godfrey, Mesdames C. F. Robertson, Margaret McClellan Chastain, Ruth Millard McKeon, Minnie Taylor Francke, Lillian Leithead, Myrtle Compton and daughter Carleen, Wallace Shryack, Gayleen and Terry, Frank Dent, Emile Faure, Ruth Palmer Kennedy, Daisy McCann, Mary Bosch White, Anna Elizabeth Bosch George, Fred Bosch, A. E. Bartholomew, Rosa St Clair, W. A. Waldo, Marie Platt, O. C. Bonine all from Worland.

P. F. McClure, Charles R. Harkins, Guy Woodrow, Frank Farley, William Greet, Sam H. Black, Dean Palmer, Don H. Babbitt, Jr., William Faure, Elmer Packer, Ray Pendergraft, Albert Bosch, Roger Clymore, Henry Leikham, R. M. Showalter, Pete Scheuerman, Leo Scheuerman, S. S. Halstead, Gaden Russell,

J. D. McNutt, Bill Orr, Ken Monroe, Hugh Knoefel, Alex Leiper all of Worland.

Among visitors to view the marker before the dedication were "Dad" Worland's nephews Willis and John Worland and their wives from "Dad's" hometown, where they live at Montgomery City, Mo. It was their first visit to the town established by their pioneer uncle whom they visited at Denver, Colo. before his death some years ago. Mr. Robertson described him as a "diamond in the rough", genial but self-contained to a marked degree with dry wit and humor. They called on Mr. and Mrs. George C. Muirhead and Mr. and Mrs. Glen Yeager, both couples now living in homes built by "Dad" and his son Charlie Worland, also deceased.



Committee members, left to right: Mrs. A. E. Bartholomew, Mrs. Rosa St. Clair, Mrs. W. A. Waldo, Mrs. W. F. Bragg, Sr.; and Mr. Joseph S. Weppner, secretary of the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming.

The Old Occidental

By

HOWARD B. LOTT*

The pioneers of the Old West were remarkably lacking in originality in the application of names. This accounts, in a way, for the existence of so many Occidental hotels in that new cattle land of the sixties and seventies which extended westward from the Missouri river to the Rockies. One in particular, however, the old Occidental of Buffalo, Wyoming, stood apart from all the others in many respects. It was the first to be erected in that part of the Indian country claimed by the Crows, Cheyennes, and Sioux known as the Powder River Country. During the sixties when Kansas was just becoming well known as a cattle country, there was located at Dodge City an Occidental hotel, undoubtedly the original from which the Old Occidental received its name.

Back in the days of 1879 when the name Johnson County first began to appear upon the pages of Wyoming history, there appeared upon the banks of Clear Creek at the eastern boundary limit of the Fort McKinney Military Reservation, a gathering of rugged pioneers engaged in the building of a new town. A number of tents had here been set up on the site of the future town of Buffalo.

Charles E. Buell, a pioneer of Johnson County, was living in one of the tents of this new tent-town. Born in Geneva, Wisconsin, he had come to northern Wyoming in 1878 with the Trabing Brothers and, remaining for a while in their employ, had assisted them with the transfer of their store in 1879 from its original location at the Bozeman Trail crossing on Crazy Woman, to a site on what is now the Cross H ranch, some four miles south of Buffalo. Before the word had been passed around that the post reservation had been reduced, the store was once more dismantled and moved to a new location on the banks of Clear Creek, some three miles nearer the fort.

The story of how the Occidental came to be was told to the writer by Miles Buell, a son of the builder. Charley Buell was preparing his meal one day at his tent not long after his arrival on Clear Creek, when a party of miners rode up with a large pack outfit. They inquired of Mr. Buell if they might remain with him

NOTE.—This article was written by Mr. Lott in 1939.

for a few days and if he would board them during their stay in the new town. He readily assented to the proposition, and the miners prepared themselves for a few days of leisure among these pioneers, free from the cares of their own campfire and the preparation of their own meals. One of them inquired of Mr. Buell as to the best manner in which to cache some gold that they had just recently taken from the Big Horn Mountains to the west. In the way of a reply, Mr. Buell conducted them to the interior of the tent and pointed out to them a hole dug into the ground directly under his bed. He informed them that they might place the gold in this hole and rest assured that it would not be molested. This was done, and these miners thus received from Charley Buell the facilities of Johnson County's first hotel. For several days thereafter Charley Buell made coffee, fried bacon, and turned "flapjacks" for this party of miners and was liberally rewarded for his hospitality upon their departure. Thus did the Old Occidental take its beginning in a tent on the banks of Clear Creek.

Charley Buell then decided that the hotel business might be profitable in this new town and concluded to erect a building on the site of the tent-hotel and go into the business on a larger scale. Putting up a temporary frame shack, he then proceeded with the construction of the famous Old Occidental. While engaged in the removal of underbrush and trees from the site, Mr. Buell discovered a human skull in the crotch of one of the trees. Upon being removed and examined closely, it was found to be that of an Indian, buried probably, as was the early custom of several of the Indian tribes, upon a scaffold constructed among the branches of closely growing trees. The skull had become tightly held by the growing branches and remained in position when the scaffold supporting the body became dilapidated and fell away. It eventually came into the possession of one of the pioneer attorneys of Buffalo and still occupies a place upon the shelf in his office.

The new building consisted of a main structure approximately twenty-four by twenty-eight feet. The entrance was through a large door surmounted by a panel consisting of small panes of glass. One window on each side of this door, together with one directly above, were of native lumber covered by a hip roof of shingles. There were six bedrooms on the upper floor, three on each side, and each had a dormer window. The lower floor was occupied by the lobby, dining room, and kitchen. Along the north and south sides of the lower story there were constructed, in somewhat of a lean-to fashion, two more sets of rooms, which set off the whole building in a pleasing balance of uniform construction. The front room of each of these two sets or groups extended some five or six feet past the front of the main building and in the walls thus formed, and directly opposite each other, there were placed two additional doors, thus permitting entrance

to these side rooms without passing through the main building. The picture was completed by the usual hitchrack in the street before the main doorway, which served as a hotel de occidental to the many cowponies of the day whose apparent duty was to wait with patience on three legs the return of their riders from a session within of "bucking the tiger" or consuming straight whiskey at two bits a drink.

This building was completed some time during the fall of 1880, and from old notes and papers preserved by Mrs. Charles Buell, there is found an item which states that the first cook employed by Mr. Buell in the Old Occidental was a Jacob Schmerer, more familiarly known as Dutch Jake. Schmerer was somewhat of a character, in a way, and was well liked by Charley Buell. His disappearance from his squatter claim on Dry Creek in April 1885, was the cause of no little amount of talk in the country and anxiety among his friends. He had spent the winter on his claim in the poisoning of wolves, and when it became apparent that he, together with all his belongings, was really gone, suspicion was at once directed toward Bill Booth, a questionable character who had spent the winter with Schmerer at his claim. The story of Booth's capture in Miles City by Stock Inspector W. D. Smith, his return to Buffalo, and the incidents of his trial and hanging at the rear of the then new court house is too long to be related here, but in view of the fact that this was Johnson County's first legal hanging, would, in itself, make an interesting tale.

The Old Occidental was more than just a hotel in the early days of Johnson County. Not only serving as a hotel and a place of meeting for old friends, who had for weeks or perhaps months lost trace of one another, it also served as a town hall, a polling place, and, fortunately for the victims of disease and those who survived an encounter with the Colt or Winchester, it served as a hospital. Then, too, when Johnson County was being organized in 1881, the right or north wing served the purpose of a court house. It was here that John R. Smith and Charles A. Farwell, two of the commissioners appointed by the territorial governor for the purpose of organizing the county, met and proceeded with the steps necessary for the calling of an election of county officers to handle the affairs of the new County. This first meeting was held in the north wing of the Old Occidental, and the record is dated Clear Creek, March 29, 1881. It goes on to state that for Clear Creek precinct, Porter Kempton, John Erhart, and A. J. McCray were appointed judges of election and that the voting place was designated as A. J. McCray's Occidental Hotel on Clear Creek. (Just why the Occidental was inferred as belonging to McCray is not known, as construction was performed by Charley Buell, McCray having been taken in as a partner some time during this same spring 1881.) Also, it was through the effects of Mr. and Mrs.

Buell that the Old Occidental came to be so well known for its hospitality in the years to come.

During the year 1884 the people of Johnson County enjoyed a prosperity that was growing along with the cattle business. The new Canaan was booming and the stockmen had not as yet suffered the great losses in livestock which had to be sustained by them later on. Needless to say, the Old Occidental shared in this prosperity and expansion which resulted in the building of an annex to the old hotel. The annex was built south of and adjoining the main building, between it and the bank of Clear Creek. It was a two story frame building, and, because of the fact that it was of two stories, did not have the usual false front so much used in the construction of Western buildings in those days. A false front to the annex was unnecessary; it was two full stories high and Buffalo citizens, as well as the owners, were proud of it. After its completion the bar room of the old hotel was transferred to the annex and several pool and billiard tables were added. The lobby, dining room, and the kitchen remained in the original building for several years when they were moved into the annex. By this time the County had acquired property of its own through the purchase of Ed. O'Malley's "Lone Star Dance Hall" and this had been converted into a temporary court house and the County Commissioners met no more at the Old Occidental.

The Buells, as host of the Occidental, were known far and wide for their hospitality, and at some time during the winter of 1883 they became the cordial hosts to a large number of friends in giving a masquerade ball at the Old Occidental, the first of its kind to be held in the town. The place was one of gayety and splendor, and nothing was overlooked which might add to the charm or popularity of the affair, even to the furnishing of the music by the Fifth U. S. Cavalry band from Fort McKinney.

From the lobby of the Old Occidental, along about the nineties, many of Owen Wister's characters found their way into the pages of his "Virginian." It was here that many of the manners, customs, and expressions of the genuine cowboy were impressed upon the mind of the author of this widely known book, one of the few books upon the West that really portrays the life of the cowpuncher as he really lived it.

The lobby of the Old Occidental was a common meeting place for Johnson County people and it was here that old friends met and discussed the news of the day, transacted their personal business, or told of past experiences. A story that Bill Hayes used to tell on J. A. McDermott, a deputy sheriff under Frank Canton, is worthy of mention here as it originated in the lobby of the old hotel.

McDermott and Hayes were sitting in the Occidental lobby one day during the early eighties. Hayes, happening to look through

the window and across the street, became suddenly interested in something which was going on in front of the livery stable across the way, nudged Mac, and pointed out the window. Glancing toward the scene which had drawn the attention of Hayes, Mac discovered that a cowpuncher, aided by a six-shooter in an attempted robbery, had forced the liveryman to back up against the wall of the stable with his hands above his head.

"Guess I better be getting over there and find out what the trouble is," remarked the deputy; "Want to go along?"

"Oh, no, no, not me," was Hayes' reply. "I don't want to get mixed up in that."

"Well, I'll be going over myself," was Mac's reply.

"If you do, you'll find yourself lined up with that liveryman holding your hands in the air," was the parting shot of Hayes as Mac departed in the performance of his duty.

And surely enough, as Billy Hayes sat and watched, he soon observed Mac take a position beside the liveryman and slowly raise his hands into the air. At this critical moment, however, a kind providence intervened and sent relief in the person of Frank Canton, the sheriff, who happened to pass by and saw the predicament of his deputy and the liveryman. Quickly sensing the situation, he asked what the trouble was, at the same time slipping his hand into his pocket, a significant movement to those acquainted with it. He then demanded in a guff tone for the cowpuncher to "Hand over the gun" a request quickly complied with. The sheriff had save the day for Mac, but this was by no means the end of the affair, as later on Mac was more than once forced to blush deeply at the mention of it.

A story of the Old Occidental would not be complete without some mention of the hostilities that once in a while sent the peaceful bystanders hurrying for cover. During the nineties and while "Red" Angus was operating the hotel in the capacity of a lessee, a quarrel arose between Angus and "Arapahoe" Brown over a board bill which Angus contended Brown owed him. Scathing words were exchanged between the two and these becoming inadequate to express the emotion felt, Angus drew a gun and point-blank fired a shot into the body of Brown. The ball passed through Brown's clothing consisting of a heavy overcoat, an undercoat, a vest, two heavy shirts, and heavy underwear, with just enough force left behind it to carry it through the ribs of Brown's chest, where it dropped harmlessly in the chest cavity without any apparent injury to the organs therein. Brown then walked for a considerable distance to a doctor who dressed his wound, and in due time fully recovered. He carried the bullet in his body for several years and was later killed at the hand of another murderer.

Another shooting occurred in the kitchen of the Old Occidental some three years later. This was the killing of Hugh Smith at the hands of a man called Frenchy. It seems that the wives of these two men had been quarreling, and Smith had later taken up his wife's quarrel and had used profanity toward Frenchy's wife and had struck and kicked her. Mrs. Frenchy retaliated by hurling a dinner plate at the offender, and Frenchy had meanwhile been informed that someone was beating his wife. He quickly secured a gun, rushed into the kitchen, and shot Smith three or four times. After the first shot Smith drew his own gun and fired once at Frenchy, but after that could not see to shoot because of powder smoke. Smith was then removed to the laundry building at the rear of the hotel, where he died a few hours later.

After standing for over a quarter of a century on the bank of Clear Creek, the Old Occidental was doomed to travel the trail of its contemporary, the cowpuncher. Progress and a growing town demanded that a new structure replace the Old Occidental. From 1906 to 1910, a modern brick building gradually replaced the famous old hotel and in a short time the hewn logs and native lumber of the Old Occidental had been torn down and hauled away to serve another purpose in ranch house or barn.

To many there is a certain fascination in the landmarks of the Old West and although modern methods and modern business make a demand for things modern, still it is with a pang of regret that they stand silently by and watch this inevitable change. The Old Occidental and the old-time cowpuncher have passed the way of the buffalo and the Indian.

*How Rock Springs Celebrated Christmas In '78 **

D. G. THOMAS*

I shall always retain pleasant memories of those early, happy territorial days. A camp, that was all Rock Springs was then; and to attempt to dignify it as a town or a city would be a misnomer. A few small, red houses dotted here and there over the present town-site comprised the camp, so far as outward appearance went. On what is now known as B Street there were but three dwellings of a more pretentious type, and they were occupied by officials of the coal company. Further along on the street was a one-room building which served the dual purpose of a school-house and an amusement hall. In addition to these houses referred to was the American House, a prominent institution in those days. It was owned and managed by "Uncle" George Harris, a true sport in every respect. He would bet his money on anything, white or black, high or low, a horse-race, foot-race, target shooting, clay or live pigeons, or anything else. Too often he lost his bets; but he was a good loser and never whimpered. He died not many years ago, comparatively a poor man. In his day, George Harris made plenty of money with his different enterprises, but it sifted through his fingers like sand through a sieve.

Across the railroad track from the American House stood the Central Hotel, managed by John Jarvie, a man of varied attainments, but not a gambler. Kindness was one of the dominant traits of his character. I personally know this to be true. I admired him very much, and when in 1911 I learned that Jarvie had been murdered in a most brutal manner in Brown's Park, I took his passing as a personal loss. Mr. E. L. Kolb, in his fascinating book, "Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico," speaks of the murder in the following words: "On emerging from Red Canyon we spied a ranch house, or log cabin, close to the river. The doors were open and there were many tracks in the sand, so we thought someone else must be about. On approaching the house, however, we found the place was deserted, but with furniture, books and pictures piled on the floor in the utmost confusion, as if the occupants had left in a hurry. This surmise

*This manuscript is from the collection of the W.P.A. manuscripts located in the Wyoming State Historical Department.

afterwards proved to be correct, for we learned that the rancher (John Jarvie) had been murdered for his money, his body having been found in a boat further down the river. Suspicion pointed to an old employee who had been seen lurking near the place. He was traced to the railroad, over a hundred miles to the north; but made his escape and was never caught."

But there was another camp, invisible to the casual passerby, wherein lived some families and the cavemen known as bachelors. These were the "dug-outs" planted along the banks of Bitter Creek. They were made by excavating an area large enough for one or more rooms, the sides roughly boarded and the roof made of poles laid side by side, and all being covered with dirt taken from the "hole in the ground." Those more fastidious in their tastes and desiring something in the way of luxury, employed many yards of cloth sheeting in lieu of plaster. The floor of the "dug-out" was in general the soil, packed firmly and smoothly and swept regularly. Chinatown was considerably larger than was Rock Springs, including the "dug-outs." At that time it was estimated that the Chinese numbered from ten hundred to twelve hundred souls. The number of white men working in the coal mines would not exceed thirty, divided about evenly between the two mines which were being operated by the company. This force of white men was retained by the company from motives of necessity and not from choice. Since the coming of the Chinese into the mines, the white miner was taboo, and only those known for their probity and general knowledge of coal mining were employed. Besides, there were many kinds of labor a white man only could perform, such as the sinking of the slopes, and, the narrow work must be sheared. The Chinese miners were not advanced enough to do it. Track-laying and mule driving must likewise be performed by white labor. Ten hours constituted a working day, and the majority of the white men were required to work every day, including Sundays.

Christmas eve in the year 1878 was in many respects a memorable one. The white inhabitants of the community gathered in the little one-room school-house, which stood about where the Junior High is now located. It was truly a loving, family gathering. The arrangements for a proper observance of the holiday festival were most complete. All met on a common level, each doing his or her share to see to it that the spirit of Christmas was exemplified and diffused, so that all should partake of it. Nothing was left undone, no one was overlooked or forgotten. The children provided the most of the literary and musical entertainment for the grown-ups. I look back now with unalloyed pleasure at the grouping of those beautiful children, dressed like fairies, their eyes sparkling with merriment and anticipation, and their voices ringing like silver bells as they sang the anthems and

choruses. When Santa Claus came down the chimney their happiness was complete; the little candles were lighted on the tree, and the gorgeousness and the splendor of the ornaments and the wonderful presents on display were simply dazzling and wonderful.

For days and days before the event willing hands had been busily engaged in stringing cranberries and popcorn for the purpose of decorating the tree; these and such tinsel as could be found formed the background of a veritable fairy-land. I have stated that in the distribution of presents none were overlooked. Occasionally some old hardened sinner crouching in a seat at the rear of the building would be startled and surprised when Santa Claus, calling him by name, announced, in ringing tones, a gift for that man. When the fairy child acting as Santa's messenger carried the prize to him, his old eyes would moisten and often tears trickled down his cheeks. Something just then operated to change that man's entire nature. The knowledge that someone cared for him enough to manifest it with a token of remembrance affected him. Perhaps, too, the recollections of his own happy childhood suddenly flashed upon the screen of memory and unfolded a picture of home and loved ones. Who knows? Often the hardened old sinner proved only a sinner in spots; press the proper button and the light of his better nature would cause those spots to disappear.

Barney McCabe was here and there and everywhere that night; he it was who cut and hauled the tree from the mountains; he acted as janitor by keeping the "home fires burning" and the building at the proper temperature. Besides these duties, he was the guardian angel of the peace, being the town constable. He loved the children and would go any lengths for them, and on this occasion he was anything but a cipher.

McCabe originally came from Ireland, and as a sturdy young man found himself in South Pass City, then one of the greatest gold-producing camps in the world. For a time he worked in those mines, but gave up his employment after a few months, to engage in freighting between Bryan Station, at that time the division point of the railroad, and South Pass City. His exploits while in that service would provide many interesting tales of daring, of hardships and narrow escapes from the Indians who infested the regions of the South Pass country. We slept in the same cabin and under the same buffalo robes for many months. The long winter nights we usually passed beside a roaring fire, and then it was that Barney would become reminiscent. He named scores of fine young men, miners, hunters and freighters, victims of the Indian's deadly arrow. He had often been called on to help bury those men, and in every instance he found that the bodies had been horribly mutilated. I never inquired as to

where in the country those murdered men were buried, but I do know that in the low bottom lands at Big Sandy crossing I counted at one time about twenty-eight graves, and I wondered if the majority of them did not contain the bodies of those poor fellows. McCabe was typically a western character, witty, and a keen lover of horses; should a cowboy be abusive to his animal, Barney never hesitated to interfere in behalf of the horse, and it mattered not who the man was, he had to either desist or fight. The outcome was, usually, that the cowboy desisted. Whenever McCabe saw a wheelbarrow he always related how, when a young man, he often wheeled his mother to church "in one of them things." Barney McCabe passed out into the Great Beyond long ago, and I hope he has found his proper reward.

In conclusion, let me say that after the Christmas tree and the entertainment came the dance. John Ludvigsen, with his music box, furnished the music on the accordion which he purchased in Norway, and it was truly a wonderful instrument. The quadrille was the principal dance, and the way the dancers whirled through the seemingly intricate figures was wonderful. I still believe that for sheer fun and enjoyment, the old-fashioned quadrille is far ahead of the modern dances. John Ludvigsen's relating a funny anecdote was one of the prize events of such occasions. In telling it he anticipated the end of the story and started to laugh at about the middle of it; as he proceeded his laughter increased until finally the tears rolled down his cheeks and he became convulsed and hysterical to such an extent that he could say no more. I never knew him to finish telling a funny story. As John continued to laugh it became contagious, and those around him caught it and laughed uproariously because of his convulsive explosions of mirth.

I believe that the spirit of Christmas was more truly emphasized in those days than at the present. Perhaps the reason for this will be found in the unanimous and hearty cooperation of the entire people of the community. The fewness in number probably would account for that cohesion of interests.

A Trip to The Black Hills in 1876

By

LLOYD MCFARLING

Leander P. Richardson traveled from Fort Laramie to Deadwood near the end of July, 1876; spent five days in Deadwood Gulch; and described his experiences in an article published in *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* for April, 1877.¹ Richardson's article has been almost entirely ignored by historians, yet it contains a vivid picture of conditions on the trail and in the mining camps when the stampede to Deadwood was at its climax.

I have no information about Richardson other than that incidentally revealed by the article. It is evident that he was a tenderfoot. Weather conditions during the first few days of his trip were abnormally unfavorable and he was perhaps unduly impressed by the hardships and dangers of frontier travel. Probably these hardships and dangers contributed to his pessimistic attitude toward mining, miners, and the Black Hills region. Subsequent history proved that many of his opinions were wrong, yet his reporting of facts was generally accurate. He began his article on a note of scepticism:

That portion of country, away in the interior of Dakota, which has come to be known all over the world as the Black Hills mining region, has probably been the subject of more newspaper discussion than any other discovery in America, if we except the excitement of 1849 over California. And yet this newly found El Dorado is at the present time enshrouded so completely in vagueness, that the greater part of the conversation which it excites still takes the form of uncertain conjecture, perhaps not unblended with willful misrepresentation. A majority of those who have personally visited the region are men who went there, endured the privations, and took upon themselves the necessary risk of losing their lives, with the express purpose of making an immense fortune in an exceedingly short time. Many who discovered their error, returned as soon as circumstances would permit, and some of these, being deeply imbued with the species of lunacy which a miner's life is apt to impart, or else sacrificing their regard for veracity to their false sense of pride, have circulated reports of the vast resources and abounding beauty of the country, and excited exaggerated hopes of the brilliancy of its future.

1. Leander P. Richardson, "A Trip to the Black Hills", *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. 13, No. 6, April 1877, pp. 748-756.

Richardson's description of his trip began at Fort Laramie. He left that place on the morning of July 22, 1876, a member of a party of eight men, traveling in a "jerky" and a large freight wagon, each drawn by four horses. The name of the first vehicle, thought Richardson, was derived from the peculiar manner in which it switched the driver from the seat whenever any rough road was encountered. He chose a seat on the springless, but more dependable, freight wagon.

The route led up the Platte several miles, through deep sand. The sun poured down with greater fierceness than Richardson had ever experienced, and the travelers were surrounded all morning by innumerable sand-gnats "which darted into our eyes, crawled into our nostrils, buzzed in our ears, and wriggled down our necks in a most annoying fashion." They reached Government Farm, fifteen miles from Fort Laramie, about eleven o'clock and Richardson burned his fingers in his first attempt to cook a meal. The meal was not a success. Everything became covered with bacon grease, and there was more dust in the food than he was accustomed to eating. In the afternoon the party went on to Rawhide Buttes, where it overtook a larger train of canvas covered wagons, enroute to the Black Hills.

Richardson's party camped near the wagon trail and went through "the tedious and horrible mockery of supper", and the men wrapped themselves in their blankets and slept, some of them in the wagons and others on the ground. The next morning (July 23) was cold and damp with a drizzling rain setting in. The party of eight men had eight colds. Breakfast was a "swindle". They started at four o'clock, reached Running Water (the Niobrara River) about ten, and experienced the "one-act farce of dinner".

They continued to travel to the north and at four o'clock met six men in a huge freight wagon—gamblers going to Cheyenne to purchase new equipment for their business. The gamblers were reticent about the prospects of gold mining at Deadwood. They reported that a bull-train, heavily weighted with flour and merchandise, was waiting at Hat Creek.

Hat Creek was the army camp and ranch on Sage Creek which afterward became one of the main stations on the stage line to Deadwood.² Richardson's party reached the place late that afternoon, just as a rain storm, which had been threatening all day, broke over them.

Just across the creek was a soldiers' camp garrisoned by six men. The regular number kept at the Hat Creek camp is from forty to forty-five, but the majority of the soldiers were now away on a scout-

2. There had been some stage service to Custer City before this time but regular service had not been maintained because of Indian depredations.

ing expedition with General Merritt.³ Close beside the camp is a building ordinarily known as "Johnny Bowman's Ranch".⁴ These ranches, which abound along the lines of all the stage and freight roads in this wilderness, form a peculiar phase of frontier life. They are hotels, bar-rooms and stores for general merchandise, all combined in one, and the whole business is usually transacted in a single room. In fact, but few of them can boast of more than one apartment. At any of these places a traveler can purchase almost anything, from a glass of whiskey to a four-horse team, but the former article is usually the staple of demand. The proprietor of the Hat Creek ranch is known and highly esteemed from Cheyenne to the remotest parts of the Black Hills district.

In the evening the party held a council around the fireplace in the cabin on the Bowman Ranch. They had reached what they considered the boundary between the "safe" country and that infested with Indians, and they were not in agreement as to the best time to enter the Indian country. The final vote was that the party would remain here overnight and perhaps start again next evening.

. . . at midnight the storm became extremely violent, and the rain which had soaked through the canvas dripped down upon us in great chilling drops. . . . That morning at breakfast the party was not a cheerful one, and the blind desperation which possessed all of us inspired the proposal to hitch up the horses and go ahead, Indians or no Indians. The proposition was sullenly assented to, and ten o'clock found us once more upon the road. The mud was thick and deep, and our progress was far from rapid. In about two hours, after passing through a number of deep and miry water-courses, our teams swung around under the shadow of a great overhanging bluff of yellow earth, and we found ourselves upon the banks of Indian Creek, which, our driver announced, was the most dangerous part of the whole journey. The bed of the creek is about two hundred yards in width, and the banks are steep and high. Sharply outlined mounds of earth rise at frequent intervals in the stream-bed, and form places of protection from which the murderous savages may fire upon their unsuspecting victims, without any risk of being killed or wounded themselves; moreover, the course of the creek is heavily timbered, so that it is almost impossible to distinguish forms a short distance away. The slight stream of water which passes down through the valley (I had almost said gorge) winds its sinuous way from one bank to another. The road follows its bed for two or three miles and the general course of the creek for about fifteen miles, gradually working toward higher ground. Through this valley the party marched, rifles

3. Colonel (Brevet Major General) Wesley Merritt, commanding the 5th Cavalry, was in the Hat Creek region a few days before Richardson. On July 17 the 5th Cavalry fought a brief battle with a band of Cheyenne Indians on Warbonnet Creek, and drove them back to Red Cloud Agency. On the day Richardson reached Hat Creek Ranch Colonel Merritt was enroute from Red Cloud Agency to Fort Fetterman with his regiment. Charles King, *Campaigning With Crook and Stories of Army Life*, New York, 1890, Chapter IV.

4. John Bowman established the Hat Creek Stage Station in the "autumn" of 1876, and remained in charge until September 1879, according to Agnes Wright Spring, *The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes*, Glendale, Calif., 1949, pp. 122-3.

in hand, and ready for an attack. The storm had settled into a regular driving rain from which no refuge could be found. The wind was very cold—more chilling than some of the bleakest of New England air currents, and the discomforts of our situation were greatly increased. But the bad weather no doubt added to the security of our position, for, as my companion on the lumber-wagon . . . found time to say, "Any Injun who would venture out on such a day was a sight bigger fool than most of his race."

We were then in the midst of this region covered by alkali. In many cases the ground was white with it, and the pools of water, which had gathered from the rain were thick and of sickening flavor. When the ground impregnated with alkali is damp or wet, it forms the most villainous clinging compound imaginable. The revolving wheels quickly become solid masses of heavy mire, the spaces between the spokes and between the wheel and the wagon-box being completely filled, so that every hundred yards or so, it became necessary to dismount and pry it away with a crow-bar. In order to relieve the jaded horses, the greater number of the passengers dismounted. But after half a dozen steps their boots would pick up great slabs of the earth, and they too were forced to resort to the crow-bar. By five o'clock in the afternoon we had gone about fourteen miles, and one of the horses had given out entirely. In another hour we came in sight of an old and deserted cabin away to the right of the road, on the edge of Indian Creek, now swollen to a rushing torrent. Toward this shanty our steps were directed, and by dark the horses were picketed out, and we ate another melancholy meal of raw ham and hard-tack. Some water which we brought from the creek was as thick as molasses, and so white with alkali as to resemble cream. A pailful of this delectable beverage was set inside the roofless hut, and seven or eight prickly pears, pounded to a pulp, were put in to "settle" it for our morning meal. The travelers were divided up into watches, and spent the night in a miserable and dreary way.

The travelers started early the next morning (July 25). Toward ten o'clock the mud began to dry and progress became more rapid. In the afternoon they saw, briefly, a group of thirty or forty Indians in the distance, but apparently were not seen by the Indians. Just before dark they reached the Cheyenne River. That morning the stream had been dry; it was now running fifty yards wide and from four to nine feet deep.

Our driver was warned by persons on the opposite shore that it would be impossible for us to cross, but in spite of that, he determined to make the trial. The result was that the horses got into a quicksand, the wagon became fast in the mud and some of the passengers were obliged to spend more than two hours in the water before the outfit was again on dry land. This was the second drenching for us, and we were not very amiable,—in fact we almost came to blows two or three times within an hour. "Van" and myself mounted horses and went over to the ranch on the other side. In the house we found three old frontiersmen to whom danger was as pleasant as safety is to ordinary mortals. We obtained some dry clothes, our own garments were hung up before the huge fire-place and a supply of fried venison, coffee, and bread was prepared.⁵

5. This ranch was, at times, the hangout of Persimmon Bill Chambers, supposed to be the leader of a gang of horsethieves. Spring, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 and 138.

They remained here until the afternoon of the third day (July 28), and about eight o'clock in the evening of that day reached the soldiers' camp⁶ at the mouth of Red Canyon. As soon as their evening meal was over they started into the canyon, traveling by night to reduce the danger of Indian attacks. They encountered no Indians, got through the canyon with no misadventure other than an overturned wagon, and reached Custer City next day (July 29). Most of the miners had stampeded to Deadwood Gulch, leaving only about one hundred and fifty people in a town of perhaps a thousand cabins. Richardson thought that as a mining town Custer City was a "delusion" but predicted that if the Black Hills excitement continued it would become the leading point in the Hills for the distribution of supplies. This prediction was logical enough at the time Richardson was traveling, for the main road to Deadwood was then through Custer. A few months later, however, the main trail from Cheyenne to Deadwood entered the western side of the Black Hills via Camp Jenney; while the trail from Sidney, Nebraska, skirted the eastern base of the Hills. Important trails were also developed from Bismarck and Fort Pierre to the northern and eastern mining areas. Custer City became merely a branch-line supply point for the south-central area of the Hills.

At Custer City the travelers had a "square meal" in a "regular hotel". Late in the afternoon they started north and that night camped about twelve miles from Custer on Spring Creek. Next morning (July 30), they passed through Hill City—"a collection of about 200 partly built houses which were deserted at the time of the Deadwood excitement, not a single person remaining in the place." At noon they reached the "Rapid Creek District" where mining was going on extensively.

Twenty seven hours later, our teams, by this time utterly worn out, reached the brow of a steep hill, down the side of which the road wound its way into the lower end of Deadwood Gulch. The gulch is

6. This infantry camp, like that at Hat Creek Ranch, was a subpost of Fort Laramie. Spring (*op. cit.*, p. 124) calls it "Red Canyon Station, or Camp Collier". Captain Stanton, who surveyed the routes to the Black Hills in 1877, after the camp was discontinued, called it the "old subpost", and gave the location as 3.64 miles north of Cheyenne River. Captain W. S. Stanton, *Annual Report Upon Explorations and Surveys in the Department of the Platte*, in the annual *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1878, 45th Congress, 3d Session, H. R. Ex. Doc. 1, Part 2, Vol. II, Part III (Serial 1846) p. 1731.

7. Richardson's article is not sufficiently specific to enable us to identify his route from Hill City to Deadwood. His mention of extensive mining in the Rapid Creek District suggests that he crossed Rapid Creek near Camp Crook which afterwards became Pactola. When Stanton surveyed the trails in 1877 the main road from Custer to Deadwood was farther west, crossing Castle and Little Rapid Creeks.

about ten miles long, and very winding in its course. Through its bottom stretches a long line of shanties and tents, forming, in all, four towns. At the lower end is Montana City, then come Elizabeth Town, Deadwood City, and Gayeville (or Gaye City). Our train finally halted in Deadwood City, and we were immediately surrounded by a crowd of miners, gamblers and other citizens, all anxious to hear from the outer world. It was Sunday afternoon, and all the miners in the surrounding neighborhood were spending the day in town. The long street was crowded with men in every conceivable garb. Taken as a whole, I never in my life saw so many hardened and brutal-looking men together, although of course there were a few better faces among them. Every alternate house was a gambling saloon, and each of them was carrying on a brisk business. In the middle of the street a little knot of men had gathered, and were holding a prayer-meeting, which showed in sharp contrast to the bustling activity of wickedness surrounding it.

Richardson had a letter of introduction to Charles H. ("Colorado Charlie") Utter. He met Utter a few minutes after he arrived in Deadwood, and was invited to share Utter's camp. On the way to the camp they met Utter's partner, James Butler Hickok, otherwise known as Wild Bill.

Wild Bill:

... was about six feet two inches in height, and very powerfully built; his face was intelligent, his hair blonde, and falling in long ringlets upon his broad shoulders; his eyes blue and pleasant, looked one straight in the face when he talked; and his lips thin and compressed, were only partly hidden by a straw-colored mustache. His costume was a curiously blended union of the habiliments of the borderman and the drapery of the fashionable dandy. Beneath the skirts of his elaborately embroidered buckskin coat gleamed the handles of two silver mounted revolvers, which were his constant companions. His voice was low and musical, but through its hesitation I could catch a ring of self-reliance and consciousness of strength. Yet he was the most courteous man I had met on the plains.

On the following day I asked to see him use a pistol and he assented. At his request I tossed a tomato-can about 15 feet in the air, both his pistols being in his belt when it left my hands. He drew one of them and fired two bullets through the tin before it struck the ground. Then he followed it along, firing as he went, until both weapons were empty. You have heard the expression "quick as lightning?" Well, that will describe "Wild Bill. . . ."

Early in the forenoon of my third day in Deadwood, word was brought over to camp that he had been killed. We went immediately to the scene, and found that the report was true. He had been sitting at a table playing cards, when a dastardly assassin came up behind, put a revolver to his head and fired, killing his victim instantly. That night a miner's meeting was called, the prisoner was brought before it, his statement was heard, and he was discharged, put on a fleet horse, supplied with arms, and guarded out of town.⁸ The next day

8. Richardson's time table is incorrect. Wild Bill was killed in the afternoon of August 2, a preliminary meeting was held that night and plans were made for the trial of Jack McCall, and the actual trial lasted from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. August 3. The funeral of Wild Bill was held in the afternoon of August 3, while the trial was in progress.

"Colorado Charley" took charge of the remains of the great scout, and announced that the funeral would occur at his camp. The body was clothed in a full suit of broad-cloth, the hair brushed back from the broad forehead, and the blood washed from the pallid cheek. Beside the dead hero lay his rifle, which was buried with him. The funeral ceremony was brief and touching, hundreds of rough miners standing around the bier with bowed heads and tear-dimmed eyes,—for with the better class "Wild Bill" had been a great favorite.

Richardson stayed in the Deadwood region five days. The rest of his article was devoted to a brief evaluation of mining conditions in the Black Hills. He wrote that all mines then in operation were placer mines, although prospecting for quartz was going on.⁹ He thought that five or six, or possibly ten mines paid from \$200 to \$2,000 per day. The largest amount he saw taken from one mine in a single day was \$1,085, the result of the work of seven men. But these were exceptional amounts, and it was Richardson's opinion that the average Deadwood Gulch mine would just about pay "grub".

Seven out of every ten men in the whole region have no money and no means of getting any. The Deadwood ground is all taken up, and men do not dare to go out prospecting away from the main body, on account of the Indians. Summed up briefly, the condition of mining affairs is this: placer mines are all taken up; quartz mines the only resource left. In order to work these, capital, machinery, and mills for the crushing of ore must be introduced. Men of wealth will hesitate about sending capital into a country so far from railroad communications, and about which so little is definitely known. Most of the men now in the Black Hills are laboring men, inexperienced as miners. Their chances for employment in the mines, then, are small, and their prospects in quartz mining are even poorer. The mineral riches of the Black Hills cannot be developed for fully twenty-five years to come. . . .

Farming there is out of the question. Throughout the greater part of the district heavy frosts begin in September; snow-storms did not cease last spring until the eleventh day of June. . . . It follows then, that the necessities of life must always be imported at immense cost. There is to be considered the collateral fact that during a greater part of this long season of ice and snow, placer miners cannot work. . . .

I have no hesitation in saying that I think the Black Hills will eventually prove a failure.

Of course we know now that most of these opinions were at least partly wrong, and the predictions somewhat absurd. Yet there was considerable justification for pessimism in Deadwood Gulch in August, 1876. Only one really rich deposit of placer

9. Lode claims were located in the Black Hills as early as December 11, 1875. The original Homestake claim was located April 9, 1876. Francis Church Lincoln, "Mining in South Dakota", in *The Mining Industry of South Dakota*, South Dakota School of Mines Bulletin No. 17, Rapid City, South Dakota, 1937, p. 12. However, milling machinery had not reached the Black Hills at the time of Richardson's visit.

gold had been discovered in the Black Hills at that time, and it was natural to think that lode mines could not be developed for a long time. Many of the miners had come to the Hills poorly equipped and provisioned, and there was much destitution. The Indian danger was real enough; several miners were killed by Indians near Deadwood and Rapid City within three weeks after Richardson left Deadwood.

But the difficulties that really existed in the Black Hills in 1876 were mostly temporary. The Sioux Indians relinquished their rights to the region in 1877; farming and stock-raising became profitable occupations; hard-rock gold mining developed; men of wealth did send capital into the country; and employment at relatively high wages was soon plentiful, not only in the mines but in all the various activities of a rapidly developing region. In fifteen years two railroads reached Deadwood. By the end of 1948 the Black Hills produced 21,831,345 fine ounces of gold with a total value of \$545,694,284.00.¹⁰

10. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines *Minerals Yearbook*, 1948.

March of 2d Dragoons

*Report of Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke on the
March of the 2d Dragoons From Fort Leavenworth
to Fort Bridger in 1857*

Edited by

HAMILTON GARDNER

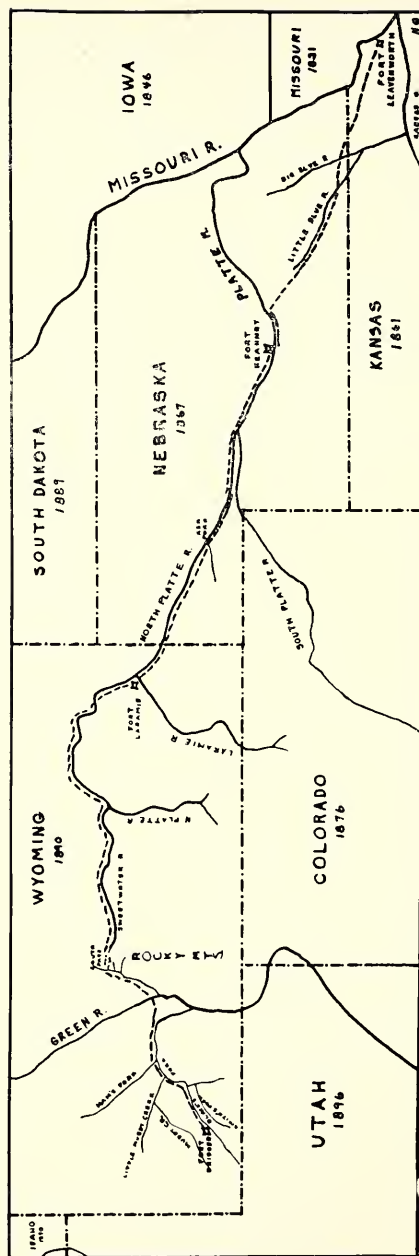
When the Utah Expedition was activated early in 1857 upon instructions of President James Buchanan and Secretary of War James B. Floyd, the one officer in the United States Army who had had the most extensive experience in trans-continental military marches was Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, Commanding Officer, 2d Dragoons.¹ Beginning in 1829, as a young

1. Cooke was born June 13, 1809, near Leesburg, Virginia, son of Colonel Stephen Cooke, a surgeon in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, and Catherine Esten, daughter of a one time British Governor of Bermuda. He entered the United States Military Academy at the age of fourteen and was graduated with the Class of 1827. Assigned first to the 6th Infantry, he participated in the Black Hawk War in Illinois during 1832. He became one of the officer-founders of the 1st Dragoons in March, 1833, (the first permanent cavalry regiment in the Army, which was redesignated the 1st Cavalry in 1861), with which he served until 1847. Then he transferred to the 2d Dragoons, which he commanded from late in 1853 until 1861, although Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney was carried on paper for several years as Regimental Commander.

Upon the outbreak of the Civil War Cooke remained loyal to the Union, although his only son, John Rogers Cooke, and his sons-in-law, J. E. B. Stuart and Dr. Charles Brewer, espoused the Confederate cause. As a Brigadier General in 1862, he commanded the cavalry of the Union Army of the Potomac in the Peninsular Campaign. Later he became Commanding General, Department of the Platte, with headquarters at Omaha and directed the campaign against the Sioux in Wyoming during 1866. At the close of the War he was promoted Brevet Major General. He retired in 1873 and died at Detroit, Michigan, March 20, 1895.

General Cooke became recognized as one of the Army's leading cavalry-men and in 1859 completed his *Cavalry Tactics*, which was adopted for the service. He was equally well known as an Indian fighter.

For brief biographies of Cooke see my articles: *A Young West Pointer Reports for Duty at Jefferson Barracks in 1827*, *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, IX, 124; (St. Louis, January, 1953); and *The Command and Staff of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XX, 331; (Salt Lake City, October, 1952); and even more recently: Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *General Philip St. George Cooke, The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXII, 195; (Oklahoma City, Summer, 1954). For Cooke's part in the Wyoming-Sioux campaign see: Alson B. Ostrander, *The Bozeman Trail Forts Under General Philip St. George Cooke in 1866*; (Seattle, 1932).



THE MARCH OF THE 2^d DRAGOONS IN 1837

2d Lieutenant, he accompanied Major Bennet Riley with four companies of the 6th Infantry on the Army's first expedition along the Santa Fe Trail.² He participated in the original march of the 1st Dragoons from Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, to Fort Gibson, in the present Oklahoma.³ In 1843 he made two round trips on the Santa Fe Trail.⁴ Cooke first crossed Wyoming in 1845, when Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny brought six companies of the 1st Dragoons from Fort Leavenworth to the South Pass and returned by way of Bent's Fort, Colorado, and the Santa Fe Trail.⁵ In the Mexican War he contributed to the conquest of the Southwest by leading the Mormon Battalion from Santa Fe to San Diego as part of the Army of the West.⁶ He travelled again across Wyoming on his return from California in 1847.⁷ So, as Cooke commenced his march to Fort Bridger in 1857, he was not only experienced in traversing the Western prairies and plains, but was no stranger to the Oregon Trail and Wyoming.

As background, a brief summary of the current military situation is necessary for a proper understanding of Colonel Cooke's march. By General Orders No. 12, Head Quarters of the Army, New York, June 30, 1857,⁸ Brevet Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, General-in-Chief, had assigned Brevet Brigadier General

2. Philip St. George Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army; or Romance of Military Life*, 39-88; (Philadelphia, 1857); and Otis E. Young, *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail, From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke*; (Glendale, Calif., 1952).

3. Hamilton Gardner, *The March of the First Dragoons from Jefferson Barracks to Fort Gibson in 1833-1834, The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXI, 22; (Oklahoma City, Spring, 1953).

4. Cooke's official *Journal* of these two expeditions was published as *A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail, 1843*, in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 72-98, 227-255; (Lincoln, June and September, 1925); with annotations by William E. Connelley.

5. Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army*, 282-432; Hamilton Gardner, *Captain Philip St. George Cooke and the March of the 1st Dragoons to the Rocky Mountains in 1845, The Colorado Magazine*, XXX, 246; (Denver, October, 1953).

6. Cooke's official daily *Journal* of the Battalion march was published in *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 31st Cong., Spec. Sess., and reprinted in *The Southwestern Historical Series*, VII, 65-240; (Glendale, 1938); edited by R. P. Bieber and A. B. Bender. His *Report to General Kearny from San Luis Rey, California, February 5, 1847*, may be found in *House Ex. Doc. No. 41*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 551-563. It was republished in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 15, (January, 1954); edited by Hamilton Gardner.

7. Cooke, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California; an Historical and Personal Narrative*; (New York, 1878); and *Proceedings of the Court Martial in the Trial of Lieut. Col. John C. Fremont, Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 33*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.

8. National Archives and Records Service, War Records Branch, Washington, D. C.; cited as N. A. R. S. W. R. B. Many orders of the War

William S. Harney to command the Utah Expedition as it assembled at Fort Leavenworth. Previously allocated to the force were the 2d Dragoons, 5th Infantry, 10th Infantry, Phelps' Battery, 4th Artillery, and Reno's Battery. The leading element of the Regular column, which was the 10th Infantry, did not depart from Fort Leavenworth until July 18. But numerous wagon trains and herds of beef cattle, belonging to Army contractors, had gathered or had already started west. Thus when the 2d Dragoons cleared the Fort on September 17, the Expedition and its trains were spread over several hundred miles along the Oregon Trail. In the meantime General Harney, by issuing his General Orders No. 7, Head Quarters, Army for Utah, Fort Leavenworth, September 11, 1857, "relinquishes the command of this Army to Colonel Albert S. Johnston of the 2d Cavalry".⁹ The new Commanding Officer left the Post with an escort of Dragoons September 18.¹⁰

Department to mobilize the Utah Expedition may be found in *House Ex. Docs. Nos. 2 and 71*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess. These volumes also contain General Scott's original letter of instructions to General Harney, considerable correspondence passing between the Army commanders and with Utah Territorial authorities, and other historically pertinent documents.

9. N. A. R. S. W. R. B.

10. The definitive biography of Albert Sidney Johnston is by his son: William Preston Johnston, *The Life of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston*; (New York, 1878). An interesting phase of his military career is the repeated contacts with Cooke over the years.

A native of Kentucky, Johnston was appointed to West Point from that State and was graduated in the Class of 1826, one year ahead of Cooke. With them in the Corps of Cadets at that time were several embryo officers who later rose to outstanding distinction in the Mexican and Civil Wars—for the North, Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumpter fame, Charles F. Smith, George P. Heintzelman, Silas Casey; for the South, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, Joseph E. Johnston, John B. Magruder.

Like Cooke, Johnston served with the 6th Infantry in the Black Hawk campaign of 1832, as did two future Presidents of the United States, Zachary Taylor and Abraham Lincoln. He resigned from the Army April 24, 1834; Cooke succeeded him as Regimental Adjutant, 6th Infantry. Johnston then moved to Texas where he eventually became Secretary of War of that Republic. In the War with Mexico he was elected Colonel, 1st Regiment of Foot Riflemen of Texas Volunteers. He returned to the Army October 31, 1849, as Paymaster, with the rank of Major.

In 1855 Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, induced the Congress to activate two additional regiments of cavalry. Command of the 1st Cavalry was bestowed on Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, like Cooke, an officer-founder of the 1st Dragoons in 1833. For the 2d Cavalry Secretary Davis went outside the mounted service, as represented by the 1st Dragoons, 2d Dragoons and Mounted Rifles, and picked Johnston as Colonel. His designation to command the Utah Expedition has already been noted, although he had had no experience in trans-continental military marches.

On November 18, 1857, the War Department announced the promotion of Colonel Johnston to Brevet Brigadier General "for meritorious conduct, in the ability, zeal, energy, and prudence displayed by him in command of the Army in Utah". On that precise date he had proceeded only as

One additional military fact of the utmost significance must be pointed out. *The Expedition to Utah started altogether too late in the season.* Experienced Army officers such as Cooke were well aware of the inherent danger and General Scott himself later stated:

Scott protested against the expedition on the ground of inexperience, and especially because the season was too late for the troops to reach their destination in comfort or even in safety.¹¹

For the hardships, privations and losses which the Army for Utah suffered during the winter of 1857-1858 while camped in tents high in the mountains near Fort Bridger the Army itself was not to blame. Knowing in advance the risks they incurred, they performed a soldier's simple duty by obeying the orders of the constituted civilian authorities in Washington.

far as the South Pass and had not yet joined the Army for Utah. Notification of his new rank reached him April 10, 1858. Late that spring he left his Army's temporary winter camp near Fort Bridger and passed through Salt Lake City June 26, 1858. About 40 miles to the southwest he established Camp Floyd, which remained his headquarters for the Department of Utah until March 1, 1860, when he departed for Washington on leave. Colonel Cooke followed him in command of the Department on the ensuing August 1 and changed the name of Camp Floyd to Fort Crittenden.

General Johnston's last assignment in the U. S. Army was as Commanding General, Department of the Pacific. He arrived at his headquarters in San Francisco January 15, 1861. His sympathies being entirely for the South, he resigned his Federal commission April 9, when he learned that Texas had seceded from the Union. He had hardly signed the resignation, however, before Brevet Brigadier General Edwin V. Sumner suddenly appeared at his office with secret instructions from the War Department and summarily relieved him. Certain California newspapers claimed Johnston had attempted previously to incite a rebellion in the Golden State, but General Sumner's official report cleared him from that accusation.

He now travelled overland from Los Angeles, through Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, and reported to President Jefferson Davis, Confederate States of America. On September 10, 1861, by Special Order No. 149, Headquarters, Confederate States Army, President Davis named five officers to the rank of full General, theretofore unknown in America. In order of seniority, they were Samuel Cooper, (for many years The Adjutant General, U. S. Army, who assumed the same office for the Confederacy), Albert Sidney Johnston, Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston and Pierre G. T. Beauregard.

General Johnston's assignment was to command virtually all Southern troops west of the Alleghany Mountains. During the winter he achieved little of importance. Finally in the spring he decided to attack the Union forces under Major General U. S. Grant. The Battle of Shiloh ensued April 6, 1862. While with his troops in an advanced and dangerous part of the battlefield, he fell mortally wounded.

11. *Memoirs of Lieut.-General Scott, LL. D., written by Himself*, 604; (New York, 1864). The italics are mine.

Cooke reported to Colonel Johnston November 19 and submitted his official version of the march exactly two days later. Despite this hurriedness of preparation, the *Report* still shows examples of his outstanding literary style, so abundantly illustrated in his more leisurely published writings.¹²

“Headquarters Second Regiment of Dragoons
Camp on Black Fork, U. T.,¹³ November 21, 1857

Sir:

As required, I have the honor to report that, in obedience to instructions from the Colonel commanding the army for Utah, I marched in command of six companies¹⁴ Second Dragoons three miles from Fort Leavenworth, and encamped on the afternoon of the 17th of September.

The regiment had been hastily recalled from service in the field,¹⁵ and allowed three or four days only, by my then commanding officer to prepare for a march of 1,100 miles over an uninhabited and mountain wilderness. In that time the six companies of the regiment which were to compose the expedition were reorganized; 110 transfers necessarily made from and to other companies; horses to be condemned, and many to be obtained; the companies paid, and the commanders of four of them changed. About fifty desertions occurred. To these principal duties and obstacles—implying a great mass of writing—were to be added every exertion of experience and foresight to provide for a line of operation of almost unexampled length and mostly beyond communication. On the morning of the 16th, at the commencement of a rain-storm, an inspector general made a hurried inspection by companies, which could not have been very satisfactory to him or others; the company commanders, amid the confusion of Fort Leavenworth, presenting their new men—raw recruits—whom they had scarcely found or seen, under the effects usually following the pay-table.

12. Because of the remarkable achievement of Cooke's Dragoons, the *Report* was the only one of its kind published by the Government in connection with the Utah Expedition. It first appeared in *House Ex. Doc. No. 71*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., almost a century ago.

13. In 1857 the area south and west of the South Pass was still part of the Territory of Utah, constituting Green River County. The eastern boundary line was the crest of the Rocky Mountains.

14. Companies A, B, C, F, G and I. The other four companies of the Regiment, D, E, H and K, remained on duty in Kansas Territory. The unit designation of "troop" for the cavalry had not been put into use as yet.

15. The 2d Dragoons had been on duty for much of the two preceding years assisting the Kansas Territorial authorities in pacifying the turbulent conditions arising from the bloody struggle between the "Free Soilers" and "States' Rights" factions.

I marched, then, on the 17th. My preparations, though hurried, were as complete as possible. Then it was to be proved that three or four more days were to be lost in waiting for the Quartermaster's Department to supply the absolutely necessary transportation. On the 18th, 107 mules were furnished, which the same day had arrived from a march of perhaps 2,000 miles from Bridger's Pass; above 100 of the others were nearly worthless from want of age, and requiring several hours to harness a team. On the morning of the 19th, twenty-seven teamsters were wanting, and men were furnished utterly ignorant of the business and without outfits. I marched late that day, fourteen miles, and the last of the train reached the camp at twelve M. on the next day, the 20th, eleven wagon tongues having been broken. On the 21st, after a hard rain, I marched six miles, which, on slippery roads, was as much as such a train could well accomplish; and only that night nearly half of one of the companies which we had met returning to Fort Leavenworth, from a march of 600 miles, reached my camp.

Half allowance, or six pounds a day of corn for horses and mules, was the largest item of transportation. Three or four laundresses, with their children, were with each company.¹⁶

September 23.—I received an application of Governor Cumming¹⁷ for his (54) public animals, and was first informed that an order from the War Department, communicated to the Quartermaster's Department at Fort Leavenworth, ordered it furnished.

The weather now for ten days proved very fine; but there was generally a deficiency of grass, that was not compensated by the corn allowance. This was owing to the many troops and contract-trains which had passed, the camps being on streams running across the route.

October 1.—On the Little Blue I reached the train of 25 wagons and teams which the Colonel commanding had there stopped on their return from the Cheyenne expedition, to make out my outfit for the longer marches beyond assistance. Hard bread for the whole march to Salt Lake City was to be taken from Fort Kearney. Such was the condition of the young mules furnished at Fort Leavenworth that only fourteen of these additional wagons were available, 66 mules being necessarily exchanged. Here, as

16. Under current Army tables of organization each company was allowed a number of laundresses, who were usually the wives of enlisted men.

17. Alfred Cumming of Georgia. He had been named by President Buchanan as Governor of Utah Territory to succeed Brigham Young and served until 1861. His wife accompanied him on the Cooke march, as did several other newly appointed Territorial officials.

had been ordered, Assistant-Surgeon Covey¹⁸ joined the regiment, relieving Assistant-Surgeon Milhau.¹⁹

October 3.—There was so severe a northeast storm that I lay in camp. I knew that there would be no fuel at the next, on the Platte River.

October 4.—I marched in the rain, and on the 5th arrived at Fort Kearney²⁰ at 10 A. M., my rate of marching after September 21 having averaged 21 miles a day. There I remained the next day. I could not increase the number of wagons, but exchanged a few mules; nor could the required amount of corn be furnished.

On the 7th I marched in the rain, which had continued since the 2d of the month.

Up to the 12th—eleven days—the rainy weather continued, clearing up with thick ice; but the marches averaged twenty-one miles. The grass was very scarce and poor. It was not a season and prospects for delays. Every care was taken to sustain the horses;²¹ they were led, at that time, about two hours a day, and grazed on spots of grass found in the march. The length of the march was also accommodated to it, and diligent search made. That night I was encamped on an island west of Fallon's Bluff. This long rain made the want of fuel more severe; it rendered useless the now scarce *bois de vache*.²²

18. Dr. Edward V. Covey of Maryland had been appointed Assistant Surgeon in the Army Medical Department August 29, 1856. He resigned June 1, 1861, and became a Surgeon in the Confederate States Army.

Information in these footnotes concerning Army officers mentioned in the *Report* has been obtained from Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*; by "Authority of Congress"; 2 vols.; (Washington, 1903); and George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, N. Y.*; (New York, 1868).

19. Dr John Jefferson Milhau, a native of France, was granted an appointment in the Army as Assistant Surgeon April 30, 1851. He rose to the rank of Colonel in the Union Army during the Civil War and was cited three times for gallantry. He resigned October 1, 1876, and died May 8, 1891.

20. Fort Kearney was named in honor of Brevet Major General Stephen Watts Kearny, already mentioned. The name was inadvertently misspelled. See: Albert Watkins, *History Of Fort Kearney, Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, XVI, 227; (Lincoln, 1911).

21. Cooke's *Report* frequently discloses his solicitude for his animals. As a result of his long experience in extended marches in the West and as a true cavalryman, he was keenly conscious that the mobility of his column depended largely on the condition of the mounts and draft animals.

22. "Buffalo chips", used by travelers on the plains as fuel from time immemorial.

After this, the repeated hard frosts, with the previous consumption of grass by the troops, trains, and sixty thousand emigrant cattle, almost left us without this all-important support—I mean of a sort or condition fit for the support of our animals.²³

October 15.—I crossed the South Platte with a very cold northwest wind. Descended Ash Hollow,²⁴ and marched a mile or two on the North Platte in the vain search for any grass. These twenty-two miles, with the two serious obstacles overcome, were accomplished by the whole train in good time. This must be attributed to the excellent management of that most efficient officer, First Lieutenant John Buford,²⁵ Regimental Quartermaster.

After this the horses began to die and necessarily be left on the road. On the 17th two corn-trains were passed which had left Fort Kearney twelve days in advance of the regiment. I renewed my deficient supply, relieving them. A northeaster, with sleet, was distressingly chilling that evening in camp on Smith's Fork. Next day there was a snow-storm, falling three or four inches, which the teams were scarcely forced to face; and twenty-three mules, all three-year olds, were relieved from harness, exhausted. Bunch-grass was sought and found that night in the hills, several miles from the river.

Private Whitney, of Company G, died in the camp near Chimney Rock, of lock-jaw. He was buried on the bluff, with the honors of war, next morning at sunrise. The thermometer was 33°; but a fierce wind made the cold excessive. We found ice floating in the river.

October 20.—I crossed Scott's Bluff by the old (the best and shortest) road, snow still nearly covering the ground.

A mail, which had been in company for eleven days, did not get up until the night of the 21st.

23. Mounted expeditions of the Army west of the Missouri depended entirely on the seasonal buffalo grass as forage for their animals. Rations of grain were usually carried in the baggage trains, but never hay.

24. Ash Hollow was the scene of the Battle of the Blue Water against the Brule Sioux, September 3, 1855, in which Cooke had commanded the mounted troops.

25. John Buford, born in Kentucky but appointed to the United States Military Academy from Illinois, fulfilled the promise implicit in Cooke's commendation. After graduating in the Class of 1848 he joined the 1st Dragoons, but was shortly transferred to the 2d Dragoons. He entered the War Between the States as a Major, but in July, 1862, he had attained the rank of Brigadier General of Volunteers. Within a year he had become a Major General. How far he would have gone had he remained alive is conjectural, because he died December 16, 1863, while the War was at its height.

On the 22d, my camp was four miles below Fort Laramie,²⁶ with scarcely any appearance of grass, and there was none other for miles. I had made twenty-one miles a day from Fort Kearney, the road being pronounced worse than ever remembered by a number of old and frequent travelers on it.

On the 23d, the regiment camped a half-mile below the the fort on Laramie River. Mr. Buford, sent the night before, although then directed elsewhere, had found the only grass, a mile and a half higher up, where the mules were herded during my stay. He was now directed to make a critical examination and report upon all the mules, and a board of the oldest company officers was ordered to carefully inspect and report upon the horses.

Fifty-three were reported, on the 24th, ineffective for active service, and two hundred and seventy-eight fit to prosecute the march. The Regimental Quartermaster reported his ability to proceed with a diminution of only ten wagons, but eleven others of the train only capable of going five or six days, when their loads of corn would be consumed if the others were not lightened. There was but little hay there, and I ordered an issue from it to the horses during their stay. The corn-trains were expected in a day or two. It was absolutely necessary to await their arrival.

I had received your communication of October 5, giving discretionary authority to winter in the vicinity of Fort Laramie; but that evening I determined to continue on. I ordered the laundresses to be left. Lieutenant-Colonel Hoffman²⁷ stated that he could provide for them. Those too sick to ride were ordered to be left. The allowance of equipage in the general order for the summer march was greatly reduced, as in fact all other baggage; and even two ambulances, brought for the sick, were loaded with corn until they might be needed. I considered it prudent to take rations for thirty days.

On the 26th of October, the corn arrived, and was instantly taken and packed, by great exertions, for the march that afternoon, it being recommended by the guide, Jeaniser, who now joined me, in order to make camps with grass.

26. Cooke had previously visited Fort Laramie in June, 1845, during the march of the 1st Dragoons to the South Pass. He wrote a vivid description of the Post and its inhabitants in his book, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army*, 335. His impressions are quoted in part in Le Roy Hafen and Frances Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West*, 109-111; (Glendale, 1938).

27. William Hoffman, of New York, a West Point graduate in the Class of 1829, was an officer of the 6th Infantry. In 1857 he was detached as Post Commander at Fort Laramie. He had been twice cited for gallantry in the War with Mexico. He spent most of his service in the Civil War as Commissary General of Prisoners and at its close received the brevet rank of Major General. He retired in 1870 and died August 12, 1884.

At one o'clock, the 'General' was sounded. Soon after I received the despatch of October 18 from South Pass. This, announcing, in fact, hostilities²⁸ in front, the great want of cavalry, and the strong hope of the Colonel to see us with him, I read to the officers assembled in front of the mounted regiment, adding a few words expressing my confidence in their every exertion to meet the kindly-announced expectations of the commander of the army.

I had corn for the night brought to the camp—seven miles—by two wagons of the fort. Half allowance for eighteen days was then in camp. The horses were all blanketed from that time, and on the march led and mounted alternate hours, besides dismounting on difficult ground.

October 27.—Marched twenty miles. The guide found very good grass far from the usual road, making a cut-off to the North Platte. There I commenced herding the horses till dark, and the mules all night.

The marches were twenty miles a day until October 30, when, finding on the river very unusually good grass, after marching eight miles, the camp was made and horses and mules herded, no corn being issued in that camp, save a half-feed to horses next morning.

Next day there was rain; but we marched twenty miles, to the first grass in the vicinity of Deer Creek—two miles west of it. At the trading house I caused some good hay to be purchased—all there was, and less than an allowance for the horses. A hunter was there hired, a beef procured and slaughtered. An expressman²⁹ was also engaged, and I wrote to communicate with headquarters; but the man did not present himself until the next night.

November 1.—Owing to a total absence of grass, the march was prolonged to twenty-three or twenty-four miles, and a camp

28. As early as August 26, in the vicinity of Pacific Springs near the western end of South Pass, the leading element of the Utah Expedition had encountered patrols of the Utah Territorial Militia. The first contact was between an Army supply train and a detachment of the Utah 1st Regiment of Cavalry. Contrary to General Scott's specific instructions, the train had been left practically unguarded. On that specific date Colonel Edmund B. Alexander's 10th Infantry, in lead of the Army column, was still on the march east of Fort Laramie and the remaining units were strung out behind on the Oregon Trail. Colonel Johnston had not yet been appointed and an entire month was to elapse before the Dragoons departed from Fort Leavenworth. Later, as Colonel Alexander advanced westward from the South Pass, the Mormon riders kept his infantry and trains under constant observation, harassed his outposts, drove off several herds of cattle and burned three wagon trains. The 10th Infantry arrived at Fort Bridger early in October and found the Mormons had burned it. A temporary camp called Camp Winfield was established in the vicinity.

29. A mounted messenger.

was made above the bridge. Next morning was very cold; the few tents were with difficulty folded and packed, having remained frozen from the sleet two nights before. The old road was taken, leaving the road at the crossing, and, it not having been used by the troops, we were not disappointed in finding grass for a camp at the first spring—fifteen miles. Five wagons and teams of worst mules were that morning left in camp, to return to Fort Laramie after resting a day.

November 3.—Twenty miles were accomplished, against an excessively cold headwind, to a camp on Sago Creek. The horses were mostly led. The fatigue of walking up and over the high hills, in the face of the wind, was very great. A bad camp, with poor hill-grass and a cold rain, was our welcome on Sago Creek.

November 4.—The camp was on Sweetwater, a mile above Independence Rock. The hunter brought in at night four hundred pounds of good buffalo-meat, and also for me a canteen of petroleum from a spring at the base of one of the small black mountains not distant from the road. Five empty wagons and teams were ordered back to Fort Laramie.

November 5.—We passed Devil's Gate, with a landscape up the Sweetwater Valley. We crossed the little river to within half a mile of a deep grassy vale, extending into the mountain masses of naked granite. There all the animals were loosed for the night, the mouth of the canon only being guarded.

On the 6th, we found the ground once more white and the snow falling, but then very moderately. I marched as usual. On a four-mile hill the north wind and drifting snow became severe. The air seemed turned to frozen fog; nothing could be seen. We were struggling in a freezing cloud. The lofty wall at 'Three Crossings' was a happy relief; but the guide, who had lately passed there, was relentless in pronouncing there was no grass. The idea of finding and feeding upon grass in that wintry storm, under the deep snow, was hard to entertain; but, as he promised grass and other shelter two miles further, we marched on, crossing twice more the rocky stream, half choked with snow and ice. Finally, he led us behind a great granite rock, but all too small for the promised shelter. Only a part of the regiment could huddle there in the deep snow, while the long night through the storm continued, and in fearful eddies from above, before, behind, drove the falling and drifting snow. Thus exposed, in the hope of grass, the poor animals were driven with great devotion by the men once more across the stream, and three-quarters of a mile beyond to the base of a granite ridge, but which almost faced the storm. There the famished mules, crying piteously, did not seek to eat, but desperately gathered in a mass; and some horses, escaping the

guard, went back to the ford where the lofty precipice first gave us so pleasant relief and shelter.

Thus morning light had nothing cheering to reveal; the air still filled with driven snow. The animals soon came, driven in, and, mingled in confusion with men, went crunching the snow in the confined and wretched camp, trampling all things in their way. It was not a time to dwell on the fact that from that mountain desert there was no retreat nor any shelter near, but a time for action. No murmurs, not a complaint was heard, and certainly none in their commander's face a doubt or cloud; but with cheerful manner he gave orders as usual for the march. And then the sun showed his place in the sky, and my heart, for one, beat lighter. But for six hours the frost or frozen fog fell thickly, like snow, and again we marched as in a cloud.

The deep snow-drifts impeded us much, and in crossing Sweetwater the ice broke in the middle. Marching ten miles only, I got a better camp, and herded the horses on the hills. It was a different road, where a few days before the bodies of three frozen men were found.

November 8.—The mercury that morning marked forty-four degrees below freezing-point. The march was commenced before eight o'clock, and soon a high north-west wind arose, which with the drift, gave great suffering. Few could ride long, but of necessity eighteen miles were marched to Bitter Creek. The snow was blown deep in its valley, to which the hills gave little shelter. On them, the guide said, there was some grass; but few animals went, and none stayed there, so bitter was the wind. Twenty-three mules had given out, and five wagons and the harness were ordered to be abandoned at the camp.

Next day nineteen miles were to be marched, the road over high hills and table-lands; the snow was deep and drifted; the officers and men leading must break through the drifts in the road, where the wagons must follow it; the cloud was still on us, and freezing in our faces. Seven hours thus, and the Sweetwater Valley was regained; the wagons arrived at night. The animals were driven over the ice to herd on the high hills bounding the very narrow valley; but in the night a very great wind arose and drove them back from the scant bunch-grass there, freezing to death fifteen. We had there for fuel, besides the sage, the little bush-willow sticks.

November 10.—The northeast wind continued fiercely, enveloping us in a cloud, which froze and fell all day. Few could have faced that wind. The herders were to bring up the rear, with extra but nearly all broken-down mules, but could not force them from the dead bushes of the little valley, and they remained there all day and night, bringing on next day the fourth part, that had

not frozen. Thirteen miles were marched, and the camp was made four miles from the top of the pass. A wagon that day cut partly through the ice of a branch, and there froze so fast that eight mules could not move it empty. Nearly all the tent-pins were broken in the last camp; a few of iron were here substituted. Nine trooper-horses were left freezing and dying on the road that day, and a number of soldiers and teamsters had been frost-bitten. It was a desperately cold night; the thermometers were broken, but, by comparison, must have marked twenty-five degrees below zero. A bottle of sherry wine froze in a trunk. Having lost about fifty mules in thirty-six hours, the morning of the 11th, on the report of the Quartermaster, I felt bound to leave a wagon in the bushes, filled with seventy-four extra saddles and bridles and some sabres. Two other wagons, at the last moment, he was obliged to leave, but empty. The Sharp's carbines were then issued to mounted as well as dismounted men.

November 11.—Pleasant in the forenoon to men well wrapped and walking in the sun; we nearly surmounted the pass,³⁰ and, marching seventeen miles, encamped on Dry Sandy. The guide's search then resulted in his reporting 'no grass'. There remained but one day's corn after that night. It proved intensely cold, which must needs be seven or eight thousand feet high in the winter, in latitude above 42°. The mules for once were ordered tied to the wagons. They gnawed and destroyed four wagon-tongues, a number of wagon covers, ate their ropes, and, getting loose, ate the sage fuel collected at the tents. Some of these they also attacked. Nine died.

The fast growing company of dismounted men were marched together as a separate command by day; the morning of the 12th a number of them were frost-bitten from not being in motion, although standing by fires.

That day eighteen miles were marched to Big Sandy, where the guide found grass, and fuel with it, so good that the 13th was made a day of rest; the animals were all herded at the grass. Fifty horses had been lost since leaving Laramie. The regiment had maintained through its sufferings an excellent spirit.

30. As Cooke's Dragoons crossed the South Pass on November 11, it may be helpful to place other units of the Utah Expedition. On October 10 Colonel Alexander, claiming to have received no instructions from Colonel Johnston as to plans of operation, had decided on his own to move along the Bear River to Soda Springs, now in Idaho, and approach Salt Lake City from that point in the spring. Heavy snow storms impeded his progress, however, and he was finally called back by an order from the Army Commanding Officer, dated October 16. Colonel Johnston himself had reached the South Pass October 18 and arrived at Fort Bridger about November 5. He now decided to spend the winter there in a temporary establishment which he named Camp Scott.

November 14 was cold with a dense fog, which caused much delay and difficulty in collecting the animals. I marched, however, to 'Second Crossing'; there was scarcely any grass. The weather had now much moderated.

The 15th I reached and crossed Green River; there was very little grass, near or far; the horses were herded at night half a mile from camp, crossing the river on the ice. The United States October mail, which preceded me by two days from Fort Laramie, arrived there soon after me. Nine wagons were left at the house, and forty-two mules, with teamsters to herd them.

The sick report had rapidly run up from four or five to forty-two, thirty-six soldiers and teamsters having been frosted.

A man of Green River named Migette, was authorized to collect and winter such animals as he might find surviving on the road.

November 16.—We had to face a very severe wind, and to march, too, eighteen miles before a camp-ground could be got, on Ham's Fork, and there was little or no grass. At mid-day my return express, now sent to Fort Laramie, was met. Twenty horses were abandoned in that twenty-four hours.

November 17.—The guide was sent early to look for grass; we found some, and I marched, leading the horses six miles, and encamped there, on 'Little Muddy', running into Black's Fork.

November 18.—Thirteen miles were marched, and some very good bunch-grass was found, by careful search, between the barren clay ridges, within half a mile of which I camped on Black's Fork.

November 19.—Marched, leading through the mud and snow, as yesterday, fourteen miles, passing the camp of the Tenth Infantry. I encamped several miles above them, on Black Fork, and about three miles below Fort Bridger.

From there I reported in person yesterday, and one of my companies joined the army headquarters, Camp Scott.

I have one hundred and forty-four horses, and have lost one hundred and thirty-four. Most of the loss has occurred much this side of the South Pass, in comparatively moderate weather. It has been of starvation. The earth has a no more lifeless, treeless, grassless desert; it contains scarcely a wolf to glut itself on the hundreds of dead and frozen animals which for thirty miles nearly block the road with abandoned and shattered property; they mark, perhaps beyond example in history, the steps of an advancing army with the horrors of a disastrous retreat.³¹

31. Cooke did not exaggerate. Colonel Johnston's march from Pacific Springs to Fort Bridger—some 120 miles—had been a terrible experience. Constant snow storms had been encountered; the temperature dropped to 16°; the draft animals and beef cattle weakened pitifully because of lack of forage. As a result they dropped alongside the road and in camp by

A list of the officers is subjoined.

With high respect, your obedient servant,

P. St. George Cooke,
Lieutenant Colonel, Second Dragoons.

To the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army of Utah
Camp Scott, Utah Territory.

Lieutenant-Colonel P. St. George Cooke

Major M. S. Howe ³²

First Lieutenant John Buford, R. Q. M.

" " John Pegram, Adjutant ³³

Assistant Surgeon Edward N. Covey

Brevet-Major H. H. Sibley, Comdg Co I and squadron ³⁴

Captain James M. Hawes, " " C " " ³⁵

First Lieutenant Jonas P. Holliday " " F " " ³⁶

" " Thomas Hight " " B ³⁷

the hundreds and quickly froze. Progress was so slow that fifteen days were required to negotiate the last 35 miles! (Johnston, *Life of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston*, 212-215).

On arrival the troops faced a frigid winter with what little shelter could be provided by tents. All of this suffering was directly attributable to the fact that the Utah Expedition had started entirely too late in the season. It had been launched against competent military advice. Final blame must be squarely placed upon the stupidity of the politicians in Washington.

32. Marshal Saxe Howe, a native of Maine and graduate of West Point, spent all his Army service in the cavalry attaining the rank of Colonel in September, 1861. He retired in 1866 and died twelve years later.

33. Born in Virginia, John Pegram was a West Point graduate in the Class of 1854. On September 8, 1857, he was designated Regimental Adjutant of the 2d Dragoons. He gave up his Federal commission May 10, 1861, and turned to the South. He early was promoted Major General in the Confederate Army and was killed in action in a battle in his home State, February 6, 1865.

34. Henry Hastings Sibley, a New Yorker, was graduated from U. S. Military Academy in 1838 and served until the Civil War with the 2d Dragoons. He was cited for gallantry during the Mexican War. Despite his birthplace, he joined the Confederacy and became a Brigadier General, C. S. A.

35. A Kentuckian by birth and a West Point graduate in 1845, James Morrison Hawes was brevetted 1st Lieutenant for gallantry in Mexico two years later. He resigned from the Army early in 1861 and became a Brigadier General in the Southern forces. He died in 1889.

36. Jonas P. Holliday, of New York, was a member of the West Point Class of 1850. He immediately joined the 2d Dragoons and succeeded Lieutenant Buford as Regimental Quartermaster August 4, 1858. In the Civil War he became Colonel of the 1st Vermont Cavalry, but died on the following April 5.

37. Thomas Hight was appointed to the Military Academy from Indiana and was graduated in 1853. He entered the War Between the States as Lieutenant Colonel, 1st Maine Cavalry, but resigned from the Army for unstated reasons in April, 1863. He reentered the service with the 3d Maine Infantry, of which he became Colonel April 29, 1864. He was honorably discharged July 2, 1864, and died three years afterwards.

	"	John B. Villepigue	dismounted men	38
Second	"	George A. Gordon	" " A	39
"	"	John Mullins		40
"	"	Ebenezer Gay	" " G	41
"	"	John Green		42

So ended the most remarkable march in Cooke's wide experience. His solicitude for his men and animals, his courage under highly adverse conditions, his efficiency in handling his command won the praise of all his superior officers. General Scott, the General-in-Chief of the Army, in an order dated August 10, 1858, voiced what all cavalrymen felt:

The march in the depth of winter of Lieutenant-Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, commanding the Second Dragoons, from Laramie through the South Pass to Green River, deserves, as it has already received, special commendation.⁴³

Almost twenty years later Cook wrote of the experience of his Dragoons during the winter of 1857-1858:

38. John Bordenave Villepigue was born in South Carolina and was graduated from West Point in 1854. He resigned from the Army March 31, 1861, even before hostilities began, and became a Brigadier General under the Stars and Bars. He died November 9, 1862.

39. Another native of Virginia, George Alexander Gordon, became a West Point graduate in 1854. Unlike nearly all other Regular officers from the Old Dominion, he retained his commission in the Union Army. His highest rank during the Civil War was Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, bestowed for gallantry.

40. John Mullins, of Tennessee, was also a member of the U. S. M. A. Class of 1854. He followed the South in 1861 and became Colonel, 19th Mississippi Infantry.

41. Ebenezer Gay was a New Englander from New Hampshire and likewise belonged to the Class of 1854. He became a Lieutenant Colonel in the Civil War, but was "dismissed the service" in 1869. Reinstatement followed one year later.

42. John Green was the only non-West Pointer among Cooke's line officers. Moreover, by one of those strange quirks of military fortune, he was the only one to win the Congressional Medal of Honor subsequently. Foreign born in Germany, he enlisted in the ranks in 1846, worked his way up through the non-commissioned grades and was commissioned 2d Lieutenant, 2d Dragoons, June 18, 1855. He finished the Civil War as Lieutenant Colonel, but in 1890 was promoted Brigadier General for service in Indian campaigns. He received his Medal of Honor in an engagement against the Modoc Indians at Lava Rocks, California, January 17, 1873.

43. N. A. R. S. W. R. B.

. . . To the regiment was assigned the charge of herding, in distant mountain valleys, between six and seven thousand oxen, mules, and horses, to which its own were added; these, thus peculiarly exposed to renewed raids of the Mormons, had, by day, to be spread over thousands of acres. On application for assistance the smallest company in the army was sent . . ."

44. Colonel Theophilus F. Rodenbough, *From Everglade to Canon with the Second Dragoons*, 192; (New York, 1875).

Additional military information concerning Cooke's march, by way of background, may be found in: Brigadier General Oliver L. Spaulding, Jr., *The United States Army in War and Peace*, 236-240; (New York, 1937); Colonel Albert G. Brackett, *History of the United States Cavalry*, 177-181; (New York, 1865); Percival G. Lowe, *Five Years a Dragoon*, 294-308; (Kansas City, 1906); William Drown, *Personal Recollections—A Trumpeter's Notes*, 206-218. Diaries of two Regular officers serving with the Utah Expedition have been published by State Historical Societies. The first, *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858; Letters of Capt. Jesse A. Gove*; published by the New Hampshire Historical Society; (Concord, 1928); sheds some interesting side lights on the Expedition as a whole. The second, *The Utah War; Journal of Albert Tracy, 1858-1860*; issued by the Utah State Historical Society; (Salt Lake City, 1945); does not begin until Cooke's march had been accomplished, but describes several incidents in which Tracy became involved with Cooke at Camp Floyd.

Washakie and The Shoshoni

*A Selection of Documents from the Records of the Utah
Superintendency of Indian Affairs*

Edited by

DALE L. MORGAN

PART IV—1857-1859

XXXVIII

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES W.
DENVER, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED G. S. L.

CITY, SEPT. 12, 1857¹⁰²

Sir,

Enclosed please find Abstract account current and vouchers from 1 to 35 inclusive (also abstract of employees) for the current quarter up to this date, as owing to the stoppage of the mail I have deemed it best to avail myself of the opportunity of sending by private Conveyance not knowing when I may have another chance. The expenditure as you will observe by the papers amount to \$6411.38 for which I have drawn my drafts on the department in favor of Hon. John M. Bernhisel delegate to Congress from this Territory. You will also observe that a portion of these expenditures accrued prior to this quarter, which may need a word of explanation. Santa Clara is in Washington County the extreme Southern County of this Territory and this labor was commenced and partly performed, seeds, grain &c furnished prior to the time that Major Armstrong visited those parts of the Territory, hence failed to find its way into his reports and failed being included in mine because the accounts & vouchers were not sooner brought in and hence not settled untill recently; but little has been effected in that part of the Territory at the expense of the Government, although much has been done by the citizens in aiding the Indians with tools, teams and instruction in cultivating the earth. The bands mentioned are part of the Piede

102. U/19-1857. This letter, written as the Utah Expedition was marching toward Utah, reflects the general insecurity of the Mormon position. Brigham Young later made much of the fact that the Federal government had failed to notify him of his having been superseded as governor and superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the letter is an example of scrupulous avoidance of these topics.

tribe of Indians who are very numerous, but only in part inhabit this Territory. These Indians are more easily induced to labor than any others in the Territory and many of them are now engaged in the common pursuits of civilized life. Their requirements are constant for wagons, ploughs, spades, hoes, teams and harness &c to enable them to work to advantage.

In like manner the Indians in Cache Valley have received but little at the expense of the Government although a Sore tax upon the people; West and along the line of the California and Oregon travel, they continue to make their contributions, and I am Sorry to add with considerable loss of life to the travellers. This is what I have always Sought by all means in my power to avert, but I find it the most difficult of any portion to control I have for many years Succeeded better than this. I learn by report that many of the lives of the emigrants and considerable quantities of property has been taken. This is principally owing to a company of some three or four hundred returning Californians who travelled those roads last spring to the Eastern States shooting at every indian they could see, a practise utterly abhorrent to all good people; yet I regret to say one which has been indulged in to a great extent by travellers to and from the Eastern States and California, hence the Indians regard all white men alike their enemies and kill and plunder whenever they can do So with impunity and often the innocent Suffer for the deeds of the guilty. This has always been one of the greatest difficulties that I have had to Contend with in the administration of Indian Affairs in this Territory. It is hard to make an Indian believe that the whites are their friends and the Great Father wishes to do them good, when perhaps the very next party which crosses their path shoots them down like wolves. This trouble with the Indians only exists along the line of travel west, and beyond the influence of our Settlements. The Shoshones are not hostile to travellers so far as they inhabit in this Territory except perhaps a few called "Snake diggers" who inhabit as before stated along the line of travel west of the settlements. There have however been more or less depredations the present season North and more within the vicinity of the Settlements owing to the causes above mentioned and I find it of the utmost difficulty to restrain them. The Sound of war quickens the blood and nerves of an Indian. The report that troops were wending their way to this Territory has also had its influence upon them. In one or two instances this was the reason assigned why they made the attacks which they did upon some herds of Cattle they seemed to think that if it was to be war they might as well commence and begin to lay in a Supply of food, when they had a chance. If I am to have the direction of the Indian Affairs of this Territory and am expected to maintain friendly relations with the Indians, there are a few things that I

would most respectfully suggest to be done. First, that travellers omit their infamous practise of shooting them down when they happen to see one.

Whenever the citizens of this Territory travels the roads, they are in the habit of giving the Indians food, tobacco and a few other presents, and the Indians expect Some such trifling favor, and they are emboldened by this practise to come up to the road with a view of receiving such presents. When therefore travellers from the States make their appearance they throw themselves in Sight with the Same view and when they are Shot at Some of their numbers killed as has frequently been the Case, we cannot but expect them to wreak their vengeance upon the next train.

Secondly. That the Government should make more liberal appropriations to be expended in presents I have proven that it is far cheaper to feed and clothe the Indians than to fight them. I find moreover that after all when the fighting is over, it is always followed by extensive presents which if properly distributed in the first instance might have averted the fight. In this Case then the expense of presents are the Same and it is true in nine tenths of the Cases that have happened.

Third. The troops must be kept away for it is a prevalent fact that where ever there are the most of these we may expect to find the greatest amount of hostile Indians and the least Security to persons and property

If these three items could be complied with I have no hesitation in Saying that so far as Utah is concerned that travellers could go to and from pass and repass and no Indian would disturb or molest them or their property.

In regard to my drafts it appears that the department is indisposed to pay them, for what reason I am at a loss to conjecture. I am aware that Congress Separated the office Superintendent of Indian Affairs from that of Governor, that the Salary of Governor remained the Same for his Gubernatorial duties, and that the Superintendent was fifteen hundred I do think that inasmuch as I perform the duties of both offices that I am entitled to the pay appropriated for it, and trust that you will so consider it.

I have drawn again for the expenditure of this present quarter as above Set forth. of course you will do as you please about paying as you have with the drafts for the two last quarters.

The department has ofen manifested its approval of the management of the Indian Affairs in this Superintendency, and never its disapproval. Why then should I be subjected to such annoyance in regard to obtaining the funds for defraying its expenses? Why should I be denied my Salary, why should appropriations made for the benefit of the Indians of this Territory be retained in the

treasury and individuals left unpaid? These are questions I leave for you to answer at your leisure, and meanwhile Submit to Such course in relation thereto as you shall See fit to direct. . . .

XXXIX

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES W. DENVER,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT,
GREEN RIVER COUNTY, U. T., Nov. 30, 1857¹⁰³

Sir,

I arrived here several days ago, with Col Cooks command. Circumstances compells the Army, to remain here untill spring. All the civil officers for Utah are here & must of course remain under the protection of the Army. The Gove[r]nor will in a few days organize the Territorial Government.

I expect within two weeks, to have an interview, with the Cheif of the Snake Tribe, which are in winter quarters a short distance from here. I will also within a few months visit in company with Agent Dr. Hurt, several other Tribes

Dr Hurt, was driven from his "indian Farm" in "Salt Lake Valley," by the Mormons, & is & will remain in this camp. the Dr. will report to me as soon as we get fixed. We are at present enguaged building Houses (cabins & fixing up for the winter. I am at present writing in my carraige with gloves on my hands—the thermometer below zero. . . .

XL

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES W. DENVER,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT,
GREEN R. COUNTY, DEC. 14, 1857¹⁰⁴

Dear Sir

In compliance with a regulation of your department, making it the duty of superintendents to report annually, I submit the following report.

Having been in the Territory of Utah, but a few weeks, I have consequently but little to report. I arrived at this Camp the latter part of last month, & was informed by Col. [Albert Sidney] Johnston, the Commanding Officer, that the Army, would go into Winter quarters at this place. All the civil officers are Stopping here, and I am oblided to do the same. I have been buisily en-

103. F/172-1858

104. F/176-1858

guaged erecting a cabin in some degree suitable for an office and dwelling, will have it finished in a few days.

"Little Soldier," Chief of a Small Tribe of Sho-Sho-Ne Indians visited me last Tuesday and remained in Camp Two days. This Chief had with him several of his men, and also an Indian named Ben Simons, formerly of the Delaware Tribe, but for the last Twenty years a trader among the Indians of this Territory. Ben Speaks most of the languages of this region, and English sufficiently well to answer for an interpreter.¹⁰⁵

Little Soldier's Tribe is at present encamped in Weber Valley, on the road leading from this Camp to Salt Lake consequently in close proximity to the Mormons, and in a position to render assential service to the Mormons, should they be so disposed. Little Soldier assures me however, that they have always kept aloof from Mormon delusions and maintained strict integrity towards the U. States and any of her Citizens, who have traded through his country. I have satisfied myself that they have not deceived me. Inasmuch as this Tribe have not acceded to the wishes of the Mormons, & as an inducement for a continuence of friendship I have given them some presents for which they were very thankfull and much pleased.

I herewith transmit to you, the Report of Agent Dr Hurt. I have examined the Report carefully and have talked with men, of unquestionable integrity who have seen the Indian Farms, and so far as I have been able to investigate the matter, justice compells

105. Most of what is known about Ben Simons emerges in the records of 1857-58, and a considerable part of that is developed in the documents now printed. He is said to have been a Cherokee, or a half-breed Cherokee of French parentage, and attained to the status of a sub-chief with Little Soldier's band of mixed Shoshoni and Utes. Another man of like character, variously referred to as Jim Simons or Jim Cherokee, appears fugitively in the same records. Perhaps the earliest documentary reference to Ben Simons occurs on Oct. 14, 1852, in the letter by Brigham Young quoted in Note 60. He frequented, with Little Soldier's band, the Weber River area in particular, and Lieut. E. G. Beckwith, carrying on the Pacific Railroad survey after Gunnison's death, in the spring of 1854 referred to his presence in the Morgan Valley, even calling a creek by his name. On Aug. 7, 1858, Richard Ackley referred to Ben's presence with a detachment of troops as far east as the North Platte (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, 1941, vol. X, p. 203). During the winter of 1857-58 he moved back and forth between the lines of the Mormons and Camp Scott, and was a principal source of information for both. He appears to vanish from the record in 1859; the last reference I have to him is a report of a conversation made by Dimick B. Huntington on Feb. 14, 1859 (L. D. S. Journal History for this date). Arrapine and Ben Simons had been visiting Huntington in Great Salt Lake City, and Ben, who apparently was a black-bearded man, is represented as having told Arrapine "that somebody had got to die for shooting at him last winter in the mountains—he did not say who it would be."

me to bear favourable testimony to the policy of Dr. Hurt, in introducing agriculture among these Tribes.

Dr. Hurt has undoubtably given his entire time & energies to improve the condition of the Tribes, in his neighbourhood, & has by his devotion to their interests endeared himself much to them, and also stimulated other Tribes, who have come many miles, to visit these farms, and are asking instructors, Dr H. has accomplished all this without any assistance from those around him, but in many instances had to encounter obstacles thrown in his way. For the reasons, for which Dr. Hurt, abandoned the farms, I refer you to his letter to Col. Johnston.¹⁰⁶

Permanently locating the Indian Tribes of this Territory, and the introduction among them, of agriculture and Mechanical pursuits, shall be my cheif aim. . . .

XLI

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO JAMES W. DENVER,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT,
GREEN RIVER CO., UTAH T., JAN. 1, 1858¹⁰⁷

Dear Sir.

There is now, no probability of the Army or civil Department getting into Salt L. City, before May or June or even then.

In compliance with the Special request of the Acting Commissioner Mr Mix—I have availed myself of every opportunity to get reliable information of the true condition of the Indians in this Territory. I have obtained Some usefull and interesting information. Since my last communication, Five chiefs and Seventy to Eighty of their principal men, visited me—representing two of the Utah Tribes or Bands. The Utahs claim the country—between Salt L. City, Rocky Mountains—New Mexico & Serrie Nevada. Those that were here seemed peacefull, but, evidently poor, they belong to Dr Hurt Agency, & the Dr. informs me that they have rendered him some service on the Indian farms. These Bands are anxious to enguage in Agriculture & asked me to assist them, and also send a white man to instruct them. they informed me, that game, was very scarce in their country, but plenty of good land. Wash-a-Kee—principal Cheif of a small Tribe called "Snakes," send me a special Message last week, informing me, that he would visit me before the Army left. This Tribe is at

106. For the general background to Indian Affairs at this time in Utah Territory see Dale L. Morgan, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851-1858," *Pacific Historical Review*, November, 1948, vol. XVII, pp. 405-409.

107. F/189-1858.

present on Wind River, on lands belonging to the Crous,¹⁰⁸ they claim Green River County, but game is too scarce here, & hence they go elsewhere for subsistence. The Snakes, & Some of the Utah Bands, have been at variance for some years, but both Seem willing, to make friends, which I will endeavor to consummate in the Spring or sooner if possible.

Several persons who have done business among these different Tribes, inform me that they have never molested any Whites. I give the Utahs that visited me some presents. The Department have directed me to examine the financial accounts of Agents Hurt & Armstrong, which I cannot do, untill we get into (If Ever) Salt Lake City.

I have received a communication Since here, informing that the person appointed to the Agency at Salt L. City, had declined, & I am consequently requested to continue Mr. Armstrong—Mr A. is a Mormon, & untill further instructed, I must decline recognizing him as an Agent. I beleive the last Congress passed an Act for an Indian Agency, in Carson Valley. I think it would be advisable to appoint a suitable person to that Agency. Mr John Kerr, is here, in the employ of Mr Livingston, and who I think would make a very good & reliable Agent. Mr Kerr has lived several years in this Territory, and seems familiar with Indian affairs. I also recomment the appointment of some person in the place of Mr Armstrong, at Salt Lake city. . . .

XLII

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP SCOTT,
GREEN RIVER CO., U. TERRITORY, FEB. 10, 1858¹⁰⁹

Dear Sir.

The bearer Lewis M. Stewart Esq—is my Brother-in-Law, who I take pleasure in introducing to your favourable consideration, he is a Scholar & Gentleman, & in every way worthy your confidence. Mr Stewart, come out with me, & has rendered me assential service. Mr. S. visits the States, to attend to some private business for me, & bring out my family;

I requested Mr. S.—to visit Washington, for reasons, that will appear in this letter. The Mails have been very irregular; indeed no Mails, at all, untill within the last three weeks, & then only part of the Oct. Nov & December Mails. These Mail delinquences are insufferable, especially when the roads, have ben in a traveling

108. This is one of the earliest documents that shows Washakie's Shoshoni frequenting the country that eventually became their reservation.

109. S/273-1858.

condition all Winter. There is a strong presumption, that the Mail, has been intercepted, we are forced to this beleif, from the fact that no official, Civil or Military officer have received any thing from Washington, & very few letters of any kind. I have received but three letters since I left home.

I have communicated all my official acts, among the Indians, to your Department, which I hope, has met with approval. I came into this country, with a full determination to do my duty, both to the Government & Indians. The duties pertaining to my office, are very different from my former habitudes, and it would not be very strange, if I would commit some errors, in the outstart of my Mission. Rest assured, my Dear Sir, that I have not been idle, to inform myself, of the duties of my office. My principal associate, is Gov. Cumming,¹¹⁰ a man of extraordinary acquirements, & my warm friend. I beg leave to remind, you, of a promise to send me a Book, containing a general & special Hystory, of all the Indian Tribes, in the U. States. I will regard it as a very great favour, to send me said Book, by my friend Mr. Stewart.

I forwarded several weeks ago, my first financial Report, which from the peculiar condition of affairs here, may need some explanation. If so, I feel confident, Mr. Stewart can make a satisfactory explanation. I am very anxious to make a right beginning.

I wish to be rightly understood, in refference to my motives, for coming out, into this country, that it was or is not to make money, but reather a hope & prospect, of improving a broken down constitution, & avoiding the development of already incipient CONSUMPTION. I am happy to inform you that my Health is already greatly improved.

I see it stated in the papers, & the impression seems to be general, that some of the Indian Tribes, are in the employ of B. Young, there is no truth in this, & I think I stated so, to the Department, in my communications. I am assured, by reliable persons, that the Indian Tribes, in this Territory, with the exception of those in & about Carson Valley, have been uniformly peaceable, & never molested any of our people & the Government, altho frequently impertuned by the Mormons, to steal from & murder Emigrants. To improve the condition of the Indians, in Carson Valley, I recommended the appointment of an Agent for that locality—the person whom I recommended, left here, a few weeks ago, for the States, & may be at Washington about the

110. Alfred Cumming, a Georgian, governor of Utah from 1857 to 1861, had previously been Superintendent of the Central Superintendency at St. Louis, and had ample background to give Forney wise counsel.

first of March. I also advised the appointment of a new Agent at Salt Lake City, I cannot think, that you, will want to continue a Mormon in office. I beleive I reccommended no one for this Agency—I do now respectfully reccommend Dr. C. B. Gillespy, Bradys Bend P. O., Armstrong Co. Pa. I know the Dr well, and consider him well qualified for any position, & I feel confident he would come out.

I see it stated, that Genl [James W.] Denver has been appointed, Secretary for Kansas, how is this—I was in hopes that the Kansas, troubles were all rightly fixed up long before this. With a veiw to the prospective good of Kansas, I would respectfully reccommend, the Hanging or exporting, some of the scoundrals, who seem so bent on mischeif. Did Walker & Stanton, brake down. I hope the President will not suffer by the Kansas difficulties.

It is my full purpose, to visit every full Tribe, in this Territory, within the next ten months. I will have an interview with the "Snake" Tribe, before we leave this point, these are wintering on "Wind River," this section of the Territory belong to this Tribe.

My opportunities have been too limited, to enable me to say much of the real & true condition, of the Indians, in this Territory. I have talked with the representatives of two Tribes, from these & other sources, I have learned, that all are poor, scarcity of game, is the cause. The Cheifs, & principal Men, with whom I have talked, are anxious to be taught farming. The "Utah" Cheifs, who visited me last Month, told me that they had very little game, but plenty of good Land, and asked me, to send a white to teach the Art of farming. I am anxious to give these people an opportunity to work

If the Department, have any communication to make, please send it by Mr. Stewart, as the Mail is uncertain. Mr. Stewart will give you any information about the condition of things here, It is very uncertain when the Army will leave, not perhaps untill June. Present my compliments to the Secretary of the Interior. . . .

XLIII

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED CAMP
SCOTT, GREEN RIVER CO., MARCH 11, 1858¹¹¹

Dear Sir.

I received a letter from Col. Johnston, several days ago, requesting my Co-operation in furthering the operations of the U. Army, by employing some expert Indians, for the performance

111. F/227-1858.

of certain kinds of duty, which might prove efficacious to all here encamped.

The intention is not to engage Indians, for actual fighting, but as scouting parties. On reflection, I have concluded, that it is my duty, to render the Army, all the aid in my power. I have send for the "Snake Tribe," they being the most intimately acquainted with this portion of the Territory.

I received a letter, yesterday evening, from "Little Soldier" principal Cheif, of a small Tribe, at present encamped on Bear River, some fifty miles from this camp. Weaver & part of Salt L. Vally, was the home, of this Tribe, untill driven from all their best land, by the Mormons. They were encamped, all winter near "Ogden City," Weaver Vally—they left there several days ago, crossed the Mountain & Cannons—between this & S. L. City, the road, they inform me, is in a good Condition. I will see the Tribe in a few days.

"Little Soldier"'s Tribe—have been suspected, by some, for having formed friendly relations with the Mormons. This Cheif, with some of his principal men, visited me last fall, shortly after our arrival here. There own Statements, & the testimony of reliable men, convinced me, that this Tribe, have ever, been faithful, to the Government & our citizens. All subsequent information of this people, strengthens my good opinion of them.

It is uncertain, when I may have another safe opportunity of sending letters—this goes by the Army Express. . . .

XLIV

D. W. THORPE TO CHARLES E. MIX, ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 26, 1858¹¹²

Sir

In the establishment of an Indian Agency for the "Snake Nation" I would respectfully mention that if the Government should Deem the season to[o] far advanced to make the usual arrangements for the purchas[e] and transportation of Goods for that Tribe, I will be able to have the goods furnished and fraightted at the ordinary Government rates, by the direction of the Department.

In this connection I would beg to suggest that a limited amount of goods for that destination would be most advisable untill those

112. T/286-1858.

Indians have been visited and there chiefs and head men assembled and the numbers and wants more certainly ascertained.

A few thousand dollars properly and carefully distributed among them would be an earnest of the kind feelings of Government in their behalf and would be most salutary in the prevention of any undue influence being used over them by the Mormons in connection with the difficulties now pending in that region. . . .

XLV

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT
BRIDGER, APRIL 17, 1858¹¹³

Dear Sir.

There has nothing peculiarly interesting transpired in my department, since my last Communication.

I visited last week the Sho-Sho-Ne- Tribe at present encamped on Bear River, fifty miles from here, in the direction of Salt L. City. I promised the Chiefs of this Tribe, sometime ago- and when yet encamped in Weber Valley, that whenever they had moved to Bear River, I would endeavor to visit them, consequently Tuesday evening of last week, two Chiefs, with seventy men, came to my place, all well mounted, to escort me to there Camp. There was no backing out, on the following day we started. This was my first visit to an Indian Camp. I was decidedly pleased with the general appearance & apparently industrious habits of these people. I was informed by one of the Chiefs, Ben Simons, who acted as Interpreter, that they had out almost constantly hunting parties. They have killed this Winter, over a hundred elk, & a large quantity of small game — They have also commenced trapping in Bear River, & have already Caught considerable Otter & Beaver.

A small party, from this Tribe, were the first Indians that visited me, after our arrival here. This is one of the Tribes — B. Young, boasted, would assist him, in the event of a conflict with the U. States. Several days intercourse, on my recent visit, enables me to say most confidently, that this Tribe, is true, to the Government, beyond all peradventure.

I received your communication informing me of the appointment of an Agent at S. L. City.

113. F/260-1858.

I will send my financial report, for the quarter Ending March 31, the first of next month. My visit to B. River, last week, & other official matters, prevents me, sending it by to Morrow's Mail.

Wash-A-Kee.—Principal Cheif of the Snakes, has send me word, that he & his principal men will visit me within two weeks.

White-Eye—Principal Cheif, of a large Tribe, of "Utes," spend part of a day at my Tent, he is evidently a man, Calculated to rule, he wants me to see all his Cheifs & principal men, before we leave this. Three of the Sho-Sho-Ne Cheifs, have requested me, to meet them & all there people at "Bear Lake," in May, & give them a talk - which I can do on my way to Salt Lake City. . . .

XLVI

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
FORT BRIDGER, MAY 21, 1858¹¹⁴

Dear Sir.

I succeeded on the 12th inst. of consummating a Treaty of Peace, between the Snake Tribe, under Cheif Wash-A-Kee—his five sub-Cheifs, and the Utah Tribe, under White-Eye— Sow-At- & Sam Pitch—equal Cheifs, These two Tribes have been at enmity for years, fighting and killing each other, and endangering the lives & property of Whites.

I seen and talked with both Tribes, before they met here, and at my request met in Council, at my office. All differences are adjusted, and I have good reason to beleive, that the peace will be permanent.

The line deviding these Indians, was never deffinately explained to them, both Tribes, now understand where the dividing line between them is.

The Bannack Tribe, were present at the Council. I will give you, on the first June a full account of the above transaction, and also, all my other official doings, since in the Territory & to the end of the fiscal year.¹¹⁵ It is my intention, and will make my arrangements accordingly, That from the first of July, to December or January, my time will be principally occupied traveling—visit-

114. F/252-1858.

115. His official duties so pressed upon him that Forney, as he reported later, did not find the time to prepare this "full account" of the "Treaty of Peace" he brought about between the Shoshoni and the Utes; the same cause prevented his making the visit to Bear Lake which he had contemplated. In view of what Forney says about his having defined a "dividing line" between the two tribes, this dereliction in duty becomes the more lamentable.

ing the Tribes & Bands, in other portions of the Territory, unless prevented by political entanglements. I have satisfactorily arranged the boundaries, and concluded permanent friendship with four Tribes, of considerable importance.

I will leave this next Monday or Tuesday, for Salt L. Valley, & the Indian farm, near Provo City. My friend Govenor Cumming, visited the Indian farm, during his trip through the Mormon Settlements, and found things on the farm in a very different condition, then represented to me by the Agent. The Govenor seen about 2000 bushels of wheat—Cattle and farming implements. The person on the farm, was requested to remain untill my arrival there, which will, I trust, be next week, & in time, to have some potatoes &c—planted.

I will return here again in a few weeks, I have an appointment to meet the whole Sho-Sho-Nee Tribe, on Bear River Lake, in June. I intend also, if possible, to make a visit to several Valleys, from thirty to fifty miles, south-East of this, and also explore some along Green River, and a Valley east of this River. This exploration is being made, with the view of determining the feasibility of permanently settling the Snake Tribe, for Agricultural purposes. Wash-A—kee, principal Cheif, of this Tribe, is very anxious to settle his people permanently, he assures me, that all he wants is a good White man, to instruct his people, & farming implements, & his young men will do the work.¹¹⁶

I respectfully invite your attention to my financial report, the amount expended in presents may seem large. I may have exceeded the bounds of discretion in making so many. I will explain my principal motives for doing as I have done. All the Tribes I have had intercourse with, have always been faithful to the Government, & never molested any of our people. Three of the Tribes, have never received any presents. These Indians were & are in a position, which, if disposed, could have done us more harm than the Mormons. After consulting a few friends last fall, & the destitute condition of the Indians, many really almost naked & starving, I felt it to be my duty, to do as I have done. I have given all the presents, I intent to give, to the Indians, in this portion of the Territory, which at the price even here will not exceed Eight thousand dollars, to the end of the fiscal year. . . .

N B. I have much more to say, but have been & still too sick an express will leave here June 1st, when I will write again.

116. Each succeeding wave of Indian officials heard a similar tale from the Indian chiefs of Utah Territory. Alas, the young men did not take kindly to "doing the work," which in their view was properly the sphere of the squaws.

XLVII

BRIGHAM YOUNG, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO COMMISSIONER
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, U. T.,

JUNE 30, 1858¹¹⁷

Sir:—

Enclosed please find an abstract account current, property return, and vouchers from one to seventeen inclusive. Showing an expenditure during the quarter ending June 30, 1858, of Seven thousand and Sixty eight 57/100 Dollars, for which I have drawn two drafts No 95 for Three thousand five hundred and thirty four Dollars, and No 96 for Three thousand five hundred and thirty four 57/100 Dollars, in favor of Hon. J. M. Bernhisel Delegate in Congress.

Of the above amount, One thousand three hundred and sixty eight 44/100 Dollars, was expended as you will perceive at Fort Bridger in presents to Wash-e-kik, Standing Rock, Tib-en-de-wah and their respective bands, all of the Shoshone tribe of Indians, at their annual visit made at that place in August last.¹¹⁸ These accounts would have been included in my former reports, but have not been rendered until the 3rd of April of the present quarter, as appears in voucher No. 1.

Since my last report the Indians have generally been rather more quiet and in a few instances returned some of the horses which they had previously stolen. One exception however to this is a portion of the Utahs under White-Eye, Anthro, Peeteeneet, Sand-pitch and Tin-tic who with their bands numbering above six hundred, came into the Settlements, about the last of May, from the vicinity of Fort Bridger, very hostile in their feelings and apparently only awaiting the advance of the troops from that point to make a general attack. As it was they committed many depredations, by stealing horses, Killing Cattle Sheep &c., but since they have learned the peaceable advance of the troops, their hostile feelings seem to be somewhat subsiding.

Owing to these causes, it became necessary to not only hold them in check but to feed them in order to conciliate and keep them from actual outbreak until matters could be explained to them understandingly.

I trust that the foregoing explanations will be deemed sufficient and satisfactory and the account paid accordingly.

¹¹⁷. Y/34-1858.

¹¹⁸. "August last" would have been the summer of 1857. Very little information has turned up bearing on the movements of the Shoshoni in 1857.

Dr Forney Superintendent of Indian Affairs, tho doubtless having been some time in the Territory and probably officiating partially in his office while at Camp Scott did not until quite recently sufficiently assume its duties that I could feel relieved therefrom. Being now at the scene of his duties, these matters will hereafter devolve upon him, thus closing my official intercourse with this department.

Trusting that Dr. Forney's intercourse with the department may be congenial, as well as satisfactory to the native tribes. . . .

XLVIII

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX, ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH TERRITORY, SEPT. 6, 1858¹¹⁹

Sir: In accordance with the regulations and requirements of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit to you a report of my doings among the Indians of this Territory.

I received my commission on the 9th day of September, A. D. 1857, and with the least possible delay thereafter commenced my journey to my superintendency. It was the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior and yourself that I could reach Fort Leavenworth in time to come out under the protection of Colonel [Philip St. George] Cook[e]'s command, but I found on my arrival at the fort that the command had left and were *en route* twelve days. I did not overtake it until it reached Fort Laramie.

My party reached Camp Scott, near Fort Bridger, on the 17th day of November last, after experiencing extremely cold weather in the mountains; and it was only through the kindness of Colonel Cook (to whom I am much indebted) that we were enabled to reach the camp of the Utah army.

On account of the inclement state of the weather, and the troubled condition of affairs in this Territory, I was compelled to remain during the whole of last winter at Camp Scott, and of course was not very favorably situated to attend to the duties of my office. I had a building erected, however, and entered upon my official duties in the best manner possible under the circumstances.

The tribes and fragments of tribes with whom I had business relations during my forced residence at Camp Scott are as follows, to wit: on the second day of December last I was visited by

119. The original manuscript having disappeared, this report is reprinted from the published version in the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1858, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Executive Document 1*, Part 1 (Serial 974), pp. 561-565.

San-Pitch, a principal chief of the Utahs, and a few of his men. I will speak more elaborately of this tribe in the progress of this report. They wished to see Agent Hurt, who was then residing at Camp Scott. I gave them a few presents; this was my first official act with the Indians.

On the 10th of December following, Little Soldier, chief, and Benj. Simons, sub-chief, of a band of Sho-sho-nes, with some of their principal men, called on me; several merchants, however, who had recently and for several years resided in Salt Lake City, and who were well acquainted with this tribe from their proximity to the Mormon settlements, regarded their visit with suspicion. It was believed by many that they were spies. I learned, however, that their reason for visiting camp was to ascertain the object and ultimate destination of so many soldiers in the Territory. All this was explained to them, and after receiving some presents they departed for their homes in Weber valley. Ben Simons understands and speaks English sufficiently well to answer for an interpreter. I visited this tribe in April last. They then encamped on Bear river. The territory claimed by them includes Salt lake, Bear river, Weber river and Cache valley. Almost all the arable land belonging to them is occupied by white settlers, and, if not in actual cultivation, is held by virtue of certain legislative grants as herd grounds. I can learn of no effort having been made to locate any portion of this tribe.¹²⁰ This is to me surprising, as they have frequently solicited me to select some suitable place to enable them to raise wheat and corn. It was my intention to visit Weber and Cache valleys with this object in view. Several events, however, which have lately transpired, render this impossible this season. There is no tribe of Indians in the Territory with whom I have any acquaintance that have been so much discommoded by the introduction of a white population as the Sho-sho-nes. For the past few years they have been compelled to live in the mountains, (as the game has all been driven off the lowlands,) where the snow frequently falls to such depths as to be destructive to man and beast. But notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which they labor from the introduction of a white populace, I cannot learn that they have ever molested any of our citizens, but, on the contrary, have always been friendly.

120. The Mormons at Ogden, in November, 1854, undertook the expedient of disarming Little Soldier's band and distributing them among the families in Weber County, "where the people were best able to feed and clothe them for the winter, and set them to work"; the whites succeeded in disarming the Indians, as related with some gusto by James S. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-350. Brown implies that after the initial excitement died down, Indians and citizens got along very well together. But his forced acculturation of Little Soldier's people had no permanent results.

About the 22d day of December last, I was visited at Camp Scott, by White-eye and San-pitch, Utah chiefs, with several of their bands. They were destitute of provisions and almost in a starving condition, while it was not in my power to procure provisions for them. I was assured by Agent Hurt that they had always been peaceably disposed towards the whites. After making them some presents I dismissed them, and they returned to their camp on Henry's fork. These Indians belong to one of the principal tribes of this Territory. There is but one other large tribe, (the Snakes,) as I am informed. Both the principal tribes are, of course, divided into a great number of small bands, but all submit to the authority of one or the other of the chiefs of their respective tribes.

The best land belonging to the Utahs is situated in Utah valley, which is well watered by numerous small streams. All the land that is susceptible of cultivation is occupied, and most of it is now being farmed. There are eight towns in this valley, with populations ranging from three hundred to four thousand souls. It was once the favorite hunting ground of the Utahs, but civilization has driven the game from the valleys; there remains, however, an abundance of fish in all the streams. Much has been done and is doing for this tribe, (the Utahs.) Three years ago Agent Hurt opened up two farms for them on land claimed by them, one on Spanish Fork creek, in Utah county, the other on Salt creek, in Sanpete valley, one hundred and seventy miles south of this city. I visited Spanish Fork farm in June last, and, together with ex-agent Armstrong and Thomas J. Hurt [Hunt?], took a list of the government property on the farm.

There is quite a discrepancy in relation to the extent of this reservation between the agent who commenced it and the authorities of Spanish Fork City. Upon my first visit to the farm Agent Hurt had not returned to it. Not knowing the quantity of land he intended to include in the reservation, I marked some natural boundaries myself. Upon the return of Agent Hurt he assured me that the points I had designated were the ones he always intended as the boundaries of the reservation.

In regard to the reservation I had a personal interview with the authorities of Spanish Fork City, and it is really extraordinary to me that they have never raised objections to this reserve prior to this time. It is with extreme regret that I am forced into a controversy with them, imperative duty requiring me to take the course I do. Years ago, at the request of the then superintendent, (B. Young,) Agent Hurt commenced the Indian reservation precisely where indicated—has made improvements from time to time at a cost of from \$15,000 to \$20,000, and now, for the first time, is required to give an account of his "stewardship" to the

inhabitants of Spanish Fork City. I am clearly of the opinion that this claim is unfounded, from the letter of Agent Hurt as well as from my own observation. I shall, therefore, proceed to have the reserve enclosed as soon as possible.

Strenuous efforts will be made to induce this tribe (the Utahs) to locate permanently, as no permanent good can ever be done for them so long as they roam about in their wild state.

I visited San-Pete creek farm last month, (August,) which is situated in the west end of San-Pete valley and county. This farm was opened about two years ago, under the directions of Agent Hurt, for a band of the Utahs under Chief Arapeen, a brother of San-Pitch. It is the second farm within the boundaries of this tribe, and is well watered and timbered, and has a sufficiency of good grazing land; for these reasons I consider it a more eligible location for an Indian reserve than that at Spanish Fork.

On this farm there are one hundred and ninety-five acres of land under cultivation, and will produce this year (1858) about twelve hundred bushels of wheat, besides small quantities of corn and potatoes.

From the loose manner in which business has been previously conducted on the farm, I appointed a new overseer, who is acquainted with the Indian language.

The Indians are to perform all the work; with proper care in imparting instruction, not only this but all the other Indian farms may in a short time be worked by Indian labor.

The experiment of agriculture among the Indians of this Territory has not been as successful as might have been anticipated, when we consider the destitute condition of those for whom it has been introduced.

Indians are proverbially lazy, and only the pinchings of hunger will drive them to work, so much white labor has heretofore been employed to do work for them, and they have not been sufficiently taught that their subsistence depends upon their own labor. But notwithstanding, the comparative ill success of the agricultural experiment, it is the only available means of ameliorating the condition of the Indians in this Territory, as game enough could not be found to subsist them for one year. In my opinion, reservations should be made without delay. Every acre of arable land that can be irrigated will be occupied in a very short time. I will give this subject my earliest attention. I have instructed Agent Dodge to attend to this as soon as possible in Carson valley.

A farm was commenced several years ago for a small tribe called the Pah-Vants, on Corn creek, in Millard county, under the direction of Agent Hurt. Ranosh [Kanosh], the chief of this

tribe, visited me, and expressed a desire that some good white man might be placed upon the farm to direct them, assuring me that the Indians would do all the work. His request was not as Indians' generally are, for paint, beads, &c., but for agricultural implements. I employed a Mr. [Peter] Boyce to take charge of this farm, at fifty dollars per month. No other white labor will be employed. Eighty acres of wheat were raised upon this farm this year. I will visit it in January and define a reservation.

I have visited a small tribe called the Go-sha-utes, who live about forty miles west of this city. They are, without exception, the most miserable looking set of human beings I ever beheld. I gave them some clothing and provisions. They have heretofore subsisted principally on snakes, lizards, roots, &c. I made considerable effort to procure a small quantity of land for them, but could not find any with water sufficient to irrigate it. I will give this matter my attention as soon as possible after my return from the Humboldt.

I have heretofore spoken of a large tribe of Indians known as the Snakes. They claim a large tract of country lying in the eastern part of this Territory, but are scarcely ever found upon their own land.

They generally inhabit the Wind river country, in Oregon and Nebraska Territories, and they sometimes range as far east as Fort Laramie, in the latter Territory. Their principal subsistence is the buffalo, and it is for the purpose of hunting them that they range so far east of their own country. This tribe numbers about twelve hundred souls, all under one principal chief, Wash-a-kee. He has perfect command over them, and is one of the finest looking and most intellectual Indians I ever saw.

He prides himself that neither he, nor any of his tribe, have ever molested a white, although the great overland route from the States to California passes immediately through their country.

It seems somewhat strange that this tribe has never received any attention whatever from any of the officials of this Territory.¹²¹ This I learned, not only from the Indians, but from other persons who have been among them for several years, and especially from Major Bridger, one of the earliest pioneers of this country.¹²²

The only portion of the country of this tribe suited for agricultural purposes is the valley of Henry's Fork, about forty miles south of Fort Bridger and opening out into Green River valley.

121. It was a consistent ellusion of various agents of the Indian office that nothing was ever done before they, individually, took a job in hand, and it will be seen that Forney's remark is not strictly true.

122. Jim Bridger returned to his fort in the fall of 1857 as a guide for Johnston's army. He remained in the military service until July 2, 1858.

This Wash-a-kee wished to reserve, and is very anxious I should open a farm for them. For this purpose I sent Agent Craig to Green River county; but I fear the matter will have to be postponed for this winter for want of a suitable person to take charge of the farm.

For several years an enmity has existed between the Utahs and the Snakes. My attention was directed to this soon after entering upon my official duties. I alluded to the feud during my first interview with the Utahs, in December last, but their war-chief, White-eye, did not seem disposed to talk about it, and it was not until April last that they signified their willingness to make peace with the Snakes. On the 3d day of May I received information that the Snake tribe of Indians were encamped on Green river. Reports were in circulation that they had come to make war upon the Utahs, who were encamped in the vicinity of Camp Scott. Immediately upon hearing the report, I despatched a messenger to Wash-a-kee to learn his intentions, and if he intimated hostility to the Utahs to persuade him to encamp at some convenient place, until I could have a talk with him. On the 6th day of May my express man returned, and informed me that Wash-a-kee was willing to leave the adjustment of the difficulties between his tribe and the Utahs to me.

Accordingly, on the 13th of May, Wash-a-kee, of the Snakes, White-Eye, Son-a-at, and San-Pitch, of the Utahs, with the sub-chiefs of the different tribes, and also several chiefs of the Ban-acks, (of whom I will speak further hereafter,) assembled in council at Camp Scott, when, after considerable talk and smoking, peace was made between the two tribes. After I had given the Snakes and Ban-acks some presents they left camp.

The latter tribe (Ban-acks) I had frequently heard of, but supposed they were part of a tribe of the same name who live in Oregon Territory, and consequently not within my superintendency; but upon making inquiry I learned that they were a separate and distinct people, claiming a country lying within my superintendency.

In their habits and appearance they are much like the Snakes, with whom they are on terms of the greatest intimacy. They number between four and five hundred, and are all under one principal chief, named Horne.

Immediately after I received your communication in relation to the massacre of the Arkansas emigrants, three hundred miles south of this, on the southern California road, I procured the services of a reliable person [Jacob Hamblin], well acquainted with the southern Indians and their language, and since the latter part of June have been in constant communication with these Indians. My endeavor to establish peaceful relations with them has proved

successful beyond my expectations. This route to California is now free from all danger from Indians.

I have succeeded in recovering ten of the children remaining from the massacre of last September. It is supposed that there are more in the neighborhood; if so, they will be found.¹²³

I am now busily engaged in preparing for a trip to the Humboldt river. Having learned that the Indians in that region were committing depredations upon travellers, and, in one instance, having attacked the mail party and stampeded their stock, I will travel with an escort. In addition to which, one hundred and fifty men, (one hundred mounted and fifty infantry,) upon a requisition from his excellency Gov. A. Cumming, will proceed to the Humboldt, subject to my orders.

It is my present intention to proceed to Gravelly Ford [near present Beowawe, Nevada], which is one hundred miles beyond the first crossing of the Humboldt, and, if circumstances permit, will proceed to Carson valley and establish Agent [Frederick] Dodge, who accompanied me, in his position. . . .

XLIX

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO CHARLES E. MIX,
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED
Nov. 5, 1858¹²⁴

Sir,

I have already apprised you, in several Communications, of my intention to visit the Humboldt Indians and latterly of my having done so. I returned from this trip last friday evening. It has been my intention from my first advent into this Valley, so soon as compatible with other official duties, to visit the Indians, on the great Northern Rout to Califa.

It was only since the middle of last June, that my movements have been unincumbered by political entanglements. Since then, as I have frequently advised your Department, my entire time has been devoted to official duties.

In pursuance of your request, that I would visit, with as little delay as possible, the Indian Tribes, and ascertain their locality and condition. This I have done, so far as time and other duties would permit.

The Tribes & Bands in this Territory, with but one or two exceptions, live almost entirely in, and adjacent to, the Valleys

123. See Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, Stanford, 1950.

124. F/337-1858.

through which the Northern and Southern Roads to California from this City, pass. As also on and near the road to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains.

Previous to my trip to the Humboldt. I had visited or had had business relations, with the following Tribes; the Snakes, under their Chief Wash a keek, the Sho Sho Nees, under Little Soldier, the Utes, the Bannocks, the Pah-vantes & Go Sha Utes. I have given a hasty account of all the above tribes in my late report.

About the last of August or beginning of September last, I was apprised that the Indians of Humboldt Valley had committed depredations on the U. S. Mail, and took immediate steps to ascertain the facts from what seemed, reliable testimony. It was said that several thousand hostile Indians were assembled in that Valley, and that the mail and all connected with it, and all travellers were threatened. I immediately made known the statements to his Excellency Govr Cumming, who at once, made a requisition on Genl Johns[t]on for One hundred and fifty troops, to march to the Humboldt without delay. In pursuance of this request, Captain Haws with 150 men, were sent on said expedition, with orders not to proceed beyond the first Crossing of the Humboldt.

Twenty men of said command were (if necessary) to accompany me to Gravelly Ford. I left this City Sept 12 for the Humboldt, having with me, an ambulance, one Govt wagon with provisions and presents, One hired wagon & team & driver in all seven men including Interpreter, guide, drivers, cook &c.

Mr. Dodge, Agent for Carson Valley, also accompanied me. Sept 13. At Farmington 16 miles north of this City I met "Little Soldier" a Chief, with about fifty Sho-Sho-Nees. For prudential reasons, it was deemed advisable to give them some provisions. This Band, with others of the Sho-Sho-Nees, have been solicited by the hostile Indians in Oregon to aid them against the Government, but without success. Chief "Little Soldier" expressed great solicitude for my safety, was fearful I would not return safe. By my directions a small quantity of flour and beef was distributed to his Band.

[A lengthy account follows of meetings held with other Indians along the overland trail, especially down the Humboldt, including two bands of Shoshoni—concerning whom Forney observes: "There are now four chiefs present viz Py-poo-roo-yan—San-Pitch—We-ra-yoo—Tse-Mah & Paw-sha-quin Representing. . . probably 4 to 600 Indians. . . . One of these 'Bands' have some horses and ponies, and a few of the men have Buffalo Robes. They are Sho-Sho-Nees and recognize Wash-a-keek as their great chief." Forney went as far west as Stony Point, treating with a

band of White Knife Shoshoni, before turning back to Great Salt Lake City.]

On my way home, at Box Elder, seventy miles north of this, a Band of Sho-Sho-Nees, numbering 128 met me. These have recently broken off from Little Soldiers Tribe. I was unable to learn from them the Cause.

They made demands for sundry things. I distributed among them a small quantity of flour, beef and a few presents. The Indians loafing about the Northern Settlements, are a source of considerable annoyance to the inhabitants, much complaint was made to me, while passing through there, recently. . . .

L

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO A. B. GREENWOOD,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, SEPT. 29, 1859 (*Extracts*)¹²⁵

Sir: In accordance with the regulations of the Indian department, I have the honor to submit the following as my annual report for the year 1859.

* * * * *

The Indians, claiming a home in Utah Territory, are evidently the offspring of two nations who migrated west of the Rocky mountains from the northwest many years ago. It is probable that most of the descendants of those nations are now within the boundary of this Territory. They have greatly decreased in numbers, and proportionately in their mental and physical condition, during the past thirty years. Their degeneracy in the mode of living and comforts has been more manifest during that period.

This I learn from old mountaineers who have lived among them, corroborated by Indian testimony.

The descendants of the two nations above alluded to are now called Sho-sho-ne or Snake, and Utah or Ute.

The only exception is a small tribe of Bannacks, numbering about five hundred. "Horn," the principal chief of these, with his people, visited Fort Bridger in April, 1858, where I had an interview with them. This chief claimed a home for himself and people in this Territory, and informed me that he and those

125. This document, like No. XLVIII, has to be recovered from its printed occurrence, in 36th Congress, 1st Session, *Senate Executive Document* 2, Vol. 1, (Serial 1023), pp. 730-741. Owing to its great length, some parts have been omitted—a few paragraphs at the beginning concerning a rape by two Utes and its aftermath, and at the end a considerable discussion of the reservations then existing in Utah, an equally lengthy account of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and some remarks on difficulties with Shoshoni in the Idaho area.

old men around him were children, young men, and now old men, in this country.

Major Bridger, my interpreter at the time, assured me that for the last thirty years he had traded, almost yearly, with this tribe in that section of country, and that, when he first knew them, they numbered twelve hundred lodges.

I granted to this tribe of Bannacks a home in the portion of this Territory claimed and inhabited by Wash-a-kee and his tribe of Sho-sho-nes, and with that chief's entire consent. These two tribes are extensively intermarried, and live together amicably.

SHO-SHO-NE OR SNAKE.

This division of the Indians is subdivided into fourteen regularly organized bands.

One of these, by common consent, is denominated a tribe, and is under the complete control of Chief Wash-a-kee, assisted by four to six sub-chiefs. These number, at least, twelve hundred.

The remaining thirteen bands have each one principal and several sub-chiefs.

Five of these bands, numbering about one thousand, roam through Salt Lake, Weber, Ogden, Bear River, Cache, and Malad valleys, and the adjacent mountains and canons. One band, of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty, mostly confine themselves to the regions along the northern California road, from Bear and Malad rivers to the Goose Creek mountains.

Seven bands roam through the valleys of the Humboldt, and in the regions over one hundred miles south of the Humboldt, to the Peyute country, and east and west about two hundred miles. These bands frequently subdivide into many small squads, to clean thoroughly the country, through which they roam of everything containing a life-sustaining principle.

Included among the Sho-sho-nes is a band called Go-sha-utes, who speak the same language, and live in and roam over those portions of the territory claimed and inhabited by the latter. This band is a mixture of Snake and Ute, the former preponderating. A few years ago the Go-sha-utes were a considerable tribe. Their principal and only chief died about four years ago, since which they have remained broken and subdivided into small fragments, except about sixty, who have organized into a band, and have a quiet and well disposed chief to control them. This band is now permanently located on the Deep Creek Indian farm. The remainder roam over a region of country from forty to two hundred miles west of this city. A concentration of them all into Deep Creek valley is in progress. I have had intercourse with every tribe and band of Sho-sho-nes in the Territory, and have endeav-

ored to learn from them their number. And, in my opinion, they number about forty-five hundred. They occupy about one-third of the Territory, the northeast portion.

UTAH OR UTE.

The Utah, Pah-vant, and Pey-ute, constitute the second division of the Indians.

Although these are designated by several different names, yet they all emanate from one nation or tribe, and speak the same language.

The Utes are subdivided into several tribes and many bands. Those known as Uinta-utes, claim Uinta valley and the country along Green river. A portion of these have lived, part of last and this summer, at the Spanish Fork Indian reservation.

This tribe is governed by four chiefs, and numbers about one thousand.

There is a band of Utes, with several chiefs, numbering about five hundred, who, in pursuance with my request, mostly located last May on the Spanish Fork reservation, where it is presumed they will continue. Another band of about eighty are living on the San-Pete Indian farm.

PAH-VANT.

These are Ute Indians, but are a distinct, organized tribe and number about seven hundred. They obey and are controlled by one principal, and several sub-chiefs. About half of them have their home on the "Corn Creek" Indian farm. The other wing of the tribe lives along the "Sevier lake" and surrounding country, in the no[r]theast extremity of Fillmore valley, and about fifty miles from Fillmore city.

There are seemingly two distinct, organized divisions of Pey-Ute Indians. One division inhabit the Humboldt, north, from about fifty miles west of Strong [Stony] Point to the California line, and northwest to the Oregon line. These are estimated to number about six thousand, by Agent Dodge.

For further particulars, I refer you to the accompanying report from Frederick Dodge, Esq., Indian agent in Carson valley.

There is a tribe of Indians who dwell along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake to one of the forks of Walker's river: these are called Wa-sho, and are supposed to number from five to eight hundred. I am not certain whether or not they belong to the Ute division.¹²⁶

126. The Washoe are regarded as a separate linguistic stock.

The ten bands (Ute Indians) inhabiting the southern portion of the Territory are scattered along the California road, generally adjacent to the settlements, from Beaver valley, along the Santa Clara, Virgin, Los Vegas, and Muddy rivers, to the California line and New Mexico. These bands number about two thousand and two hundred. I am credibly informed that there are large numbers of Ute Indians roaming at and in the neighborhood of the Elk mountains, in the southeast part of the Territory. The number of these is variously estimated at from one to three thousand.

The supposed total number of Indians in Utah Territory is as follows:

Sho-sho-nes, or Snakes	4,500
Ban-nacks	500
Uinta Utes	1,000
Spanish Fork and San Pete farms	1,000
Pah-vant, (Utes)	700
Pey-utes, (South)	2,200
Pey-utes, (West)	6,000
Elk mountain Utes	2,000
Wa-sho of Honey lake	700
	<hr/>
	18,500

The Sho-sho-nes claim the northeastern portion of the Territory for about four hundred miles west, and from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five miles south, from the Oregon line. The Utes claim the balance of the Territory.

I have visited within the last twelve months every portion of this Territory where it is supposed Indians are living, except the Carson agency and Elk mountain.

The public interest required me to visit different portions several times during the last year, and my almost constant intercourse with the Indians has afforded me ample opportunities to become familiar with their true condition.

The tribe of Snakes, under chief Washakee, and the small tribe of Ban-nacks, living in the regions northeast, near Fort Bridger, go east yearly to hunt elk and buffalo; this, with still considerable game in their country, keeps them from absolute want.

The balance of the Indians in Utah are extremely poor. The utmost ingenuity is put in requisition to sustain life; they eagerly seek after everything containing a life-sustaining element, such as hares, rabbits, antelope, deer, bear, elk, dogs, lizzards, snakes, crickets, grasshoppers, ants, roots, grass-seeds, bark, &c.

Many men, women, and children are entirely naked.

With some of the Indians, stealing cattle, horses, mules, &c., is a matter of necessity—*steal* or *starve*.

It is my clear conviction that the immigration of a white population into the Territory has had a deleterious effect upon the Indian. Game cannot exist except in the fertile watered valleys; these, with a few exceptions, are occupied by a thrifty population, and, consequently, the game is exterminated.

It is proper to remark that those Indians who roam adjacent to the settlements, have received, and are receiving, considerable aid from the inhabitants.

All the tribes and bands visited by me have received presents, such as blankets, various kinds of clothing, and ammunition: the last was not dealt out indiscriminately. To some of the bands I have given frequent material aid in flour, beef, &c., especially to those who have been forced to give up to whites the valleys which furnished them with subsistence.

About five bands of the Sho-sho-nes are severe sufferers by the influx of whites; those who inhabited Great Salt Lake, Weber, Bear, Cache, and Malad valleys, extending eighty miles north. These valleys, which, in their natural state, furnished the Indians much subsistence, are now entirely occupied by permanent inhabitants.

Game in this country must become extinct when the valleys adapted to farming purposes are occupied by white men, which is already the case, with few exceptions: so much so, that it will be difficult, even now, to procure an advantageous location for a reservation for the Sho-sho-ne bands above alluded to, without paying for more or less improvements.

With the exception of the Uinta and Elk Mountain Utes, the country of the Utahs is fast filling up with settlers. The government has, however, made three eligible Indian farms in the country claimed by the Utes. The Uinta Utes, the band at Spanish Fork, the one at San Pete, and the Pah-Vants, at Corn creek, have received much more assistance heretofore than all the other Indians in the Territory; and, unless I am much deceived, these same Indians have been guilty of more depredations than any others in the Territory. It is gratifying, however, to be justified in saying that these Indians have done better this season than ever heretofore, and they promise fair for the future. I am endeavoring to have them permanently located on the several farms; and, until this is accomplished, no salutary improvement can be expected in their habits and condition.

The bands of Pah-Utes, in the southern portion of the Territory, are extremely destitute; the country they inhabit is almost a continuous desert. This is especially the case with those bands south of Cedar city, and which constitute by far the largest portion of

them. Almost every band yearly cultivates small patches of wheat, corn, beans, &c., along the banks of the streams. The small expenditure I made the last year among the southern Pah-Utes has had a salutary tendency.

I saw many of those Indians last spring, and it was my intention to send an agent to remain among them for some time. This, heretofore, has not been possible; but I will instruct Agent Humphreys to start for that quarter in a few weeks, to visit all the bands, if practicable, with instructions to ascertain their true condition, and the geographical character of the country they inhabit.

An intelligent gentleman, who was guide to the first emigrant company which passed through the southern part of the Territory to California, twelve years ago, informs me that he then saw wheat and cornfields, with at least six acres in each, successfully cultivated by those southern Pah-Utes, and that his company would have fared badly but for the wheat, corn, peas, and beans purchased by them from the Indians.

It is to be regretted that this condition of things has not been continued. These Indians have evidently degenerated very rapidly during the last twelve years, or since white men have got among them.

Wyoming State Historical Society

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

By

FRANK L. BOWRON

The first day of January, 1955, marked the final date for persons interested in Wyoming history to become charter members of our State Historical Society. The deadline was extended by action at the Annual Meeting of the Society on October 17.

The charter membership, which has exceeded 900 in number, gives our society a solid foundation for future growth and expansion. It must be stressed that although they cannot now become charter members, all persons interested in the objectives of the Society are welcome to join and we must constantly be alert for ways and means of increasing membership.

The annual meeting, held in Casper in October, was highly successful. Virtually every section of Wyoming was represented and more than 100 persons were in attendance at the business session. The meeting marked the first full year of Society operation and it is appropriate to express the thanks of the Society and myself to the fine services rendered by all the county and state officers, particularly our very efficient executive-secretary, Miss Lola M. Homsher and her staff at the state museum, to Miss Maurine Carley, diligent and helpful secretary-treasurer of the Society, and the many other people in Wyoming who have contributed to the growth of the group.

Financially the Society reflects a sound financial structure, with more than \$1,000 set aside in the Life Members fund, and a healthy balance in our general fund which has enabled the Society to undertake several projects including a \$300.00 grant to a University of Wyoming student to assist in the writing of a county history of a selected Wyoming county.

Renewal of annual memberships is now underway and all charter members will probably be interested in maintaining their status by remitting their dues immediately.

Charter membership of the Society, now over the 900 mark, still has some problems to be ironed out. With some eight chartered county organizations in the state, coordination between state and local societies is of the utmost importance and such

coordination can be achieved only through the close cooperation of both state and county officers. Several problems regarding payment of dues through the county group to the state and the acceptance of state dues by our state office without payment of county dues, have arisen. These matters will have to be worked out on a temporary basis by the Executive Committee and will be placed upon the agenda for action at the next annual meeting. A committee to make recommendations for improving the Society membership arrangements was appointed at the annual meeting.

The Society has also established a number of annual awards to be presented at each annual meeting. In future years it is planned that awards will be made in several categories of historical work. In 1954 awards were made to Dr. T. A. Larson for his book *Wyoming's War Years, 1941-1945*, and to Mr. L. C. Bishop for his outstanding work on the Oregon Trail treks. Additional achievements in the field of history were awarded honorable mention certificates at the 1954 meeting. In future years awards will be made upon the recommendation of local historical societies or the state Executive Committee.

As we enter 1955, your Society has nine chartered county organizations. As our objective of this year, we should concentrate upon forming county groups in most of our other counties. To date we have chartered Albany, Campbell, Carbon, Fremont, Goshen, Johnson, Laramie, Natrona and Washakie counties. One other county in Wyoming, Sheridan, has more than enough members of the state society to organize, and nine other counties lack only a few members before they will have enough to set up their county organizations. They are: Converse, Big Horn, Hot Springs, Niobrara, Park, Platte, Sublette, Sweetwater and Teton counties.

I want to urge the Society members in the above named counties which are not presently chartered to meet and organize and make application for a charter from the state group. Our Society can function with the greatest efficiency when we have accomplished our goal of a county organization in each of the state's 23 counties.

Election of officers at the annual meeting resulted in reelection of most of the incumbent officials. The only changes in the roster of state officials of the Society were in the offices of vice president, Mr. William Marion of Lander being elected first vice president to replace F. H. Sinclair of Sheridan who declined re-nomination, and Dr. DeWitt Dominick of Cody being elected to the post of second vice president.

Members of the Executive Committee were slated to meet in Cheyenne on January 8 and 9, 1955, with the Society legislative committee, members of the legislature, and the new state officials to go over legislative proposals of the society. Briefly the legis-

lation sponsored by the Society in the 1955 session includes a statue for Statuary Hall in Washington, D. C., a bill to allow counties to levy a one-half mill tax for historical purposes, and support of appropriations for increased services by the Archives and Historical Department and State Museum. In addition the Executive Committee will be asked to approve bills to designate Charles Winter's "Wyoming" as the official state song, to designate a state motto, and to give their support to proposals for microfilming state documents.

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that as a result of the last election, quite a number of members of the Society are now serving in the state legislature and state offices. Governor Simpson, Mrs. Minnie Mitchell, State Auditor, and Miss Velma Linford, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, are members and have expressed interest in the aims of our Society. We feel sure that these officials, as well as our members in the Legislature itself, will do a great deal to assist our Society's program in coming years.

MINUTES

WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

OCTOBER 17, 1954

CASPER, WYOMING — TOWNSEND HOTEL

The Second Annual Meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society was held in the Jade Room of the Townsend Hotel on October 17, 1954. After a luncheon at which Dr. T. A. Larson gave a humorous talk, "Sage Brush Tonic", the meeting was called to order by the president, Frank Bowron.

The treasurer gave the following report:

Receipts

Life members	18	\$ 900.00	
Five year member	1	17.50	
Annual member	1 had pd. for <i>Annals</i>	1.50	
Annual members	669	2341.50	
	<hr/> 689 members		<hr/> \$3260.50
Charters	7	70.00	
Interest Building & Loan		9.81	79.81
		<hr/>	<hr/> \$3340.31

Expenditures

Stationery, charters, membership cards, Secretary book		\$ 102.46	
Postage			
Statue Committee (V.L.)	\$ 25.00		
Secretary	6.00	31.00	
Annals			
January	463.00		
July	688.00		
		1151.00	
			1284.46
Bank balance	\$ 338.04		
Savings (Building & Loan)	1717.81		
Balance, October 17, 1954			\$2055.85

This report was approved as read.

The following chairmen reported on their committees:

Mr. George Snodgrass—Dues
 Mr. W. F. Bragg, Jr.—Junior Historians
 Mr. William Marion—Awards
 Mr. Tosh Suyematsu—Incorporation
 Dr. T. A. Larson—Statue

The president gave his report of the progress of the Society for the year October 1953 to October 1954.

693 members (4 had joined in the last two days).

7 counties have been organized—Albany, Carbon, Campbell, Fremont, Goshen, Laramie, and Natrona.

3 counties are practically organized—Hot Springs, Johnson, Washakie.

The treasury is in good condition.

The officers and county delegates have paid their own expenses to the four Executive Meetings this year.

Much credit is due Miss Homsher for her untiring service and interest.

Mr. Snodgrass moved the adoption of the following recommendations from the Dues Committee:

- a. That the fiscal year be the same as the calendar year from January 1 to January 1. The county chapters are to conform with the calendar year of the State Society. Motion carried.

- b. That since it is the function of the county chapters to collect and remit dues to the State Society, the State Society should collect dues and remit to the local chapter if the occasion arises. Motion carried.
- c. That since the county chapters collect and remit dues to the State Society the county chapters will issue the membership cards. Motion carried.
- d. That a joint family membership of \$5.00 for 2 persons living at the same address be permitted providing they receive only 1 copy of the *Annals*. Motion carried.
- e. That a joint life membership for a man and wife living at the same address be set up for \$75.00 (1 copy of *Annals* to be sent them). This membership is not to be assessed in the future by the State Society. After considerable discussion about the relationship of county life memberships to state life memberships the recommendation was amended as follows: that the question of life memberships be referred to the Executive Committee, who should produce a solution to the problem this year. Passed as amended.
- f. That provisions be made to pay for life memberships on the installment plan at the rate of \$10.00 per year for 5 years on single life memberships and \$15.00 per year on joint life memberships. Motion carried.
- g. That the closing date for charter membership be extended to December 31, 1954. Motion carried.

By these actions the constitution was amended as follows:

By-Laws

Article II, Sec. 1 at the end of the first sentence the following sentence to be added:

“Joint membership for two persons of the same family living in the same house shall be \$5.00 payable in advance.”

Article II, Sec. 2 be changed to read:

“The fees for life membership shall be \$50.00 for a single membership and \$75.00 for joint membership of man and wife, and when once paid no further dues shall be imposed upon these members.”

Article II, Sec. 5 be added:

“The fiscal year shall be the same as the calendar year from January 1 to January 1. The counties are to conform to the fiscal year of the State Society.”

Article V, Sec. 2 be added to the By-Laws to read:

"The Executive Committee is empowered to receive invitations for the Annual Meeting at the Third Quarterly Executive Meeting which will be held in July."

Mr. Bragg moved the adoption of the following recommendations:

- a. That a scholarship of \$300.00 be set up at the University of Wyoming for a graduate student who is writing a history of a county in Wyoming. That said student contact the County Historical Society and work through it. That parts of the thesis be published in the *Annals* so that eventually there will be a complete history of the State by counties. Motion carried.
- b. That county chapters contact the manual training teachers in their counties to make signs to indicate the distance to historical markers which are off the highway. That the Chambers of Commerce and County Societies help defray the expenses, and the Boy Scouts or some like organization help erect them. That all this be done with the approval of the State Landmark Commission. The State Society is responsible for setting up uniform specifications for the markers. Motion carried.

Mr. Suyematsu moved that the Wyoming State Historical Society be incorporated so that it can hold property and have exclusive right to its name. Motion carried.

Mr. Marion announced the recipients of awards as decided by his committee. He also gave the basis for the decision as follows:

1. Publications to be considered must pertain to Wyoming history and must be copyrighted.
2. Activities must be connected with preserving Wyoming history.
3. Awards are to be given for the current year only.

Mr. L. C. Bishop received an award for his organization of historical treks on the old Oregon Trail.

Dr. T. A. Larson received an award for his book *Wyoming's War Years, 1941-45*.

Honorable Mention Certificates were given to:

- a. Fremont County Pioneer Association for placing 500 names of pioneers on the pioneer monument in Lander and for collecting historical material for their museum.
- b. Mrs. Mary H. Scott for her work on the Oregon Trail in Western Wyoming.

- c. Goshen County Historical Society for its cooperation with the Torrington Chamber of Commerce for setting up a Museum for a Day on Main Street.
- d. Kalif Temple of the Mystic Shrine in Sheridan for organizing the All American Indian Days.
- e. Sertoma Club of Casper for its protection and preservation of the replica of old Fort Caspar.

Dr. Larson gave a report of the Statue Committee. He recommended that the Society go on record as favoring placing a statue in Statuary Hall. He suggested that the resolutions and ballots be handed to the proper commission of the next Legislature.

Dr. Larson also moved that the W.S.H.S. sponsor legislation urging the Legislature to place a statue in Statuary Hall. Motion carried.

It was moved that the Society get behind a bill similar to the one Mr. Hitchcock presented in the State Senate in 1953. It authorized the County Commissioners to levy $\frac{1}{2}$ mill tax for the support of museums. Dr. Dominick amended the motion to read—County Commissioners be allowed to use $\frac{1}{2}$ mill levy toward a museum or other historical project. Motion passed as amended.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the Executive Committee have authority to pay current bills.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the Constitution be amended to provide opportunity for the Executive Committee to receive invitations for the Annual Meeting at the Third Quarterly Executive Meeting in July.

The secretary read the Resolutions of Appreciation for Mr. W. R. Coe (copy attached). The secretary was instructed to send a copy to Mr. Coe.

Mr. Steege, chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented the following slate of officers:

President	Mr. Frank Bowron
1st Vice President	Mr. William Marion
2nd Vice President	Dr. DeWitt Dominick
Secretary-Treasurer	Miss Maurine Carley

Mr. MacDougall moved that the nominations be closed and a unanimous ballot be cast for those named above. Motion carried. The secretary cast the ballot.

The secretary was instructed to write notes of appreciation to (1) the Natrona County Historical Society for its splendid cooperation in arranging for the Annual Meeting—fifty people enjoyed the tour to Fort Caspar in the morning, sixty-five enjoyed the luncheon at the Townsend; (2) the Casper Chamber of Commerce

for help in registration; and (3) to the Townsend Hotel for their courtesy in providing rooms for the meetings.

The president thanked the Executive Committee and the members for their fine cooperation during the past year.

Meeting adjourned at 5:00.

Maurine Carley
Secretary-Treasurer

WHEREAS the promotion of a better understanding of our national heritage is a matter of the greatest importance, and

WHEREAS the Conference on American Studies at the University of Wyoming has for three summers past spread such an understanding among the teachers of this region, while the establishment of a greatly expanded American Studies Program at that institution will have an even more potent influence,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Wyoming State Historical Society expresses deep appreciation to William Robertson Coe, of Cody, Wyoming, for his perception of the importance of this work and for his generosity in financing past Conferences on American Studies and in endowing American Studies at the University of Wyoming with \$750,000.

NOTE—Since a complete listing of Charter Memberships to the State Historical Society was not available at the time of publication, the listing planned for this issue will appear in Volume 27, Number 2, October 1955.

Wyoming Archaeological Notes

REPORT ON AN ACT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES (Public—No. 209)*

By

L. C. STEEGE

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that any person who shall appropriate, excavate, injure, or destroy any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States, without the permission of the Secretary of the Department of the Government having jurisdiction over the lands on which said antiquities are situated, shall upon conviction, be fined in a sum of not more than five hundred dollars or be imprisoned for a period of not more than ninety days, or shall suffer both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected: Provided, that when such objects are situated upon a tract covered by a bona fide unperfected claim or held in private ownership, the tract, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the proper care and management of the object, may be relinquished to the the Government, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept the relinquishment of such tracts in behalf of the Government of the United States.

* Editor's Note: Because so much of Wyoming's archaeological material is being lost to the state through neglect, improper excavation, and through removal from the state by other institutions, the Executive Committee of the Wyoming State Historical Society has become concerned over the situation. Mr. Steege, as a member of the Executive Committee, was requested to investigate into the federal laws governing such antiquities. This report is the result of his inquiries.

Sec. 3. That permits for the examination of ruins, the excavation of archaeological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity upon the lands under their respective jurisdictions may be granted by the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and War to institutions which they may deem properly qualified to conduct such examination, or gathering, subject to such rules and regulations as they may prescribe: Provided, that the examinations, excavations, and gatherings are undertaken for the benefit of reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects, and that the gatherings shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums.

Sec. 4. That the Secretaries of the Departments aforesaid shall make and publish from time to time uniform rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

Approved, June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. L. 225)

You will note that there is no provision for State Historical Societies to be eligible to do any excavating, or to gather any objects of antiquity under this act. However, through the untiring efforts of one of the most outstanding men of our State, The Wyoming State Historical Society has been given consideration to make application for archaeological permits.

I believe that it would be most fitting at this time to pause for a moment to pay our respects to the memory of this great Statesman, our late Senator, Lester C. Hunt. Senator Hunt devoted a great deal of time towards the preservation of history in Wyoming and his efforts in this particular case were unlimited.

The following are the uniform rules and regulations as prepared by the departments of Agriculture, War, and Interior to carry out the provisions of the Antiquities Act.

1. Jurisdiction over ruins, archaeological sites, historic and pre-historic monuments and structures, objects of antiquity, historic landmarks, and other objects of historic or scientific interest, shall be exercised under the act by the respective Departments as follows:

By the Secretary of Agriculture over lands within the exterior limits of forest reserves, by the Secretary of War over lands within the exterior limits of military reservations, by the Secretary of Interior over all other lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States, provided, The Secretaries of War and Agriculture may by agreement cooperate with the Secretary of the Interior in the supervision of such monuments and objects covered by the act of June 8, 1906, as may be located on lands near or adjacent to forest reserves and military reservations, respectively.

2. No permit for the removal of any ancient monument or structure which can be permanently preserved under the control of the United States in Site, and remain an object of interest, shall be granted.
3. Permits for the examination of ruins, the excavation of archaeological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity will be granted, by the respective Secretaries having jurisdiction, to reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, or to their duly authorized agents.
4. No exclusive permits shall be granted for a larger area than the applicant can reasonably be expected to explore fully and systematically within the time limit named in the permit.
5. Each application for a permit should be filed with the Secretary having jurisdiction, and must be accompanied by a definite outline of the proposed work, indicating the name of the institution making the request, the date proposed for beginning the field work, the length of time proposed to be devoted to it, and the person who will have immediate charge of the work. The application must also contain an exact statement of the character of the work, whether examination, excavation, or gathering, and the public museum in which the collections made under the permit are to be permanently preserved. The application must be accompanied by a sketch plan or description of the particular site or area to be examined, excavated, or searched, so definite that it can be located on the map with reasonable accuracy.
6. No permit will be granted for a period of more than three years, but if the work has been diligently prosecuted under the permit, the time may be extended for proper cause upon application.
7. Failure to begin work under a permit within six months after it is granted, or failure to diligently prosecute such work after it has been begun, shall make the permit void without any order or proceeding by the Secretary having jurisdiction.
8. Applications shall be referred to the Smithsonian Institution for recommendation.
9. Every permit shall be in writing and copies shall be transmitted to the Smithsonian Institution and the field officer in charge of the land involved. The permittee will be furnished with a copy of these rules and regulations.
10. At the close of each season's field work the permittee shall report in duplicate to the Smithsonian Institution, in such form as its Secretary may prescribe, and shall prepare in duplicate a catalogue of the collections and of the photographs made during

the season, indicating therein such material, if any, as may be available for exchange.

11. Institutions and persons receiving permits for excavation shall, after the completion of the work, restore the lands upon which they have worked to their customary condition, to the satisfaction of the field officer in charge.

12. All permits shall be terminable at the discretion of the Secretary having jurisdiction.

13. The field officer in charge of land owned or controlled by the Government of the United States shall, from time to time, inquire and report as to the existence, on or near such lands, of ruins and archaeological sites, historic or prehistoric ruins or monuments, objects of antiquity, historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures and other objects of historic or scientific interest.

14. The field officer in charge may at all times examine the permit of any person or institution claiming privileges granted in accordance with the act and these rules and regulations, and may fully examine all work done under such permit.

15. All persons duly authorized by the Secretaries of Agriculture, War, and Interior may apprehend or cause to be arrested, as provided in the act of February 6, 1905 (33 Stat. L., 700) any person or persons who appropriate, excavate, injure, or destroy any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity on lands under the supervision of the Secretaries of Agriculture, War, and Interior respectively.

16. Any object of antiquity taken, or collection made, on lands owned or controlled by the United States, without a permit, as prescribed by the act and these rules and regulations, or there taken or made, contrary to the terms of the permit, or contrary to the act and these rules and regulations, may be seized wherever found and at anytime, by the proper field officer or by any person duly authorized by the Secretary having jurisdiction, and disposed of as the Secretary shall determine, by deposit in the proper national depository or otherwise.

17. Every collection made under the authority of the act and of these rules and regulations shall be preserved in the public museum designated in the in the permit and shall be accessible to the public. No such collection shall be removed from such public museum without the written authority of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and then only to another public museum, where it shall be accessible to the public; and when any public museum, which is a depository of any collection made under the act and

these rules and regulations, shall cease to exist, every such collection in such public museum shall thereupon revert to the national collections and be placed in the proper national depository.

In reviewing a report of archaeological activity in Wyoming for the years of 1952-1953, in *Southwestern Lore* Volume XIX No 4 March 1954, I find work being done by four universities and institutions in addition to our own university.

Did you know that the material collected by these archaeologists from other states will probably be lost to our state forever? Also, that the history of these archaeological sites will be written by the universities and institutions from outside our borders who have these archaeologists in the field? Wake up Wyoming! Let's start writing more Wyoming archaeological history in Wyoming.

STONE ARTIFACTS

By

L. C. STEEGE

CLASSIFICATIONS

In determining just what classification should be given a certain artifact, let us consider first of all how it was used by the ancient man who made it. He obviously manufactured his artifacts to fulfil certain needs such as a type for scraping, another for grinding, still another for cutting, etc.

As a general rule, I find that almost all stone artifacts can be placed into one of eight individual categories and that each one of these categories can be given a simple name which all persons can understand. These names usually describe the uses or the purposes for which the artifact was made. Types and sub-types are listed with each category.

- A Pounding
 - 1 Percussors, Hammers or Mauls
- B Grinding
 - 1 Mano and Metate
 - 2 Pestle and Mortar
 - 3 Abraders
- C Chopping
 - 1 Direct Percussion
 - a Axes
 - b Hoes and Spades
 - c Choppers
 - 2 Indirect Percussion
 - a Celts and Wedges

- D Scraping
 - 1 End Scrapers
 - 2 Side Scrapers
 - a Straight
 - b Concave
 - c Convex
 - d Notched

- E Cutting
 - 1 Blades, Knives, Slitters
 - 2 Points
 - 3 Saws
 - 4 Gravers

- F Drilling
 - 1 Drills
 - 2 Perforators

- G Ceremonial
 - 1 Pendants, Gorgets, Amulets
 - 2 Effigies
 - 3 Pipes
 - 4 Perforated Disks

- H Hunting and Warfare
 - 1 War Club
 - a Flaked
 - b Polished
 - 2 Projectile Points
 - a Stemmed-S
 - b Stemless-N
 - c Shouldered-Sh

DESCRIPTIONS OF STONE ARTIFACTS

The first essential for the description of stone artifacts is the identification of the various parts of the artifact.

Figure 1 is a sketch of a projectile point or arrowhead as some prefer to call it. This type of artifact has the most parts for identification. The same descriptive terminology holds true for all stone artifacts and is not necessarily confined to projectile points alone.

The main part of an artifact is called the "body". The flat or broad part is known as the "face". The face as viewed from the top is known as the "dorsal face". The underside is called the "ventral face".

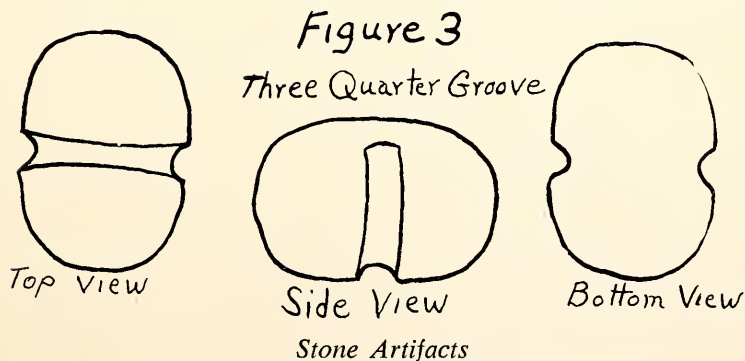
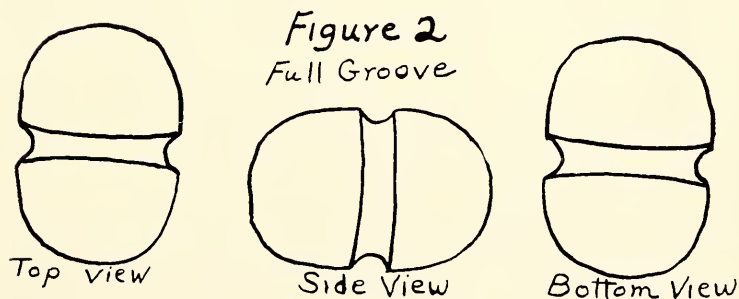
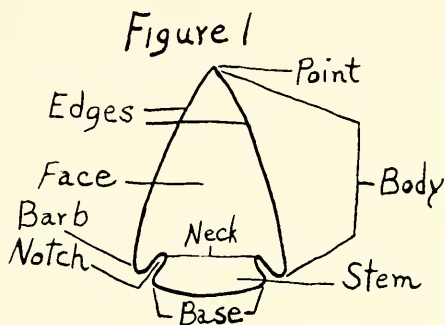
The pointed end of an artifact is called the "point" or "tip" and the opposite extremity is the "base". Sketches and photographs of

pointed artifacts should always be made with the "point" up. When this is done there will be no mistake as to which end is the "point" or "tip" and which end is the "base".

When the base is narrower than the body, we refer to the artifact as being "stemmed" or "tanged". Stemmed artifacts are a result of shouldering or notching of the edges or base.

The "neck" is the narrowest portion of the stem.

The narrow or sharpened sides of the artifact are called the "edges".



The sharp and pointed ears which are a result of corner notches and sometimes of base notches are known as "barbs".

POUNDING ARTIFACTS

Probably the first "pounding" artifact to be utilized by ancient man was a plain ordinary rock. By holding this rock in one or both of his hands, he could batter and break bones or rocks with direct pounding. These artifacts are known as "percussors". They have no definite size or shape. Most of these percussors were water worn rocks from a river bed. They were quite smooth and would not injure the hands of the operator. Some archaeologists refer to these stones as "Eoliths", which may be defined as a rock found in nature and utilized by man without any rework or retouching. These percussors can easily be recognized by the scars on the ends and edges which were caused by consistent pounding and battering.

Sometime during the early periods, this ancient man discovered that, by constant pecking with a percussor, a groove could be formed around the body of a stone which would enable him to tie on a handle. This hafted tool would be much more efficient than the original hand percussor. At first the grooves were shallow and were confined to the broader sides only. Little by little these grooves were made deeper and longer until eventually some completely encircled the stone. Thus the hammer or maul was invented.

When the groove completely encircles the body of the stone, we refer to it as being "full grooved". Figure 2

When the groove is confined to three sides only, it is known as "three-quarter grooved." Figure 3

Mauls or hammers have been found in every county of Wyoming. The most common is the full grooved hammer. Percussors are found in the more ancient workshops and campsites. Some of the finest specimens of percussors, that I have seen in this State, were found in the "Spanish Diggings" vicinity, and also in Uinta and Sweetwater Counties.

Wyoming Zephyrs

By

THE EDITOR

The Human Side of Wyoming

(At the regular meeting of the Campbell County Chapter of the State Historical Society on November 23, 1954, Mrs. Margaretta Gratz gave an interesting paper on the background and philosophy of Wyoming history in which she stresses the importance of the Wyoming heritage. Her article, entitled "The Human Side of Wyoming" is printed here in its entirety.)

A state is like a house which a man builds. He takes the materials at hand and shapes the house to his dreams and needs and pleasures. He builds his foundation of stone, chiselled by experience, rears his walls straight, strong and enduring into which he cuts many windows that light may enter to brighten the darkest corners. He makes his doorway wide, that all who wish may come in freely and welcome. He shapes his sheltering roof, making it a bulwark against rain, snow, wind and adversity. Now he has a house, a material thing, but he knows that the living must enter before it can become a home.

Wyoming is our house, strongly built of material things but it is the people themselves whose vision, tolerance, courage and wisdom, make it a HOME, a state home by the people, for the people.

The history of any people or country is the sum total of discovery, exploration and settlement. Discovery is born of a curiosity urged on by the love of adventure or the desire to make known to the world, the vastness of the unknown. Settlement is born of the inherent love of personal freedom. A freedom where the individual has the liberty to go from where he is, to where he wants to be; to courageously tear himself from all ancestral ties, comforts and ways of living in order to lay his hands on a wide stretch of lonely land and say, "This land is mine—to have and to hold!" In this simple statement, lies the very secret of our country's progress and greatness.

It is in this manner that the history of Wyoming is built. Each phase of development has written its own record of achievement. The explorers, Lewis, Clark, Bozeman, Bridger, DeSmet, Fremont, La Ramie, Colter, Verendrye, Ashley and others have opened the way to this new land. Theirs is a saga of vision, bravery, patience

and self-denial. They gave to a land-hungry world the endless acres of Wyoming. They beckoned, and all who yearned for a more independent way of life came and found it on the rolling prairies of Wyoming. After the explorers had mapped these vast areas, the trek of the pioneer began. Each with little of this world's goods came with eager hopes and willing hands. History was in the making!

At the turn of this century after Wyoming had received her statehood, there were three types of settlement. First, the pioneers who dreamed of vast empires for cattle and sheep-grazing. Second, the pioneering group who came in search of the mineral wealth that lay beneath her surface. Coal, oil, gas, iron, uranium and other vital minerals so necessary to a state's growth were here for the mining engineer to develop and to build into an industrial force that contributes to Wyoming's posterity. Third, the pioneering homesteaders who enriched her history by their steadfast faith in this new land which they had come to love.

Perhaps no other group of people in this century worked harder and with so little as did these homesteaders. Stoically, they accepted the dust, the scorching winds, the blizzards, the drouth, the grasshoppers, the hail and the loneliness with fatalistic patience.

"Next year will be better" was their philosophy. Here among these statebuilders is history, so human that it touches all of us with memories not to be forgotten. The loneliness in a tar-paper shack with only wolves and coyotes to break the silence; the moaning ceaseless winds, the longing hope for rain to give moisture to the withered grass, the anxiety in the face of the homesteader as he watches a thunderhead roll towards his wheat fields, the clutching fear of sickness with a doctor fifty miles away. This is a vital page in her history, this struggle that helped build into its people the heritage of courage and right values of living. Someday, history will honor these valiant ones, preserving and passing on to later generations the elemental drama, the humor and the tragedy of these early days when a great rural life was starting and a mighty farming industry was being born!

No history of any state is complete without a record of the cultural contributions of the people who built that state.

As the settlers poured into the new land, they brought with them the tools of their former way of life. Each brought his gifts to the new land and the sharing of these gifts with each other, gave to Wyoming a cultural background that shaped the very destiny of her people.

The vast un-broken stretches of prairies, the awe-inspiring beauty of her mountains, the glory of her sunsets, the restless

movements of her cattle and sheep, the swift flight of her wild things, all have found expression in music, poetry and art and through these avenues of expression there has been brought into sharp relief her individuality as a people and as a state. Through them, feelings and emotions have become tangible and real.

In perspective, let us look at the onward march of Wyoming. Look at her people, who out of tireless energy and heartbreak, have carved a state worthy of every honor. Note the historic contributions of her grazing industry, her progress in the development of vital ores for our country's defense, her agricultural advancement in the fields of science. All have given this state a rural strength that reflects the spiritual grandeur of our great country. The spirit of free enterprise, equality and better standards of living is the inherent privilege of all free Americans. It is here written in the pages of Wyoming history. It is also found in the hearts of her people---the privilege to go from where you are to where you want to be!

From Our Newspaper Files:

Cheyenne Leader of April 2, 1868.

ROADS

We have heretofore called public attention to the importance of establishing and improving the wagon roads leading from this city in the direction of Fort Sanders, Laramie and Sweetwater, and considering the large amount of emigration which is expected to outfit and start with wagons from this city during the present season, we can conceive of no one subject in which this city is interested which is worthy of greater attention, and at the same time which has been so inexcusably neglected. To a city like this, which partially depends on travel for its business, the importance of good roads leading into and from it is a matter of the first importance. If parties can purchase their teams and supplies cheaper here than at any point a short distance further along and feel satisfied that good and direct roads are provided for their convenience in travel, a few miles more or less by rail will not be of much consideration in a long journey when economy in dollars and cents is the chief point to be looked after; but if no facilities are offered for transit by wagon from this point, the question of time and labor to say nothing of avoiding risk of breakdown, will be the main point for their consideration, and the matter of saving a few dollars and cents becomes a question of secondary importance. Of course there is a road or two leading toward the localities above mentioned, but it is equally as true that those roads can very easily and cheaply be materially im-

proved in character, as well as that the distance might be considerably diminished.

The road to Sanders, via Cheyenne Pass, is now considered eight to ten miles shorter than that by the way of Carmichael's Camp and Dale City, and this same route could easily be shortened five or six miles, by opening a road in a direct line to the Pass, instead of going out, as at present, in a northeasterly direction, to Pole Creek. This cut-off could be made at a very trifling expense, as the character of the country over which it would pass is of low, rolling hills, similar to those surrounding this city. The road through Cheyenne Pass might also be improved, and these unexpensive changes might be of much influence and weight in inducing freighters and traders to select this point at which to make their purchases. It has generally been found that the city which is most liberal in such matters as good roads and bridges, as well as prices, receives, as a natural result, the most liberal share of trade, and consequently attains the greater prosperity. In this particular we believe Cheyenne is similar to other cities similarly situated, and it will be found that something more than the mere building of houses and importation of goods is required to establish and *retain* an extensive trade. Commerce, in this country, depends upon the roads, as in other places it may depend upon seas or lakes; and as your roads are so will be your receipts.

Statement Made by the Stock Tender at Cold Spring.

(The following item has been taken from the original manuscript written in longhand by Luke Voorhees, Superintendent of the Cheyenne Black Hills Stage and Express Co. The manuscript is located in the collection of Russell Thorp of Cheyenne.)

Cold Springs robbery Sept. 29, 1878

Statement made by the Stocktender after the robbery.

Shortly before time for the stage to arrive from Deadwood a man on horseback rode up and asked for a drink of water. Upon dismounting he ordered me to throw up my hands which I did and then pushed me in the grain room of the stable. By this time the band of five I thought there were of them all got in the stable and proceeded to make arrangements for the capture of the coach.

They removed the mud or chinking from between the logs near the door of the stable where the Stage always stops and on its arrival opened fire from their position on the inside after the killing of Campbell and wounding Gale Hill. Scott Davis [Captain of the Shot Gun Messengers] got away from the coach and taking position behind a tree opened fire on the robbers. Soon after this the band rounded up all of the men about the place and

tied them to trees saying that at 1 o'clock a man would be along to release them. Immediately upon securing their victims they removed the safe from the coach and opened it. This the Stocktender says required several hours of work. On completion of this job the robbers took to the woods. The men remained tied to the trees until half past 9 or 10 o'clock at night when the stocktender was released from being tied he started to report the affair to headquarters at Deadwood.

Fremont County Pioneer Association Adds Names to Monument

In the January 1954 *Annals of Wyoming* appeared an article "History of the Fremont County Pioneer Association," in which was told the story of the erection of the Pioneer Monument in Lander on which were carved 152 names of Fremont County pioneers and the dates of their arrivals in the county.

During the year 1954 an additional 171 names and dates of arrival have been added to the monument. The total list now includes practically all of the real pioneers of Fremont County. The following names and dates were added in 1954:

FREMONT COUNTY

PIONEER FAMILIES

Abra, E. T. "Ted"—1898	Carpenter, Nellie W.—1890
Adams, Ellis H.—1883	Carr, John—1885
Adams, M. F.—1895	Carter, Edward A.—1880
Adams, Alice—1883	Chambers, Jesse S.—1897
Alger, L. H.—1899	Cheney, Helen—1885
Ansell, Joseph H.—1878	Cheney, Matilda—1873
Appleby, A. C. "Dutch"—1882	Chittim, John—1880
Appleby, Leona E.—1888	Cochrane, Ben F.—1900
Baldwin, Chester E.—1887	Cole, Chas. T.—1881
Baldwin, George L.—1869	Coon, E. E.—1884
Barquin, James D.—1904	Cooper, Dr. A. H.—1905
Bates, Chas. E.—1886	Connell, Emmett—1890
Battrum, A. P.—1880	Countryman, Mark W.—1886
Beaton, Donald A.—1886	Cross, Edith H.—1871
Beck, Russell R.—1892	Cross, George A.—1893
Beckwith, T. C.—1897	Dale, James—1902
Boardman, John R.—1898	Day, J. S.—1885
Brown, N. H.—1882	Delfelder, J. A.—1892
Bunce, A. M.—1881	Doane, Frank—1889
Burch, I. L.—1902	Dollard, Chas. F.—1878
Burnet, John C.—1880	Duncan, Thomas S.—1893
Burlingham, John H.—1889	Duncan, W. L.—1893
Bybee, Chas. L.—1893	Driskell, C. A.—1893
Carmody, John—1876	Earle, Edson A.—1889
Carpenter, A. W. "Pete"—1891	Earl, Fred A.—1887
Carpenter, C. E.—1890	Farthing, Edward—1880
Carpenter, Ellen M.—1890	Fields, Chas. B.—1878
Carpenter, James H.—1890	Firestone, W. A.—1883

- Firestone, Winnie—1886
 Fischer, F. B.—1900
 Fister, Andrew J.—1886
 Fourt, E. H.—1890
 Fuller, D. E.—1898
 Gaylord, Anna B.—1893
 Gaylord, Joshua B.—1900
 Gaylord, L. B.—1886
 Graham, James M.—1893
 Hagans, Wm. J.—1900
 Hall, Chas. M.—1903
 Harris, Edward S.—1882
 Harrison, W. N.—1887
 Hayes, Vince V.—1886
 Hays, John—1892
 Henton, Elisha—1881
 Henton, Matt—1881
 Hereford, Robert L.—1893
 Higby, Guy W.—1904
 Hilmer, Fritz—1900
 Hornecker, Albert—1877
 Hornecker, George—1883
 Hudson, Dan F.—1882
 Hufftile, Mart—1874
 Iiams, Elmer E.—1881
 Jammerman, Emil—1888
 Johnson, Albert J.—1895
 Johnson, Ella M.—1905
 Johnston, Alex—1886
 Jones, E. "Brockey"—1886
 Kimball, Ralph—1901
 Kinnear, N. B.—1888
 Kirk, J. M.—1887
 Kirkland, A. R. "Bird"—1883
 Landis, John E.—1882
 Lee, Albert D.—1900
 Leseberg, Ed.—1880
 Leseberg, Phoebe—1883
 Leseberg, Lyle—1904
 Lockard, H. R.—1900
 Macfie, Wm. H.—1901
 McDonald, Angus J.—1878
 McIntosh, James L.—1885
 McIntosh, Wm. P.—1886
 McIntosh, P. J.—1885
 McIntosh, Arthur G.—1885
 Manseau, L. Andrew—1879
 Martel, A. H.—1896
 Merriam, Ed.—1893
 Mills, Gardner S.—1885
 Moore, Chas. C.—1880
 Moore, Frank—1896
 Moriarty, Tom C.—1884
 Moriarty, Jack F.—1899
 Moudy, Mable C.—1878
 Murray, L. Signor—1887
 Myers, Albert—1900
 Nalls, Stuart—1903
 Nalls, Esther—1885
 Nipper, Grant—1903
 Noble, Fred F.—1882
 Nottage, E. Cheney—1876
 Oakie, J. B.—1882
 Obert, Carl—1884
 O'Neal, J. W.—1896
 O'Neal, Rose G.—1878
 Oswald, Walter—1883
 Pogue, J. C.—1888
 Parks, Sam C. Jr.—1884
 Parks, S. Conant—1885
 Picard, Dave—1880
 Picard, Mary Hayes—1886
 Preston, D. A.—1888
 Ranney, E. L.—1889
 Rate, Frank—1895
 Read, Leslie W.—1894
 Rhodes, Chas. W.—1892
 Rice, M. Owens—1904
 Roberts, Dr. John—1883
 Roberts, Arthur C.—1880
 Robinson, Ben—1883
 Rogers, Emma F.—1885
 Royce, Pat—1889
 Sanderson, A. H.—1886
 Scarlett, Wm. R.—1898
 Sheehan, Jerry H.—1885
 Sheehan, Dan P.—1898
 Sheldon, F. B.—1885
 Sherlock, Peter—1868
 Simpson, Wm. L.—1884
 Simpson, J. P.—1888
 Smith, Byron H.—1900
 Souter, John—1904
 Spencer, P. C.—1903
 Stack, Mrs. Lou—1880
 Steers, W. H.—1876
 Stelzner, Ed.—1886
 Stewart, James D.—1902
 Stone, Virgil H.—1904
 Stowe, J. Milton—1896
 Stratton, Fred D.—1904
 Stringer, Carl R.—1901
 Stringer, Albert F.—1901
 Stronach, Alex—1903
 Tweed, Edward—1879
 Tweed, Albert—1879
 Vaughn, W. L.—1882
 Vincent, Joe—1902
 Wadsworth, H. E.—1884
 Welty, Dr. F. H.—1889
 Williamson, David—1883
 Williamson, John—1883
 Winchester, John H.—1895
 Young, U. S. "Grant"—1884
 Young, Rufus L.—1901

Recent Acquisitions

MUSEUM

Accardo, Jas. Cheyenne	One metal dog collar and tag dated 1890.
Albertson, Ace Ottumwa, Iowa	Jasper nodule found 5 miles S.E. of Lance Creek, Wyoming.
Benson, George C. Port Hueneme, Calif.	67 artifacts: 10 mortars and fragments; 42 pestles and fragments; 1 abrader; 6 mano; and 8 perforated dishes and fragments; 2 flints; and 15 fishhooks.
Benson, Leroy Baggs	Uranium sample from Poison Basin seven miles West of Baggs.
Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce Cheyenne	Two chairs that were used in the old Inter-Ocean Hotel, Cheyenne.
Cushing, Mrs. M. M. New York 22, N. Y.	14 guns, 15 pistols, 1 bullet mold, 1 sword, 1 driving whip, 3 knives, 1 leather pocket, 1 metal frame for gun butt, 1 wooden butt for gun, and 1 gun chest.
Ekdall, Dr. A. B. Cheyenne	Curry comb used by William Boyce; dipper used at well, Boyce Ranch.
Gillespie, A. S. Laramie	Model of horse with pack on back using diamond hitch. Rawhide hackamore, used on "Steamboat", with black horse hair Theodore, used 50 years ago at Bosler on the Coble Ranch. The Theodore was made just recently by Donor. Also braided horse hair rope made by Donor.
Harwood, Bill Cheyenne	Skull of a mountain sheep, with bullet imbedded in forehead, from Cody county.
Hayes, James L. Rawlins	Colt revolver—44 calibre carried by Lawrence Hayes in Rawlins. Patented 1872.
Hoge, Owen S. Cheyenne	Spurs with leather straps, inlaid with donor's initials made 40 years ago by his brother-in-law, S. Perry Abner, Wolf, Wyo., from scrap metal on latter's Ranch. Mr. Hoge wore these spurs when he was manager of the Horse Shoe Ranch.
Howard, Don Cheyenne	Metal wood axe found on Sweetwater Trail (Oregon Trail) in Split Rock country.
Hubbard, W. P. Cheyenne	Baby Beaver mounted. Found about 3 years ago in Snowy Range with front paws frozen.

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| Huinzinga, Janice
Laramie | Broad axe found near Keystone, Wyoming. |
| Jack, William "Scotty"
Cheyenne | 14 First day cover airmail envelopes—
from the 14 Niobrara county post-
offices, May 19, 1938. 3 brochures
on Cheyenne Black Hills Stage Lines
and this special flight. |
| Jones, Craig
Powell | Pure sulphur block from Elk Basin Unit
Plant. |
| Kremer, Leo
Cheyenne | Rattlesnake rattles, one with 36 rattles
from three different snakes, two others
small, from Roy E. Moore Collection. |
| Kremer, Mrs. Leo
Cheyenne | Four pair glasses worn by Mrs. Minerva
Moore, Donor's Great Grandmother,
before 1900. |
| Laramie County Historical
Society
Cheyenne | Six iron pieces from "Portugee" Phillips
Ranch near Chugwater. |
| Latham, Mrs. Bill
Chugwater | Straight edge razor; initialed watch fob
made of human hair; 9 artifacts. |
| Lumley, Teri Jean
Grand Junction, Colo. | Axe about 50 years old found on site of
old ghost town of Carbon. |
| Mabie, Mrs. Virgil R.
Cheyenne | Hair wreath in glass frame which be-
longed to Mrs. Homer Mabie. |
| Moberly, W. E.
Cheyenne | Fossil found north of Medicine Bow. |
| Moor, Mrs. Ross W.
Lamar, Colo. | Six early Frontier Day Ribbons—five
silk and one leather; six photos of
Theo. Roosevelt, Taft, early bi-plane,
first car—all in Cheyenne; tooth-
puller of 1900's; opium pipe; two
original Edison bulbs; two ox shoes. |
| Ogle, Mr. James R.
Burns | Blickensderfer typewriter #7, Serial
#30093. |
| Peabody, A. S.
Laramie | Wedding dress of Mrs. Alfred S. Pea-
body who was married in Capetown,
S. Africa, May 11, 1864. Lived in
Laramie from 1878 to 1933. |
| Richardson, Warren Family
Cheyenne | Twenty-five cents (paper currency) giv-
en to Warren Richardson by General
U. S. Grant in 1879 when he delivered
a telegram to him while a guest at
the Railroad House, Cheyenne, Wyom-
ing. |
| Ridings, Reta
Laramie | Hickory cane; glass cane made by Lara-
mie Glass Works; black umbrella;
folding umbrella in soft leather case. |

- Schaedel, Mrs. Grace
Cheyenne Square nail from John Phillip's Ranch at Chugwater; metal ice shave found at 609 E. 27th Street, Cheyenne, on site of early day ice house which burned down.
- Schrader, Mrs. Wesley
Cheyenne Holy Bible printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, N. Y. Office, 1863, "from Library of E. A. Slack."
- Shiek, Mrs. Frank N.
Long Beach 2, Calif. Two strings of Indian beads; blue and white bone beads from an Indian grave, Platte county, Wyo. Odd-sized smaller beads gathered from ant hills near Chugwater, Wyo., in 1907 by Mrs. Shiek.
- Trollope, O. L.
Cheyenne Artifact, probably an Indian tanning tool.
- Underwood, Emily and Gertrude
and Sorensen, Charles
Cheyenne 1921 Frontier Day button.
- Wade, Mr. and Mrs. Alvin N.
Cheyenne Bible, 1840, H & H Phinney's Stereo. Edition, Cooperstown, N. Y.; gun, German W. W. I, M78 Model #173868.
- Washburn, Bernard
Wheatland Iron sausage grinder found on top Squaw Mt. 25 miles west of Wheatland.
- Whiteley, Dr. Philip W.
Denver, Colo. Three tokens used by M. E. Kirk Bros. at their trading posts in New Mexico.
- Willson, Mr. and Mrs. G. M.
Lander Hummingbird nest with baby bird found by S. D. Winship several years ago in Sinks Canyon.
- Wyoming Stock Growers Ass'n
Cheyenne Hand wrought links-rough lock used as a brake on steep hills on freight wagons and sleigh runners; spade bit.
- Zollinger, Frances L.
Tulsa 5, Okla. Jicarilla Hamper; Jicarilla Apache basket; round Pomo basket; small Pomo basket (cup and saucer); Hoopa Valley basket, top and handle; Hoopa Valley basket; three pairs Shoshoni beaded gloves; one Shoshoni beaded bag; one Santa Domingo Pueblo pottery.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS AND PAPERS

- Bishop, L. C.
Cheyenne Manuscript, "Early History of Laramie County", original of speech given Aug. 25, 1954.
- Bissell, Paul
Wellesly, Mass. 2 envelopes from U.P.R.R. Office Supt. dated Cheyenne, Dakota Territory.

- Brown, Mr. Miller
Cheyenne
Letter and two broadsides on campaign of Miss Estelle Reel dated 1894.
- Champ, Mrs. Myrtle
Gillette
Map of Wyoming highways 1906; pamphlet on Sundance.
- Chatterton, Hon. Fenimore
Arvada, Colo.
Newspaper clipping of his speech as Wyoming Governor at Great Fair, St. Louis, 1904.
- Ferguson, Mrs. R. A.
Wheatland
Five picture postcards, pamphlets, "Sketches of The West," one map of Yellowstone Park 1950, newspapers, newspaper clippings; "Sketches of the West" by John L. Hunton (piano solo).
- Graf, Mrs. Geo. J.
Green River
Set of World War II Ration Books and tokens.
- Hill, Burton
Buffalo
Bulletin, entitled *The Cattle Baron's Rebellion* as published in the Buffalo Bulletin—History of Johnson County War.
- Hunt, Lester C. Mrs.
Washington, D. C.
Original drawing of "Bucking Horse" used on Wyoming's license plate; one picture post card of Stub Farlow on War Dog.
- Kamber, Abraham
Brooklyn, N. Y.
2 newspaper clippings on death of F. W. LaFrentz, from N. Y. Times, July 1954.
- McCreery, Alice Richards
Los Angeles, Calif.
Letters, newspaper clippings and writings about Wyoming by donor.
- Mercer, Ralph
Hyattville
Typescript, "The Family Lineage of the Mercer Family" with letter dated 4/15/1911 to Mr. B. H. Tillotson, Olathe, Kansas.
- Miller, Mrs. Arthur
Cheyenne
Fashion magazine of early 1900's.
- Morgan, Floyd
Pine Bluffs
Manuscript poems: "The Homesteader" by A. S. Crandall; "To my Buddy Over There", "The Locator Replies to Mr. Crandall" by Frank Burdick, "The Departing Homesteader" by J. A. Mooney.
- Ohnhaus, Mrs. Charles
Cheyenne
Framed list of candidates, 1883; framed newspaper account by Louise O'Leary of Mrs. A. J. Parshall's experiences during winter of 1879.
- Peabody, A. S.
Laramie
2 Maps: Topographic of Albany county-Laramie, Quadrangle, July 1908 edition; map of city of Laramie, April 10, 1909. Also a prospectus of Wyoming Central Land and Improvement Co., Laramie, 1884.

- Schaedel, Mrs. John
Cheyenne
Copy of Typescript "Memoirs of Mrs. George W. Snow" by donor; pen sketch map by donor "Bear Creek Stage Station, Later George W. Snow Ranch".
- Shiek, Mrs. Frank N.
Long Beach, Calif.
Typescript, "Early History of Laramie County" a speech given by Donor's husband about 1902.
- Taylor, Miss Dorothy K.
Cheyenne
Newspaper *The Idea*, Durango, Colo., May 22, 1886, Vol. 2, No. 95, with a full page Litograph by J. E. Dillingham, 1861, "View of Black Hawk Point".
- Van Tassel, Charles
Los Angeles 17, Calif.
Pamphlet; "The Passing of the West and Other Poems of Frontier Days" by Donor.
- Weston, Mrs. Daphne
Cheyenne
Manuscript on death of Frances Warren Pershing and her 3 daughters; newspaper clipping "Memorial Hospital had Historic Beginning in Tent 87 Years Ago", Wyo. State Tribune, 5-12-54.

HISTORICAL LIBRARY

- Coe, W. R.
New York City
Gard, Wayne, *The Chisholm Trail*.
- Ruiz & Vigil, *Provisional Regulations . . . of Upper California*.
- DeVoto, Bernard, *The Louisiana Purchase*.
- Hafen, LeRoy R. and Ann, *Old Spanish Trail*. Vol. I of South West and Rockies Series.
- Hafen, Leroy R. and Ann, *Journals of The Forty-Niners*, Vol. II of South West and Rockies Series.
- Wheat, Carl L., *Mapping The American West 1540-1857*.
- Hooker, Wm. Francis, *The Bullwacker*.
- Horgan, Paul, *The Rio Grande*, Vols. I and II, Great River Series.
- Graham, Col. Wm. A., *The Reno Court of Inquiry*.
- Malone-Milhollen-Kaplan, *The Story of the Declaration of Independence*.
- Simkin, Colin, *Currier and Ives' America*.
- Pamphlets: News from Home, Summer 1954, by Kenneth H. Dunshee; Our Presidents—At A Glance, by Rolf Benj. Vinmont. Think, November 1954, editorial by Thos. J. Watson.
- Hanway, Earl
Casper
Hanway, J. Edwin, *The Memoirs of J. Edwin Hanway*.

- Hobbs, George H.
Cheyenne Benton, Frank, *Cowboy Life on the Sidetrack*.
David, Robt. B., *Malcolm Campbell Sheriff*.
Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath Universal History*, Vols. 1-XVII.
- Homsher, Lola M.
Cheyenne Pamphlet: *Story of All-American Indian Days*, Kalif Shrine Temple.
- Lovell Chamber of Commerce
Lovell Pamphlet: *The Medicine Wheel*, 1954.
- McGrath, Mary A.
Washington, D. C. *Wyomings Resources*, 1889.
- Meek, C. L.
Lincoln, Neb. Meek, Carleton L., *Meek, Genealogy 1640-1954*.
- Ridings, Reta
Laramie Polk & Co., *Polk's Laramie City Directory*, 1939.
- Rogers, C. J. Gov.
Cheyenne Navy Dept., *Combat Connected Naval Casualties World War II*, Vols. I & II.
Pamphlet: *Army & Navy Legion of Valor*.
- Schell, Dean Herbert
Vermillion, S. D. Schell, Dean Herbert, *Dakota Territory During the 1860's*.
- Van Tassell, Charles
Los Angeles 17, Calif. Pamphlet: *The Passing of The West*.

PICTURES

- Benson, Geo. C.
Port Hueneme, Calif. 47 early photos of Cheyenne Pioneers presented by the Benson and Bray families; 32 pictures taken some 50 years ago in and around Cheyenne and Saratoga by Lawson Bray, uncle of Mr. Benson.
- Ferguson, Mrs. R. A.
Wheatland 23 miscellaneous pictures of Wheatland area.
- Hemple, Carl
Cheyenne 2 photos of air field, Cheyenne, 1922. Sent to Donor by H. T. Bean, Airmail Pioneer Assoc., Salt Lake, for presentation to Museum.
- Latham, Mrs. Bill
Chugwater Views at Niagara, New York, and Niagara Falls, dated 9-20-1896.
- Lebhart, Minnie (Miss)
Cheyenne Framed photo of a stage and six-span of horses with four men. Driver, Thomas Cooper, Union Pacific Stationmaster.
- Lewis, Ton, Paul and Marvin
Colorado Roll of film containing 78 exposures of 60 pictures in the department picture file, taken by Paul, Ton and Marvin Lewis, Oct. 28, 1954.

McCreery, Alice Richards Los Angeles, Calif.	52 pictures of people and scenes, Cheyenne, 1890's.
Metz, Mrs. P. W. Basin	7 photos of early Yellowstone highway, Wind River Canyon, Thermopolis, Wyoming.
Ohnhaus, Mrs. Chas. J. Cheyenne	Photograph of officers and men of Battery A, Alger's Lt. Artillery, W.N.G., all Cheyenne men, taken in front of Capt. Parmer's House on Warren Ave., 1898; 1907 Frontier Days.
Rogers, C. J. (Gov. Office) Cheyenne	Picture of USS Battleship Wyoming, taken at Coco Solo Canal Zone, July 25, 1919.
Stolt, Edna Cheyenne	7 Photos: Astorian Marker; 2 photos of people at Morris grave; Sacajawea's grave; 2 photos of Rev. Roberts; Tetons Mts. viewed through window of Church of Transfiguration at Moose, Wyo.
Wittenburg, Clarice F. Laramie	3 photographs: Mary G. Bellamy; Rachel (Brown) Mathews; Wm. Jennings Bryan and party at Laramie residence of W. H. Holliday, 1907.

The Pioneer

To the Pioneer, who came and gave their worldly all.
Who gave their strength and selfless lasting love,
Who planted seeds of courage with enduring faith
In a country waste, for a home of rugged grace.

To the Pioneer, who stood the trials of cruel clime,
Who braved the isolated stretch of lonely years,
Who knew so little luxury, but made it rich
With toiling hands, understanding God's great land.

To the Pioneer, who dreamt the dreams that would come true,
Who made the trails for later ones to seek and tread.
Who lived their lives in humble thankless tasks,
To build a mighty freedom in this western land of ours.

To the Pioneer, who worked and died in hearts content
For a waste of land that bloomed from toil and sweat,
Enriched their souls from a barren space that bred
A loyal love, and earned with honors, a resting place.

Jessa Eula Wallis
Laramie, Wyoming

Book Reviews

The Reno Court of Inquiry. By Col. W. A. Graham. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company, 1954. 303 pp., \$5.00)

The Reno Court of Inquiry, by Col. W. A. Graham, United States Army Retired, is an abstract of the record of the court of inquiry which was convened approximately two and one-half years after the Battle of the Little Big Horn for the purpose of inquiring into that military incident and especially as it reflected upon the military service of Major Reno. The record of the court of inquiry is the only record of sworn testimony given by the principal surviving participants of that historic battle between the Seventh U. S. Cavalry and the Plains Indians.

The practice of abstracting the record in legal or quasi-legal proceedings has been one of long standing between lawyers and appellate courts. The purpose of the abstract is to reduce the volume of material without essential omissions yet dispensing with irrelevant, repetitious and unimportant testimony and forming a narrative of the evidence at the expense of verbatim quotations of questions and answers. Whether or not the author was aided by one skilled in the law in preparing this abstract is not known, but a magnificent job has been accomplished.

At infrequent intervals the author has injected short summaries and comments in the abstract which aid the reader materially in retention of the big picture as the evidence unfolds and should be especially helpful to those of little or no knowledge of military matters.

Included in the publication is a reproduced United States Geological Survey contour map of the battle area, a number of illustrative sketches drawn by participants and a heretofore unpublished battle map drawn and annotated by Captain Benteen soon after the battle, but undiscovered until May of this year. Captain Benteen's map is a valuable addition to the slight record data on this famous engagement.

The Reno Court of Inquiry is a most valuable addition to the many publications on the Custer Massacre. Here the reader for the first time can judge for himself as to the weight and preponderance of the evidence, the credibility of the witnesses and the probability of correctness of impression and analysis of the various participants. One thing is certain: there is no greater conflict of testimony or impressions than is present in any formal hearing concerning a situation which occurred two and one-half years

before the hearing, and probably less than one would normally expect where the hearing involves an incident impregnated with the stress and confusion which invariably accompanies battle conditions, and especially so when the troops were in an extreme state of fatigue, as was true at the Little Big Horn.

To those of us who have read and studied the many publications which have appeared over the years since 1876, *The Reno Court of Inquiry* appears to be the long needed concluding publication, and although it represents probably the most valuable of the lot, let us sincerely hope that it is the last.

Laramie, Wyoming

ALFRED M. PENCE

The Buffalo Hunters: The Story of the Hide Men. By Marie Sandoz. (New York: Hastings House, 1954 xii + 372 pp., map, illus, \$4.50.)

This deeply interesting book is the second title in the American Procession Series, and sets a high standard for future authors to follow.

Marie Sandoz needs no introduction to Western readers; she is widely known as an interpreter of the Great Plains country, of the Indians whose home it was, and of their hopeless struggle to keep that home and their way of life.

The Buffalo Hunters covers the 16 years between 1867, when the Plains were dark with buffalo in the millions, until 1883 when the vast herds had virtually disappeared, and only the few individuals were left who would be the progenitors of the present herds in game preserves. This happened with incredible swiftness. It was unthinkable: those moving seas of animals must last forever! No plague, no drouth, no ice coating over the Plains grasses could have accomplished what men with the Big Fifty and the Sharps rifle and the West-creeping railroads accomplished. And with the vanishing buffalo, the Indians who lived on them, for whom the buffalo was food, clothing and shelter, they also dwindled to the pitiful, starving remnants of tribes on reservations, betrayed as only an archaic people can be, by a better organized, economically pushed culture in competition for their lands.

Miss Sandoz' descriptions of the Plains, of the stampedes, the grass fires, the storms; of life in the hide and bone towns, are magnificent and thrilling. Her style is distinctive, recognizably her own. It is spare and tragic, deeply moving and without sentimentality. A great number of the hide hunters are named and characterized, among them Wild Bill Hickok, the compulsive killer; flamboyant Buffalo Bill Cody, becoming the character Ned

Buntline was creating; General Custer of dimming glory; Charlie Rath, the Mooar brothers, Johnny Cook, who was troubled—the treaties *had* said that Indian lands were closed to white hunters. Their dialogue, however, seems less convincing than the swift characterizations, and perhaps out of place in this type of historical narrative. Unfortunately also, there is no index for reference back and forth among the many characters as they shift in time and place. But this is minor in the great spectacle that Miss Sandoz brings into focus as she recreates the history of the extinction of each of the four great herds in turn.

The Herds each moved in an orbit, a great, irregular ellipse of their migrations, winter to summer and back again, always feeding into the wind. First the Republican Herd in Wyoming, Nebraska and South Dakota, then the Arkansas and Texas Herds reaching into Wyoming on their northern swing, were exterminated, and only the rotting carcasses, the white bones remained. After the hide men had gone even the bones disappeared, shipped East by the thousands of carloads for fertilizer. Last to disappear was the Northern Herd in the early 1880's. Its more than a million animals had ranged through northern Wyoming, Montana, the edge of the Dakotas and into Canada. With buffaloes and Indians gone, the settlers swarmed in and *Finis* was written to the hide men's epoch in the history of the West.

Of all the characters who played their parts in the development of the early West the hide men were, as a group, the least "simpatico", as the Mexicans say. They failed to fire the popular imagination or to arouse popular enthusiasm, though many were incredibly brave, were dead shots and superb horsemen. Did the fundamental dirt, the incredible waste of the great bodies left to rot, the unbridled slaughter of a great and interesting animal and of the Indian who called him brother, leave uneasy consciences, glad not to remember this epoch?

Soon after "The Buffalo Hunters" appeared, a novel by Milton Lott, "The Last Hunt" was published by Houghton Mifflin. The action covers the period from the Spring of 1882 to the Fall of 1885 when the great Northern Herd was wiped out. The two chief characters are hide hunters, Sandy McKenzie, with something of the philosopher in him, like Johnny Cook, troubled by what was happening to buffalo and Indian; and Charley Gilson, the killer who was always alien to the land. The story is a compelling one, and the two books complement one another remarkably. Read "The Buffalo Hunters" for the fine historical background and then identify yourself with the hide men through the characters whom Milton Lott has created in "The Last Hunt". Like DeVoto's "Across the Wide Missouri" and Guthrie's "The Big Sky", which also should be read together, the two books will

give the reader an appreciation and an understanding of a moving epoch in the history of the West.

MRS. LOIS BUTLER PAYSON

Albany County Carnegie

Public Library, Laramie.

Wyoming's War Years, 1941-1945. By Dr. T. A. Larson. (Stanford University Press, 1954. 400 pp, illus., \$6.50)

"All Sunday afternoon and through the night, we sat at our radios, stunned by the stark, horrible news coming to us over the air. By Monday, we had our mixed emotions pretty well in hand. We're still concerned, plenty worried, but we're not quite so frightened and we're carrying on."

This quotation from the volume *Wyoming's War Years, 1941-1945* by Dr. T. A. Larson sets the mood of the people of the State of Wyoming during the four years of World War II and that mood is accurately reflected in the excellent history of that critical period and its effect upon the state and its people which Dr. Larson has presented.

In some 400 pages of intensely interesting reading, the head of the Department of History at the University of Wyoming sets forth the amazingly rapid transition to war-time economy and philosophy by the people of the state. The cross section of life reflects the failures as well as the successes of our citizens in meeting the thousands of new problems of war, but the final conclusion which must be made from the facts presented is that, by and large, Wyoming's citizens successfully met the crisis.

Publication of a history of a short period in the life of Wyoming is a milestone in written Wyoming history. Sifting through the mountain of statistical information available and exercising a rare gift of judgement of historical value of that data, Dr. Larson has brought forth a volume which ranks as a source book for the years 1941 through 1945 for future writers, and he has presented his facts in such a way as to make the book entirely enjoyable to the average reader as well as the student of history.

The author displays an unusual talent for transforming statistics into literature and it is a talent which might well be applied to other periods of Wyoming history with a resulting benefit to the accuracy of our written historical reports. This volume is relatively free of error.

While Dr. Larson has used newspaper and magazine files, state and federal publications and other books and manuscripts as his source material, the files of former Governor Lester C. Hunt have afforded the author a considerable share of his information, especially in those chapters dealing with state government and politics, and in those war-time fields in which state and federal government played a part. He appears to have taken advantage, also, of leads furnished by the Governor's correspondence, to follow up with personal interviews in a very successful effort to dispel some of the clouds of wartime security, supposedly made necessary for home front morale.

Names and home counties of all men killed in the war, names of the civilians who served upon the boards vital to successful prosecution of the war and other statistics are included in the appendixes of the volume, and a bibliography and careful note citations are included.

Dr. Larson richly deserves the recognition accorded to him on October 17 by the Wyoming State Historical Society in its award to him for the outstanding contribution of 1954 in the field of written Wyoming history. He has rendered an outstanding service to the State of Wyoming and to all of its citizens, and it is hoped that this volume is only the first of a series of accurate, readable accounts of the important periods of history in Wyoming. The work certainly marks Dr. Larson as one of the front-rank writers of Wyoming history and should win him recognition as one of the foremost writers in the West today. The volume is one which should have a place of honor in every Wyoming home, for it is a monument in itself to the sacrifices that Wyoming's citizens made during the Second World War.

Casper, Wyoming

FRANK L. BOWRON

Pictorial History of The Wild West. By James D. Horan and Paul Sann. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 254 pp., illus., index. \$5.95.)

This new book on the notorious portion of the western population contains some 380 pictures, the majority of which are of the desperadoes themselves. This is the largest collection of such photographs to be found in any one source book, and certainly persons interested in this side of western history cannot overlook this pictorial history.

The authors define the Wild West as a time—roughly from the end of the Civil War to the turn of the century—and a place—roughly from the Middle Border country of Kansas, Missouri, and the neighboring states to the Pacific.

The first chapter, however, covers briefly earlier outlawry in Eastern United States and includes such names as the Doanes, active during the Revolutionary War; the Harpes and Sam Mason who followed shortly after; John A. Murrel, Joseph Hare, Captain Lightfoot of the early 1880's; and the Loomis Gang of the middle 1800's.

The majority of desperados who hit the outlaw trail in the West and a number of law officers are included in this book in picture and story. The authors, however, have given a good deal of space to outlaws who appeared in earlier books by James D. Horan, *Desperate Men* and *Desperate Women*, including the James Brothers, the Daltons, the "Wild Bunch", Calamity Jane, Belle Starr, Pearl Hart, Pauline Cashman and China Polly.

The book is a rapid survey of outlawry with a light narrative written for rapid reading as a background to the pictures. There is nothing definitive in the stories of the various characters who parade through the pages, and the book cannot be, as advertised, "the whole story truly told with pictures of the winning of the West from lawlessness to order." It can be claimed, however, that "Never before has there been contained in one volume such a wealth of Wild West pictures."

Cheyenne, Wyoming

HENRYETTA BERRY

The Saga of Tom Horn: The Story of a Cattleman's War, with Personal Narratives, Newspaper Accounts and Official Documents and Testimonies. By Dean F. Krakel. (No imprint. Printed in Laramie, 1954. ix, 277 pp. Illus., bibliography and index. \$4.75.)

Every community cherishes some Robin Hood—a man of violence who lives beyond the law, yet fascinates lesser, law-abiding mortals. From Pennsylvania, with its pioneer Tom Quick to California with Joaquin Murrieta, fabulous local gunmen walk in an atmosphere of story-book romance. Of them all, New Mexico's Billy the Kid has achieved the most literary prominence, if the number of books written about him is any criterion. Wyoming's Tom Horn has had but three—Tom's own autobiography, a book by this reviewer, and now Dean Krakel's *The Saga of Tom Horn*. Horn's exploits are mentioned in varying detail in some dozen other "Westerns," also. Of all the famous gunmen, Tom Horn lived a life which has perhaps the most intriguing possibilities for an aspiring Western writer.

Billy the Kid's claim to fame rests largely on the alleged fact that he killed twenty-one men—not counting Indians and Mexicans—before he was twenty-one years old. However, research

has divided this number of homicides by four, leaving Billy a count about equal to the five credited to Tom Horn. Billy was a killer in a "war" between rival families in New Mexico. Tom used his trigger talents in the fight for the open range between big and little cattle ranchers. This alone makes him the more significant of the two and there is still opportunity for much original investigation of Tom's career from heretofore untapped sources, especially unrecorded personal reminiscences. Only last month this reviewer met in California a man—now wealthy—who as a boy washed the Cheyenne undertaker's carriage in order to get a view of Tom's corpse.

Dean Krakel has limited his study to the nine years of Horn's life spent in Wyoming. An account of the thirty-two years Tom Horn lived in Missouri, Kansas, Arizona, and Colorado must be found elsewhere. But for the period from 1894 to 1903 this is the most complete book yet published. The author has achieved this feat largely with paste-pot and scissors, for less than twenty-five of the 264 pages of the text are original composition. The bulk of the volume is made up of extracts from *An Autobiography* by Joe LeFors (the peace officer who finally trapped Horn), an abstract of the testimony taken at Tom's trial, contemporary newspaper accounts, copies of pertinent correspondence, the final appeal to Governor Chatterton for clemency, and the account by John C. Thompson of Horn's execution, as published in the *Brand Book* of the Denver Westerners in 1945—a grim and realistic eyewitness narrative describing the condemned man standing on the scaffold while water ran out of a tank which, when empty, would spring the trap and lunge him into eternity.

Probably the most important parts of Krakel's book are the transcription of the Horn confession and the abstract of the questions and answers at the trial. There are 126 pages of this—more than half the text. This is laborious reading for anyone unfamiliar with the case but interesting to people who have studied it. The author writes vividly in the few pages devoted to his own account, but it is noticeable that he does not draw his conclusions from the original sources which he quotes. For instance, he describes the doomed Willie Nickell as riding to his death dressed in his father's hat and slicker. This is the version which has long been told in Wyoming by Tom Horn's apologists who infer that the murderer mistook the thirteen-year-old boy for his father. The fact that the author repeats this version and then, within a few pages, prints the testimony of Willie's mother to the effect that the boy wore no slicker, perplexes a reader. In the trial several other witnesses testified about the appearance of the dead boy, and Willie's bullet-pierced shirt was exhibited. Yet none of these witnesses mentioned a slicker.

Another similar discrepancy needs clarification. The author says that Willie's brother, Freddie Nickell, drove a hay wagon down the road and through the gate where Willie was killed. Willie's mother, in her testimony, stated that Freddie drove the cows down that morning. Which is correct? If Mrs. Nickell's testimony can be impeached several other questionable points arise and perhaps Tom Horn may be given a new trial by posterity. Certainly he failed to get a new one before he died.

The book, in addition to serving as a roundup of many sources for the Horn story, also includes an excellent assemblage of pertinent pictures. Many of these have been copied from contemporary newspapers and from the personal collection of Leslie Snow. Certainly such a gallery of the participants in the Horn trial has never before been available in book form. The legends on two of them seem questionable. The man on page 246 designated as Charles Horn does not look like the Charles Horn this reviewer remembers, and the Victor Miller on page 131 seems much too young to be the eighteen-year-old boy at the trial. Perhaps this picture of him was taken years earlier. It would be interesting to have some of the Millers still living explain this. Let us hope, too, that Krakel's book will elicit other observations, additions, and possible corrections of the Horn story from the few remaining survivors of that time, before the water runs out on them as it did for Tom Horn on November 20, 1903.

University of California
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JAY MONAGHAN

American Heritage, The Magazine of History. Sponsored by American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Historians. Edited by Bruce Catton. American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17. Annual Subscription in U. S., \$12.00, single copies \$2.95.

American Heritage, a magazine of history originally published by the American Association for State and Local History beginning in 1949, now appears in a new format. This outstanding publication, while a magazine in name and frequency of issue, is actually in bound book form.

American Heritage will add to any library a constant flow of heretofore unpublished history. Its editors intend to bring out the drama in the day to day events which make history instead of being merely repetitious in a presentation of "great moments of history". This drama is to be found in local history depositories

and will be made available through members of the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Historians, Inc.

The articles presented in this first issue relate to no one special area of the United States but cover a great diversity of area and subjects—"The Old Fall River Line" which is accompanied by a concise story of its equipment and operations and is beautifully illustrated with 12 reproductions chiefly in color; "Holiday Time at the Old Country Store", a poignant description of an early institution which is rapidly disappearing from the American scene; "Painters of the Plains" by Eugene Kingman is beautifully illustrated by the works of such artists as George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, Alfred Jacob Miller, Albert Bierstadt, Frederic Remington, Charles M. Russell and Henry F. Farny. Other stories, all illustrated, include "The Great Club Revolution" by Cleveland Amory, "A King's Funeral" as reported by Theodore Roosevelt, "The Day They Burned the Capitol" by Willis Thornton, "Henry Ford" by Allan Nevins, "Acadia Country" by Bradley Smith, "Panamint: Suburb of Hell" by Lucius Beebe, a review of the Oral History Project of Columbia University, a selection from "Great River" by Paul Horgan, seventeen book reviews, and a short section devoted to recent developments in the historical field.

The yearly subscription rate to this series is \$12.00, a considerable savings over the purchase price of \$2.95 when they are sold singly in bookstores.

Cheyenne, Wyoming

DOROTHY K. TAYLOR

Contributors

MARY COBURN BRAGG (Mrs. William F., Sr.) is the youngest daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Coburn of Carroll, Iowa. Her father was one of the founders of the town of Worland where she lives. This fact has always inspired her interest in Wyoming history.

HOWARD B. LOTT was born in Buffalo, Wyoming, September 23, 1896, and passed away on May 10, 1947. During his lifetime his chief interest was the history of Wyoming and the western area, and he wrote numerous articles on the West. From 1923 until shortly before his death he was clerk in the Buffalo post office.

DAVID G. THOMAS arrived in Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, on March 11, 1878, at the age of 21. Following his move to Wyoming he studied law and later served as county attorney for Uinta County and later Sweetwater County. His career in his adopted state also included service as a coal mine inspector for the state and he was for a number of years superintendent of the U. P. Coal Company mines in the Rock Springs area. Mr. Thomas was interested in both history and poetry and was the author of the book of poems entitled "Overland and Underground". He died in February 1935 at his home in Rock Springs.

LLOYD MCFARLING was born in Iowa in 1901, moved with his parents to South Dakota in 1902, and grew up on a farm and in a small town in Beadle County. He has since lived in California, Nebraska and Colorado. He has studied at one college, two art schools, and three universities; and worked at various occupations, including ten years of clerical, auditing and accounting work in the United States Department of Agriculture. He now lives at Palmer Lake, Colorado, dividing his time about equally between art activities and writing. He has published a few magazine articles and is the editor of one book, *Exploring the Northern Plains, 1804-1876*, an anthology of writings by explorers and travelers, which is scheduled for publication early in 1955.

JESSA EULA WALLIS (Mrs. Oliver Wallis) was born in Paris, Illinois, where she received her education. She came to Wyoming in 1903 with her parents, making her home in Laramie. In 1906 she was married to Oliver Wallis, a ranch boy and a native son of a pioneer family who arrived in Wyoming in 1864.

Her hobby has been painting and writing verse. Her poetry has been published in poetry magazines and daily papers, and "Wyoming Breezes", a book of poems published several years ago.

HAMILTON GARDNER, Colonel AUS (Retired), is a graduate of the University of Utah and of the Harvard Law School. He practiced law in Salt Lake City from 1919 to 1942. Following World War II he held a government position in Washington, D. C., until his recent retirement. He is a veteran of World Wars I and II and has been active in the Organized Reserves and the National Guard. He is the author of a number of published articles on several phases of the military history of the West.

Annals of Wyoming

VOLUME 27

OCTOBER 1955

NUMBER 2

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Official Publication
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WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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CHEYENNE, WYOMING

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The ANNALS OF WYOMING is published semi-annually, in April and October, and is the official publication of the Wyoming State Historical Society. It is received by all members of that Society as a part of their dues. Individual copies of the current issues of the ANNALS OF WYOMING may be purchased for \$1.00 each. Available copies of earlier issues are also for sale. A price list may be obtained by writing to the Editor.

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October 1955

Number 2

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Trader Tokens used at Fort Bridger, Camp Brown, Fort Washakie and Fort Laramie. Courtesy J. K. Moore, Jr.

Post Trader and Indian Trader Tokens

By

J. K. MOORE, JR.

*Transcript from a speech at a meeting of the Fremont County
Chapter of the Wyoming State Historical Society held in the
High School Library in Riverton, April 17th, 1955.*

The assignment to speak at this meeting upon the subject of Indian trader tokens led me to prepare an exhibit of the tokens in order that it could be passed around so everyone could see both sides of the pieces at a glance, the names and localities being in one row, and the values in the other.

In value they run from \$1.00, 50¢, 25¢, to 5¢. A 12½¢ piece, called a "bit", also is included, but probably was not much used, as there were not many such pieces left in the collection I recovered.

The two S. E. Ward, Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, pieces "good for trade in sutlers goods" are no doubt the oldest in this collection. They are made of a different metal and by a stamping process different from the others, with no inscription on the reverse side. They were in circulation before the Territory of Wyoming was set aside out of Dakota Territory on July 25th, 1868.¹

The W. A. Carter, Fort Bridger, and J. K. Moore, Camp Brown, pieces were made of brass and were cut out and stamped by hand with heavy steel dies, some of which I have in my collection. W. A. Carter probably introduced the use of tokens in his business some time during the 1860's.² I wrote the Curator of the Fort Bridger Museum for information about them, and, strange to relate, the answer was that there was not a single token in the museum and no knowledge of them. Immediately I sent them two complete sets to place on display.

As the W. A. Carter tokens and those used by my father, J. K. Moore, Sr., are almost identical in type, I think Father got the

1. Seth Ward was Sutler and Post Trader at Ft. Laramie from 1858-1871.

2. Judge W. A. Carter came to Ft. Bridger with the Army in 1857 as a sutler. He established his business in a large store he built there and in which he had a stock of goods valued at \$90,000.00.

idea of using them from having handled them in Judge Carter's store, as he had clerked in the Fort Bridger store for a number of years.

Indian traders were commissioned by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs upon application through the Indian Agents at local Agencies and were required to furnish bond in the sum of \$10,000, renewable annually.

Post Traders were appointed by military authority and held their position indefinitely, without bond.

Father was commissioned to accompany the soldiers when they were ordered from Fort Bridger in 1869 to proceed to the Popo-agie Valley to establish Camp Brown (now the site of Lander) on June 28th, 1869.

In May, 1871, new Camp Brown, the present site of Fort Washakie, was determined upon as affording greater facilities for carrying out the orders from Headquarters. The site was selected at the junction of the North Fork and the South Fork of Little Wind River, and Captain R. A. Torrey, Company A. 13th Infantry, was instructed to use the troops of his command for the protection of the officers and employees of the Shoshone and Bannock Agency and as a safeguard to the Indians of said Agency against wandering and hostile tribes.

Accordingly on the 26th of June, 1871, site of the camp was changed and the work of dismantling the old Post of its serviceable lumber and transporting it to the new site was begun.

The Shoshone and Bannock Agency had previously been located and established on the west bank of Trout Creek about a mile and a half south of the Camp Brown site.

The name, Camp Brown, was carried through December, 1878, when, by Governmental Order, the name was changed to Fort Washakie in honor of Chief Washakie of the Shoshones.

The J. K. Moore-Camp Brown tokens were probably made and put into use soon after the Camp Brown move, and the 25¢ and 5¢ Fort Washakie pieces were introduced after 1878 when the name of the Post was changed.

To us, behind the counter, and I was one of the clerks before the use of the tokens was discontinued, they were known as "brass checks". The Shoshones called them "Oha-boo-u-way" (yellow money) and the Arapahoe name was "Ne-ha-yah - bich-thay", also meaning yellow money. The tokens were kept in a separate till made especially for them.

The purpose of their use was principally to pay the Indians in tokens for whatever they offered for sale, as a means of barter or exchange for merchandise in the store. And when an Indian asked for and was granted credit, tokens were issued and charged against the account as one item. This did away with having to itemize the purchases on their accounts. It was a great help in

waiting upon the trade as the Indians were very slow in picking out one item after another in trading. They preferred to buy one thing at a time, pay for it and receive their change. Then they would buy the next item, put the money down, receive the change, if any, and proceed in this manner until they had finished trading.

Because the Indians, as a rule, were slow in making up their minds about what they wanted to buy, it was quite satisfactory to them to trade with "yellow money" and very easy for a clerk to wait upon several customers at a time and keep them all in good humor.

The tokens were also used to pay for services rendered. The Indians were sometimes hired and paid in tokens to saw logs from the mountain into stove lengths and to perform various other jobs for the store and home, and when they hauled freight for the store they were paid in tokens. They were paid frequently for the recovery of lost live stock and sometimes were suspected of having had something to do with aiding the stock to stray.

After the Shoshones had been moved to their Reservation in the Wind River country from their old home on the Green River, near Fort Bridger, and until the buffalo herds had about disappeared in the early 1880's, the tribe's principal source of income and living was derived from the meat of wild game they consumed and the sale of robes and pelts and goods they made of buckskin to sell.

Meat of the wild animals was the chief and important food, and none of it was wasted, as they sun dried, to take home with them, every morsel they could not consume while it was fresh. The men did the hunting and killing and the squaws took care of the meat and the dressing of hides in their camps.

Brains and liver from the slaughtered animals were saved and used for tanning. Hides they tanned to sell were not smoked. Buckskins used for making gloves and moccasins, and for other uses for themselves were smoked after being tanned, the smoking process making the buckskin more durable for the use they had for it.

The hunting area for the Indians was not confined to their reservation. By the Treaty of 1868 the Shoshones were guaranteed the unrestricted right to hunt and fish whenever and wherever they pleased. The Shoshones had a big country in which they hunted, extending East into the Big Horns, North into the Absarokas, South into the Sweetwater country, and West along the Wind River Range. They moved into the different sections in groups during the hunting season, often spending many weeks on the hunt.

Before leaving they would ask for credit for supplies, agreeing to bring their hides to Father for sale upon their return. He would extend credit in tokens for their needs which included, principally,

flour, coffee, sugar, salt, baking powder, dry salt bacon, rice, dried beans, yellow laundry soap, matches, tobacco, candles, calico for shirts and dresses, canvas for tee-pees, ammunition, powder and lead, and other staple articles. The Indians did some trapping, and, in addition to the buffalo robes brought in after the hunt ended, were buckskins and the pelts of a number of fur bearing animals.

When presented for sale the robes, buckskins and pelts were carefully graded and paid for in tokens according to market prices, condition of fur, and the degree of care used in skinning the animals and fleshing the hides.

There were big times for many days around the store and in the camps when hunting parties returned and were paid for the things they brought home to sell.

In the back yard at the store were two baling presses—one for buffalo robes and the other, a smaller one, for buckskins. The hides were pressed compactly in bales about four feet square, weighing from 300 to 400 pounds each.

The bales were bound with quarter inch rope and were covered with burlap before being shipped. The principal fur markets were located in Boston, New York, and St. Louis.

Quoting from a copy of a letter to a fur dealer in Boston under date of March 26th, 1878, requesting quotations on furs, Father wrote: "It is my belief now that I will have no less than 1,000 buffalo robes, and more likely 2,000 for shipment."

The Indians not only sold buffalo robes, buckskins, and furs of all kinds, but many of the things they made, such as buckskin gloves, moccasins and beaded trinkets of all kinds. When they needed something from the store for home use they would sell some of their handiwork for which they were paid in tokens.

If they had a considerable amount to spend, trading was in the nature of a family affair and they would often spend half a day or more at it.

During the days of the buffalo, the trade was principally with the Shoshones, as the Arapahoes were not placed on the eastern, or lower part, of the Shoshone Reservation until 1878, at which time the buffalo herds were dwindling in number.

The life of the brass tokens was about twenty years and during the time they were used their circulation on the reservation probably about equaled the amount of currency and silver that reached the Indians.

At Monte, their "hand game", and other games of their own making the Indians were inveterate gamblers. The Indian Office made an attempt to stop this in an order that the use of tokens in traders' stores be discontinued. So in 1894 the tokens were withdrawn from circulation, and I became the custodian of them. By this time the Indians had fenced some land which had been put

under irrigation for them, had been issued farming implements, wagons, harness, etc., and had learned to grow some hay and grain which they sold to the Quartermaster at the Fort for feed for the Government horses and mules. They also hauled freight from Rawlins which was then the nearest railroad point.

Since the establishment of the Agency the Indians had been receiving annuities every year, and rations once a week, until recent years. All this made for much weight to be hauled from the railroad in the course of a year, and the Indians were given the preference of hauling as much of it as they were capable, as a means of giving them employment and teaching them the advantage of being self supporting.

In closing I would like to dwell briefly upon the subject of the difference in the lives of the long haired, often hatless, blanket wearing Indians of the times of which I write, and the generation of today.

Confined to the boundaries of their reservation as they were, with permission to leave granted only by the Indian Agent in charge, they were happy and contented, in their tee-pees and tents, to camp by the side of some mountain stream where they herded their little band of ponies nearby and drove them to water every day.

After the days of the buffalo they were restricted from hunting big game beyond the boundaries of their reservation, so they killed rabbits, prairie dogs and sage chickens, which were plentiful, and fished the streams. They lived simply on the rations they drew at the agency each week, supplementing them with foods of their choice and some clothing from the stores.

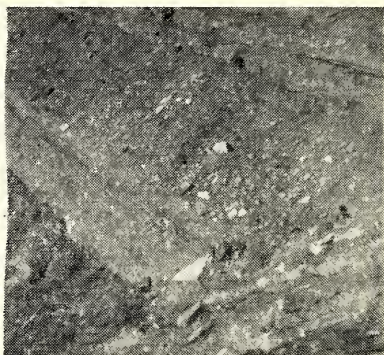
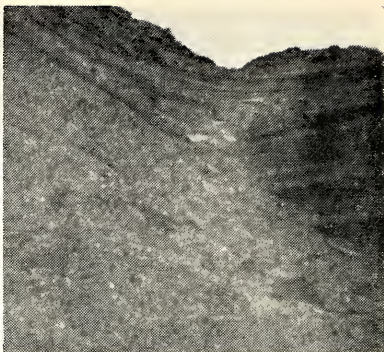
The men wore blankets, leggings and moccasins and the squaws were dressed in calicoes and gingham, covered by shawls they bought in the stores, with a silk handkerchief for a head covering. The children got along without much clothing.

Their diversion was mostly hunting near home, fishing, dancing and gambling, and as a whole they were contented, happy, and satisfied with life.

Today, located on allotments scattered over their reservation; in cabins and modern homes, many of them with electricity and gas installed for modern appliances; driving high powered automobiles and trucks over good roads instead of horses; farming with power machinery; raising live stock instead of depending upon the hunt, the Indians are living a life entirely different from the lives of their immediate ancestors.

I mention these matters to show the course of the Indians as I have seen it, from the days of the buffaloes and trader's tokens to the ways of their white brothers.

The day of the American Plains blanket Indian is past, and the days of the sutlers and Indian trader tokens are a memory cherished by only a few survivors of their time.



1. Looking east into the Hole-in-the-Wall Trail.
2. Closer view of Hole-in-the-Wall Trail.
3. Rock which could be moved to block the Trail.
4. Looking down the trail from the rim. Note the rock which could be moved to block the Trail.
5. Red Butte north of the Trail. This is used as a landmark to locate the Trail.
6. Close-up view of the country just below the Hole-in-the-Wall Trail.

The Hole-in-the-Wall

By

THELMA GATCHELL CONDIT

PART I—LOCATION AND ORIGIN OF NAME

Johnson County has occupied a unique position in the development of the west, both in regard to geographical setting and the spirit of her people who contributed so colorful a share of western history.

While all of the Johnson County story is a rich exciting drama, those events centering around the Hole-in-the-Wall in the southern part of the county are by far the most typically outstanding. Largely located in the heart of the upper Powder River country it, by nature, was a favorite place for game, Indians, hunters, trappers and cowmen. By virtue of its position it became the beginning place of Johnson County history. Where could these actors playing their humorous, tragic, and manlike parts have found a more spectacular setting?

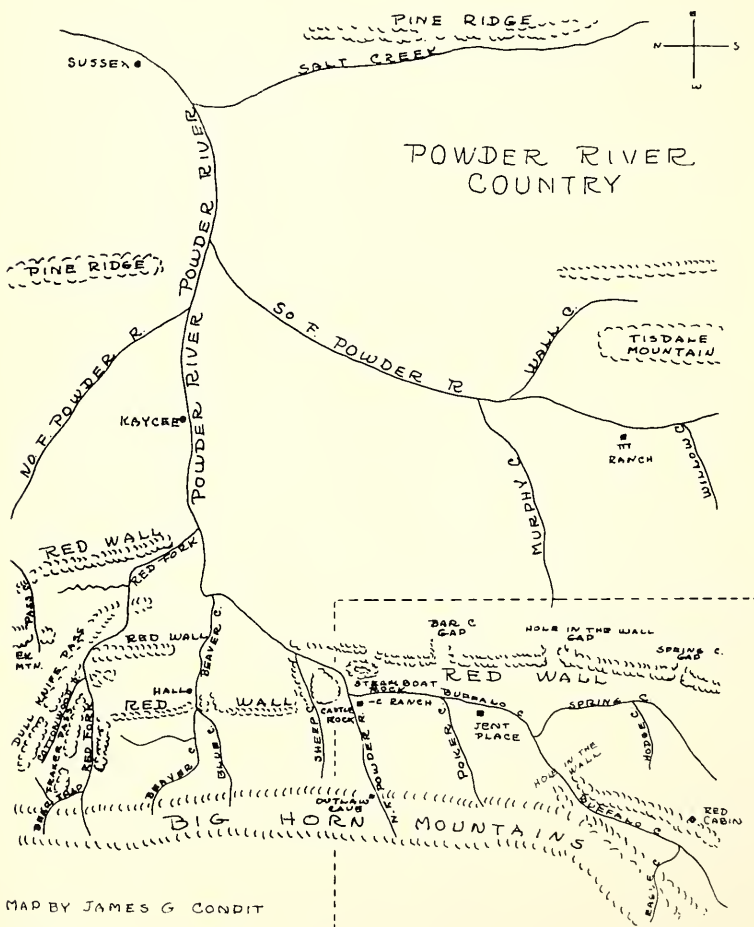
The Hole-in-the-Wall country lies 19 miles west of Kaycee. It is easily approached by following the Barnum road, 12 miles of which is a good oiled secondary highway. The road follows the valley of the Middle Fork of Powder River. About 10 miles from Kaycee, Red Fork of Powder River flows into Middle Fork (at the first bridge) a few yards to the left of the road. About 5 or 6 miles farther on, at the third bridge, Beaver Creek enters Middle Fork. After a cloud-burst or heavy rain up-country, it is fun to stop and see the two streams come together, Beaver Creek muddy red and Middle Fork clear and bubbly. (From here the road follows Beaver Creek into the valley behind the wall).

Just before entering the valley you see the old Barnum Community Hall neatly framed in red cliffs, standing to the right of the road. Three fourths of a mile farther on the road forks (now having entered the valley proper), the right hand road leading north into the Barnum community, the left going west and south into the Hole-in-the-Wall Country.

The valley behind the red wall is truly a rare beauty spot; its very unusualness as to coloring and location immediately sets it apart from other places. The high red wall to the east, extending north and south for 50 miles, is in itself vividly impressive. Running along on top of it are grasslands on which grow rich winter feed. On the west, the valley is bounded by mountains (the end of the Big Horn) called the "slope", which is covered with good grass and trees, small gullies, and big and little canyons. The valley affords plentiful water for irrigation of hay meadows from

loaf of bread and literally covered with giant mahogany bushes, Red Fork, Beaver Creek and Middle Fork of Powder. The green of the alfalfa fields presents a contrast of coloring that makes the wall seem more red and the slope more blue. The valley is not very wide and is nice in winter, being sheltered from the storms by the wall. Its red soil is of such a nature that it does not remain wet long—so heavy snows in the valley are not of as long duration as in other, more exposed places. It is full of little sheltered nooks and crannies and low brush which afford natural protection for livestock and game. It's just a step up the slope to summer feed. It's a perfect set-up for the cow business.

To the extreme north lies Fraker Mountain, shaped like a huge

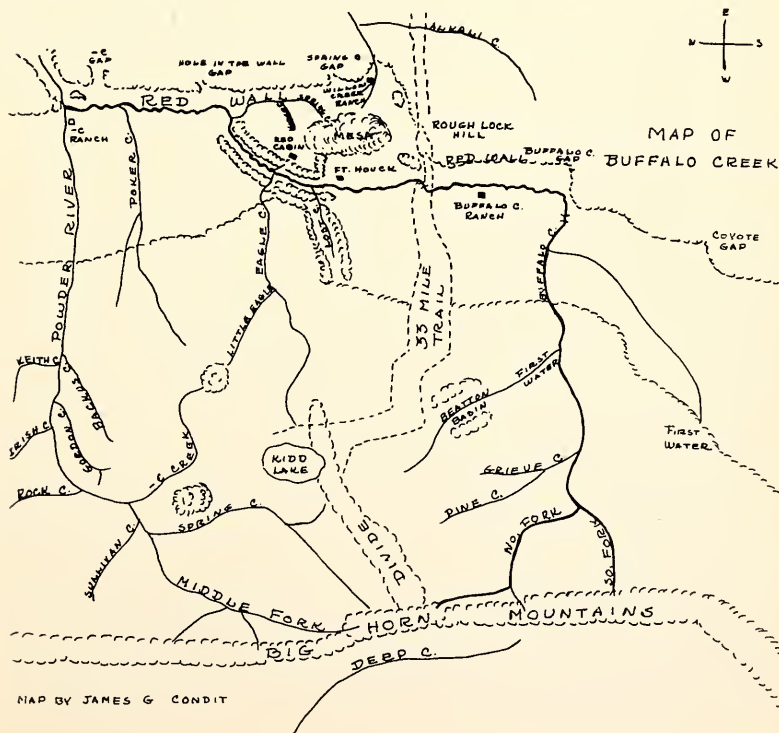


utterly shutting off all approach from the north except for the Sioux Trail which comes off this mountain, a trail never commonly used except by Indians and trappers because of its steep roughness.

The northern, Barnum part of the valley, is a nicely settled little ranching community; but the southern part, which widens out more, is not thickly settled—it's just plain old cow-country, untouched by the clutter of civilization—it's jeep or horse country, a man's country—rough and unshaven—no place much to stop and no one to see.

The Hole-in-the-Wall part of the valley starts at the Bar C ranch, 25 miles from Kaycee, and extends about 10 miles beyond to the mouth of Buffalo Creek canyon. Here Buffalo Creek comes out of the mountain area and begins its 9 or 10 miles of twisting and turning until it empties itself into the Middle Fork of Powder River just below the Bar C ranch (between the buildings and Steamboat rock—a huge isolated piece of red wall which resembles a steamboat, and is easily seen and recognized from the road).

The Hole-in-the-Wall country proper centers around the upper Middle Fork of Powder River and Buffalo Creek. (A study of



MAP BY JAMES G. CONDIT

the map is necessary to understand Buffalo Creek). The Hole-in-the-Wall headquarters was located where Buffalo Creek first emerges from the canyon walls and makes a leisurely bend to the north. It is here that the old buildings stood. This place is quickly identified by the yellowish-white cliff standing there, the contrast of its lightness with the darkness of the wall being a rare thing and easily remembered. This spot is literally a big hole, but the name "Hole-in-the-Wall" did not originate at this particular site. It dated back many years to the days when this Powder River country belonged to the elk, wolf and buffalo.

About 1½ miles to the east of this natural hole is a trail over the red wall leading out into the Murphy Creek country (*see picture*). This trail was a natural wolf run, leading to and from the upper and lower Powder River country. So the wolf trappers were the first ones to enter this valley (after the Indians) as they set their traps along this trail. They started calling this place "the country behind the wall", for they had to call it something in order to refer to it. Places then had a natural way of naming themselves.

It went as "the country behind the wall" until Murphy Creek took its name. Just below the South Fork of Powder River crossing on the old road south of Kaycee, where Murphy Creek flows into South Fork, is a large-scale rock or bank-like cliff whose side in relief against the sky resembles a man's face. The old timers started calling the face "Old Man Murphy", and so the stream became Murphy Creek. Then the trappers began referring to the trail into the red valley as the "Murphy Creek Gap".

Later, in 1882 or thereabouts, when the big cow outfits came into the red wall country, cattle and horses were put over this trail. A little over half way up the trail (*see picture*) is a huge rock lying to one side, forming a sort of hole. Cattle rustlers found they could slip "critters" up Murphy Creek, over the red wall trail, and find perfect sanctuary in this hidden valley—a valley with the wide slope to the west full of innumerable canyons of rich feed, conveniently and naturally hidden from prying eyes. Eight men could slide the rock into the trail, thus blocking it. Being a hard, shale-like path no tracks were left, and with the rock blocking the way everything looked innocently impassable. So the place began to be called the Hole-in-the-Wall from this rock, which *does* make a hole plainly seen (if you climb the trail to look).

The important thing to remember is that the Hole-in-the-Wall name was in existence as such long before the Johnson County Invasion, and long before it became an outlaw hide-out. It was commonly established as the Hole-in-the-Wall country before anyone ever filed on the land and took its name *naturally* from the hole-forming rock on the trail and also from the gap itself which

is clearly shown in the picture. It all centered around the trail coming in from Murphy Creek.

To appreciate and understand the Hole-in-the-Wall you must visualize it as a whole. You must see it below (in the valley) and above, both from the top of the wall and the slope. You cannot know this place by seeing it in isolated parts, for it's the kind of country you can't confine to fences and little ownerships—you cannot think of the Hole-in-the-Wall apart from its surrounding areas. They are inseparable. You must see them all and think of them as one big whole.

Sanford Thompson, a roughneck type, first lived on the land west of the "gap". He ran horses. It's very doubtful if he ever filed on this land; but, he built a cabin of sorts which he shared with his questionable friends. "Sang" Thompson he was called, Sang Thompson from the Hole-in-the-Wall, and he was rough and tough. It is easy to see why he called his place the Hole-in-the-Wall. It was the appropriate thing to do, and it was natural, too, that this country later became a hide-out for outlaws, the land itself affording isolation and convenient protection in its vast number of little blind canyons, caves and shelters. After the Invasion the name itself was a drawing card for outlaws, eastern writers building it up so as to sound excitingly wicked, when actually its use as an outlaw hide-out was the shortest part of its life and certainly not its primary use.

Men have come there and gone, all leaving something of themselves in the inimitable whole. The scenery remains for the most part the same through the years, although the main performers have long since gone their way. As the curtain falls on the thrilling scenes of frontier life which took place here, we realize how stupendous they were and try desperately to recapture them. What better way is there than knowing the land itself to give us a clearer understanding of the men who lived there. And truly the region behind the red wall remains unchanged to such an extent that it would seem not at all improbable or unbelievable should a tribe of Indians drop off Fraker Mountain on the old Sioux Trail, or Wild Cat Sam with his buffalo gun and wolf traps appear for a moment in outline on the top of the Hole-in-the-Wall Trail.

Sometimes the valley, the slope and wall are vivid and distinct. Again they are hazy and lazy-looking, quietly peaceful as if of no importance. So were the scenes enacted there—as varied, as exciting and often as mysterious as the land itself. Its very duplicity makes its beauty more than beauty—it has an added ruggedness and an elusiveness that makes it definitely life-like. It has depth of character which is not revealed to the casual observer. It is a setting worthy of the mettle of the men who acted their parts there. It is as varied and unusual in its moods as those who coped with it. It took stout men to live in the Hole-in-the-Wall country.

Events of the Year 1865

PERTAINING TO JOHNSON COUNTY

Paper by T. J. Gatchell Before the Johnson County Historical Society, June 9th, 1921

For a topic to present to this society at this time I have decided on the events of the year 1865, as being of decided historic value to Johnson county; being the first military invasion of this territory, and furnishing the first chronicled happenings in this immediate vicinity. It might be well, however, to state that the laying out of the Bozeman Trail in 1863, by John Bozeman, of Bozeman, Montana, had a decided bearing on the subsequent events; in fact our early history, so far as it deals with the development of this part of the country, is closely associated with that famous highway.

The main subject of this paper will be the "Connor Powder River Indian Expedition," with its numerous complications; and the Sawyer road making party; as both enterprises were in force at about the same time.

I will, therefore, take up the different divisions separately, and blend them where occasion demands.

It has been necessary to take into consideration many things that happened in other parts of this western country, but only those that have a bearing on Johnson County have been introduced.

The closing of the great Civil War in this year turned loose a large number of adventurous men; some seeking further excitement; and others impoverished by the long struggle turned toward the "golden west" to improve their fortunes, and win homes for their families in this land of promise. Those men hardened in body by their experience in the war, and inured to danger, were the perfect type of pioneer; and though they passed through untold hardships and privations, they eventually came to their own.

During the winter of 1864-65, to further the development of the newly discovered mines in Montana and to stimulate the settlement in that territory, Congress made an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars to survey and build a wagon road from the mouth of the Niobrara river, Nebraska, Territory, to Virginia City, Montana. This road was to follow the river grade as far as the Black Hills country and then run north and intersect the Bozeman Trail at or near Powder river, from which place it would closely follow that trail.)

Taking into consideration the fact that this road passed through the country over which the Indian held absolute control, the magnitude of the undertaking is apparent.

The Powder River and adjacent country was the home of several branches of the Sioux tribe, especially the Oglala and Brules; and allied with them were the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians; so it was to be expected that they would offer desperate resistance against the white man's invasion of these lands. This country was, from the Indian standpoint, all that could be desired; plenty of shelter, mild winters, sufficient food for their ponies, and an abundance of game in the broken country surrounding them for their own sustenance. It was an Indian paradise.

In this territory, so ideally located, the Indians had established their families where they could leave them in comparative safety while the warring element of the tribes could raid the lower country at will.

So serious had conditions become for the settlers along the border; so terrible the toll exacted from the travelers along the Overland trail, that the military authorities finally awoke to the fact that something must be done to effectively subdue the marauders, as the force of soldiers in the few scattered military posts were totally inadequate to handle the situation. To this end, the following orders were issued:

"General Orders No. 80"
Department of the Missouri
St. Louis, Mo., March 28, 1865

1. Brig. Gen. R. B. Mitchell, U. S. Volunteers is hereby relieved from the command of the District of Nebraska and will assume command of the District of North Kansas, headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.
2. The Districts of Utah, Colorado and Nebraska, are hereby merged into one command to be known as the District of the Plains.
3. Brig. Gen. P. E. Connor, U. S. Volunteers, is assigned to the command of the District of the Plains, headquarters at Denver, Colo., Ter.

By command of Major Gen. Dodge;
J. W. Barnes,
Ass't. Adjutant General.

The direct result of this order was the organization of what is known as the "Connor Powder River Indian Expedition."

General Dodge had implicit confidence in General Connor's ability to cope with the situation, and it is but fair to say that he had every reason to justify him in so believing.

Connor had done masterly service in trying years of the Civil War as Commander of the District embracing what is now Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah; had held the Mormons in check; and controlled the Indian situation along the exposed borders and the

Overland Trail with surprising efficiency, when the small number of men under his command is taken into consideration. The Powder River expedition, however, was an almost total failure so far as any lasting impression left with the hostiles is concerned; and an extensive research through the records and other sources of information bearing on the subject that I have been able to gather, places the blame for such failure on General Connor.

There is no question as to General Connor's ability as an Indian fighter; he was thoroughly versed in such warfare, and a man of splendid judgment; but on this occasion he failed to properly organize his columns so that cooperation resulted, and it is nothing less than a miracle that the Cole and Walker contingents escaped as well as they did.

The original plan was to send four columns into the stronghold of the Indians, each taking a different route and all to meet at an appointed rendezvous on the first day of September.

The left column was to have been in command of Colonel Kidd; and the west column to under Captain Albert Brown, but the plans were changed somewhat and these columns were combined and commanded by General Connor in person. The eastern or right column was commanded by Colonel Nelson Cole, and his instructions from General Connor, which are in the official records, I give in part as follows: "You will proceed with your column by the best and most practicable route to the east base of the Black Hills, in Dakota Territory move thence along the east base of the Black Hills to Bear's Peak; situated at the northeast point of the hills where a large force of hostile Indians are supposed to be camped. From Bear's Peak you will move around the north base of the hills to the Three Peaks; from thence you will strike across country in a northwesterly direction to the north base of Panther mountain, Wolf where you will find a supply depot and probably part of my command. . . . You will not receive overtures of peace or submission from the Indians; but will attack and kill every male Indian over twelve years of age."

The center column was in command of Lieutenant Colonel Walker and his instructions directed him via Rawhide Creek through the Black Hills, across the headwaters of the Little Missouri River, in a northwesterly direction to the Powder River to a point nearly opposite the north end of Panther mountain; and thence in a westerly direction to the rendezvous on Rosebud river. His instructions in regard to the hostiles were the same as those given Cole.

It is decidedly unfortunate that General Connor failed to make a report, other than a few dispatches to General Dodge, of the expedition; so what I have been able to gather of the part taken by the column under him has been through those that had part in the affair; the only official report touching the matter having been the one made by General Dodge. A number of years ago

I had the pleasure of meeting Captain N. J. O'Brien, who was an officer with the Connor command; and the information obtained from him, together with the diary of Captain H. E. Palmer, covering this campaign and published in Coutant's *History of Wyoming*; a brief account of the campaign by Capt. J. L. Humfreyville, and what few war records I have been able to find that bear on the subject furnish about all the reliable information obtainable relative to this column's part in the affair.

Colonel Cole made a report covering the campaign of the troops under him, to General Connor, at Fort Connor, on September 20, 1865, but this report was never forwarded to the authorities, nor made a part of the official records. Feeling that the troops under him had not received proper credit for their strenuous effort during the campaign, and that he himself had been the subject of unjust criticism, Colonel Cole made a more comprehensive report of the affair some two years later, which he forwarded directly to General Grant, together with the one made to Connor.

Supplementing Colonel Cole's report are the reports of Colonel Oliver Wells, commanding the Twelfth Missouri Cavalry; Major Clem Landgraeber, commanding second battalion, Second Missouri Light Artillery; and from battery commanders: Captain Samuel Flagg, Captain E. S. Rowland, Lieut. Wm. Rinne, Lieut. Louis Holland, and Lieut. John H. Kendall. Several years ago Mr. Wm. Devine, of Sheridan, Wyoming, wrote a splendid article, giving a very complete account of the Cole column, which was published in the *Sheridan Post*, and to this article I am indebted for a great deal of information.

I have also found some valuable data from the pen of G. Bird Grinnell, who in his excellent work, the *Fighting Cheyennes*, furnishes some valuable history touching on this expedition as well as on the Sawyer party. Mr. Grinnell has made an exhaustive study of these affairs, both from the standpoint of the white man and the Indian. I consider him an authority. Relative to the Sawyer expedition I have the report of Captain Geo. W. Williford, commanding the military escort, the war records, the *History of Wyoming*, by Coutant, and a number of other reliable sources of information.

CONNOR COLUMN

The Western, or left wing, of the Connor expedition was formed at Ft. Laramie, and was composed of the following organizations: Troop F, Seventh Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, under Captain N. J. O'Brien; Troop E, Eleventh Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, under Captain J. L. Humfreyville; Troop M, Second California Volunteer Cavalry, under Captain George Conrad; six troops of the Sixth Michigan Volunteer Cavalry, commanded by Colonel J. H. Kidd;

a detachment of fourteen artillerymen from the Second Missouri Light Artillery, with a section of rifled cannon, in charge of Captain O'Brien; a detachment of the U. S. Signal Corps, under Lieut. J. W. Brown; and a detachment from the Eleventh Ohio Volunteer Cavalry serving in the Quartermaster's department. There were also seventy-five Pawnee Indian scouts, under Captain Frank North; and seventy Omaha and Winnebago Indian scouts under Captain E. W. Nash.

Their wagon train consisted of 185 wagons, mostly requisitioned from civilian freight outfits, with 195 teamsters and wagon bosses, all under Robert Wheeling.

As guides they had Major James Bridger, Nick Janisse, Jim Dougherty, Jean Resha, Mich Bouyer, Antwine LaDue and a scout named Bordeaux. In two of these scouts especially they had valuable men, Major Bridger being thoroughly familiar with Indians, and having an absolute knowledge of the country; while Mich Bouyer was one of the most reliable and efficient scouts of that time. Mr. D. C. Cummings, of this place, was well acquainted with Bouyer, having met him first in 1871, and the following year they spent together at the home of Mr. Cummings' uncle in Montana. Mr. Cummings says that Mich Bouyer was a half-breed Indian by birth, but in all other respects he was a white man. Bouyer was among the brave men who gave up their lives in the service of their country at the battle of the Little Big Horn on June 25, 1876.

This column left Fort Laramie on the thirteenth day of July, 1865, and marched up the Platte river and crossed at the LaBonte crossing, which was a little below where Fort Fetterman was afterwards located, and from there their course led them in a northwesterly direction, practically following the Bozeman Trail, to Powder river.

The California troops and the Indians under Nash, however, kept up the Platte river as far as Platte bridge where is now the city of Casper, and joined the main command a few days later. The expedition reached Powder river on the 11th of August and went into camp on the south side of that stream on land that is now embraced in the ranch of Young Bros. After sending scouting parties up and down the river to find a suitable site for a fort and after hearing their reports Connor decided to build the post on the north side of the river opposite their camp, and on the fourteenth of August the work of building Fort Connor was started.

The location of Fort Connor (afterward Fort Reno) was well chosen, being on a mesa closely abutting the river, and which extended back in a level prairie for several miles before reaching the hills to the north. The intention of the War Department was to build two posts on Powder river, one at this point, and one

near its conjunction with the Yellowstone, but the other post was not built.

Fort Connor, as near as I have been able to learn from those who were there, was not a very elaborate affair, being built of cottonwood logs, and only a few of the principal buildings being stockaded.

In conversation a few days ago with Mr. John Ryan, of Buffalo, who visited Fort Connor in 1866 with the Carrington expedition, he told me that the post was "nothing but a collection of cottonwood shacks."

On August 16th, while engaged in building the post, they got their first sight of Indians; Captain North and his Pawnee discovering a band of twenty-four Cheyennes, immediately started in pursuit. They followed these Indians nearly sixty miles before overtaking them; and in the resulting engagement succeeded in killing the entire party, captured 29 head of horses and other property with no loss to themselves but four head of horses. This fight took place on Powder river a little below the mouth of Crazy Woman Creek.

On the nineteenth, one of the scouts discovered a large party of Sioux, and North and his Indians again took up the pursuit, and killed a chief and captured six head of horses. Colonel Kidd, with twenty-five men of the 6th Michigan Cavalry, who were on a scouting party, reported having seen from five hundred to a thousand Indians; and Captain Marshall, with 40 men of Troop E, Eleventh Ohio Cavalry, who were scouting in another direction, attacked another band of Sioux, and killed two Indians and captured eleven head of horses.

These bands were traveling north and were presumably among those that later attacked the Cole and Walker columns.

Colonel Kidd was placed in command of Fort Connor, with the six troops of his regiment as a garrison, and August 22nd the expedition moved north, leaving a large part of the wagon train at the post.

The first day's march brought them to Crazy Woman creek and they camped on the flat on this side of the stream about a mile below where Trabing is now located.

Leaving this camp they marched down to the mouth of Wallow creek; thence up that stream to its intersection with the Bozeman Trail, following that road to Clear creek, and went into camp on this stream just above the mouth of French creek.

From here their route led them along the Bozeman trail across Piney creek and Massacre hill to Prairie Dog creek; down which stream they traveled to Tongue river.

Captain North and his Pawnees had been sent on a scouting expedition to the upper Tongue river country, and while the command was encamped at near the mouth of Prairie Dog creek two Pawnee Indians from his detail came in and reported that

North had discovered an Indian village at the mouth of Wolf creek on Tongue river. General Connor decided to move to attack at once; made a forced night march, and the next morning, August 28th, surprised and destroyed the village, which proved to be a band of Arapahoes and a few Cheyennes, under Chief Black Bear.

There is a wide range of reports concerning this battle, but the only thing official is the report of General Dodge, who says: "Killed fifty, captured village, all winter provisions, and six hundred horses—all the stock they had."

This fight took place on Tongue river at the mouth of Wolf creek, near where the town of Ranchester is now located, on land that is part of the 04 Bar ranch.

In the summer of 1895, in company with Captain N. J. O'Brien, who had command of a troop of cavalry and also the artillery detachment during the engagement, I visited this battlefield. Captain O'Brien's account of the affair does not differ in substance to any extent from that given by Captain Palmer, only that it was given in an absolutely impersonal way. According to Captain O'Brien's account, the troops charged the position about nine o'clock in the morning, driving the Indians from the village, and a running fight was kept up for several miles after the hostiles, both up Tongue river and Wolf creek; the soldiers keeping up the pursuit as long as their horses held out. In the meantime most of the ponies had been rounded up, and when about noon the troops returned from the chase, the work of destroying the village was started. The encampment consisted of some two hundred and fifty lodges, which were burned, together with the entire camp equipage, consisting of their winter's supply of food and many other things valuable to the Indians.

Notwithstanding their fight, the Indians were not entirely subdued, and when the soldiers started the work of destroying the camp, they rallied and made a brave attempt to regain their property, and the troops were hard pressed to maintain the position, but by bringing the mountain howitzers into action and placing a few well timed shots in their midst the Indians retired to a safe distance and the work of destruction was completed. The troops started back to their bivouac at the mouth of Prairie Dog creek late in the afternoon; the Indians following and making desultory attempts to recapture their ponies, but the rear guard had no trouble in holding them off, and with the coming of night they abandoned the idea, and Connor's little army reached its destination without further molestation. A few prisoners had been captured, but the following day General Connor ordered them released to rejoin their tribe. The loss to the troops in this engagement was two soldiers and four Pawnee Indians killed. There were quite a number wounded, however, some of whom afterwards died.

On September 1st, according to Captain Palmer's diary, we

find the command camped on Tongue river, a short distance below the mouth of Prairie Dog creek. This was the day that the three columns were due to meet at the rendezvous at the northeast base of the Panther mountains on the Rosebud, and this column was at least eighty miles from the appointed place.

WALKER COLUMN

The center column as in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker consisted of six hundred men of his regiment, the Sixteenth Kansas, and a supply train of pack mules. They left Fort Laramie on the 2nd day of August, forming a junction with a Cole command on the 15th, at Pine creek, in what is now South Dakota. As this column practically finished the campaign with the Cole contingent, it will hereafter be included in the report of that column.

COLE COLUMN

The Eastern division of the expedition was in command of Colonel Nelson Cole, 2nd consisted of eight companies of his regiment, the Second Missouri Light Artillery, equipped as cavalry, and eight troops of the 12th Missouri Cavalry, under Colonel Oliver Wells; a section of three inch rifled cannon, manned by a detail from the artillery; and a wagon train of 140 six-mule teams. The command numbered about 1400 men.

This command left Omaha City, Nebraska Territory, on the first day of July, 1865, and marched by way of Fremont to Columbus, from which place they followed up the North Loup river to its head; then across the sand hills to Niobrara river, and thence up Antelope creek and down Wounded Knee creek to the White river. From the White river they followed the Harney trail (1855) through the bad lands, past Ash Springs to Bear creek; then leaving the Harney trail to the right, they moved direct to the South Fork of the Cheyenne, (Belle Fourche), and then over the divide to the Little Missouri; thence to the head of O'Fallen creek and across to the Powder river, striking that stream at a point about fifty miles above its junction with the Yellowstone, on the 28th day of August.

The command by this time had nearly depleted their rations; the animals were playing out for want of forage; and it became necessary to locate the supply depot that General Connor's instructions, delivered to Cole at the Loup river, said would be on the Rosebud.

To this end, and to report to General Connor as the message delivered to him at the Loup inferred that his column was late, Cole dispatched Lieutenant Hoagland and twenty men of the Second Missouri Light Artillery, with a guide named Raymond, to find Connor's troops or the supply depot.

The scouting party returned on the first day of September,

having failed to find any trace of either Connor or a supply depot, or any evidence that any troops had been there. The scouting party also discouraged any attempt to take the worn out train across the broken country between them and the Tongue river. Being satisfied that Connor had not gone to Panther mountain, and Palmer's account proves that he had not, Colonel Cole decided that his best move was to get to rations as soon as possible; and Fort Laramie was the nearest point to get them, as far as he knew, as the existence of a post at Powder river was not known.

On the first day of September they had their first skirmish with the Indians; the men who were herding the stock about a mile from camp being attacked by about five hundred of the hostiles. Captain Rowland, with seven men of the Second Missouri Light Artillery, closely pressed the Indians and killed a number of them; but while chasing a detached party another band of about forty-five suddenly charged out of a ravine and killed or mortally wounded all of the party with the exception of Captain Rowland. Colonel Cole immediately ordered out his entire force, excepting a camp guard; but by the time the main force arrived the Indians retreated and the soldiers could not pursue them because of the exhausted condition of their horses. Cole estimates the number of Indians killed in this engagement at about twenty-five and quite a number wounded.

During the afternoon a column of smoke was observed in the direction of the mouth of Powder river and they arrived at the conclusion that it was either a big Indian village on the Yellowstone, or that General Connor, unable to get down Tongue river, had gone around by the way of the Big Horn river, and was holding his force at the mouth of Powder river, and endeavoring to attract the other columns by signal fires.

It was decided to march down the river as they would be justified in either case; if Connor was there they would find rations; and if it was an Indian village they could engage the hostiles; and it was also hoped that grass and game was more plentiful in that direction.

On the morning of the 2nd they moved to the west side of Powder river and marched down that river twenty-five miles; but finding that it was impossible to take the wagon train through in that direction had to abandon that route. During that night to further add to their discomfort the weather changed from extreme heat to excessive cold and a terrific storm came up that killed a large number of their worn out horses.

On the 3rd, they turned back up the river to the first place grass could be found for the horses; and Cole states in his report that during the march down the river and back to this point they lost about 225 horses and mules. The following day a party, sent back to the camp of the day before to more thoroughly

destroy the property necessarily abandoned at that place, were attacked by about seventy-five Indians; but were able to drive them off and pursue them several miles down the river.

On the morning of the 5th, when the command was about ready to move, Indians were discovered in large numbers in the hills to the west, their intention being to cut off some teamsters who were rounding up stray mules; but well directed shots from the train relieved the situation and the Indians retired, carrying their dead with them.

Cole says: "Larger detached parties showed themselves on the adjacent hills, and upon advancing the command in their direction I discovered that there were many hundreds in the ravines beyond who had until then not shown themselves. Whilst in person on the west side of camp I discovered that large bodies were moving up the valley toward the south and also that there was a considerable force on the east bank of the river. Captain Boardman, with his company, (M, Second Missouri Light Artillery) had been stationed in the woods along the bank of the river, and covered the rear of the camp, whilst the Twelfth Missouri Cavalry occupied the right flank, the line of the Second Missouri Light Artillery extending to corral of the commissary train on the left, with parts of three companies deployed from the train to the woods. The company teams of the Twelfth Missouri Cavalry were formed in line perpendicular to the left of this regiment and extended from the section of artillery to the woods. The Indians made efforts to attract small parties of men from camp in pursuit of bands of from ten to a hundred of their number repeatedly charging up within 250 yards and rapidly moving away again. Frequent attempts were also made by them to get at the horses of the men who were on foot in the skirmish line, but the excellence of the Spencer arm and the promptness of the men, who gallantly met and repulsed them, though frequently outnumbered twenty to one, defeated the attempt at this quarter. In this desultory manner the engagement continued some three hours, until a dash was made upon a detachment of the Twelfth Missouri Cavalry, who without orders had crossed the river. When attacked they very improperly turned to gain shelter, but the superior condition of the Indians' horses enabled them to overtake the broken down horses on which they were mounted. This detachment was driven into the river, with the loss of two men killed and two wounded. They only escaped annihilation by the prompt action of Captain Boardman, who moved a portion of his company to their support, and by well directed volleys drove the Indians back with heavy loss. The number of Indians in this charge could not have been less than a thousand. All the hill tops, divides, and margins of the nearest bluffs were literally covered with Indians, whose savage yelling was distinctly heard above the noise of the immediate conflict. On one hill a large

number of them had collected; a red flag and the constant use of their signal glasses (a piece of looking glass flashed in the sun), denoted it to be their headquarters. I opened with shell upon this particular spot, and although not doing any serious damage caused the evacuation of this and all points within the range of my part of guns and a cessation of attack on the part of the Indians most of whom retired out of sight and could not be induced to remain within reach of any of the detachments sent in pursuit."

From this point they moved up the river for the next three days when they again engaged the Indians.

Of this fight Cole says: "Seeing nothing more of the Indians until September 8th, when Colonel Walker, Sixteenth Kansas, who was in my advance about three or four miles, sent back a courier, informing me that he was attacked by between 3,000 and 4,000 Indians, who were driving him back. I was crossing my train over the river at the time, and ordering it moved up out of the timber and I pushed on with one battalion of the Second Missouri Artillery, leaving the balance of this regiment to guard the train, and sent the 12th Missouri Cavalry to skirmish through the woods along the river bank to drive out a body of Indians who were posted in the timber. I also moved the section of artillery up to the front and opened upon a large force in a ravine, who were apparently preparing to take in flank a skirmish line of the Sixteenth Kansas. My pioneer company (Captain Boardman's Company M, Second Missouri Light Artillery), had been marching with the Sixteenth Kansas, and in conjunction with them constructing roads. When the attack was made it had been judiciously dismounted and deployed as skirmishers upon the right flank of Colonel Walker's line and with the Spencer carbine was making its way some hundreds of yards in advance of all others, clearing the front entirely of Indians, who turned their attention to the other and more poorly armed troops, whose rapid evolutions had damaged much of their ammunition and were now firing but little. Driving the Indians from a well selected position for attack, I found them exerting but little of the energy they had displayed on the fifth instant, as they gave way before every attack made on them boldly by parties of even half their number. The conformation of the ground necessitated crossing the river at this point before proceeding further, and to prevent this a large force had gathered in the timber as if to dispute our passage. I directed the fire of my rifled piece among them and killed a number as they endeavored to escape across the river having an enfilade fire on them whilst they were huddled together at the various gulches running through the bank to the water. Crossing the opposite side of the river, camp was formed of both commands together."

That afternoon a terrific storm came up which increased in

intensity during the night; and, as the camp was in an exposed position, Cole moved the command up the river about two and a half miles to some heavy timber in which the suffering animals could get some shelter, where by surrounding them with huge log fires, and feeding them on cottonwood boughs and what little grass was attainable, decreased the death rate considerably.

To again quote Cole: "During the thirty-six hours that the storm prevailed 414 of my animals perished on the picket ropes or along the road between camps."

The location of this camp was on the Powder river, not far from the mouth of the Little Powder, and about five miles above where the town of Broadus, Montana, is now located.

On the tenth, the command again moved up the river, crossing at this point under cover of their cannon, as the Indians had assumed a position where they could dash down at the troops if opportunity offered; but a few shots scattered among them forced them back out of range and the command moved on unmolested. This was their last brush with the hostiles, although they hovered in the rear of the troops for several days, but prudently kept out of range.

On the 13th, a couple of soldiers and two Pawnee Indians arrived at camp with dispatches from General Connor directing Cole to either move his command over to Tongue river and join him, or to proceed up the river to Fort Connor. The advice of the dispatch bearers being that his worn out train could not negotiate the trip to Tongue river decided Cole to proceed up the river to Fort Connor. Lieut. Jones was sent with a detachment of the Second Missouri Light Artillery to accompany the Connor dispatch bearers back to that column and to report the condition of the Cole and Walker commands. It has always been supposed, and most writers so state, that Captain North located the Cole command; but Cole says different, and so does Mr. Devine. Mr. Devine was well acquainted with Captain North, and as he is positive in the statement as above, it must be accepted as a fact.

The command was now in a deplorable condition, being practically out of rations and subsisting on horse and mule meat; nearly all the men barefooted; many suffering from scurvy and the effects of their exposure in the storms, but with the cheering news that up the river was a good supply of food they again took heart and started for the haven—Fort Connor.

Considering the exhausted condition of both men and horses the trip up Powder river was made in surprisingly short time, reaching the mouth of Clear creek on the 14th, and Crazy Woman creek on the 16th, arriving at Connor on the 20th, and going into camp on the south side of the river.

The loss to this column in the several engagements was as follows:

Twelfth Missouri Cavalry, three killed, one missing; Second

Missouri Light Artillery, five killed, five wounded, three of whom died.

Cole estimates that they killed from 200 to 500 Indians and captured and killed a large number of ponies. From what I have been able to learn from the Indians this loss is considerably over-estimated.

SAWYER EXPEDITION

The Sawyer road party left the mouth of the Niobrara river, Nebraska Territory, on the 13th day of June, 1865, and was in charge of Colonel J. A. Sawyer, of Sioux City, Iowa.

Colonel Sawyer had been an officer in the Civil War and was an engineer of considerable experience, and was considered a competent man for the enterprise.

His working force consisted of about a hundred men and he had fifty two teams of oxen. His military consisted of companies C and D of the Fifth U. S. Volunteers, and twenty-four men of Troop B, Dakota Cavalry commanded by Captain Geo. W. Williford. They were also provided with two pieces of artillery.

(Their route led them west along the Niobrara river for about two hundred and fifty miles, when they crossed to the South Cheyenne river, up which stream they traveled to the mouth of Black Thunder creek; following that stream to its head they crossed the divide to the Belle Fourche river, and from there headed in a northwesterly direction for Powder river; their object in going in that direction being to find a suitable crossing on the Powder lower down than the Bozeman trail crossing at Fort Connor, and thus shortening the route.)

(From official reports it seems that Connor had sent word to Sawyer not to attempt to go in that direction, the guides with Connor contending that the route was not feasible; but it was not until he found the rough and broken country impassable for his train that he turned back, intending to retrace his steps to the Belle Fourche, from where he intended to turn south and take the crossing higher up.)

(The Indians in the meantime had been closely watching the expedition and on the second days' journey back to the Belle Fourche the train was attacked by a large number of the hostiles, being Sioux under Red Cloud and Cheyennes under Dull Knife, who kept the train corralled for four days and nights. Of this engagement Captain Williford in his report says:)

(Fighting through the day; and at night the enemy would withdraw to commence hostilities again at early dawn, but finding that every effort to capture our train and massacre its defenders only resulted in their loss of many killed and wounded braves, they abandoned the siege.)

(According to General Dodge, however, after the failure of the

attack they held a parley, George and Joe Bent, Cheyenne half breeds, appearing on behalf of the Indians; and Colonel Sawyer gave them a wagon load of goods to let him proceed through the Indian country without further molestation.)

Captain Williford was not in favor of Sawyer's proposition and protested against the giving of the goods to the Indians; and subsequent events showed that he was right, as (the next day the Indians again attacked the train as they were proceeding on their way to the Belle Fourche. In this attack the Indians were again repulsed and did not again molest the party.)

(Captain Williford reports that he lost three men in the engagements, Privates Orlando Sous and Anthony Nelson, Troop B, First Dakota Cavalry, and Nat Hedges, citizen, and Sutler for the expedition, and that only a few were wounded and those slightly. The train then proceeded south of the South Butte, near which they camped, while Captain Williford with a detachment of the cavalry made a reconnaissance; finding that they were within thirteen miles of the road constructed by General Connor and only a day's march to the newly constructed Fort Connor.)

(The party arrived at Fort Connor on August 24th, and Captain Williford and the U. S. Volunteers were relieved from escort duty and ordered to garrison the fort, a detachment of the Sixth Michigan Cavalry under Captain Cole being sent with Sawyer.)

General Dodge is authority for the statement that as far as roadmaking was concerned the Sawyer expedition was a failure, that private outfits joining the party swelled the train to about 80 wagons, and that more attention was paid to getting the train through than to survey and construct roads; that Captain Williford went simply as an escort to the party, and had no control whatever over it, and exercised none until he was obliged to do so in order to save his command, in which, by his superior ability and skillful management, he succeeded.

(The site of the first attack on the train is on the divide between Kingsbury and S Bar creeks, in Campbell county, about twelve miles in a southwesterly direction from where the city of Gillette is now located.)

(Geo. E. Smith and D. C. Cummings, of Buffalo, and R. C. Rasmussen, of Barber, have each at different times visited this place and have found many evidences of the engagement, such as pieces of burned wagons, old iron, etc., and the rifle pits are still easily identified.)

(The second engagement took place at a point near the Bishop road in a direction southeasterly between the scene of the first attack and the Belle Fourche river. Their camp when arriving at the South Butte was at a point about two and a half miles south of the Butte, and was on land that is part of the Earl Brown ranch.)

Mr. Milo B. Tanner, who for many years was a resident of

Buffalo, was with the Sawyer expedition, having been a sergeant in Co. D, Fifth U. S. Vols. Mr. Tanner's experience was an unusual one, even for the exciting days of the Civil War. The Fifth U. S. Volunteers was an organization made up of Confederate prisoners, who had taken the oath of allegiance but refusing to fight against the South, had volunteered for the Indian wars. Mr. Tanner was a Union soldier, having enlisted in Co. C, 121st N. Y. Volunteers and while serving with that organization was captured at the battle of Salem Heights by the Confederates, being exchanged in about seventy days; recaptured at the battle of Cold Harbor, was confined at Andersonville prison. He escaped from Andersonville in a Confederate uniform and while endeavoring to regain the Union lines fell in with a Confederate patrol, being obliged to join them. The entire patrol was captured by Greson's cavalry, and he was taken with the other prisoners to the Alton, Ill., Federal prison where he was held as a rebel prisoner, and was unable to get the authorities to recognize his claim, they absolutely refusing to write or make any attempt whatever to let him prove his contention that he was a Union soldier. Finally, being discouraged in being held unjustly as a prisoner, he took the oath of allegiance and enlisted as above. The company to which he belonged being detailed to garrison Fort Connor, he remained at that post until the following summer, when the Carrington expedition relieved the U. S. Volunteers, and he went with them to Fort Kearny, Nebraska, where on October 11, 1866, he was discharged from the service. After many years his claim was recognized by the Government and he was granted a pension, but did not live long enough to receive any benefit from it, as the first payment did not arrive until after his death, which occurred on December 29, 1917, at the Wyoming Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.

(From Fort Connor the Sawyer party proceeded unmolested until they reached Tongue river, where they were again attacked—presumably by the same Arapahoes that Connor had engaged—and they were again forced to corral the train. A courier dispatched to General Connor—then on Tongue river—resulted in his sending Captain Brown with two troops of the California Cavalry to their relief; but the Indians had desisted in the attack before the arrival of the Brown forces and the next day the train resumed its journey. Captain Brown, however, accompanied them as far as the Big Horn river. In this engagement on Tongue river Captain Cole and two of his troopers were killed.)

The return of the Connor contingent to Fort Connor, on September 23rd, at last found the three columns united, but the deplorable condition of the Cole command made the continuance of the campaign out of the question.

I do not feel that in justice to all concerned that I can close

this paper without making some comparison of dates and facts, and as Mr. Devine has in his article most thoroughly gone into these details I am going to briefly place the important points of his article before you. Before quoting Mr. Devine, however, I wish to state that the report of Colonel Cole is official; undoubtedly having been made from his headquarters records, and consequently but little chance of his dates being wrong, while the Palmer account—the only record we have of the Connor command—was private diary. Therefore, we are forced to accept the Cole report as authentic. Supplementing the report of Colonel Cole and his officers is the story by Devine and his account of the artificial one, which adds material proof to its correctness.

Copying from Mr. Devine's article:

CONNOR COMMAND.

See *History of Wyoming*, [Coutant] pp. 517 to 523, where you will find that the 29th and 30th of August were spent on Wolf creek and Tongue river.

"On the 31st we traveled down Tongue river. . . . September 1st, early in the morning a cannon shot was heard. No two persons could agree in what direction the sound came from, but as that was the day fixed for the general rendezvous of Cole and Connor's command near the mouth of the Rosebud, some eighty miles away, it was supposed that the sound came from there, as that was the day fixed for the rendezvous. General Connor directed Captain North, with about twenty of his Indians and Captain Marshall, with thirty men of the Eleventh Ohio Cavalry, to push on rapidly to the rendezvous to communicate with Cole."

COLE'S COMMAND.

"September 1st, scouting party returned, having found no indication of Connor's command or any other white man ever having been in that part of the country. September 2nd, moved down the river twenty-five miles. 3rd burned some wagons and turned back up the river. Traveled about eighty miles, getting very cold. September 4th, moved about one and a half miles for grass and shelter. September 5th, attacked by the Indians from all sides and had to bring our section of artillery into action for the first time. The fighting that had taken place heretofore had been by small parties of our men and Indians."

MR. DEVINE'S STATEMENT:

"When General Connor's command heard that cannon shot, not only one but a half dozen of them, it was no mystery to Jim Bridger or Frank North where the sound came from; in fact it was not a mystery to any of the command whom I came across at Fort Laramie during that winter. But the mystery to me is

how it came to be the first day of September on the Tongue river, when it was the fifth on Powder river."

Taking into consideration the difference in the dates, the statement of Mr. Devine, and the other facts bearing on the matter, I am forced to the conclusion that it was the Connor column that failed to make the rendezvous.

Another factor in the failure of the campaign was the lack of competent guides with both the Cole and Walker columns. Cole marched all the way from Omaha for the most part through unknown country, at least unknown to any of his command. Added to this he was burdened with a cumbersome wagon train, and was forced to make roads as he went along. While it was true that he started with three Indians as guides, one of these was accidentally killed, one died of the scurvy, and the other left between two days, taking one of the best horses of the command with him.

On the other hand, with the Connor column were seven scouts, any of whom placed with Cole or Walker could have guided them by the best and shortest route to the appointed meeting place.

Having pack animals for transportation Walker might have done better, but this is only speculative when we consider what might have been the result had not Cole come to his assistance on the 8th of September and it perhaps safe to presume that he acted wisely in keeping in close touch with the larger command. As it was, with the assembling of the commands at Fort Connor, further attempts to push the campaign were abandoned, and after a few days' rest the entire force took up the march for Fort Laramie, and the "Connor Powder River Indian Expedition" was history.

The Quest for La Bonte

By

PIERRE LA BONTE, JR.

Possibly not one of the sons and daughters of early pioneers or any resident of Converse County, Wyoming, today has any doubt whatsoever that an actual La Bonte lived and trapped in the environs of the Creek (near Douglas) bearing his name.

Historians and students of Western history have until now been unable to uncover any authentic data on La Bonte. Legends and brief passages have been published through the years but none of these have carried any documentary proof nor been supported with findings of fact.

Recently, however, proof of a La Bonte having appeared in the Laramie Region is about to be disclosed.

In 1950 L. C. Bishop, Wyoming State Engineer, in behalf of the Wyoming Pioneer Association, edited a review of George Frederick Ruxton's book (1847) "Life in the Far West." Ruxton's story of La Bonte (his principal character) lost much of his color in the abbreviated work. In its entirety, however, it is a magnificent job, and for a single book affords the best understanding of the mountain fur trade. After reading the volume it is likely anyone could accept it as being an historical record of the time.

Summarizing his contribution, Mr. Bishop conceded the correctness of the incidents, as related by Ruxton, and stated in a final paragraph: "I am sufficiently acquainted with the geography of the entire territory covered to feel sure that La Bonte did visit the places named." Further he adds: "For my part, I believe the story of La Bonte to be substantially true and as I view it he was a resolute, resourceful and rugged character of the Old West, worthy of being remembered by our pioneers."

Certainly no one would quarrel with that last observation if it were supported by proof data. At its face value we might be mistaken to accept the Ruxton La Bonte as specifically historical.

Le Roy Hafen re-edited and annotated "Life in the Far West" in 1951. In his introduction in the new edition he maintains the volume is "fictionized history, factual but not a reliable chronicle." To support this he quotes Ruxton, writing to the editors of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine and saying: "I have no doubt jumbled the *dramatis personae* one with the other." Obviously, since Mr. Hafen found no record of La Bonte in his research he assumed La Bonte might have been substituted for these possi-

bilities: Joe Walker, Bill Williams, William Bent, Black Harris, Dick Wooten, John Hatcher or Rube Herring. He could have hazarded others but he stopped there.

Bernard De Voto, noted historian and prolific writer, has found no actual La Bontes other than Louis and Jean-Baptiste La Bonte who were among the forty-five engages led by Wilson Price Hunt to Astoria in 1810. He says: "Nobody has any information about the career of either of the La Bontes—what happened to them after 1812, where they went, what they did, how long they lived or anything else." He also adds: "No LaBonte was an Ashley man and *the name does not appear in the records of the mountain fur trade*, except as the name of the Creek."

Of Ruxton, De Voto declared his admiration for the author's natural gift for writing fiction but quite certainly considered the work just that. "Nothing in it violates plausibility but much of it is entirely untrue, in the sense that novels are untrue—that is, much of it is imaginary."

Bennett Cerf observes: "If you ever hope to get along with an author (may we add the historian?) there is one thing you must understand from the outset. Every word that he sets down on paper automatically becomes a priceless gem and the merest suggestion that he alter or condense his text is an unforgivable insult"

Frequently historians coming up with additional research have been known frankly to admit errors and omissions, to have filled in gaps with conjecture and otherwise been flatly wrong.

If we are to assume then from Hafen's and De Voto's point of view that Ruxton's story is nine-tenths historical—well may it be! We look for an actual La Bonte of the Creek elsewhere and believe we have found him. So much for historians—we'll stick to the men who were there.

We remember Parkman had left an ill Shaw to recuperate at La Bonte Camp and had told his friend he would meet him at Fort Laramie in August. As we consider the distances men travelled then Fort Laramie was not very far from the present La Bonte Creek. It is reasonable to infer Shaw was not left alone. Their friendship was profound. Since Parkman referred to the camp as La Bonte's it is equally reasonable to believe the man (suffering from dysentery) was left in La Bonte's care, if no one else—on La Bonte Creek.

Going on with this reasoning, we establish La Bonte Camp or Rendez-Vous on the Creek of that name. Its location, therefore, was in the Laramie Region (Fort Laramie). Fremont had mentioned the site also as not too distant from Fort Laramie, or about 60 miles.

In the interest of thoroughness here are recent factual findings on La Bonte which may fall into place in the history of the

Laramie region. They were obtained after minute research from Mrs. Frances Biese, Archivist, Missouri Historical Society:

"Pierre Chouteau, Sr. Account Book (1802-1812)

page 247 September 23 1L caffe livree a Labonte 1. -

page 252 May 30, 1808 St. Louis, Par La Bonte Pelleteries 8.50

"In *The Diary of William H. Ashley* (March 25 to June 27, 1825) edited by Dale L. Morgan in the April, 1955, *Missouri Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, Ashley states in the "narrative" (that part relating to his dealings with the trappers at Rendezvous, July 1, 1825) the following charges:

1 yd Blue Cloth	La Bontee	6
1 doz Rings		2
3 lb Sugar		4.50
3 Coffee		4.50
2 yd Ribband		1

"And, again, under the heading of

Mr. Provo

1½ Beads pr La Bonty	4 50
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In his footnote to the above Mr. Morgan states that "David" Labonte figures in the American Fur Company Account books in the Thirties and Forties". I do not know why Mr. Morgan identifies the La Bontee, or La Bonty of the narrative as "David." In addition to "David" La Bonte in the American Fur Company accounts we also have a "Daniel" Labonte (1841-1852), an "Etienne" LaBonte (1831-1836), and a "Rousseau" Labonte (1827-1839).

"No La Bonte in the records", said both Hafen and De Voto!

We might be daring the "unforgivable insult" but the records are proof, notwithstanding. Where do we go from here? The quest is still on!



Fort Laramie—1910

Oregon Trail Trek No. One

Compiled by

MAURINE CARLEY, *Trek Historian*

June 28, 1953

The road known as the Emigrant Road, the Overland Road, the California-Oregon Emigrant Road, and the Medicine Road of the Whites is now commonly called the Oregon Trail as it winds its way westward from the Missouri River to the Pacific coast. This road was the first great transcontinental highway in the United States. Over it, thousands of people and animals crossed Wyoming in the 19th Century. The white-topped wagons traveled from two to six abreast in many places, while at other times the terrain made it necessary for them to follow one road.

Now, more than one hundred years later, in some places the road is hard to find. Nature has obliterated parts of it by erosion, winds, and rains; man has done his share erasing the ruts with his plow while cultivating his fields.

Two Wyoming men decided, as a hobby, to locate and map the trail correctly for future generations. Mr. L. C. Bishop, State Engineer, and his friend, Mr. Albert Sims, a rancher from Douglas, conceived the idea of Oregon Trail Treks so they could share their information and pleasure with others who were interested in preserving the historical lore of Wyoming. Armed with government reports, diaries, quadrangle maps of the U. S. Geological Survey, aerial photos, any historical data obtainable, and equipped with uncanny ability to read the terrain of the country, these men set out on their exploring trips.

After fifty miles of the main trail and its principal branches have been located and verified, a Trek is announced. Someone is then asked to tell the story of each historical spot along the trail. These places may be Indian battle grounds, hog ranches, old fort sites, or lonely graves. The person chosen is someone who is well qualified to speak on the subject.

While reading about these Treks, we hope you, who were a part of them, will enjoy again your trip along what is now a scar of the old road. And you, who were unable to go, will have this information without the discomfort of heat, wind, or rough roads; but, of course, you will be without the pleasant companionship of people brought together by a common interest.

OREGON TRAIL TREK NO. I

June 28, 1953

115 Participants - - - - 46 Cars

NOTE: Numbers preceding "M" indicate miles on the map west from the Nebraska-Wyoming line.

OFFICERS

Governor C. J. Rogers.....	Captain of the train
Col. A. E. Froyd.....	Wagon Boss
Frank Murphy.....	Ass't Wagon Boss and Guide
Maurine Carley.....	Historian
Red Kelso.....	Photographer and Press
Gen. R. L. Esmay.....	Corporal of Guard and Registrar
Mrs. Sam Thompson.....	Chaplain
Glenn A. Conner.....	Trumpeter

8:30 A.M. The Caravan left the Bungalow Hotel in Torrington.

8:50 A.M. Arrived at the HENRY HILL GRAVE (2M) 100 feet north of a south branch of the old road about 8 miles east of Torrington. This grave was framed with wood posts and an iron pipe which has been broken by range cattle. Now stones are piled on the mound. There is a concrete marker with the following badly worn inscription.

"Henry Hill, Born June 8, 1820. Age 59
Reengraved August 28, 1930, by M. H. Stewart
A. H. and C. G. Jones."

The following graveside prayer was given by the Chaplain.

Dear Lord and Father of us all—as we pause at the side of this final resting place of Henry Hill, we are reminded of the moral and physical courage the early pioneers possessed. We honor them for the part they took in opening up and furthering travel-ways to the new frontiers. The knowledge of their strength and fortitude in privation and danger should inspire us all this day to rededicate ourselves to the preservation of our heritage, so that each individual will, in thought and deed, uphold the wonderful way of life these intrepid Pioneers sacrificed in ways to preserve. Dear Lord, we thank Thee for the many blessings of this land. May we, Thy children, prove true to Thy precepts and teachings. We ask in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Remarks by Robert O. Davis, Regional Engineer, U. S. Geological Survey.

The Geological Survey for many years has been using available historical information in the preparation of its topographic maps.

Historical trails, markers, and other points of interest have been shown on many of our topographic quadrangles.

In our mapping program, we are preparing a series of maps covering Continental United States. These maps are general purpose and contain many types of information as to terrain, water, and manmade improvements, and the historical data, we feel, is an important part of the record.

Naturally, the Geological Survey is unable to go into any detailed research for the procurement of the various types of historic information, but we are very glad when the information can be made available to us to include it in our published maps.

In the case of the Oregon Trail that we will follow today, we have been very fortunate in obtaining a very great amount of accurate, detailed information from Mr. L. C. Bishop and his associates.

For the past 5 years, our mapping operations in Wyoming have produced about 225 new topographic quadrangle maps. Throughout the Platte River area, the Oregon Trail naturally crosses most of these maps and, as it stands today, we have accurately positioned the Oregon Trail on quite a number of these new topographic maps. We feel that the information collected and recorded on these maps will be of great interest and value to later generations, as it is also of value to us today, who are interested in the historical aspects of the Oregon Trail.

On the latter part of the trip today, we will cross several of these new maps and it is hoped that you will be able to see this record as we have a few copies of the map in our car.

I think you will realize that one of the most important aspects of this map record of the Trail is the fact that, in the future, as the marks that exist today have become indistinct or obliterated, it will be possible, by some simple survey methods, to relocate and trace this Trail very accurately, even hundreds of years from now.

I would like to encourage all of you people, as individuals and also through the various organizations that are interested in the Trail, to assist us in obtaining good and precise data on the Trail in order that the map record will be as correct as possible.

9:00 A.M. Departed from Henry Hill grave. At 2-2/3 M. a north branch enters. There are two to four ruts here. At 5 M. left the trail on the north branch.

9:20 A.M. Arrived at the OLD RIFLE PITS (6-1/4 M.) at the upper end of the Hunton Meadows. Mr. Hunton cut hay here for Fort Laramie in the early days of the fort.

Pat Flannery read excerpts from Mr. Hunton's Diary after telling about this well known pioneer.

This historic location is named for John Hunton a true Virginia

gentleman of the old school. In the 60's after the surrender of the Confederacy, John Hunton whacked bulls to Wyoming and settled in this area, where he grew up with the country and played an important part in its development for the next half century. He was one of Laramie County's early commissioners when it included Platte and Goshen. He was the United States Land Commissioner before whom the early settlers proved on their homesteads in this area. He was a deputy assessor who darkly hinted and grumbled from time to time that some of the founders of Wyoming's first families did not always give him full and accurate count of their herds. He was the engineer who surveyed most of the early irrigation ditches and reservoirs in this section, and he was with the party that made the first survey of what is now Sublette and Teton counties, then a natural wilderness. He was the Post Sutler at old Fort Laramie, appointed by President Grant. This gave him a monopoly on the sale of civilian goods at that historic post. He also had extensive dealings as a contractor with the army, furnishing to the troops the important commodities of that day—meat, firewood and hay.

This is a brief sketch of his official and business life. The adventures and problems of his private life comprise an even more fascinating human story.

John Hunton was a methodical and meticulous individual who kept an accurate and concise day by day record of the things that happened to him and his neighbors, and of each day's events, together with his very frank opinions of the same. This record comprises more than 50 volumes, one for each year, covering more than a half century of his life and Wyoming history, as he saw it. Some things are not exactly as the history books have them but they are interesting, anyway.¹

I shall call on John Hunton himself for a few brief remarks about the year 1875. Following are his own words from his diary.

"January 1, 1875. I have been butchering since 17th December. By looking over my books and guessing together I find that I owe between \$16,000 and \$17,000 as a memorandum of this book will show." The memo lists 41 names of early Wyoming men and firms as his creditors to whom he owed a total of \$16,201.25.

He completed his gloomy New Year's day picture in 1875 by saying, "The above is a liberal estimate of my indebtedness, which I think very doubtful if I ever get through paying it—as I only own about \$9,000 worth of property. But will keep trying. Will make a big effort this year to reduce materially."

1. "Excerpts from John Hunton's Diaries" edited by L. G. (Pat) Flannery for the years 1875-1876 appeared in the *Lingle Guide Review* from February 3-July 14, 1955.

However, Mr. Hunton did pay off all these debts and made a lot of money besides during the next ten years. One year his receipts from the government alone were around \$100,000. But he got his financial body blow in the late 80's when things were tough all over for everybody.

"Thurs. January 28 [1875]—Finished putting up ice at the Fort. Received of Capt. Luhn \$564 on beef for this month. Staid at Fort all night, and won \$30 at poker of Hathaway, Harwood, and Joe.

"Tues. Mar. 23, 1875. Expedition under Capt. Mix started to bring Miners out of Black Hills. Mr. Bullock went with expedition. Considerable Indian excitement about Black Hill.

"Tues. Sept. 7, 1875. Staid at Post with Kelly. Went to three mile ranch to election. Voted Democratic ticket. Also Lollie. 120 votes polled. 95 democratic. Dull time. Borrowed \$20 of Kelly!" Lollie, it should be explained, was a half breed—half Indian and half French, and reputed to have been one of the most beautiful women in the territory. I gather from other entries that she was a sister of Baptiste Puerrier, or Big Bat, with whom Mr. Hunton was closely associated for many years.

There are many fascinating items about military movements in the area, Indian depredations and fights, freighting, wood cutting, haying and similar operations that year, but for the benefit of any hunters in the crowd we'll let Mr. Hunton tell you briefly about an elk hunt on Deer Creek, which enters the Laramie at the old Fort. For days they had observed thousands of elk moving up Deer Creek.

"Tues. Dec. 21, 1875—Stayed last night near Deer Creek. This morning moved on to Deer Creek and saw large band of elk. Heavy drifts of snow here and in the hills.

"Wed. Dec. 22,—8 A.M. moved to place near elk on Little Creek. Went in camp and went after elk. Killed and gutted 97. Bat and I done the killing. Nath and the boys gutted them.

"Thurs. Dec. 23—Broke camp early. Wagons and four men went after elk killed yesterday. Bat, Austin Long and myself killed and gutted 26 more. Party with wagons killed three and camped ten miles west on Deer Creek."

John Hunton didn't say so, but the soldiers at Old Fort Laramie probably had elk steak for that Christmas dinner seventy-eight years ago.

In these meadows hay was cut for the army at Fort Laramie. Often the Indians would attack while this was being done so the men would have to run to these pits, which you still see here, for protection. Several skirmishes with Indians occurred on this very spot.

9:30 A.M. Department from Hunton Meadows.

9:40 A.M. Arrived CLARY or CLARK GRAVE (7M) 90 feet north of a south branch of the old road. A fence surrounds the grave. A small badly eroded stone marks the grave. On it is carved

Wm. L. Clary [K] June 21, 1856.

One half mile north of the Clary grave is another gravestone, but the markings are completely gone. There are four plain scars or ruts of the old road visible on this mesa.

9:50 A.M. Departed from the Clary grave.

10:00 A.M. Paused at an OREGON TRAIL MARKER (9M.) 2-½ miles south of Torrington on the oiled road. The old trail is no longer seen here.

10:30 A.M. Paused at an OREGON TRAIL MARKER 2-½ miles south of Lingle and 750 feet north of the old trail. (North of 19-½ M. on map—about 14 miles by the present road from the Clary grave.)

11:00 A.M. Arrived at the site of the GRATTAN MASSACRE (about 24-½ M) near where the old Bordeaux Trading Post was located. An historical marker is on the present road ½ mile south of this historic spot.

Mr. W. W. Morrison told the following interesting story of the GRATTAN MASSACRE.

It was late afternoon of August 19th, 1854, when Lieutenant Grattan and twenty-eight soldiers under his command lost their lives here in a sudden and vicious battle against an overwhelming number of Sioux Indians under chiefs Little Thunder and Sitting Bear. The interpreter with these men lost his life, too, making a total of thirty in all.

Many and varied are the stories having to do with this massacre; but according to some of the best accounts we have followed, and which are found in *History of Ft. Laramie* by Hafen & Young, Coutant's *History of Wyoming*, Notes from John Hunton, Records from the War Department and other sources through which much research has been done we will give you the story as nearly accurate as we can, often quoting from those well known writers. Here is the story.

On, or about August 17th, 1854, when a Mormon caravan composed of Scandinavian Proselytes, under the leadership of one Hans Peterson Olsen, passed the Brule camp near here, a cow from the emigrant herd became lame, fell behind the main herd, wandered near the Indian camp, and was killed and eaten by some of the Indians who said they thought the cow had been abandoned.

The Indians, some 3000 of them, were in camp along the

Platte river and were waiting for the Government to distribute the goods and annuities which they had coming to them at that time. They had been camped here for ten or fifteen days, and they said they had been without much food during this time, except for what little game they were able to shoot close by.

Their camp was not altogether here in one spot, but was scattered along for several hundred rods. Some of the teepees were east of here, and quite a number were west of here.

The company of emigrants reported the loss of the cow to Post Commander, Brevet-Second Lieutenant Hugh B. Flemming, when they reached Fort Laramie. Lieutenant Flemming made preparation to send Brevet Second Lieutenant John Lawrence Grattan of the 6th Infantry with Sergeant Faver, Corporal McNulty, and an interpreter and twenty-six privates to the Indian camp to receive the offenders. A few of the men were on horseback, but the main body of soldiers left Fort Laramie in an army wagon drawn by mules. Two mountain howitzers were taken along.

At that time the American Fur Company had a few buildings some five or six miles below Fort Laramie, and when Lieutenant Grattan and his men reached this place a halt was made. The men were ordered to load, but not to cap their guns. Instructions as to what they should do were given them before reaching Bordeaux's Trading House which was near the Indian camp.

When the soldiers were nearing the Indian camp the mountain howitzers were loaded. At Bordeaux's trading house, Bordeaux himself was called for and was asked to notify the chief of the soldiers' mission.

Chief Bear appeared saying that the Indian who had shot the cow was a Min-i-con-jou; that he was unable to get the Indian to surrender; that when he had gone to the lodge of the offending Indian to persuade him to give himself up he found six other Indians in the lodge loading their guns; and they, too, refused to give up the offender.

Chief Bear said they told him "Last year the soldiers killed three of us, and again this year we sat by the roadside, and an emigrant shot at us, and hit a child in the head. The child still lives. Our chief, the Little Brave is dead, and we want to die also."

No doubt what the Indians had in mind was the skirmish they had on June 15th, 1853, with Lieutenant Flemming and twenty-three soldiers under his command when some of the Indians had taken over the Ferry boat on the Platte river near Fort Laramie. Three Indians were killed in that skirmish. The boat was recovered.

Soon after Chief Bear had returned to the men he was again sent to the Min-i-con-jou lodge to have the Indian surrender, but again was unsuccessful. Grattan was then compelled to seek out

the offending Indian, and take him by force if necessary. He entered the Brule camp here, nearly in the center, and not far from the lodge of Chief Bear.

That part of the camp here was a semi-circle shape with its convex side toward the river. It was probably situated just north of this irrigation ditch. Immediately to the north of the camp was an abrupt depression partly overgrown with bushes. This is the depression you can see from here.

While talks between Lieutenant Grattan and the chiefs were under way this depression was being occupied by warriors. At the same time the women and children of the tribes were seen working their way toward the river. What happened from this point is not altogether clear as none of the soldiers survived; but it appears after reaching the center of the village, Grattan placed his men and howitzers facing the Min-i-con-jou lodge and opened another parley.

"He was greatly handicapped by the interpreter Lucin Auguste" says one writer. "This man was not only disliked by the Indians, but had special grievance in that two of his animals had recently been stolen by the Indians. But most tragic he was intoxicated. . . In passing the upper village he was reported to have called out to the Indians, daring them to make good their threats to wipe out the whites, 'adding that he was coming with 30 men and a cannon, and that this time he would eat their hearts raw'."

Bordeaux, who owned the trading post a few hundred yards from here, told Grattan the interpreter would make trouble, and if the interpreter were locked up in his cabin, he, Bordeaux, could settle the trouble in thirty minutes.

As soon as Lieutenant Grattan halted in the center of the lodges he was immediately surrounded by several Indians. One of the chiefs came running to Bordeaux and said "My friend, come on; the interpreter is going to get us in a fight, and they are going to fight if you don't come."

At the close of the interview, Lieutenant Grattan took out his watch and said it was getting late, and that he could wait no longer. To which the Chief Bear was reported to have said, "I have done all I could; and since you will have him, now push on and take him." And then turned and walked away. During the skirmish the chief was shot in three places.

A Mr. Allen who had accompanied the troops from Fort Laramie, and whose horse had been borrowed, had seated himself on top of Bordeaux's house. "The Council", he said, "lasted about three quarters of an hour and during this time I saw many Indians collecting and mounting their horses near the river, and the women and children were leaving the village. At length, I saw the soldiers stand up and bring their guns down as if to fire, and at that moment I heard, I thought, the report of Indian guns, followed

immediately by that of muskets. Two cannon were fired directly after."

At that time the soldiers commenced to retreat, pursued by the Indians close to them and by others who had been concealed behind the depression north of the camp and who had now appeared in great numbers.

The wagon and mules started off on a run. A man tried to climb in the wagon. The wagon reached the first point of the bluffs which crossed the road nearly a half mile southwest of here before it was overtaken. About eighteen of the soldiers reached the road between the two bluffs about three quarters to a mile from here. They were killed by the Indians who followed them, supposedly by those Indians who came from the Ogalala camp above.

Lieutenant Grattan and three or four men were killed near the cannon. The interpreter was mounted on a horse, and a soldier who was on Lieutenant Grattan's horse was overtaken by some Indians who came from near the river below Bordeaux's house, passing close to it near the wagon where they were killed. The soldiers were loading and firing as they retreated.

When the firing took place there were only about 50 Indians in front of the troops, the others were either concealed in the slough, or were getting ready near the river which is about three or four hundred yards distance. All the soldiers except one was killed, and this one was so badly wounded that he died within two or three days. The principal Indian casualty was the chief of the Brules. He was severely wounded and died within a week. It was reported one or two others were wounded but not killed.

The Indians wreaked vengeance on the bodies of the soldiers. Heads were crushed, throats cut, legs were amputated and horribly mutilated. Lieutenant Grattan's bristled body was found with 24 arrows in it. And was identified later by his watch.

As the fighting began, Bordeaux barricaded his doors and prepared to defend his house. Maddened warriors were determined upon its destruction, but were talked out of it by friendly Indians and traders with Indian wives. He gave over supplies without hesitation. The American Fur Company west of here was broken into and the Indians helped themselves to the goods.

The next day Lieutenant Flemming sent to Fort Leavenworth for reinforcements. At that time there were probably not more than 100 men left at Fort Laramie.

Then on August 20th, or 21st, Sergeant Snyder was sent from Fort Laramie with the remainder of the Garrison Co. G, 6th Regiment to assist Bordeaux in burying the dead. By this time all of the Indians had disappeared toward the north. Lieutenant Grattan's body was sent away for burial, but the 28 enlisted men were placed in a common grave some eight or ten feet in diameter.

The exact location of this grave just now is lost. We are standing, however, within a few feet of where it was located. My camera, in 1945, recorded the spot when the old wooden marker was yet standing on the spot. I have the picture with me. Anyone may be welcome to see it if they wish.

In memory of the 28 men, and Lieutenant Grattan who made the Supreme Sacrifice here I shall call the roll:

Lt. John Lawrence Grattan

Sgt. Wm. P. Faver

Cpl. Charles McNulty

Musician H. A. Krapp

Musician H. E. Lewis

Pvt. Charles Burkle

Pvt. Wm. Camerson

Pvt. Micheal Collins

Pvt. John Courtney

Pvt. Charles Platenius

Pvt. A. Plumhoff

Pvt. S. H. Rushing

Pvt. Stan's Sanienski

Pvt. Thomas Smith

Pvt. Edward Stevens

Pvt. John Sweetman

Pvt. Wm. Whilford

Pvt. John Donahoe

Pvt. James Fitzpatrick

Pvt. John Flinn

Pvt. David Hammell

Pvt. John McNulty

Pvt. John Mildron

Pvt. Patrick Murley

Pvt. Walter Murray

Pvt. Patrick O'Rourke

Pvt. Anthony Boyle

Pvt. John Williams

The picture I have is that of a weather-worn marker made of wood, and is standing directly over the grave site. This was all that remained to mark the site where these men fought, died and were buried in one common trench-like grave. It was here their mutilated bodies lay for nearly thirty-seven years before they were removed to the National Cemetery on the grounds of old Fort McPherson in Nebraska.

Here today, are perhaps some half dozen people who have visited this spot when it was marked, and they know about where it is located. After this generation will have passed who can

locate the site if it is not marked properly. The plow has passed over the hallowed spot. Crops have grown above it. The winds have blown dirt over the remaining rocks which Mr. Hunton placed there into the hold.

A suitable marker should be erected on the spot where these men were buried, and their names, and the dates they made the supreme sacrifice, inscribed upon it. If this is not done, in time this battle ground will go into oblivion. Quite some distance from the highway though it may be, it is my opinion that the State should purchase this tiny God's Acre from the private owner and enough land for drive-outs so that all Americans can easily reach this spot and pay tribute to those brave men whose lives were lost here.

In the years that followed the massacre, badgers began digging in the burial site, and some of the human bones were brought to the surface and were exposed. John Hunton, an old-timer in this valley, hauled rocks and dumped them into the depression to stop the badgers from digging further. And then in 1891 when the Government was moving remains of soldiers at old Fort Laramie to a National Cemetery, Mr. Hunton wrote to the War Department suggesting the remains of Grattan's men also be moved from the lonely grave. This was ordered done. Mr. Hunton guided the men in charge of the work to the scene of the massacre.

When the remains were exhumed many arrow heads were found sticking into the ribs and other parts of the bodies of those unfortunate men who died here.

The bones were taken to Fort Laramie where they were matched and assembled as nearly correct as possible. This was done on the long porch in front of where the museum is now. When this work was accomplished the remains were placed in caskets and shipped to Fort McPherson. The caskets were buried in a circle trench overlooked by a large marker bearing the following inscription upon its four sides.

"In Memory Of Enlisted Men, Co. G. Inf.
Killed In Action Near Ft. Laramie, Wyoming
August 19th, 1854."

At Fort Leavenworth National Cemetery, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, lie the mortal remains of Lieutenant John Lawrence Grattan. His grave is number 290, A, Section A. A modest stone is at the head of his grave bearing this inscription:—

"In Memory Of Lieutenant John L. Grattan,
Who Was Killed In An Engagement With The
Sioux Indians Near Fort Laramie, Neb. T.
August 19, 1854."

Young Grattan was 24 years old at the time of his death. He was appointed to the United States Military Academy from New Hampshire, and was admitted July 1, 1848. Was graduated from West Point in the class of 1853, and was appointed Brevet 2nd Lieutenant 6th Infantry, July 1, 1853.

How unjustly, perhaps, have we measured them. Young Grattan and his men were not intoxicated despite some reports to the contrary, and we are here to defend them. Nor can we justly accuse the young officer of being rash and hot-headed. It was simply a case where a mission was given him to carry out, and he and his men died in trying to accomplish it. If blame is to be placed, then let it be on the Government for lack of proper fortification and man-power in a land so thickly peopled by savages, and for sending a handful of young men among such overwhelming odds.

Nestled in the White Mountains of New Hampshire is the little town of Lisbon where young Grattan was born, and where he grew to manhood. It has been our good fortune to contact people yet living who knew Peter Grattan, the father of Lawrence Grattan. These people were children of parents who had known the Grattan family many years, and who passed on to their children the story of the young Lieutenant and his untimely death in "far-away-Laramie." He was a fine looking, upright, honest and intelligent young man of fine character of whom his parents were very proud. His Mother lived but three years after his death. His sweetheart across the street soon followed. Both died of a broken heart. His father lived to the ripe old age of 89 and never ceased to mourn him. Ah! the tears that have fallen elsewhere because of the tragedy here on that day in 1854.

And now in closing I should like to thank each and everyone for the kind attention shown here in the great open, and under a hot summer's sun while listening to this bit of early Americana.

11:15 A.M. Departed from the Grattan Massacre Site.

11:30 A.M. Arrived at the location of OLD FORT BERNARD. (27-1/2 M.) In 1854 at the time of the Grattan Massacre this was known as Gratiot's House and The American Fur Company Post, by the commanding officer at Fort Laramie.

Mr. R. J. Rymill read the following paper about FORT BERNARD.

Not much information is available about Ft. Bernard. In fact I found mention of it in but two accounts of the period—Parkman's *Oregon Trail* and Hafen and Young's *Fort Laramie*. Hafen and Young obtained their information from Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw in California and Rocky Mountain Adventures*. Authentic reference material is extremely limited. To establish for certain the exact location and dates of Fort Bernard would take a great

deal of time and research. It seems that it is a fertile and interesting field for some student of Western history to explore further for more detail.

Probably a reason for the scarcity of reference material is the post was not as important as some others and its life span brief. From Bryant's and Parkman's accounts we do know that it was in existence in 1846, the year in which each visited it. Hafen and Young locate it at 8 miles below Fort Laramie, probably basing their information on Parkman's account, as he also placed Fort Bernard at 8 miles below Fort Laramie. Bryant says it was about 7 miles below Ft. Laramie.

The trading post, known as Richard's Fort Bernard, was owned and operated by two brothers by the name of Richard. It was run in competition to the American Fur Company and must have been quite successful as two Mackinaw boats loaded with furs were sent from it to St. Louis in the spring of 1846. Traders from New Mexico often visited this post exchanging corn for furs. Bryant went back to Fort Bernard from Ft. Laramie and there exchanged his wagons and oxen for pack mules and other pack equipment. Parkman described the fort in this manner—"Nestled beneath a line of cottonwood trees, we could discern in the distance something like a building. As we came nearer, it assumed form and dimensions and proved to be a rough structure of logs. It was a little trading post belonging to two private traders and originally intended to form a hollow square. Only two sides of it had been completed." Parkman then goes on to say that they were led to the principal apartment of the establishment—a room 10 feet square with walls of black mud and a roof of rough timber. There was a huge fireplace made of four flat rocks which had been picked up on the prairie. The room held no furniture except a rough settee covered with buffalo robes.

In July of 1846 Richard left his trading post to go to Taos for supplies. In his absence someone set fire to his establishment. When the first emigrants came by that way in the spring of 1847 they found it burned. It must have been rebuilt, for E. A. Tomkins who saw it in the summer of '50 said it was an assemblage of log huts surrounded by great piles of buffalo hides, the size and shape of eastern haystacks.

12:00 Noon. Departed from old Fort Bernard.

12:15 P.M. Arrived at the old GOVERNMENT IRON BRIDGE (1875) across the North Platte River. This was also the location of an old ferry. Fort Platte was located about 1000 feet southwest of this bridge.

Mr. Lester Bagley read the following paper here.

I deem it a privilege to be numbered among this group visiting the points of interest along the old Oregon Trail. I have been

assigned to discuss briefly the following three points of interest on or near this location. (1) Old Fort Platte, which is located about 1,000 feet southwest of this bridge; (2) the Mormon Ferry, which was located probably about 150 feet above this bridge; and (3) the old army steel bridge about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile northeast of where we are now stopped.

(1) Old Fort Platte.

Old Fort Platte was built just north of this point about 100 yards. According to Hafen and Young this fort was built the fall of 1840 or the spring of 1841 by Lancaster P. Lupton. The Ridwell diary of 1841 was the first to mention it. It was constructed of adobe. Joseph Williams, a missionary in 1841, mentions "Fort Johns" being rebuilt. He says, "There are two forts here, about a mile apart." Fort Platte was built to compete with Fort Laramie in securing the fur trade of the region.

(2) The Mormon Ferry.

This brings us to the second point of interest, the Mormon ferry. It was just across the river from this point on June 1, 1847, that the vanguard of the Mormon migration camped in their trek West. It was the custom of this party to pull their wagons in a circle, thus forming a corral for protection of the stock during a portion of the night. However, at this location, since they felt somewhat near civilization and the river afforded some protection, the encampment was made in the shape of a "V", with the river forming the other side of the triangle.

Immediately upon stopping, they took out the sole leather boat which they carried and crossed the river to visit with other members of their trek who had come from Pueblo in present-day Colorado. On the morning of June 2, President Young and other leaders of the party crossed the river in the portable boat and visited the ruins of old Fort Platte. The river at that point was 324 feet wide, this being in the flood stage and before dams were built on the Platte to hold back the spring runoff. They measured Fort Platte and found that it was 144' X 103', and the walls were 30" thick. There was a tower on the northwest corner which was approximately 10' square.

The Young party visited Fort John, or Fort Laramie, which was approximately two miles away. The superintendent was James Bordeaux, who was a very fine man and showed them every courtesy. He took them for a ride on the Laramie on a flatboat which he had constructed. They in turn made an agreement to rent this boat for \$18.00 and use it for ferrying their wagons across the Platte. The boat was taken down the Laramie and pulled up the Platte to this point.

Before leaving in the morning the camp had been reorganized

into work details. All necessary repairs were made on the equipment; even the plows which were to be used later on were entirely repaired. Three forges were set up and charcoal was made in charcoal pits by burning the birch and willows which were found on the banks of the Platte.

The ferrying started the morning of June 3, the crossing being made in the order of their divisions of ten. This crossing progressed very rapidly. A heavy rain and hail storm struck at about 1:30 that afternoon. The horses and stock were enclosed within old Fort Platte during the storm. As the ferrying progressed the forges were moved from the camping spot into Fort Platte and the repair work continued. They became so proficient in the use of the ferry boat that they were crossing a wagon approximately every 15 minutes; some crossings were made in only 11 minutes. All of the wagons were crossed with the exception of 15 by the evening of June 3. The ferrying continued the morning of June 4, and the trek West was resumed about noon.

(3) The Steel Bridge.

This steel bridge was built many years later, in 1875. We might imagine the criticism that was heaped upon the Army and the Army Engineers for building a steel bridge so far west and at such an early time. However, we know that wooden bridges were vulnerable to fire, and the Army had had bitter experience in having bridges destroyed in this manner. As a result, the steel bridge was ordered from the processing plants in the east and was freighted by rail to old Camp Carlin near Cheyenne, which was an army supply base at that time.

It was taken by ox team from Cheyenne, to this location in the fall of 1874, and was constructed the following spring at the location where it still stands. The decking on this bridge has been replaced once since that time.

12:30 P.M. Departed from the Iron Bridge.

12:35 P.M. Arrived at FORT LARAMIE (33M.) 1-½ miles on the present road from the Iron Bridge. Everyone enjoyed the lunch under the trees, then inspected the old buildings and the Museum.

Mr. David L. Hieb, Superintendent of the Fort Laramie National Monument read the following paper.

It is a distinct pleasure to welcome such a group as this to Fort Laramie National Monument. You devoted much time and effort to seeking out many of the lesser known story spots along the greatest of the Covered Wagon Trails and it is most fitting that you should pause, if but briefly, at this site, which is vitally linked to more of the important factors in the conquest of the West than any other spot.

THE FUR TRADE ERA

Following the trail-blazing journey of Robert Stuart and the Astorians down the North Platte during the winter of 1812-13, trappers and fur traders pushed ever westward along the valley of the Platte. They probably reached the Fort Laramie region as early as 1821, when, according to tradition, one Jacques La Ramee was killed by Indians near the stream which now bears his name.

Near the junction of the Laramie River and the North Platte was a favorite camping spot for trappers and traders en route to and from the great annual rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains. There, in 1834, the first fort on the Laramie, a log stockade called Fort William, was erected by the veteran traders, William Sublette and Robert Campbell. The site was strategically located on the great central route to the mountains.

James Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and Milton Sublette, then partners in the fur trade, purchased Fort William in 1835, but soon turned their interests over to the increasingly powerful American Fur Co. That same year Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. Samuel Parker passed by on their way to Oregon as missionaries to the Indians. From the trappers' rendezvous on the Green River, Whitman returned to the States, and in 1836 he and Rev. Henry Spalding paused at the fort with their wives, the first white women to use the overland route which later became known as the Oregon Trail.

In 1841, the company replaced Fort William with a pretentious adobe-walled post. It was officially named "Fort John on the Laramie," but in common usage it was "Fort Laramie," an immortal name in the annals of the West. At this time a rival post, Fort Platte, was built nearby on the Platte River by L. P. Lupton, but after less than 5 years of competition it was abandoned.

FORT LARAMIE AS A MILITARY POST

During his explorations of the West in 1841, Capt. John C. Fremont foresaw the coming covered-wagon migrations. He recognized the strategic location of Fort Laramie and recommended that it be purchased by the Government and made an Army Post to curb the hostile Indians and protect the wagon trains. It was not, however, until 1849 that the fort was purchased by the United States Government for \$4,000. Meanwhile, the first great migration to Oregon in 1843, Col. S. W. Kearny's Dragoons in 1845, and the first Mormon emigration to Utah in 1847 had paused at Fort Laramie.

By 1849, covered wagons were making the westward trek by the hundreds, spurred on by the discovery of California gold. In 1850, over 55,000 emigrants were estimated to have passed the

fort. In their mad rush to the West they tarried only long enough to obtain mail and supplies or to repair broken equipment.

Because the Indians were becoming alarmed over this increasing encroachment on their hunting grounds by the white man, a parley to draw up a treaty with the Plains Indians was called in 1851. Ten thousand Indians gathered near Fort Laramie, and as a result of the conference the Sioux, Cheyenne, and other tribes agreed to allow passage of the wagon trains over their lands in return for annual payments by the Government of goods valued at \$50,000.

However, sporadic incidents continued to strain relations between Whites and Sioux. A climax was reached in 1854 when Lieutenant Grattan, an inexperienced young officer, sought to use force in arresting an Indian for the theft of a cow. The officer, his interpreter, and 28 soldiers were slain at an Indian camp a few miles east of the fort.

The Pony Express, which began in April 1860, brought speedier mail service to Fort Laramie. A little over a year later it became one of the stations between St. Joseph and San Francisco which were linked by the Pacific Telegraph. During the Civil War, when regular troops were needed on the eastern fighting fronts, the task of guarding the telegraph, mail, and stage routes to the Pacific coast was assigned to volunteer troops. From Fort Laramie, small detachments were sent out to stations along the route such as Fort Mitchell, near Scotts Bluff, and Platte Bridge Station, near what is now Casper, Wyo.

The construction in the middle 1860's of a series of forts along the Bozeman Trail to the Montana gold fields infuriated the Indians. The resultant fighting was climaxed by the destruction of Capt. W. J. Fetterman and his entire command of 80 men near Fort Phil Kearney, 235 miles north of Fort Laramie, on December 21, 1866. John "Portugee" Phillips, trader and scout, volunteered to summon aid from Fort Laramie for the remaining Fort Phil Kearney garrison. Braving a blizzard and lurking Indians for 4 days, he reached the fort on Christmas night with the shocking news, and a relief column pushed northward at once.

Such successful resistance led the Government to negotiate a peace treaty at Fort Laramie in 1868. The Indians, under Chief Red Cloud, obtained all the concessions they demanded, including abandonment of three forts along the trouble-making Bozeman Trail. The treaty also gave the Indians control of the lands north of the North Platte River. For a few years there was a lull in Indian warfare.

Completion, in 1869, of the Union Pacific Railroad altered modes of overland passenger, freight, and mail traffic and shifted it southward, bypassing Fort Laramie and diminishing its importance.

News of the discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874 was brought to Fort Laramie by a scout from Custer's expedition. The resulting inrush of miners, contrary to treaty provisions, again enraged the Sioux. Indian resistance to the White advance was climaxed by their double defeat of Crook's army based at Fort Laramie and the annihilation of Custer's command on the Little Big Horn, June 25, 1876. But eventually the Indians had to yield this choice part of their lands.

After 1876, the fort became a station on the Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage Route and a social center for ranchers and cowboys, but with the Indians subdued, it had outlived its usefulness. Its abandonment, recommended in 1886, was ordered three years later and carried out in April 1890.

When the soldiers marched away, the 65 fort buildings were auctioned off at a bargain price to homesteaders who dismantled most of them. Many years passed before the historic importance of the old fort was recognized. Wyoming citizens urged its preservation, and in 1937 the State purchased 214 acres, embracing the surviving buildings, for presentation to the Federal Government. The national monument was established by Presidential Proclamation in 1938.

At Fort Laramie, the National Park Service is endeavoring to preserve the surviving features of the military period and, after exhaustive research, to restore standing buildings and related portions of the grounds to their appearance around 1888, while certain of the older structures provide glimpses of the fort scene as early as 1849.

It is suggested that visitors to Fort Laramie stop first at the Information Center which with the headquarters of the National Park Service occupy the former Cavalry Barracks. Here information and free literature are provided and a variety of publications are on sale in a small museum where displays aid the visitor in visualizing the appearance and significance of the fort at various periods in its long career. The Cavalry Barracks as originally constructed in 1875 provided quarters, kitchens, mess halls, wash rooms, reading rooms and other facilities for two 60-man units of troops.

Walking 100 yards southwest, past the site of the Sutler's Residence and a commemorative monument, the visitor reaches the Sutler's Store. Erected in 1849 or early 1850 the adobe section of this structure housed a general store. The stone section was added about 1852 in part as quarters for the Sutlers. During the next three decades many other additions were made which disappeared by 1883. At that time the present lime-concrete section was constructed. This addition housed the Officers' Club, storage rooms and a public saloon which connected with a pool room in part of the stone section. The balance of the stone

section then housed the Sutler's office and post office connecting with the original general store. Operated by the Sutler, or Post Trader as he was officially known after 1867, under a permit from the War Department, this versatile institution served more notable western travelers, residents and warriors, both red and white, than any other place in the west during its 40 active years.

With Mansard roof and lime-concrete walls, there stands next to the Sutler's Store the last officer's quarters, erected at Fort Laramie in 1885. After the abandonment of the fort, it became the home of the last Post Trader, John Hunton.

Next in "Officer's Row" stands a lime-concrete walled duplex. Erected during the building boom at Fort Laramie in 1875-1876, it is typical of Company Officers' quarters of that day.

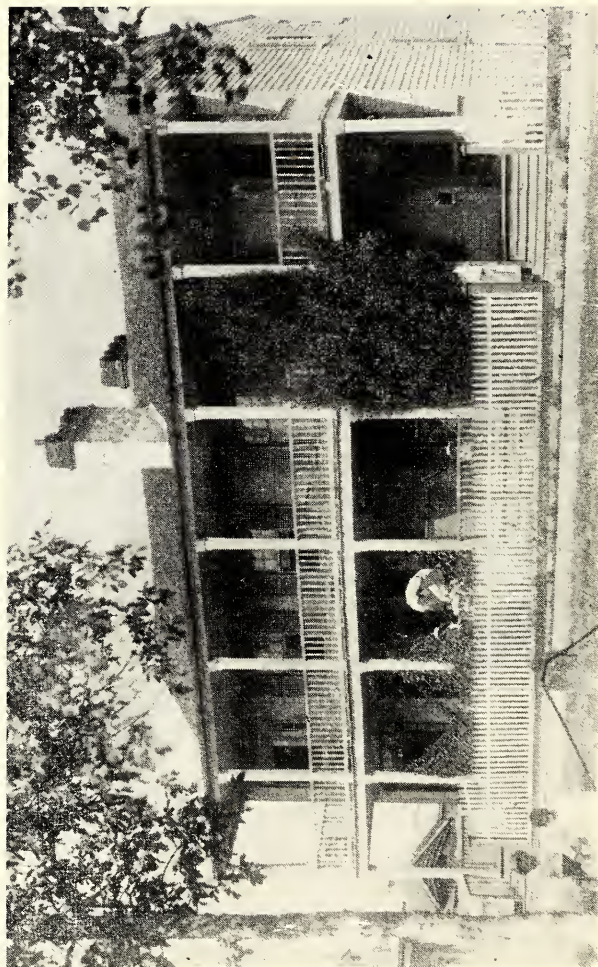
Turning his back to "Officers' Row", the visitor sees the stone foundations of a long, three-company barracks erected in 1868 which faced one end of the historic Parade Ground, and had behind it mess halls and kitchens for each company.

To the rear of "Officers' Row", stands a rough stone walled structure originally built by 1850 as post magazine. In later years it served as an out building under several types of roofs.

Passing the sites of missing units of "Officers' Row", the visitor reaches "Old Bedlam". This two-storied frame structure has dominated the scene since the late summer of 1849 when it was partially completed of lumber milled locally by horsepower and mill work hauled overland from Fort Leavenworth. While post headquarters, home of the Commanding Officer, until 1867, and often the stronghold of bachelor officers, countless notables, soldier, civilian and redskin sat at its dinner and council tables. It has been intimately associated with many historic events, among the most dramatic of which was "Portugee" Phillips' 235 mile, four day ride through December blizzards with the news of the Fetterman disaster at Fort Phil Kearney in 1866. Its brick filled, clap-board walls echoing to historic tumult and social gaiety, it early acquired the name "Old Bedlam" which was immortalized in Gen. Charles King's novel *Laramie, or the Queen of Bedlam*, first published in 1889. As originally constructed, it had side wings. These were removed and the present rear wing added in 1881.

Three sets of crumbling lime-concrete walls are all that remain of two commodious duplexes and a spacious veranda rimmed mansion for the Commanding Officer which were erected in 1881. They are stark reminders of the dismantling of many fine buildings for lumber after the public auction of 1890.

Turning the corner of the Parade Ground by the remains of a small brick fountain and passing the site of another missing Officers' Quarters, the visitor reaches the site of the fort built by the American Fur Co. in 1841. Located on high ground in a bend



"Old Bedlam", Ft. Laramie, at Height of Its Glory

of the Laramie River, it dominated the then treeless valley from bluff to bluff. Many historians believe this to have also been the site of Fort William erected in 1834, but conclusive evidence as to its location is lacking.

Occupying part of the site of Fort John is a large frame officers' quarters built in 1870. Originally designed for one family, it was later divided into duplex with two kitchen wings and verandas on three sides.

Turning the far corner of the Parade Ground where once stood several minor buildings, including a printing office, the visitor reaches the ruins of the fine administration building erected in 1885 to house not only the headquarters offices but a schoolroom for officers' children and the post theater.

Facing the shallow stream, which is all that modern irrigation reservoirs have left us of the rushing Laramie River, are the stone walls and barred windows and doors of the guardhouse or prison built in 1866. The upper floor was used largely by the post guard contingent, while prisoners, regardless of the degree of their offense, languished in the basement room where remains of a solitary cell suggests the probable harshness of military penal discipline. Bricked up windows and doorway are evidences of later use of the structure for ordnance storage.

The long, low mound on the southeast side of the Parade Ground marks the site of another two company barracks behind which were kitchens and mess halls. These were also built in 1866.

At the east angle of the Parade Ground stand the walls of a guardhouse erected in 1876 to improve the lot of both guards and prisoners, while behind it are the foundations of the General Sink and the far end of the barracks foundations previously described.

One hundred yards to the east, the brick and lime-concrete Old Bakery built in 1876 to replace an earlier bake house, has been restored to its condition as a granary, the use to which it was put after 1885 when a new bakery, now in ruin to the east, was constructed.

The large, lime-concrete walled Commissary Storehouse was erected in 1883 and included offices, issue rooms, and storerooms for the variety of clothing, foodstuffs, and supplies controlled by the Commissary. In one large section of this structure are displayed vehicles, implements, stoves and furnishings of certain of the historic structures.

On the hill to the north stand the ruins of the post hospital erected in 1873 in the midst of an old military and civilian cemetery abandoned in 1867, but believed to contain burials as early as that of Milton Sublette in 1836. The hospital contained a 12 bed ward, dispensary, kitchen, dining room, isolation rooms,

surgeon's office, rooms for orderlies and storage, but no laboratory or operating rooms. It was the first lime-concrete building erected at Fort Laramie.

East of the hospital is the ruin of a long, one story building. Built in 1884 it consisted of six, four room apartments for married non-commissioned staff officers.

Looking west from "Hospital Hill", the visitor may look down on the sites of the Cheyenne-Black Hills Stage Company's stables and the Rustic Hotel, another of the Post Trader's enterprises during the Black Hills rush. Farther west stand the ruined walls of a sawmill-pumphouse erected in 1887 to replace a predecessor destroyed by fire.

Now after expressing my regret at being unable to accompany you to each and every site on your trek today, I will close to permit you to visit as many of the historic structures here as your time and energy dictate.

1:15 P.M. Departed from Fort Laramie.

1:35 P.M. Arrived at the Yoder ranch where an old HOG RANCH was located on the Laramie River 3-1/2 miles west of Fort Laramie. One building is still standing.

Mr. John Yoder made the following remarks:

This building was built over a hundred years ago. It was preceded by a group of log buildings across the river. Those buildings burned down, so they moved over here and built this, making it as fireproof as possible out of grout.

It was a settler's trading post established in the late 40's by Seth Ward and William Guerrier to trade with immigrants on the Oregon Trail in competition with Fort Laramie.

After the army took over Fort Laramie in 1849, they did a thriving business here. Also it became an off-limits saloon and roadhouse for the soldiers at Fort Laramie. (It was located just west of the Fort Laramie Military Reservation.)

There were several frame buildings, an adobe hotel, and the barn which is still used to keep horses in when the place was a stage coach station. Although the wall was seven or eight feet high the Indians once tore a hole in the adobe wall and ran off with the horses.

The main building, built of grout, had a courtyard in the center with a well. The walls were over eighteen inches thick and were plastered on the inside.

1:45 P.M. Departed from the Yoder ranch.

1:55 P.M. Arrived at the PORTUGEE PHILLIPS HORSE MARKER (33-1/2 M.) at the point where the old trail branched to the west and northwest.

The following Tribute to John Phillips by Mr. Warren Richardson was read by Mr. Joseph Weppner.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It was my great pleasure as a boy to have known 'Portugee' Phillips, the man we honor here today. In 1883, seventeen years after his famous ride from Fort Phil Kearney to Fort Laramie, he moved to Cheyenne and lived a block from my home. I saw him almost every day. I attended the same class in school with his little daughter, Mamie, who was a delicate girl who soon passed away. At her funeral, I, with other members of her class, was a pallbearer. 'Portugee' Phillips was a medium sized man—thin, and a rather swarthy complexion. In the fall of 1883 he wore a cape over his shoulders, and as he passed our house, I remember many kindly greetings from him. I saw recently in a magazine that the location of the grave of Mr. Phillips was unknown. He died in November, 1883, age 51 years, and I attended his funeral held at the cemetery in Cheyenne, where his wife has erected a beautiful monument. Cheyenne is proud to have his ashes.

Some twenty years ago the Wyoming Legislature created the Historical Landmark Commission and I was appointed a member of that Commission. It was my first thought that a suitable monument should be erected by the State of Wyoming in honor of the man who made the most extraordinary, difficult and courageous ride that is known in history. No other ride is recorded that is even comparable to it; think of it! Two hundred thirty-five miles in less than four days through a country full of thousands of warring Sioux Indians, the middle of the worst winter that had been known for years, with the thermometer thirty to forty degrees below zero. What courage! What endurance!

On the night of December 24, 1866, there was a dance being held in 'Old Bedlam', celebrating Christmas Eve. Some time during the night a man rode up to 'Old Bedlam'. His face and mustache were covered with ice and he was so exhausted he could hardly stand after being helped from his horse. The officer of the guard who received him that night was Herman Haas, the father of genial William Haas, our ex-postmaster of Cheyenne. Mr. Haas has related to his son, Will, the account of 'Portugee' Phillips' reception many times. Mr. Haas, who was a member of the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry stationed at Fort Laramie, asked the rider his name and what he wanted. Mr. Phillips was so weak he could hardly say that he wanted to see the commanding officer. He was taken into the room where the post commander was and he related the horrible details of the Fetterman Massacre that resulted in the death of Fetterman and his command, consisting of eighty-one men at Fort Phil Kearney. He delivered his message which asked for an immediate detail of cavalry to be sent to Fort Phil Kearney for the relief of the garrison which consisted of a

small detachment surrounded by Indians. Without a moment's delay, the commander ordered a bugler to sound 'Boots and Saddles' from the parade ground, and, in about an hour forty cavalrymen—all that could be spared—were hastily prepared and on their way to the relief of the few men, women, and children at Fort Phil Kearney, two hundred-thirty-five miles away. This was some ride, too, which will some day find its way into history.

The horse Phillips rode was taken to the stables where veterinarians worked on him to no avail, as the poor horse soon died of exhaustion. He was a thoroughbred animal owned by Col. Carrington who let Mr. Phillips have him upon his request for the best horse at Fort Phil Kearney.

I am happy to be here today where the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming has placed a marker on the spot where Mr. Phillips alighted from his horse. There is also a fine monument at Fort Phil Kearney erected by our Commission. My wish that 'Portugee' Phillips be immortalized in the history of Wyoming has been realized.

The noble horse Mr. Phillips rode has been suitably honored by a monument. Mr. Phillips rode only at night; and, allowing twelve hours a day for four days, the riding time would be forty-eight hours, or two days, which would be an average of five miles per hour riding. Mr. Phillips related to me that he carried a small bag of oats from which he fed a little each day to his horse. The faithful animal was rubbed and carefully cared for, even getting a little grass from the snow covered ground. It is to be remembered that the country was full of warring Sioux Indians, which made it necessary for Mr. Phillips to hide out in the daytime.

The trivial comments that are made as to whether Mr. Phillips started on the night of December 21st, or after midnight, running into December 22nd, or whether he arrived on Christmas Eve or the early hours of the 25th, are immaterial. He made the ride in forty-eight riding hours, which makes it the greatest ride in recorded history. It is strange that more accuracy has not been shown in reference to the ride. The man who made the ride and Mr. Herman Haas were both available for years afterward. I consulted them both.

2:05 P.M. Departed from the Phillips Horse Marker.

2:10 P.M. Arrived at the MARY E. HOMSLEY GRAVE just north of a branch of the old road and above the Ft. Laramie Canal, and 400 feet above the Tunnel (one mile northeast of 33-½ M.) Taps were sounded by the Trumpeter.

Briefly the story of the discovery of the grave is as follows:

In November of 1925 a faintly inscribed fragment of sandstone that had evidently been broken from a stone still embedded in

the earth was found on a hillside near Ft. Laramie. After some difficulty the inscription was deciphered to read—

Mary E. Homsley
Died June 25, 1853
Aged 29

A news article on the discovery, published in the *Fort Laramie Scout*, was followed by an editorial in the *Portland Oregonian* which asked the question, 'Who was Mary Homsley?'

The question was soon answered by a daughter of the pioneer woman, Mrs. Laura Gibson, of Portland who 73 years before, at the age of three, had witnessed her mother's burial. Her father, Benjamin Homsley, a blacksmith, with his two young daughters had reached Oregon and had settled on a homestead. There he reared his children, and there he passed away. A reticent, undemonstrative man, he had never talked of the tragic loss, and only through the newspaper articles did Mrs. Gibson learn the place of her mother's death.

From contributions by citizens of Wyoming a cement monument, in which the old stone is embedded, was erected at the grave and on Memorial Day, 1926, it was dedicated by Professor Hebard.

2:20 P.M. Departed from the Homsley Grave.

2:30 P.M. The Caravan paused (36-¼ M.) where a south branch of the old road entered the main one.

2:35 P.M. It again paused (37 M.) where a branch goes right to Mexican Hill.

2:40 P.M. At 39.6 M. turned north on a second branch of the old road to join the first branch at the bottom of MEXICAN HILL. From here drove ½ miles back to the rock cut on the Mexican Hill branch of the road.

3:15 P.M. Departed from Mexican Hill. Paused (40 M.) at the Dugout where a Mexican lived prior to 1850.

3:30 P.M. Arrived at REGISTER CLIFF HISTORICAL MARKER (42-½ M.) and cemetery of unknown graves.

Chester Frederick, a member of the family that donated this memorial to the state of Wyoming made the following statements here:

Honorable C. J. Rogers, Captain of the train, all the 'Wagon Bosses', and 'hired hands', I wish to extend to each of you a sincere welcome to inspect 'Register Cliff Park.' Without question it is one of the smallest parks in existence; however the historical value that it has in relation to the Oregon Trail makes the park one of great importance.

On the rugged face of this bluff you will find the names of many of the emigrants who trod westward to Oregon and California.

I seriously doubt that many of those pioneers who carved their names here intended the inscriptions to be a tourist attraction years later, but carved their names to leave a message for relatives and friends who might pass over this same trail at a later date.

Many of the eastern states are represented in the carvings and various dates are inscribed. To me it seems that Ohio appears the most frequently. In many cases the name of the state is still legible but erosion has erased the dates.

Perhaps the most interesting set of names is that of T. H. Unthank dated 1850, O. N. Unthank 1869, and O. A. Unthank 1931, because three generations are grouped here.

Dimly visible is the outline of a red horse and rider painted on the cliff so as to form a good target. Legend says that soldiers would fire at the rider from their horses at a distance of approximately 200 yards. Upon observing the target you will note that marksmen in the pioneer days were just the same as today. Some hit the target perfectly while others barely hit the bluff.

To the south and west of us is a small fenced plot which is a pioneer cemetery. Your speaker accidentally unearthed one of the graves while digging a posthole. I do now know just how many graves there are in the enclosure but at one time, judging from the sinking of the ground, it appeared that there were sixteen. The late C. A. Guernsey stated there were sixteen.

My mother came over this very trail in a covered wagon fifty-six years ago and my father was born here in 1884. Both of them were especially interested in preserving any article or bit of information pertaining to the early history of this section of Wyoming, so they dedicated it to the pioneers and donated it to the State of Wyoming. The area is now known as 'Register Cliff Park.' The Wyoming Park Commission then fenced the area to protect it from vandals. However, despite the precautions taken some individuals have succeeded in erasing a few of the names from Register Cliff and have carved their own names in the 'Open Register' of the Oregon Trail.

Register Cliff Park, though small, is one of the most important landmarks on the Oregon Trail because it bears a record that the Carsons, the Woods, the Patricks, the Churchills, and the Craigs along with hundreds of other pioneers camped here and then continued their journey westward.

3:35 P.M. Departed from Register Cliff.

3:45 P.M. Arrived at the SAND POINT STAGE AND PONY EXPRESS STATION HISTORICAL MARKER. (43 M.)

The old trading post and stone fort at Sand Point was operated by Ward and Guerrier in the 1840's. The famous old Stage Station operated by Jules E. Coffee in the 50's, was located near the

fort. A remnant of the chimney just south of the old trail still marks the location of this old station.

3:50 P.M. Departed from the Sand Point Stage and Pony Express Station.

4:10 P.M. Arrived at deep ruts in the sandstone south of Guernsey (45 M.). Halted 15 minutes to inspect ruts and base of an old telegraph pole.

4:30 P.M. Arrived at LUCINDA ROLLINS GRAVE.

A prayer was followed by remarks by Maurine Carley:

The finding of Lucinda Rollins' grave was a strange coincidence. As you can see by the marker she was buried in 1849. It was not until 1934, almost one hundred years later, that her grave was re-discovered.

The State Highway Department, through the Landmark Commission, authorized the survey of the Covered Wagon Drive. This drive was to parallel the deep ruts in the Guernsey area of the wagon trains of the old trail days. While surveying, Mr. Seward found a meander stone, which is a mark used in measuring, that had been placed there by someone while meandering here on the south bank of the North Platte River at a point where General John C. Fremont made his first camping place west of old Fort Laramie.

A week later Mr. Seward and Mr. Guernsey returned to locate the spot for the Fremont monument. While working Mr. Seward turned over a chalk-like rock and found it inscribed with the words 'Lucindy Rollins' and some other words which they were not able to read. Mr. Guernsey carried the piece a few yards away and placed it on top of the meander corner stone. Its texture and jagged points fitted perfectly. On their next trip, with the aid of a magnifying glass, they read 'age 24, died June 11, 49, Ohio.'

The first survey using the base of the headstone as a meander stone was made late in the 70's or 80's, Henry G. Hay in charge. This party started from the flag pole on the old parade grounds at Fort Laramie. The top of the stone had been broken off presumably by animals so the base was used by the surveyors.

The markings were preserved on the top portion because it lay face downward for about thirty years. Sixty years after that first survey the top part was found and fitted on the base. The present monument enclosing the original marker was erected by the FERA over the grave.

As for Lucindy Rollins, no one knows for sure who she was nor has her family been traced. Mr. W. W. Morrison, an authority on graves along the Oregon Trail, says there were two Lucinda Rollins who died on the trip West. Mr. Lester Bagley, a Mormon scholar, thinks she was not a Mormon, as she has never been

mentioned in a Mormon diary as far as is known. It was impossible for me to find anything about her in the Historical Department in Cheyenne.

Hundreds of early pioneers lie in unmarked graves along the old trails. However Lucinda Rollins must have been a loved daughter or wife of one of the early travelers as more time than usual was spent carving and placing her marker.

4:45 P.M. Departed from the Rollins Grave.

Passed up WARM SPRINGS (47 M.) on account of the late hour.

Miss Lola M. Homsher furnished the following paper on these historical springs and camp site for the record:

Upon reaching the point on the Oregon Trail at which was located the Big Spring or Warm Spring, often called the Emigrants Wash or Laundry Tub, the emigrant had traveled 680 miles from his point of departure, Independence. He had left the last remote outpost of civilization at Fort Laramie and was looking toward the even longer trek to the Pacific. By this time he had met many hardships and but few conveniences, and upon arriving at the warm spring many a train stopped long enough to allow its members to make themselves a little more comfortable and presentable.

A major problem of trail travelers was that of keeping their clothing clean and in order. Many of the emigrants failed to realize what kinds of clothing would be advisable for the overland trek and how hard on their clothes travel would be. On the plains clothes usually had to be washed in cold water because there was relatively little if any wood near the camp sites, and buffalo chips did not make a very hot fire.

The temperature of the water in this spring is generally given as about seventy degrees. However, John Steele in his diary in 1850 had this to say on his visit to the spring:

Tuesday, June 25: "This morning we left the river and struck across the terminating spurs of the Black Hills. In about seven miles, leaving the train, I descended into a deep ravine on the right side of the road, to visit a warm spring. It was very large, and with a temperature of ninety degrees."

This is much warmer than is generally mentioned, and should the water have been that hot the spring might have been named "hot" rather than "warm". W. J. Ghent in his book *The Road to Oregon* states that at thirteen miles from Fort Laramie the emigrants "passed Big Springs (also called Warm Spring, because its water was not icy cold.)" Mr. Lester Bagley, Wyoming State Game & Fish Commissioner, in a recent test of the water found the temperature registers between 60-62 degrees.

Captain John C. Fremont in his *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* in the year 1842 is possibly the

first person to make a written account of the spring. In his report he wrote:

"The road led over an interesting plateau between the North fork of the Platte on the right, and Laramie river on the left. At the distance of ten miles from the fort, we entered the sandy bed of a creek, a kind of defile, shaded by precipitous rocks, down which we wound our way for several hundred yards to a place where, on the left bank, a very large spring gushes with considerable noise and force out of the limestone rock. It is called "the Warm Spring," and furnishes to the hitherto dry bed of the creek a considerable rivulet. On the opposite side, a little below the spring, is a lofty limestone escarpment, partially shaded by a grove of large trees, whose green foliage, in contrast with the whiteness of the rock, renders this a picturesque locality. The rock is fossiliferous, and, so far as I was able to determine the character of the fossils, belongs to the carboniferous limestone of the Missouri river, and is probably the western limit of the formation. Beyond this point I met with no fossils of any description."

Overton Johnson and William H. Winter in their guide *Route Across the Rocky Mountains*, published in 1846, reported on Warm Springs stating that it was a good place for camping. They wrote: "Warm Spring. Between Fort Laramie and this point, there is no water, without descending to the North Fork, which will be very difficult. At the Warm Springs, there is an abundance of wood, and there will be no difficulty in using the water; but the grass is sufficient for only a few companies. They are a few hundred yards to the right of the trail. These Springs are at the entrance of the Black Hills, and the road beyond them is, in many places, steep and rocky; but from the last waters of the Kansas, thus far, it is certainly an excellent one."

By the time that Joseph E. Ware published his *Emigrants' Guide to California* in 1849, he apparently did not recommend the Springs as a camping place. In his guide he indicated them as a landmark and noted that Heber Spring, 13 miles farther, was a good place to camp.

John Charles Thompson in his column "In Old Wyoming" in the *Wyoming State Tribune* of August 3, 1947, stated that the spring "was a long day's drag from Ft. Laramie for the slow-moving caravans and comparatively few, probably, made it an overnight camping place. The advantages of warm water—the temperature is about 70 degrees—doubtless inspired many a halt there, however. Clothing perhaps uncleansed since travelers left Independence, Mo., 680 miles and many weeks distant, could be comfortably washed, and human bodies too. But wood was scarce and the spot exposed to attack from every side."

He went on to say "That the Indians foregathered at these springs and spent much time there is attested by the innumerable flakings from stone implement fashioning which litter the adjacent

hillside. It was the country of the Cheyenne and Arapahoes, into which the Crows and Shoshones occasionally ventured in force. The Sioux did not come south of the river until after 'pickings' from the white men's invasion attracted them there.

"The beasts, of course, knew these springs. It requires little imagination to visualize the buffalo shouldering one another in effort to get to soothing water of the warm pool."

William Clayton who kept a diary of the westward trek of the Mormon pioneers in 1847 made mention of the Warm Springs on June 5. He wrote that "at 11:35 a.m. halted for noon opposite a very large spring noted by Fremont as the warm spring. The water in this spring was very clear and soft, but considerably warmer than the river water. . . . While nooning some of the brethren visited the head of the spring which bubbled out of the bluff and made a rivulet about four feet wide and three inches deep—enough water to run a common flour mill."

Orson Pratt, a member of this same train, wrote also on June 5 "The name of Warm Spring; the water is not so cold as one would expect. The quantity is nearly sufficient to carry a common flour mill, being very clear. By our road it is fifteen miles from the junction of Laramie River and North Fork."

Joseph Hackney and his party on June 16, 1849, made a record of the spring but failed to stop there. Hackney wrote "traveled 20 miles roads hard and rolled but later tolerable hilly we pass the warm spring in the forenoon and then ascended a long rocky hill we camped for the night on the bitter cottonwood water grass very poor good wood plenty."

Two days before, Henry Tappan and his party had apparently stopped at the spring after leaving Ft. Laramie, for in his diary he recorded "To day remained in Camp. For the first time on the route I tried my hand in the art of washing dirty clothes. Succeeded admirably although my fingers suffered some from the effects of very good soap."

Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly in their diary mention Warm Springs on June 15, 1849, but stated that they failed to pass by it, "having kept on the ridge road, leaving the spring to our right."

J. Goldsborough Bruff on July 12, 1849, did go to the spring, and he stated in his diary: "Soon reached the Warm-Sp'g brook, government wagon and men there, and the lime-kilns close by." Loomis in his Journal stated "Warm Springs, Lat. 42° 15' 6". This is a very strong spring of clear water, but it is warmer than river water, at all seasons of the year."

While by searching through the various trail diaries numerous mentions of the springs can be found, the stories of the human tragedies which occurred nearby are less easily located. John Steele in his diary which has appeared in the book *Across the*

Plains in 1850 and who was quoted earlier in this paper, continued with his account after visiting the spring:

"Ascending through a canon, or great cleft in the rock, I came out on a wide prairie, across which was clearly marked the red outline of the road. My own train was pursuing its way in the distance, but a group of tents and wagons near the road, indicated an unwilling halt.

"As I approached I saw in a tent, the sides of which were lifted, a young man in the last stages of cholera. Kind hands had raised him up and, no doubt, rendered all possible aid. In his delirium he was repeating familiar names, probably of brothers and sisters. At last he exclaimed, 'O mother! mother! why don't some of you come?' And looking earnestly around, as if trying to recognize some familiar face, the light faded from his eyes, and he was gone. His companions went out to prepare his grave by the side of two others which yesterday had met a like fate. All the rest of the company seemed in usual health, but language could not express how depressed and sad they were. Greatly affected by the scene I hurried away, but ere I had crossed the prairie, found six more newly made graves, showing how rapidly cholera was doing its work."

In the *Guernsey Gazette* of July 2, 1937, appeared a story on the burning of a wagon train near these springs during the trail days. I would like to quote the article:

"Not all history is told, nor all evidence gathered in the migration westward of the nation. Thousands of men fell by the roadside, with no evidence recorded of their passing, nor is there a crude stone to mark their last resting place. They were never heard from again by relatives back home. . . .

"At a location on a knoll about a half mile beyond the (Warm) Springs was mute evidence of a wagon train disaster. Here a train of eight or ten wagons had drawn into its circle for the night, or for defense. Here they witnessed an attack upon the train. It was burned to the ground by the Indians. For many years there lay the stark evidence of this tragedy—old wagon irons of each wagon and its contents were in place, with only here and there a piece of a charred spoke of a wheel or like fragment of charred wood, as evidence of what took place.

"This circle of burned wagons was lying in place 25 years ago (1912) and many early residents of the locality recall vividly its appearance. It has all been carried away as relics but there are many here yet who saw it as it was left after the attack.

"Exactly what took place we can only surmise. Here was complete evidence of a disaster to a wagon train. Were there any survivors? We find no reference to this train attack in history. The country was infested with the hostile Sioux.

"A few weeks ago Ed. Shoults of Horse Creek, this state, who

lived here as a boy when the town first started at the turn of the century, and hunted rabbits over the hills, investigating as boys will, all the hills and crannies in the whole immediate territory, gave the writer a vivid description of the picture of the burned wagon train.

"Will the historian learn just what took place at this location through some yet undiscovered diary, or will this probable tragedy of the trail be erased completely with the passing of time?"

"Over on the south bank of the Warm Springs wash, about 50 yards west from a point directly south of the Springs, and back on the bank a short distance was a little graveyard with five or six graves, with crude markers indicating their location. Time has eroded all evidence of this little burial ground. Warm Springs draw carries the run-off of a large watershed and at times a rolling torrent comes pouring down into the Platte. The banks of the draw have crumbled away by the washing water until all evidence of the last resting place of these emigrants is gone, yet there are some here who remember it. Were they some of the unfortunate victims of the wagon train attack? We have no way of knowing."

5:10 P.M. Arrived at the FREDERICK RANCH opposite 47-1/2 M. on the north branch of the old road. We were welcomed by Mr. Henry Frederick, then spent twenty minutes looking at the Indian artifacts and old time relics in his Museum.

5:30 P.M. The Following Farewell statement was made by Mr. L. C. Bishop.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Here at Henry Frederick's ranch and museum 47 Oregon Trail miles from the east Wyoming boundary ends what we choose to call TREK NO. 1 of 1953 over the east section of the old trail. Some time this fall we plan to make a second trek and cover the next 43 miles of the road that we have mapped. This will take us to La Bonte Station on La Bonte Creek. Albert Sims is my partner in this mapping project which we hope to complete the next few years and as the mapping is completed, we hope to have more treks in order that those who are interested may have the benefit of the information we have obtained. Today you have heard talks by those who have made it their business to be informed on the early history of this old trail and in each future trek we plan to call on those best informed in the areas we traverse the same as we have today.

Thank you one and all for your interest in our project and for your cooperation in making Trek No. 1 a success. All who have registered will be notified of the time of the next trek and furnished a program. If you think it worthwhile we will be glad to have you with us again.

Niobrara County

By

MAE URBANEK

Like the ripple of its waters,
Rising in its prairie grass lands,
Sounds the name of Niobrara—
Indian for flat and spacious.

Niobrara linking history,
Holding past and future glory;
Niobrara, land of contrasts,
Rich in oil and food and folklore.

One hundred and fifty million years ago
The dinosaurs lived here.
Immense and slow, they ate
The swampy growth and smaller dinosaurs;
Then swallowed stones, like chickens do
To grind this food.
Their brains were small.
When the Rocky Mountains rose
And Niobrara lands were drained and dry,
The dinosaurs died. The best collection
Of their bones in all the world
Stayed here, preserved in printed rocky sheets,
Scalloped with shells of clams,
For us to read.

Crude skinning knives of the flinty rock,
Hatchets and hoes of stone
Are artifacts of an ancient race
That lived here in ages unknown.

Their shop sites tell of industry;
Of mass production time;
The "Spanish Diggings" hide many clues
Of mankind's upward climb.

The Indians came.
For centuries they wandered on these plains
And hunted buffalo. Beneath Chalk Buttes,
Along the Silver Springs they camped and chipped

Their arrowheads, perfect in form, not crude
As those of the more ancient race. Trusting,
Friendly, kind, they welcomed white man's coming
Until he killed their buffalo and stole
Their prairie land.

Came the cattle and the cowboys
Drivin' up the Texas Trail;
Silver spurs and silver buckles,
On through deserts, blizzards, hail.

Keep the herd appointed, movin';
Sing 'em lullabies at night;
Once delivered—free for prowlin'—
Poppin' corn with dynamite.

Gold discovered—fever mountin';
Stage coach rumbles on its way—
Rawhide Buttes and Running Water,
Hat Creek, Cheyenne River—change and hay.

Many were the necktie parties
All for little bricks of gold.
Cattle barons quickly flourished—
Land was free to grab and hold.

Came the teamsters and the railroad—
Silver threads through prairie grass;
Came the town sites and the bankers,
Education, polished glass.

A tent town nestled by a hill
And grew to fill the valley. Lusk
Outlived its booms and breaks, and still
Invites, as in homesteading days,
When sod shacks grew as fast as mushrooms
And like mushrooms sank away.

Gleaming towers of oil wells lit
The ancient homes of dinosaurs;
And Black Gold flowed to benefit
Enlarging schools; while farmers broke
The fertile soil, and stockmen watched
Each acre, eager to revoke
The plow—enlarge their herds.

Men still have the cowboy spirit;
Like their boot heels and their hats;

Boys can ride 'em, buckin', twistin'—
Also rate with balls and bats.

Women have their clubs and parties,
Good as cooks and good at bridge.
Life is full of flash and challenge
On gumbo flats or on Pine Ridge.

Famous for your howling blizzards;
Finest grass land in the state;
Highest in your oil production—
Niobrara, you create

Winners in the nation's contests,
A Senator, a beauty queen;
Champions in livestock judging—
Though your number is fourteen.

Niobrara, we salute you.
You have wealth, unused, untold.
In the spirit of your people
Is your lead of hidden gold.

Washakie and The Shoshoni

*A Selection of Documents from the Records of the Utah
Superintendency of Indian Affairs*

Edited by

DALE L. MORGAN

PART V—1860-1862

LI

F. W. LANDER, SUPT., U. S. OVERLAND WAGON ROAD AND
SPECIAL AGENT TO TRIBES ALONG THE ROUTE, TO
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON,
D. C., FEB. 11, 1860. *Extract.*¹²⁷

Sir.

In pursuance of the letter of instructions of Acting Commissioner Charles E Mix of March 26th 1859, I have carried out

127. L/318-1860. The whole of Lander's report is printed in 36th Congress, 1st Session, *Senate Executive Document 42* (Serial 1008), pp. 121-139. At the time Lander was preparing to leave Washington, Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, wrote Acting Commissioner Mix on March 25, 1859, to say:

Mr. F. W. Lander Superintendent of the Fort Kearney South Pass & Honey Lake road is about to proceed across the Rocky Mountains to California *via* the South Pass, the Upper basin of Green River and the Valley of Snake River near Fort Hall, through the Shoshone or Snake Indian region and the country of the Pannocks and other small tribes.

The opportunity afforded by this journey of Mr. Lander, to hold intercourse with these Indians and impress upon them the importance of maintaining amicable relations with the whites and to secure a pledge to abstain from molesting the Emigrants who may pass over the new road has induced me to adopt suggestions made by him in regard to distributing presents among them, To enable him to do so, you will place at his disposal a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars from such appropriations as you may deem applicable and give him such instructions as may be proper to secure the end desired, it being understood that the service is to be performed without compensation. . . .

Lander himself, under date of March 23, 1859, set forth a schedule of articles desired, adding, "The above is the amount for a single half lodge or a very small family and should be multiplied by 300 for the Washikee band of Snakes with their friends & visitors, the Northern Pannacks & sheep-Eaters—by 200—for the Pannack tribe, and by 300 for the two bands of Western Snakes." He also wanted "1 Uniform Coat or Suit for the Chief Washikee," valued at \$50. (L/739-1859)

the Specifications therein embraced, visited the tribes enumerated, and have the honor to report;

The Eastern Snakes.

On the second day of July [1859], the principal payment was made to the Eastern or Washikeek Band of Snake Indians at the Crossing of Big Sandy river, forty miles west from the South Pass in the presence of a large number of emigrants. Subsequent payments were made to small parties of this tribe as the Expedition proceeded.

No instance is on record of the Eastern Snakes having Committed outrages upon the whites. The presents were given as a reward for their good behavior in the past, and as a payment for the destruction of their root and herding grounds by the animals of the emigration. They were requested to aid overland travellers by every means in their power, to restore strayed and lost stock and in case of any outrage being committed upon them by emigrants, to refrain from reprisal, but report it through their chief to proper authorities. These points were explained to them by excellent interpreters, were agreed to and have been implicitly regarded. The life of an emigrant was saved by an indian at "Green river crossing" and great assistance rendered at the same dangerous ford in passing trains, by the mounted warriors of the tribe. Lost Stock has been driven in, and by a paper bearing over nine thousand signatures, the emigrants state "that they have been most kindly treated by the indians."

At the payment, the emigrants were given to understand the object of the disbursement of presents and have treated the indians with consideration and respect.

The Eastern Snakes range from the waters of Wind river or latitude 43° 30' on the north and from the South Pass to the head waters of the North Platte on the east, and to Bear river near the mouth of Smith's Fork on the west. They extend south as far as Brown's Hole on Green river. Their principal subsistence is the roots and seeds of the wild vegetables of the region they inhabit. the mountain trout, with which all the streams of the Country are abundantly supplied, and wild game. The latter is now very scarce in the vicinity of the new and old emigrant roads.

The immense herds of antelope I remember having seen along the route of the new road [Lander Cutoff] in 1854 and 1857 seem to have disappeared. These indians visit the border ground between their own Country and the Crows and Blackfeet for the purpose of hunting Elk, Antelope and stray herds of Buffalo. When these trips are made they travel only in large bands for fear of the Blackfeet and Crows. With the Pannachs and parties of Salt Lake Diggers they often make still longer marches into the northwestern buffalo ranges on the head waters of the Missouri and Yellow Stone.

These excursions usually last over winter, the more western indians who join them passing over a distance of twelve hundred miles on the out and return journey.

They are at peace with the Flatheads, hunting with them on the buffalo grounds. They seem to have no discretion in the killing of game. The antelope "surrounds" in which the whole tribe often engages are made at that season of the year when the antelope is heavy with young or has the fawn by her side. I witnessed one of these "surrounds" on the head waters of Green river in 1858. On this occasion the whole herd of Antelope was slaughtered indiscriminately.

Wash-ikeek, the principal chief of the tribe is half Flathead. He obtained his popularity in the nation by various feats as a warrior and it is urged by some of the Mountaineers by his extreme severity. This has in one or two instances, extended so far as taking life. The word Washikee or Washekeek signifies "Gambler's Gourd." He was originally called "Pina-qua-na" or "Smell of Sugar." "Push-e-can" or "Pur-chi-can," another war Chief of the Snakes, bears upon his forehead the scar of a blow of the tomahawk given by Washikee in one of their altercations. Wash-ikee, who is also known by the name of "the white man's friend," was many years ago in the employment of the American and Hudson's Bay Fur Companies. He was the Constant Companion of the white trappers, and his superior knowledge and accomplishments may be attributed to this fact.

He is very light Colored, remarkably tall and well formed, even majestic in appearance, and in my own opinion, an undeniable half breed. He is desirous of visiting Washington with the principal warriors of his tribe, never having been further east than Fort Laramie. The policy of making provision for this visit is evident, many of the more warlike tribes in his vicinity and some of the Eastern Snakes having been led to believe that the whites are very few in number.

I have not heard the Chiefs of the more western tribes speak of such a visit, but they would probably join in it. As my instructions did not direct any such arrangement, I could only inform the Chief that I would make his wishes known to the Great Father.

Washikee expresses himself in favor of the Reserve System, and has named a section of Country near the Medicine Bow Butte [Elk Mountain, north of the Medicine Bow range] on the border lands of his tribe as a suitable place for farming purposes. I should anticipate some difficulty at the present time, in any endeavor to unite the Eastern Snakes upon a reserve. I made them offers of seeds and utensils which were not well received. They express themselves very favorably in reference to herding and might be restrained to habits of discipline and self denial in this respect were suitable agents appointed to reside among

them. They are a wandering tribe and range at different seasons of the year, as necessity calls, over the entire region I have described.

The Salt Lake Diggers intermarry with the Eastern Snakes and are on good terms with them. Among these indians, are some of the worst in the mountains. Washikee will not permit a horse thief or a vagabond to remain in his band, but many of the Mormon indians go about the Country with minor Chiefs calling themselves Eastern Snakes. Old Snag, a Chief sometimes seen on Green river, who proclaims himself an Eastern Snake, and friend of the Americans, but who is, I am informed, half Pannack. is of this class.—His character is very doubtful; although no actual proof exists of his participation in robberies, he has been known to permit young men to travel in his band who have stolen horses from emigrants.—An instance of this sort has occurred the present season, to which I shall refer in my remarks upon the Pannack tribe.—

Southern indians pass, on their way "to Buffalo" (a technical term) through the lands of the Eastern Snakes and Pannacks, and the latter are often made to bear the blame of their horse-stealing proclivities.—The Southern or Salt Lake Snakes or Diggers are, as a class, more civilized than Washikee's band; many of them speak English exceedingly well and are very good farm laborers.—They are the most dangerous indians in the country. and if they could be gathered on a reserve during the passage of the emigration, where they can be made to support themselves much more readily than the Northern indians, it would be a matter of great benefit to the overland travel.—

Any steps which could be taken to augment the power of Washikee who is perfectly safe in his attachment to the Americans and Northern Mountaineers, would also prove beneficial.—

A depredation was committed in the Eastern Snake country by Salt Lake Diggers on their way "to Buffalo," a fine ox being shot down owing to a quarrel which grew out of a horse trade with an emigrant named Amberson Huff.—The man could not have gone on without another ox, which was purchased for him out of the funds of the Wagon Road Expedition and charged to your Bureau.—

The Eastern Snakes speak the same language as the Camanches and often visit that warlike tribe. The Southern Snakes or Diggers have slightly different pronunciation for some words. Their language is called by mountaineers Digger Snake.

The Western Snakes who go about the Country with the Pannacks also use a slightly different pronunciation from the Camanche or pure Snake of the Eastern Mountains.

[There follow discussions of the Bannacks or Pannacks, reported to live in the Snake country and as far south as Cache

Valley on occasion, with special attention to the chiefs Mopeah and Tash-e-pah (who, like Washakie, was reported to be half Flathead, and a friend to the Americans), with some account also of the activities of "Salt Lake Diggers" in the Snake area. Subsequently Lander remarks upon the "Western Snakes" of the Humboldt River area, mentioning that these are called by the mountain men "Sho-sho-kos."]

Schedule of the number of the various bands referred to in this report or visiting the emigrant roads via the South Pass.

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I have estimated seven individuals to the lodge. This is a larger number than is usual in a buffalo Country where the skin lodge is less costly than among the Snakes.

Shoshonees or Eastern Snakes

Chief Wash-i-kee or Wash-i-keek—in english "Gambler's gourd," or Pina-qua-na, in english "Smell of sugar."—Lodges, 125. Subsistence—Buffalo, small game, fish, wild roots and seeds.—Range—Green river Country. Horses. a large number.

Salmon river Snakes; Bannacks and Snakes and Sheep-eaters

Chief. Qai-tan-i-an—in english "Foul Hand" with "Old Snag" and the Bannack "Grand Coquin"—Lodges 50—Subsistence—Salmon and trout, elk, deer and antelope. Range—On Salmon river and the mountains north of it—Horses—a small number.

A Small band of the Sheep Eaters are very fierce and wild, rarely visiting whites.

Western Snakes

Chief. Am-a-ro-ko—in english. "Buffalo Meat under the Shoulder"—Lodges 75. Subsistence—Buffalo meat and wild vegetables.—Range—Kamass prairie—Horses—Large number.—Po-ca-ta-ro's band. Goose Creek mountains, heads of Humboldt, Raft Creek and Mormon settlements.—Horses—Few.

Bannacks or Pannakees or Pannacks

Chief Mo-pe-ah, in english—"Horn of hair on the forehead"—Lodges—60. Subsistence—Buffalo meat and wild vegetables.—Range—In Country of Salt river and tributaries—Horses—Large number.

Bannacks of Fort Boise

Chief — Po-e-ma-che-ah,—in english "Hairy Man"—Lodges 100. Subsistence—Salmon fish, wild vegetables and roots—Range—In neighborhood of Fort Boise. Horses—large number.

Salt Lake Diggers; Lower or Southern Snakes

Chief, Indian name unknown—in english “Long Beard” Lodges—50. Subsist Amongst the Mormons and by hunting and plunder Range—Around Salt Lake—Horses—Few.

*Warraricas—(in english—“Sun Flower seed eaters”) or Diggers
or Bannacks below Fort Boise, west of Blue Mountains.*

Chief Pash-e-co or Pa-chi-co. in english “Sweet Root” Medicine man and head of all the Bannacks or Pannakees; thought a wonderful prophet by the Snakes—Lodges. 150. Subsistence—Roots and the Kamass with plunder Range—Head of John Days river and west of Blue mountains—Horses—very few—They steal the latter from the Cayuses.

All the above indians travel together and intermarry. They hold the entire country. I Consider the Eastern Snakes as in some measure isolated from the rest and as being more particularly under the direction of the reliable chief Washikee.

If the leading men of the disaffected tribes could be induced to visit Washington it would serve an important purpose. They know nothing of the number and actual power of the Gentiles, so called, and in my opinion are constantly deceived in regard to them.

I recommend to you any of the following individuals as suitable persons to carry out your views in reference to the collection of any information required or the establishment of Agents in the Country.

Timothy Goodale would make a suitable agent for the Eastern Snakes. He is very reliable and has great influence with the Chief Washikee. From circumstances occurring which led me to doubt some of the statements of individuals having influence with the tribe, and present at the payment, I sent a night express after Goodale and he was of great service to me at that time. He is now in this city [Washington, D. C.], if required for service would need a notification as he is a mountain trader, and will soon leave for the border.

Thomas Adams, a citizen of this District, but who has passed the last seven years in the Rocky Mountains is well known among those Pannacks and Western Snakes who range east of Salmon Falls and north of Snake river. He is also familiar with some of the Salt Lake Diggers.

Old Richard Grant who was for many years the Hudson Bay Factor at Fort Hall understands these western indians perfectly and is now in that Country. His son John Grant, who is married into the Western Snake tribe and is brother-in-law of the celebrated Ten-toi, is not so well educated, but can give much information about them. He was born and reared in the vicinity of Fort Hall.

Thomas Lavatti, the half breed already referred to in this report is one of the best men in the mountains; brave, reliable and sensible in all his views in relation to the Indians. I think his advice as to the best method of approaching and Controlling the western Snakes and Pannacks to prevent war by the use of presents or by a little timely severity to the worst members of the tribes in concert with their Chiefs might be received with Consideration. He is a most excellent interpreter.

Isaac Frapp or Shoshonee Aleck,—the half breed, who has been two years in the employment of the [Wagon Road] expedition, is a very excellent and faithful man. He is both brave and honest. His services of the present season are referred to in Mr. [William H.] Wagner's report.

I think it will be necessary to have a road agent at the South Pass the coming season to inform emigrants of the new road—and to prevent the emigration being directed across the desert by interested parties who pick up the abandoned, or buy, at low prices, the tired cattle of overland travellers. This road agent should have the protection of a few companions.

It is my opinion that Indian presents should again be sent into the Country, for the agent can do nothing without them.

LII

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO A. B. GREENWOOD,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON,
D. C., FEB. 27, 1860.¹²⁸

Sir: On the subject of new Indian farms, in addition to what I have already said, in letters and in my last annual report, I respectfully call your attention to the propriety of immediately locating the proposed new farms, as it will be difficult, even now, to obtain a sufficiency of eligible farming land, not already occupied by settlers, for two of the proposed new farms. The third is not so absolutely material, neither in regard to locality, or condition of the Indians; this third new farm is intended for Wash-a-kee's tribe of Shoshonees; numbering about 1200; and a small tribe of Banacks about 500. (See my last report.)

I recommend a concentration of all "Pah-Utes," now roaming in small bands through the southern portion of the Territory, on one reservation, if one sufficiently large can be found. These bands extend from Beaver City, & valley, south to California, and are the most destitute Indians of the Territory.

Another farm is intended for the Shoshonees, roaming in Salt Lake, Ogden, Weber, Bear river, Cache, and Malade vallies.

128. F/103-1860.

All these could be concentrated on one reservation to be located somewhere in the northern part of the Territory. (I again refer to my last report.)

On these three new farms, and on the five already in progress, all the indians of the Territory (excepting those in the Carson Valley Agency,) could be concentrated.

The 4th farm is intended for Carson Valley Agency; the locality &c. must be determined by the Agent.

Five thousand dollars, for each proposed new farm, is in my opinion, sufficient to start these farms successfully. . . .

LIII

JACOB FORNEY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO A. B. GREENWOOD,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, JUNE 11, 1860.¹²⁹

Sir: I have resumed the duties of the Superintendency for reasons that I have stated

We have already learned from papers and other sources, of Indian depredations in the western portion of this Territory, principally on and adjacent to the California Mail Route.¹³⁰ These depredations have been principally, if not altogether confined within the limits of the Carson Valley Agency, and among the Western Pey Ute Indians.

Immediately upon hearing of these Indian outbreaks Gov. Cumming promptly communicated with Col [Charles F.] Smith, the present commander of the Department of Utah, who without delay, detailed several companies of U. S. Troops for the California Mail route. This prompt action with the movement of a portion of the U. S. troops under General [N. S.] Clarke in California, and the volunteer organization and action in Carson Valley will, I am confident, speedily bring the Indians to terms.

I also despatched a reliable person, with certain appliances, among the Go Sha Utes and Sho Sho Nees along the Mail Route as far as Ruby Valley and even beyond if deemed necessary. Bad Indians and worse white men, with the aid of causes that at present exist to the great detriment of the public interest, have conspired to excite the Indians all over the Territory

129. F/176-1860. Various charges having been brought against him, the Indian Office ordered hearings on these charges in Great Salt Lake City in the spring of 1860, during which time Forney was under suspension. Eventually he was dismissed from office. These troubles contributed to the neglect of the Indians in Utah during 1860.

130. Forney refers to Nevada's "Paiute War" of 1860, which gave a thorough scare to the miners and occasioned a good deal of trouble to the overland mail.

The Northern Sho Sho Nees and Bannacks have been annoying the northern settlements. I will leave tomorrow to visit the northern Indians. I expect to meet a considerable body of them in Cache Valley or some other point north. I sent an express for this purpose, North last Saturday.

I will give Agent [A.] Humphreys instructions about the Utes and Southern Py-Utas. I will also visit the Sho Sho Nees between Fort Bridger and Rocky Mountains

Under existing circumstances it cannot be expected that I can accomplish much. I will however devote my time, energies and private credit for the benefit of the public interest, until I leave for the East.

The great wonder to me is, that the Indians are not much worse, and even as it is, the Indians are accused of many thefts, which are committed by white men, such as discharged soldiers & teamsters, Camp followers, apostate Mormons &c

LIV

GOV. A. CUMMING, ET AL., TO A. B. GREENWOOD, COMMISSIONER
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY,
NOV. 1, 1860.¹³¹

To the Hon. A. B. Greenwood Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
Washington D. C.

The undersigned actuated by a sense of duty, would respectfully call your attention, and through you the attention of Congress to the pressing necessity of taking immediate steps towards bringing the Indians of the Territory of Utah under treaty obligations.

It is believed that this Territory presents the only instance of the organization of a Territorial Government by Congress, — the country thrown open to settlement, without measures being first adopted to extinguish the Indian title,— The result has been repeated, and almost constant depredations by the Indians upon the settlers, the destruction of whole fields of grain,—stealing and driving away stock, and in many instances the most wanton and cruel murder of peaceful and unoffending citizens. Those more kindly disposed have resorted to petty theft, and begging; all however urging in Justification of their course, that their own country was taken possession of without their consent; their grass and water used, their game driven off, and they left to suffer and starve. The burthens of all this, to the amount of thousands of dollars annually, have been born by the people of this Territory,

131. R/1276-1860. The memorial was transmitted in a letter from Special Agent E. F. Ruth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs A. B. Greenwood, dated Washington, Dec. 8, 1860.

which has operated very oppressively when taken in connection with other hardships, incidental to the settlement of a new country, so far in the interior: —

Your memorialists need not refer in detail to the murder of Capt. [John W.] Gunnison and party by the Indians, while engaged in a government exploration and survey, or the more recent and atrocious murders in western Utah [i.e. Nevada], by which a number of valuable lives were lost—all of which we doubt not would have been prevented, had the Indians been treated by the government as other Indians in settled Territories, and placed under treaty stipulations. —

Why we might ask, has the government neglected to make treaties with the *Utes*, the *Diggers*, the *Shoshones*; and left the settlers of Utah at *their* mercy; and in the meantime formed treaties with other Tribes, paying them tens of thousands annually in the way of annuities and presents. The argument we believe in justification of the course pursued towards the Indians of Utah, is that as the country was obtained from Mexico, and as that nation, never recognized the Indian title, the United States would adopt the same policy, and if necessary take possession of the country by force.¹³²

We would respectfully submit whether this is not too enlightened, too great, and too humane a government, to borrow and adopt the errors and barbarities of any semi-savage nation. Besides, the country was purchased with the incumbrance of the possessory right of the Indians, and when thrown open to settlement, if Mexico does not remove the incumbrance, it seems but reasonable that the United States should.

The first great duty of the government—is to protect the citizen in the full enjoyment of all his civil and political rights, and by the organization of a Territory, it invites settlement, derives revenue from the sale of public lands, and is presumed to follow the citizen with its protecting arm; Its duties are two fold:—as the guardian of the Indian, it must see that his rights are preserved, and a fair compensation rendered for the possession which the government seeks to appropriate, and as the protector of the citizen, it must guard carefully his life, liberty and property.

All Indian treaties have been based upon the ground of policy; — *justice* to the savage, *not* title in him.—Upon the ground that it was more just, more humane, to purchase their possession, and dispossess them peaceably, than to take possession by force,—The Indians of Utah have a possession which to them is as valuable, as sacred as that of any other Tribe with which the government ever treated.—To say to them that the country was derived from a nation that did not recognize their right of occupancy, and

132. This was never the policy of the United States government.

therefore the United States would not, would be using logic, which they would neither regard nor understand.

It is sufficient for them to know that the Great Spirit gave this country to their fathers, sent the deer and antelope here for their food, and that while all that remains of their fathers are their graves, the hunting ground as their descendants belongs to them.—

Already do they well understand, that Treaties have been made with other Indians, by which *their* lands have been purchased, and they are becoming impatient and indeed hostile, because the same course is not pursued with them. We are fully satisfied that much longer they cannot be restrained from open and avowed hostility. They fully realize the effect produced by settlement, taking possession of their most valuable hunting ground, driving off their game, consuming their grass; and begging and plunder, seem to them not only Justifiable but their only alternative.—

Therefore, as an act of Justice to the Indian, for the peace of the country, for the protection of settlers and travelers, we would most earnestly recommend that immediate steps be taken, to form Treaties, with the *Utes, Pi-Utes—Diggers and Shoshones or Snakes*, conscientiously believing, that such Treaties will be less expensive to the general government, than the present Indian policy in Utah, and that such action is indispensable in preventing the sacrifice of human life.

Great Salt Lake City
Nove. 1st 1860

J. F. Kinney
Ch. Justice

Henry R. Crosby
Associate Justice

Wm H Rogers Ind Agent

Respectfully Yours

A Cumming
Gov. U Ty.

Francis H. Wootton
Secretary of State

S. C. Stambaugh
Sur. Genl.

LV

WILLIAM H. ROGERS, INDIAN AGENT, TO WILLIAM H. RUSSELL,
DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, APRIL 18, 1861.¹³³

Dear Sir

Knowing the interest that is felt in the Great Overland central rout, by the public, and your self, I deem it my duty as an Indian Agent to let you know the condition of Indian Affairs in

133. C/1203-1861. This letter reached the Indian Office under cover of one by Frederick Cook, Treasurer, Overland Mail Co., New York, June 3, 1861, which says further:

This, & like intimations from other reliable sources, lead us to

this Territory at present (that is in my agency).¹³⁴ I wrote a letter to Mr. Mix about the first of March last, asking him to answer my letter by pony [Pony Express]—I have not received a line from him; since writing that letter, I have had frequent appeals from the "Snake Indians" to make them a visit and give them a few presents; but have had no means to do so; and I now think if something is not done there will be trouble this summer, and I take this opportunity of informing the Department through you that if these Indians, who are the best in the Rocky Mountains and who pride themselves that they have never spilled the blood of a white man are not looked after, the Department must answer for it; they have been deceived by promises from both Forney and Davies,¹³⁵ and have received nothing since the winter of '57, and then only a small quantity of good [goods?]¹³⁶—they are a large band—Washakee is their Chief, they are the bravest and most intelligent Indians in the Territory:—his tribe have deserted him, or as they say they have thrown him away, he has always ruled them and could hold them in complete subjection until now. He told me last Summer that his Indians lost Confidence in him that he had made them promises of good on the word of the Superintendent to him; there is no Indian in the Tribe who can manage things so well as Washakee—he should be restored to his former position as Chief, this can be done at present with but little trouble, the Snakes say they do not intend to let the Mail or Emigrants pass through their Country if they do not get some presents this Spring; it should be attended to without delay; they seem to think that the bad Indians who kill & steal get presents while they get only promises, and seem to have come to the conclusion that bad Indians are the only ones who are rewarded, which is very near the truth as far as this Territory is Concerned—

I have had a long conversation with Mr. James Bromley your Mail Agent this morning, he informs me that if something is not done soon, there will be trouble in the Snake Count[r]y, which is in his division.—There are not enough U. S. Troops in Utah to

believe that the immediate & most earnest attention of the Department is needed to prevent Serious trouble, which will cost the Govt. much money and many lives if it runs into actual war.

Except under the protection of the Govt., which we have supposed would be ample for emigration and for us, it will be impossible to perform our service in transportation of the mails.

William H. Russell, to whom Roger's letter was directed, was the well-known member of the firm, Russell, Majors & Waddell, which at this time was operating the Pony Express.

134. Rogers' post of duty was primarily Ruby Valley in present Nevada. He had served since September, 1859.

135. Benjamin Davies succeeded Forney as Superintendent in the summer of 1860. He served a little over a year, being in turn succeeded by Henry Martin and James Duane Doty.

whip this tribe,¹³⁶ they are the best fighters and the bravest in the Territory and are better prepared for fighting.—

Col. Davis the present Superintendent has given out a few goods only to the Indians who hang arou[n]d the Settlements, they do not deserve them, for they are a miserable lazy set who would starve before they would go on a hunt.

You can if you think proper show this letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and state to him that I think these Indians should have at lease [sic] eight or ten thousand dollars distributed to them in good immediately. — If the Department will enclose me such an amount in a draft, you can send it by Pony, and I will assure them that Washakee will be reinstated and the whole tribe reconciled; as it is of no little importance to both the Government and to the Contractors of the Central overland Mail line.

The Indians in the vicinity of Ruby Valley and Deep Creek west of this on the Mail line are becoming daily more and more hostile towards the whites who keep the Stations, I have had reliable information if something is not done soon that they intend wiping out the Stations and Stock; they say Col. Davis did not give them any good last winter on his visit to that Country, they are preparing for another summers Campain; they are principally Goshutes. . . .

P. S.

I am just from the South pass the Snake Country, and have informed Mr.- Rogers of the above facts in relation to the Snake Indians. If these Indians make an outbreak they will be hard to Stop as I am personally acquainted with this Indians

James. E. Bromley

Agent for Cent O S Comp

LVI

BENJAMIN DAVIES, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED UTAH TERRITORY, JUNE 30, 1861. *Extract.*¹³⁷

Sir:

* * *

The immense depth of the snow, which in some places was said to be as much as fifty feet, rendered locomotion with wheeled vehicles impracticable, and although I ventured as far as the safety of my animals and men permitted, I was forced to confine

136. The Civil War having broken out earlier this year, the forces which garrisoned Utah since 1858 were in course of being evacuated.

137. 37th Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Executive Document 1* (Serial 1117), pp. 741-743. In the earlier part of this report, Davies discussed at considerable length the Indian situation west of Great Salt Lake City.

my operations principally to the bands and tribes who came from necessity by hundreds to visit me at my quarters. Including those whom I have visited and the multitudes that have congregated around my quarters, I have seen and made liberal distribution of presents among every tribe and band in this Territory, except those in Carson valley and certain remote bands on the head of the Humboldt river and Goose creek. The chiefs and principal men, with their families, have spent some time with me, and I have conversed fully with them, through my excellent interpreter, Mr. Dimmick B. Huntington, who has lived here twenty years, converses freely in each language, is well known by every band and chief throughout the Territory, and wields great influence over them all. In these conversations I discovered that they had a suspicion that it was the policy of the whites to populate their country and drive them into the big waters west of them, and some trouble may be anticipated in attempts to negotiate the purchase of their lands by treaty or otherwise. Most of the soil susceptible of cultivation is now settled and occupied by white persons, and the tide of population, attracted hither by the peculiar religious notions of the settlers of this Territory, will soon leave but little space for the poor Indian. I have again to urge the importance of extending the limits of the reserve at Ruby valley and Deep creek, (or Ibimpah) so as to embrace the whole of said valleys, and that surveys of the same be immediately made and their boundaries regularly designated. I also recommend the establishment of reserves and farms for the Snakes (Wash-akeis band and Bannacks) on Green river, three hundred miles east of this city, and also for the Weber-Utes, Little Soldier's band, on Weber river. For the various bands of Utes, Pah-Utes, Pah-vants, and others, who congregate at the Spanish Fork farm, I recommend the establishment of a reserve, including the whole of Winter [Uinta] valley¹³⁸ in addition to the Spanish fork, Corn creek, and San Pete reserve. As the sum appropriated for the Indian service in this Territory is only about forty thousand dollars per annum, I beg to suggest that the amount expended in cultivating cereals is disproportionate to what should be invested in raising cattle, and supplying clothing.

These are unquestionably the poorest Indians on the continent. There is no game to subsist them, and from the nature of the country there never can be. Animals whose nature it is to inhabit forests will not abide in the beds of saleratus and on the barren rocks and dismal wastes of this insalubrious clime. If the system of cultivating grain be so modified as to substitute in part the rais-

138. President Lincoln set aside the Uinta reservation for the Utes on Oct. 3, 1861, spurred by representations from the then superintendent, Henry Martin.

ing of cattle for the subsistence of the Indians, it will operate beneficially in various respects. The Indian is by nature a herdsman, and he will readily fall in with the idea of taking care of cattle in preference to performing the more civilized labor of the farm. Besides, it is their nature to need meat. When fed on flour without meat for any length of time, they become diseased, and a change from that to meat will soon restore them to their wonted health. Owing to the difficulty of getting beef, I have tried to substitute the use of bacon. During last winter starvation compelled many of them to eat it, but some had to be supplied with beef. If four or five thousand dollars were invested in yearling heifers, and proper care were taken of them on the different reserves, beneficial results would soon follow. The plan of making up the goods designed to clothe them into garments, such as are worn by white persons, male and female, operates finely, and cannot be too strongly recommended. They are well pleased at being dressed like citizens, and it tends to make them more cleanly and careful of their person and their clothing, and the cost of making is saved by the less quantity necessary to be given. It also has the effect of preventing them from trading off their garments, which is invariably practiced when the raw material is given them. The destitution of these Indians and the excessive severity of the wintry seasons cause much sickness, especially inflammatory and pulmonary diseases, among them.

Great suffering and many deaths transpire, which might be mitigated, and perhaps prevented, by proper medical treatment. Syphilis prevails to a fearful extent among the Pah-vants and Pi-utes, which it is said they contract among the Navajoes, with whom they do much trading. I recommend the appointment of an experienced physician, whose duty it shall be to render medical assistance to all who may need it within this superintendency. Owing to the high price of everything in this remote region, and the laborious, perilous, and self-sacrificing labor of the officie attached to the Indian service here, I submit that their compensation is inadequate, and recommend that their salaries be increased. The pay of the superintendent should be three thousand dollars, and that of each agent, two thousand dollars. From the best information I can obtain from traders, mountaineers, travellers, and other persons, I presume there are some twenty thousand souls embraced within the jurisdiction of this superintendency. I have, therefore, to submit that an appropriation of forty thousand dollars per annum is quite insufficient for their wants. After deducting salaries of officers, their incidental expenses, pay of farm agents, other employes, and incidental expenditures of the reserve, but little is left for clothing, which is more needed among them than anything else. To put the Ruby Valley reserve in successful operation will require—

At least	\$7,000 00
Deep Creek or Ibimpah	7,000 00
Corn Creek	4,000 00
San Pete	4,000 00
To open a farm on Weber for Little Soldier's Utes	8,000 00
To open a farm on Green River for Wash-a-kees, Snakes	10,000 00
Besides what may be necessary to make repairs and carry on the Spanish Fork and Carson Valley farms, which may perhaps require	10,000 00
Making in the aggregate	\$60,000 00
Add to this for clothing, blankets, lodges, arms, ammunition, &c., two dollars per capita	\$40,000 00
And we have an aggregate of	100,000 00
which would not be more than might be judiciously and benefi- cially expended the ensuing year.	

* * *

LVII

HENRY MARTIN, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE,
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT
LAKE CITY, OCT. 1, 1861. *Extract.*¹³⁹

Sir: In accordance with a regulation of the Indian department, requiring me to make an annual report of the situation of affairs in this superintendency, and to prepare estimates for the guidance of Congress in making annual appropriations for the support of the Indians in this Territory, I have the honor herewith to transmit to you my first annual report.

I regret that my arrival in this Territory being of so recent a date, August 6, 1861, rendered it impossible for me to ascertain, as fully as I could wish, the exact condition of all the different bands of Indians in my superintendency.

I have, however, been as diligent as circumstances would permit in finding out, from personal examination and reliable information from parties in whom I place confidence, the wants and necessities of most of the tribes and bands of Indians placed in my charge, and am sorry to say that I found them in a very poor condition, both as regards a sufficient supply of clothing to protect them

¹³⁹ 37th Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Executive Document 1* (Serial 1117), pp. 744-748.

from the severity of the weather in this mountainous country, and the necessary amount of food to keep them from actual starvation.

Too little attention, I am fearful, has heretofore been paid to the fact that there is very little game in this Territory, of any description, which the Indians can kill to keep them in food. There is no buffalo whatever that range in this Territory, and very few antelope, elk, deer, mountain sheep, or bear, and these only in certain localities.

Civilization seems to have had the same effect here as has been noticed elsewhere in this country since the first settlement by our forefathers, in driving before it the game natural to a wilderness, and the Indians complain bitterly that since the white man has come among them their game has almost entirely disappeared from their former hunting-grounds, and they are now obliged either to beg food from the white settlers or starve.

The driving away of the buffalo not only deprives them of their principal supply of food, but also of a great source of revenue and comfort in the skins, which they sold and used to keep them comfortable in cold weather.

I have had more applications from Indians for beef and flour since I have been here than anything else. They frequently come to me and fairly beg for some beef, to keep their squaws and papooses from starving.

Owing to the limited amount of money placed in my hands, I have been unable to entirely satisfy their demands, but I am confident that what I have distributed in that way has been a great deal more satisfactory to the Indians than three times the amount expended in any kind of trinkets usually disbursed by the department would have been.

The annual appropriation for this superintendency has, in my opinion, always been too small to allow the superintendent and agents to give that satisfaction to the Indians which their wants demand, and a proper regard for the rights and safety of the white settlers, by preventing depredations, requires.

The establishment of the overland daily mail and telegraph lines, and their recent completion through this Territory—consummations of such vital importance to the people throughout the Union—renders it necessary that steps should be immediately taken by the government to prevent the possibility of their being interrupted by the Indians.

On this subject I have taken much pains to consult with most of the leading men connected with these great enterprises, and also with nearly all of the head chiefs of the Indians that range on their lines in this Territory, and have, after mature deliberation, come to the conclusion that the only manner in which this can be effected to the entire satisfaction and protection of all the

parties concerned, is by a treaty between the United States and the tribes of Indians ranging in this superintendency.

In recent consultations or "talks" with Wash-a-kee and Shokub,¹⁴⁰ the head chiefs of the Shoshones or Snake Indians, Nava-coots and Pe-tut-neet, chiefs of the Ute nation, and many of the sub-chiefs of both nations, I find that they are unanimously in favor of a treaty with the United States, and agree with me in considering that to be the only effectual way to check the stealing propensities of some of their Indians; and from information gleaned from them on various occasions, I have made the following memorandum in regard to the probable cost and effect of a treaty.

They express their willingness to cede to the United States all the lands they claim in this Territory, with the exception of reservations necessary for their homes; and ask, in return, that the United States shall make them annual presents of blankets, beads, paint, calico, ammunition, &c., with occasional supplies of beef and flour sufficient to make them comfortable, which I estimate can be done with a small addition to the usual appropriation.

They seem fully to understand the nature and effect of a treaty, and the chiefs agree to hold themselves responsible for any depredations committed by any of their bands, if a treaty should be made, by deducting the amount of damage done from the annuity paid them.

I cannot too strongly recommend this course to the department, and sincerely hope that it will meet with that prompt attention that, to my mind, the importance of the subject entitles it.

I had expected on my arrival in this city, and after assuming the duties of this office, to find matters in a shape that I could immediately proceed to the discharge of my duty towards the Indians, but was very much disappointed; and instead of finding an office properly in order, with facilities for doing business, I could find nothing but an old bundle of papers to show that there had ever been a superintendent in the Territory.

This state of affairs necessarily delayed my intercourse with the Indians until I could procure an office and the fixtures necessary to do business with, which, owing to the exorbitant price charged for everything in this country, and the scarcity of material to manufacture office furniture, delayed me much longer than I had anticipated.

I have, however, succeeded in establishing an office here in a becoming and comfortable style, at an expense much less than has heretofore been allowed for that purpose.

* * *

140. A chief of the Shoshoni living in eastern Nevada.

LIX

JAMES D. DOTY, SPECIAL AGENT OF THE POST OFFICE
DEPARTMENT, TO GEO. W. McLELLAN, ASSISTANT POSTMASTER
GENERAL, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, DECEMBER 14,
1861. *Extract.*¹⁴¹

I cannot think that Government has any cause to fear for the safety of the mail from this source; [the disloyalty of employees of the Overland Mail Company] but it has occasion to apprehend danger from the Indians.

Seeing the large supplies of provisions and feed which the Co. has been compelled to accumulate this fall and to keep at each Station, these people, who are very wild, when hungry or starving, and perhaps at other times, are disposed to take by force what they require if they are not freely given what is demanded. The men of the Co. cannot, of course, comply with their demands—for they present themselves by fifties & hundreds and hence difficulties ensue.

Two days before I passed the Red Butte, an assistant agent of that division was shot and instantly killed, as he was riding alone in his waggon near that place and his mules driven off. There can be no doubt that it was done by Shoshonee Indians who had been to a station near by demanding food which was refused. I have sent for the principal Chief of the Nation, hoping he may be able and willing to identify and deliver up the parties.

Threats and demands for food are made along the entire line to Carson Valley; they insist that the Country is theirs; that they have made no treaty for it with government, and unless troops are placed at two or three points along the line, or I am authorised as Superintendent of Indian affairs to distribute provisions to them occasionally and thus draw them away from the line, serious difficulties may be apprehended and the mail cease to be carried for some period during the winter. The cost of provisions is very great; for they must either be purchased here, in this settlement, or at Atchison; from which place there are no trains for freight during the winter season. The sum of twenty thousand dollars I should think would be required for this purpose—and even this may prove insufficient. I am the only Superintendent on the line; and for the purpose, in part, of protecting the route, I have established an Agent at Fort Bridger and another at Ruby Valley near the Humboldt Mountains—but government has placed nothing in my hands to give the Indians at those points. These are the only Agencies with permanent agents in this extensive territory,

141. This extract of a report by Doty was transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior on Jan. 9, 1862, by George W. McLellan, 2nd Asst. P. M. General (P/463-1862).

which is bounded by the Indian country upon every side. The Telegraph line follows the Stage Route; and, allow me to urge, that both of them are now of too great importance to the commercial and other interests of the United States to be interrupted or destroyed; and that adequate protection should immediately be given to these great enterprises.

LX

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO JAMES DUANE DOTY,
SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER,
DEC. 27, 1861.¹⁴²

Sir

On my arrival at this place I found that the Beef Cattle belonging to the Military Department had been Sold to Judge [W. A.] Carter with the Exception of two head which wer held by that Department The Commanding Officer proposed to turn them over to me if I would receipt for them I accepted his offer and gave him the following Receipt

Copy

Received December 23^d 1861 of Capt J C. Clark 4th Inf. Act.
C. S. two head of Beef Cattle Commissary Stores for Issue to
Indians at Fort Bridger

Signed
Luther Mann Jr Ind. Agt.

The Officer in Command still holds five Mules which they have no use for The Secretary of War on application might turn them over to the Indian Department I have obtained one of the Government Buildings for an Office I shall require Some fixtures for the Same also Wood & Lights You will confer a favour by remitting me at your Earliest Convenience Some funds for that purpose as I hold no funds in my hands belonging to the Ind Department It will require Some two hundred dollars or more for that purpose There are some Indians in my agency that have not received any presents this fall or Winter I had about twenty five visit me on the 25th of the present month Should you think best to give them presents you can remit to me the funds for that purpose as Every thing they want Except flour can be obtained of Judge Carter of this place as Cheap if not cheaper than at the City

142. Utah Field Papers, 1861. As appears hereafter, Mann, the first agent regularly detailed to the Shoshoni, took up his duties at Fort Bridger on Dec. 19, 1861.

Please answer at your Earliest Convenience and Greatly Oblige.

...

P S I would like some Powder and lead if you have received it send by stage

LXI

WILLIAM T. ATWOOD TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED WASHINGTON, D. C.,
FEBR. 13, 1862.¹⁴³

Sir:

I have the honor herewith to transmit to you my appointment as temporary clerk by James Duane Doty Superintendent Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah; and beg leave to report myself to you in accordance with the instructions therein contained.

I left Great Salt Lake City, Utah, the headquarters of the Utah Superintendency on Tuesday, December 23^d, 1861, and agreeably to my instructions, visited the Indians in the eastern part of the territory, on the mail route, and am happy to report that I found them all quiet and peaceable, and not in the least interfering with the white settlers in that section of country.

After concluding my visits to the Indians I at once proceeded on my way to this city, arriving February 1st 1862, after a cold & tedious ride across the plains.

I also enclose my account for my salary for two months from Dec. 13th the date of my appointment amounting to two hundred & fifty dollars (\$250.) with the request that you will cause it to be paid as soon as practicable.

My traveling expenses were advanced to me by Supt Doty, before leaving Gt Salt Lake City. . . .

LXII

LUTHER MANN, JR., INDIAN AGENT, TO JAMES DUANE DOTY,
SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED FORT BRIDGER, FEB. 15, 1862.¹⁴⁴

Sir.

I have this day appointed Jack Robinson¹⁴⁵ as Indian Interpreter

143. A/465-1862.

144. Utah Field Papers, 1862.

145. John Robertson, "Uncle Jack Robinson," had been a fixture in the Fort Bridger area since Jim Bridger's day, and dwelt there until his death in 1882; he is buried in the Fort Bridger cemetery. Some early letters by him are printed in Elizabeth Arnold Stone, *Uinta County, Its Place in History*, Laramie, 1924, pp. 42-43.

for the Fort Bridger Agency, at a Salary of five hundred dollars pr year, subject to your confirmation.

Should such appointment meet your approval you will please advise. . . .

To the Commissioner

I respectfully recommend the confirmation of the above nomination of Jack Robinson to be Interpreter at Fort Bridger Utah Territory for the Shoshonee Indians in the North East part of said Territory

James Duane Doty

Superintendency Ind Affs

Superintendent

Great Salt Lake City, February 20, 1862

LXIII

JAMES DUANE DOTY, SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, TO WILLIAM P. DOLE, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DATED GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, APRIL 15, 1862.¹⁴⁶

Sir:—The accounts & vouchers for the 1st quarter 1862, for this Superintendency are herewith transmitted. They would have been forwarded earlier but for my absence from this city from the 25th of March to the 7th of April, to the northern part of Salt Lake and Cache Vallies. I desired to have visited Bear Valley, where Washikee & his Band wish to settle, but found the Mountains covered with deep snow; and was detained four days in Cache Valley by snow storms.

The Indians have been, in great numbers, in a starving and destitute condition. No provision having been made for them, either as to clothing or provisions, by my predecessors, I have been compelled to purchase supplies where they could best be obtained, & transport them to the places where the Indians had assembled, and where they were enduring great suffering. At the time of their greatest need the rains and snows had rendered the road impassable; and the Indians condition was such—with the prospect that they would rob the mail stations to sustain life—that I felt compelled to send Agent [F. C.] Hatch to them and to purchase the wheat of James Worthington & 200 bushels of Livingston Bell & Co., charged in my account, and distribute it gradually among them. I also sent them some flour and clothing. It cost more than I wished, but it was the best under the urgency of the circumstances that could be done. If the present system is to be continued, I propose with your permission, during the autumn, when grain is cheaper and transportation can be obtained at reasonable rates, to provide at proper points the supplies of

146. D/596-1862.

provisions which will probably be required during the winter— But the Department will have no freedom from their demands— nor from those of the Mail Station Keepers, and inhabitants— until these Indians are removed from the line of the road by force, or by their settlement further south, as suggested in a former communication. If they are placed where they can have stock, and give their attention to raising it, I am confident they will soon cease to be beggars and depredators, and become the best of herdsmen. At present they are not satisfied with all that I have done for them, when they have in addition received largely from the Mail Company and from the inhabitants.

The snow on the Wausatch Mountains has, since my arrival, presented an insuperable barrier to Uinta Valley; and it will be several weeks before they can be crossed. As soon as the passage is practicable, I shall execute your instructions by making a personal examination of the Valley, which I think can be done with a guard of eight or ten men. The Elk Mountain Utahs, who inhabit that region of country, are understood to be unfriendly. None have visited the Superintendency since my arrival. It may, perhaps, become necessary to treat with them before occupying that Valley with other Bands.

The remittance for salaries of Agents & Agency expenses, has been received. . . .

James Duane Doty
Superintendent

Wyoming State Historical Society

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

Election of Officers

Mr. W. L. Marion of Lander was elected to the presidency of the Wyoming State Historical Society at the Second Annual Meeting held in Lander on September 17-18. Other officers elected were: 1st vice president, Dr. DeWitt Dominick of Cody; 2nd vice president, Dr. T. A. Larson of Laramie; secretary-treasurer, Miss Maurine Carley of Cheyenne. Miss Lola M. Homsher is the permanent executive secretary.

Program

Mr. L. A. Millard, vice president of the Fremont County Historical Society, presided at the Saturday afternoon session, the theme of which was *Local History of Fremont County*. Interesting papers were presented by members of several of the earliest pioneer families of the area. Included on the program were: "Echoes From the Arapahoe-Shoshone Council" by Mrs. Maud L. Clairmont, a member of the council; "Early Incidents in Fremont County" by Mrs. Fred Stratton, Sr., daughter of Captain H. G. Nickerson; "Indian Paint Brush" by Mrs. Blanche Schroer, read by Mrs. Scott; "History of the Ervin Cheney Family" by Mrs. Mable Cheney Moudy; and "The Universal American Indian Sign Language" by Mr. J. K. Moore, Jr., who demonstrated the use of the sign language as he discussed it.

Mr. Norman R. Dickinson, president of the Fremont County Historical Society, presided at the dinner meeting on Saturday evening. Following his welcoming remarks, he introduced Dr. T. A. Larson, Head of the Department of History, University of Wyoming, who spoke on "Wyoming History in the National Archives." Dr. Larson, who recently spent some five weeks at the National Archives where he did research in the records of the State Department and the Department of the Interior relating to the Territory of Wyoming, made an interesting and revealing address on information which he secured from these documents.

Sunday morning was devoted to an historical tour of historic South Pass, the early gold rush towns of Atlantic City and South Pass City, and the site of old Fort Stambaugh. Mr. James Carpenter of Atlantic City led the tour.

Mr. W. F. Bragg, Sr., of Worland talked on "Western Fiction" at the luncheon meeting on Sunday. Mr. Bragg, himself a well known author of western fiction, discussed outstanding works on the West and mentioned sources of ideas used by various

authors. He demonstrated his own use of historical facts in his writings and gave a number of interesting reminiscences.

Annual Business Meeting

Mr. Frank L. Bowron, outgoing president, presided at the Annual Business Meeting of the Society held on the afternoon of September 18. Committee reports were considered and the following actions were taken:

1) The motion by Miss Velma Linford, chairman of the National Monuments Committee, was adopted, that "The Wyoming State Historical Society adopt in principal an overall plan for preserving examples of our culture; that the plan be given careful study and that details be suggested by the 1956 annual meeting."

2) Mr. W. F. Bragg, Jr., chairman of the Historic Signs Design committee, gave dimensions for temporary wooden signs to be placed by local chapters at local historic sites and showed pictures and seals which might be used on them. He suggested these signs be made by schools in their workshops and erected with the assistance of local youth groups such as Scouts. He moved that "The Society buy the silk screen stencils which could be used by all Chapters; that uniform signs with definite specifications be adopted; and that each local chapter use the application for signs worked out by Mrs. Thelma Condit." (Specifications and application forms adopted may be secured by writing to the Wyoming State Historical Department, Cheyenne.)

3) Mr. David Boodry presented the following changes in the Constitution and By-Laws, which were adopted:

Constitution

Article I Sec. 2—The Society is a non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the State of Wyoming. The Board of Trustees shall consist of the following officers of the State Historical Society: President, 1st Vice President, 2nd Vice President, Secretary-Treasurer, and Executive Secretary.

Article IV.

Sec. 1 Delete the words "who shall be elected by the Society at its annual meeting and who".

Sec. 2 be renumbered to read Section 4.

Sec. 2—a) The nominating committee appointed by the President of the Society shall draw up a slate of nominees for President, 1st Vice President, 2nd Vice President, and Secretary-Treasurer, listing not more than 3 names for each office. b) The list of nominees will be announced to all members in July preceding the annual meeting. c) Ballots will be sent to all members in good standing at least one month prior to the Annual Meeting and will be counted at the Annual Meeting.

Sec. 3—The 2nd Vice President shall be the Chairman of the Committee on Awards.

By-Laws

Article II Sec. 2.—Add the following sentence at the end: "Institutions are not eligible for life membership."

Article IV Sec. 1—At the end of the last sentence add the following: "A joint membership shall be entitled to only one copy."

4) Mr. Brown asked that members write to Postmaster General Summerfield requesting a commemorative stamp in 1956 in honor of the 50th anniversary of Devil's Tower, the first National Monument. Representative Thomson has introduced a bill on this matter in Congress.

5) Mr. Marion discussed the destruction of historical sites and suggested a reward of \$50.00 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of any person who defaces such property. The question was referred to the Legislative Committee for action, and the committee was to define the term "historic sites."

4) Mr. Bowron asked that members write to Postmaster General Summerfield requesting a commemorative stamp in 1956 in honor of the 50th anniversary of Devil's Tower, the first National Monument. Representative Thomson has introduced a bill on this matter in Congress.

5) Mr. Marion discussed the destruction of historical sites and suggested a reward of \$50.00 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of any person who defaces such property. The question was referred to the Legislative Committee for action, and the committee was to define the term "historic sites."

Historical Awards

Dr. DeWitt Dominick, chairman of the Awards Committee, reminded the members that nominations for awards and qualifications of the nominees should be sent to the chairman of the committee by September first. He emphasized that these awards should be worthy and coveted ones. He presented the following awards:

HISTORICAL AWARDS:

Mrs. Mary F. Bragg of Worland

Mr. L. G. "Pat" Flannery of Ft. Laramie

HONORABLE MENTION AWARDS:

Dr. R. H. Burns of Laramie

Mr. James Carpenter of Atlantic City

Mr. Fred Stratton, Jr., of Riverton

Scholarship

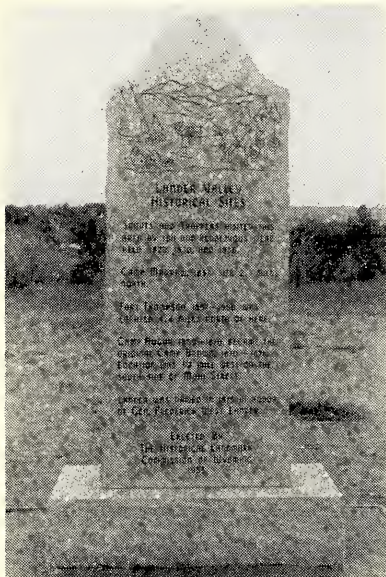
Dr. T. A. Larson announced that Sydney B. Spiegel of Cheyenne had been awarded the \$300.00 annual scholarship offered by the Society to a graduate student at the University of Wyoming who will write a history of a Wyoming County. Mr. Spiegel will write a history of Laramie County.

Treasurer's Report

Cash and Investments on hand, October 17, 1954.....	\$2,055.85
Receipts Oct. 17, 1954-Sept. 17, 1955.....	2,449.77
Total.....	\$4,505.62
Disbursements	\$ 889.95
Balance of Cash & Investments on hand September 17, 1955	\$3,615.67

The treasurer further reported the following membership: 21 Life members, 4 Joint Life members, 461 Annual members and 254 Joint Annual members, a total of 740 members. Nine counties have organized local chapters: Albany, Carbon, Campbell, Fremont, Goshen, Johnson, Laramie, Natrona and Washakie.

Monument Dedicated



At 4:00 o'clock on Saturday, September 17, following the afternoon meeting of the Society, the members present attended the dedication of an Historic Landmark Commission marker at the junction of highways 287 and 789 at the eastern edge of Lander. Mr. Joseph Weppner, Secretary of the Commission, assisted by Mr. Jules Farlow, member of the Commission, were in charge.

The Historical Landmark Commission has attempted an experiment with this particular marker in that they have placed on one marker several historical statements and have indicated the mileage to historical sites. In the past individual

stones have been placed upon the actual site of the place of historical interest.

Charter Membership

Charter membership to the State Historical Society was originally set to close on July 1, 1954. However, at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in Casper on October 17, 1954, this date was extended to December 31, 1954. At the closing date membership numbered 974.

Following is a list of the Charter Members in the Society.

CHARTER MEMBERS

LIFE MEMBERS

Berry, Miss Henryetta, Cheyenne
Big Horn County Library, Basin
Boodry, David E., Lyman, Nebraska
Brice, Mrs. David W., Wheatland
Brimmer, George E., Cheyenne
Brimmer, William N., Rawlins

Coe, W. R. (deceased),
New York City
Condit, Mrs. Thelma S., Kaycee
DeWitt, Mrs. Helen Holliday,
Los Angeles, California
Helvey, Mr. & Mrs. R. T., Sheridan

Hendryson, Irvin E., Denver,
Colorado
Hines, Mrs. Mary D., Denver,
Colorado
Homsher, Miss Lola M., Cheyenne
Jolly, David S., Deer Trail, Colorado
Larson, Dr. & Mrs. T. A., Laramie
Lawrence, W. C., Moran

McCullough, A. Stafford, Clifton,
Ohio
Metz, Mrs. Percy W., Basin
Miller, Mrs. Mildred M., Big Piney
Sackett, Carl L., Cheyenne
Salisbury, Herbert J., Cheyenne
Smith, Mack, Yoder
Spencer, P. C., New York City

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Adams, Bill, Buffalo
Adams, George M., Buffalo
Ahern, Daniel K., Buffalo
Albright, Mr. & Mrs. S. Paul,
Cheyenne
Alcorn, Clyde T., Torrington
Alcott, Mr. & Mrs. A. L., Worland
Alexander, Dr. A. F., Dugway, Utah
Alleman, Mrs. Effie, Kemmerer
Allen, Bess Opal, Casper
Allen, Chester A., Sr., Laramie
Allen, Miss Cody, Cody
Allen, Mrs. Mary Jester, Cody
Allen, Mr. & Mrs. R. W., Cody
Allison, Archie, Cheyenne
Allison, Mr. & Mrs. J. A., Gillette
Allyn, Frank H., Cheyenne
Amoretti, Mrs. Eloise A., Dubois
Andersen, Mrs. Marion R.,
Bethesda, Maryland
Anderson, Arthur J., Chicago,
Illinois
Anderson, Bryant B., Helena,
Montana
Anderson, Elwood (deceased),
Gillette
Anderson, Mrs. G. D., Torrington
Anderson, J. B., Manor, Pennsylvania
Andrus, Herbert, Kaycee
Angwin, Miss Lucia E., Evanston
Ansbaugh, Mrs. Alice and Lynn,
Buffalo
Arnold, Olga Moore, Washington,
D. C.
Arrott, J. W., Sapello, New Mexico
Arthur, Bill, British Columbia,
Canada
Aton, Ernest, Rawlins
Aton, Mrs. Ernest, Rawlins
Aylsworth, Dr. D. W., Rawlins
Aylsworth, Mrs. D. W., Rawlins
Baker, Billie B., Denver, Colorado
Baker, Ranson, Rawlins
Baldwin, Philpa K., Denver,
Colorado
Ballard, Thomas W., Torrington
Barber, Mrs. Raymond, Rawlins
Barclay, Rex L., Lance Creek
Bardo, Gerald, Lusk
Barker, Kenneth, Chugwater

Barlow, L. H., Gillette
Barlow, William L., Gillette
Barnes, Gerrit S., Denver, Colorado
Barnes, Mrs. Lottie, Torrington
Barquin, Mrs. James, Sr., Riverton
Bartek, Clarence, Rock Springs
Bartholomew, Mrs. Evelyn, Worland
Bartlett, Marie S., Saratoga
Bass, Charles, Jay Em
Beabout, Mrs. Helen F., Torrington
Beach, Mrs. Mary A., Mountainview
Beard, Mrs. Cyrus, San Gabriel,
California
Beavers, W. I., Rock Springs
Beck, George T., Cody
Beckwith, Miss Ruth, Denver,
Colorado
Bejino, Mrs. Helen M., Buffalo
Bell, William J., Cheyenne
Bellamy, Mrs. Mary G. (deceased),
Laramie
Bender, Miss Dorothy, Thermopolis
Bender, Mrs. Walter, Encampment
Bennett, Ed. F. & Kathryn R.,
Rawlins
Bennett, Mrs. W. E., Buffalo
Benninghoven, Mr. & Mrs. Walter,
Lyman, Nebraska
Bentley, Mrs. Helen M., Casper
Berlet, Walter H., Casper
Bernfeld, Seymour S., San
Francisco, California
Bernhardt, Paul, Englewood,
Colorado
Berry, G. W., Denver, Colorado
Bible, Mrs. George A., Rawlins
Birney, Fletcher W., Jr., Denver,
Colorado
Bishop, Mr. & Mrs. L. C., Cheyenne
Bishop, Marvin L., Casper
Blakeslee, Claude L., Casper
Blakeslee, Mrs. Claude L., Casper
Bocott, C. H., Riverton
Bocott, Mrs. C. H., Riverton
Bogensberger, M. J., Cheyenne
Boice, Mrs. Fred D., Jr., Cheyenne
Boice, Mrs. Margaret McIntosh,
Cheyenne
Bolten, Mrs. Ethel E., Rawlins
Bon, Miss Lorraine, Cheyenne

- Bowen, Chester H., Gillette
 Bower, Earl T., Worland
 Bower, Mrs. Earl T., Worland
 Bower, Ray F., Worland
 Bower, Mrs. Ray F., Worland
 Bowron, Mr. & Mrs. Frank L., Casper
 Bradbury, Mrs. Shirley B., Evanston
 Bragg, Mrs. Laura I., Worland
 Bragg, William F., Jr., Cheyenne
 Bragg, William F., Sr., Worland
 Bragg, Mrs. William F., Sr., Worland
 Breitweiser, Wayne R., Powell
 Breitweiser, Mrs. Wayne R., Powell
 Bremers, Ralph R., Omaha, Nebraska
 Bresnahan, Miss Winifred, Cheyenne
 Brimmer, C. A., Rawlins
 Brimmer, Clarence A., Jr., Rawlins
 Brimmer, Mrs. Geraldine, Rawlins
 Bristol, Mrs. Daze M., Cheyenne
 Britton, Mrs. Roxie E., Basin
 Brock, J. Elmer (deceased), Kaycee
 Brokaw, Mrs. Ralph H., McFadden
 Brown, J. H., Cheyenne
 Brown, Mrs. Sholie Richards, Monterey, California
 Brownell, Miss Elizabeth R., Arlington, Virginia
 Brownlee, Miss Beryl, Cheyenne
 Burdette, Mrs. Julius V., Cheyenne
 Burleson, Mrs. Ira, Riverton
 Burns, Miss Dorothy M., Sheridan
 Burns, Dr. Robert H., Laramie
 Burnside, Raymond A., Des Moines, Iowa
 Burt, Struthers (deceased), Moran
 Burwell, Mrs. Clark, Lovell
 Butler, Helen, Bartlesville, Oklahoma
 Bylund, Mrs. Ruth Kimball, Laramie
 Byron, Mrs. Elsa Spear, Sheridan
 Cahill, T. Joe, Cheyenne
 Campbell, Mrs. Joe, Walcott
 Canoso, Michael, Cambridge, Mass.
 Carbon County Public Library, Rawlins
 Carley, Miss Maurine, Cheyenne
 Carlisle, Mrs. James, Cheyenne
 Carnegie Public Library, Sheridan
 Carpenter, Miss Ellen M., Atlantic City
 Carpenter, Miss Mary J., Cheyenne
 Carter, E. B., Orr, Minnesota
 Carter, Edgar N., South Pasadena, California
 Carter, Miss Gladys, Laramie
 Cashman, Harry J. & Gertrude A., Rawlins
 Casper Junior High School, Casper
 Cassinat, Louis W. & Florence C., Rawlins
 Cathers, Mrs. William E., Cheyenne
 Catron, Peter H., Sheridan
 Cavanaugh, Mrs. Frank, Worland
 Chadey, Henry, Rock Springs
 Chambers, Mr. & Mrs. A. D., Gillette
 Champ, Mrs. Myrtle M., Gillette
 Champion, Mr. & Mrs. Mervin, Sheridan
 Chapman, Mrs. Mark A., Cheyenne
 Chassell, Norval W., Waterloo, Iowa
 Cheesbrough, John, Elk Mountain
 Cheesbrough, Mrs. Nellie, Elk Mountain
 Cheyenne Senior High School Library, Cheyenne
 Christensen, J. Marius & Reiva Niles, Laramie
 Christlieb, J. M., Omaha, Nebraska
 Clairmont, Mrs. Maude, Fort Washakie
 The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California
 Clark, Frank, Jr., Cheyenne
 Clark, W. F., Casper
 Clausen, Miss Esther M., Urbana, Illinois
 Clausen, Henry A., Colorado Springs, Colorado
 Claycomb, Mrs. Geneva W., Cody
 Clemens, Miss Mary K., Torrington
 Cody Public Schools, Cody
 Colket, Mr. & Mrs. T. C., 2nd, Sheridan
 Collins, Dabney Otis, Denver, Colorado
 Collins, Mr. & Mrs. John, Gillette
 Columbia University Libraries, New York City
 Colyer, Oliver J., Torrington
 Conant, E. M., Worland
 Conant, Mrs. E. M. (deceased), Worland
 Condit, Mrs. Lillian B., Laramie
 Condit, Richard H., Buffalo
 Conklin, Robert F., Cheyenne
 Cook, Mrs. C. C., Torrington
 Cook, Mr. & Mrs. Charles H., Gillette
 Cook, Malcolm L., Cheyenne
 Cooney, Thomas F., Grand Island, Nebraska
 Cooper, Ralph, Kansas City, Missouri
 Cope, Everton B., Torrington
 Cordiner, A. H., Laramie
 Corthell, Mrs. I. E. and David, Laramie
 Corthell, Irving E., Laramie
 Cosgriff, Mrs. T. A., Denver, Colorado

- Coulter, F. S., Worland
 Coulter, Mrs. F. S., Worland
 Cowley High School, Cowley
 Crisler, Marie M., Cheyenne
 Crisman, Rev. H. C., Torrington
 Crook, Mrs. Esther M., Afton
 Cushing, Mrs. Matthew M.,
 New York City
 Dahlquist, John E., Fort Bridger
 Dahlquist, Mrs. Laura, Fort Bridger
 Daley, Mr. & Mrs. P. E., Rawlins
 David, Robert B., Casper
 Davis, Mrs. Lillie G., Cheyenne
 Day, Hugh S., Riverton
 Day, Mrs. Kenneth P., Saratoga
 Day, R. C., Rock Springs
 Dayton, S. Reed, Cokeville
 Dechert, G. F., Riverton
 Deering, Mrs. Jean Miller, Boone,
 Iowa
 Deimer, Henry, Lander
 Deininger, Mrs. Anita, Buffalo
 Delaplaine, Mrs. John H., Cheyenne
 Del Monte, H. D., Lander
 DeVore, Harold, Laramie
 Dickey, Hubert F., Gillette
 Dickinson, Mr. & Mrs. Norman R.,
 Riverton
 Dickson, Mr. Arthur J., Dayton
 Dillinger, Mrs. Della C. & Robert L.,
 Gillette
 Dilts, Fred, Douglas
 Dinsmore, I. W., Rawlins
 Diver, Mrs. Jessie S., Long Beach,
 California
 Dixon, Mr. & Mrs. L. E., Laramie
 Dobbin, Miss Anna M. & Miss
 Etta M., Cheyenne
 Dobler, Miss Lavinia G., New York
 City
 Dodge, Beulah I. (deceased), Rock
 River
 Dodge, George W., Rock River
 Dolley, Frank Stephen, Los Angeles,
 California
 Dominick, Dr. & Mrs. DeWitt, Cody
 Draper, Mrs. Mary, Rawlins
 Duggins, Miss Nellie R., Casper
 Duis, Miss Emma, Casper
 Dunn, Mrs. R. L., Cheyenne
 Dykes, J. C., College Park, Maryland
 Eberstadt, Edward & Sons, New
 York City
 Ehernberger, Jim, Cheyenne
 Ekstrom, Mrs. Laura Allyn, Denver,
 Colorado
 Elder, T. H., Torrington
 Ellis, Erl H., Idaho Springs, Colorado
 Elmore, Mike, Gillette
 Emerson, Paul W., Cheyenne
 Englert, Kenneth E., Colorado
 Springs, Colorado
 Erickson, Mrs. Katie Kinnear,
 Kinnear
 Espy, Mrs. Day, Rawlins
 Fabian, Mrs. Harold P., Salt Lake
 City, Utah
 Farlein, Dr. J. A., Worland
 Farlein, Mrs. J. A., Worland
 Farlow, Mrs. A. J., Lander
 Farlow, Jules E., Sr., Lander
 Faville, Mrs. A. D., Laramie
 Feltner, C. C., Pinedale
 Ferguson, Mrs. R. A., Wheatland
 Feser, Mrs. Donald, Los Angeles,
 California
 Feuz, Mrs. Margaret C., Jackson
 Fifield, Mrs. Dorothy H., Cody
 Fish, Mrs. Edna, Cheyenne
 Fitch, E. E., Laramie
 Flannery, L. G., Ft. Laramie
 Foote, David & Myrtle G., Casper
 Forest, Alvin M., Laramie
 Fosnight, Mrs. Verryl V., Cheyenne
 Fosdick, Raymond P., Blanca,
 Colorado
 Foster, Biford, Lander
 France, Mr. & Mrs. Walton E.,
 Rawlins
 Free Library of Philadelphia,
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Freese, Mrs. Cynthia, Billings,
 Montana
 Fremont County Pioneer Association,
 Lander
 Fremont County Public Library,
 Lander
 Frink, Maurice, Denver, Colorado
 Frison, Mr. & Mrs. Paul, Worland
 Frison, Robert E., Buffalo
 Froyd, Colonel Erwin A., Torrington
 Fryberger, Mr. & Mrs. Harvey D.,
 Sheridan
 Fryxell, F. M., Rock Island, Illinois
 Fuller, Mrs. Caroline, Thermopolis
 Fuller, E. O., Laramie
 Fuller, Naomi Y., Rawlins
 Fullerton, Mrs. Ellen Miller, Los
 Angeles, California
 Gaber, Mary A., Casper
 Gadberry, Mrs. Clara Frances,
 Casper
 Gaddy, Mr. & Mrs. Albert M.,
 Iowa City, Iowa
 Gaensslen, Emil A., Green River
 Gage, Jack R., Sheridan
 Gallagher, Mr. & Mrs. Walter,
 Cheyenne
 Gantt, Paul H., Washington, D. C.
 Garner, Miss May, Casper

- Garst, Mrs. Doris Shannon, Douglas
 Garton, Mrs. Maude, Casper
 Gatchell, Mrs. Jim, Buffalo
 Gaumer, W. B., Derby, Colorado
 Geddes, Mrs. R. W., Rawlins
 Gehman, Lester, Denver, Colorado
 Geier, D. O., Banner
 George Amos Memorial Library,
 Gillette
 George, Anna E., Worland
 Gettys, Claude L., Story
 Gibbs, Mrs. Charles, Sheridan
 Gibbs, Mr. & Mrs. J. M., Pine
 Bluffs
 Gilbert, Mrs. Evelyn Hall, Rawlins
 Gillespie, Mr. & Mrs. A. S., Laramie
 Gillespie, David, Dixon
 Gillespie, J. L., Sheridan
 Gillies, Misses Bessie & Catherine,
 Thermopolis
 Gillies, Miss May, Cheyenne
 Gleason, Mrs. Eleanor, Gillette
 Glebe, Miss Bess, Lovell
 Goedicke, Mrs. Misha S., Riverton
 Good, Mrs. Dorothea L., Wheatland
 Goodrich, Mrs. Ralph D., Grand
 Junction, Colorado
 Goppert, Ernest J., Cody
 Gordon, Mr. & Mrs. Alex, Rawlins
 Gorst, Mr. & Mrs. W. J., Worland
 Gose, Mrs. Etta M., Upton
 Gose, Vernie O., Upton
 Goshen County Library, Torrington
 Graf, Mrs. Louise Spinner, Green
 River
 Graff, Everett D., Winnetka, Illinois
 Gratz, Miss Margaret, Gillette
 Gray, Mrs. W. O., Worland
 Greet, Fred, Worland
 Greet, Mrs. Fred, Worland
 Gress, Mrs. Kathryn, Cheyenne
 Grey, Donald C., Sheridan
 Griffith, James B., Sr., Lusk
 Griffith, Mrs. Vernon S., Sheridan
 Grigg, Mrs. Helen M., Riverton
 Groesbeck, Mrs. Betty, Cheyenne
 Guild, Lorin, Wheatland
 Gurney, James Whiting, Buffalo
 Hackett, Frederick B., Chicago,
 Illinois
 Haddox, Richard, Cheyenne
 Hahn, Mrs. Ethel B., Daly City,
 California
 Haines, Mrs. Dorsey, Kaycee
 Haldeman, Miss Ada M., Torrington
 Hall, Miss Claire, Lander
 Hall, Mr. & Mrs. Hanes W., Worland
 Hall, Mrs. Prentiss G., Moorcroft
 Halsted, Miss Jessie Mae, Laramie
 Hanner, Mrs. Charles E., Worland
 Hanson, Dan, Hat Creek
 Hardy, Mrs. Marrabel, Gillette
 Harkins, Mrs. Charles H., Worland
 Harkins, Judge & Mrs. Donald J.,
 Harrington, Clarence L., Denver,
 Colorado
 Harris, Burton, Boulder, Colorado
 Harris, John & Margaret, Pacific
 Palisades, California
 Harris, Mrs. Leland, Lovell
 Harrison, Michael, Sacramento,
 California
 Harrower, James K., Pinedale
 Hart, Mrs. Shelia, Lander
 Hartsell, John R., Cheyenne
 Hartsell, Mrs. John R., Cheyenne
 Harvard College Library, Cambridge,
 Mass.
 Hatcher, Gunhild, Cheyenne
 Hayden, Mrs. Dudley, Jackson
 Hayden, Francis T., Cody
 Hayen, Charles, Lingle
 Haynes, Mr. & Mrs. Jack E.,
 Bozeman, Montana
 Hays, Mrs. Alice C. (deceased),
 Lander
 Hays, Irving C., Rawlins
 Hays, Mrs. Irving C., Rawlins
 Healey, Fred, Saratoga
 Healy, Mr. & Mrs. Alex, Sr., Worland
 Heath, Mrs. Evelyn E., Cheyenne
 Heindenreich, Mrs. Homer, Sheridan
 Henry, Miss Kathleen, Casper
 Henderson, Mrs. Paul C., Bridgeport,
 Nebraska
 Henry, Mrs. Joe, Denver, Colorado
 Hepp, Mr. & Mrs. George, Buffalo
 Heron, Lloyd, Worland
 Herring, Mora, Benkelman, Nebraska
 Hesse, Miss Georgia Isabel,
 Northfield, Minn.
 Hesse, George S., Northfield, Minn.
 Hesse, Miss Vivienne S., Buffalo
 Hewlett, Mrs. George Wilson,
 Cheyenne
 Hibdon, Kay, Kaycee
 Hieb, David L., Ft. Laramie
 Hilman, Fred W., Big Horn
 Hill, Mrs. Edith M., Cheyenne
 Hill, Mrs. John A., Laramie
 Hilliard, E. H., Jr., Englewood,
 Colorado
 Himebaugh, Mrs. Duke, Casper
 Hinckley, Frank T., Buffalo
 Hinckley, Mrs. Frank T., Buffalo
 Hines, John, Gillette
 Hiscock, Mrs. F. J., Cody
 Hodgson, Mrs. Colin, Hanna
 Hodgson, Mrs. Nellie G.,
 Thermopolis

- Holden, Miss Minnie, Riverside,
California
 Holliday, Miss Alice, Riverside,
California
 Holliday, Mrs. F. A., Laramie
 Holmes, Mrs. Alice C., Saratoga
 Hook, James W., New Haven,
Connecticut
 Hoover, H. H., Kansas City, Missouri
 Hord, Mrs. Violet M., Casper
 House, Brad, Kaycee
 House, Mart, Kaycee
 Houser, George O., Jr., Cheyenne
 Houser, Mrs. Laura M., Guernsey
 Houston, Miss Jane Hunt, Cheyenne
 Hovey, Albert B., Encampment
 Howard, Mrs. John W., Cheyenne
 Howell, Mrs. Helen C., Worland
 Huey, Goldie R., Casper
 Hughes, Frank T., Yoder
 Hughes, Nan Rhodes, Torrington
 Hull, Mrs. Irene David, Encampment
 Hunt, Lester C. (deceased),
Washington, D. C.
 Hunter, Mr. & Mrs. Allen, Gillette
 Hunton, Thos. S., Los Angeles,
California
 Hurd, Mrs. Emilie, Denver, Colorado
 Hurd, V., Green River
 Hutton, Mrs. Laura M., Cheyenne
 Hutton, Miss Eunice, Green River
 Hutton, William, Green River
 Huston, Mrs. A. T., Gillette
 Ilsley, John P., Gillette
 Ingraham, Mr. & Mrs. Harry C.,
Worland
 Ingraham, Mrs. Darlene Newton,
Cody
 Irving, Helen A., Rawlins
 Jabelman, Miss Ann, Cheyenne
 Jack, Wm. "Scotty", Cheyenne
 Jackson, Clarence, Denver, Colorado
 Jackson, Mrs. Stella R., Douglas
 Japp, John, Gillette
 Jayne, Dr. Clarence D., Laramie
 Jennings, Mr. & Mrs. Talbot, East
Glacier Park, Montana
 Jensen, A. W., Cheyenne
 Jepson, Carl E., Moose
 Jewett, Mrs. James J., Jr., Riverton
 Jewett, Mrs. Lora Neal, Pinedale
 Joelner, Mrs. Fred, Casper
 Johansson, Ester, Cody
 Johnson, Agnes S., Torrington
 Johnson, Carl D., Cheyenne
 Johnson, Finlay, Spokane,
Washington
 Johnson, Fred J., Medicine Bow
 Johnson, Helen Childs, Rawlins
 Johnson, Mrs. Jessamine Spear, Story
 Johnson, J. O., Watertown,
S. Dakota
 Johnson, Raymond B., Boulder,
Colorado
 Johnston, J. Pelham, Casper
 Jones, Mrs. J. H., Sheridan
 Jones, Lula Cobb, Billings, Montana
 Kafka, Mrs. Olive Garrett (deceased)
Rock River
 Keeline, H. W., Gillette
 Kelley, Verona B., Torrington
 Kelly, Mr. & Mrs. Cash, Cody
 Kendall, Mrs. W. H., Sheridan
 Kennedy, Donald M., Sheridan
 Kent, Raymond D., Kelly
 Kerr, Ewing T., Cheyenne
 Kimball, Judge Ralph, Lander
 King, Norman D., Arlington,
Virginia
 Kintz, Mr. & Mrs. Ralph G., Gillette
 Kirby, Kenneth M., Cheyenne
 Kirven, William J., Buffalo
 Knepper, George, Buffalo
 Knox, Raymond G., Kansas City,
Kansas
 Krakel, Dean F., Laramie
 Kukura, Edna, Casper
 La Bonte, Pierre, Jr., Assonet,
Massachusetts
 Lacey, Mrs. Herbert V., Cheyenne
 La Grange School Library, La
Grange
 Lambertsen, Robert M., Rawlins
 Lambertsen, Mrs. Walter M., Rawlins
 Landers, Mrs. Gladys, Gillette
 Landers, Leland, Gillette
 Lane, Charles Elmer & Alma
Brockstedt, Cheyenne
 Langford, Russell R., North Platte,
Nebraska
 Lannen, Mrs. Matilda, Cheyenne
 Larmer, John, Bondurant
 Larson, Ed C., Saratoga
 Larson Gordon C., Torrington
 Larson, Mr. & Mrs. Irving A.,
Torrington
 Larson, Magnus and Elizabeth,
Hawk Springs
 Larson, Robert R., Cheyenne
 Latham, Mr. & Mrs. "Bill",
Chugwater
 Le Beau, Mrs. A. H., McFadden
 Leek, Holly W., Jackson
 Leermakers, J. A., Rochester, New
York
 Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm W.,
Cody
 Lindsley, Alice Louise, Sheridan
 Linford, Miss Velma, Cheyenne
 Linn, Ralph S., Moneta

- Lipscomb, William R., Denver, Colorado
 Lipsey, John J., Colorado Springs, Colorado
 Littleton, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest A., Gillette
 Logan, Miss Cora, Torrington
 Logan, Edward O., Cheyenne
 Long, Dr. Margaret, Denver, Colorado
 Lott, Mrs. Emily, Buffalo
 Lott, Warren B., Buffalo
 Love, Mrs. Louise, Cheyenne
 Lovell Public Library, Lovell
 Lucas, Mrs. Cecil, Gillette
 Lund, Mrs. Alicia, Kaycee
 Lund, Floyd R., Kaycee
 Lund, Mrs. Glen, Kaycee
 Lusk High School, Lusk
 Lyall, Scott T., Billings, Montana
 Lynch, Mrs. H. B., Sunrise
 Lynch, Michael, Lamont
 Lynch, Mrs. Michael, Lamont
 MacDougall, Mr. & Mrs. A. H., Rawlins
 MacLeod, D. G., Jackson
 McBride, Robert W., Buffalo
 McCormick, E. L., Colorado Springs, Colorado
 McCormick, John S., Elk Mountain
 McCoy, Col. Tim, Los Angeles, California
 McCracken, Harry, Casper
 McCreery, John, Torrington
 McCullough, Joe J., Santa Maria, California
 McDermott, Miss Genevieve, Cheyenne
 McFarling, Lloyd, Palmer Lake, Colorado
 McIntosh, Marguerite G., Rawlins
 McKnown, James C., San Mateo, California
 McMahon, Thomas B., Jr., Gillette
 McWilliams, Miss Belle, Cheyenne
 McWilliams, Mrs. Harold, Hillsdale
 Macklin, Seddie, Buffalo
 Mahoney, J. Frank, Rawlins
 Mahoney, Mrs. J. Frank, Rawlins
 Malody, Mr. & Mrs. James R., Laramie
 Malone, Miss Rose Mary, Casper
 Mankin, Mrs. Ora, Gillette
 Manley, Mrs. Frank A., Spur, Texas
 Mann, Mr. & Mrs. Homer C., Powell
 Marble, Fred W., Cheyenne
 Marion, William L., Lander
 Markley, Mrs. Nellie Roberts, Fort Washakie
 Marquiss, Mr. & Mrs. R. B., Gillette
 Martel, Mr. & Mrs. A. H., Lander
 Martin, Miss Marguerite, Cheyenne
 Martin, R. D., Saratoga
 Mason, Ellsworth, Colorado Springs, Colorado
 Mattes, Merrill J., Omaha, Nebraska
 Mazzulla, Fred M., Denver, Colorado
 Meade, Irene I., Kinncar
 Meade, Mrs. Virginia Haldeman, Tucson, Arizona
 Melcher, George W., Hereford, Pennsylvania
 Meldrum, Mrs. Jack, Buffalo
 Metcalf, Mrs. Agnes Wyoming
 Jenkins, San Bruno, California
 Metz, Will G., Buffalo
 Metz, P. W., Basin
 Mickelson, Mr. & Mrs. James F., Big Piney
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Wyoming Archaeological Notes

STONE ARTIFACTS

By

L. C. STEEGE

The second series of descriptions of Stone Artifacts brings to us category "B", the "Grinding Artifacts".

Type 1 of these artifacts is the "Mano and Metate". These grinding artifacts have been found throughout the entire United States, North America and in many of the foreign countries. They are still used quite extensively in Mexico and also by the Pueblo Indians of the southwestern United States. In spite of their universal distribution, the mano and metate are quite similar in appearance regardless of the locality in which they were found. The only differences are the sizes and the type of materials at hand from which they were made.

The mano varies from the "one hand" type (figure 1- a,b,c,) of the Plains Indian to the large heavy "two-handed" type (figure 1, d) of some of the Pueblo tribes. They were often made from river worn stones of granite, quartz or other hard material. They are round, oval and rectangular shaped. Many were shaped by "pecking" and others bear evidence of having been used as "percussors". The one-handed variety of mano was of a size and shape which permitted it to be manipulated very easily by one hand. Occasionally one may find a mano which has been worn to a wedge shape which would signify an extreme amount of usage. Some manos show a rather high degree of polish which would suggest a use for tanning skins.

I have found several manos which show an unusual degree of decomposition in some campsites and, in one instance, among some of the rocks in a tipi ring. Since the Plains Indian possessed very little if any pottery, it is my theory that these stones were heated in open fires and then placed in skin bags which might have contained water to be heated or some food to be cooked. The disintegration of the rock would therefore be hastened by the effects of this heating and then sudden cooling process.

The metate is the stationary part of this grinding combination of stones. The metate also varies in size from the portable type of the Plains Indian (figure 2, a) to the large "fixed" type of the Pueblo Indians. They are irregular in shape and vary in thickness. The faces of the metates are shaped by the constant "pecking" and "rubbing" with the mano on its surface. Some are worn into a deep trough (Figure 2, c), others are saucer shaped. Occasion-

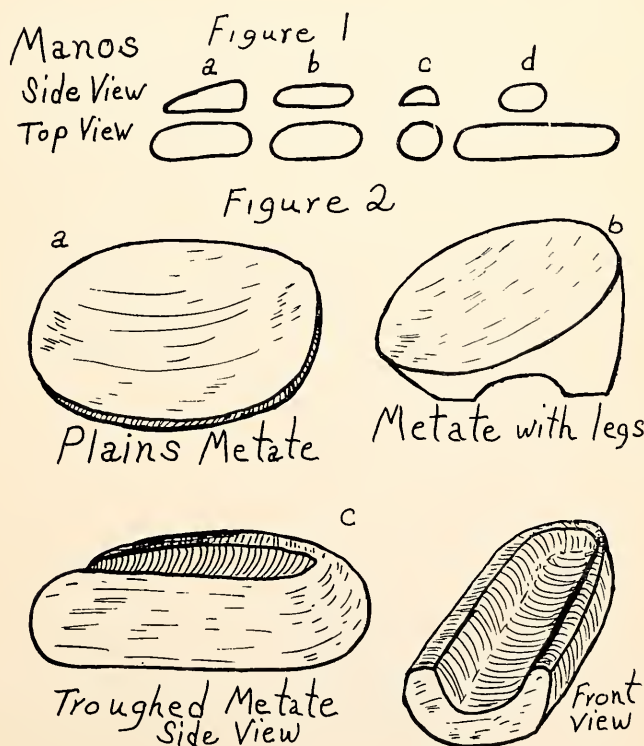
ally a metate is found with a hole worn completely through the face. This metate was discarded since it would no longer be useful.

At permanent campsites one may find "fixed" metates. These are shallow troughs worn into some of the huge rocks and boulders scattered throughout the camp. In some instances, rock ledges and benches were utilized for a series of fixed metates.

Some of the more advanced Pueblo cultures of the Southwest used metates which were supported by legs. This would place the face of the metate at a desired angle for the greatest efficiency. (Figure 2, b).

The mano and metate were also used as a hammer-anvil combination. They were used, mainly, for pulverizing grains, seeds, roots and dried meats.

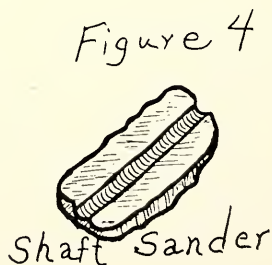
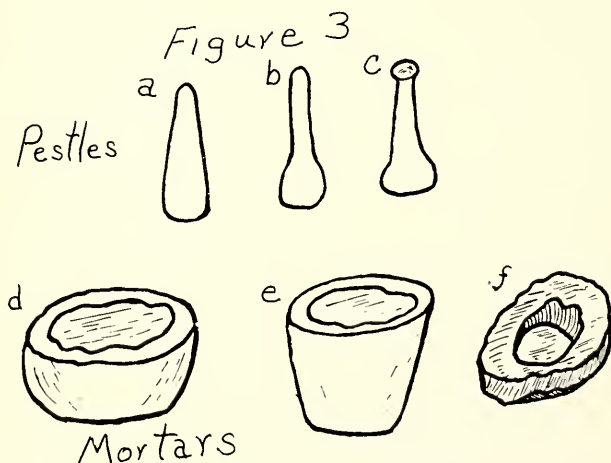
The pestle and mortar served nearly the same purposes as the mano and metate, only on a more moderate scale. The pestle was the pounder and the mortar was the grinder.



The pestle was usually an elongated piece of hard stone which was round in cross section. The base often times would be larger in diameter than the tip which was shaped to fit the hand. (Figure 3, a,b,c)

The mortar was bowl shaped, sometimes rather shallow and flattish and other times rather deep and shaped like a truncated cone. (Figure 3, d-e). Mortars were made of a variety of rocks. The Pueblo Indians of the Southwest and Mexico used lavas, some of which were very coarse grained in texture. Coastal Indians of California used a rather hard type of sandstone. Indians throughout central Wyoming used a grey colored steatite. In some sections of Wyoming, natural cavities in limestone rocks were utilized. These small mortars are sometimes called "paint-pots". (Figure 3 f)

Materials placed in the mortar could be broken into smaller fragments by pounding with the pestle. These smaller fragments could then be ground to a powder by downward and revolving pressure of the pestle against the bottom of the mortar. Roots,



herbs and seeds for medicines, hematite and ochers for paints could be crushed and mixed in this manner.

The pestles and mortars of the pharmacists today have changed very little in shape from those used by the aborigines. The only difference is the material from which they are made.

Abraders have neither definite sizes nor shapes. They were used much in the same manner as one uses a file, whetstone and sandpaper today. Sandstones and pumice were the chief materials used for abraders.

One particular type of abrader found in Wyoming is the arrow-shaft sander. This is usually a piece of sandstone in which a small straight trough about one-fourth inch in width is worn. (Figure 4) An arrowshaft placed in this trough and then rotated while drawn back and forth would soon be smoothed in the same manner as if a person used a piece of sandpaper.

Bone awls, needles and fish hooks occasionally had to be re-pointed and sharpened. This was done with an abrader and often times left a series of scratch marks in the stone.

Abraders or smoothers were used extensively in pottery making. Gouges, celts, and axes could never have been edged or polished without an abrader.

Since these abraders nearly always were stones which were used just as they were found, they are seldom classified by archaeologists as actual products of primitive man's industry, but I believe that this implement has played a very important part in the lives of the American Indians and is therefore worthy of a separate classification.

Recent Acquisitions

The holdings of the State Archives and Historical Department and the State Museum have been enriched by gifts to the Museum, the Historical manuscripts collection, the map files, the picture files and the historical library from a number of donors since January 1955.

To the collection of the State Museum have been added such items as Indian trader tokens, uranium ores, fossils, military uniforms, valuable Indian artifacts, household utensils used in the homes of early Wyoming settlers, one of the early pianos to come into Wyoming, saddles, brands, and clothing worn during territorial days.

To the historical manuscripts files have been added Civil war letters, military records of early Wyoming posts, early maps, early newspapers and clippings, original letters by Wyoming pioneers, biographies of Wyoming men and women, original diaries, land patents, advertisements, reward notices, campaign postures, a poll list of an election held at Atlantic City, Wyoming, in 1869, church histories, scrapbooks, and an 1879 dress catalogue. Several persons have loaned personal collections of historical papers for microfilming so that the information in these files is now available to researchers at the Historical Department.

Pictures of Wyoming pioneers, of early Wyoming scenes, of a trip down the Big Horn River by boat, of the round-the-world automobile trip of 1907-10, of early airplane activity in Wyoming, and a number of glass plate negatives have been added to the picture files of the Department.

The Department is indebted to the following donors:

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Book Reviews

Exploring the Northern Plains. By Lloyd McFarling. (Caldwell: Caxton, 1955. 441 pp. Maps. \$7.50).

This is an anthology of travel narratives written by 28 persons who visited the northern Plains (Montana, Wyoming, the Dakotas, and Nebraska) in the period 1804-1876.

The editor has contributed what averages out to be about one page of introduction and one page of notes for each of the 36 chapters into which the material is divided.

The title is misleading, since the editor has a peculiar meaning for the word explorer: "In this book an explorer is anyone who goes and sees and comes back and tells." Included are short excerpts from such well known persons as Audubon, Brackenridge, Bradbury, Catlin, De Smet, Fremont, Hayden, Dr. James, Lewis and Clark, Parkman, Reynolds and Stansbury, as well as articles by less well known persons.

Even the 1876 military campaigns of Crook, Gibbon, Terry, and Custer find places in the volume. Custer gets brief mention in Lt. Edward Maguire's 8-page report to the Secretary of War. Maguire came up to the Custer battleground two days after Custer died. As chief engineer of the Department of Dakota he reported on operations in the department.

Fifteen of the 36 chapters touch Eastern Wyoming in one place or another. To this reviewer, most interesting were two magazine articles: "The Mule and His Driver" by Samuel June Barrows, and one describing travel from Ft. Laramie to Deadwood in 1876.

Lloyd McFarling, the editor, is an artist who lives at Palmer Lake, Colorado. According to the jacket he began the serious study of history in 1948. In keeping with his profession of art McFarling has illustrated the book with 21 handsome maps. Considering the maps, and the generally accurate introductions and notes, it is apparent that the editor has put in a lot of time preparing the volume.

Maybe the selections are too short. Probably most readers would throw out some, and substitute others. But many of the selections are quite interesting, and in some cases readers may be inspired to go to the original and read further. Caxton has done a first-class job of printing and binding.

*University of Wyoming
Laramie, Wyoming*

T. A. LARSON

Fort Laramie. By David L. Hieb. (National Parks Service Historical Handbook Series No. 20: Washington, D. C. 43 pp., illus., index. 25¢).

In a series of handbooks describing the historical and archeological areas administered by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior, Historical Handbook Number Twenty will please and satisfy a multitude of teachers, tourists, and students of Western Americana. This particular work completes a task which should have been done some years ago. In precisely 43 pages studded with unique pictures and photographs, practical maps, and interesting sketches this small book tells the vivid tale of old Fort Laramie in Wyoming between the years 1834-1890.

The Author, David L. Hieb, Superintendent of the Fort Laramie National Monument, not only does an excellent job of writing but is regarded as perhaps the outstanding authority in the United States today on the history and restoration of this scenic old Army post. Hieb's task was no easy one but he has placed into the hands of the curious, the uninformed, as well as the interested student of the West fundamental, concise, and accurate information regarding the growth and development of Fort Laramie which was a vital link in the chain of events which brought the Western part of this country under one flag.

Another feature which is definitely attractive is the fluid ease and simplicity with which Superintendent Hieb writes. He begins his book with this information-packed paragraph.

On the level land near the junction of the Laramie and North Platte Rivers stands Fort Laramie, long a landmark and symbol of the Old West. Situated at a strategic point on a natural route of travel, the site early attracted the attention of trail-blazing fur trappers, who established the first fort. In later years it offered protection and refreshment to the throngs who made the great western migrations over the Oregon Trail. It was a station for the Pony Express and the Overland Stage. It served as an important base in the conquest of the Plains Indians, and it witnessed the development of the open range cattle industry, the coming of the homesteaders, and the final settlement which marked the closing of the frontier. Perhaps no other single site is so intimately connected with the history of the Old West in all its phases.

Yet, while the tourist finds *Fort Laramie* a fount of valuable information the keen student of Western history will note one glaring gap of information. Throughout the handbook colorful photographs are reproduced which were taken at the old post as early as 1864. It is sad that there is no list of names identifying these early soldiers, trappers, traders, and Indians. However this is probably not the author's fault since it may be a policy of the National Park Service when publishing historic handbooks to eliminate the label of identification underneath each and every

photograph. Still further, it may be the fault of the donor who did not or could not identify these posed photographic participants in Fort Laramie life.

One of the outstanding photographs appears on page 17 which was posed in 1864. Some sixteen men who are probably all Army officers, a small boy, and the proverbial Army "mutt" of nonde-script origin are recorded in this view. They are in all sorts of statuesque poses in front of "Old Bedlam". That is, all except the dog and he is feigning to be asleep but this reviewer suspects that he is really just napping with one eye open. It would be a good thing if the men who produce Western military extravaganzas for the Hollywood motion picture business would take time off to study this photograph as well as all of the photographs in this small book in order to ascertain what the mode and dress was of the Army in the 1860's while serving in the West.

Considering the need of such a handbook, the information it contains, and the writing talent of Superintendent Hieb there is no doubt that Historical Handbook Number Twenty, *Fort Laramie* will have sold well into the thousands by this time next year.

Cheyenne, Wyoming

WILLIAM F. BRAGG, JR.

Our Long Heritage: Pages from the Books Our Founding Fathers Read. Edited, with Introductory Comments, by Wilson Ober Clough. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, Published for the William Robertson Coe American Studies Program of the University of Wyoming, 1955. xv + 297 pp. \$4.50.)

We Americans have been justifiably proud of the political wisdom and resourcefulness of our founding fathers, but have not fully realized how much they drew on the ideas and experiences of earlier generations. The nature of this indebtedness is disclosed in *Our Long Heritage*, a collection of passages from some of the great books which were available to American leaders at the time of the Revolution and the drafting of the Constitution.

The readings, representing about fifty authors, are grouped in four divisions: the classical, the English tradition to 1700, the continental, and the eighteenth century. Here, among many others, may be found extracts, with pertinent editorial comments, from such famous writings as Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics*, Cicero's *De Legibus*, Magna Carta, More's *Utopia*, Milton's *Areopagitica*, Locke's *Treatises on Civil Government*, Grotius' *De Jure Belli at Pacis*, Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Blackstone's *Commentaries*, and Burke's *Speech on Conciliation*. What cultural riches are suggested by these names and titles! They have in common man's aspirations and struggles for political freedom and liberty under law. In an

appendix are partial texts of some of the American revolutionary documents, for example, the Declaration of Rights of 1774, the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, and the Declaration of Independence, which show how skilfully and effectively the fathers adapted earlier ideals and principles to their needs.

Obviously in a book of this size there could be only a sampling of the waters drawn from the well of political experience. According to the editor, the authors and excerpts were chosen "on the evidence, admittedly sometimes inferential, as to the favored reading of the American eighteenth century" (p. 15). Since such preferences cannot be established precisely, there is room for differences of opinion as to just what should have been included. The choices that have been made are good; most of them are incontestable, and all can be defended. It is easy enough to suggest other writings that might have been added; but not so easy, on the assumption of a fixed number of pages, to designate the deletions that should have been made to make room for the additions. Certainly little could be taken out of the few pages devoted to the middle ages—two of them on England, and three more if St. Augustine and Justinian be included. Perhaps this is sufficient; but it would be unfortunate if the reader should infer that American indebtedness to this period of history was proportionally small. In some respects it was large: the patriots on the eve of the Revolution answered the claims of Parliament to complete legislative power by an appeal to the medieval conception of law; and the constitution-makers were aware of precedents that had evolved in England before 1500 with respect to impeachment, the privileges of Parliament, and certain principles of civil liberty.

This set of readings has happily been prepared so as to encourage further study. The editorial introductions, both general and special, are suggestive and stimulating; there are helpful lists of collateral references; the index has been designed to assist those who may wish to trace the development of such concepts as natural law, the compact theory, or government by consent of the governed. The emphasis is on general ideas and principles rather than on details or machinery of government. To this no objection can be made; but a question may be raised as to the slight attention paid to federalism, a word that does not appear in the index. To the founding fathers federalism meant more than an administrative arrangement. It was one of the safeguards of liberty, since through it local autonomy could be combined with central authority.

This book is well adapted for use in courses in American civilization; but any mature person who is interested in our rich political inheritance can read it with profit. Its pages present the evidence to support the editor's admirable summary: "American political wisdom was the fruit of a long inheritance, stretching

back to classical times, re-emergent in the Renaissance, blended opportunely with a sturdy British tradition of common law, reinforced by the studies of continental scholars, and crossing as a whole to America as a common heritage" (p. 4).

University of Colorado

COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ

Custer's Luck. By Edgar I. Stewart. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. xvi + 522 pp., illus., \$5.95)

The last book we reviewed on the Battle of the Little Big Horn (The Reno Court of Inquiry) we concluded the review with the observation that probably it would be just as well if that were the last book on the subject. After carefully examining *Custer's Luck*, there would appear to be little, if any reason to modify that conclusion.

Actually the author of *Custer's Luck* has covered a great deal more territory than a narrative of the Battle of the Little Big Horn. It constitutes a review of the Indian wars from the close of the Civil War until the Custer disaster in 1876. More than half of the book is devoted to events and engagements preliminary to and leading up to the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The book is footnoted extensively and actually amounts to a review or summary of virtually all of the previous publications in connection with the subject matter. In saying that the book is a summary of other writings, readers of this review might be inclined to the thought that being a summary, the writing is characterized by brevity, which would leave an entirely wrong opinion, which might well be illustrated with the observation that more than two pages are devoted to the controversy as to what extent, if any, Reno was under the influence of liquor on the night of June 25th.

It is our opinion that the book has merit in that it does bring within its covers a review of the Indian wars for the entire period and does give us some background to the entire governmental effort to reduce the position of the tribes following the Civil War in preparation for the great migration to and settlement of the West, and thus contribute to the first reader's appreciation of the big picture.

The bibliography of the book is extensive and although it appears that the author has missed some of the important available material, especially on some of the campaigns prior to the Custer incident, yet his research has been broad.

The illustrations and maps are scant and of no significance. The price of the book is reasonable considering the size, but probably high when measured in the light of any contribution of new subject matter.

Laramie, Wyoming

ALFRED M. PENCE

The Settlers' West. By Martin F. Schmitt and Dee Brown. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, xxviii + 258 pp., \$7.50)

The story of the west and frontier experiences have been written many times and in many ways. Lately, the picture-history book with its running narrative and contemporary photographs and illustrations is becoming a favorite of the reading public.

The Settler's West, a recent pictorial history of the American West spanning a period of over sixty years, begins with the first emigrant trains in the 1840's and ends with the settlement of the west—the end of the 19th century.

The first chapters give us a picture of the settlers and their way of life as they built homes, cultivated land and started native industries. The chapter on the "Finer Things in Life" illustrates the part religion, education, literature music and frontier drama played in the everyday life of the pioneer. The authors state "The first good writing was produced unwittingly by the overlanders who kept journals or diaries of their experiences. Many such accounts were kept for remembrance' sake; their literary and historical values were discovered by a later generation." And even at that early date teachers were scarce and underpaid for "well-educated persons on the frontier could find more profitable employment clerking in a store." In other sections of the book there is the story of the western legend and the cowboy in literature, the development of the western town, a review of the amusements and recreation of the pioneers, and the origin of wild west shows and rodeos. The final chapter relates how law, order and politics came to the west.

The text is highly readable as well as informative and the book has a very attractive format. In the table of contents the pictures and chapter headings are well-itemized but a considerable amount of usefulness is lost to the user because of a lack of index. The book has a very extensive bibliography. Over one third of the references are in publications of state historical departments and societies which indicate how important this type of source material is for historical research.

The 300 western photographs included in the volume have been gathered from many private and institutional picture collections in the United States, but the Haynes Studio, Bozeman, Montana, and the University of Oregon Library seem to be two main sources of the illustrative material. Much time must have been spent on this research to have assembled this representative collection which portrays so vividly the society and institutions of the pioneer west.

This is the third book with a western theme which Martin Schmitt and Dee Brown, both librarians, have written and anyone who has an interest in pictorial records of frontier life will want to add this book to his western history library.

Cheyenne, Wyoming

RETA RIDINGS

Trailing the Cowboy. By Clifford P. Westermeier. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1955. 414 pp., illus., \$5.00)

Author-artist Westermeier has here made "an attempt to enrich by means of contemporary observations the story of the cowboy." From newspapers, documents, magazine articles and books written before or near the turn of the century he has selected contemporary accounts written about the cowboy and published them in this volume.

His chapter headings, of which there are eleven, indicate the scope of his undertaking and cover the entire story of the cowboy from his origin on the western plains of the United States following the Civil War to the days of the decline of the range cattle industry, his daily work, his fun and recreation, and the code by which he lived. The book is rich in early anecdotes about the cowboy and includes some of the original "tall tales" which the cowboy could tell with such sincerity.

The author has done a fine job of research, selection and organization of his material. At the beginning of each chapter he has given a brief background of the subject covered. The selections published have received but little if any editing so the text has not been weakened or the original flavor of the pioneer journalist lost. He has carefully documented each quote, with footnotes being placed at the end of each chapter. Since the reader will be interested in the source of each quote, it is of some nuisance to be constantly turning to the end of each chapter; but this method of footnoting certainly makes the format of the book more pleasing.

Each chapter is headed with an original black and white drawing by Mr. Westermeier who was an artist for a number of years before becoming an historian. His fine topical drawings are the only illustrations in the book.

Cheyenne

LOLA M. HOMSHER

Culture on the Moving Frontier. By Louis B. Wright. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955. 273 pages, \$3.50.)

Professor Wright's six papers, delivered in 1953 as the Patten Foundation lectures at Indiana University and now presented in book form, represent another of the perennial attempts to define the essential quality in American life. In his Preface the author announces his intention to show that the Anglo-Saxon tradition has been and remains, "the most significant cultural element in determining our homogeneity."

One is reminded in reading the book of Parrington's admission

in his Foreword to *Main Currents in American Thought*: "Very likely in my search I have found what I went forth to find." Unquestionably Mr. Wright has found what he went forth to find, and what few would deny—an English matrix of culture in language, literature, legal and political framework, and religious sectarianism. With considerable repetition, no doubt the result of printing the lectures as delivered, he develops this theme: The conservative strain of our British, and largely English, heritage moved across the continent and took firm foot in villages, towns, and cities from Jamestown to Seattle. The vitality and assimilative capacity of this heritage have given an English stamp to a remarkably homogeneous nation molded from diverse racial groups. Occasionally we are reminded not to overlook influences from Europe, Asia, and Africa, only to be reminded again that "such was the vigor of British culture that it assimilated all others." Our melting pot has produced "something called an American," but with "a British, and primarily English," prototype, "responsible for the American's language, his basic laws, his fundamental liberties, and much of his manners, customs, and social attitudes."

A secondary theme runs through the discussions. The author sees the development of American society as "a contest between the powers of darkness and the forces of light for the soul and mind of the American citizen," even in the most recently established "outpost." Our British heritage represents "the forces of light" in combat with "the powers of darkness" embodied in environment, foreign influences, and other "disintegrating forces." The standard-bearers of light have been "a stable minority," or "the better element," laboring potently to transplant "the ancient inheritance of things of the mind and spirit." Thus American towns and cities "all have a cultural common denominator that goes back to the seventeenth century and the stock of ideas that British settlers brought with them." This common denominator has determined the qualities of mind and character in Americans "who cannot claim a drop of Anglo-Saxon blood."

The first four lectures treat successively "The Colonial Struggle against Barbarism," "The Kentucky Borderland," "North of the Ohio," and "The Age of Gold" in California. Two other lectures review "Spiritual Agencies" and "Secular Agencies" operating as instruments of civilization. Discussions focus on the establishment of churches, schools, and libraries, the distribution of printed materials in books, periodicals, and newspapers, and the rise of lecture and lyceum series, study clubs, and theatrical productions. Slanted presumably for a "lay" audience, the lectures are presented in a pleasantly non-academic manner and illustrated with interesting citations. They are supplemented in printed form by end-notes which reveal that Mr. Wright has relied heavily for illustrative materials on well-known secondary sources.

In his Preface the author refers to his obvious inability to deal with "all frontier zones or with all subtle variations." His awareness of this limitation has in no way qualified his repeated generalization. There is some confusion throughout the discussions in his usage of the word *culture*. Usually it seems to imply "enlightenment" or "refinement." Occasionally it clearly has the sociological connotation of "total living pattern." In his concern to emphasize the continuity of "a pure British culture modified only by transplantation to the New World," the author virtually ignores the *process* of transplantation—the high degree of selection involved and the higher degree of modification by environment and other factors. By reference to places like India and South Africa, one might cite evidence that British culture has not always, as Mr. Wright insists, displayed unusual vitality and assimilative power. Even more vulnerable is his insistence on deriving his cultural germ from seventeenth century England and thus passing over later influences in thought from England and directly from the continent. And finally, Mr. Wright makes no acknowledgment of the community of heritage and outlook stemming from a common European or "Western" source in the political and philosophical systems of Mediterranean civilization.

Possibly the shortcomings felt by this reader point up again the fallacy of attempting to single out one cause for American uniqueness—in other words, the danger of over-simplification. No doubt the book serves its real purpose in offering information, in an interesting form, to the general reader. It will serve another useful purpose if it stimulates a historian less committed than Mr. Wright to the theory of cultural determinism to try filling in the blank spaces he has left on the "cultural" map of the United States.

University of Wyoming

RUTH HUDSON

Contributors

JAMES KERR MOORE, JR., was born at Camp Brown, Wyoming Territory, in 1876. He clerked in his father's store at Ft. Washakie from 1895-97, was a stockgrower from 1898-1920, and an Indian Trader at Ft. Washakie from 1911-1929. After spending three years in California from 1930-1933 he returned to Dubois, Wyoming, where he assisted his brother Charles Moore at the CM ranch until 1949 at which time he and his wife, the former Edith N. Sampson, retired to live in Lander. Mr. and Mrs. Moore are the parents of three daughters, Mrs. Ronald O. Bell of Cody, Wyoming, Mrs. George A. Butler of Santa Ana, California, and Mrs. Frederick S. Fish, Jr., of the Circle Ranch at Dubois, Wyoming.

MRS. THELMA CONDIT, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Gatchell, is a native of Wyoming. She has lived in the Hole-in-the-Wall country for 21 years and her husband, Clark H. Condit, has lived there nearly all his life. Mrs. Condit taught school for 15 years in the Barnum, Kaycee, Sussex and Mayworth communities. For a number of years she has collected the history of Johnson County and the Hole-in-the-Wall country. Mr. and Mrs. Condit are the parents of three children: James G. Condit of Kaycee, Richard H. Condit of Buffalo, and Carolyn Knapp (Mrs. David).

MR. T. J. GATCHELL was born August 2, 1872, at Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Following the profession of pharmacist, he opened the first drug store in Big Horn, Wyoming, in 1897. During the Spanish American War he enlisted and served with the Rough Riders. In 1900 he moved to Buffalo, Wyoming, where he married Ursula Sackett. In 1901 he opened his own drug store in Buffalo which he owned until his death on June 5, 1954.

Mr. Gatchell had a life-long interest in history and over the years built up a fine museum which he displayed in the back of his drug store. He was a close friend of the Indians of the locality and learned a good deal of the Indian language. Indians and whites alike who knew of his interests added many valuable items to his museum. He was presented a life membership in the Oregon Trail Association in 1930 and in 1950 he was honored by the Kiwanis Club of Casper which presented to him the citizenship plaque for that year.

PIERRE LA BONTE, JR. was born in Fall River, Massachusetts, where he attended public and business schools. His career first began in sales promotion for New England public service companies.

In 1921 he organized *Pierre La Bonte Jr., Inc.*, an advertising agency which he continues to direct, servicing New England newspapers.

Now residing in Assonet, Massachusetts, Mr. La Bonte learned a few years ago of the stream in Converse County named La Bonte Creek. He became fascinated with research on the subject since it apparently was named for a trapper but could find no proof that such a character actually had roamed the area.

Last summer Mr. La Bonte spent several weeks in the area of Douglas and La Bonte Creek seeking additional data. He now regards the section as his second home and plans annual visits to Wyoming to continue research.

MAE URBANEK, a resident of Niobrara county for twenty-five years, is interested in local history and writing, both prose and poetry. She has published three books of poetry, "Niobrara Breezes", "Wyoming Winds", and "High Lights of the Hills." She also writes a monthly column, "Ranch Ramblings" in the *Western Farm Life*, published in Denver, Colorado. Collecting rocks on their trips of personal historic research is another hobby of Mrs. Urbanek that is also enjoyed by her husband, Jerry. They have a large collection of rocks on display at their ranch home.

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