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# *Annals of Wyoming*



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*April 1964*

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## ANNALS OF WYOMING

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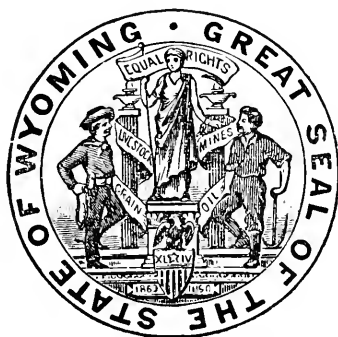
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# *Annals of Wyoming*

Volume 36

April, 1964

Number 1



LOLA M. HOMSHER  
*Editor*

KATHERINE HALVERSON  
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*Published Biannually by the*  
WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL  
DEPARTMENT

*Official Publication of the Wyoming State Historical Society*

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*Fort Laramie Collections*

LEODEGAR SCHNYDER c. 1890



# *Fort Laramie's Silent Soldier*

## *Leodegar Schnyder*

By

JOHN DISHON McDERMOTT

Leodegar Schnyder saw thousands of emigrants pass by Fort Laramie during the peak years of travel over the Oregon-California Trail; he manned the post during the exciting and fateful Grattan Fight which began the Indian Wars; he witnessed the coming of the Pony Express and the Pacific Telegraph; he heard Red Cloud tell Colonel Carrington not to fortify the Bozeman Trail; he was there when Portugee Phillips rode up to Old Bedlam with news of the Fetterman Disaster; he stood by when the government signed monumental treaties with the Plains Indians in 1851 and again in 1868; he watched Charlie Reynolds gallop in with the news that gold had been discovered in the Black Hills; he listened to the rumble of the Cheyenne to Deadwood stage as it crossed the army's iron bridge over the Platte. He experienced these things, but what he thought of them we will never know for Leodegar Schnyder was Fort Laramie's silent soldier. He didn't keep a diary, and he wrote few letters. An occasional reference in the memoirs of others who lived at the post, a few official documents, a newspaper clipping, and a short biographical sketch by his daughter are all that remain. The historian must grope for fragments, stumbling over stray chips from the quarry of the past, to tell the story of a man who served at Fort Laramie for thirty-seven years, longer than any other soldier.

Leodegar Schnyder was born on April 29, 1814 in Sursee, Switzerland.<sup>1</sup> In 1829, his family crossed the ocean and settled in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where Schnyder became apprenticed to a book binder.<sup>2</sup> He also received training as a draftsman, and one of the few personal documents he left behind was a beautifully

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1. Louisa Schnyder Nottingham, "Sergeant Leodegar Schnyder," MS, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne; Discharge Certificate of Leodegar Schnyder, Private Company H First Infantry, June 24, 1840, Schnyder Collection, Fort Laramie National Historic Site. Mrs. Nottingham gives the date of Schnyder's birth as April 29, 1813, but his discharge papers show that he was born in 1814.

2. Nottingham, "Sergeant Schnyder."

drawn almanac for 1859. Tiring of his trade, he joined the army in 1837 at the age of twenty-three.<sup>3</sup>

First Lieut. Hannibal Day of the Second Infantry, who as a major commanded Fort Laramie, signed Schnyder's enlistment papers on June 24 at the Pittsburg recruitment station.<sup>4</sup> The army assigned the young Swiss to Company H of the First Infantry then stationed at Jefferson Barracks outside of St. Louis. Schnyder stayed in Missouri only a short time, for by the end of July the First Infantry was marching south to fight the Seminoles in Florida.<sup>5</sup>

War with the Seminoles broke out in 1835 because of resistance, under Chief Osceola, to removal westward into Indian Territory. Hostilities began in December when extremists murdered their agent and an army officer and ambushed a detachment of troops. Schnyder probably had his first taste of battle on December 25, 1837, when a combined force under Colonel Zachary Taylor clashed with a Seminole band on the shores of Lake Okeechobee. Taylor held the First Infantry in reserve, and the regiment didn't get a chance to show its pluck until near the close of the fight.<sup>6</sup>

During the next four years, Schnyder saw a lot of Florida but few Indians. The Seminoles avoided direct warfare, and army scouting parties roamed the countryside in search of them with little success. During this period, Schnyder changed regiments. After being discharged at Fort Macomb in Middle Florida on June 24, 1840, he re-enlisted at Fort Harriet on July 25 as a private in Company G of the Sixth Infantry.<sup>7</sup> His discharge papers described him as being five feet eight and three-quarters inches tall with sandy hair, a ruddy complexion, and gray eyes.<sup>8</sup>

The Sixth Infantry remained in Florida until peace was restored in 1842. Early in the year, the regiment traveled north by way of New Orleans and, on March 20, reached Jefferson Barracks.

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3. C. G. Coutant, *The History of Wyoming* (Laramie, Wyoming: Chaplin, Spafford & Mathison, Printers, 1899), 686.

4. Leodegar Schnyder, "Statement of Enlistments and Discharges of Ordnance Sergeant Leodegar Schnyder, U. S. Army, from June 24, 1837 to March 31, 1890," MS. Schnyder Collection. Hereafter cited as "Enlistments and Discharges."

5. William Addleman Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1932), 181.

6. "The First Infantry," in *The Army of the United States* edited by Theodore F. Rodenbough and William L. Haskins (New York: Maynard, Merrill, & Company, 1896), 404.

7. Schnyder, "Enlistments and Discharges."

8. Discharge Certificate of Leodegar Schnyder, June 24, 1840.

From there the Sixth scattered, Company G ending up at Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation.<sup>9</sup>

Schnyder spent a rather uneventful six years at Fort Gibson. It was a quiet time with little to do except wage war against intermittent fever. Between July 1, 1843, and June 30, 1847, army doctors treated 2,252 cases at the post, and since the average strength of the garrison during the four year period was 944, the fever rate rose to 238 per cent.<sup>10</sup>

The Sixth headquartered at Fort Gibson until the United States declared war on Mexico. Leaving only companies G and I behind, the regiment joined General Winfield Scott's army at Puebla, Mexico, in July 1847.<sup>11</sup> Company G remained at Fort Gibson for the duration of the war.

Although it was often dull and he missed a war, Schnyder could take solace in the fact that while he was at Fort Gibson he advanced rapidly in rank. He made corporal on September 1, 1844, sergeant on June 1, 1846, and first sergeant on October 1, 1848.<sup>12</sup>

Late in 1848, Company G received orders to move to Fort Leavenworth. They arrived on December 10. Schnyder reached the post shortly after the outbreak of cholera which spread westward, killing many emigrants in 1849.<sup>13</sup>

On April 9, 1849, Brevet Major General David E. Twiggs at St. Louis issued an order which was to affect the life of Leodegar Schnyder for the next thirty-seven years:

There will be a post established at or near Fort Laramie. Its garrison will consist of companies A and E. Mounted Riflemen, and Company G, 6th. Infantry, under the command of Maj. W. F. Sanderson, Mounted Riflemen . . . Major Sanderson will leave Fort Leavenworth by the 10th of May, with Company E . . . and will proceed to locate a post in the vicinity of Fort Laramie. . . . The remainder of the garrison for this post will follow on the 1st of June, with the years supplies already ordered for their post.<sup>14</sup>

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9. Charles Byrne, "The Sixth Regiment of Infantry," in *Army of the United States*, 485. The army built Fort Gibson in what is now State of Oklahoma in 1824. Located on the left bank of the Grand River about two and one-half miles from its confluence with the Arkansas, the fort protected settlement advancing along the Arkansas and Red River valleys and was an important outpost in Indian Territory for many years.

10. *Statistical Report on the Sickness and Mortality in the Army of the United States* (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, Printer, 1856), 267-268.

11. Byrne, "The Sixth Infantry," 485-486.

12. Schnyder, "Enlistments and Discharges."

13. Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth, 1827-1927* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: The General Service Schools Press, 1926), 81-82, 232. Located on the west bank of the Missouri near the mouth of the Little Platte, the post gained prominence during the Mexican War and served as the outfitting post for the Army of the West.

14. Quoted in LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), 140-141.

The fort referred to was the adobe-walled fur trading post christened Fort John by the American Fur Company but known to most as Fort Laramie. Built in 1841, Fort John replaced Fort William, the first fort on the Laramie erected by Robert Campbell and William Sublette in 1834. Fort Laramie had been recommended for military status at various times by such respected authorities as John Fremont, Francis Parkman, and Thomas Fitzpatrick.<sup>15</sup> President Polk, in a message to Congress on December 2, 1845, called for the establishment of military posts along the "usual route between . . . frontier settlements and the Rocky Mountains" and the raising of a regiment of Mounted Riflemen to guard and protect those using the trail.<sup>16</sup> Polk's wish became law on May 9, 1846, but the Mexican War diverted the army's attention, and it wasn't until after the restoration of peace in 1848 that official eyes focused on the Emigrant Road. Fort Kearney on the Lower Platte became the first station on the Oregon Trail, and Fort Laramie on the Upper Platte was to become the second.

Major Sanderson was to select the site for the new post and become its first commander, but Lieut. Daniel P. Woodbury had the authority to purchase any buildings that might be deemed necessary.<sup>17</sup> Some thought that it would be better to select a fresh site in the vicinity of Fort Laramie than to purchase the adobe-walled trading post which had seen better days and leaned heavily on wooden supports. With this idea in mind, General Don Carlos Buell ordered Sanderson to make a thorough reconnaissance of the area before making a decision.<sup>18</sup>

Sanderson and Woodbury reached Fort Laramie on June 16, and during the next few days traveled at least seventy-five miles up the Platte looking for a better site.<sup>19</sup> None could be found. At Sanderson's request, Woodbury, on behalf of the government, bought Fort Laramie from Pierre Choteau Jr. & Company on June 26 for \$4,000.<sup>20</sup> Almost immediately, the army began erecting other buildings so that in a decade Fort Laramie became a sprawling military post too large to encompass by a wall and too strong to invite Indian attack.

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15. Merrill J. Mattes, *Fort Laramie and the Forty-Niners* (Estes Park, Colorado: Rocky Mountain Nature Association, 1949), 10-11.

16. James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, IV (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 396.

17. Hafen and Young, *Fort Laramie*, 140.

18. Buell to Sanderson, April 19, 1849, War Department Archives, Fort Meyer, Virginia. Hereafter cited as Fort Meyer Archives.

19. Sanderson to Adjutant General Roger Jones, June 27, 1849, Fort Meyer Archives.

20. Record of the Deed of Sale of Fort John, June 28, 1851, Fort Meyer Archives.



*Drawing by Frederick Remington  
From A Sketch by Charles B. Gillespie  
in Century Magazine*

#### FORT LARAMIE IN 1849

Schnyder and Company G left Fort Leavenworth on June 16<sup>21</sup> and finally arrived at Fort Laramie on August 12, having been on the road nearly two months.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps, when he saw his new home, Schnyder experienced the same dismay as did an Irishman named Kelley who viewed the post about three months earlier:

. . . my glowing fancy vanished before the wretched reality—a miserable, cracked, dilapidated, adobe quadrangular enclosure, with a wall about twelve feet high, three sides of which were shedded down as stores and workshops, the fourth, or front, having a two-story erection, with a projecting balcony, for hurling projectiles or hot water on the foe, propped all around on the outside with beams of timber, which an enemy had only to kick away and down would come the whole structure.<sup>23</sup>

Or he might have been pleasantly affected as was Alonzo Delano on June 12:

Fort Laramie is simply a trading post, standing about a mile above the ford. . . . Its neat whitewashed walls presented a welcome sight to us . . . and the motley crowd of emigrants, with their array of

21. Hunt, *Fort Leavenworth*, 232.

22. Hafen and Young, *Fort Laramie*, 141-142.

23. William Kelley, *An Excursion to California* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1851), 154-155.

wagons, cattle, horses and mules, gave a pleasant appearance of life and animation.<sup>24</sup>

Whatever his thought, he certainly did not contemplate spending nearly four decades of his life by the Laramie River.

About 22,500 people, most of them goldseekers headed for California, preceded, accompanied, and followed Schnyder over the trail to Fort Laramie in 1849. During the next year about 45,000 made the trip West, and in 1852, the peak year, 52,000 streamed by the post.<sup>25</sup> Until the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869, Schnyder watched the hardy pioneers drive their wagons and stock along the North Platte River, and his work played a part in their success.

The first mention of Schnyder in the post records appears in 1851. On September 17, Captain William Scott Ketchum appointed the sergeant assistant librarian for the post.<sup>26</sup> His ability as a book binder probably got him the job. According to his daughter, Louisa, his interest in books went beyond their covers; and, in later life, his friends considered him a well-read man.<sup>27</sup>

In October, 1852, Schnyder applied for the position of Ordnance Sergeant for Fort Laramie. The army was very strict in its requirements for ordnance positions. According to the Regulations, the judicious selection of ordnance sergeants fulfilled three purposes:

... while the law contemplates, in the appointment of these non-commissioned officers, the better preservation of the ordnance and ordnance stores in deposit in the several forts, there is the further motive of offering a reward to those faithful and well-trying sergeants who have long served their country, and of thus giving encouragement to the soldier in the ranks to emulate them in conduct, and thereby secure substantial promotion.<sup>28</sup>

The applicant had to be a veteran of eight year's service, and his commanding officer had to write a letter of recommendation which filtered through channels to the Adjutant General of the Army for final approval.<sup>29</sup> On October 15, First Lieut. Richard B. Garnett wrote to his superiors on Schnyder's behalf:

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24. Alonzo Delano, *Across the Plains* (New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1936), 29.

25. George R. Stewart, *The California Trail* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962), 232, 296, 303.

26. Irder No. 56, 1851, Records of the War Department, Fort Laramie, Wyoming, Record Group 98, National Archives. Hereafter cited as Post Records.

27. Louisa Nottingham to John Hunton, June 6, 1927, Hunton Collection, Coe Memorial Library, Laramie, Wyoming.

28. *Regulations of the Army of the United States*, 1857 (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1857), 18.

29. H. L. Scott, *Military Dictionary* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1864), 444.

As an Ordnance Sergeant is required at this Post, for the preservation of the ordnance and ordnance stores which are here in considerable quantity, I would respectfully and urgently recommend Sergeant Leodegar Schnyder, 1st Sergt. of "G" Company 6th Infy., now stationed at Fort Laramie, to fill that position.

The applicant has served a long time in the army, and has always sustained as far as I know, and have heard, from his former company commander, Captain W. S. Ketchum, the *highest* character for *honesty, fidelity, and intelligence*, in the discharge of his duties.

His great neatness, legibility, and correctness as a clerk, I should think, would *eminently* fit him for the office for which he has the honor to apply.<sup>30</sup>

Schnyder received appointment on December 1, 1852.<sup>31</sup> He was responsible for the preservation of field pieces, small-arms, side-arms, ammunition, and the supplies and tools necessary for their care. He issued the items when requested and prepared the requisite returns. Unlike company and regimental servants who moved with their units from one place to another, the army assigned him to the post, and he had to remain there until transferred.<sup>32</sup>

Schnyder married sometime in the early fifties. The name and origin of his first wife remains a mystery. She probably worked at the post as a laundress or maid. To this union were born two children, Florence and Mary. Florence, whom one soldier called "a prairie flower for sure",<sup>33</sup> was born in 1853, and Mary followed in 1862.<sup>34</sup>

The problem of raising a family on the frontier was a difficult one that Schnyder faced time after time. On October 8, 1853, he wrote the only official letter that survives, and it concerned the dilemma:

Having lately been appointed Ordnance Sergeant at this Post, (and having a family to support), I find it almost impossible to subsist on the ration allowed by the Regulation, and I am therefore compelled

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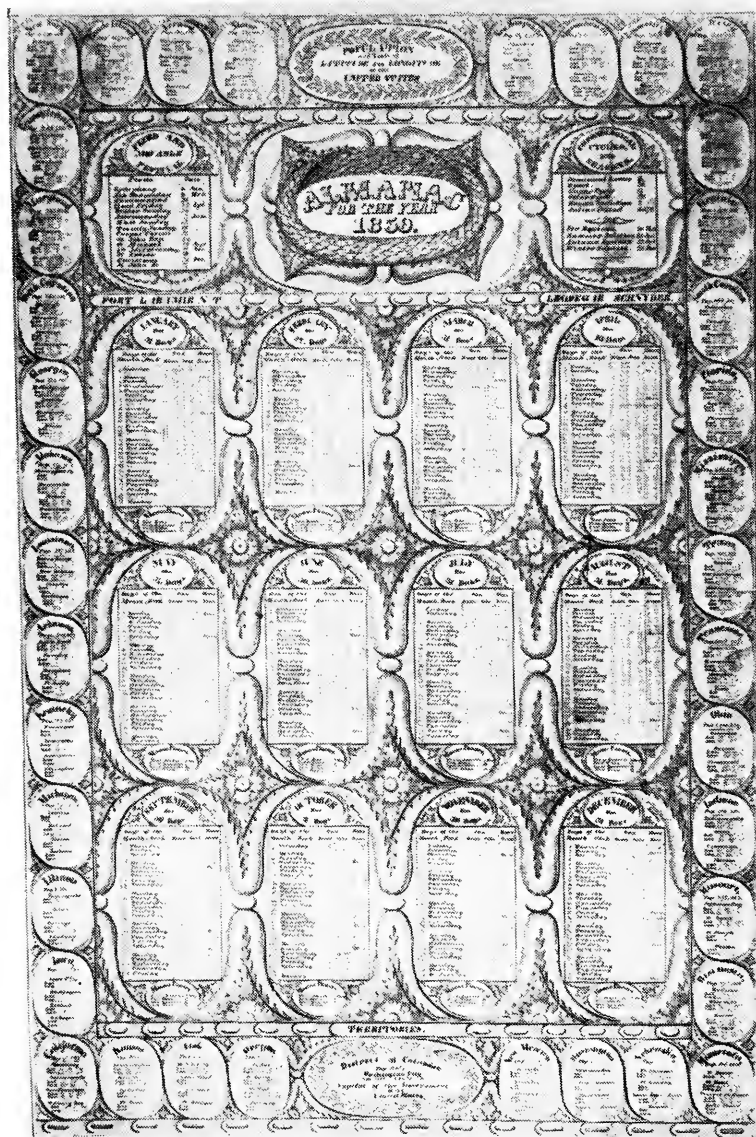
30. Garnett to Brigadier General Newman S. Clarke, October 15, 1852, Records of the Ordnance Department, National Archives.

31. Schnyder, "Enlistments and Discharges."

32. Scott, *Military Dictionary*, 436-437, 444; *Instructions for Making Quarterly Returns of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), 14.

33. Myra E. Hull, ed., "Soldiering on the High Plains: The Diary of Lewis Byram Hull," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, VII (February, 1938), 18.

34. "Census Taken at Fort Laramie on August 20, 1870." Copy at Fort Laramie National Historic Site. Hereafter cited as 1870 Census. Schnyder sent Florence to Ohio to be schooled on August 4, 1864 with Catharine Collins, but by 1870 she had returned to Fort Laramie. See Agnes Wright Spring, ed., "An Army Wife Comes West: Letters of Catharine Wever Collins (1863-1864)," *The Colorado Magazine*, XXXI (October, 1954), 27. Florence later married a Mr. McGill and lived near Valentine, Nebraska for many years. Mary became Mary Schnyder Haskett. Letter from Mrs. Angela Weber, Denver, Colorado, February 19, 1963.



*Fort Laramie Collections*

ALMANAC FOR THE YEAR 1849  
DRAWN BY LEODEGAR SCHNYDER



to purchase provisions from the Commissary Department *at cost and transportation added thereto*. The transportation being so great as to exceed the actual cost of most of the articles composing the ration. You will find upon consideration, that my pay, (calculating other necessary expenses) is insufficient for the support of myself, & my family.

The great distance from the settlements prevents an open market, and therefore I am under the necessity of purchasing all my provisions from the Commissary Department.

I therefore address myself to the Commanding Officer at this Post, as being well aware of all the facts above referred to, that I may be permitted to purchase such Subsistence stores as are actually necessary for the support of myself and my family, *at the actual cost without the transportation added thereto*.

I respectfully request the Commanding officer for a favorable endorsement on the above petition and that it may be transmitted to the Commissary General of Subsistence for his consideration by him to the Hon. Secretary of War.<sup>35</sup>

Schnyder and his family stared death in the face at Fort Laramie in late August, 1854. On the 19th, Lieut. John Grattan, twenty-nine soldiers, and an interpreter left the post to arrest a Miniconju brave called High Forehead who had killed and feasted on a stray cow from a Mormon caravan. They never came back. Arriving at Conquering Bear's camp of Brule Sioux about eight miles south-east of the post, Grattan attempted to arrest the visiting Miniconju and precipitated a fight in which he and his men were killed.<sup>36</sup> The loss of Grattan and his force left Fort Laramie with forty-two defenders including Schnyder.<sup>37</sup> While the aroused Sioux plundered the countryside, the small party huddled in the adobe-walled fort. One author states that the Indians attacked the post on August 28, but the details of the alleged attack have never been uncovered.<sup>38</sup>

At the time of the Grattan Disaster, there were three or four women living at the post including Schnyder's wife. They were naturally frightened and fearful that the Indians would storm the adobe fort. Schnyder concentrated them in a group so that they could be more easily defended and by doing so kept them from becoming hysterical.<sup>39</sup> A soldier who came to Fort Laramie in 1882 heard that the veteran sergeant took command of the post during the affair and placed Lieut. Hugh Flemming, the commanding officer, in the guardhouse because he wanted to surrender the

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35. Schnyder to Lieut. Richard B. Garnett, October 8, 1853, Fort Meyer Archives.

36. For the best account of the Grattan Fight see Lloyd E. McCann, "The Grattan Massacre," *Nebraska History*, XXXVII (March, 1956), 1-25.

37. Hafen and Young, *Fort Laramie*, 231.

38. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army From Its Organization, September 29, 1879 to March 2, 1903*, II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 401.

39. Coutant, *History of Wyoming*, 686.

garrison to the Sioux.<sup>40</sup> The story is undoubtedly false, but it serves to illustrate the high esteem and awe that soldiers held for Schnyder in later years.

On September 17, 1859, the Postmaster General of the United States, Joseph Holt, appointed Schnyder garrison postmaster. After posting bond and taking the oath of office, Schnyder assumed his new duties on October 1.<sup>41</sup> He served as postmaster until 1876,<sup>42</sup> and during the period he operated his post office in four different territories, a feat duplicated by few of his contemporaries. Eighteen fifty-nine found Fort Laramie located in Nebraska Territory. On March 3, 1863, it was included in Idaho Territory, on May 26, 1864 in Dakota Territory, and on July 5, 1868 in Wyoming Territory.<sup>43</sup>

Schnyder was a very methodical man, and he quickly established a set of rules for dispersing and delivering the mail. He believed that rules were not made to be broken, and those who transgressed learned the power of his wrath.

Citizens, enlisted men, and non-commissioned officers had to pick up their mail at the post office, and unless they saluted on approaching the window, Schnyder ordered them to the rear with terse instructions to discipline themselves. He delivered the officers' mail to their homes beginning with the commanding officer of the post and ending with the lowest second lieutenant according to the system of seniority. This probably meant doubling back on many occasions, but Schnyder believed it was better to sacrifice his feet than his principles. Should an officer meet the sergeant on his route and accost him for the mail, he was informed that he would receive it at the proper time and in the proper place. Some officers pulled the trick just to test him, but the results were invariably the same.<sup>44</sup>

One day an officer went too far. Impatiently, he marched into the business half of the post office and began mixing up the mail in an attempt to find his own letters. Schnyder politely asked him to remove himself from behind the barrier, but the man refused, stating that he was a commissioned officer and as such had certain rights and privileges and among them was the right to get his own mail. Schnyder replied that he as postmaster also had certain

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40. Interview of James Nolan by David L. Hieb, March 25, 1954, MS, Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

41. Certificate of Appointment, Schnyder Collection.

42. Nottingham, "Sergeant Schnyder."

43. Harry L. Fine, "Fort Laramie Postal Markings," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, XI (Summer, 1961), 53.

44. Harry Young, *Hard Knocks* (Chicago: Laird & Lee, Inc., 1915), 91-92.

rights and privileges and proceeded to help the officer over the railing with great swiftness.<sup>45</sup>

Schnyder's postal problems sometimes reached beyond the confines of the fort. Once, for example, he found himself in competition with another firm. Upon reaching the North Platte River crossing a few miles from Fort Laramie, those traveling westward in 1864 discovered what they were led to believe was a post office. A shabby tent stood near the river bank and dangling from it was a sign which read "Post Office - Letters to the States 50c." Two men were on hand to greet travelers, and soon they were busy making change and "making up" the mail for delivery. Suddenly, in the distance, the travelers saw a rider approaching at great speed. After fording the river, the rider galloped up to the tent, went to the back, and shouted, "Can't wait," "Behind time," etc. The two "postmasters" quickly handed him the mail bag, and he spurred his horse toward the east as if his life depended upon it. When he was beyond the sight of the letter writers, the rider slowed down to a more leisurely pace and at the first opportunity, dumped the letters in the river. When another group of travelers appeared, the play was re-enacted. As Schnyder put it, "It was nothing but a damn swindle, but dey made a pushel o' money mit it."<sup>46</sup>

During the Civil War, volunteer troops replaced regulars at Fort Laramie. Schnyder as Ordnance Sergeant remained at the post. According to one newspaper, President Lincoln tendered Schnyder a captaincy in the Union Army, but he declined stating that he felt he would be of more use on the frontier fighting Indians.

Schnyder did do some fighting during the Civil War, but it was with a white man rather than with Indians. For many years one of his duties was to raise the colors every morning at sunrise and lower them every evening at sunset. One day a man on horseback rode into the post and began firing at the flag. Schnyder ran to the storehouse, secured two dragoon pistols, and with one in each hand opened up a cross fire on the intruder. The man's horse fell dead, and he narrowly escaped with his life, receiving a wound in the arm.<sup>47</sup>

Schnyder's first wife died in 1862 or 1863. The circumstances of her death are not known. On October 20, 1864, Schnyder married for the second time. His new wife, Julia, had been born in Ireland and was probably employed as a post laundress at the time.<sup>48</sup> Lewis Bram Hull tells of the marriage in his diary:

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45. *Chicago American*, February 10, 1910.

46. John S. Collins, *Across the Plains in '64* (Omaha: National Printing Company, 1904), Part I, 22.

47. *Chicago American*, February 10, 1910.

48. "Census Taken at Fort Laramie on June 24, 1880." Copy at Fort Laramie National Historic Site. Hereafter cited as 1880 Census.



*Fort Laramie Collections*

NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS' QUARTERS, 1884  
SCHNYDER'S HOME 1884-1886

Wedding "down street." Sergt. Schnyder to cross-eyed Julia. Band serenades them. Big supper. Must be going to have a cold winter as weddings are all the rage.<sup>49</sup>

Leodegar and Julia had three children: Louisa born on September 14, 1867;<sup>50</sup> Charlotte born in July, 1870; and Charles born sometime in 1873.<sup>51</sup> Including Florence and Mary, Schnyder had five children to support, and the expense prompted him to ask for a transfer in 1876. Major Edwin F. Townsend wrote to the Adjutant General of the Army for Schnyder on October 7:

I desire to state that I have had a conversation with the Ordnance Sergeant Schnyder today, and he informs me that he has been stationed at this post for 27 years, and has to provide for a large family, and expresses himself desirous of being transferred to some other post

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49. Myra Hull, ed., "Soldiering on the High Plains," 25.

50. Nottingham to Hutton, June 6, 1927. Married to James Nottingham, Louisa died childless in 1935. Letter from John H. Thompson, Sac City, Iowa, February 14, 1963.

51. 1870 Census; 1880 Census. Charlotte, who married James Hamilton Thompson in 1891, died in 1944. The Thompsons had seven children: Albert, Paul, Lloyd, Ross, Julia, Angela, and John. Charles died unmarried in 1895. Letter from John H. Thompson, February 14, 1963.

nearer the Rail road where he could live more cheaply, and I recommend that this be done.<sup>52</sup>

Nothing came of the request.

The last mention of the Schnyders occurred in the post records in 1883. In March, Post Surgeon D. G. Caldwell wrote Fort Laramie's Commanding Officer:

A stray shot fired by some man at target practice in rear of the Company barracks passed through the school house door and slightly injured the Daughter of Ordnance Sergeant. I would therefore respectfully recommend that a different locality be selected for future practices and that the butts were made larger and more secure.<sup>53</sup>

On September 24, 1886, the Adjutant General ordered Snyder to the Fort at Clark's Point, New Bedford, Massachusetts. When the old soldier left Fort Laramie,<sup>54</sup> it was in the winter of its life; in less than four years the army sold the buildings and opened the



*Fort Laramie Collections*

**PICNIC BY THE LARAMIE RIVER, 1889**

"He had also seen it decline, after 1876, into quietness, vine covered trellises, and picnics on the lawn."

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52. Townsend to the Adjutant General, October 7, 1876, Post Records.

53. Report for March, 1883, Medical History of Fort Laramie, Wyoming, Adjutant General's Records, National Archives.

54. Special Order No. 223, 1886, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, Snyder Collection.

military reservation for settlement. Schnyder had seen it grow from a creaking adobe quadrangle into one of the strongest military posts in the West. He had also seen it decline, after 1876, into quietness, vine covered trellises, and picnics on the lawn.

Schnyder went to Massachusetts by train. It was a new experience for him as he had ridden in an ox drawn wagon when he came to Fort Laramie in 1849.<sup>55</sup>

The Fort at Clark's Point was no longer active, but the army left ordnance stores behind which had to be protected. Schnyder's duties consisted of accounting for the property and transferring it to other posts when requested to do so.

On November 12, 1890, upon his own application, the army placed the grizzled veteran on the retirement list.<sup>56</sup> Schnyder and his wife settled on a farm near Tobias, Nebraska, where he spent the rest of his life, dying on December 19, 1896.<sup>57</sup>

His family buried him in his best uniform, a gift from some trappers who sought shelter in Fort Laramie after the Grattan Fight. According to Louisa Schnyder, the trappers sent to New York for the uniform and paid \$800 for it.<sup>58</sup>

A soldier who knew Schnyder during the Civil War characterized him as follows:

He was a true soldier, brave and modest. He was the most painstaking and conscientious man that I ever knew. He spoke the English language brokenly, but he composed it perfectly. He wrote a hand almost like a copper plate and was an expert draughtsman.<sup>59</sup>

The facts of Schnyder's life do not contradict the characterization; in fact, they enlarge upon it. Schnyder did his work and did it well. He believed in organization. He was exact and thorough as a draftsman should be. He was consistent. He followed orders and accepted responsibility. He lived by a code. He was a man of tested courage and balanced judgement. He was a good soldier.

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55. Nottingham, "Sergeant Schnyder."

56. Special Order No. 265, 1890, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, Schnyder Collection.

57. *Chicago American*, February 10, 1910. Julia died in 1911 and was buried with her husband at Tobias.

58. Nottingham, "Sergeant Schnyder."

59. *Chicago American*, February 10, 1910.

# *Prices and Wages at Fort Laramie, 1881-1885*

By

ROBERT A. MURRAY

The price-wage structure of a given locale and time can be highly useful to students, readers, and interpreters of history. Such figures are not always available, but recent research has made it possible to compile such data for Fort Laramie in the years 1881-1885.

Military pay was the most stable figure for the period, being fixed by act of Congress.

In the enlisted ranks, the base-pay of privates was \$13 per month, corporals \$15, and sergeants from \$17 to \$34, depending on specialty and assignment. All ranks received \$1 per month extra for each 5 years of service.<sup>1</sup> In addition each enlisted man received per day the standard ration, consisting of:

One pound and a quarter of beef or three-quarters of a pound of pork, eighteen ounces of bread or flour, and at the rate of ten pounds of coffee, fifteen pounds of sugar, two quarts of salt, four quarts of vinegar, four ounces of pepper, four pounds of soap, and one pound and a half of candles to every hundred rations.<sup>2</sup>

A much greater gap existed between enlisted and officer pay than is the case today. The lowest paid commissioned officers, the second lieutenants, received \$1400 per year. First lieutenants received \$1500, captains \$1800, majors \$2500, lieutenant-colonels \$3000, and colonels \$3500.<sup>3</sup> There was additional pay of 10% for each five years service up to a maximum of 40%. At this time officers were furnished housing but not rations.<sup>4</sup> At western posts, forage for officers' horses was usually furnished in kind.<sup>5</sup>

The Commissary of Subsistence at each post sold a standard stock of items in addition to the ration items to officers and to married enlisted men and to company messes. These latter made purchases with company funds when available.<sup>6</sup>

At Fort Laramie, as at other sizeable posts, there were salaried civilian employees of the Quartermaster Department. In this period, typical positions and salaries were:

engineer, \$90 per month  
chief carpenter, \$150 per month (seasonal)  
blacksmith, \$75 to \$80 per month  
wheelwright, \$75 to \$80 per month  
Quartermaster Agent, \$75 to \$83.33 per month  
wagonmaster, \$55 per month  
teamsters, \$35 per month

Certain civilian employees were also entitled to draw rations.<sup>7</sup>

It is difficult to determine other wages with precision. \$20 to \$40 per month and keep was a common wage for cowboys at the time.<sup>9</sup> Skilled workmen earned up to \$3.50 per day.<sup>10</sup> Many artisans were paid on a piece work basis, notably blacksmiths at such rates as "\$2 for shoeing a horse" and "\$5 for setting a buggy-tire."<sup>11</sup>

With such wages in mind, it is somewhat easier to evaluate the prices in the following table:<sup>12</sup>

### TABLE OF RETAIL PRICES

#### *MEAT:*

beef (fresh) 11¢ to 15¢ per lb.  
1 soup bone 80¢  
veal (fresh) 20¢ per lb.  
pork (fresh) 20¢ per lb.  
pork sausage 20¢ per lb.  
bacon 14¢ to 24¢ per lb.  
ham 18¢ to 20¢ per lb.

#### *FISH:*

(kind unspecified) 25¢ per lb.

#### *POULTRY:*

chicken 25¢ per lb.  
turkey 25¢ per lb.

*LARD:* 17½¢ to 23¢ per lb.

#### *DAIRY PRODUCTS:*

milk (small can) 33¢ to 35¢ per can  
butter 35¢ to 38¢ per lb.  
cheese 12½¢ to 25¢ per lb.

#### *STAPLES:*

dry beans 10¢ per lb.  
flour 4½¢ to 6¢ per lb.  
sugar 14¢ to 20¢ per lb.  
salt 4¢ to 6½¢ per lb.  
baking powder 50¢ to 60¢ per lb.  
yeast 52¢ per lb.  
soda 15¢ per lb.  
cornmeal 4½¢ per lb.  
oatmeal 14¢ per lb.  
crackers 15¢ per lb.  
macaroni 25¢ per lb.  
vermicelli 25¢ per lb.  
coffee 16¢ to 30¢ per lb.  
tea 85¢ to \$1 per lb.

#### *SPICES:*

pepper 20¢ to 25¢ per ¼ lb. box  
vinegar 65¢ to 75¢ per gallon  
mustard (dry) 25¢ per ¼ lb. box  
mustard (bottled) 34¢ per 4-oz. bottle  
ginger 20¢ to 25¢ per ¼ lb. box  
cinnamon 25¢ per ¼ lb. box  
cloves 25¢ per ¼ lb. box  
allspice 25¢ per ¼ lb. box  
flavoring extracts 38¢ per 2-oz. bottle  
cream of tartar 45¢ per lb.

#### *CANNED FRUIT & VEGETABLES:*

tomatoes (2 lb. can) 23¢ to 30¢ per can  
peaches 27½¢ per can  
beans 27½¢ per can  
jelly (1 lb. can) 33¢ per can

#### *DRIED FRUIT:*

apples 21¢ per lb.  
prunes 18¢ per lb.  
peaches 18¢ per lb.  
raisins 30¢ per lb.  
citron 50¢ to 60¢ per lb.

#### *FRESH FRUIT AND VEGETABLES:*

potatoes 4¢ to 6¢ per lb.  
lemons \$1 per dozen

#### *MISCELLANEOUS GROCERIES:*

soap 12½¢ per bar  
lye 25¢ per can  
gelatine 27½¢ per box  
pickles \$1.37 to \$1.65 per gallon  
syrup \$1.05 to \$1.75 per gallon

#### *MEDICINALS:*

soothing syrup 60¢ per bottle  
St. Jacobs Oil \$1 per bottle

#### *LIQUORS:*

beer (draft) 10¢ per large glass  
beer (24-oz. bottle) 40¢ to 50¢ per bottle  
beer \$19 per barrel  
whiskey 15¢ per shot  
whiskey \$1.50 per pint  
claret 15¢ per glass  
champagne (Peiper & Heidseick)  
\$1 per 12-oz. bottle  
straight grain alcohol \$2 per quart  
*TOBACCO PRODUCTS AND ACCESSORIES:*  
chewing tobacco 80¢ to 90¢ per lb.  
Durham tobacco 80¢ per lb.  
smoking tobacco (unspecified) \$1 per lb.  
cigars 3½¢ to 10¢ each  
pipes 50¢ to 75¢



**LIGHTING SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT:**

matches 10¢ per box  
candles 25¢ per lb.  
lamps \$2 each  
lamp reflectors 40¢ each  
lamp chimneys 10¢ to 15¢ each  
kerosene 50¢ per gallon

**GRAIN:**

corn 3¢ per lb.  
oats 4¢ per lb.

**HARDWARE:**

fishhooks 20¢ per dozen  
lead shot 20¢ per lb.  
nails 10¢ per lb.  
padlocks 60¢ each  
rim locks 60¢ to \$2.25 each  
hinges 35¢ per pair  
canteens \$1 each  
frying pans 85¢ each  
tin plates 10¢ each  
coffee pots 65¢ each  
camp kettles 75¢ each  
tin cups 15¢ each  
water buckets 60¢ each  
knives and forks, 25¢ for one of each  
dutch ovens \$2.25 each  
washboards 50¢ each  
can openers 50¢ each  
half-gallon kerosene cans 60¢ each  
brooms 50¢ each  
water kettles \$1.25 each

tin pans 45¢ to 60¢ each  
butcher knives 75¢ to \$1.25 each  
scissors 75¢ to \$1 per pair  
two-gallon kegs 75¢ each  
whip staff 55¢  
whip lashes \$2 each

**MEN'S CLOTHING:**

hats \$5 to \$6 each  
overalls \$1.75 per pair  
trousers \$8 per pair  
suspenders \$1 per pair  
drawers \$1.75 per pair  
socks 50¢ to 75¢ per pair  
shirts \$3 each  
coats \$5.50 each  
handkerchieves 25¢ each  
shoes \$3.75 per pair  
boots \$6 to \$8 per pair  
overshoes \$2.50 per pair

**WOMEN'S CLOTHING:**

shoes \$2 to \$7 per pair  
hats \$1.50 to \$4 each  
hose 45¢ per pair  
corsets \$1.25 each  
corset-steels 25¢ per pair

**CLOTH AND THREAD ITEMS:**

flannel 20¢ per yard  
canton flannel 20¢ per yard  
calico 10¢ to 12½¢ per yard  
towelling 25¢ per yard  
ribbon 12¢ to 35¢ per yard  
collarete \$1.15 per yard  
thread 10¢ per spool, 6-for-50¢

**NOTES**

1. Thomas M. Exley, *A Compendium of the Pay of the Army from 1785 to 1888*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1888, pp. 40-41, 54.
2. *Revised Statutes of the U.S.*, 1878 edition, section 1146.
3. Exley, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.
4. Exley, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
5. *Revised Statutes of the U.S.*, 1878 edition, sections 1270, 1271, 1272.
6. Dr. Don Rickcy, *Forty Miles a Day*, Oklahoma University Press, Norman, pp. 116-122.
7. Fort Laramie Post Returns, 1881-1885, RG98, National Archives.
8. *Revised Statutes of the U.S.*, 1878 edition, section 1137.
9. Edward Everett Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry*, Oklahoma University Press, Norman, 1960, pp. 6, 49-50.
10. Letter, "Stewart" to John London, April 26, 1884, in the John London Papers, Fort Laramie National Historic Site.
11. Bills, George Walker to John London, October 4 and November 2, 1882, in the John London Papers, Fort Laramie National Historic Site.
12. This table was compiled by analysis of bills, receipts, statements, inventories, annotated orders in the John London Papers, Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

# *Fossil Hunting in the Big Horn Basin*

THE  
DIARY OF FRANK L. MOORE  
1899

*Edited by*

AUSTIN L. MOORE

In the summer of 1899 a party sponsored by Christopher W. Hall, of the University of Minnesota's department of Geology and Mineralogy, visited the Big Horn Basin in Wyoming to collect fossilized prehistoric animals. Professor Hall did not accompany this expedition, but it was through his efforts that financial backing was procured from businessmen in Minneapolis and St. Paul. The party included Dr. F. W. Sardeson, a geologist at the University of Minnesota who directed the field work, W. B. Stewart, a senior at the University, and Frank L. Moore, pastor of Oak Park Congregational Church, Minneapolis. In the years 1893, 1894, and 1896 Frank Moore had served as circuit rider under the Presbyterian Board of Missions for the towns of Hyattville, Shell, Otto, and Warren in the Big Horn Basin. His knowledge of the topography of the Big Horn Basin and his many contacts with the residents of that area probably account for his inclusion in the party.

Unfortunately, most of the records of this fossil-hunting trip have disappeared. Diligent search has brought to light Professor Hall's summary of the accomplishments of the group, addressed to President Northrop of the University of Minnesota, and a short article, "Geological Expedition", contributed by W. B. Stewart to the February 10, 1900, issue of the University's publication, "Ariel". To the editor's knowledge, the only other extant records of the trip are a diary and a single letter written by Frank Moore.

Frank Moore's work and adventures as a Sunday School missionary and circuit rider in Wyoming are recorded in *Souls and Saddlebags, the Diaries and Correspondence of Frank L. Moore, Western Missionary, 1888 - 1896*, edited by Austin L. Moore. Big Mountain Press, Denver, 1962.

## DIARY

Blue Creek, Mont., July 12, 1899

Arrived [Billings, Montana] at 3 a.m. one and one-half hours late on account of freight wreck. Good sleep. . . . Met Mr. O. J. Palmer of Hyattville, [Wyoming]. He could take us in for moderate price. Bought provisions and outfits. Got dinner in camp, bacon, coffee, pan bread, tomatoes, peas, milk. After dinner packed up trunk and grub box. . . . Tooth ache. Hope to get

along with it. . . . Billings good town. Business. Drove thirteen miles from Billings in p.m.

### FRANK MOORE TO CORAL MOORE

Big Horn Basin, Wyo., July 16, 1899.

Sunday a.m. Here we are inside the [Big Horn] Basin. Our camp is on Piney Creek just where it empties into Sage Creek, 60 miles from Billings. We are getting along very slowly. Have made but little headway toward our destination. Consequently Stewart frets a little but we are a congenial party. We camp for Sunday here. If they had not had a preacher along I think they would have pushed on. I am chief cook. They are rather helpless about a camp fire. I get up some wonderful concoctions. . . .

You ought to see the change in the appearance of our party. We are all burned as red and brown as the Indians we saw Friday. . . . I wear a handkerchief about my neck. . . . My face is so sore that I shall not dare shave for a time.

Where am I as I write? On a sand stone ledge fifty feet above a crystal stream. . . . Sage brush is my only shade, locusts my music. There is a gentle hum from the stream and occasionally a bird's song. But I have the feeling of being alone, alone yet not alone. How beautiful the rocks, brown, gray, yellow, and covered with lichens so delicate in shape and color. Would that I could paint. To the north Pryor mountain. Seven or eight large patches of snow have not yet yielded to the sun but send their daily supply of water to the ranches in the valley. . . .

Friday we crossed the Crow Indian reservation [in Montana]. Valleys dotted with tepees. Indians everywhere. Prosperous, contented looking for Indians. Large, stalwart, fine looking men. Good rigs, good horses, good clothes. They are superior to the western tribes I have seen before. At night, Friday, we camped at Pryor Gap near twenty or more large piles of stones that mark the sight [sic] of a great battle between the Sioux and Crow Indians many years ago.

### DIARY

Stinking Water River, July 17, 1899.

Hot, slow, dry, alkali flats, . . . salt sage. Much land good if it could be watered. Prof. killed rattlesnake. Stewart shot sage hens, two with one shot. Cloud Peak loomed up. Snow there. Prof. and Stewart went geologizing to west. Supper by candle light. Bed at 10 o'clock.

Big Horn River near Sheep Mountain Canyon, July 18, 1899.

My [thirty-third] birthday. Up at 4. Ready to start on at 6 o'clock. Came to ferry and found it stuck on a sand bar. Left Palmer at ferry and got over in two trips. Drove to ranch and got

hay. 9 a.m. Stewart is taking a picture of the red gypsum hills. Big Horn river in distance. Triassic eroded hills in fore ground. . . . Bald Mountain and range all in view to Black Mountain back of Hyattville and beyond. Cloud Peak very dim in far distance. Prof. and Stewart walked several miles and picked up quantities of belemnites and oyster shells. Jurassic zone. Sheep Mountain in view. Noon. Camp by sand stone ledge. After dinner took walk and collected belemnites and lamellibranch and oyster shells. Hot. Mail drove by, four men. First we have seen today. On ridge west of Sheep Mountain Stewart took picture of Triassic, red, and Jurassic, brown. . . . In canon that . . . twists so much that teams can hardly get through. . . . Next, south side of Sheep Mountain. . . . Colors . . . remarkable, reds, grays, creams, purples . . . Far . . . ahead looking South east . . . bad lands between Shell and Nowood. Camped [at sundown] on Big Horn River above Sheep Mountain canon. Scorpion in bed.

Belemnites are conical, squid-like fossils belonging to an extinct family. Lamellibranch are plate-like fossils of the class of mollusks which include mussels, clams, and oysters. Both are commonly found in Jurassic and Cretaceous rocks.

Otto, Wyo., July 19, 1899.

On hot road all a.m. Reached Greybull at 12:30. Camped near Mr. Alderdice's ranch. Good milk and butter, hay for horses, but awful alkali water. In p.m. drove up north side of Greybull River to Otto. Drove one steep pitch so bad it was a wonder we did not break the reach. Two foot jump at the bottom. Near Otto came to a bridge so badly washed out on one side that we had to unhitch the team and lead the horses singly over and then draw wagon over. . . . Camped at Otto. Met Blakesley, Mr. Wood and wife, Mrs. H., and others. Camp at 9:30.

Brown's Ranch near Otto, Wyo., July 20, 1899.

Forded Greybull River with water so deep as to run into wagon box. At 9:30 arrived at [Joe] Brown's ranch. Found good hay and good board. In p.m. Brown took us out into hills and we found the remains of a large animal. Took a few bones from the pile. The hill [was] badly eroded in which we found it. Camped in cabin on Brown's ranch.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 21, 1899.

Walked to hills  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 miles from ranch. Found bones of two animals. Stewart found head and feet of phenacodus horse, five toed. Prof. [Sardeson] found good jaw and vertebrae. I found fore leg bone of "horse" and a large tooth, also bone in rock. Prof. and Stewart dug it out. We find the bones on talus slopes. Find isolated pieces then trace them up. So far have had no success except where there is an escarpment of sand rock. Very hot except where we could find caves or overhanging banks. Quite a

shower . . . last night. Sharp lightning. P.M. Stewart patching his "horse" up. We are getting settled in our room and Prof. is making packages of our fossils.

The phenacodus was a small-brained, five-toed, slender-bodied, arch-backed, long-tailed, herbivorous mammal. It appeared early in the Paleocene and reached its culmination of development followed by extinction in the Eocene. The two best-known complete skeletons were discovered in the Big Horn Basin in 1881 and have the size, respectively, of a fox and a pig.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 22, 1899.

Terribly strong wind last night. Blew trees down in river bottoms, tore hay stacks down, made log cabin tremble. Brown's folks got up and were ready to go into cellar. Went to the hills at 7:30. Walked perhaps four miles south. Followed gulch and found only broken pieces. Some good teeth and tusks. Stewart found two good spear heads and a jaw in the sand rocks. P.M. Hunt resulted in the find of one tusk and one tooth by myself and the teeth and some of the vertebrae of a phenacodus by Stewart. Explored country so much that we know better than before where to look. We need fresh erosion and in this locality low horizon. Cool tonight. Moon full. Am writing by moonlight.

A Geologic Time Chart will be found at the end of this article.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 23, 1899.

Sunday. Went across Greybull River to Burlington. . . . Arrived . . . and hitched horse. Went to a Sunday School. Many classes, orderly school. Went into a Bible class and was handed a . . . Latter Day Saint book! I had got into the wrong school. Heard the lesson read. . . . They were very cordial afterward. Bishop Pollock asked me to go to dinner with him. . . . Beautiful day. Quiet, calm, Sabbath rest.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 24, 1899.

Mr. Palmer came after his horses. Trip into hills resulted in find of several good teeth, two pieces of jaw. One with two teeth, phenacodus. . . . Stewart found good portions of a young coryphodon and Prof. the greater part of a phenacodus. I did up bones and washed my clothes in p.m. Not feeling real well. Just tired. The day absolutely cloudless until 4 p.m. when some cirrus cloud fans rose from mountains west. Last night could see the entire sweep of the Big Horns by moonlight.

Coryphodons were at the time of their appearance in the Paleocene mammals of about the size of a large sheep. They developed rapidly and in the Eocene were the largest of American land animals. The size of the specimens discovered by Professor Sardeson's party varied from that of a present-day tapir to that of an elephant, and the skulls of some of them bore horn-like protuberances. The feet of these monsters were heavy, plantigrade, and five-toed. Their cheek teeth were low-crowned and small; their canine teeth tusk-like. The largest

canine tooth measured by Professor Sardeson was nine inches in length and three and one-half inches in circumference. The cause of the extinction of these dull-witted, swamp-dwelling, herbivorous creatures which occurred at the close of the Eocene is unknown.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 25, 1899.

Trip of four hours in field. Stewart found leg and foot of one coryphodon. I found vertebrae and some joints of another. I found 12 teeth today, four back teeth, . . . and one "horse." Rode Snip to Otto. . . . 10 miles afoot, 18 miles horseback. Cool.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 26, 1899.

Cool in a.m. Saddled horses and rode . . . four miles or so. Am writing under a rock where I have taken shelter from the rain. So far this a.m. I have found a rib, a jaw of coryphodon, and three or four good joints. The strata here are puzzling. Can hardly trace them up one after another as we could back nearer the river. There are great stretches here where there are no hills with rock escarpment. Rather smooth, hard places like a pavement. The fossils are broken up much more when found in such places. Our best chance is to find fossils in the sand rock. Under such circumstances we are likely to find more entire skeletons. We have found enough so far to show us that they are in the hills, although it will take long search and much ground must be covered to make a success.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 27, 1899.

Three leg bones of a coryphodon. Went over by Dorsey Creek. Found the three bones on way over. Went way down to hills nearly south of Otto. Rained and got under rock. Dinner in hills. All tired. Three jaw pieces, 12 teeth in all today.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 27, 1899.

Mr. Brown took us out to the field across Dorsey Creek. Found fine bad land erosion. Picked up jaws with many teeth. Also five other little pieces of jaws. One phenacodus jaw, teeth fine. Big loads going home. Dinner in hills. Found 65 or more teeth today.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 28, 1899.

. . . This a.m. started up bad land peak. It rises 800 to 1000 feet above valley. Chased rattlesnake into hole. Could not dig him out. Prof. killed one a little later. Ponies carried us a good distance up into the hills. Found a few bones. The trip chiefly photographic. Successive bad land gulches cut through strata leaving great grooves and caves and overhanging ledges. Color mostly dull reds, greys, purples, yellows, creams. Pryor mountains north, Big Horns east. Hart Mountain west. We found clams and snails and picked many up. Started on and supposed we had found the main range. Instead only a spur. Down again and on to point where bad lands stretch away in grey and purple and red

layers. Cliffs of rock and cliffs of clay, caverns, shelves, perched rocks, and sage brush slopes. Peaks, sugar loafs, ridges, hogbacks, all in a miscellaneous colored heap. Erosion in bad lands slow, but weathering slower. Saw 12 hawks tonight flying away from storm against the wind. Catching bugs. Sunshine away to south. Cloudless.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 30, 1899.

A quiet Sunday at the ranch. Read, slept, wrote home. Hot in a.m. Windy and cloudy p.m.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., July 31, 1899.

Went to Otto in a.m. . . . Gave out notice of preaching next Sunday. To hills from Otto across Dorsey Creek. Rained a little. . . . Found about 100 teeth today. Pretty good sets of seven jaws and bones to match. . . .

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., August 1, 1899.

Left for hills south. Put double rig saddle on Billy. Goes O.K. Made long ride in hills and found nothing. Explored about the head of Dorsey Creek. Wrote on Article No. 1 in p.m. Saw most beautiful sunset, golden, purple, and blue effect on clouds, mountains, and sky. As sun sinks lower the intensity of the gold increases until it flows. Rays shoot high to zenith and cirrus clouds over mountain show creamy. Directly toward the west the heat waves make the whole scene have a rippling motion. Crickets chirp, mourning doves call one another, the river roars over its rocky bed. . . . Nature goes to sleep.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., Aug. 2, 1899.

Worked gulches near butte this a.m. I found 37 teeth. One head well preserved. Also leg bones shorter than common.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., Aug. 2, 1899.

Worked near Willow Creek. Found 37 teeth from one head, 70 in all. Dinner in hills. Hot.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., Aug. 3, 1899.

Early start. Up toward butte. Found one jaw and isolated teeth. Found large buffalo head and deer and elk horns. Wrote on Article 1 when I got home. Rain in p.m. Billy jumped up the bank of a ditch and almost tumbled back in.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., Aug. 4, 1899.

I write from midst of bad lands. Wonderfully silent. There is a great sand rock at my back furnishing fine shade. . . . In p.m. finished Article 1 and got it ready to mail to Prof. Hall. 11 teeth.

The editor has been unable to locate any of the four articles which Frank Moore wrote and mailed to Professor Christopher W. Hall.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., Aug. 5, 1899.

Sunday. Ready to go to church. Beautiful morning. Feel first rate. Mr. and Mrs. Brown, Prof., and I drove to Otto. I preached. Home in p.m.

Winslow's Ranch, Otto, Wyo., Aug. 7, 1899.

Rode black horse. Went to hills in a.m. Rained and we got wet. In evening I rode to Otto. Got paper and rode to Winslow's ranch. Dr. Johnson there. Staid over night there. Thirty-four teeth found. Five different animals represented.

Tatman Mountain, Wyo., Aug. 8, 1899.

In camp on Tatman Mountain. Dry camp. Supper of baked beans, coffee, bacon, bread. Horses hobbled. . . .

Tatman Mountain, Wyo., Aug. 9, 1899.

Moved camp [at] 8 a.m. . . . Fifty foot steep slide. Mountain sheep track. Hunting water. . . . Driving pack horse. Pack horse almost over steep ledge. No shoes on horses. Acres of ground, no water. Buffalo head [and] hide. Can't stop in fertile fossil region for want of water. Elk trail winding down gulch. Sliding down hill on horse. Rained. Shelter under horse's neck. Watered horses in muddy red water. Slid down hill 50 feet. Jumped ditch 3 feet across, 7 feet deep. P.M. We camped at water holes. Dinner at 1 o'clock. At 2:30 started on. Fine success for me, leg bone [of a] coryphodon. Whole jaw of small animal. Three jaws and head bones of coryphodon. Best found yet. Twenty-one teeth of small animal besides head and whole jaw. Bad lands . . . deeply eroded, colored brightly. Fine shelves for bones. Tired from hunting. Five minutes rest on flat ground. Total relaxation and on again. Evening. In camp about fire. Cool. Beautiful starlight.

Tatman Mountain, Wyo., Aug. 10, 1899.

Up early 4:30. Breakfast and off after horses. Stewart and Prof. went hunting fossils. Brown and I started for horses. Trailed them six or seven miles straight toward gap in mountains. Caught them at 9:30. . . . Rode bare back down. Back at noon. In p.m. Stewart and Brown went out and killed an antelope. Prof. and I went after fossils. I found . . . over 30 vertebrae, also 12 teeth. About 400 teeth to date. Back to camp late and supper by fire light. Cool breeze. Twenty shooting stars.

Tatman Mountain, Wyo., Aug. 11, 1899.

Up at 5 o'clock. Breakfast in cool. Out on trip. Wild horses ran from us when they saw us three miles away. Ran along edge of butte. . . . In field under rocks resting. Hot. . . . Camp [is] safe when we go away and leave it. Found jaw of coryphodon, three teeth in front welded together. In p.m. rode up gulch with



Brown. Found 12 vertebrae of coryphodon and fish scales. Supper by fire light.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., Aug. 12, 1899.

Wakened in night by my horse. Caught him and tied him up. In morning he was loose. Saddled him before sun up for our other horses were gone. Found them four miles away headed for home. Hard work heading them off. Ran them back to camp. Left camp at 9 o'clock. Top of Tatman Mountain at noon. At ranch by 3 p.m. Tired. Packs rode well. Tied them on with squaw hitch. . . . Saw big, fine eagle on Tatman Mountain. He flew to valley and lit on bad land point. . . .

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., Aug. 13, 1899.

Sunday. A quiet day at the ranch. Tired and resting. Wrote letters home.

Brown's Ranch, Wyo., Aug. 14, 1899.

At ranch. Wrote Article II for Prof. Hall and began III. Prof. [Sardeson] packed boxes. Clearest of days. Wrote Prof. Hall. Sunday saw turtle dove in nest. Got close up to it, 3 feet.

W. Gould's Ranch near Otto, Wyo., Aug. 15, 1899.

. . . Wrote Article III and finished correcting II. Dinner at Brown's and off to Otto. At 3 there. . . . Went into bad lands near Otto and got little tooth, large teeth, and large pile of bones. Met W. Gould on road. At house at 5:30.

Russell H. Austin's Ranch, Shell, Wyo., Aug. 16, 1899.

Up at 6. . . . Left W. Gould's at 8:30. Called one-half hour at J. Gould's. . . . Then out on road. . . . On bench found a few fossils. To Basin City at 11 o'clock. . . . Horse shod. Called about town till 4:30. Left then for Shell. . . . Rode up to Shell Creek in 2 hours. To Austin's 3½ hours. Mail from Coral and Prof. Hall. Beautiful here on creek.

Austin's Ranch, Shell, Wyo., Aug. 17, 1899.

Up early and rode to Mr. Hardy's to head off Mr. Patten. Found [Mr. Patten] and he consented to make a visit to dinosaur fields. The great discovery. Left ranch at 9:30. At 10:30 mounted hill and looked down into valley. Escarpment of yellow sand stone. Purple beneath. Chalky or white lime stone ledge eroded into purple and gray bad land hills. Saw shoulder bone of dinosaur six rods away. Bones cover several acres. Bones 3 to 5 feet long and shoulder bone 15 inches across top. Mr. Patten kindly let me see it all and he left for home at 11. I put my mark up on the ground on a stone. Must be remains of several dinosaurs here. Rode around point and discovered another bed. Here found tooth fully preserved. Returned to upper creek. Dinner

at Bertha Solan's. Charles there. Up to Austin's and told of the find. Brought two vertebrae and a tail piece along. Rested and visited in p.m.

During the Mesozoic, a period of some 130 million years, flying, marine, and land reptiles were masters of the world. Dinosaurs of many varieties and sizes originated in the Triassic era, reached their zenith of development in the Jurassic, and disappeared near the end of the Cretaceous. Mammals, which in the succeeding Cenozoic period were to replace reptiles as the dominant species, were small, scarce, and primitive. In western America, including Wyoming, the Rocky Mountains had not yet been uplifted and vast areas were occupied by rivers, lakes, lagoons, and an inland sea. The climate was warm, rainy, and humid. Lush tropical vegetation provided abundant fodder for a variety of herbivorous dinosaurs, including Brontosaurus, the largest four-legged creature ever to live on earth. One of these monsters found near Medicine Bow, Wyoming, in 1898 measured fifteen feet two inches in height and sixty-six feet eight inches in length. The herbivorous dinosaurs, in turn, were preyed upon by the carnivorous Allosaurus and the even more predatory Tyrannosaurus rex. Late in the Cretaceous era dinosaurs became extinct partly as a result of climatic changes. When tropical zones became temperate or cold, dinosaurs lost their customary food supply. Their over-specialization and perhaps their stupidity prevented them from adapting to the changed conditions.

Austin's Ranch, Shell, Wyo., Aug. 18, 1899.

In a.m. rode through hills south in search of more dinosaurs. Didn't find any trace although I rode along the Jurassic up lift for miles. Back to ranch at noon. In p.m. called on Mrs. Smith and Sam. Couldn't ride farther on account of horse's foot. Wrote letters to Prof. Hall and others.

Austin's Ranch, Shell, Wyo., Aug. 19, 1899.

Called along Shell Creek on Ed. Smiths, McKenzies, Kershners, Charles Lampman, Al Lampman, Grandma Lampman, Robert R., and Eldridge Hatten. Back. The men came in at 6 o'clock. General prosperity. Six hundred tons of hay on Horse Creek.

Austin's Ranch, Shell, Wyo., Aug. 20, 1899.

Preached to 70 people at school house. In p.m. baptized child at Mr. McKenzie's.

Camp on Shell Creek, Wyo., Aug. 21, 1899.

Went down Shell Creek and began work on fossils. Large and well preserved. . . . Dug at big bone. In camp late at night.

Camp on Shell Creek, Wyo., Aug. 23, 1899.

Out in hills early. Brown and I worked on big bone all a.m. Chipped out from beneath the bone. Pasted cracks with flour. Gunny sack overtop soaked in flour paste. Dried in sun. Hardened. Dug other bones out under the end of the large bone. Large bone 5 feet 3 inches long and 18 inches across large end.

Austin's Ranch, Shell, Wyo., Aug. 23, 1899.

Wrote Article IV and sent it to Prof. Hall. In p.m. called at Charles Lampman's. Supper there. Returned to Austin's. Fire in fireplace, like old times. Robert brought mail. Letter from Coral, Baby sick. Decision in 10 minutes. Robert to ride with me to railroad. Packed sack. Saddled. Off at 9:45 p.m. Rode Snip to Charles Lampman's and got horse of him. . . . Trail through hills to red gulches.

The letter which Frank Moore received from his wife, Coral, contained the disturbing news that Alice, the fourteen month-old daughter of Frank and Coral, was seriously ill with pneumonia. At this juncture Frank immediately decided to return with all possible dispatch to Minneapolis. The story of his horseback journey across the Big Horn Mountains to Parkman, Wyoming, and from there by rail to Billings, Montana, and to Minneapolis is the closing episode of his 1899 Wyoming journal.

En route to Parkman, Wyo., Aug. 24, 1899.

Twelve midnight. On up and up. Beautiful moonlight, rocks clear cut. Hunt's at 1 o'clock a.m. Past Hudson Falls to Beaver Creek. . . . Foot of steep trail at 2 o'clock. Long, hard climb. To place where George Sabin was thrown over. Place where little Sender girl was killed. Up and up. Chilly. Saw outlines of mountains far away. Bald Mountain trail. . . . Steep gulches in wagon trail. Through trees and on top at 3 o'clock. Road at 3:30. Foot wet in Beaver Creek. Cold. Snow  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile away. . . . Frost, ice, walked to keep warm. Stars clear. Bald Mountain road 3:50. Morning star at 4 o'clock. Faint light at 4:30. Sunrise at 5:15. Clear, rosy on lime cliff, on snow. Dead horse by the way. Our horses doing nicely. Fine riders. At six o'clock at ranch on mountain. Breakfast there. Met forest preserve warden. Rested 3 hours. At 9 a.m. on road. Nine-thirty at Fool's Creek. . . . Ten-thirty saw valley from summit. . . . At 11:30 at fort. . . . Twelve forty-five p.m. at Parkman. Sixty-five miles in 15 hours, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  actual hours of travel. Dinner. Resting. Sent message. Three forty-five boarded train. Passed Custer battlefield on Crow Reservation. . . . Arrived in Billings at 7:05 p.m. Found telegram from Coral that baby is better. . . .

Billings, Mont., Aug. 25, 1899.

Wired Coral when I will be home.

The fossils discovered by Professor Sardeson and his assistants were studied and classified at the University of Minnesota. Their value, based on prices demanded for such specimens on the mineral market, was estimated to be not less than 3000 dollars. The inventory of findings as presented by Professor Hall on April 3, 1900, to President Northrop reads as follows:

- A. A number of invertebrates of different types.
- B. Parts of the skeletons of vertebrates:
  1. Three or four species of crocodiles from the Tertiary.
  2. Three species of turtles from the Tertiary.

3. One or two species of monkey from the Tertiary.
4. One species of creodont.
5. One or more species of five-toed horse, phenacodus.
6. One or more species of three-toed horse, and one or two probably related species.
7. Four or five species of coryphodon.
8. Bones of an archaic rodent.
9. One or more species of birds.
10. Nearly 100 bones of huge dinosaurs from the Jurassic.

## GEOLOGIC TIME CHART

PERIOD	EPOCH	RECORD OF LIFE	YEARS
CENOZOIC ERA			
Quaternary	Recent	Modern man.	11,000
	Pleistocene	Early man.	1,000,000
	Pliocene	Supremacy of mammals.	
	Miocene	Appearance of racoons, weasels, and mastadons. Development of the horse. Common occurrence of rhinoceroses, camels, cats, and dog-like carnivores.	
	Oligocene	Disappearance of archaic mammals. Appearance of a primitive anthropoid ape, elephants, dogs, cats, saber tooth tigers, beavers, squirrels, mice, camels, giant hogs, and rabbits. Development of the horse and rhinosceros.	
	Eocene	Mammals included ancestral horses, tapirs, coryphodons, camels, pigs, rhinoceroses, rodents, monkeys, and whales.	
	Paleocene	Mammals became dominant and included archaic flesh-eating creodonts, primitive coryphodons, insectivores, and marsupials.	70,000,000
MESOZOIC ERA			
Cretaceous		Presence of crocodiles, turtles, snakes, lizards, and marine invertebrates. Appearance of marsupials and placental mammals. Maximum development followed by extinction of dinosaurs and flying reptiles.	130,000,000

Jurassic	Dominance of reptiles on land, in the sea, and in the air. On land saurians, including dinosaurs, abounded. Mammals were small and scarce. Birds made their first appearance.	160,000,000
Triassic	Decline of amphibians. Development of reptiles, including dinosaurs. Existence of a few small, primitive mammals.	200,000,000
PALEOZOIC ERA		
Permian	Development of reptiles.	
Carboniferous	Appearance of small reptiles.	
Devonian	Fishes abounded and amphibians appeared.	
Silurian	Earliest land animals and plants.	
Ordovician	Appearance of primitive fishes.	
Cambrian	Appearance of marine invertebrates.	500,000,000



1865 Was-sa-Kee - Shoshone Chief

*Courtesy Edward O. Parry  
(Savage & Ottinger Photo)*

CHIEF WASHAKIE, 1865

# *Notes on the Early Life of Chief Washakie*

TAKEN DOWN BY CAPTAIN RAY

*Edited by*

DON D. FOWLER

## FOREWORD

In his initial article in the series "Washakie and the Shoshoni" published in the *Annals*,\* Dale L. Morgan calls attention to the fact that "scarcely a beginning has been made in reconstructing the history of the Shoshoni."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Morgan's collecting and publishing of the numerous documents relating to the Shoshonis was itself a major contribution to that history. The present article is considerably smaller in scope, presenting as it does, a single document. Yet this document is of some historical interest since it reports some of Chief Washakie's reminiscences of his life prior to the advent of reservation times. Further, it provides, in Washakie's own words, corroboration of some aspects of Shoshoni culture prior to the reservation period—in this instance, the location of settlements and patterns of warfare—as well as Washakie's remembrances of significant events in the history of his tribe and of Wyoming. Thus the "Notes" are of interest both to the historian and the anthropologist, in that they provide a narrative of events as well as some insight into Shoshoni cultural patterns in the early 19th century.

The "Notes" came to light during the present writer's research of historical materials, at the Bancroft Library, University of California, toward a study of Shoshoni ethno-history, which is presently in preparation.

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\* I wish to acknowledge the permission granted by the Bancroft Library to publish the manuscript. Also, I wish to gratefully acknowledge a fellowship from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research which made my research at the Bancroft Library and at the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming, possible.

1. Dale L. Morgan, "Washakie and the Shoshoni, Pt. I", *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1953, p. 141.

2. Information contained in a brochure in the Ray Papers entitled, "Military Record of Brigadier General P. H. Ray, U.S. Army Retired, 1861-1906."

The "Notes" on Washakie's life herein presented were taken down in longhand, apparently from dictation by Washakie, by Captain (later Brigadier General) Patrick Henry Ray. Captain Ray was commander of Company I of the 8th Infantry, U.S. Army, stationed at Fort Washakie on the Wind River Indian Reservation from April, 1891 to August, 1893 and from August, 1893 until April, 1895 he served as Indian Agent at the Fort.<sup>2</sup> The "Notes" were made sometime during this period but it could not be established exactly when. The original manuscript together with other of Ray's papers were later donated to the Bancroft Library.

In editing the notes we have made no deletions or changes in the narrative, adding only two periods at the ends of sentences.

## CHIEF WASHAKIE

Washakie was born in the tribe known as "Flatheads." He was very poor when he was young and after he grew up to be a tall young man he joined the Shoshones at the age of 16.<sup>3</sup> At that time he first knew Bridger who was a little older than himself. A short time after his marriage the soldiers came (Albert Sydney Johnston) which set the year at 1858.<sup>4</sup> Bridger built a cabin. The first white man seen by Washakie was a French man who built a log house on the Green River and commenced trading with the Indians and at Fort Bridger. Washakie went trapping with Bridger many years along the Snake and Green Rivers. He remained with Bridger and the French traders until he had a family of four children. He was not full chief at that time. A commissioner came and asked him to bring all his Indians into Fort Bridger.<sup>5</sup> The tribes were then divided, some were afoot and some were on horses, but few of the horse Indians are now left. At that time they asked Washakie who was chief of the Shoshones. All the Indians were scattered, some hunting for buffalo. The real head chief was with the party hunting buffalo, his name Gah-na-

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3. Washakie's joining the Shoshoni at age 16 would appear to conflict with Hebard's view (Grace Hebard, "Washakie" Cleveland, 1930) that Washakie, with his mother and siblings, joined the Lemhi Shoshoni band when Washakie was 4 to 5 years old, after his father was killed. If, on the other hand "Shoshonies" here refers to the Shoshoni of the Fort Bridger area, there is again conflict with Hebard's account since she places his joining this group sometime between 1826 and 1832, which, according to her estimation of Washakie's age (b. ca. 1798) would have made him between 28 and 34 years old. Bridger arrived with the Ashley party in the early 1820's at which time Washakie would have been in his early or late 20's if Hebard's estimation of his age is correct.

4. Here again there is an inconsistency, unless we assume that Washakie did not marry until he was in his fifties. Traditionally, Washakie is said to have been married about 1833 or 34, according to popular literature and to his descendants at Wind River whom the writer interviewed in the fall of 1961. The date for the arrival of Johnston's Army should be 1857.

5. This was probably Jacob H. Holeman who was at that time Indian Agent for the Utah Territory. See Morgan, "Washakie and the Shoshonis," *Annals* Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 163.



cum-ah, and there were a number of war chiefs. Oh-ho-mag-we-ah, who was chief medicine man, introduced the Sun Dance among the Shoshonies. He belonged to a band of Shoshonies who are extinct now, perishing from the small pox. They lived along Bear River, Snake and Green Rivers. Up to that time he had not seen any soldiers and he heard that soldiers were in the Arapahoe country calling in representatives of all tribes. The commissioner said they must not fight anymore among themselves but must make friends. The Shoshones were at war with the Ute, Sioux, Arapahoe and Cheyennes. Flatheads were friends and also the Ban-nocks. He was sent to all the Shoshones to tell them there should be no more wars and all the bands were to be at peace. The Shoshones all met, had a big talk. Bridger was there and some white men with wagons. Their meeting took place on the Sweet-water near where old St. Mary stage station was established.<sup>6</sup> This was the first white man who ever came to give them council. George Terry, a Mormon, was there. Washakie told them all what the commissioner said and they slept on it all night and in the morning when they got there [*sic*] were a great many buffalo in sight. Some stopped to kill buffalo and then went with Bridger. They had not gone far when they were met by an emigrant train who told them that a Shoshone and his boy had been killed by six Indians, and asked Washakie to go and look at them. Then the commissioner, Bridger and Washakie all saw the dead Indians and they all felt very bad, just when peace was near. They found that the Cheyennes had killed them. They pursued them but could not overtake them. They held a council and asked the commissioner if the Shoshones were the first he had talked with, if he had not lied about all making peace. They held a council for three days and all the Shoshone chiefs were not in favor of going any further with the commissioner. On the morning of the 4th day, Bridger came to his lodge and woke him and told him he was going to leave them, that if they were afraid to go with him, he was going back to his store. His goods were being wasted and he was going back. Bridger told Washakie that he must be chief, the others had gone back and that he must get the young men in and he did so. He called in all the young men who had been to war with him and told them he was going to stay with the white men and they must make up their minds to go or stay, and they all said they would stay. There were a good many of them. They selected Washakie as their war chief. Bridger and all were well pleased. The young men said they would fight the Cheyenne, the Arapahoes and Sioux. The next day they left their lodges and went down the river with the whites to Fort Laramie. There they

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6. This is corroborated by letters written by Holeman dated Aug. 11, 1851 and Sept. 21, 1851. See Morgan, *op cit*.

found a great many Sioux, Mandans, Arapahoes, etc. He never before saw so many lodges and his people were frightened and expected to be killed. There were no soldiers at Laramie at that time. He met old Friday there. They camped near the fort and Friday and he went and saw soldiers for the first time. They were in camp and were the first men he ever saw in black coats (To-quash-ho). Bridger said they were chiefs and Indians must do what they said. All made friends with the Sioux and Arapahoe. There were Mandans there called the corn eaters. The soldiers told them not to be afraid, that they would help the Shoshones if the Cheyennes attacked them.

The next day the Cheyennes came mounted for a fight. They came in full array with war bonnets and coo sticks, the same Indians that killed the two Shoshones on the Sweetwater. They shouted and sang. Washakie got ready to fight them and the soldiers got ready to help him. Four officers went out to meet the Cheyennes and stopped in front to look at them (reconnoiter). And when the Cheyennes saw the soldiers were ready, they drew off. The Shoshones then went with the soldiers to old Fort Mitchell at the Mouth of Horse Creek, where they were to meet a train loaded with presents. They waited until the leaves began to fall. Wagons finally came. That was when he was made chief. He and the soldiers camped together and the Sioux, near Ft. Mitchell. He there got his first tea. He knew about coffee but never before saw tea. Some of the Indians thought it was a new kind of powder and were afraid to drink it. They did not know what bacon was. They said it was not bear or deer fat. Bridger told them it was different from the Buffalo or bear and was a lard.

The Cheyennes came in and made peace and gave up the scalps taken on the Sweetwater. They gave them all the provisions they could carry and all agreed to be good friends. He is the only one who kept his word—their ears were bad and they soon forgot. They all broke camp and went home. He came back to the Sweetwater and they had barely got back when a war party of Crows came down and stole a lot of Shoshone horses. The Shoshones followed and killed two Crows. Washakie was not there. All the others broke the treaty and he has fought them ever since.

*War<sup>7</sup>.* The first fight was before I was married, I was a boy. It was with the Blackfeet. There were eight in the party, all on

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7. It is difficult to assess when the events described herein took place. If we accept the traditional dates for Washakie's birth (about 1798) and marriage (about 1833) the internal evidence would then indicate that the various raids took place between *ca.* 1820 and 1840. Despite the lack of precise dates the account furnishes interesting evidence that the Shoshonis raided for horses, guns and captives and took scalps in typical Plains Indian fashion.

foot.<sup>8</sup> We went until we found five lodges of Blackfeet. We captured all the horses in sight, I getting nine. We captured one woman and two children. The woman refused to go and one of the men killed her. It was in the summer and in the day time. All the people ran away but others came. We surprised them. We crawled up and got their horses this being the first they knew of it. The Crows had a great many Buffalo and beaver skins and horses. We killed several Blackfeet. We came from Bear River to the Blackfoot country. We found them three day [*sic*] north of Yellowstone near Three Buttes. We all came back safe. The Shoshones had very few horses. Some were armed with rifles and some with bows and arrows and spears. Oh! We were no good long ago, we were rattle-headed.

Ever since I was a boy, we the Shoshones, always stood alone except for the Bannocks and Flatheads. We fought everybody and everybody fought us. The Bannocks and Flatheads were only friends. We are not the same people, we do not talk alike.

2nd The next time we went to war was against the Blackfeet. There were ten of us. We met six Blackfeet coming to make war on us, all were on foot. We were lying concealed behind a hill and saw them a long way off. We had six guns and the Blackfeet had four. We charged them on foot and the Blackfeet threw off their robes and ran into a stream that was deep, up to their waists. I killed one Blackfoot and took his scalp and one of our men killed another. The other four ran into the timber. I captured two guns. They were trade guns cut off—flint locks. We got two scalps and the other four got away. We got what we went for, hair. We then returned to our country, Bear River, with our scalps and the two guns, but we did not get any horses.

3rd The next was also against the Blackfeet. We were looking for their hair. We crossed the Yellowstone and went to the south of Three Buttes. There were eleven of us, two mounted and the rest on foot. We saw in the distance a great many Blackfeet moving their village. We lay concealed behind a hill and watched them pass and saw them go into camp about two miles away. While we were watching one man mounted. The man came toward us and I said now keep still and we will cut him off. He came back on the road riding rapidly. He had lost a looking glass. After he passed us we cut him off from his camp and I killed him. I shot him with my gun and took his scalp. They did not hear or notice

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8. Going to raid for horses on foot even when there were other horses available was a widespread pattern among the Northern Plains tribes. See Bernard Mishkin, "Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Indians," *Monographs of the American Ethnological Society* III, New York, and the sources cited therein.

us in the village though we fired several shots. I fired one shot and wounded him. He ran and I chased him on my horse and killed him with my knife. We then left with the horse and one scalp.

4th The next was a large war party, a great many Shoshones. We saw the Blackfeet running Buffalo of which there were a great many. It was to the east of Three Buttes. We watched them until they had dressed all their meat and while some were still cutting up their meat and some were still in their lodges. We watched until most of the hunters had passed to the lodges. We saw them running, two on one horse, and their horses heavily loaded with meat. We charged them. I captured one young man who is now with the Crows. I sold him to the Crows for a horse, a gun and some blankets. He cried when I captured him but by signs I told him I would not kill him. The other two escaped into the brush. We captured and used the horses, and all the meat. I left the boy with my party and with another man followed the men who had run into the brush. Two Blackfeet fired at us and missed us, they were very close but they missed. I killed one with my knife and the other Shoshone killed the other with his gun. We got both scalps. The Blackfeet found the dead men and followed our trail. We ran and came into a Crow village. We ran through the village and left the Crows to fight the Blackfeet. The Blackfeet thinking it was the Crows who had killed their young men fought fiercely and in the fight we got clear off and returned to our country with the horses and scalps. We could hear them fighting and laugh much to hear our enemies killing each other.

5th We were all in camp on Green River when a great many Shoshones went to war against the Blackfeet. There were a great many of us all on horses. We passed north to the west of the Teton range, crossed the Snake and struck a trail in what the White calls Teton Basin. We followed it to the Missouri and below the canon [*sic*] and there we saw a great many Blackfeet lodges. They were along the Missouri river, all strung along. We attacked the village and all the Blackfeet came out to fight us. We fought a long time and the Blackfeet were too much and whipped us and drove us off. We saw the village first the day before and held a council and decided to fight and attack at day light the next morning. We charged the main village and captured about one half of their horses and fought until about noon. We got the horses all away. During the fight five Shoshones were killed and we fought hard to keep the Blackfeet from getting their scalps but could not save them. We killed four Blackfeet but got only one scalp. The Blackfeet then made signs that they wanted to stop fighting and make peace and we agreed and separated. The Blackfeet went to their lodges and we returned to our own country, and brought back all the captured horses.

6th At this time Bridger had a store on Green River and from there I made up my war parties. I started again to hunt for a Blackfoot village on the same trail as before, through Teton Basin. I found a village on the Missouri above the canon [*sic*]. I had about forty men, all on foot. We met them running out from the village hunting Buffalo, the buffalo being between us and the Blackfeet, but the Blackfeet got the buffalo in a small basin and killed a great many and while we were watching the hunt, we were joined by a party of our own people who had followed us on horses. We held a council and I said if your horses are not too tired we will leave all men on foot and charge the Blackfeet, they were still chasing buffalo and made a great dust. Many buffalo were wounded and the Blackfeet were killing those who are very hard to kill when they are mad. We charged through the dust, many who were dressing buffalo were off their horses who were stampeded and started the main herd and all ran away, so fast we could not catch them. The Blackfeet turned out after us and we turned back to our people who were on foot. They followed us and fought us but we fought our way back. There were only thirteen of us, against them all, our men on foot had been left a long way back. We got into the cottonwood timber when I called my men to tie their horses and fight on foot. After fighting some time I saw that the Blackfeet were not very brave. They stayed so far away that a strong man could not shoot an arrow to them so I determined to charge them, which we did and drove them off when they rallied and drove us back. We did this often, until the Blackfeet horses got tired when one young Shoshone pursued a Blackfoot and killed him. After we got his scalp and the Blackfeet saw it, we made a sign to stop fighting and they let us draw off. We found our men on foot and we all returned to Green River, having only one scalp.

7th I soon got tired of staying at home and made up a war party of twelve men. One named Comanche now living here, was with us. We were all on foot. We found them in camp in the same place. I was married now. We stopped in the hills as close as we could get and watched them. We heard them firing and a herd of mountain sheep ran past. Now I said if they have killed a sheep we may catch them cutting it up and get a scalp. We turned to the right and all hid and we had it fixed when a fool got up, walked up in sight and the man got on his horse and ran away. I now went up in a mountain in a strong place and waited for them to attack me but they did not come. I challenged them by flashing my mirror but they dare not come. I now said keep quiet until night and we will go to their village and when it was dark started. They were all singing and beating drums. We crept close and lay behind a little hill and watched them. I asked all who had a brave heart to go with me into the village and cut some horses. They

were camped in two big circles with their horses inside. I found two with hearts big enough to go and when they were all asleep we began to creep up, when the dogs began to bark. We cut loose [more] than twenty horses. Now I sent two more in another direction after securing all we had captured. Two more men had gone and while we were waiting for them we saw two men approaching on horseback. We could not tell who they were. They proved to be Blackfeet who took the horses all back and their dogs soon smelled us. They shouted "our horses are being stolen" and we ran away and did not fight. It was soon daylight and we ran fast and soon got into the mountains and came home poor—we got nothing. We were glad to get off and when we got to the mountain we rested and watched.

# Bozeman Trail Trek

Trek No. 14 of the Emigrant Trail Treks

Sponsored by

WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL  
DEPARTMENT  
WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Johnson County Historical Society, Sheridan County Historical  
Society and Natrona County Historical Society  
under the direction of  
Paul Henderson, Lyle Hildebrand, Maurine Carley

*Compiled by*

MAURINE CARLEY - *Trek Historian*

July 13-14, 1963

Caravan—47 cars ----- 103 participants

## OFFICERS

Captain:.....	Lt. Fred Wickam, Wyoming Highway Patrol
Scout and Topographer.....	Paul Henderson
Wagon Boss.....	Lyle Hildebrand
Announcer.....	Charles Ritter
Guides.....	Jim Moore, Dick Eklund, Wilbur F. Williams, Glenn Sweem
Historian.....	Maurine Carley
Photographers.....	Pierre LaBonte, Charles Ritter
Press.....	Gertrude Spomer
Registrars.....	Paula Waitman, Fred Hildebrand
Cooks.....	Elizabeth Hildebrand, Vera Ritter, Thelma Condit, Helen Henderson

NOTE: *Computing miles for this trek start at 0 at Fort Fetterman.*

It was especially appropriate to retrace the old Bozeman Trail this year as 1963 marks the hundredth anniversary of its inception.

In 1851 at the Horse Creek Council the United States Government promised the Indians the Powder River Country if they would stop their attacks upon the travelers on the Oregon Trail. Unfortunately, soon after this promise was made gold was discovered near Virginia City, Montana, and the mad rush was on.

There were several routes to the Montana gold fields, but they all took too long for the eager gold seekers. In 1863 John Bozeman traveled down the east side of the Big Horns, thereby blazing the shortest route, but it ran right through the promised Powder River Country. The Bozeman Trail then became the battleground of the angry Sioux, and Red Cloud warned that he would kill every white man he found on it.

As the trail was constantly under siege, the government finally found it necessary in 1868 to close the forts along the way and abandon the road. It later became an emigrant road for the settlers who found the beautiful country in northern Wyoming a good place to ranch.

### **Saturday - July 13**

Guides - Dick Eklund, Jim Moore

8:00 A.M. On a bright, clear morning a large caravan assembled at Fort Fetterman for introductions and registration.

### **FORT FETTERMAN AND THE OLD HOG RANCH**

By Claude McDermott

The place where we are standing today was once an active military post established July 19, 1867 by the government. It was named Fort Fetterman in honor of Col. W. J. Fetterman who was killed December 21, 1866, at the Fetterman Massacre near Fort Phil Kearny.

After the other forts along the Bozeman were abandoned Fetterman became the last outpost on the Indian border so it was enlarged and equipped as a supply base. Several expeditions of the seventies set out from here. Among those was one led by Gen. George Crook on his way to meet Gibbon and Custer in the fateful campaign of '76. Fort Fetterman was abandoned as a military post in 1882.

Many fine cattle and sheep ranches were situated in the vicinity of the fort. The Andalusian cattle from Spain were found to be hardy enough to survive the cold winters. After the Indians were subdued a few soldiers, who had been stationed at Fetterman, returned to the locality and established fine ranches near here.

### **HOG RANCH**

The military decreed that the civilians who followed the army must locate across the Platte River so a settlement was made about a mile and a half from the fort. Emigrants, moving all the time, created such unsanitary conditions that the name "Hog Ranch" was given to the conglomerate settlement.

A few markers may be found today which locate the saloon and a hotel where the soldiers enjoyed themselves in true frontier fashion when off duty.



8:45 A.M. One mile from the fort we crossed the North Platte River near the old fording place. At 1.5 miles the location of the Hog Ranch was pointed out on the north bank of Fetterman Creek and the crossing of the Oregon Trail. The old trail is plainly visible at 7 M.

9:10 A.M. At 16M we came to a big bend in Sage Creek, now dry, where the Sage Creek Station was located. No evidence of the station remains but it was an ideal spot.

### SAGE CREEK STATION

By Lyle Hildebrand

Sage Creek Station was built in the period after the forts along the Bozeman were abandoned. It served as a stage station between Douglas and Ross (Ogalalla Ranch). Previous to that the stage route ran from Dry Cheyenne Crossing, about one and a half miles below where the bridge is now located, to Ross and on north.

Billie Powell, a popular and well-known old timer, carried the mail at different times between 1887 and 1907. The year after the station was established Joe Hazen, sheriff of Converse County, was killed here by an outlaw, who was headed for the Hole-in-the-Wall Country with his gang, who had just held up a Union Pacific train near Rawlins.

Mrs. Carrington's diary shows that she spent the night here on June 24, 1868, and found some water and plenty of sagebrush and buffalo chips.

9:25 A.M. Traveling again we looked for Hold Up Hollow (20 M), the first deep pitch north of the divide. Here a stage was held up and gold being shipped from Montana to Denver was boldly taken by road agents. At 22 M. we made a sharp turn for three hundred feet then followed the old trail for a quarter of a mile. Today a road at 27 M. leads east to uranium mines.

9:45 A.M. We arrived at the ruins of Brown Springs Station (28.8 M), a well known ranch and halfway house. Bill Henry, the present owner of the 88 Ranch, pointed out a flat-top rock where names carved on it by soldiers can still be seen, and a knoll where Lieut. Brown was buried.

### BROWN SPRINGS STATION

By Mrs. Will M. Henry

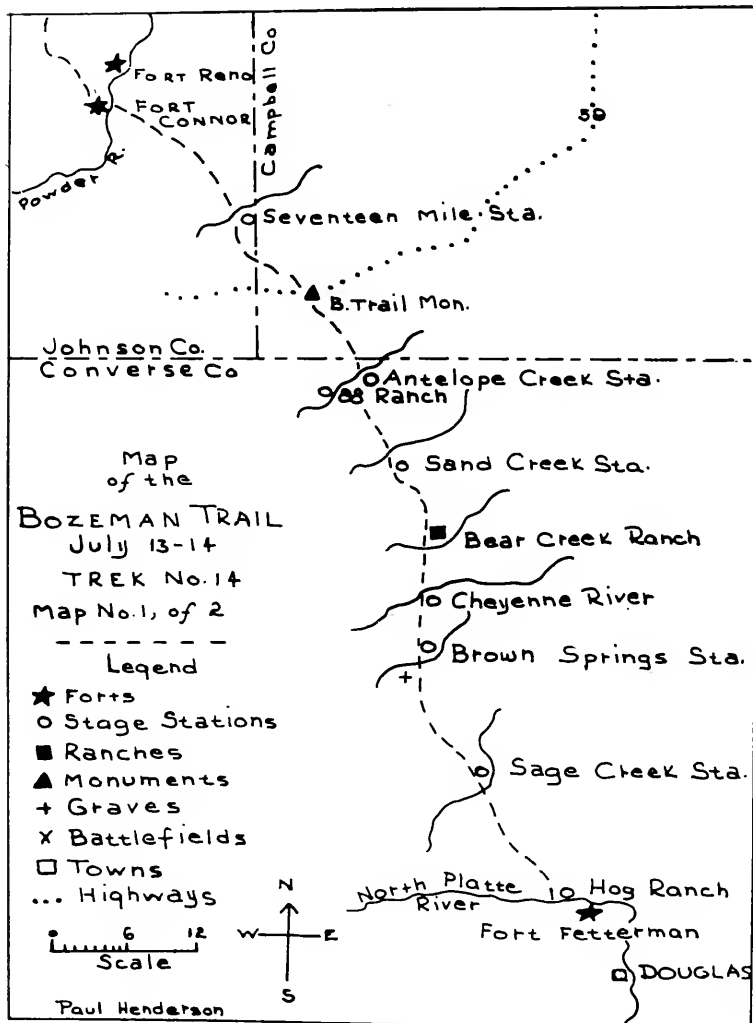
Mike Henry was with the cavalry in 1876 when the Indian battles were fought along the Bozeman Trail between Brown Springs and the Cheyenne River Crossing. Troops were camped here on the rocky hill near the flowing spring above the present ruins of these old log buildings. Their horses and mules grazed in the lush native grass in the meadows below where they were camped.

The Indians came in the night, hid themselves in the tall grass in the meadows and awaited the appearance of the troops. Very

early one morning, a boy who was with the cavalry to wrangle horses, was sent down in the meadows but was soon caught and scalped by the Indians. His screams were heard by the troops who immediately went into action. Will M. Henry remembered hearing his father say, "My God, how that boy screamed."

This incident was the beginning of the skirmishes that lasted for several days. Many Indians were killed as well as soldiers. The

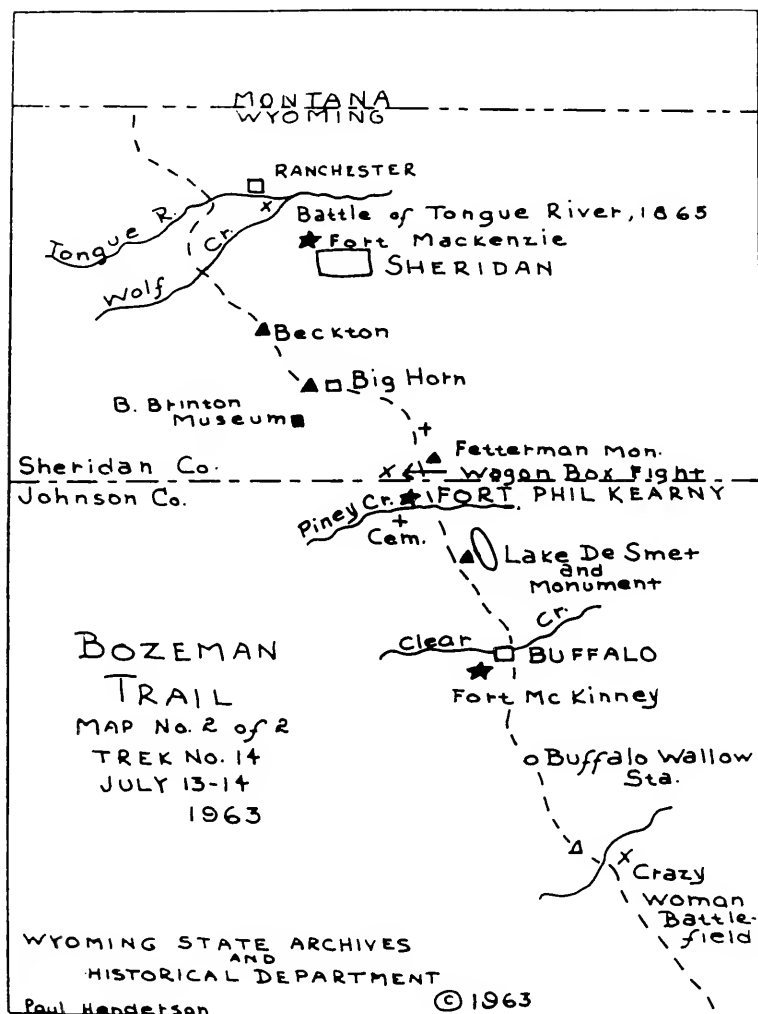
*Courtesy Paul Henderson*



Indians were driven north toward Sand Creek and Pine Ridge but returned at night and retrieved many of their dead and buried them. The soldiers and some of the Indians were buried in the meadows, but their bodies were later removed from the graves that could be found and buried elsewhere. Lieut. Brown was killed at this time and buried on a rocky hill farther north from where the troops camped. It is assumed that his body was also removed.

The cavalry, following the trail north, was with the main body of troops three miles from the Custer battle on June 25, 1876.

While he was stationed with the cavalry along the Bozeman in



1876, Mike Henry saw and liked the location of the 88 Ranch site. In 1878 he, his wife and six children, which included the new baby boy, Will M. Henry, left their temporary home at Fort Laramie and squatted on this site where they built their log buildings and established the first ranch north of the Platte River.

In the early '80's the Henrys ran a roadhouse, giving accommodations to travelers on the trail. This was also a stage stop, where horses were changed. Many times the occupants of the stage spent the night while waiting for repairs to be made on the stage at the complete blacksmith shop before continuing on. Wagon trains also often stopped and camped for several days.

Travelers stopped at the station for medicine and help for their sick. Catherine Henry cared for them and prepared many bodies for their last resting place. Grown-ups as well as children succumbed to the hardships of the trail. The Henry children and their mother often made markers for the graves beside the road.

Many celebrities stopped off the stage for meals. Owen Wister was a guest at the ranch while writing his book, *The Virginian*. Colonel Van Horn and his family stopped off for a visit on their way to the forts farther north. Will M. Henry remembered that the two Van Horn boys had a large English bulldog which was very aggressive and not very friendly to have around, until he met up with the Henry children's pet deer who soon put him in his place.

Groceries and supplies came from Cheyenne in large wooden barrels and boxes, and the Henrys always kept plenty on hand. After the Indians were subdued they became friendly and on their hunting trips would often stop at the ranch store to bargain for groceries and other articles that caught their eyes. The Henrys procured many Indian ponies this way.

Buffalo and big gray wolves were plentiful long ago. One time the family stood on their front porch and saw a pack of wolves attack a cow that had just given birth to her calf. She kept the calf beneath her and fought with her long sharp horns, but there were too many wolves to ward off and before the boys could reach them, they had hamstrung the calf.

Many herds of Texas Longhorns were trailed past the ranch on their way to Montana. The Henry boys picked up many dollars helping to herd the cattle while they grazed and rested.

George Pike, an outlaw, and his gang, who had their rendezvous near the Cheyenne River Crossing, lived on Bear Creek. George had a small enclosed pasture where he kept the strays he picked up now and then. He was a good neighbor and often visited the Henrys. Once when Will was eight or nine he rode his Indian pony over to visit George. He noticed a large number of calves and only one cow. He said, "George, how come you have so many calves and only one cow?" George laughed and said, "There's an old mare over there."

There are many tales of the Henry's ranch life. One day the

children were playing a distance from the house when a big buffalo bull spied them. They hurriedly climbed on top of a haystack pulling three year old Will after them. The buffalo pawed the stack for some time before Mike Henry and the hired men, who were cutting wild hay nearby, came to their rescue. They chased the bull up Brown Springs, shot him and preserved the hide and horns. A few years ago Will gave the horns to Clark Bishop to place in a museum.

Near the Cheyenne River Crossing on the east side of the road, now enclosed in the Henry land, is the site of the old roadhouse that was used by the Shoestring Gang as a place to keep their horses and also as a cache for stolen goods. They had many spirited horses that were kept groomed and shod, ready to be changed at a moment's notice. Many riders came and went, but the caretaker was very quiet and gave out information to no one. The law finally caught up with them and a number were sent to prison. Jewelry, watches, rings, etc. were found in the old cottonwood trees along the river.

Some of the gang died in prison, and only one ever came back to look around. He borrowed a spade at the ranch, saying his brother was buried down there, and he wanted to find his body. He was gone all day so they surmised he was looking for buried loot. Some of the James and Younger brothers were also seen at this hideout. All that remains to be seen at the site now are rusty horseshoes and old broken bottles.

For a number of years the Henrys had a post office which they named Theresa in honor of their youngest daughter, Grace Theresa. Many pieces of foreign mail arrived at this little office as two Englishmen lived a few miles away. There were no schools for the Henry children so their early education was acquired from their parents, from their English neighbors and from travelers.

10:45 A.M. Ruins of an old stockade and bridge still mark the location of Sand Creek Station (45 M).

## SAND CREEK STATION

By Bill Morgan

This station, so important to travelers long ago, seems forlorn today as the country is barren and dry, as is the creek. However, it was a convenient stopping place for the large military forces which halted here on their way to vanquish the Indians.

In 1865 Gen. Patrick E. Connor stopped here with 994 men which included six companies of the 6th Michigan Cavalry and a band of Pawnee scouts under Capt. Frank North. Besides there were teamsters, wagon masters and 185 wagons. Nearby, on a ledge of sandstone, can still be seen names carved by Connor and his officers.

When Gen. George Crook camped at Sand Creek he had 2000 men in his command. There were ten troops of the 2d and 3d

Cavalry, a part of the 4th Infantry, 86 supply wagons drawn by mules and 400 pack mules. Major Ostrander, who was with Crook, mentioned camping here for several days in November, 1876 in his book, *An Army Boy in the '60's*. On Thanksgiving Day a severe windstorm knocked down all their tents.

Several diaries mention Sand Creek. One records that on August 6, 1865, the creek seemed dry, but cracker boxes and barrels were sunk into the creek bed, and sand was scraped from the inside. This produced water which could be dipped out by cupfuls.

Another diary reports, "You could tell what kind of flour was used by reading the brand on the sacks used for reseating the soldier's trousers. Many an officer washed his underclothes in the river, sitting on the bank, wrapped in meditation, while they were drying."

10:55 A.M. We continued on the trail for two miles then traveled on a good county road for five miles.

11:20 A.M. We arrived at the Ogalalla Ranch (52 M). The old Antelope Creek Station is in a field three miles below the ranch, but it was pointed out by Eddie Moore, the present owner. He related that the Ogalalla Cattle Company was organized in 1887 and the place was called Ross. His mother, Amanda Moore, was the first postmaster (1889). Interestingly enough, there were a lot more people in the country at the turn of the century than now.

## ANTELOPE CREEK STATION

By Edith Thompson

The old timers often duplicated the same name, and Antelope ranked high as a favorite. For instance, Douglas (1886) was originally named Antelope, and it was located at the mouth of a stream which also bore the name Antelope Creek.

At this Antelope Creek Station, which was located three miles below the present Ross Road Crossing, weary emigrants stopped and rested on the trail, which was opened without the sanction of the government. Here they found a haven of rest and precious drinking water—luxuries in this land of grass, sagebrush and hostile Indians.

The travelers were constantly on the alert for war bonnets along the Bozeman, for the Sioux watched and attacked with such frequency that the trail soon became known as The Bloody Bozeman. Through this station also passed mail and government documents on the way to the forts. For this dangerous job a mail carrier earned ten dollars a day.

This land which was to become the Ogalalla Ranch was homesteaded by a Mr. Mattison who sold it to Paxon Irvine. In turn Mr. Irvine sold it to Mr. Dell Pierce who eventually sold it to Mr. Bill Moore in 1945.

We learn from an article written by Irvine that on November 1883, Mr. and Mrs. Leroy Moore and son, Lee, moved to Antelope Springs and operated the Stage Station. Once, when a stage was stopping at the station, Lee roped a nearby buffalo for the amusement of some English gentlemen on board. Bull Gulch derived its name from that incident.

Frieda and Dell Pierce recall that when they lived on the ranch from 1925 to 1945 they had to haul their drinking water from Spring Draw across the creek. They also remember a few remnants of ruins of the old station. They found rusted ox shoes and wagon wheel spokes and rims which indicated that the station must have included a blacksmith shop. That the emigrants quenched their thirst with other than spring water was evidenced by the presence of many long-empty whiskey and beer bottles. Mrs. Pierce remembers that she was concerned at times that her children might cut themselves as they played among the broken glass bottles.

In time the Ogallala Ranch supplanted the need for Antelope Creek Station. Flood waters, too, contributed to its oblivion.

11:30 A.M. After these two interesting talks we continued on our way with Pumpkin Buttes looming up in the distance. At 56 M. we left Converse County and entered Campbell County. At 61 M. we crossed Nine Mile Creek to detour through Simons Draw to Highway 387, then west eleven miles into Johnson County. At the Linch sign we turned right to Sussex. One half mile past Sussex we took a gravel road, then no road at all to the site of old Fort Connor (68 M.). Because of the rough terrain and washouts, long detours were necessary.

12:55 P.M. After Mr. D. F. Skiles welcomed the trekkers to this historic spot, lunch was enjoyed under the trees.

## THE POWDER RIVER FORTS: CONNOR AND RENO

by Edith Thompson

When Brig. Gen. Patrick E. Connor was given command of the Powder River Expedition in the early summer of 1865 at Fort Laramie, there was no military post on the Bozeman Trail. He was ordered to explore the surrounding regions of the Bozeman Trail which ran through the hunting grounds of hostile Sioux Indians, and told to build a fort on Powder River for the protection of emigrant travel to the Montana gold fields.

Under command of General Connor, the expedition was divided into three columns: one under General Connor; another under Colonel Cole; and the third under Colonel Walker. The columns of Cole and Walker were to march over separate routes to the north of the Black Hills, combine there, and then march to the Powder and join Connor who would supervise the building of the fort at that place.

The General, himself under orders to "impress the Indians," issued a similar ultimatum to Cole and Walker: "You will not receive overtures of peace and submission, but will attack and kill every male Indian over twelve years of age."

On July 30th, Connor left Fort Laramie and headed for the Powder. Accompanying his troops were Indian scouts of Omahas, Winnebagos and Pawnees, bitter enemies of the Sioux. To these Indian spies, the spoiled army rations were ample reward for the chance given them to lift scalps of the enemy who disputed their passage.

Connor built his fort on the Powder, northwest of the famous Pumpkin Buttes, and named the fort after himself. Leaving part of his regiment at the garrison, Connor marched northward attacking Indian encampments and skirmishing with lone bands along the way. Then he tried to meet Cole and Walker, but he never found them.

The combined columns of the two colonels had become hopelessly lost in the eastern Powder badlands. Their orders to impress the Indians—at first carried out by attacking and burning several villages—had now backfired. Other bands constantly hung at their flanks, stealing horses and cutting troopers off from their comrades. Food ran low. One of the troopers later recorded, "I tightened my belt to keep my guts from rattling." After many weeks of aimless wandering, the half-starved troopers stumbled at last into Fort Connor. The Powder River Expedition was considered a failure.

A year later, when Col. H. B. Carrington and his troops marched in from Fort Laramie, General Connor was relieved of his command at the fort and recalled in partial disgrace. Carrington, who had been sent to build two more forts farther north, moved Fort Connor a few miles downstream and re-christened it Fort Reno after Jesse Reno, a Civil War hero.

The following excerpt was taken from *Army Life On the Plains* by Frances C. Carrington, the Colonel's second wife. "Fort Reno was sufficiently safe at that time, except from marauding Indians who would drive off stock at every available opportunity. These Indians were willing to pledge themselves not to disturb Reno, if the soldiers would simply occupy that post and neither go nor build additional forts beyond that point. Our safety from molestation on the last day's march to Reno was wholly due to the fact that the tribes further north were preparing a great rally, to go upon the warpath in great force against Fort Phil Kearney."

After the Fetterman Massacre in 1866 and the abandonment of Phil Kearny, the "hated fort on the Piney," in 1868, Fort Reno was also abandoned.

However, Cantonment Reno, three miles north of the abandoned Fort Reno, was established as a supply depot in 1876 after General Crook's advance was stopped by Sioux warriors who defeated



Custer on the Little Big Horn. In the spring of 1877, Cantonment Reno was moved from Powder River to Clear Creek where it is known today as Fort McKinney, the Wyoming Soldier's and Sailor's Home.

2:30 P. M. From here to Buffalo the Bozeman paralleled the graded road practically all the way. Typical Wyoming scenes of rolling prairies and beautiful blue skies were enjoyed.

3:15 P. M. At 116 M. a courtesy car led the caravan from the road through a field to the Crazy Woman Creek Battlefield Monument (117 M.).

## THE CRAZY WOMAN CREEK INDIAN BATTLE

By Burton S. Hill

The Crazy Woman Creek Battlefield is on a plateau at Trabing, Wyoming, between Crazy Woman Creek and Upper Dry Fork, just east of the Crazy Woman Creek bridge.

A party consisting of twenty-six persons under the command of Lieut. A. H. Wands left Fort Reno on Powder River early in the morning of July 20, 1866, headed for the post known for a time as Fort Carrington on Piney Creek, but officially named Fort Phil Kearny. In the party were two women, one the wife of Lieutenant Wands, and the other the wife of an enlisted man. Other members of the party were Lieutenants James H. Bradley, P. M. Skinner, George H. Templeton and Napoleon H. Daniels. There was also ex-Captain Marr, late of the Civil War, and two civilians, Chaplain David Wright, and assistant surgeon Heintz, who had joined the party at Fort Reno.

For the comfort of the detachment, five wagons and two ambulances had been provided, besides four saddle horses for the use of the officers. One was a very fine stallion belonging to Captain Marr, who was also the owner of a Henry rifle.

At nine o'clock that morning, the train had just topped the hill on the Bozeman Trail overlooking Crazy Woman Creek when they saw what appeared to be a herd of buffalo on the flat to the northward beyond a line of trees bordering the banks of the stream. A pair of field glasses seemed to make it quite certain that the objects in the distance were actually buffalo.

At this juncture, it was decided that Lieutenants Daniels and Templeton should ride ahead and turn the buffalo southward towards the train so that everybody with a rifle could get a shot, and also for the purpose of having fresh buffalo meat for the journey. As the train descended the hill in a northeasterly direction, sight was lost of the two officers then beyond the line of trees, and upon reaching the sandy bottom of Upper Dry Fork, they were surprised by an attack of a band of yelping Indians. But having the rifles ready for the buffalo, the party was able to ward off the attack and no one was injured.

With some difficulty, the train pulled out of the sand of Upper Dry Fork onto the level above, and there corralled the wagons. While waiting for another attack, Lieutenant Daniels' riderless horse came running into the corral with the saddle almost slipped off. The horse was profusely bleeding from several arrow wounds. Very quickly following came Lieutenant Templeton in a badly wounded condition. He had time before losing consciousness to say that Lieutenant Daniels had been lost, and the objects seen were not buffalo, but Indians.

With trees so close at hand where the Indians could hide, Lieutenant Wands, an experienced Civil War officer, realized that the position of the party was untenable, and must be removed to higher ground. Thereupon, the wagons were strung out with the ambulances between, and a dash was made up a small hill, and further beyond about a half a mile to the west end of the wide plateau under another hill. Here the party corralled again, and rifle pits were prepared just outside the corral. But while these preparations were being made, a fusillade of arrows came from a deep draw running up from the Creek, previously unobserved, the head of which was only a few yards from the corral. Several members of the party were wounded, including Chaplain Wright, but only slightly. He was much more angry than injured, and volunteered with Private Fuller to clear the ravine of Indians. The Chaplain had a pepper box pistol, which was heard to discharge in the ravine, making a sound similar to a machine gun. All of the chambers had gone off at the same time. However, the ravine was cleared and two Indians killed.

The greatest suffering of the party during the day was from thirst, since the Indians held the creek. The wounded suffered most intensely. Finally, however, a detail offered to try to make the creek for water. This was accomplished, and all the canteens and water buckets were filled and returned. The entire party was greatly refreshed with the water, and some was given to the thirsty horses. The Indians were surprised at the new fighting vigor of the riflemen, and Captain Marr used his Henry rifle with telling results.

Later in the afternoon, it was decided that two in the party would make a dash to Fort Reno for help. For this venture, Captain Marr offered his fine stallion for the ride, and Lieutenant Wands tendered his horse for the same purpose. Chaplain Wright and Private Wallace volunteered to make the heroic ride, and were able to escape the Indians as they passed from sight over the hill to the south.

Scarcely had they been lost to view when a cloud of dust was observed to the northwest, which was taken to be Indian reinforcements, when presently a solitary horseman came in view. As he approached, an order was given for him to halt, which he did, assuring the party that he was Jim Bridger, a friend, and he was

allowed to find his way up the ravine and to the corral. Upon arrival, he said that he had read the signs on buffalo skulls along the way and had ascertained thereby that an Indian fight would occur at Crazy Woman Creek that day. He was so sure of it that he prevailed upon Captain Burroughs, with two hundred mounted soldiers riding to Fort Reno for supplies, to make a forced march to Crazy Woman. This saved the detachment from annihilation, although, besides Lieutenant Daniels, Sergeant Ferrel had been killed. He was buried nearby.

The following morning, after Lieutenant Daniels' badly mutilated body was recovered, the detachment started back to Fort Reno with it. The following day the lieutenant's remains were buried at the fort with military honors. Within a very short time, the party came upon the relief detachment coming to their aid from Fort Reno. Upon reaching Fort Reno, preparations were made for a second attempt to reach Fort Carrington, which was accomplished without incident.<sup>1</sup>

4:00 P. M. One mile farther on we stopped near a Bozeman Trail marker two hundred feet to the left of the road in a field. This marked the location of the August Trabling Trading Post (118 M.).

## THE TRABING TRADING POST

By Burton S. Hill

The Trabling Trading Post was established early in 1878 at a location several hundred yards north of the present Crazy Woman Creek bridge. At that time, however, the crossing of Crazy Woman Creek, on the Bozeman Trail, was about a mile and a quarter east of the present crossing. After fording the stream, the trail took a northwesterly course over a large area of bottom land, and from there kept the same direction for approximately three miles before turning northward.

August Trabling erected quite a large building for his operations about a mile and a half from the original crossing. The spot can still be located some thirty-five yards east of the Bozeman Trail marker to be seen just west of a wire fence along the county road.

During the following eighteen months, Trabling did a thriving business. He was able to supply practically everything the emigrants and the early settlers would be in need of. This would include staple food stuff such as bacon, flour, corn meal, coffee

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1. In 1908 an account of this engagement was furnished by Mr. S. S. Peters, formerly an enlisted man of the 18th U. S. Infantry, and a survivor of the battle. His text will be found in *Army Life on the Plains*, by Francis C. Carrington, and from what has been learned from others who were acquainted with Private Peters at Fort Phil Kearny, his account is accurate.

and such items as dried prunes and apricots. He was also able to furnish many items of clothing, including boots and hats. A quantity of liquor was also on hand, which consisted mostly of whiskey and ordinary wine.

The trading post soon became known as Trabing, and rapidly became a social center and congregating place for emigrants, early ranchers, soldiers and any others who happened to be in the vicinity. At times Mr. Trabing was also visited by marauding road agents, who robbed him of the best of his wares, which had to be replaced from Rock River, or other depots on the Union Pacific. These wares had to be hauled by bull team over the Bozeman trail, which took many arduous and tedious days of travel.

On one occasion at Trabing, these robbers laid in wait for a man by the name of Tillotson, who was supposed to have been in possession of \$22,000, for the quartermaster at Fort McKinney, an army post twenty-two miles northward on Clear Creek. However, Mr. Tillotson realized what might happen along the way, so instead of carrying the cash, he brought a bank draft, and thereby foiled the road agents. At this same time, the agents robbed Mr. Andrew Snyder, a brother of E. U. Snyder, then the post sutler at Fort McKinney. He was on his way to visit his brother when the robbers took his fine gold watch. But after he had been at Fort McKinney for several days, the watch was returned to him from some mysterious source. It was never known exactly how this came about.

After the town of Buffalo got its start along Clear Creek, three miles east of Fort McKinney, Mr. Trabing became interested and decided to move his store to the new settlement. He appears to have had considerable encouragement in making the move from Mr. Charles Buell, then one of the builders of the Occidental Hotel in Buffalo, constructed in 1880. Mr. Trabing reached Buffalo some time during the late summer or early fall of 1879, and with the help of Mr. Buell, built his store on the location now occupied by the First National Bank of Buffalo and Masonic building on South Main Street. However, he did not remain long before being bought out by John H. Conrad and Company. It is believed that he returned to Laramie, Wyoming, which had been his former home.

His building at Trabing, on Crazy Woman Creek, was used by the stage companies on the Bozeman Trail for a considerable time. Just how long it was used has not been recorded, but the building was destroyed by fire in 1895.<sup>2</sup>

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2. Very few records have been kept concerning the Trabing Trading Post. What is known of August Trabing and his operations on Crazy Woman Creek have been handed down from early day pioneers who knew

4:30 P. M. At 130 M. once stood the Buffalo Creek Station, probably named for the many buffalo wallows found nearby. At 133 M. we entered Highway 87 and drove to Buffalo (141 M.).

7:30 P. M. The Johnson County Historical Society graciously entertained the trekkers at a social hour in the Jim Gatchell Museum. All enjoyed the hospitality, the museum and the abundant refreshments.

The night was spent in Buffalo, where space was available for the campers in the city park, a lovely, wooded section of town.

### Sunday - July 14

Caravan---188 people - - - - 85 cars

GUIDES - Wilbur Williams, Glenn Sween

7:00 - 8:00 A.M. Everyone met at the park for a real western style breakfast, an annual courtesy extended by Albert Sims, one of the original organizers of the Overland Trail treks.

9:00 A.M. The first stop was made at a Bozeman Trail marker (142 M.) one half mile east of Buffalo on the Ucross highway. Mr. Williams said that old timers, familiar with the crossing of Clear Creek, think the marker should be located one-half mile farther up stream.

9:10 A. M. After returning to Highway 87 the caravan slowed down to view another Bozeman marker (145 M.) that is down stream, or about five hundred feet east of the present bridge over Rock Creek.

9:20 A.M. We stopped on the west side of beautiful Lake DeSmet (155 M.), where man diverted Piney Creek in and out of the lake in the late 1920's.

### LAKE DE SMET

By J. Tom Wall

Father Pierre Jean DeSmet was born at Termonde, Belgium, January 30, 1801. When he was twenty years old he came to

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first hand. The late Bryon Long, an early day freighter on the Bozeman Trail, and afterwards a prosperous rancher at Trabing, was able to recount many personal experiences covering the Trabing Trading Post period. Another was John R. Smith, rancher in the Trabing area as early as 1878. The late Lillian Baker, a daughter of Charles J. Hogerson, who moved with his family from Fort Fetterman to Fort McKinney about the time of its completion, was acquainted with many first hand facts concerning August Trabing. During her lifetime, on several occasions she recounted these facts to the author of this paper. As to the location of the trading post, these facts were furnished some years ago by the late Richard Young of Buffalo, who for many years had been well acquainted with that particular section of Johnson County. The location also seems to have been well known by the late F. G. S. Hess, another early day rancher in that locality.

America and joined the Jesuit mission in the United States. Then he became an instructor in the Indian school at Florissant, Missouri. In 1828, after being ordained a priest, he worked as a missionary among various tribes of Indians in the valleys of the Missouri, Yellowstone, Platte and Columbia rivers which took in both sides of the Rocky Mountains. United States officials re-



*Photo by Pierre LaBonte*

#### START OF TREK



*Photo by Pierre LaBonte*

#### TREKKERS AT WAGON BOX FIGHT MONUMENT

ported that Father DeSmet enjoyed a unique position of confidence among the most warlike tribes, and on many occasions he was commissioner on behalf of the United States government in negotiations with the Indians. One of his noteworthy accomplishments was his influence for peace terms with the Sioux led by Sitting Bull.

Father DeSmet, called Black Robe by the Indians, came west with some fur traders. Word of his coming had traveled fast, so several Flathead Indians went to greet him before he reached the rendezvous which was held near Daniel, Wyoming. He held Wyoming's first high Mass at this rendezvous on July 5, 1840.

DeSmet Monument here at Lake DeSmet was erected in memory of the explorer priest and missionary who was in the vicinity first in 1840. This shaft of native granite is located at a point between Buffalo and Sheridan where U. S. Highway 87 overlooks the full expanse of the famous lake. This large body of water attracts lovers of water sports and fishing from miles around.

The geological history of the lake is something of a mystery, but we know that the immense body of water lies over stupendous masses of coal which are among the largest known coal beds in the world. The water is crystal clear—reflecting the intense blue of the Wyoming sky. Lake DeSmet provides a wonderful outdoor playground and a great volume of water for irrigation purposes.

The Lake derives its water during the winter months from Shell Creek and Piney Creek. It was filled up to its highest point this spring which was many feet above its normal level. Some of the resorts had to move their buildings back or raise them for safety. The water needed for irrigation is let out the head gate at the north end of the lake, and it flows down Piney Creek.

### SOME INTERESTING FACTS

By Albert Bartlett

Ed L. Patrick, a prominent ranchman of Torrington, who died about 1916, told me that in the early 1880's he had taken a party of hunters to the Big Horn Mountains, and they camped one day at the shore of Lake DeSmet. Here they found remains of old foundations of buildings near the shore at the south end of the lake. This was a period of low water, the lake having risen over them since. As there is no record of habitation there, it is a matter of conjecture as to who built them, and when.

In 1935, John Paul Dodd, who lived near the old highway about halfway between Buffalo and Sheridan, showed me a flat stone about two feet long, with 1775 chiseled in it. The sevens had the short cross bar which the Spanish used, and still use, making one look something like a reverse capital F. He said that he found this stone at the dump ground at Shoshoni, Wyoming, at an old Spanish oven. This would seem to indicate that the Spaniards

got as far as Shoshoni in 1775, or they may even have gotten to Lake DeSmet on that expedition.<sup>3</sup>

9:30 A. M. Departed from DeSmet and proceeded north along the trail to the Story cut-off (154.4 M.). As the cars entered the valley, Pilot Knob was pointed out at the left. Here sentries from Fort Phil Kearny were constantly on watch for Indians from 1866 to 1868.

9:45 A.M. We arrived at the site of Fort Phil Kearny (160 M.) which is located on a rise of ground near the junction of Big and Little Piney Creeks in the foot hills of the Big Horn Mountains.

### FORT PHIL KEARNY

By D. O. Geier

As owner of this beautiful land that surrounds and comprises most of the site of Fort Phil Kearny, it is a pleasure to welcome you all here. I wish, at the outset of this paper, to pay tribute to the valiant men, both military and civilian, who gave so much effort, some even their lives, that we might live here today. We sympathize heartily with the Indians who fought so hard to retain this, their last, great, lush home. It must have been heartbreaking to lose it.

The fort was established July 15, 1866, on this strategic ridge in the forks of the Piney Creeks, by Col. H. B. Carrington because of its military advantage in protecting the Bozeman Trail as it passed over Lodge Trail Ridge to the north of us and on down into the country of the Little Big Horn.

I can indicate from here the exact boundaries of the fort. This replica stockade, built by the CCC in the early thirties, locates the northwest corner of the original enclosed area of the fort which comprised approximately thirty acres. The officers' quarters, mess hall and enlisted mens' quarters were up in this corner. The parade ground was in the field northeast of the old cabin. The stockade extended northeasterly to the brow of the hill looking toward my ranch buildings, thence southeasterly to Little Piney Creek, southwesterly here to form a water gap on the creek, then back northwesterly to this point of the replica stockade. There are places where you can still find the depression of the trench in which the logs were placed upright to form the stockade. I well remember the charred stumps of these logs protruding from the ground when I was a boy.

A tremendous amount of work and money had been expended. There had even been a sawmill and brick kiln over on the banks of

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3. For further interesting information about Lake DeSmet, see "The Legend of Lake DeSmet", by Mary Olga Moore, *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 34, No. 1, April, 1962, pp. 32-42.



Little Piney. I can still locate these points, and the heavy iron here on these grounds was the frame of the sawmill engine. It was dragged up here by my father, George E. Geier.

There were constant skirmishes with the Indians as the soldiers attempted to protect the wagon trains hauling timber from the mountains down Sullivant Ridge just to the northwest of the fort. I find one interesting reference written in *Old Travois Trails*, III:3, September-October, 1943, by Charles Schreibeis. He wrote, "This battle took place on December 6, 1866, and Colonel Carrington himself was out in the skirmish. There was considerable disorganization. During his pursuit of the Indians fifteen of Colonel Fetterman's cavalry deserted him." The reason for this is not known.

It was certainly true that the whites underestimated the cunning and outright military strategy of the Indians. These early skirmishes were merely trapsetting and maneuvering that culminated in the Fetterman Massacre, after which John (Portugee) Phillips made his long ride on the Colonel's top horse to Fort Laramie for help.

On October 17-18, 1888, 111 bodies were removed from a cemetery south of here in Hepps field and interred at Custer Battlefield. Some of the Hepps have a picture of this operation. Many white lives, as well as untold numbers of red lives, were lost here in this struggle.

On August 20, 1868, the government ordered the fort abandoned. As the troops marched south over the hills on the Bozeman Trail, the Indians immediately set fire to the fort. It had been in existence one month over two years.

10:20 A.M. We departed west from the fort on a road which paralleled the old wood-train road up Sullivant Hill to the site of the Wagon Box Fight (157.5 M.) where Mrs. Garber gave a vivid and eloquent account of the six hour battle. She pointed out the spot on Sullivant Hill from where Chief Red Cloud directed his warriors in the battle, the location of the wagon box corral, the canyons on the face of the Big Horns where the wood crews were cutting logs, and the ridges that were swarming with Indians, estimated at the time as between 1500 and 5000 warriors.

## THE WAGON BOX FIGHT

By Vie Willits Garber

The Wagon Box Fight was fought August 2, 1867, at the wagon box corral six miles west of Fort Phil Kearny. This was the camp from which the contractors, Gilmore and Porter, worked the upper and the lower pineries. Logs were obtained for construction at the fort as well as for a constant supply of firewood for cooking and for the next winter's heating.

Fourteen wooden boxes made an oval enclosure into which the

stock was shut at night. Tents in which the woodchoppers and their soldier-guards slept were outside the corral.

On July 31, Company C, under Capt. James W. Powell, had come from Fort Phil Kearny in a covered wagon with a month's rations and the new breech-loading rifles with ammunition to take the place of the formerly used muzzle-loaders. Two other covered wagons held the woodchopper's rations and various supplies.

Roll call was over and breakfast was eaten by sunrise when the wagon train, guarded by 20 soldiers under Lieut. Francis McCarthy and Corp. Paddy Conley, started to the fort with running-gears loaded with the former day's logs. At the same time, the pinery crew went upstream escorted by 13 soldiers.

About seven in the morning, large numbers of Indians appeared far to the northwest and small groups circled nearby on all sides of the camp.

Thirty-two men assembled in the corral. Of these, two were officers, 25 were soldiers and five were teamsters. Capt. James W. Powell gave orders for each man to supply himself with ammunition and to take his place in a wagon box. Most men used their hats to hold their loaded shells. Lieut. John C. Jenness, who had field glasses, said that Red Cloud was in command on the high hill to the east—the west end of Sullivant Ridge.

Repeatedly, groups of painted warriors, a few with war bonnets, attacked from different sides of the corral and were shot down. Some shot fire arrows into the corral, causing a stench from dry, burning manure. A few hurled spears. Many used guns—probably those taken the previous December at the Fetterman Massacre, and any they had taken from emigrants, trappers and hunters, or bartered from traders.

It was the first time Indians could have encountered continuous fire from breech-loading guns.

Descriptions by participants emphasize the extreme skill and the courage of the Indians as they rescued their dead and wounded.

Constant shots came from the north end of the field where the sudden slope afforded protection so that only feathers protruding from scalp locks were visible.

The battle raged not less than six hours. Just as a V-shaped mass of Indians came chanting from the northwest and were being shot down, they suddenly retreated, as did the horsemen from all the hills. The troops arriving from the fort had shot a cannon ball behind Red Cloud's vantage point on Sullivant ridge.

Lieutenant Jenness was killed by a bullet in his head early in the fight. Pvt. Henry Haggerty fought two hours with a shoulder useless before he was shot in the head. Pvt. Tom Doyle also was shot in the head.

Estimates on the number of dead Indians vary from three to twelve hundred. No event has had more wild, inaccurate tales written concerning it.

in September, 1963, the Sheridan Chamber of Commerce was contacted by W. K. MacAdam, 14 Fountain Drive, Valhalla, New York, who wrote that he had found a small pocket diary of his grandfather, Capt. Alex Wishart, who had been a soldier at Fort Phil Kearny in 1867. Mr. Glenn Sweem, president of the Sheridan County Historical Society, sent for the diary. Here are three pertinent quotations from it.

"Aug. 6, 1867 at about 10 o'clock, Cos. A & F detailed to go to Pinery — Made a corral of wagon beds. No Indians appear to have been here — only one skull to be seen.

"Aug. 7. Reveille at 3 ½ o'clock. Commenced throwing up works against the wagon beds. Slow business & inefficiently managed.

"Aug. 8. Reveille at 3 ½ o'clock. Shortly afterwards a body of 12 to 15 Indians showed themselves near the old corral & after inspecting our work from a bluff to our left and in the direction of the fort rode off from the same direction from which they came."

This proves Sergeant Gibson's statement that the fortified circle one-fourth mile to the west was made after the fight.

10:50 A. M. We departed north along the old wood cutter's road to the town of Story, which is located on what was then known as Piney Island. The caravan proceeded southeast on a paved highway down Piney Creek between Sullivant Hill and Lodge Trail Ridge to the monument commemorating Portugee Phillip's ride. From there we traveled north again on Highway 87 which runs along the Bozeman Trail to the site of the Fetterman Massacre high on a hill (1577 M.).

## THE FETTERMAN FIGHT

By Elsa Spear Byron

The morning of December 21, 1866, at Fort Phil Kearny was cold, but bright and clear. Most of the snow had melted around the fort but it was four feet deep in the timber. Colonel Carrington delayed departure of the wood train until about 10 o'clock when he decided good weather would prevail that day. This was to be the last trip to the pinery for the winter. There were about 90 men, all armed, in the train which followed along the Sullivant Hill road to the Big Horn Mountains in two parallel lines. This was done so they could form a corral quickly.

About eleven A.M. the pickets to the south on Pilot Hill signaled that Indians had attacked the wood train. Details of soldiers were quickly organized to go to its relief. Major Powell was to be in command but Bvt. Lieut. Col. W. J. Fetterman insisted he be given the mission on account of his seniority. Lieut. G. W. Grummond also asked permission to accompany the troops and at his request led 27 men from Co. C, 2d U. S. Cavalry. Capt. F. H. Brown was not officially sent with this relief but since he could not resist

another opportunity to kill Indians he slipped away on Calico, a pet pony at the fort.

Colonel Carrington gave orders that the detachment should go to the relief of the wood train but under no circumstances to cross Lodge Trail Ridge. After the detachment of cavalry, mounted infantry and foot soldiers had rushed out of the gates, the Colonel stepped upon a sentry platform and repeated his orders.

Instead of going directly toward the corraled wood train on Sullivant Hill, Fetterman went around the east end of the hill to cut off the Indians' retreat. Some of the men were armed with Spencer carbines, seven-shot breech loaders, and the rest had Springfield muzzle-loading rifles. James Wheatley and Issac Fisher, civilians, had new sixteen-shot Henry repeating rifles and they had requested to go with the troops to try out their guns.

At eleven-thirty the pickets signalled that the wood train had gone on its way to the mountains. They had never seen Fetterman and his command and didn't know that relief had been sent to them. The Indians left them to decoy Fetterman over Lodge Trail Ridge. They hesitated on top of the ridge; then Big Nose, brother of Cheyenne Chief Little Wolf, began to charge and ride in among the soldiers. The troops then followed Big Nose along the Bozeman Road over the crest of a long hill. On the left side of the ridge were concealed the mountain Cheyennes and Arapahoes; on the right were the mounted Sioux; and at the end of the ridge by Peno Creek, now Prairie Dog Creek, were the footmen and squaws.

By a pre-arranged signal, when the Indian decoys had crossed the creek, the Indian footmen sprang up and charged. The cavalry and mounted infantry retreated up to a high knoll on the crest of the hill. Wheatley, Fisher and a few veteran soldiers were lodged behind some large, flat rocks at the top of a small hill below the cavalry. These men were soon killed, but at this spot the Indians paid their greatest toll of dead and wounded.

According to the Indians, Lieutenant Grummond was killed while climbing this hill to reach the mounted soldiers who were taking a stand. Thirty-two men were killed at this end of the ridge and the rest continued to retreat until they came to a cluster of large rocks where the monument now stands.

At noon rapid firing was heard at the fort and it was evident that Fetterman's command was beyond Lodge Trail Ridge. Captain Ten Eyck was sent with another relief party. Most of the available horses had been sent with Fetterman as Ten Eyck had only a few mounted soldiers to guard the two wagons loaded with ammunition. By the time these men had crossed the Bozeman Trail Crossing of Piney Creek, above the fort, all of Fetterman's men were annihilated. An Indian sentinel signalled that re-inforcements were coming and the Indians, realizing they must finish, killed the last group before help arrived.

Ten Eyck did not follow the Bozeman to the battle scene but followed up the ridge on the east side of the road in order that he would not be ambushed. When he reached the top of the Ridge he sent Orderly Sample back to the fort with a message that he could not see Fetterman's men but that there were several hundred Indians on the Bozeman Road below, trying to get him to come down and fight. This was at 1:00 P.M. Sample came back with orders to join Fetterman at any cost, but by that time the Indians were withdrawing and the troops could see their dead comrades among the rocks below.

Forty-nine of Fetterman's command were near where the monument now stands. The rest of the slain men could not be seen from this point. It was bitterly cold and dropping farther below zero all the time. As it was evident that there was no one alive, these bodies were loaded into the wagons and taken back to the fort. Sunset on that day was 4:30 P.M. so it was after dark when they reached the fort. Ten Eyck said in his report, "I loaded the wagons with as many of the bodies as they would contain, being myself obliged to handle the greater part of them, the soldiers being so overcome with horror, as almost unable to obey orders."

The next day Colonel Carrington, Captain Ten Eyck, Lieutenant Matson and Dr. Ould, with a detail of 80 men, recovered Lieutenant Grummond's body and those of the other 31 men.

Some of the men who served at Ft. Phil Kearny afterwards lived in Buffalo. Sam Stringer went over the battlefield in the 1890's with Mr. Jim Gatchell of Buffalo, and showed him where the different groups fell. He drove one of the wagons each day in which his dead comrades were carried to the fort.

In 1908, when General Carrington spoke here, he said that in between a triangle of three rocks, back of the monument, was the spot where they found Fetterman, Brown and three troopers. This was a strategic point because the Indians could not get near the soldiers without being seen.

In 1959, the late Clark Bishop and Mr. J. W. Vaughn went over the field with a metal detector, and found many shell cases where most of the men fell in three groups.

11:10 A.M. After leaving the Fetterman marker we traveled north on Highway 87 and the Bozeman Road. We slowed down to view the location of rocks where Wheatley and Fisher were killed, then proceeded two miles to look for rifle pits (160.7 M.) on a butte where hay crews from the fort protected themselves from the Indians. A brief stop was made near the graves of six traders, who with French Pete, their leader, had proceeded west of Fort Phil Kearny to trade with the Crow Indians against Carrington's advice. Their bodies were found three days later by a scouting party from the fort.

After crossing and re-crossing the trail we reached the quaint and historic town of Big Horn (171 M.). Here the caravan

stopped on the bank of Little Goose Creek, where the James gang holed up in a dug-out during the winter of 1879-80. From there we proceeded through Big Horn on a side trip to the Bradford Brinton Museum.

12:30 P.M. The Museum was the home of the late Bradford Brinton, gentleman rancher, sportsman and collector. The house is filled with beautiful objects from around the world and the spacious grounds are well worth a prolonged visit.

1:00 P.M. We returned to the town of Big Horn where the group viewed the Bozeman marker, the historic old buildings along main street, then proceeded to the Big Horn Woman's Club House and grounds, where the Club ladies served tea and coffee, and everyone enjoyed a picnic lunch.

## HISTORY OF BIG HORN

By Vie Willits Garber

In 1878, Oliver Perry Hanna staked a claim on Little Goose. By emphasizing the beauty of the locality he bragged "Big Horn City" into existence. In 1879, the W. F. Davis family stopped off from a 13-wagon train enroute to Oregon and operated the first sawmill. In 1880, the W. E. Jackson family arrived and staked the land adjoining Hanna's. That fall, John Henry Sackett, with his family and his partner, Charles W. Skinner, brought their freight wagons loaded with merchandise purchased from the wholesalers Baker and Graham, Cheyenne.

Early in 1881, Jackson, Sackett, Skinner and Hanna had the townsite surveyed and platted by the surveyor, Jack Dow.

The hotel built by Hanna is in the process of being torn down. The building on its left is where the *Big Horn Sentinel* was published from September, 1884, to 1887. The post office is in the Sackett and Skinner store building that is now owned by the elder Skinner son, Fred, who lives in the upstairs apartment remodeled from the famed pioneer dance hall. The younger Skinner son resided in Cheyenne until his death, and was a former director of the Wyoming Department of Public Welfare. J. H. Sackett was Big Horn's first postmaster and was a Wells-Fargo agent. His second son, Carl L. Sackett, retired U. S. District Attorney of Wyoming, lives in Cheyenne.

W. E. Jackson's descendants occupy the enlarged ranch home near the trail crossing of the small stream, "Jackson Creek," up which the trail followed through a gap into the next valley.

Wyoming Collegiate Institute (1892-1897) was on the site of the present school for which George Ostrom is making a mural, "A Bozeman Train Crossing Little Goose Valley, 1864."

2:00 P. M. We then crossed and re-crossed the trail up Jackson Creek to Beaver Creek Divide till we reached the lovely valley of the Big Goose.

2:30 P. M. We arrived at Beckton marker (187.1 M.) where haying crews fortified a butte to protect the men working below.

### FORTIFIED HILL AT BECKTON

By Elsa Spear Byron

Just west of the Bozeman Trail crossing of Big Goose Creek at Beckton, Wyoming, is a natural fort hill some 500 feet long. No other hills are near and a fine meadowland lies around it. Here, in 1866, hay was cut for Fort Phil Kearny. The soldiers dug rifle pits along the south edge and reinforced them with boulders. A few years ago the pits were in fair condition, six or eight inches deep and ten or twelve feet long. They were wide enough to protect the men lying down in them.

Coe and Carter had the contract for cutting hay for the fort and received \$126 a ton for it and still lost money. They cut wild hay on Piney, also around Lake DeSmet and in the valleys of Little and Big Goose Creeks. They paid their men \$60 a month for hauling hay, wood and logs. Fifty men were hired as guards for the different trains and were paid \$5 a day.

On the 13th of September, 1866, the Indians made several attacks on Carter's hay party of 84 men here at Big Goose Creek, killing three men and wounding others. They fired the hay stacks, broke up six mowing machines with hatchets, heaped hay upon them and set them on fire. They also captured the raking teams. The hay crew spent the night digging more rifle pits on the hill.

Carter paid the stuttering blacksmith, Jose, \$5 to go to the fort for relief. It was a smoky, dark night when Jose started, but he soon came tearing back, followed by howling Indians. Again he rode away as though he were going to Tongue River. In one of Colonel Carrington's reports he wrote that at 1:00 A.M. he was called up by a courier to send aid to the hay party. He sent Captain Adair with forty men in wagons to relieve them.

Six miles out a small body of Indians rode toward the train, but prompt deployment of the men sent them galloping to the hills. Captain Adair reported that there were 200 to 300 Indians on the hills following him. The Indians had driven 200 head of cattle into a herd of buffalo and they were irrecoverably lost.

About daylight the Indians began to scatter. When the troops arrived, along with Jose, 20 men were left to guard the hay, and the machines were repaired as best they could be and put in motion. Colonel Carrington said that he hoped in a week's time to have a winter supply of hay.

The guards worked in pairs, sometimes three together on some high hill to signal hay makers if Indians were sighted. They would sit around and play cards for money. One day at the hay camp the Indians stole up on two guards and took their horses. One had a canteen of whiskey and \$5,000 in gold coins and nuggets in

the saddle pockets. How the men swore about the whiskey that was taken, as whiskey, bitters, alcohol and Jamaica ginger brought from \$3 to \$10 a bottle. No mention was made of the money.

Jack Jones, one of the old timers of Sheridan, was in this Hay Field Fight.

### ALONG BOZEMAN TRAIL NEAR BECKTON

By Elsa Spear Byron

On November 4, 1867, Lieut. E. R. P. Shurly of the 27th Infantry had charge of a wagon train which was taking parts of a sawmill from Fort Phil Kearny to Fort C. F. Smith, ninety miles away, near the mouth of the Big Horn Canyon. The sawmill parts were placed on two wagon beds fastened together and hauled by twelve yoke of oxen.

The train arrived at a bad place in the road. To the left was a deep ravine, to the right was a succession of bluffs, and to the front was a long, narrow steep hill. The snow had melted so the road was slippery, and there was such an incline toward the ravine that they had to let the wagons down with ropes. By eleven A. M. all but three wagons had been let down when the pickets gave the signal, "Indians!"

A continuous attack was kept up both on the rear and front of the train until dark. Lieutenant Shurly was with the rear wagons where the Indians dismounted and charged the rear guard. Most of the men there were disabled and the Lieutenant was wounded by an arrow through his foot. As best they could, the men retired toward the forward wagons which were corralled at the foot of the hill about 800 yards away. A howitzer finally drove away the Indians who were plundering the wagons on the hill, and a line of skirmishers, ten soldiers and two civilians, drove the Indians from the thickets along the small creek bed. There were three or four hundred Indians attacking the 40 soldiers, who used sacks of corn for breastworks.

Lieutenant Shurly became so weak from loss of blood that he couldn't stand, so he chose William Harwad, a civilian, to take charge.

Through the carelessness of Joseph Bowers, a driver from Fort C. F. Smith who was not with his wagon when the firing commenced, a government wagon and six mules were lost. The mules had stampeded and were chased by Indians. This was a serious loss as the wagon contained 1000 rounds of ammunition, the baggage of the detachment and a package of mail.

After dark Lieutenant Shurly sent messengers to Fort Phil Kearny, eighteen miles distant, with a dispatch for General Smith. The General immediately sent Colonel Green with three companies of cavalry, Major Gordon with his company, a surgeon and ambulance and a bale of blankets for the use of the men.



This fight took place not very far from the Bozeman Trail Crossing of Big Goose Creek. According to Lieutenant Shurly's report, Corp. Peter Donely, Co. H, 27th Infantry and Pvt. James Partenhammer, Co. G, 27th Infantry were killed. Pvt. Edward McKeever, Co. E, 27th Infantry was wounded and died later. Corp. Gordon Fitzgerald, Co. I, and Citizen William Freeland, driver of the howitzer, were wounded.

Lieutenant Shurly, the wounded and dead were taken back to Fort Phil Kearny. The Lieutenant won a brevet for this fight, but the wound cost him his health and he retired soon after leaving Fort C. F. Smith in 1868, when it was abandoned.

3:00 P. M. We went from Beckton on a gravel road which follows the Bozeman Trail up a very steep slope out of Big Goose Valley to the divide that separates Big Goose and Wolf Creeks. After reaching this flat terrace the present road crosses and recrosses the Bozeman. The caravan slowed to view the PK ranch which was once a stage station and post office established by the Patrick Brothers. Next we passed a point on Wolf Creek covered with pine trees, near the main gate of the Eaton ranch, referred to today as Bozeman Point. The Bozeman followed along the present road from Wolf Creek to the junction of the Soldier Creek road, then down the divide between Wolf Creek and the fertile Tongue River valley.

3:45 P.M. The trek arrived on the ridge near the junction of Wolf Creek with Tongue River, where Captain Cole, with the Sawyer Expedition of 1865, was killed by the Indians. Ruts of the Bozeman Trail are still visible where the trail entered Tongue River Valley, and left it on the opposite side as it wound its way among the small knolls before climbing up the steep slope to continue on northwest into Montana.

## THE SAWYER EXPEDITION

By Charles Rawlings

Col. J. A. Sawyer, detailed by the government to lay out a road from Sioux City, Iowa, to Virginia City, Montana, started on his ill-fated trip about the first of May, 1865. The expedition consisted of 83 wagons, all pulled by three-yoke bull teams. Forty head of extra work bulls trailed along with the wagon train, making about 400 head of work cattle with the outfit. There were about 75 men, besides 15 or 20 soldiers for the train's protection.

They crossed the Missouri near Yankton, Dakota Territory, heading west across the plains until they struck the Cheyenne River. They then followed up the North Fork of the Cheyenne to its head; crossed the divide to the Belle Fourche River, which they followed upstream to Pumpkin Buttes; then across country in a westerly direction until they struck the Bozeman Road.

They found the newly constructed Fort Connor on Powder

River, which was occupied by the 200 soldiers left there by General Connor about a week before, when he started on his Tongue River Expedition.

As the Sawyer train approached Powder River, probably in the Pumpkin Buttes area, Indians attacked the train after following and heckling the crew of drivers for five days. As no military escort was with the train at the time, they finally bought off the Indians with a wagon load of food to get rid of them.

When the train left Fort Connor 20 soldiers were detailed to accompany the train until it crossed the Big Horn River. From here the train followed the Bozeman Road for some distance, but not necessarily at all times, as their job was to find a new road through the country, so they were probably trying to improve on the route laid out by Bozeman.

Their exact route seems to be unknown until they reached Wolf Creek, when Captain Cole and Lieutenant Moore (or Moon) were riding some distance ahead of the train. As the young Captain and Lieutenant rode up the hill, going west and leaving the Wolf Creek Valley, some Indians, waiting for them at the top of the hill, killed Captain Cole. The Lieutenant galloped down the hill to the wagon train unhurt. The outfit camped on Wolf Creek for the night and the next morning proceeded over the divide toward Tongue River about two miles distant where they picked up Cole's body.

When the Sawyer train, again on the Bozeman, reached a hill to the south of the Tongue River, and saw smoke drifting from the cottonwood trees along the river, they knew there was an Indian village camped near the crossing. A howitzer, trained on the smoke, was fired, which brought some Indians in sight, but not in numbers to alarm Colonel Sawyer, so he presumed it was only a small band.

The wagon train continued on down the long slope and forded the river with the wagons in double column. As the last wagon dropped into the river from the south side, about a hundred painted Arapahoes came riding out of the brush in an attempt to get away with the forty head of extra work cattle that were trailing behind the last wagon. They did get away with most of them. By the time all the wagons had crossed the river, the train was strung out for over a half-mile across the flat bottom of the valley on the north side of the river.

A corral was formed and preparations made by the bullwhackers and the twenty soldiers to defend themselves, as they now realized that they were facing a very large group of Indians and they had no way of knowing how many. It seemed to the bullwhackers that all the Indians in the world were in the trees and brush along that river. Many rifle shots were poured into the brush with no return fire from the Indians. Several shots were dropped into the brush from the cannon which did cause much yelling. No return

shots and no Indians came in sight, so the teams were hitched to the wagons and the train strung out up the Bozeman toward the hills on the north side of the valley.

As soon as the last wagon was in line the Indians appeared, circled the wagons, and rode to the top of the hill ahead of the train but kept out of range of the soldiers' rifles. As the train started to climb the hill the Indians fired down on them. Several bulls and drivers were hit by bullets, but they did not penetrate the bulls' hides nor the mens' clothing. This was partly due to the long range shots, but it also indicated that the Indians were short of powder and were not loading their guns properly. Colonel Sawyer, knowing they would be getting closer to the Indians as they climbed the hill, gave orders to corral again.

Realizing they were nearly a mile from the river, and that the men and animals would soon suffer for water if they stayed where they were for any length of time, the Colonel ordered the train back to the river. As soon as the train got strung out on the back track toward Tongue River, the Indians came off the hill with their horses on the run and again disappeared in the brush ahead of the wagon train. The train never did get to the river as the Indians started shooting as soon as it was in range. The men pulled off the road and went about a quarter of a mile down the valley from where they had forded the river earlier, with the Indians staying along the river and firing at them.

The wagons were drawn up in a tight circle and all the work cattle turned loose inside the corral. After staying in this position the second night, three men slipped away in the darkness and headed down Tongue River to find help, as it was known that General Connor was supposed to meet Colonel Cole on lower Tongue River. It was their hope that the three men could reach General Connor before he left that part of the country.

There was still no change in the train's position or of the Indians the third day, when a cold, drizzling rain set in. By dark, the bulls were in mud knee deep in the small corral made by the wagons. During the third night, one of the bulls was scratching his hide by rubbing on the tail gate of one of the wagons in which a couple of men were trying to get some sleep. To scare him away one of them jabbed him with a sharp stick. The critter snorted and ran which stampeded the whole herd, and they broke out of the corral.

Everyone then thought the jig was up. Their work stock was gone, and every time a man got from behind a wagon, an Indian took a shot at him. Two more men had been killed, everyone was wet, exhausted and desperate for food and water, besides being chilled to the bone.

However, at daylight the sun shone, the work cattle were quietly grazing a short distance away, and there were no signs of Indians. It seemed unbelievable that they had been in such a predicament

for the past three days. The Indians had evidently moved clear away from the area and the train was moved down by the river, where bedding and clothes were dried out before big bonfires, and the cooks soon had a big breakfast for everyone.

Again the wagon train started north and climbed the hill on the north side of the river. As soon as the train was on top of the hill and strung out across the big flat ridge between Tongue River and the Five Mile Flat, about 400 warriors appeared from nowhere, and the wagons were quickly corraled again, this time on the hill. (This is conjecture, and does not coincide with Sawyer's report or other documented evidence of Holman's report—Compiler.)

The Indians stayed pretty much out of rifle range and just sat on the horses, except a half-dozen who approached the corral, carrying white flags. Seven chiefs were allowed to enter the corral for a talk with Colonel Sawyer. The chiefs told him that the Indians thought the wagon train was a part of the army that had attacked their camp a few days before, but upon learning that it was not, they wished to be friends. They did feel, however, that they should receive some supplies to pay for the Indians that had been killed.

While the conference was going on more Indians stalked into the corral, claiming they had messages for the chiefs. When the number of armed Indians inside the corral got to 27, it was too much for the bullwhackers and they warned the Colonel several times that he should kick the Indians out before they killed the whole bunch of whites. The warnings were ignored by the Colonel so the employees actually mutinied, and by a vote of 60 to five took the leadership away from the Colonel and elected another.

During the night the bodies of the three men killed north of the river were buried inside the corral, and the work cattle allowed to tramp over the grave, so the Indians could not locate it.

The new leader decided it would be best to try to make it back to Fort Connor on Powder River, about a hundred miles away, as they were making no headway to the north and had been in their different corrals on Tongue River for thirteen days. A start was made on the back-track with no molestation by the Indians, who seemed to be satisfied that the whites were getting out of their country. Possibly some of the Indian scouts had discovered the cavalry coming up Tongue River under Captain Brown to rescue the Sawyer train.

The train had back-tracked about ten miles when the men saw a cloud of dust coming behind them. At first they thought the Indians had decided to battle again, but they soon saw it was a column of cavalry so they immediately went into camp. There was much rejoicing, visiting and resting as everyone felt secure now with 120 soldiers to protect the outfit. Colonel Sawyer again took command. They remained in camp for two nights and a day, then turned around and headed north on the Bozeman Road.

The cavalry, under Captain Brown, stayed with the expedition until it crossed the Big Horn River, which put them into friendly Crow country. They had no further Indian trouble and arrived at Virginia City, Montana Territory, after having been on the road for nearly six months.

The siege described took place about half way between Ranchester and Dayton, in early September, 1865, where the original Bozeman Road crossed Tongue River, and where the first post office of this area, named Bingham, was located about 14 years later.

4:15 P.M. We left the crossing on Highway 14 for Ranchester and the site of the Connor Battlefield.

### GENERAL CONNOR'S TONGUE RIVER BATTLE

By Charles Rawlings

During the years 1864 and 1865 the Bozeman Road carried a large part of the emigrants to Montana Territory. The Indians harassed the wagon trains from the time they left the North Platte until they crossed the Big Horn River, and it was necessary for them to travel in such large parties, for self protection, that it became hard to find enough grass along the route for their work stock. Some trains consisted of as many as 150 wagons with four or six oxen pulling each wagon, besides extra work stock, milk cows, and saddle horses. Often there would be up to 1000 head of livestock with each wagon train. Frequently the trains would deviate from the original road laid out by Bozeman in order to find adequate feed, or maybe to find a better way to climb a hill.

Hunters with the trains supplied meat as they progressed through the country by killing the buffalo, antelope and elk. The Indians, realizing that if the whites were not stopped, the supply of buffalo and other animals would be diminished to such an extent that they would be unable to live off the land as they always had, did everything possible to discourage the emigrants.

Gen. Patrick E. Connor, military commander of this district, was then ordered by the government to take a command of soldiers and stop the Indian outrages along the Bozeman Road. General Connor left Fort Laramie in the latter part of July, 1865, with nearly 500 Infantrymen, 250 Cavalrymen, 150 Winebago and Pawnee scouts and eight or ten mountain men as guides, including Jim Bridger as chief guide. Close behind came 200 supply wagons each pulled by four army mules.

Jim Bridger predicted the Bozeman Road wouldn't work, as it passed right through the best hunting grounds of the Indians. When the Indians saw this military expedition heading into their last open country they were enraged. Although there were no contacts with Indians until the expedition reached Powder River,

they could be seen at a distance, and General Connor knew they were being watched day and night.

The troops reached Powder River on August 11 when they built a stockade of cottonwood logs and named it Fort Connor to be used as a supply base. Here on August 16 a small war party of Sioux skirmished with Connor's Pawnee scouts who secured twenty-four scalps. This happened near the now deserted town of Sussex, about 30 miles east of Kaycee, Wyoming.

Leaving about 200 soldiers at the new fort, General Connor and the rest of his command started north on August 22, following the Bozeman Road and camping on Crazy Woman Creek the first night. On the third day of travel, they reached Lake DeSmet where they found a spring that showed signs of oil on the water, so the soldiers called it a flowing oil well. Capt. Henry E. Palmer, one of General Connor's staff officers, described Lake DeSmet "as being so strongly impregnated with alkali that an egg or potato would not sink in its waters." Coal was also discovered near the lake and was thought to line its entire bottom. The Captain suggested that a scheme might be inaugurated to tunnel into the coal under the lake, pump the oil into the alkali water, set the coal on fire and boil the entire mass into soap.

On August 28, after crossing Piney Creek, Major North and a few Pawnee scouts were sent on the Bozeman Road with orders to report to General Connor that evening. The rest of the expedition followed down Prairie Dog Creek Valley. They were setting up camp on Tongue River, at the mouth of Prairie Dog Creek, when Major North and his Pawnees rode in and reported that they had discovered an Indian village up Tongue River, about six hours' ride farther north.

General Connor immediately called his officers together and instructed them to prepare the 250 cavalry, together with 80 Pawnee scouts, for a mounted march toward the Indian village at once. They got under way about eight o'clock that evening, intending to reach their destination in time to attack the Indian village at daylight the next morning. General Connor and Captain Parker led the troops.

Much delay was caused by the thick underbrush during their night ride. At daylight they lacked several miles of being near the village, but they kept on, even finding it necessary to travel right in the river to avoid the thick brush that bordered the river on both sides. Finally Captain Palmer, with his soldiers and Indian scouts, climbed a steep bank out of the Tongue River on the south side and was amazed to see several hundred Indian ponies grazing near by and many Indian tepees about a half-mile away to the left.

Captain Palmer quickly turned his horse back down the steep bank, and motioning everyone to be quiet and to stand where they were, worked his way back to General Connor, who immediately took the lead. As soon as the soldiers came in sight the entire herd

of Indian ponies stampeded right toward the tepees, a thousand dogs started barking and hundreds of Indians started yelling. The General led straight out on to the flat, and when he saw that all his men were in sight of the tepees, he wheeled the entire column to the left. As the bugle sounded they all fired into the camp without halting their horses.

Seeing that they were greatly outnumbered, the soldiers knew they had to take every advantage, or probably lose their scalps, so no time was lost. The Arapahoes, under Chiefs Black Bear and Old David, made a brave stand but had to flee in order to save their women and children, leaving all their tepees and other plunder behind.

Part of the Indians were chased several miles up Tongue River and part of them several miles up Wolf Creek, as the battle took place where the two valleys joined, across the Tongue River from where the town of Ranchester is now located. The cavalry horses, having been ridden all the day before and all night, began playing out as they galloped after the Indians, so the troopers dropped out of the chase, one by one, until there were very few soldiers chasing the Indians. When the Indians discovered this they turned and chased the soldiers back down both Wolf Creek and Tongue River, but the soldiers that dropped out on the way up joined with the others as they came back down, so they soon had enough of an army to make a stand and hold the Indians off.

While the cavalry was chasing the Arapahoes, the Pawnee scouts were busy rounding up Arapahoe ponies. The scouts and soldiers caught fresh mounts from this herd and turned their own tired horses loose to be driven to camp. The Indian ponies were afraid of the white men and many of them had never had a saddle cinched on before, so most of the tired troopers were thrown several times. It was a tired bunch of soldiers and horses that started back to camp 30 miles away.

All the Arapahoe tepees, food and other property were burned along with the bodies of two soldiers and four Pawnee scouts. The son of Chief Black Bear and 63 other Arapahoes were claimed to have been killed. Eight squaws and 13 Arapahoe children were captured but turned loose the next day.

The Arapahoes made several desperate attempts to recapture their horses and did manage to get back all but about 600 head, which the Pawnee scouts drove back to Fort Connor.

General Connor allowed his men a couple days' rest before heading on down Tongue River to meet Col. Nelson Cole, who had started from Omaha with 600 cavalry troops and a large wagon supply train. By prearranged plans the two expeditions were to meet on lower Tongue River about the first of September. On September 4, a scout overtook the Connor command, with the news that the Sawyer train of road surveyors needed help, as the Indians had the train under siege a short way up Tongue River

from where General Connor had the fight a few days before, so he went to their assistance.

4:40 P. M. The trek disbanded after deciding that another trek should be taken next year. Paul Henderson thanked everyone for their cooperation and interest.

#### TREKKERS ON THE BOZEMAN TRAIL - 1963

##### Cheyenne

Rosalind Bealey  
Maurine Carley  
Jane Houston  
Mr. and Mrs. L. L. Lowry  
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Ritter  
Christopher Ivey  
Meda Walker  
Mr. and Mrs. James Boan  
Kelly Boan  
Lt. Fred Wickam  
Grant Willson

##### Douglas

Dr. P. J. Bostrop  
Mr. and Mrs. J. O. Bowman  
Mrs. Harold Carson  
Mrs. Dale Carson  
Lyle Hildebrand and family  
Mrs. Bill Henry  
Dick Hornbuckle  
Claude McDermott  
Floyd Moore  
Eddie Moore and family  
Mr. and Mrs. Harry Stevick  
Larry Turner

##### Buffalo

Thelma Condit  
Mr. and Mrs. Vere Duncan  
James Gurney and family  
Fred Hess  
Vivienne Hess  
Mrs. Mary Langhorst  
Frank Long  
Warren Lott  
Jarnine Lucas  
Mrs. Jack Meldrum  
Mr. and Mrs. D. R. Smith  
Mr. and Mrs. Tom Wall  
Burton Hill  
Howard Watt  
Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur Williams

##### Story

Harry Hodgson and Mary  
J. S. Johnson

##### Casper

Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Bechtel  
George Bill  
Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Bretey  
Mr. and Mrs. Frank Brott  
May L. Corbett  
Mack Davis  
Laverne Davis  
Richard Eklund  
Mrs. Will Henry  
Mrs. Violet Hord  
Mr. and Mrs. Bert Jones  
Mr. and Mrs. G. M. Martin  
Mr. and Mrs. Bill Morgan  
Mr. and Mrs. Verne Mokler  
Helen Pashby  
Cathy Patrick  
Mr. and Mrs. Percy Scott  
Mrs. Guy Shreffler  
Helen Sherard  
John R. Thompson  
K. D. Van Wagener

##### Torrington

Mr. and Mrs. Peter Keenan

##### Gillette

Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Lucas

##### Dayton

Arthur Dickson

##### Kaycee

Alecia Lund

##### Big Horn

Vie Willits Garber  
R. T. Helvey

##### Sheridan

Elsa Spear Byron  
P. C. Carmine  
Nina Durfee  
Don Grey  
Mr. and Mrs. V. S. Griffith  
Mr. and Mrs. Bill Grimm and  
family  
R. R. Johnson  
Glenn Sweetm



Midwest	Pierre LaBonte - Buzzards Bay, Mass.
Edith Thompson	Christine Williams - Kansas City, Mo.
William L. Thompson	Mrs. Helen Hayes - Arlington, Va.
Glenrock	Marian Parlaseo - Elgin, Ill.
Grace Fenex	Mrs. Preston Parish - Fredericks- burg, Va.
Out of State	Mr. and Mrs. Owen Richardson - Erie, Pa.
Paula Waitman - Brush, Colorado	Mr. and Mrs. Paul Henderson - Bridgeport, Nebr.
Mr. and Mrs. Albert Bartlett - Santa Fe, N. M.	John Waitman and family - Bridgeport
Jack King - Billings, Mont.	Mr. and Mrs. Walter Muhr
Bernice Rees - Billings	

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## *Seventy Years and More Ago*

*By*

DICK J. NELSON

The youngsters of today are losers by not having a chance to live the early Wyoming ranch life ways—to see and know the life it had to give. Often, it was up before sunrise, one just couldn't stay lolling in bed—you wanted to be up and at 'em, saddle up, ride out—a motherless calf might be waiting to be picked up and fed. One wanted to see the grass covered hills—the grazing cattle, horses and antelope—get the feel of a good horse's gait and saddle—things that brought thrills. There was always sweet music coming from the jingling rowels on spurs—the throw of a perfect loop was an art—the roundup, cutting, branding—the drive to the railroad shipping pens. Yes, the ranch life then was packed with thrilling unequaled lures.



W. H. Jackson Photo  
Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department  
SOUTH PASS CITY, 1870

# *Sweetwater Journalism and Western Myth*

By

JAY GURIAN

Classically the frontier newspaper is described as a running chronicle of tall tales, lawlessness yarns and folk humor. *The Territorial Enterprise* of Virginia City, Nevada is often cited as the archetype of such hyperbole. Its columns bulged with "eyewitness accounts" of shootings, miners' violence, tainted women, barroom brawls, abused law officers, runaway men—and animals. These are supported by such critics as Bernard DeVoto to have reflected the "reality" of Western settlement.<sup>1</sup>

Little has been written to contradict or at least modify this mythic over-generalization. Yet the three dozen surviving issues of South Pass City's two newspapers offer strong counterevidence. They represent a sizeable body of frontier journalism, contemporary with *The Enterprise*, that reflected and encouraged orderly, constructive communities. After all, there were scores of lesser mining community journals like *The Sweetwater Mines* for every sensational sheet like *The Enterprise* or *The Helena Gazette*. As the example of Sweetwater journalism shows, all of these need analysis before the DeVoto kind of generalization can be believed.

Contrary of the editorial policy of *The Enterprise*, the policies of both Sweetwater papers were based on the premise that South Pass City and Atlantic City were law-abiding. There is sufficient surviving evidence in court dockets, County Commissioners' Minutes and other sources to make the premise credible. It is impossible to be sure how much the difference between Comstock and Sweetwater editorial policies reflected divergent "community realities." But it is possible to prove the editorial assumptions of *The Sweetwater Mines* and *The South Pass News* by analyzing editorial comment and column content.

Thirty-five issues of *The Mines* are known to exist, thirty-four in the Bancroft Library and one in the Denver Public Library. In *Pioneer Printing in Wyoming*, Douglas McMurtrie has speculated that the paper was probably first issued Saturday, February 15, 1868. The first extant issue is dated March 21, published at Fort

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1. See Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain's America*, Boston, 1932, p. 123. And Effie Mona Mack, *Mark Twain in Nevada*, New York, 1947, p. 183.

Bridger, southwest of Sweetwater. In the April 5 issue the editors, J. E. Warren and Charles J. Hazard note:

To those of our friends in this vicinity wanting Job Printing done, we say, bring in your orders this week, for we remove our office to South Pass City next week, wind and weather permitting. ("Local Matters" column)

But the April 11 and April 15 issues were datelined "Fort Bridger." The first surviving South Pass City issue is dated May 27 as are the following fourteen survivors, the last dated August 8. The next extant issue was dated November 25 and was published in Bryan City along the Union Pacific construction line. Presumably the egress of miners for railroad work and the inaccessability of the Sweetwater (at an altitude of nearly 8,000 feet) dictated the move."<sup>2</sup> The next surviving South Pass City issue of *The Mines* is dated April 7, 1869; one for June 19 and another for July 14, completes the surviving Sweetwater-published total. But what we have is enough to judge the editors' intentions during the two summers of greatest Sweetwater activity.

In the first extant Sweetwater issue (May 27, 1868) under "Local Matters" the editors printed two refutations of items in *The Helena Gazette* (Montana) and *The Reese River Reveille* (Nevada). Both papers had reported shootings in the Sweetwater area. First, Warren and Hazard desire "to correct a statement . . . in the case of the shooting [of] Lovejoy by Ryan." A South Pass citizen, Mr. Hust, was accused in *The Gazette* of inciting the incident, but he "desires us to say that no difficulty occurred between him and Mr. Ryan, and that all the participation he had in the affair (for he was present) was only in the character of a pacificator."

In the second case the editors correct a letter "from a passenger to the Sweetwater Mining country, published in the *Reveille*, alleging a well-known citizen of Austin," James McCarthy, to have shot a companion. The editors claim "to have heard all the facts in the case and in justice to Mr. McCarthy we desire to say that his friends are as numerous as ever," that McCarthy in fact arranged the wounded man's care, and that the wounded "was alone to blame." Strangely, there is only one other local gunplay incident in the seventeen extant issues published at South Pass City.<sup>3</sup> The

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2. See Lola Homsher, *South Pass, 1868*, University of Nebraska Press, 1960, p. 218. Also, *The Mines*, May 27, 1868, advertisement: "1,000 laborers wanted to grade the railroad from Quaking Asp Mountain to the head of Echo Canyon. . . ."

3. June 19, 1869. Atlantic City assayer Mr. Hahn was "severely wounded," the assailant claiming it accidental. The editors condemn the use of firearms while intoxicated, claiming there have been a number of similar incidents.

virtual absence of such reporting, extreme for any newspaper, suggests that the editors designed consciously an image of lawlessness for the new communities.

The sources of these two items—other western newspapers—reflect a continuing habit of editors Warren and Hazard to borrow: a habit universal among Western settlement journals. In the May 27, 1868 issue alone, aside from the two instances of borrowing above, the editors printed an eleven line anecdote from *The Enterprise* ("Mark Twain Bricked"), an eleven line report from *The Salt Lake Reporter* of gold strikes in Utah; and on the first page, an excerpt entitled "The Beauties of Wyoming" from the *Frontier Index*, a paper printed at various construction points along the Union Pacific line. A half column on the same page is filled with an excerpt from *The Owyhee Avalanche*, May 9, called "Northern Pacific Railroad." Still another item, from *The Cheyenne Argus*, tells about an overturned coach on the Cheyenne-Denver route. Borrowing was, of course, the handiest means at the time for reporting news beyond the locale, the press bureaus not yet having been established.<sup>4</sup>

A number of items in the "Local Matters" columns of the May 27 issue discuss community conditions. Referring to the telegraph line then being run from points south up to South Pass City, the editors remark:

The object of the expedition is accomplished. A. C. Bassett, Esq., has completed arrangements by which the telegraph line will be up and in working order within the next two or three days. Many of the citizens here have contributed liberally towards getting the line established, but they will be amply repaid by the advantages to be derived from it. . . .

And just below:

We are pleased to see the energy exhibited by the miners on Rock Creek in opening up their claims. . . . A great deal of preparatory work is being done and done well. We speak whereof we know, being an old miner ourself.

Two items later:

The Board of County Commissioners will meet on Monday, June 1st, at ten o'clock A.M. at the office of the Register of Deeds.

A. G. Turner  
Clerk of Board

The next item:

Business men will not fail to read the notice in another column to all persons liable to pay license, and see if the "shoe" fits them.

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4. See Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism*, New York, 1941, p. 592.

In the next column the following appeared:

NOTICE—Notice is hereby given to Merchants, Saloon Keepers, Butchers, and all persons liable to pay license, that unless they are paid by the 30th inst., that all unpaid will be put into the hands of the District Attorney for collection.

H. A. Thompson  
Ex-Officio Treasurer

The same announcement appeared again in the next issue (May 30.) The Minutes of the County Commissioners record that in their April 17, April 28 and May 11 meetings they had passed resolutions fixing license rates, as required in the statute that created Carter County. As further evidence of community organization it should be noted that the Commissioners did meet on June 1st, as announced.<sup>5</sup>

In a two-thirds column editorial in the same issue, titled "A Contrast," the editors take to task the get-rich-quick kind of miner:

GROUPS OF SUCH UNFORTUNATES . . . can be seen assembled in the saloons and other public places, whiling away the time in telling stories of the lively times they have experienced in the different mining camps, or of the reputed wealth of some far off unexplored country. . . . Well, this is one class that we come into contact with here, but fortunately they do not remain long to annoy anyone. . . . However, we are thankful that, notwithstanding "all men are born free and equal," they differ in many respects, for we have another class of men here, who are quite the reverse of the one we have endeavored to describe who had [*sic*] not reared their air castles to such a giddy height [*sic*] before coming here, and who possessed sufficient energy and stamina to overcome the many obstacles found in their paths. Upon men of this kind do we depend for the future developments of this country, and we are confident that their effort will not cease until this object is accomplished. . . .

The invocation of permanent settlement, hard work, diligence would not be significant except that it is so frequently echoed in the issues of *The Mines* that follow. This is the prevailing tone.

In the next issue, May 30, 1868, under "Local Matters" the editors recommend C. L. Lightburn's and John McGrather's "store" pointing out that Lightburn came to South Pass City in the winter of 1867 (just after its "laying out as a town") and remained through the winter "when business was dull, giving credit to many who needed goods, thus extending his former reputation for liberality in business matters . . . and by their upright and honorable dealings [the partners] have a well-deserved and an enviable reputation. We can recommend them." The partners, then, are valued for their cooperative, communitarian impulses.

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5. Minutes of the County Commissioners, Carter County, Territory of Dakota, 1868-1870, University of Wyoming Library, Western History Division.

The following item notes that William Rose and Edward Gilman (California miners then at Sweetwater) considered the statements about Death Valley in the previous issue to have been exaggerated. Such correction of exaggeration is one of the editors' continual attempts to separate hyperbole from fact.

The June 6 issue reports the "GRAND DEMOCRATIC MASS MEETING" that had been advertized in the June 3 issue. Despite the headline adjective, the report is straightforward. It begins by naming the time and place, the officers appointed to run the meeting, and the delegate chosen to represent Carter County at the National Convention. It continues, "The following motion was adopted, that a committee of three be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the Democracy of this section. . . ." It reports the names of the committee members chosen, reports adjournment, reconvention at 5 p.m., then gives in full the resolutions adopted. The last of these reads: "That the thanks of the meeting be tendered to the proprietors of the *Sweetwater Mines* for publishing the call for this meeting." In keeping with the general tone, the last paragraph of the article reports:

The meeting was then addressed by J. M. Thurmond, Esq., Judge J. W. Stillman and Sheriff J. R. Murphy, after which cheers were given for the old Flag; much enthusiasm prevailed. The meeting adjourned at the call of the president.

The lack of flourish in this report is not unusual for Sweetwater journalism.

The rather sober tone already noted in a number of articles is reiterated in an excellent editorial for the June 10 issue. It somewhat duplicates the May 27 editorial on "steady settlers" already quoted. Its sentiments are so contrary in content and tone to what is allegedly "typical" of mining camp journalism, that they are worth noting at length:

#### GO STEADY

With the spring immigration come many to Sweetwater, who make their first advent into a mining country. They are some of them monied, some are merchants, many have only their labor for capital; but all have "great expectations." They are excited by the tales of fabulous wealth buried here; buoyed up by the prospect of soon seeing huge bricks, great nuggets and splendid specimens, and for a time exist in a sensational, unnatural and unwholesome atmosphere, by which realities are sadly distorted. To all new comers we say, "go steady." You who are poor go to work by the day, in gulch or mine, in store, or wherever you can find it. *Labor is no disgrace in Sweetwater.* In your woolen shirt and gum boots, other things being equal, you are a peer to the proudest. Be economical. You may earn \$6 or \$7 or \$8 a day; more than a week's wages in the States; but don't squander it foolishly. There is not one "pilgrim" in fifty but that sees hard times the first winter. . . . too many who do make money, yield to the allurements of the gaming table or the saloon, and are dead broke at the commencement of the long winter; you can make more money here than in the States; you have to contend strongly against

the tendency it creates for extravagance and dissipation. You have much to learn before you are fitted for prospectors, or judging the value of mines. . . .

The tone is neither pompous nor pious; it is rational. The editors rightly do not deny the presence of lawlessness and the distractions of "vice." It would be ridiculous to claim Sweetwater was as "settled in" as a New England community. But the significant point is, the editors do not romanticize anti-community behavior.

Only two pages remain of the July 18 issue, but the report therein of the Independence Day (July 4th) celebration is valuable as another expression of community value: "The day passed off quietly and orderly, not a single disturbance occurred in our streets, no accidents of any kind, although the firing of anvils, pistols, guns, etc., was kept up during the entire day." The writer goes on to praise the citizens' patriotism "though far removed from our earlier homes on the western and eastern shores of our beloved country."

As previously pointed out, commentators emphasize that Western newspapers were outlets for folk humor. Discussing a number of the more prominent Nineteenth Century newspaper humorists, Constance Rourke generalizes:

But their significance is chiefly that of their category, and one must persistently remember that they were only the more prominent of literally hundreds of humorists whose writing formed a great part of the material published in hundreds of newspapers all over America, and especially on the far-flung frontier.

The importance of this literature for history is its complete embodiment of frontier society.<sup>6</sup>

From the point of view of folk humor scholarship, newspaper humor can perhaps be defended as a "complete embodiment of frontier society." But as a generalization for Western mining community history it must be questioned. "Humor" was never more than an incidental interest in Sweetwater journalism, as the following subject-matter breakdown of three scattered issues will show:

CONTENTS <sup>7</sup>	SM 5/27/68	SM 6/19/69	SPN 10/27/69
Advertisements	8½	12	8½
Local Affairs	4	3 1/3	3½
National and International news	3	1	6

6. Constance Rourke, *American Humor*, "Facing West," New York, 1931.

7. "SM" refers to *The Sweetwater Mines*, "SPN" to *The South Pass News*. Each issue had five columns per page, each column 14½ inches vertically. There were twenty columns in four pages.



Editorials	2/3	1½	0
Westernalia (nature, settlement, etc.)	1 1/3	0	0
Mining Laws, News, Data	2½	¼	½
General History	¼	3/5	0
Humor: Anecdote, Description, Editorial	3/5	1½	2/3
Territorial & Federal Government	0	0	4/5

The definition of humor that determined the figures above includes imported (borrowed) items, often from *The Territorial Enterprise*, and occasional attempts by Warren and Hazard or their writers. Though few, these suggest that folk humor was not the gift of every frontier newspaperman! One sample, worth citing because it deals with a favorite Western subject, appeared in the June 10, 1868 issue:

The great feature of the past week in South Pass City has been the opening of the magnificent Magnolia Saloon. . . . George [Hust, proprietor] is known never to stop at trifles, when once he puts that broad shoulder of his to the wheel, *things* must move then or *bust*. . . . All ye unwashed go to the Magnolia and take a look at yourselves in that magnificent \$1,500 mirror behind the long refreshment stand, and our word for it, you'll feel a confounded sight better or worse, either one.

A squib in the May 30, 1868 issue is equally trite:

We visited Atlantic City the other day, and were immediately seized by "Red Cloud," who carried us captive (as he was taken captive by that celebrated Indian Chief) to H. B. McComber's brewery and then and there dosed with the best ale we ever tasted in this Rocky Mountain Country. We owe "Red Cloud" one.

Three "tall tale" items can be found in surviving Sweetwater issues, of which the following is the longest. It was printed in *The Mines*, March 21, 1868, then being published at Fort Bridger. Under the title "Correspondence" the editors published a letter dated "March 14, Salt Lake City" and signed by "Hank Whip."

Do you know, sir, that your little brick of a paper is sought here with as much avidity by both Mormon and Gentile, as a free lunch table would be by a corner loafer. . . . Said a business man to me: "It contains more interesting reading matter than the Reese River Rev-  
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The city is filled with strangers en route for the Sweetwater mines. The western coaches are coming in now loaded down with passengers for that destination. . . . Whenever W. F. & Co. [Wells Fargo] stock the road between Fort Bridger and South Pass City as I understand they will shortly do—you may look for an influx of passengers whose number will require a daily dozen coaches to accommodate them. Already our hotels here are crowded with strangers from Austin, Virginia City, Gold Hill and elsewhere; and even San Francisco has her representatives here, bound for our new El Dorado. One of Dan DeQuill's pack trains is on the way here from Austin, Nevada, loaded

with a general assortment of mining goods such as gum boots, quick-silver, etc. . . .

As this letter has already reached the full number of feet in length (3,000 ft.) allowed by the United States law on any one ledge, I must put my stake down and locate on something else in my next.

But exaggeration such as this, connecting Sweetwater with the principle bonanzas of Nevada and California, was never instituted in *The Mines*. Instead, Warren and Hazard chose to build up Sweetwater in terms of economic wealth that would bring prosperity and permanent settlement. This exaggeration clearly resembles the kind of Western settlement oratory and writing which throws a quasi-religious mystique over the idea of "free land."<sup>8</sup> Miners and their families bound for Sweetwater are often referred to as "pilgrims for Sweetwater," or "the Sweetwater pilgrims." Besides themselves glorifying, the editors printed others' glorifications. In the March 28, 1868 issue they reprinted a long letter by John W. Clampitt, "Special Agent, Post Office Department," (Salt Lake City). First he outlines the proper posting procedure to and from Fort Bridger (where *The Mines* was still being published), then he continues with a copy of his own letter to the Postmaster General on the need for a post office at South Pass City:

The population of South Pass City in one or two months from the present date will be at least three thousand, and judging from reports presumed to be reliable, by the 4th of July next, there will be a population of ten thousand persons to celebrate, at that point, the nation's anniversary.<sup>9</sup> Miners, merchants, lawyers, physicians, sons of toil and the hardy pioneer, who, amid storms and snow, and the wilds of unbroken nature, part the way to a civilization that reflects honor upon our race and land—are flocking thither. From the El Dorado upon the Pacific, the Sierras of Nevada, from Idaho, Montana, Utah and Colorado, they are "marching on" to Wyoming. . . . Independent of the rich bearing quartz ledges there is another source of wealth, the development of which forms in all cases for a people, the firmest foundation for permanent prosperity. I allude to agriculture. This section of country contains some of the finest and richest agricultural valleys to be found in this western country. The fertility of the soil is such, watered by pure mountain streams, that in a short period it will yield in return for the labors of the farmer, a rich harvest.<sup>10</sup>

While Clampitt's description is practically a parody of the "free land" exaggerations common during the Nineteenth Century, the

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8. Henry Nash Smith's familiar analysis in *Virgin Land* documents and interprets this.

9. Though no census is available for 1868, it is reasonable to believe that South Pass City's population at no time exceeded 2,000, even including ancillary encampments along the streams and gulches.

10. Referring to the Wind River Valley region north of Sweetwater. Much harassed by Indians, poor transportation facilities and merciless winters, the few valley settlers were unable to develop a stable situation till the 1880's, long after Sweetwater had depopulated.

editors' frequent local versions are on the whole notable for restraint. They seldom use trite phrases; they simply assume a wealth, (though unproved till disproved) as part of the "gift of nature" American settlement must manifestly develop. Sometimes they are anecdotal, as in the May 27, 1868 issue:

We have had brought to our notice a little circumstance that goes to show upon what slight foundation many men condemn a mining country. Two gentlemen, who came here a few days ago, concluded that there was no show for them and that they would leave for other parts, but while out hunting for their stock they discovered and located two ledges that they pronounced richer than anything they ever saw. The lodes are large and the rock exhibits free gold in abundance. These gentlemen are now of the opinion that the country abounds in rich ledges and that not one quarter of them have yet been discovered, to which sensible opinion we must decidedly concur.

Sometimes the editors themselves defend Sweetwater's wealth. The June 6, 1868 editorial takes off at *The Helena Herald*:

Notwithstanding the false reports and willful misrepresentations which have been circulating concerning our mines in this Sweetwater country, they fully come up to the expectations of all the sensible and experienced men who have come here. . . . The *Herald*, a virile and insinuating sheet, but unfortunately devoid of influence . . . comes out again, its columns fraught with falsehoods as usual concerning this country. . . . A short time since we saw a statement in the *Herald*, about the great number of people, who had taken their advice, and staid [sic] away from Sweetwater. This continuous boasting of the *Herald* about their unbounded influence . . . reminds us of the heroic deeds performed by SIR JOHN FALSTAFF, as stated by himself.

This is one of the few examples of inter-journal mudslinging to be found in the surviving issues of *The Mines*. In their July 3, 1868 issue the editors more mildly report the arrival of three wagon teams "loaded with provisions" from Salt Lake City:

We hope, ere long, to see both the demand and supply increased in our vicinity, and without doubt we shall, for as soon as the mills and other apparatus get well to work, we shall be able to present substantial proof to refute the statements made by those who have . . . pronounced our country a "bilk," and our valuable mines a myth.

A third, and modest, form of local manifest destiny exaggeration was a series of reassuring squibs in which the editors reported their findings on location visits to the "diggings," or the optimism of interviewees. Examples are too numerous to cite fully; for instance, four in the May 30 issue and four in the June 6 issue alone. A random selection from a year and a half of publication, should be enough:

June 14, 1868: Buildings are rapidly going up in Atlantic City, showing the well-founded confidence its citizens have in the wealth of the surrounding quartz and placer claims. . . . Ye poor miserable sceptics as to the wealth of our country, go over there and take a look for yourselves, and then, if you have any knowledge of mining—you'll not expose yourself by denouncing the country's resources.

July 18, 1868: Yesterday we took a stroll down Willow Creek and had a good look at Mssrs. Tozer and Eddy's quartz mill, which is very nearly completed. We doubt if anywhere upon the Pacific Coast can be found (like this one) a quartz mill within a log building.

December 23, 1868 (published at Bryan City): We had the pleasure of meeting Frank R. Judd, Esq., of Chicago, the other day. Mr. Judd paid our town a visit on business in regard to some mining interests in the Sweetwater country . . . he being an old Sweetwaterite, and, like all others who have been there, having perfect confidence in the mines, believing that it will be glorious.

And from *The South Pass News*, October 27, 1869:

ANOTHER STAMP MILL COMING—We are glad to learn that Mr. Pease . . . and also several others . . . has formed a company in Chicago for working these mines, and that one of those splendid engines and quartz mills has been ordered from the Eagle Works Manufacturing Company, P. W. Gates, President, Chicago. . . . There are a great number of mines discovered which "prospect" well, and nothing but capital and machinery is wanting to bring out their hidden riches. We believe that in less than six months half a score more of these quartz mills will be in process of erection in Sweetwater, and the proprietors of all coining money.

Actually it had become clear by the middle of the following summer, a little more than six months later, that the shallow deposits in the Sweetwater area would not pay for a large or permanent community, and that deep shaft mining would not yield a future. Warren and Hazard had been exaggerating all along, but not to sell sensational sheets in which citizens could satisfy a lust for lawlessness.

Research into Sweetwater newspapers inevitably leads back to the communities for which they were printed. Since only a few issues are extant, it is impossible to deduce anything about *The South Pass News*, but it is possible to say that in *The Sweetwater Mines* editorial policy and humor do not fit the conventional descriptions of frontier journalism. Is it equally possible to say that the communities were "different" from the ordinary mining community? There is ample evidence that South Pass City and Atlantic City little resembled the rip-roaring hell towns of popular history and grade B movies. In fact, by examining the real records and newspapers of other western mining communities, like Sweetwater's, not prey to commercialization in either century, future western scholars will probably find that neither Virginia City nor *The Territorial Enterprise* was "archetype"—only apogee. It is time to stop romanticizing our West. The truth was extraordinary enough. A new, calm, orderly look at the written evidence would be a first step. Court and commissioners' records lie untouched in archives while writers dig through earlier glamographs for "facts." The inside pages of old newspapers go unread by researchers eager to find lawlessness in flaring Page One headlines. The actual history of South Pass City, as of western mining settlement in general, has yet to be written.

# *Wyoming State Historical Society*

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

*By*

NEAL MILLER

Ten short years of activity by the Wyoming State Historical Society—organized in October of 1953—have seen many changes in this field and much accomplished. Yet much remains to be done for the preservation, recording, and display of our historical heritage in the State of Wyoming.

By statute every county is now authorized to maintain, operate, and build a county museum; and to name a museum board for its administration. This is not contingent on the existence of a county chapter of this society, but where our chapters exist they can be of great influence and assistance to the regularly elected authorities of the county in developing and establishing these needed county focal points of history.

It is to be hoped that the day may soon come when the historical background of each county and the State is recognized by all for what it is; an essential part of the education of our youth, our new residents, the traveler within our borders. Although this is in part presented by our present educational system it must also be available to the general public and include what is not and cannot be included in our educational plants: a repository for documents, photographs, and the vast assortment of other material for research, enlightenment, and even entertainment of our residents and visitors.

Our State Archives and Historical Department and State Museum also have fulfilled a great part of their duty in the preservation, storage, and display of historical papers, archival records and artifacts. The need is greater than ever before for the State to provide adequate facilities for this Department to conduct its work, and meet the demands for expansion in one properly engineered place. If this is not done, much of the work of recent years may be cancelled, and incentive for further activity unfortunately curtailed, much to the loss of the citizens of Wyoming.

History moves along with time and is always ahead of those working in this field. The mass of historical material increases. The obligation to preserve tomorrow's history while it is with us today is great. And so local groups and governmental subdivisions will play an increasing part in preserving materials, sites, and buildings for the historical heritage of the future.

Wyoming's historical heritage is not just the fur trapper, the covered wagon, the cowboy and Indian. Although they played a fascinating and important role in the development of this country there are other areas of activity which are and will be highlights in our historical pageant: industry—mining, railroads, oil and gas, timber and many others; commercial activities throughout the state; farming and ranching; natural resources and their uses; education and institutions of higher learning, village, town and city development. The list is endless.

So it is obvious that our work has the widest possible scope. It has an ancient and dim beginning and no visible ending. It is a professional field and we can be grateful for professional help among our members, in our schools and colleges, in our State Archives and Historical Department, and throughout the nation by other professional groups, individuals and institutions. There is much to be done—we welcome all who are interested and willing.

History is a personal thing—it is made by people and groups of people—but only by *parting* with it, imparting it to others, can it be preserved.

## TENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Sheridan, Wyoming

September 7-8, 1963

The Sheridan Inn was a busy place the morning of September 7, 1963. After registering, many members participated in the autograph session with Mari Sandoz, or they enjoyed the exhibit of Western and historical art by such noted artists as Hans Kleiber, George Ostrom, J. Kenneth Ralston and Lyle Compton. Coffee and rolls were served by the Sheridan County Chapter.

The Tenth Annual Business Meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society was called to order at 11:00 a.m. on Saturday, September 7, 1963, in the Stage Coach Room of the Sheridan Inn, by the president, Mr. Charles Ritter.

Mr. Bob Miller, of the Sheridan Chamber of Commerce, extended a warm welcome to the 100 members of the Society who were present.

It was moved and seconded to accept the minutes of the Ninth Annual Meeting as printed in the April, 1963, *Annals of Wyoming*. The motion was carried. The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held in Cheyenne on November 17, 1962, were read and approved, as were those for the July 6, 1963, Executive Committee meeting held in Casper.

The president asked for the reading of the treasurer's report, which was given as follows:

## TREASURER'S REPORT

September 8, 1962-September 7, 1963

Cash and investments on hand September 8, 1962		\$12,426.88
Receipts:		
Dues	\$3,238.00	
Hunton Diaries	47.50	
Gifts	12.00	
Interest	546.17	3,843.67
		<hr/>
		\$16,270.55
Disbursements:		
Annals of Wyoming	\$1,699.00	
Hunton Diaries	90.00	
9th Annual Meeting	124.99	
President's Expense	47.12	
Committees, supplies, postage, phone, flowers, trek	213.33	2,174.44
		<hr/>
		\$14,096.11
ASSETS		
September 7, 1963		
Stock Growers National Bank, Cheyenne		\$ 1,054.78
Federal Building and Loan Association, Cheyenne		9,726.49
Life Memberships, F. B. and L., Cheyenne		3,034.35
Bishop Memorial Fund, Cheyenne National Savings		280.49
		<hr/>
		\$14,096.11

The president appointed Mr. E. A. Littleton, of Gillette, and Robert Larson, of Cheyenne, to audit the treasurer's books at a later date.

## CHAPTER REPORTS

Excellent reports were given by delegates from 13 county chapters. These were filed with the secretary. Only a few highlights of unusual activities can be reported here.

*Albany County Historical Society* had one especially interesting program based on the visits to Laramie of several presidents of the United States.

*Campbell County Historical Society* set up a typical homesteader's kitchen of 1913 as their contribution to the Campbell County Fair in Gillette. This proved to be very popular, and the chapter plans to exhibit an additional period room next year.

*Carbon County Historical Society* has enjoyed several carry-in suppers and a two-day trek to Fort Laramie.

*Goshen County Historical Society* has framed pictures of all the Goshen County officers from 1911 and they have been hung in the Court House. The total number of pictures was 93. Awards were made to the outstanding history students in the Goshen County High School and the Goshen County Community College.

*Fremont County Historical Society* is planning to place markers at the county's many historical sites.

*Laramie County Historical Society* held a "Show and Tell" program which was entertaining and informative.

*Natrona County Historical Society* members receive a letter each month from their president, who keeps them informed about their chapter's activities. This also includes little notes of historical interest.

*Park County Historical Society* had as one of its most interesting meetings a carefully planned Question and Answer program.

*Johnson County Historical Society* entertained the Bozeman Trail trekkers at a delightful coffee the evening they spent in Buffalo on July 13.

The meeting was adjourned for lunch, and was reconvened promptly at 1:30 p.m.

The president asked the members to stand silently as a tribute to Mr. A. H. MacDougall, a former president of the Wyoming State Historical Society, who died during the past year. Mr. Littleton moved that a committee be appointed to send a resolution of sympathy to his family. The motion was seconded and carried. Mrs. Walter Lambertson, of Rawlins, and Mr. Jack McDermott, of Fort Laramie, were appointed to the committee.

Chapter reports were continued as follows:

*Sheridan County Historical Society* has been busy the past year helping with the Bozeman Trail Trek and making plans for this Annual Meeting.

*Washakie County Historical Society* reported it has been cooperating with the County Commissioners and the Worland Chamber of Commerce in planning the observance of Worland's Golden Anniversary this year.

*Platte County Historical Society* has organized a writing session as part of its activities. The interesting papers have been read with lively discussions and reminiscences followed each paper.

*Uinta County Historical Society* report was given by Mr. Charles F. Guild, after which he displayed an album containing pictures of stage and Pony Express stations which he has collected. He asked that anyone having additional pictures which would complete the record get in touch with him.

## REPORTS BY STATE OFFICERS

For the first time since the founding of the Society officers of the State Society gave reports at an Annual Meeting.

The president, Charles Ritter, reported that after arranging convenient meeting dates, he made official visits to the Platte, Uinta, Carbon, Natrona, Goshen, Campbell and Laramie County chapters. He called two executive meetings during the year.

The first vice president, Neal Miller, reported that he had written to each chapter asking for suggestions for a statewide program for the State Society. These will be presented under new business. He called attention to a display of distinctive county chapter letter-



heads which he had collected. Mr. Miller recommended individual membership in the American Association for State and Local History, and reviewed some of the benefits available through membership.

Mrs. Charles Hord, second vice president, asked that all members be alert to activities and persons who would qualify for historical awards. She stated that awards for the past year will be presented at the dinner meeting.

The secretary gave the following report on the sales of the Hunton Diaries:

Cost of three volumes .....	\$775.00
Deposited from sales .....	620.67
	<hr/>
Balance owed Treasury .....	154.33
On hand: Vol. I .....	31
Vol. II .....	26
Vol. III .....	27

The secretary suggested that all county chapters buy some diaries to sell to their members. Chapters can make money through the sale, and members can purchase them for less than the bookstore price. She urged that this project be completed.

The secretary reported that the Bozeman Trail Trek was very successful, due largely to the fine cooperation of the Johnson and Sheridan County chapters.

The executive secretary, Lola M. Homsher, gave a full summary of the accomplishments of the Society since its organization ten years ago, and pointed the way for further progress. Her report appears at the end of these minutes.

## COMMITTEE REPORTS

*Archaeological Committee.* Mr. Glenn Sweem, chairman, gave a concise report which contained detailed information on activities relating to the Archaeological Bill, the tracing of the Bozeman Trail, locating the site of the Sawyer Expedition Battlefield and an investigation carried on at the Reshaw Burial site.

*Legislative Committee.* Mr. William McNerney reported that the Archaeological Bill had not been passed by the 37th Legislature. This led to a discussion as to the reasons for its defeat. It was proposed that a revised version of this bill be introduced in the next legislature.

*Scholarship Committee.* Dr. T. A. Larson reported that during the past year there has been no response to the Society's project of giving financial assistance to persons writing county histories. He said that a new proposal will be introduced under new business.

## RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were presented by Mr. Reuel Arm-

strong, resolutions committee chairman. These resolutions are printed here in final form as amended and approved.

I. WHEREAS individuals unskilled in the science of archaeological exploration, while exploring and searching old historical sites, or excavating them for souvenir artifacts or relics may unwittingly forever destroy or eliminate invaluable data and evidence relative to the time and historical sequence of events that transpired at the time the unearthed relics or artifacts were deposited by the pioneer or ancient inhabitants of the site; and which invaluable evidence could only be determined or obtained by scientifically trained archaeologists.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that both Federal and State laws (to date) prohibiting irresponsible souvenir "pot hunters" from excavating valuable historical sites of Wyoming for relics and artifacts be officially published in *History News* and also that they be sent to the local newspapers of the different county chapters of the State Historical Society, for the enlightenment and instruction of all the membership and the general public and

BE IT RESOLVED that all valuable historic sites of Wyoming be legally and officially posted and the way prepared for legal prosecution of willful violators.

II. WHEREAS the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society has been worthwhile and enjoyable, with attractive Western decorations, and

WHEREAS members of the Society who have been hosts to such a meeting appreciate the work and thought that are necessary

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Wyoming State Historical Society is grateful and wishes to express its sincere thanks to the Sheridan County Chapter for a well-planned meeting.

Mr. Armstrong moved that this resolution be accepted. The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Neal Miller, program-projects chairman, presented the following proposals to be considered for possible inclusion in a state program for the Society:

I. Restoration of Tea Pot Rock in Natrona County. It was moved that the request be referred to the 1964 program chairman. The motion was seconded and carried.

II. Carbon County Chapter asked that the State Society assist with the preservation of what is left of old Fort Steele. This was also referred to the 1964 projects committee. It was pointed out that this would probably need to be acquired by legislative action.

III. A six-section program proposed by the Albany County chapter pertaining to special awards to be developed by the Society to encourage writing and publication of Wyoming history in Wyoming was presented.

#### 1. SENIOR HISTORIAN AWARD - High School Level

##### JUNIOR HISTORIAN AWARD - Junior High School Level

Two awards would be given in this category for the best article on Wyoming History submitted by a student in each division. The article must be well written, accurate, and on a subject which will be a contribution to the knowledge of Wyoming history (new

material - new facts). Pictures should accompany the paper if possible.

Articles will be submitted through the organization of the Wyoming Council for the Social Studies, a new organization with Social Studies teacher membership throughout Wyoming. This organization shall choose from among the entries five (5) manuscripts which in turn will be submitted with their recommendations, for placing, to a committee of the Society appointed by the President and not delegating these extra duties to the regular awards committee. The Committee of the Society will have the final decision.

Award: The papers winning first place can be recommended for publication in the *Annals of Wyoming*. Copies of all papers will be preserved at Executive Headquarters of the State Society.

1st place: \$25.00 and possible publication in the *Annals of Wyoming*

2nd place: \$10.00

3rd place: Award of a book on Wyoming or Western History

Mr. Henry Jones moved that section 1 be adopted. The motion was seconded and carried.

## 2. WYOMING HISTORY TEACHER AWARD

This can be an occasional award to the teacher who has made the most significant contribution to Wyoming History during the year.

Chosen by Committee from the Wyoming Council for the Social Studies working with the Department of Education and the State Historical Society Officers.

Award: A special, attractive certificate which can be framed.

All awards should be presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society. Many persons who are interested in Wyoming and the preservation of its history, could make a real contribution by setting up an award as a private donor (to be administered by the Society). The donor could specify the name of the award (his or her own or someone they wished to honor), designate the rules for the award, and what the award should be.

Awards on a statewide basis to encourage interest among the youth of Wyoming are very desirable. No. 1, above, could be given by the Society at first and then developed into such special awards by private individuals as just suggested.

The motion was made, seconded and carried that Section 2 be adopted.

### 3. L. C. BISHOP AWARD.

Made to an individual who has *voluntarily* contributed in a most significant manner to the preservation of a portion of the history of one of Wyoming's historic trails. This can be through preservation of a site, writing, mapping, or any other acceptable means.

Award: Special attractive Certificate. Made occasionally only, if nothing outstanding is known during a year.

Committee: Chosen, when some one will qualify, by a committee composed of officers of the State Society and Past Presidents of the State Society.

The motion was made, seconded and carried that Section 3 be adopted.

### 4. SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM (County History)

Maintain the Scholarship (previously approved by the State Historical Society) at the University of Wyoming. This Scholarship is as follows: A \$500.00 grant for a graduate student who will write a history of a *Wyoming County* which is acceptable to the Department of History. At the acceptance of the fellowship \$200.00 will be given to the student. The remaining \$300 will be given when the thesis is completed and has been accepted.

EXPAND THE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM so that it may be given to a qualified person not attending the University of Wyoming who will write a history of a county. The applicant must present to the Chairman of the Scholarship Program the topic and an outline of the plans for the county history. The award will be made in the same manner as the scholarship above, \$200.00 at the beginning of the project and \$300.00 when the manuscript has been accepted by the Scholarship Committee.

Only one \$500.00 award will be given each year, either at the University or to an individual outside of the University.

The motion was made, seconded and carried that Section 4 be adopted.

### 5. GRANT IN AID PROGRAM (Topic of Local Wyoming History)

The Wyoming State Historical Society offers one grant-in-aid annually to a Wyoming citizen, limited to \$300.00. The grant will be awarded to defray research expenses.

Purpose of this grant is to encourage the study, writing and interpretation of some phase or topic of local history. The applicant must submit to the Committee designated below the topic and an outline of the proposed work. At the conclusion of the project, two (2) copies of the work must be deposited with the State Historical Society.

Completion of a manuscript on a grant-in-aid does not necessarily insure publication of the manuscript by the Society under the proposed publications program, but all manuscripts resulting from such grants-in-aid may be considered for publication. Authors will be given an author's contract as issued by the Society.

The final work under a grant must be approved by the Executive Committee of the State Society. When an applicant has been approved by the committee noted below, \$100.00 will be given at the beginning of the project and the remaining \$200.00 when the manuscript is approved.

A committee will be appointed by the President of the Society as follows:

- One member from the Department of History, University of Wyoming

- One member from the English Department of the University or one of the Junior Colleges in Wyoming.

- One member from the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department.

The motion was made, seconded and carried that Section 5 be adopted.

## 6. PUBLICATIONS FUND

The Society shall set up a Publications Fund not to exceed the amount of \$5,000 and not to be encumbered or removed from savings until needed for the publications fund.

Manuscripts resulting from grant-in-aid will be considered for publication, as will be manuscripts submitted by individuals who have not participated in the grant program.

Titles published under this program shall be of state-wide interest on some phase of the History of Wyoming and must make a contribution to the written history of the State.

Manuscripts may be presented for consideration to the Reading Committee for consideration. Final acceptance of a manuscript for publication will be made by the Executive Committee of the Wyoming State Historical Society on the recommendation of the Reading Committee, which shall be composed of members appointed by the President as follows:

Reading Committee:

- One member from the Department of History, University of Wyoming

- One member from the State Archives and Historical Department

- One member from the Department of English of the University or one of the Junior colleges in Wyoming.

The President shall be empowered to set up committees as follows:

Editorial Committee

Publications committee which will handle details of printing, proof-reading, format, etc.

Sales

No member of the committees judging manuscripts will be allowed to enter his or her manuscript for consideration.

Authors will be given a standard author's contract as issued by the Society.

The publications fund will be used for the publication of accepted manuscripts. All money from sales, including profits, shall be returned to the publications fund, and all contract obligations will be met from the fund. As the program progresses this fund should become a revolving fund from which subsequent publication costs can be met.

A discussion followed the reading of Section 6 of the proposal. The original proposal had stated "a publications fund in the amount of \$5,000.00." It was moved and seconded that this be changed to read "a publications fund not to exceed the amount of \$5,000.00 and not to be encumbered or removed from savings until needed for publications fund." Approximately half the members present felt that a program which entailed the spending of as much money as \$5,000.00 should be discussed in the County chapters before being voted on in a state meeting. It was pointed out that this would become a revolving fund. However, the motion as it appears above was carried in a standing vote.

Mr. Armstrong moved that every chapter study these six suggestions from the Albany County Chapter and bring their opinions to the next Executive Committee meeting. The motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. T. A. Larson made the motion that the State Society buy 100 copies of Vol. 4 of the Hunton Diaries, to be sold to chapters or to individuals on the same basis as earlier volumes.

Mrs. Edness Kimball Wilkins presented a book given her by Cecil Harris, of Casper, on World War I Service Records of Sheridan Citizens (1917-1919) to the Sheridan Chapter. Mr. Robert Helvey accepted it on behalf of the Sheridan Chapter.

Mr. Armstrong extended an invitation to the State Society to hold its 11th Annual Meeting in Rawlins. The invitation will be referred to the Executive Committee for consideration.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:15 p.m.

## DINNER MEETING

On Saturday evening 356 persons attended the annual banquet held in the dining room of historic Sheridan Inn. After the invocation by Henry Tall Bull, Mr. Ralph Hylton, toastmaster, introduced four noted Western artists—Mr. Hans Kleiber, Mr. J. Kenneth Ralston, Mr. George Ostrom and Mr. Lyle Compton. He

also introduced four past presidents of the Wyoming State Historical Society, Mrs. Thelma Condit, Mrs. Edness Kimball Wilkins, Mr. E. A. Littleton and Dr. T. A. Larson. Other special guests introduced at that time were Mr. Joe Popovich, president of the Yellowstone County Historical Society of Montana, Mr. J. Casey Barthelmess, director of the Montana Historical Society, Miles City, Montana, and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Piper from Nebraska. Mrs. Piper is the youngest sister of Mari Sandoz.

A program of truly Western flavor, from original ballads to dances by the little "Fighting Cheyennes," had been arranged by Mrs. Bea Crane.

Mrs. Charles Hord, chairman of the Awards Committee presented the following awards:

#### Historical Awards:

Mrs. Hattie Burnstad. Historical Activities. Juvenile Division. For five year project in eighth grade of collecting Washakie County history.

Hans Kleiber. Fine Arts. For poems, *Songs of Wyoming* and western etchings.

John Dishon McDermott. Publications. Articles. For "Fort Laramie's Iron Bridge" and others on Wyoming history.

Natrona County Pioneer Association. Museums. For establishing and maintaining the Pioneer Museum in Natrona County.

Goshen County Historical Society. Historical Activity. Local History. For assembling and displaying portraits of all Goshen County officers, 1911 to date.

Jules Farlow. Cumulative Contribution to Wyoming History. For his campaign for funds to build a fireproof museum in Fremont County.

Pacific Power and Light Company. Special Field. Business Firm. For series of radio programs dramatizing Wyoming history.

#### Honorable Mention:

Mrs. Emma Martin. For writing history of Fremont County Historical Society.

Mr. Richard Frost, chairman of the Nominating Committee introduced the new officers:

President .....	Mr. Neal Miller
First Vice President .....	Mrs. Charles Hord
Second Vice President .....	Mr. Glenn Sweem
Secretary-Treasurer .....	Miss Maurine Carley
Executive Secretary .....	Miss Lola M. Homsher

Mr. F. H. Sinclair introduced the speaker, Miss Mari Sandoz, who gave a very interesting talk about her childhood, and her father, Old Jules, who was the subject of one of her best-known

books. Old Jules was a great storyteller, she said, and Mari was allowed to stay up and listen as long as she kept quiet. She advised her audience to listen well, for many good stories are still being told. She spoke of the gardens planted long ago on the banks of the Yellowstone by the Cheyennes, and said she would like to find where they had been located. Miss Sandoz challenged the audience to help solve this and other historical mysteries as yet unanswered.

Chief John Stands-in-Timber, historian for the Cheyenne tribe, on behalf of the Sheridan chapter, presented Miss Sandoz with an etching and a book of poems, both the works of Hans Kleiber.

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1963

After a buffet breakfast the group gathered promptly at 8 o'clock in front of the Sheridan Inn. Mr. Glenn Sweem led a caravan of 25 cars on a trek covering the historic battlefields of Crook, Custer, Reno and Connor. Henry Tall Bull, John Stands-in-Timber and Gregg Penson, Decker rancher, were the narrators at some of these stops, and at Custer National Battlefield Monument Thomas K. Garry, superintendent, and James Petty, historian, led a tour and gave lectures.

Picnics were enjoyed on the lawn at the Custer Battlefield. The Sheridan Chapter had thoughtfully surprised the trekkers with large containers of ice cold punch and hot coffee. This was appreciated by those who had traveled over dusty roads for several hours.

MAURINE CARLEY  
Secretary-Treasurer

### Tenth Anniversary of the Society

The tenth Annual Meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society marks a milestone for the Society, and it does not seem amiss at this time to spend a few minutes reviewing the past ten years as a prelude, perhaps, to any discussion as to what should constitute the goals of the Society during the coming 10 years.

The Wyoming State Historical Society was founded on October 18, 1953, at an organization meeting called at the direction of the Wyoming State Library, Archives and Historical Board, acting under the authority of Chapter 143 of the Session Laws of Wyoming, 1953. Under this act the Director of the State Archives and Historical Department, along with many other duties, is charged with promoting the founding and development of a State historical society and of county historical chapters.

Under this authority a call was issued in September, 1953 for the meeting on October 18, which was held in Casper, Wyoming. Mr. Fred Marble, chairman of the State Library, Archives and



Historical Board, presided at this meeting which was attended by approximately 80 persons from all parts of the State. Some of you here today were among the founders and charter members of the Society. At that time a constitution was adopted and memberships were received.

It was understood by the Archives and Historical Board that a volunteer society could not be too effective or possibly even survive without being subsidized, and it was agreed that a number of functions would be carried on by the Archives and Historical Department which is Executive Headquarters of the Society. Among these functions are all routine business of maintaining membership listings, all of the mailing out of notices and publications and other necessary business routines which are so time consuming. It is estimated that the full time of one and one-half staff members in the Department is occupied with duties relating to the State Historical Society.

Another duty of the Archives and Historical Department under this law is "to collect, compile and publish data of the events which mark the progress of Wyoming from its earliest day to the present time, through the medium of a State historical periodical, to be published as and when the Board shall direct."

This specifically refers to the *Annals of Wyoming*, and since communication is so important to the function of an historical society, the Department offered the *Annals of Wyoming* to serve as the official publication of the Society thereby offering to the Society a medium for publication of the minutes of the annual meetings, the message of the president, and taking under consideration manuscripts on Wyoming history submitted by members of the Society as well as by other authors. Certain activities, such as the historic trail treks which have been sponsored by the Society and underwritten financially by the Department, have been submitted as reports and have been published.

The Department realized that one further step must be taken for closer cooperation and communication, and with the authority of the State Library, Archives and Historical Board, immediately began the publication of History News, a newssheet received by all members of the Society of what is going on in the state historically, to bring to their attention matters which need support, and to inform them about the work of their Archives and Historical Department since, through the activities of the Department, the society and its chapters are fulfilling a part of their purposes. The purposes of the two are in reality identical by law and constitution. I would like to call attention to the membership that more effective use of the newssheet can be made if the Department is kept better informed of the various activities over the State in the historical field.

This brief background is to make you better acquainted with the close relationship of the Wyoming State Historical Society and of

the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, and the close working relationship has been gratifying to me and my staff over the past ten years, although I must admit that at times the load of work has been extremely heavy.

Referring once again to the organization of the Society, its growth has evidenced the great and growing interest in Wyoming history among its citizens and among people through the United States and Europe, for we have many members from outside Wyoming. At present out of state members number over 160.

To best understand our history it is important that we know it from its grass roots, so to speak, for without an understanding of the local we cannot understand the state and national. This is one reason why our county chapters are so very important.

County chapters began organizing almost immediately following the organization meeting on October 18. First to meet and organize were the members in Fremont County who met November 8, 1953. Closely following them were Campbell County on December 4 and Goshen County on December 11.

In 1954 the following chapters were chartered: Laramie, Albany, Natrona and Carbon. The remaining chapters, which now total 16, received their charters as follows: 1955, Johnson and Washakie; 1956, Park and Sweetwater; 1957, Uinta; 1960 Sheridan and Weston; and 1961 Platte and Big Horn.

From the beginning the Wyoming State Historical Society and the county chapters have made their influences felt very strongly in the state. Many of the projects undertaken have not been those which have been costly to the Society but have nevertheless had far-reaching effects. Our fiscal policy was set by the first president of the Society, Frank L. Bowron of Casper. In his president's message published in the *Annals of Wyoming* in July 1954, he made the following statement:

"At its initial meeting last January, the Executive Committee decided to set up a permanent fund to be composed of life memberships, contributions and such monies as from time to time might be transferred from the general fund. This fund is to be invested and only the interest and dividends derived from such investment will be expended. In short, this permanent fund will comprise the capital of our Society. This fund is already in excess of \$1,000.00. Adoption of this policy on the one hand means that your state society is going to be unable to undertake any large scale expenditures for a number of years. On the other hand, it is our opinion that by using this conservative money policy from the very beginning, we can insure a sound and solid future for our organization."

With this review, perhaps the report of the Treasurer can be more thoroughly considered.

In reviewing the minutes of the past ten years, the following list of accomplishments has been compiled. Although it is not a

complete listing, it does give some idea as to the variety of activities in which the Society has participated:

Scholarship: two have been awarded and two theses have resulted, on Big Horn and Laramie counties.

Sign program. A total of 38 have been erected under our cooperative program in which the Department supplies and pays for signs for which counties have chosen sites, written legends, had erected and dedicated.

Archaeology: Legislation has twice been turned down by the legislature, but work is continuing on this phase of our program. Wiggins Peak petrified forest area has been protected, and through the Society's publicizing the need for care of our archaeological heritage, people have been made aware of this need.

Publications: The Society reprinted and sold 2000 copies of *The Story Behind Colter's Hell*, and purchased a number of Hunton Diaries to enable Mr. Flannery to continue his publication of this series more quickly.

Cooperation and leadership in determining that Esther Morris be chosen to represent Wyoming in Statuary Hall in Washington; adoption of the 50th Anniversary of Devil's Tower stamp; adoption by the legislature in 1955 of the state motto and state song; worked with the Pony Express Centennial to make it a success; mapping of the historic trails of Wyoming.

A special project was the making available for lending to schools and organizations colored slide sets on the Oregon Trail and Dinwoody Indian Petroglyphs, the film on All American Indian Days was made but the project has not been completed.

This list in itself is impressive, but it tells only a part of the story. As a result of the founding of the Wyoming State Historical Society and its chapters the people of Wyoming have become more aware of their magnificent heritage and more people are doing something about it. True, in some instances there is more talk than accomplishments, but, in reviewing the reports over the years of the various county chapters, all the accomplishments of these societies should be listed in accompaniment with those of the State Society, and that listing is even more impressive.

To summarize briefly, the Wyoming State Historical Society, although young, has a record of which we can be extremely proud. Much has been accomplished during the past 10 years, but, in the language of today, we haven't gotten off the launching pad as yet. As a Society and a Department we have merely scratched the surface of what needs to be done in Wyoming. Rather than go into orbit on some things, I believe that if we keep our feet on the ground, make plans for our efforts and our money which will have lasting effects upon the preservation of our heritage, that a report in another ten years will indicate that we really have launched our program.

LOLA M. HOMSHER

## Book Reviews

*The Battle of Platte Bridge.* By J. W. Vaughn. (Norman, The University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Illus., Index. 132 pp. \$3.95.)

This is the factual story of an almost unknown battle, fought near the present site of Casper, Wyoming, in July 1865. It would rank, as battles go, as practically a skirmish, in which members of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, and the Eleventh Ohio Cavalry, along with a few "galvanized" troops, endeavored, unsuccessfully, to rescue a small army wagon train. Among those killed here was Lieutenant Caspar Collins, a young officer from Ohio, from whom the thriving city of Casper gets its name, although the spelling was changed.

Platte Bridge Station, later called Ft. Caspar, was named for the bridge over the Platte, built by Louis Guinard in 1857-58, near the old Mormon Ferry. It was an important place on the Oregon Trail, and was a camping place often used by immigrants. The post was occupied by troops from 1862 to 1867 when it was abandoned and later burned by Indians.

Following the massacre of Cheyenne Indians at Sand Creek, the Cheyennes "carried the war pipe" to the Sioux and their allies, the Arapahoes, sparking a conflagration all along the Oregon Trail and continuing throughout Wyoming and Montana, for many years, costing a loss of many white and Indian lives, and millions of dollars. The administration, then controlling affairs in Washington, was concerned largely with the problems of the Civil War, and its aftermath, and reflected the prevailing sentiment of expansion and conquest, caused by the urge of immigrants to travel westward in search of new homes, or impelled by the gold fever. Treaties and agreements with the Indians were made with little concern whether they were carried out or not. The Indian Bureau was peopled with politically minded men, and the army officered by men who had no understanding of the Indian, whom they held in contempt. They were seeking promotions and their policy was extermination, although they had no knowledge of plains warfare.

The book outlines the situation existing, and covers in detail the travails and hardships of frontier army posts, undermanned and inadequately equipped. The author has done a very fine stint of research and has fully documented his statements. He has followed the pattern set up by him in two previous books, *With Crook on the Rosebud* and *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River*. The 10th chapter gives in detail the story of research, in which the author was assisted by the late L. C. Bishop, who during

his lifetime was noted for his historic investigation. They discovered, by means of a metal detector, the actual locales of several battles. The author, rightfully, dedicated the book to Bishop.

The work is of no little current interest. Late in 1963 the Indian Court of Claims awarded the Southern Arapahoes and Southern Cheyennes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahoes, who are now in Wyoming and Montana, respectively, \$23,500,000 in a final payment for 51,210,000 acres of land owned jointly by the tribes, according to the treaty of 1851, after certain offsets. This amount, plus other costs, show that the white man is still paying for mistaken policies and bad judgment of the past century.

The work is interestingly written, and the typography is very fine, making for easy reading. It is nicely illustrated with 17 pictures. There is an ample bibliography and index. It is recommended as a permanent addition to the library of historians, professional and amateur.

*Sheridan*

F. H. SINCLAIR

*Cattle Raising on the Plains 1900-1961.* By John T. Schlebecker. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1963. Illus., index. 241 pp. \$6.00)

Few aspects of western American history have received as much attention as the cattle industry. To date the emphasis has been upon the dramatic developments of the post-Civil War era: the long drives from Texas to the northern plains; the growth of cow towns at railroad termini in Abilene, Dodge City, and Ogallala; the cowboy's free life on the open range; the organization of powerful cattlemen's associations; and the role of investment capital in building huge landed estates. All these phases of the cattle industry, and countless more that occurred in the nineteenth century, are well known. Professor Schlebecker's book represents a new departure in the study of the cattle industry because he is concerned with the post-romantic period of the twentieth century. Perhaps the first important point made in his book is that the old-style open range cattle industry did not die all at once but gradually evolved into a different type of business. The railroads were a significant factor. They brought settlers to farm crops on the Great Plains whose experience led to misery and disaster. Without realizing it, the railroads inadvertently convinced both cattlemen and farmers that the land could be used more advantageously for ranch farming than for either herding or crop farming.

The narrative is arranged chronologically. In the first six years of the twentieth century, meat packing and consumer demand

forced cattlemen to produce a higher-quality beef on fewer acres. Most cattlemen started raising supplemental feed, particularly on the northern Plains, but the chief reliance was still on range grass. Between 1906-1910, ranch farming got started, Brahman cattle appeared, and the federal government became interested in range management through the Forest Service. World War I revitalized the cattle industry, but the ranchers had to compete with wheat farmers for profits and federal supervision was accelerated, as is always the case in war years. In the post-war depression, both cattle prices and per capita consumption of beef declined. There were additional problems with drouth, grasshoppers, prairie dogs, and diseases to plague the life of the rancher. Many cattlemen and the bankers who had backed them failed in business so they turned to the federal government for aid in the early 1920's. Between 1926 and 1928 prices rose so high that the cattle interests were unconcerned about the continuing decline in consumption. Taking advantage of these good prices, they culled their herds and raised the quality of their stock. They moved toward more intensive beef production by improving feeding and breeding operations and following accepted range management practices. Ranch life changed perceptibly as the cattlemen and their families took on city ways. Then came the Great Depression.

Like everyone else, cattlemen were bewildered as prices and consumption fell drastically and loans were impossible to obtain. As drouth struck and the dust bowl developed, cattlemen decreased the size of their herds and increased the size of their ranges but to no avail. They were forced to have help from the federal government and the price they had to pay once again was regulation. On the bright side, the 1930's brought a transportation revolution, the use of trucks as a more flexible and economical means of handling cattle. World War II brought with it price controls and rationing that were accepted in good humor because of the accompanying prosperity. In recent decades the most important changes in the industry have been associated with the revolution in the food processing and marketing, and with the impact of biochemistry through experimentation with antibiotics, hormones, systemic poisons, and herbicides.

Enough has been said to indicate that this is a story of the ways and means whereby science and technology, governmental controls, consumer demands, business cycles, and nature were to affect the production of beef for the national and international market. The analysis is largely confined to the economic and business interests of cattlemen. Little attention is given to their political action and no attempt has been made to deal with their social and cultural concerns. It is a story without any heroes. When all has been said, Professor Schlebecker leaves the impression that he considers the cattle interests self-centered, unreasonable, and guilty of misrepresentation. For example, he suggests that ranchers have built

a legend about their fierce independence, their unwillingness to seek or receive help, particularly from the government. He seems surprised that the public is not offended by their guile and conceit. Like everyone in twentieth century America, he concludes, they continually sought help from the government and got it. The cattlemen just showed less appreciation, resented regimentation, and tried to leave the impression they were the last of the rugged individualists.

The book is clearly written and well organized with helpful chapter summaries. There is an abundance of statistics about prices, production, and consumption that crop up with regularity, but no doubt out of necessity. The author has written most of his volume with scholarly restraint, but readers will be startled periodically by outspoken value judgments, usually reflecting the author's hostility to the cattlemen, that seem either unjustified or irrelevant on the basis of the evidence he has just presented. Although readers may not quarrel with the author's opinions, many would have appreciated more evidence to sustain some of the barbs he releases in almost every chapter. The notes and bibliography indicate that Professor Schlebecker has been engaged in extensive and exhaustive research in writing this volume. The book is a pioneering work that has laid the foundation for the study of future historians who will discover in its pages many suggestive themes for elaboration and analysis. Meanwhile, scholars interested in the economic history of the American West in the twentieth century are indebted to Professor Schlebecker for shedding a spotlight on one of its vital phases, that of the cattle industry.

*University of California, Davis*      W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

*Songs of Wyoming.* By Hans Kleiber. (Sheridan, Wyoming. The Mills Company, 1963. Illus., index. 114 pp. \$4.50.)

These songs of Wyoming are Hans Kleiber's poems of strong contrasts with deep and "abiding love for whatever the out-of-doors with its forests and mountains had to offer mankind." They are songs of memory, "each one telling a story or a graphic description of incidents, personal reactions, straying thoughts, or states of heart and mind impossible to render in a more telling and simple way."

Hans Kleiber has many talents. His etchings of wild life and Wyoming scenes, as well as his water colors, have given pleasure to countless admirers. One day as I was passing Gump's distinctive art store in San Francisco, I saw an entire window display of etchings. I stopped to look with a feeling of knowing them. They

had to be Hans Kleiber's. They were! This book of poems is the complement to his career in pictorial arts, forestry and conservation.

The selection for the book cover of the pen and ink drawing of North Piney Creek in the Big Horn Mountains gives added pleasure.

Songs of the Bighorns, Wind River Memories, Reflections and Early Lyrics extend invitations to you to keep this book within easy reach. You will be rewarded with the gaiety, the fine touch of description and tenderness of the lines of exquisite words.

*Cheyenne*

LOUISE STIMSON HALLOWELL

*Soldier and Brave.* The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior. Introduction by Ray Allen Billington. (New York, Harper & Row. 1963. Illus., index. 279 pp. \$6.50)

The first in a series of sixteen volumes by the National Park Service, this is a valuable reference for travelers as well as guide while reading other sources of western history. The area covered in this book is the United States west of the Mississippi; the time 1800 to 1890.

This, as indicated, is a survey to evaluate the places of importance in United States history and prehistory. It is in very readable and coherent form, prepared and written by historians and archeologists of the Park Service after comprehensive field work and consultation with experts.

Part I of the book is a narrative history of the time period covered. Part II describes under four categories the historic sites. "Sites In the National Park System" are identified by location, address, and a history of the location. Under this category Wyoming has one, Fort Laramie. "Sites Eligible for the Registry of National Historic Landmarks" have met the criteria of "exceptional value" and Wyoming has one: Fort Phil Kearny and related sites. This section identifies each site by location, ownership and historic significance. "Other Sites Considered" are identified by location and a brief history. In this category Wyoming has six listings. "Sites Also Noted" is a listing by name only and here Wyoming has two historic sites.

Of interest is an eight item listing of the criteria used in selecting historic sites of "exceptional value" - the guide lines in determining which are acceptable for the second category above.

There are nine uncluttered maps, each on a separate theme such as forts and battlefields of the Plains Wars, The Sioux Wars, The



Southwest and in addition a line map of "The Western Indian Reservations of 1890." With the maps and 232 illustrations and photographs, most of the time period covered, the reader can obtain a comprehensive view of much western history. You will find this a useful addition to your library.

*Rawlins*

NEAL E. MILLER

*Old Forts of the Northwest.* By Herbert M. Hart. (Seattle, Superior Publishing Co., 1963. Illus., index 192 pp. \$12.50)

The technique of presenting a subject pictorially, with comparatively little text, is utilized very effectively in this attractive and most interesting book. The collection of pictures is superb, and the text is concise and comprehensive.

Major Hart covers some seventy forts active during the 1850-1890 period. Geographically, his range is from Minnesota through Wyoming and the other Great Plains states, and on to Washington, Oregon and California.

The forts are grouped under headings that stir the imagination—Headquarters Forts, Guardians of the Rivers, Guardians of the Rails, Guardians of the Trails, The Bloody Bozeman, The Peacekeepers, The Protectors, to name a few. Only Fort Laramie is not classified in a group, but stands alone as The Queen.

The stories of the individual forts are presented with several pictures, about evenly divided between present-day scenes, and old ones from the files of the National Archives and other historical agencies: a few brief paragraphs on their history, and where pertinent, a description of the current utilization of the buildings and property. With each description is a small plat of the fort as it was originally laid out, and directions for reaching it by today's routes.

In many cases the only vestiges are a few mounds or foundation stones to show where a fort once was. Some, such as Fort Laramie, are being restored and preserved and a few, such as old Fort Russell, now Warren Air Force Base, continue as active military installations.

Perhaps more than any other, the photograph of Fort Caspar, shown in color on the book's jacket, seems to sharpen the reader's realization that for the most part the old forts are today little more than empty museum pieces. The American flag, stretched out in a breeze, flies in lonely dignity over the few buildings that are shown around the parade ground. The log structures are neatly restored, the grounds uncluttered, but the blank doors and windows and the complete lack of activity tell unmistakably that the

purpose of the old post has been fulfilled and the life and vigor of an earlier era is finished.

There are a few discrepancies in spelling and minor details of history, not in agreement with the versions accepted by most authoritative sources. The author offers apology and explanation for most of these in his foreword. But they do not detract from the appeal of the book or the real enjoyment of reading it.

*Old Forts of the Northwest* is announced as the first in a series on western forts, and it is to be hoped that following volumes will not be long in appearing.

Cheyenne

KATHERINE HALVERSON

*Indians as the Westerners Saw Them.* By Ralph W. Andrews. (Seattle, Superior Publishing Co., 1963. Illus., index 176 pp. \$12.50.)

In his foreword the author states that he presents here "a few accounts of people who saw, felt, heard and no doubt smelled the Indians whose lands they had invaded and usurped, whose lives they had disturbed and ruined. A hundred years and more after the settling of the northern plains these pioneer accounts lend authentic color and value to the tribesmen. In telling us of their experiences they utter far more truth about the Indians than we can ever find in professionally written material."

Mr. Andrews has divided his book into seventeen chapters, each of which is a reprint from printed or manuscript sources by other authors. Three chapters have been taken from articles published in the *Annals of Wyoming*: "To Take a Scalp" by Everett L. Ellis, and two excerpts from "Incidents in the Life of Norris Griggs" by Mrs. Helen Sargent.

Between chapters the author has inserted short items on Indian incidents and Indian biographies.

The author illustrates the book with a great number of fine photographs he has collected from numerous museums, historical societies, historical departments, universities and the Smithsonian Institution. These portray Indian life and include pictures of a number of prominent chiefs such as Two Moons, Man Afraid of His Horses, Chief Gall and Red Cloud, as well as numerous lesser known Indians.

Mr. Andrews intends for this book, through its fine illustrations and selected articles, to whet the interest of the reader, and at the end of the book he has a selected list of books pertaining to the northern plains tribes which he suggests for further reading.

Cheyenne

LORETTA CURTIN

*Tales of the Seeds-Ke-Dee.* Sublette County Artists' Guild. (Denver, Big Horn Mountain Press, 1963. 386 pp. \$8.50)

This collection of prose, poetry and pictures is a delightful means of getting to know the rugged people who were the early pioneers in a rich, unbroken land. The beautiful Green River country is the setting, and records have been gathered from relatives and friends, diaries and letters of the first settlers there. Stories of courage, hardship, endurance and determination fill the reader with wonder and admiration for these daring people.

Living great distances from towns, other settlers, doctors or ministers, they had to face their troubles and sorrows alone. They nursed their sick, buried their dead, delivered their babies. One trip a year for provisions usually took days of tortuous traveling. There were no roads or bridges. Blizzards in the winter, swollen streams in the spring, took heavy toll of live stock and sometimes human life. It was months between letters from home or a visit with friends. But they had come with a vision of a new life, and they loved this magnificent country with its mountains and valleys and pure air.

Families worked together to build their homes and develop the new land. Children helped their parents in every way possible. This was a necessity. And when the work was done, they played together. Times were often hard, but homes were happy. Gradually there were more settlers. There were neighbors, towns, post offices, doctors, ministers and teachers—even wonderful parties where they could visit for hours, eat together and dance until dawn. It was a good life!

One feels a debt of gratitude to the members of the Sublette County Artists' Guild which has labored to collect and publish these amazing experiences of those who first came to the land of the Seeds-Ke-Dee.

*Cheyenne*

MARJORIE W. HOLCOMB

*Jireh College-Stirred Embers of the Past.* By Maxine Colonna in collaboration with Ruth Ford Atkinson. (The Valliant Co., 1963. Illus., index. 140 pp.)

Located about sixteen miles west of Lusk, in what is now Niobrara County, Wyoming, Jireh College, the first and only denominational college to be established in the state, existed with varying degrees of success for a ten year period, 1910-1920. Being mainly a college preparatory school (high school) and a two year junior

college curriculum, it sought to serve the sparsely settled, newly-opened homestead lands of eastern Wyoming with a higher educational opportunity.

From the history of the establishing of the College by Reverend George Dalzell, deposited with other papers under the corner stone laid in 1909 and retrieved in 1925 when the College building was dismantled, it is quoted he "got up one night after a spell of sleeplessness, and wrote a plan" envisioning not only a Christian college, but a Christian community of homesteaders, leaders, friends, who would be in sympathy with it. Thus many of the settlers in the new land were persuaded from their homes in the middle eastern states by contact through the Christian Church, one being Daniel B. Atkinson, D.D., who became the mainstay of the project when Reverend Dalzell lost interest in a few years and moved from the community.

"Stirred Embers", an apt expression, originated when some years ago, Ruth Ford Atkinson, widow of the former president of the College, revisited the ghost townsite and sat on the deserted cement steps of the College building. Her thoughts dwelt on her homestead days, her husband, their bright hopes and dreams of years ago, the students, joys in the community, the great burdens, the lost hopes. Not all were lost—what had been accomplished could never be taken away; the spirit of the relationship of the community and the college; the encouragement to students. Some went on to notable achievements—Albert Day, Director, Fish and Wildlife, Department of the Interior, Edward Pendray, a founder of American Rocket Society, Lyle Powell, distinguished in medical and military careers, to name a few. So "the embers of memory burned a little brighter."

No doubt the "embers of memory" burned brighter for many, as over a four year period, Maxine Townsend Colonna gathered information from many former students and teachers, wrote letters, collected photos, compiled information. For each and every one memories were sharpened, and pleasant was the recollection.

Maxine Townsend arrived with her family at Jireh, a teen-aged girl from Ohio, to meet her father who came to the new land to homestead. Having begun a music education, she continued at Jireh College, and "astride her steed", in summer rode to various homesteads to give music lessons. Moving to the vicinity of Washington, D. C., in 1918, she continued to advance her musical accomplishments, and entered governmental service, being in several departments and commissions, and authoring several technical reports. Then after thirty-six years in the east, Mrs. Colonna returned to the University of Wyoming and spent some time on the Wind River Indian Reservation gathering material for her long-range project "The Arapahoe Indian."

In 1951, while on a trip to Lusk, Mrs. Colonna visited the old

homestead, the vacant townsite, the lonesome steps and College foundation, and an old timer or two, and no doubt the seeds of this study and recollections of Jireh College and Jireh Community were born. Although limited in scope and reader appeal, the book has faithfully and sympathetically recalled a portion of the history of Wyoming. Being interwoven of recorded data, recollections, memories and nostalgia, "Jireh College" traces the origin of a dream, the growth of a plan, a community, and in its brief biographical sketches of students, faculty, activities and community members, Jireh lives today.

Lusk

G. L. PFEIFER

*The Overland Limited.* By Lucius Beebe. (Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1963. Illus., index. 157 pp. \$5.95.)

*The Overland Limited* is another fine pictorial history on railroads. The Wyoming railway buff can become excited over this book since it deals with one of the famous trains of the Union Pacific Railroad which was familiar to most Wyomingites.

A great number of the fine photographs which appear in this book are from the files of the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, a part of the Stimson Collection of negatives. Mr. Stimson was, for a number of years, the official photographer for the Union Pacific Railroad, and his original negative collection was acquired by the Department some years ago. The pictures were carefully chosen by Mr. Beebe on a personal visit to the Department and through much correspondence.

For three-quarters of a century, first as the Overland Flyer and later as the Overland Limited, this was one of America's most famous trains. It made its last run as a daily train on July 16, 1962, when its suspension was authorized by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

While the Overland was only one of a number of de luxe trains in the United States, Mr. Beebe makes it clear that he feels it was one of the most glamorous because of its historical association, both because of its name and the West which it crossed.

In his narrative which accompanies the pictures, Mr. Beebe relates some of the history of the train and presents a number of anecdotes about famous personalities who rode it. The book is in a moderate price range, which should make it even more attractive since similar pictorial publication prices have skyrocketed.

Cheyenne

HENRYETTA BERRY

*Backwoods Railroads of the West, A Portfolio.* By Richard Steinheimer. (Milwaukee, Kalmbach Publishing Co. 1963. Index. 177 pp. \$20.00.)

In this book Mr. Steinheimer amplifies his reputation as an outstanding railroad photographer, and he presents a 177-page compilation of 203 fine, artistic photographs. He deals not with the main transcontinental roads but with the many short lines which have helped to tame the West and develop its natural resources.

Mr. Steinheimer uses his camera as an author uses words to tell a picture story of the narrow gauge railroads, electric lines, mining roads, short lines, branch lines and lumber haulers. If there is any criticism of the book, some might be made of the captions which are sometimes a bit vague. Three pictures are of Wyoming scenes taken at Yoder, Lusk and Cheyenne.

Lucius Beebe in his recent book *The Central Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroads* used 121 photographs by Richard Steinheimer and shared credit with him on the title page, paying tribute to his artistry.

This volume combines expert photography with excellent layouts and fine reproductions by sheet-fed gravure. The fine work makes the volume expensive, but railroad buffs will appreciate adding the book to their libraries.

*Cheyenne*

LOLA M. HOMSHER

*Diesels West!* By David P. Morgan. (Milwaukee, Kalmbach Publishing Co., 1963. Illus. 164 pp. \$9.75)

David Morgan, editor of *Trains Magazine*, is definitely qualified to author a railroad book. With Morgan's writing talent and factual information from Burlington files, *Diesels West!* is a story of the development of motive power on a famous midwestern railroad. The book contains ten chapters with only the first chapter being devoted to the steam engine. Although the title clearly states that the book is devoted to diesel power, the reader is rushed through the many types of Burlington steam engines in a matter of nineteen pages.

Chapter I begins with the locomotive Pioneer, of Chicago and North Western fame, and progresses through the steamers to the last class of steam engines built for the Burlington, the 0-5 class 4-8-4 Northerns. Interesting historical facts on the performance of some of these steamers are expertly inserted to give a smooth review of the Burlington's steam years. The Burlington's two excursion steamers, the #4960 and the #5632 are mentioned.

Chapter II begins the diesel age for the Burlington. The gas-

electrics, or more affectionately, the doodlebugs, rate nearly the entire chapter. The fine descriptions of these railroad oddities makes one long to see these one-unit passenger trains trundling along our remaining branch lines. Readers who had the pleasure of growing up in a community served by a railroad's gas-electrics will thoroughly enjoy the chapter.

Morgan relates the story of the Burlington's plunge into the zephyr age. The birth, building and operation of the famous Pioneer Zephyr are traced. Any historian, railfan, or general reader will easily become absorbed in the Pioneer's famous Denver to Chicago run in 1934. In addition to the Pioneer Zephyr, number 9900, her sister Zephyrs, in fine Burlington style, are also presented. Burlington's interest in progress is clearly emphasized in the story of their confidence in this new and revolutionary type of passenger train and motive power, such as the early zephyr fleet.

The concluding chapters deal with the development of diesel power from the early F-T's to the new GP-35's. Morgan includes many details on the operation of the early Electro-Motive diesel, test unit number 103, which made history on its demonstration trips on twenty major railroads in 1939. This diesel revolutionized the railroad industry by dooming the steam engine to oblivion. The change was not immediate, but only twenty years later all major railroads were completely dieselized. Morgan also skillfully encompasses some valuable statistics to shed light on the controversy of steam versus diesel.

Technological changes such as hump yards, C.T.C. and cab to caboose communications are discussed, besides the new improvements in passenger train equipment.

The 162-page book contains 116 pictures of various sizes. The pictures are some of the frequently published publicity shots of Burlington subjects. New unpublished photographs and a complete diesel roster would add to the fine written material. In conclusion, *Diesels West!* is still a readable, accurate and interesting book on a famous granger railroad.

Torrington

MICHAEL E. VARNEY

*Fort Hall, Gateway to the Oregon Country.* By Frank C. Robertson. (New York, Hastings House. 1963. Illus., index. 301 pp. \$5.95)

An "iceman" from Boston—Nathaniel J. Wyeth, newly turned adventurer—built Fort Hall on the Snake River in 1834. Then, to quote his own words, he "manufactured a magnificent flag from unbleached sheeting, a little red flannel and a few blue patches, saluted it with damage powder and wet it with villainous alcohol."

Together with twelve men who manned the garrison, he now stood ready to welcome any of the neighboring nations he could induce to come in and trade.

Not yet had his compatriots back in the States turned their eyes toward California and Oregon in search of gold and land. Not yet had even fur lured many Americans to this region. The trade plied by fur men from the East had reached its peak in sections like Wyoming but the expanding trade farther west was in the hands of the British companies from Canada.

Wyeth, whose dream was to build several permanent posts for the Americans, showed shrewd insight in his choice of a site for Fort Hall. This area of 100,000 acres was called *shawnt shawnip* ("plentygame") by the Indians. Fortunately the tribes who made their homes there were chiefly two—the Bannack and the Shoshone. The common enemy of both was the nomadic Blackfoot nation, not the white men. Especially was this true of the Shoshone tribe, which preferred to confine its warfare to self-defense.

The exact location of old Fort Hall has remained long in question. At least four Idaho spots have been named, but Robertson contends the actual site was "twelve miles west and a little north of the present Fort Hall Indian Agency."

Perhaps no man is more eminently fitted to write the Fort Hall story than Frank Chester Robertson, author of more than a hundred novels; best known for his autobiography, *A Ram in the Thicket*. Much of his life has been spent in the *shawnt shawnip* area and he has firsthand knowledge of the country and its people.

Realizing this, at least one reader wonders why dozens upon dozens of pages in this, his latest book, cover the sub-heading, "the Oregon Country;" very few deal directly with the main title, "Fort Hall." Admittedly, the existence of this short-lived fort (1834-1856) depended almost entirely on the westward expansion movement. Granted, the first 160 pages, and countless others farther on, make for interesting reading, even though drawn chiefly from such familiar sources as Irving and Bancroft. Agreed, the Oregon narrative is enlivened by Robertson's own penetrating comments on the character of men such as Dr. John McLoughlin, representative of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia River, and Hall Jackson Kelley, crusader and founder of the American Society for the Settlement of Oregon. Even so, could some of this material be omitted without serious loss to the narrative? Could much of it be condensed? One wonders!

Focus centers in the latter half of the book on the missionaries, the gold miners, the freighters, the cattlemen and the homesteaders who followed the trail which passed Fort Hall. Your interest may quicken, as did mine, when you read these pages. The material covered is less familiar to a reader from the eastern side of the Rockies. Figures and events flit across the author's kaleidoscope in a sequence that is swift and colorful. Long years of writing



have made Frank C. Robertson master of a style that is terse, natural and convincing.

Any collector of Western Americana should be pleased to add this treatise to his bookshelves.

*University of Wyoming*

CLARICE WHITTENBURG

*Where the Old West Stayed Young.* By John Rolfe Burroughs. (New York, William Morrow. 1962. Illus., index. 376 pp. \$15.00)

This is a book where people move and get things done. In a style all his own, and one that reads like fiction, John R. Burroughs has written a big book about the big country drained by the Yampa in northwestern Colorado and by the Green where it flows through southern Wyoming into Utah, makes a loop into Colorado, and then flows back into Utah again. Much of the action centers in Brown's Park, or Brown's Hole, as it was originally known, an open valley on the Green where it flows from Utah into Colorado. A pocket that remained relatively untouched by the advance of civilization around it, the Park's history is traced from the first white visitors in 1825 through the reign of the cattle kings to their decline and eventual replacement by homesteaders and sheepmen. In the course of this extensive work, liberally scattered with original photographs of the times and the people, and well documented, the author has painted a picture of the living West that contained all the thrills of a top-notch western, plus the additional excitement of real-life adventure in a rugged country, untamed and commercially undeveloped.

Brown's Park, a natural winter forage ground for cattle, was also a natural hideout for murderers, horse and cattle thieves, and bank and train robbers. The country around the Hole between the O-Wi-Yu-Kuts Plateau and the Uinta Mountains is a maze of ridges, impassable canyons, cliffs and breaks criss-crossed by abrupt arroyos. Mexican Joe, cunning knife wielder; Judge Conway, legal genius who used his knowledge to good advantage in crime; Ned Huddleston, Negro bandit who finally went straight; the paid killer Tom Horn; the Tip Gault gang, who rustled cattle to sell beef to the Union Pacific Railroad construction crews; and Butch Cassidy's "Wild Bunch", who executed some of the most imaginative and exact robberies of the times—all used this valley for their hideouts and bases of operation.

The whole area saw the rise to prominence of powerful cattle barons, beginning in the 1880's with the Hoys and Spicers, who were the first to run cattle year round in northwestern Colorado. One after another enterprising cattlemen made the land pay by feeding thousands of head on the rich prairie grass of the region—

the Middlesex Land & Cattle Company; Ora Haley and his Two Bar outfit; George Baggs, who, for several years held a monopoly on the Denver meat market; William Swan and John Cudahy of meat-packing fame; and the Cary brothers on the Two Circle Bar, who surpassed even Ora Haley with a cow shed more than a mile long!

As a result of the interest in cattle ranching, settlers began to establish permanent homes in this wild valley, still not immune to Indian attacks. Among these families who came were the Bassetts, well educated people from the East, bringing with them an extensive library. Their ranch became the first "port of call" for travelers entering the Park. Elizabeth Bassett assumed the duties of doctor, nurse, and cook for the whole area, as most of the women had to do. Their daughter, "Queen Ann," first white child to be born in Northwestern Colorado, refined, schooled and trained in private schools, could ride herd with the best of range hands and did not hesitate to rustle cattle from her enemies or to marry to advance her own fortune.

The book is about the range-cattle business and the people who ran it. John R. Burroughs, a native of Steamboat Springs, Colorado, thinks of his country as the place where the "Old West Stayed Young." There in microcosm events characteristic of earlier times in the industry occurred late: Cattlemen fought each other and the large and small outfits warred; there was trouble with rustlers and sheepmen, and homesteaders, and the Forest Service. The range wars, rustlers, bad men, the struggle over barbed wire and water rights continued on into the twentieth century some time after peace prevailed elsewhere.

Burroughs likes the people who get things done, the "prime movers", good or bad, and his book is full of them. His writing keeps pace with the characters. He has illuminated the history of the region and has given us a real western untainted by fanciful and romantic stuff. The book is handsomely produced. An index with three columns of proper names to the page takes up twelve pages.

*University of Utah*

C. GREGORY CRAMPTON

*From Prairie to Corn Belt, Farming on the Illinois and Iowa prairies in the nineteenth century.* By Allan G. Bogue. (University of Chicago, 1963. Illus., index. 310 pp. \$6.95)

Much has been written about agriculture in Illinois and Iowa. In the present volume Allan Bogue, Professor of History at the State University of Iowa, distills this substantial literature and adds much from his own research. Dr. Bogue has gone through many county "mug" books for farming experiences. He has studied

census returns for population movements, size of farms, and evolving crop patterns. He has examined diaries, letters, land office records, county records, periodical literature, agriculture college bulletins, and many unpublished theses.

The four glaciers that moved into the Middle West did not cover Illinois and Iowa uniformly. They left soils of varying fertility which farmers learned by trial and error to use most effectively. The first farmers lived in the woods or at the edge of the woods because they needed wood for various purposes. Then gradually they moved out on the better soils of the prairie. Most of the farmers entering the Illinois-Iowa prairie came from states directly east, though one fourth of those in Iowa in 1850 had been born in five southern states (Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, and North Carolina). Ohio supplied Iowa with more people than all five of these southern states.

Illinois and Iowa farm lands were settled mainly through cash sales and military bounties. Only one per cent of Illinois and 2.5 per cent of Iowa were settled under homestead acts.

Bogue establishes that farmers in the late 19th century were less depressed than generally has been thought. Yet no one should assume that because Illinois and Iowa lands are rich and valuable today the pioneer farmers had an easy time of it. Although most farmers had their troubles their land increased considerably in value, 1860-1890.

Bogue reviews the history of claims clubs, which often have been regarded as democratic organizations to protect honest settlers against claim jumpers and speculators. He finds that they were sometimes organized to fleece latecomers. After grabbing more land than they could use, the original squatters made latecomers pay them for unoccupied lands.

It was a rare farmer who bought a piece of land of the right size and stayed with it for life. Most farmers could not resist making land deals and moving from time to time.

Sod houses were rare because cheap pine lumber was readily available. Well-diggers normally found good water at 30 feet or less. Before barbed wire came in the 1870's, fences were mainly worm, board, post and rail, or hedge. There were disputes as to whether grain farmers should fence livestock out, or livestock men should fence their animals in.

Dr. Bogue discusses cattle, sheep, and hogs; feeding operations; improvement of breeds; interest in western properties. He includes much detail about crops, equipment, prices, capital, labor, and taxes.

This is a thoroughly researched, well organized, well written volume which should be the standard work in the field for a long time.

*University of Wyoming*

T. A. LARSON

*Honor Thy Father.* By Robert A. Roripaugh. (New York, William Morrow and Company, 1963. 287 pp. \$4.50.)

Robert Roripaugh's new novel, *Honor Thy Father*, which recently won the coveted Western Heritage Award, ought to have a strong appeal for the readers of the *Annals*. First of all, it tells a good story, the setting of which is in a familiar and beautiful section of Wyoming (the Sweetwater valley); and, second, its ideas, the plot, much of the motivation, and many of the conflicts come from the turbulence existing among the large and small ranchers, the homesteaders, sheepmen, and cattle rustlers in the closing years of the nineteenth century, a crucial but lurid era in Wyoming history. It could be called an historical novel but not in the sense that it attempts to recreate many actual events or people (except the hanging of Jim Averill and Ella Watson); rather it is an imaginative but realistic re-creation of what might have been then, of what perhaps was. Mr. Roripaugh knows Wyoming's history.

The plot involves the Tyrrells, a father and his two sons, who own a ranch on the banks of the Sweetwater River, and though there are in the novel the ingredients necessary to a book like this—the rivalries stemming from the love interest, trouble over mavericks and on roundups, a fist fight, gun fights, etc.—the serious center of the book is in the conflicts between the Tyrrells themselves stemming from their varying attitudes toward the land and ownership. These conflicts cause a serious break between the father and the elder son, Ira, with the younger son, Mart, the narrator of the story, left to arrive at his own position as the story progresses. The two attitudes are expressed well by Ira in one passage early in the novel as he and Mart reflect near Independence Rock on the early emigrants who traveled the Oregon Trail in search of something better: "Nothing ended with the Mormons or the other emigrants. . . . People will always be looking for a place or a way of life that suits them better. I suppose the emigrants intrigue me because they were trying hard to make something new from their lives. Of course they didn't succeed completely, but making the effort was the important thing. A person living here now has to make the same effort to move ahead of old ways of looking at things. . . . That's one reason why I can't go along with Father's view that a few men have a right to control the Sweetwater Valley for over seventy-five miles from the mouth of the river. When there weren't any other people in the country, it might've made some sense, though I can't see where white men had the right to take this land from the Indians to begin with. But now a lot of new people with rights as good as those of any early rancher are coming in. I think everyone should start using the land here in fairer ways and acting more civilized toward each other when problems come up over mavericks and homesteads."

Each holds firmly to his position and the breach widens as the novel progresses.

While this estrangement grows, influenced by particular events in the plot or causing them, other characters are introduced and developed in varying degrees—Senator Karr, a pillar of the all-powerful Cattlemen's Association, determined to exterminate all resistance to the established ranchers like himself and the elder Tyrrell; his daughter, Leah, who eventually turns against him and helps thereby to prevent at least one major catastrophe; Paulson, the Association detective, ruthless, ambitious, and treacherous; Mary, the half-breed girl, who suffers from the enmities and provides the major emotional interest; and the relevant assortment of outsiders, foremen, and cowhands, each of whom contributes his bit to the development of the book. Among the latter, the character known only as "Cookie" stands out as a little masterpiece of characterization—alive, individual, consistent, shrewd, sharp-tongued. It is to be regretted that Mr. Roripaugh chose to use him so sparingly.

But then, for this reader at least, the chief fault of the book (if "fault" is the right word) is that almost everything is done too sparingly. The novel ought to be twice as long as it is. Its substance is rich, varied, and significant, the stuff out of which a major novel, even a great one, might be made. The talent to make it such seems not to be lacking—only the extent of development. Some aspects of the novel are wholly excellent, like the plot itself which is carefully and realistically developed, or the fine and moving portrait of Ira, who stands alone against the powerful forces of selfishness and self-righteousness. But other aspects suffer from brevity. There ought to have been time and space to develop the picture and the influence of the land. This is fine country of which he writes and it ought to be made more vivid, its hold on the characters intensified. Again and again, but only in a sentence or a short passage here and there, Mr. Roripaugh shows what he could do if he were inclined to indulge himself more than he has. He has learned some good things from Mari Sandoz, who is a master at evoking a landscape, but he has chosen here not to put his obvious skill to full use. Then, a few of the characters almost demand more preparation, especially Senator Karr. He is a significant part of the story, representative of one way of thinking. By devoting more space to him, the author, even with the point of view he chooses to use, could have increased our understanding of the opposition to men like Ira and in particular have made more credible the important revelations of his daughter in a scene which, as it stands, is a defect for it has all the marks of a *deus ex machina*, though it was not intended as such. There ought to have been time also to clarify the almost shadowy Jennie whose merits as a character are not exploited enough, whose fears remain too vague, whose very function, in fact, is not really clear except that she

provides a bit of needed information and a couple of irrelevant sexual episodes.

But these and others are all matters which might, or perhaps should, have been. What is still fine enough to merit attention. The book reflects much insight, there are some truly worthy characterizations, and the smooth and appropriate style (except here and there in conversations) makes the book eminently readable and rewarding. It deserves to be added to that short list of good novels about the West.

*University of Wyoming*

RICHARD MAHAN

*The Badmen.* Columbia Records Legacy Collection. L2L1011.

Columbia Records in this new "two discs and a book" folio invades the publishing field, combining music, reminiscences and stories. It is a rather exciting venture, and it should meet with the approval of the thousands who are fascinated with the western badman. Future plans for similar efforts are indicated in the foreword by Mr. Goddard Lieberman: "Beyond this album, our overall plan is to explore, in this same way, other aspects of the West. Right or wrong, we have begun here with the most striking, the best known and certainly the most popular of the folk histories and legends; dealing as it does, with a group which to some were Robin Hoods, heroic daredevils, and to others, petty thieves, cheap murderers, immoral braggadocios."

Columbia Records includes in this one package two long-playing records, one of songs of the badmen, and one of reminiscences by people who had first hand knowledge of events and the people concerned. A sixty-nine page book, well written and illustrated, entitled "The Badmen, Songs, Stories and Pictures of the Western Outlaws from Blackhills to Border, 1865-1900" accompanies the recordings.

## UNIVERSITY PRESS REPRINTS

Several University presses are performing a valuable service in the field of Western Americana by reprinting many books on the West which have been out-of-print, difficult and expensive to obtain for a number of years. These reprints make such items, many of which have become classics, available again at reasonable prices. The following reprints in paperback editions are off the press and may be obtained through bookstores.

## UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS

*Bison Books, Paperback Edition*

*A Cycle of the West: The Song of Three Friends, The Song of Hugh Glass, The Song of Jed Smith, The Song of the Indian Wars, The Song of the Messiah.* By John G. Neihardt. Introduction by John Neihardt, 1948. (First published by Macmillan Co., reproduced by arrangements with the author.) 1963. 656 pp. \$1.85.

*The Look of the West 1860. Across the Plains to California.* By Sir Richard Burton. Foreword by Robert G. Athearn. (Text and appendix originally comprised part of *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California*, published in London in 1862.) 1963. 333 pp. \$1.60.

*Saynday's People. The Kiowa Indians and the Stories They Told.* By Alice Marriott. (Includes *Winter-Telling Stories*, (1947.) and *Indians on Horseback* (1948) both published originally by Thomas Y. Crowell, N. Y.) 1963. Illus., index. 225 pp. \$1.75.

## Contributors

ROBERT A. MURRAY, Museum Curator at Fort Laramie National Historic Site since 1962, has had previous assignments with the National Park Service as Ranger-Historian at Custer Battlefield, and as Historian at Pipestone National Monument. He and his wife and son now live in Lingle. His hobbies include hunting, photography and historical research, and he has had articles published in the *Minnesota Archaeologist*, National Park Service publications and newspapers.

AUSTIN L. MOORE, as a child, lived in Wyoming for a few years when his family occupied the parsonage of the Congregational Church on East 19th Street, in Cheyenne. He and his wife now make their home in East Lansing, Michigan, where he is Professor of Humanities at Michigan State University. Dr. Moore received his B.A. degree at Oberlin College and his Ph. D. at Columbia University. His published writings include *John D. Archbold, a Biography*, *Farewell Farouk*, *Souls and Saddlebags*, and numerous articles. Dr. Moore has traveled extensively throughout this country, Europe and Africa, and also enjoys tennis, golf and chess.

DON D. FOWLER has had numerous archaeological and anthropological articles published in Utah, and others are in preparation. A native of Utah, he is a graduate of the University of Utah, and is at present a graduate student and instructor in anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh. He is a member of several professional organizations.

JAY GURIAN's interest in the Sweetwater area goes back to 1941, when, as he says, "On a cross-country tour with my family, our Packard ran dry on the old gravel road between U.S. 30 and Lander. We wheezed down the hill into South Pass City. The creek was nearly dead dry, but we got water from the old spring across from the general store. From then on, I wanted to return to Sweetwater and learn its history . . . My interest became official when I chose Sweetwater as central interest for my American Studies Ph. D. thesis research." Dr. Gurian attended Syracuse University and the University of Hawaii, has been an instructor in English at the University of Hawaii and the University of Minnesota, and is now Professor of American Studies at Osmania University, Hyderabad, India, where he lives with his wife and two sons.



JOHN DISHON McDERMOTT. See *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 34, No. 2, October, 1962, pp. 261-262.

ELIZABETH J. THORPE. See *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 34, No. 1, April, 1962, p. 132.

DICK J. NELSON. See *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 34, No. 1, April, 1962, p. 131.







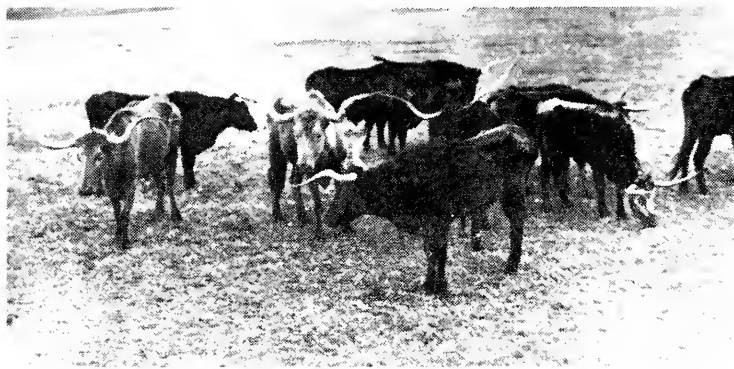
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# *Annals of Wyoming*



TEXAS LONGHORNS. OWNED BY J. S. HAMMOND, 1880's  
*Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department*

*October 1964*

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## ANNALS OF WYOMING

The ANNALS OF WYOMING is published semi-annually in April and October and is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society. Copies of current issues 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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# *The Sheepeaters*

By

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## INTRODUCTION

Every land has its past history and past peoples, and those citizens of today question after those of yesterday. Who were the peoples here before us; where did they come from; how did they live; and lastly, where did they go? In the answering of these questions fact and fantasy often become entangled. Then to return to the historical scene and to try to separate the true from the untrue becomes a matter of adventure, for in trying to reconstruct what once was, mystery and romance still shine through from those former times.

In the high mountains of western Wyoming—the Absarokas, the Wind Rivers, the Gros Ventres, and the Tetons—and in the rugged plateau of central Idaho—there are left evidences of the existence of primitive peoples. Remains of their camps can be found today, as well as traps and pens once used to catch game, and arrowheads used to kill it.

During the first part of the nineteenth century the few trappers, traders, and explorers who could write, and had an inclination to do so, left scattered references to Indian peoples living in these mountains. Toward the end of that century official government documents by Indian agents and superintendents refer to the Indians in their charge, among whom were the people of the mountains.

These early historical sources called the people of the mountains “sheepeaters.” This English name derives from the Shoshoni Indian name *Tukudeka*, meaning “eaters of mountain sheep” (or more properly “eaters of meat.”) The identification of these supposed “sheepeaters” is not a simple thing; in fact, not nearly as simple as most writers have tried to make it. Therefore, the first section of this paper will deal with the problem of just who, if anyone, were the “Sheepeaters.”

As will be seen from a review of historical sources a confusing diversity of names were applied to the “Sheepeaters”; however, this is of less importance than the fact that a group of mountain-dwelling Shoshoni possessing a highly characteristic culture did in fact exist. Therefore the second part of this paper will attempt to set forth as much as we presently know about that now-extinct culture.





Bannock, and Ute, as well as their relatives to the south and south-east, Hopi, Aztec and Comanche.

Classification of the many speakers of the mutually intelligible dialects of the Plateau-Shoshonean<sup>2</sup> language has been done from several points of view. Lowie<sup>3</sup> recognized different groups of Shoshoni in terms of the history of their habitation within a certain geographical area. Steward<sup>4</sup> did a comprehensive study of the Basin and Plateau people, and he based his classification upon the social and political organization of the various cultures he studied. He oriented these studies in specific localities; therefore, he uses place names for describing his classification. Nomenclature used by the Shoshoni Indians themselves in describing others who speak their language has stemmed not so much, however, from geographical place names, nor from sociopolitical distinctions, but from economic distinctions. The subsistence of all the Shoshoni peoples came from a great variety of sources. They utilized their environment in every possible manner by hunting game both large and small, by fishing, and by gathering nuts, berries, roots, herbs, and insects. Therefore, the Shoshoni "folknames" for each other have been based upon certain foods which seemed to predominate in the lives of any one particular group at any particular time.

Those who lived along the Salmon River and whose main subsistence activity was fishing were called *Agaideka* ("salmon-eaters"). Those who did not live near the spawning grounds of the big salmon but who ate smaller fish were called *Pengwideka* ("fish-eaters"). *Hekandeka* or *Hukandeka* means "seed-eaters," but this is a pun, for it means "dirt-eater" too. *Kutsundeka* means "buffalo-eater," *Padehiyadeka* means "elk-eater." Of importance to us is the spelling and derivation of the word "sheepeater," which comes from the Shoshoni word collection *Tuku-deka* meaning "mountain-sheep eater" or more properly "meat-eater."<sup>5</sup>

Nowhere among Northern Shoshoni [Lowie's (1909) term] did these or other names relating to special food denote clearly defined local groups or individual bands. Rather, they referred to regional

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2. Liljeblad, Sven, 1959, "Indian Peoples in Idaho", *History of Idaho*, by Beal and Wells, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., Chapter 2, p. 37.

3. Lowie, Robert H., 1909, "The Northern Shoshone", *American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. II, part 2; and Lowie, Robert H., 1924, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography", *Anthrop. Papers of the Am. Mus. of Nat. Hist.*, Vol. 20, part 3, N. Y.

4. Steward, Julian H., 1938, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups", *Smithsonian Inst., Bur. of Am. Ethnol.*, Bull. 120.

5. Liljeblad, Sven, 1957, *Indian Peoples in Idaho*, Idaho State College. (Hereafter referred to as "Liljeblad, 1957".) All of the above names and spellings come from the manuscript listed here by Dr. Sven Liljeblad of Pocatello. Dr. Liljeblad, a linguist, has spent many years studying the Bannock and Shoshoni of Idaho, and can be cited as the chief authority in this field at the present day.

resources utilized by people who might travel widely. "An individual, a family, or an entire band, could be named differently at different times according to temporary whereabouts or to the seasons and the corresponding foods."<sup>6</sup>

By way of an example, Shoshoni from the Snake River Plains who had generally been called *Kutsundeka* appropriated for a short time the name *Padehiyadeka* when they went to the Teton country of western Wyoming to hunt elk. These same "buffalo-eaters", when traveling up the Portneuf River to dig roots, were referred to as *Kuyedeka*, meaning "eaters of the 'tobacco-root'" (*Valerina obovata*).<sup>7</sup>

It is in this manner that Dr. Sven Liljeblad has spelled out his significant findings on the problem of identification and classification of the various Shoshoni peoples.<sup>8</sup> He concludes that among the Shoshoni living west of the Continental Divide, that is in the Plateau region of Idaho, any particular group of these people is merely a "domestic group" with culture traits similar to all other Shoshoni of the Plateau. Group names are arbitrary and are not based on ethnic distinctions. It is Liljeblad's contention that all the Northern Shoshoni peoples had a general culture in common and that they all practiced varying methods of subsistence as the opportunity arose.

This is recognized by the present-day Shoshoni Indians of Idaho. W. G.,<sup>9</sup> who lives on the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, had this to say of his various neighbors, "Just whatever they ate at that time is what I called them. We could even call them 'coffee-drinkers.'" He told of a woman who was supposed to be a "meat-eater," that is, she preferred to eat only meat. But during the ration days of World War II this woman came to W. G. and his wife, C. G., and asked them for some food. They gave her both meat and fat and she took it and ate it. Later when W. G. and C. G. met her coming down the road, C. G. laughed and said, "Here she comes, here comes 'she-who-eats both.'" In speaking of the Shoshoni in general W. G. said, "We are all the same people . . . It is all mixed up [meaning marriages and blood lines] all the way back." This is the consensus among all the Shoshoni at Fort Hall.<sup>10</sup> E. B.<sup>11</sup> said, "This whole group of Indians are all the same people . . .

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6. Liljeblad, 1957, p. 56.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

8. Personal interview with Dr. Sven Liljeblad, 711 S. 10th Street, Pocatello, Idaho. December 31, 1959.

9. Personal interview with W. G., Fort Hall, Idaho, December 30, 1959. W. G. is a 65-year-old Shoshoni "long-hair" or conservative. He is well informed about some of the past history of his people and tells correctly what he knows.

10. Most of the Shoshoni originally living in Idaho are now located at Fort Hall. These include all the Northern Shoshoni as designated by Lowie

The *Tukudeka* people from the mountains know people from all over Idaho real well . . . by names and by relation."

Thus it can be seen that in Idaho all groups were in contact with each other; enough so that culture elements were shared by all. Inter-marriage between various groups seems to be the rule rather than the exception, and any distinctions which groups might have had in aboriginal times have largely disappeared by today.

In historic times Indians living on the east side of the Continental Divide spoke the same language, Plateau-Shoshonean, as did those to the west. These Indians have been called "Wyoming Shoshoni" by Steward,<sup>12</sup> "Wind River Shoshoni" by Kroeber,<sup>13</sup> and "Eastern Shoshoni" or "Eastern Snakes" by early historical sources. Ake Hultkrantz, who has done recent field work among the Shoshoni of Wyoming,<sup>14</sup> prefers to call these people "Wyoming Plains Shoshoni." Hultkrantz prefers<sup>15</sup> this nomenclature for two reasons. Firstly, the name "Wind River Shoshone" actually refers only to reservation times, or the time since 1868 when these people, under the leadership of Chief Washakie, agreed to live on the Wind River Reservation. Before this time they roamed at will on the plains of Wyoming and even made buffalo-hunting forays into Montana and the Dakotas.<sup>16</sup> The second reason why Hultkrantz chooses to rename the Shoshoni of Wyoming is that he finds them to be a heterogeneous, not a homogeneous, group of people.<sup>17</sup> Hultkrantz has found what he believes to be three distinct ethnic groups among the Shoshoni of Wyoming. These are called by him the *Kucundika*<sup>18</sup> ("buffalo-eaters"), the *Tukudika*<sup>19</sup> ("sheep-eaters"), and

(1909) among whom were people who had lived in the Lemhi Valley and were called "Lemhi" by Lowie (1909) and people who had lived in the mountainous region around the Lemhi River. These latter people were called Sheepeaters by early historical sources and have been termed *Tukudeka* by later anthropological sources. (Liljeblad, 1957, and others.)

11. Personal interview with E. B. Blackfoot, Idaho, January 2, 1960. E.B. is an educated Shoshoni and head of the Fort Hall tribal council.

12. Steward, 1938, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

13. Kroeber, 1939, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 82.

14. Hultkrantz, an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Stockholm, Sweden, has been to this country for field work in 1948, 1955 and 1957, his chief concern being the Shoshoni of Wyoming.

15. Hultkrantz, Ake, "The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area," p. 21, originally published in Swedish in *Ymer*, 1956: 3, pp. 161-187. Translated by Dr. Arne Magnus, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. Republished, *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 19-41, April, 1961. (Hereafter referred to as Hultkrantz, 1961.)

16. Shimkin, D. B., 1947a, "Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography", *Anthropological Records*, Vol. 3, No. 4, University of California, Berkeley.

17. Hultkrantz, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

18. 1825 is the date of the first rendezvous by fur trappers. It was held on the Green River which was to become the demographic center for the *Haivodika*, who because of the fur trade became specialized as middle-men and traders themselves.

the *Haivodika* ("dove-eaters"). The latter group is of less importance and seems to have become distinct only after 1825.

My investigations show that the present day Wind River Shoshoni—up to this time considered by ethnologists as a homogeneous tribe—is composed of descendants of three independent ethnic units as of 1860, within the present boundaries of Wyoming. If one goes further back in time, then one can conjecture that the number of independent groups was even greater, but that two large main groups stand out both through their sociopolitical structure, and their economic activities: the Buffalo Hunter or *Kucundika* of the Plains, the main portion of the present Wind River Shoshoni, and the Sheep-Eaters or *Tukudika* in the mountains.<sup>20</sup>

These so-called "sheepeaters", with whom we are concerned, have been designated in other historical and anthropological literature by a variety of names:

Hoebel<sup>21</sup> calls them *Tuk-u-rika*, but recognizes the interchangeability of "dika" for "rika." Hoebel also distinguished a separate group of *Pa-rah-ia-dika* or "elk-eaters" living in the Teton Range and a group called *Dayiane*, "Mountain Dwellers", living in Yellowstone Park.

Lowie called those Shoshoni living in the mountains around Lemhi, Idaho, *Tuku-rika*.<sup>22</sup>

Stuart calls the "Salmon River Snakes" *Took-a-rik-kah*.<sup>23</sup>

Swanton, in his identification of North American Indian tribes, says that the name *Tukuarika* or *Tukuadika* was applied with some measure of permanence to a number of local groups "extending from Yellowstone National Park to the middle course of the Salmon River."<sup>24</sup>

Humfreville,<sup>25</sup> Wheeler,<sup>26</sup> and Lander<sup>27</sup> applied generally the

19. Note that the spelling given by Hultkrantz of the Shoshoni word "eater" differs from that given by Liljeblad. The former uses an "i" and the latter an "e". Hereafter the form given by Liljeblad will be used, except in reference to particular material given by Hultkrantz.

20. Hultkrantz, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Hultkrantz plans to publish two monographs on these two groups. His findings on the *Tukudika* will be especially interesting in view of the fact that they have not, until this time, been the explicit subject of any published work.

21. Hoebel, E. Adamson, "Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, pp. 410-413, 1938.

22. Lowie, 1909, *op. cit.*

23. Stuart, Granville, 1865, *Montana As It Is*, New York, p. 81.

24. Swanton, John R., 1952, *The Indians of North America*, Smithsonian Inst., Bur. of Am. Ethnol., Bull. 145, Washington, p. 405.

25. Humfreville, J. Lee, 1897, *Twenty Years Among Our Savage Indians*, Hartford, Conn., p. 271.

26. Wheeler, George M., 1879, *Report upon United States Geographic Survey West of the One Hundredth Meridian*, Archaeology, Vol. 7, Washington.

27. Lander, F. W., 1860, (Communications in) *Message of the President*

term *Tukuarika* to the Shoshoni of Salmon River, the Upper Snake Valley and the surrounding mountains.

Hodge gives the home of a *Tukuarika* people as being in Yellowstone Park and the Lemhi Fork of the Salmon River.<sup>28</sup>

The Murphys recognize a *Tukarika* or "sheepeater" population living in the mountains of Wyoming<sup>29</sup> and a similarly named but socially and geographically separate group called *Tukurika* centered near the Lemhi River in central Idaho.<sup>30</sup>

Historical references to the "sheepeater" peoples is sparse indeed, but what records we do have, left by early trappers and traders and official expeditions in the 19th century, indicate that encounters between the whites and the so-called "sheepeaters" occurred either in the high mountains of Wyoming, principally in Yellowstone Park, or in the mountains of central Idaho.

The first such historical record comes from the journals of Captain Bonneville, who in September, 1835, sighted three Indians in the Wind River Range.<sup>31</sup>

Captain Bonneville at once concluded that these belonged to a kind of hermit race, scanty in number, that inhabit the highest and most inaccessible fastnesses. They speak the Shoshone language and probably are offshoots from that tribe, though they have peculiarities of their own, which distinguish them from all other Indians. They are miserably poor, own no horses, and are destitute of every convenience to be derived from an intercourse with the whites. Their weapons are bows and stone-pointed arrows, with which they hunt the deer, the elk, and the mountain sheep. They are to be found scattered about the countries of the Shoshones, Flathead, Crow and Blackfoot tribes, but their residences are always in lonely places and the clefts of rocks.

Osborne Russell made the following observation while trapping in the Lamar Valley of Yellowstone Park in July, 1835:<sup>32</sup>

Here we found a few Snake Indians comprising six men, seven women and eight or ten children who were the only inhabitants of this lonely and secluded spot. They were all neatly clothed in dressed deer and sheepskins of the best quality and seemed to be perfectly contented and happy. They were rather surprised at our approach and retreated to the heights where they might have a view of us without apprehending any danger, but having persuaded them of our pacific intentions

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of the United States, Communicating . . . Information in Relation to the Massacre at Mountain Meadows and other Massacres in Utah Territory, Sen. Ex. Doc. 42, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Washington.

28. Hodge, Frederick Webb, 1907, *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. 2, Bur. of Am. Ethnol., Bull. 30, Washington.

29. Murphy, Robert F. and Yolanda, 1960, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society", *Anthropological Records* 16:7, University of California Press, p. 309.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

31. Irving, Washington, 1850, *Astoria*, Covent Garden, p. 139.

32. Russell, Osborne, 1955, *Journal of a Trapper*, Aubrey L. Haines, ed., Oregon State Historical Society, p. 26.

we then succeeded in getting them to encamp with us. Their personal property consisted of one old butcher knife, nearly worn to the back, two old shattered fuses which had long since become useless for want of ammunition, a small stone pot and about 30 dogs on which they carried their skins, clothing, provisions etc. on their hunting excursions. They were well armed with bows and arrows pointed with obsidian.

C. W. Cook, in his account of the Folsom-Cook Expedition of 1869, *The Valley of the Upper Yellowstone*, says, "On the eighth day out we encountered a band of Indians, who, however, proved to be Tonkeys, or Sheepeaters, and friendly; the discovery of their character relieved our minds of apprehension, and we conversed with them as well as their limited knowledge of English, and our of pantomime would permit."<sup>33</sup>

In *The Report of Lieut. Gustavius C. Doane upon the so-called Yellowstone Expedition of 1870 to the Secretary of War*,<sup>34</sup> Doane says: on the "Twenty-fifth day—September 15—the only traces of Indians [possibly nomadic Plains Indians] we had seen were some shelters of logs, rotten and tumbling down from age, together with a few poles standing in the former summer camps; there were no fresh trails whatever. Appearances indicated that the basin (of the Yellowstone Plateau) had been almost entirely abandoned by the sons of the forest. A few lodges of Sheepeaters, a branch remnant of the Snake tribe, wretched beasts who run from the sight of a white man or from any other tribe of Indians, once said to inhabit the fastnesses of the mountains around the lakes, poorly armed and dismounted, obtaining a precarious subsistence, and in defenseless condition. We saw, however, no recent traces of them."

The Earl of Dunraven took a trip into the northern half of Yellowstone Park in the summer of 1874. This observant old sportsman wrote, "Our path . . . crossed a low divide into the valley system of the Fire Hole, or east fork of the Madison River. Before crossing the divide we passed a few old wigwams, remains of encampments of Sheepeaters. These were the last indications of Indians that we saw . . ."<sup>35</sup> Also, "A few wretched Sheepeaters are said to linger in the fastnesses of the mountains about Clarke's Fork; but their existence is very doubtful; at any rate they must be a harmless, timid race."

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33. Cook, C. W., 1869, *The Valley of the Upper Yellowstone*, In: Cramton, Louis C., 1932, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and Its Relation to National Park Policies*, Washington.

34. Doane, Lieutenant Gustavius C., 1870, *Report of Lieutenant Gustavius C. Doane upon the So-called Yellowstone Expedition of 1870 to the Sec. of War*, In: Cramton, 1932, *op. cit.*

35. Dunraven, The Earl of, 1876, *The Great Divide*, London, Reprinted in: *Hunting in the Yellowstone*, Edited by Horace Kephart, Outing Publishing Co., New York, 1917, pp. 221-222 and 246.

Colonel P. W. Norris, who was superintendent of Yellowstone Park from 1877 to 1882, and who was largely responsible for having the last Indians removed from the Park in the late 1870's, should have been well informed about the Indians of this area. He wrote that he found near the Sheep-eater Cliffs in the northern Yellowstone Park the "ancient but recently deserted, secluded, unknown haunts"<sup>36</sup> of the Sheepeaters. Also, "The haunt of the main Bannock tribe was at Henry's Lake, west of the park, that of their little Sheepeaters Band within [the Park(?)], and their main buffalo range upon the Big Horn, most of it."

The letters of Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent at Fort Bridger, to the Superintendents of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, in the 1860's also give evidence that a group called Sheepeaters lived in Wyoming at this time (1850-1880).

Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to D. H. Irish, Supt. of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger Agency, October 5, 1864.<sup>37</sup>

About the first of June a party of Loo-coo-rekah, or Sheep-Eater Indians stole and brought into camp nineteen head of horses belonging to a party of miners at Beaver Head, Montana Territory.

Luther Mann, Jr., Indian Agent, to F. H. Head, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, dated Fort Bridger Agency, July 15, 1867.<sup>38</sup>

Sir, your communication of June 3rd in regard to the Mixed Bands of Indians who range about the headwaters of the Yellowstone Galiton Madison Snake and Green Rivers around Bannack and Boise frequently in the Territory of Utah was duly received. . . . There also exists another band of Tookooreka or Sheep Eaters a branch of Shoshonees who live almost entirely in the Mountains very seldom visit the white settlements. The last named Band speak the Shoshonee dialect . . .

Granville Stuart writing in 1865 says, "The 'Salmon River Snakes' occupy the Salmon River and the upper part of Snake River Valley, and 'Coiner's prairie,' near the Boise mines. They are called 'Took-a-rik-kah,' or 'mountain-sheepeaters,' by the other Snakes, because in former times they lived principally on these animals, which were very abundant then in that region, but are about 'played out' now."<sup>39</sup>

In 1877 W. H. Jackson, the famous frontier photographer, reported that, "There are 200 more (Bannocks) at the Lemhi

36. Norris, P. W., 1880, *Report on the Yellowstone Park to the Secretary of the Interior*, 1878, Ex. Doc. House Rep., 3rd Sess. 46th Cong., 1880-81, Washington, p. 988.

37. Morgan, Dale L., 1958, editor of: *Washakie and the Shoshoni*. A selection of Documents from the Records of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs, *Annals of Wyoming*, 1952-1958, Vol. 29, No. 2, Oct. 1957, p. 198.

38. *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, No. 1, April, 1958, pp. 54-55.

39. Stuart, 1865, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

reservation, where there are 340 sheepeaters, a band of Bannocks living a retired life in the mountains dividing Idaho from Montana, and 500 Shoshonees."<sup>40</sup>

In Idaho the last distinct reports of a people designated as Sheepeaters came from the mountains of western Idaho between the Weiser River and the Middle Fork of the Salmon River. This is provided by the accounts of the so-called "Sheepeater Campaign of 1879."<sup>41</sup> In the summer and fall of that year, the U. S. Army tried to pacify or annihilate a small group of Indians roaming on foot in these mountains. These Indians apparently had never been on a reservation. And according to Col. W. C. Brown these "Sheepeaters were a small band of renegade Bannocks, Shoshones, and Weisers".<sup>42</sup> The Indians were pursued in the Big Creek and Elk Creek area of the mid-Salmon River drainages. They apparently lived on both sides of the divide. As Aaron Parker says, "The Sheepeaters were a few mongrel Indians of unknown pedigree who inhabited the Council and Indian valleys of the Upper Weiser Mountains."<sup>43</sup> These Indians had been raiding whites together with renegade Bannocks.

In Wyoming, the last official reports of a Sheepeater group concern their removal to the reservations in the 1870's. They soon lost their identity, at least from a group point of view, as there is no record that they were distinguished for long from the Shoshoni whom they joined on the reservation.

In 1880, Superintendent Norris<sup>44</sup> made efforts to have a treaty accepted by Congress, and to reach an agreement with the Indians who had frequented or lived in Yellowstone. The essence of this agreement was that the Indians would not come north into the Park further than Heart Lake.

There is a controversy described by Hultkrantz as to the time

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40. Jackson, W. H., 1877, *Descriptive Catalog of Photographs of North American Indians*, Ch. 5, p. 70.

41. It seems clear that the people designated as "hostiles" by the U.S. government and pursued during the Sheepeater campaign had, by the time of that final campaign (1879), little in common with the peaceful, isolated, and defenseless "Sheepeaters" described in historical accounts prior to 1850. Some of these "hostiles" might well have earlier come from the "mountain dwellers" or "Sheepeaters" of Idaho whom we have sought to describe, but by 1879 any cultural relation to this ancestry was no doubt lost. In summary, these "hostiles" were best described as a "mixed band" of renegade or ill-contented and well-armed Indians who lived by marauding the white settlers and who resisted the white advance until subdued in this final campaign.

42. Brown, Col. W. C., U.S.A., 1926, *The Sheep Eater Campaign, Idaho, 1879*. Reprinted from the 10th Biennial Report. Idaho Historical Society, p. 5.

43. Parker, Aaron F., 192(?), *Forgotten Tragedies of Indian Warfare in Idaho*. Grangeville, Idaho, p. 1.

44. Hultkrantz, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 145.



and place of removal of the Indians from Yellowstone. Letters by Superintendents Hass and D. G. Yaeger, from 1929, and kept in the archives of the agency at Wind River Reservation, stated that Sheepeaters were moved to this reservation in 1871 and 1879.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand there is information provided by Norris showing that Sheepeaters were moved to Lemhi.<sup>46</sup> Both may have been true.

Replogle shows a photograph of a "Sheepeater family in the Yellowstone country. The tepee is a temporary summer dwelling with aspen supporting an Army-style canvas."<sup>47</sup> This description shows that this picture must have been taken after the military occupation of Yellowstone in 1870.

A report of Sheepeaters remaining after 1879 is supplied by General Sheridan in his report "Report on Exploration of parts of Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana, 1882." He says that the expedition had "five Sheep-eating Indians as guides."

Scattered individuals claiming to be Sheepeaters remained after 1880. Among these was Togwotee who became an important chief and guide among the Wind River Shoshones.<sup>48</sup>

Hultkrantz deduces that in the late history of the Sheepeaters, marauding Plains tribes, plus smallpox introduced by the whites, diminished the number of those who were still free roaming.<sup>49</sup> Grace Hebard makes reference to the Sioux as bringing about the eventual extinction of the Sheepeaters. "Ultimately the Sioux penetrated to their recesses (she gives these as the Absaroka, Ten Sleep and Teton mountains) and virtually exterminated them."<sup>50</sup>

The most interesting story from a romantic point of view, but least substantiated from a scientific point of view, is W. A. Allen's account of the story he obtained from the alleged 115-year-old Sheepeater squaw, "Under the Ground". She was with a band of mountain Crows, near the Big Horn mountains, when Allen says he met her in 1913. According to Allen she described the smallpox epidemic and its consequences among her people. "By and by Sheep Eater not many. They go to other Indian tribes down in valley on river, where much big water runs, and eat heap buffalo,

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45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. Replogle, Wayne F., 1956, *Yellowstone's Bannock Indian Trails*, Yellowstone Park, Wyoming, Yellowstone Interpretive Series, No. 6, p. 48.

48. Hultkrantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136.

49. cf., Shimkin, D. B., 1938, "Wind River Shoshone Geography," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, p. 415. "During the first one half of the 19th century, terrific epidemics of smallpox hit Wyoming, causing a decimation and scattering of the population. The dukureka of the Wind River Mountains (who, incidentally never had horses) were nearly wiped out."

50. Hebard, Grace Raymond, 1930, *Washakie*. Arthur Clark Company, Cleveland, 1930, p. 118. Dr. Hebard gives no references to her sources of material.

ride pony, marry heap squaw . . . then Sheep Eater no more, no more papoose, no more squaw, all gone."<sup>51</sup>

Left with these scant but often alluring historical accounts of the elusive "Sheepeaters" we must turn to ethnographic accounts and our own field work in order to better identify them.

J. T.,<sup>52</sup> living on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, spoke of the Tukudeka as being distinct from the other Indians of the reservation. He mentioned one of the few Tukudeka who after three generations kept his distinctiveness from the rest of the Shoshoni. This man, J. Q.,<sup>53</sup> lived on a part of the reservation away from all others (Sage Creek) and was known by the other Shoshoni not to participate in the regular Shoshoni dances. F. P. and P. P.<sup>54</sup> both made vague references to a group of people who once lived up in the mountains. S. N.<sup>55</sup> gave another name, *engaa*,<sup>56</sup> for the "mountainpeople" as he called them. He had also heard of the Shoshoni term *Tukudeka*. M. P.<sup>57</sup> distinguished clearly between Chief Washakie's band (who were *Kucundika* as classified by Hultkrantz) and another group whom she called *Dukurika*.<sup>58</sup> Although Mrs. P. now lives at the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, she came originally from Wind River, Wyoming, where her mother's father was a nephew of Chief Washakie himself. This is

51. Allen, W. A., 1913, *The Sheepeaters*, Shakespeare Press, New York.

52. Personal interview with J.T., Fort Washakie, Wyoming, December 28, 1959. J. T. is one of the best informed Shoshoni about the past history of the tribe. He learned most of his information from his grandmother. From what other Wind River Shoshoni told me he was one of Hultkrantz's principal informants.

53. I attempted to speak to this man but he refused to give me any information, interestingly enough because I probably insulted him by asking outright if he was a "sheepeater". In the event that he was in fact insulted, graphic proof is thus afforded that "Sheepeaters" may well have been poorly esteemed by some Shoshoni as "lower-class". I believe, however, that he may have given some information to Dr. Hultkrantz which should be very interesting if published.

54. Personal interview with F. P. and P. P., Burris, Wyoming, January 3, 1960. Both of these people are full-blood Shoshoni about 60-70 years old. F. P. had gone to school at Fort Hall.

55. Personal interview with S. N., Burris, Wyoming, January 3, 1960. S.N. came to the Wind River Reservation at the age of two. His father came from a Paiute band in Nevada and he joined the Fort Hall Shoshoni and Bannock for a time before moving to Wind River. (This case, along with many others, shows the considerable amount of migration and contact of the present-day Shoshoni, and has bearing upon the fluidity of political groups and the loosely extended blood lines of aboriginal times.)

56. This means in Shoshoni "anything of the red color, maroon".

57. Personal interview with M.P., Blackfoot, Idaho, January 2, 1960. Mrs. P. is in her fifties. Her husband is a Bannock.

58. This deviation from the spelling given by Liljeblad is not startling in light of the fact that some Shoshoni dialects pronounce "t" with a guttural sound approximating "d". Likewise the "d" of *dika* is sometimes slurred to an "r".

especially interesting since she identified the *Tukudeka* (or *Dukurika* as she called them) in the same general way as did all other present-day Wind River Shoshoni.

The general impression received from all of these Wind River, Wyoming, people is that there were a group of mountain dwellers who were definitely distinct from the buffalo-hunting Plains Shoshoni. In the light of this impression the conclusion reached by Hultkrantz is not at all surprising.

On the other hand, the statements by the Fort Hall, Idaho, Shoshoni concerning the identity of any particular group differ considerably from those given by the present-day Wind River Shoshoni.

As was seen, E. B., W. G. and C. G., of the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, all give credence to Liljeblad's thesis concerning the Idaho Shoshoni and are unequivocal in their contradiction of Hultkrantz' thesis concerning the Wyoming Shoshoni.

The anomaly will not be eliminated, but it can perhaps be explained in terms of cultural differences among groups in the two areas under question. Cultural differences among the Shoshoni were to a large degree influenced by a single thing. This was the introduction of the horse. All cultures to which the horse was introduced experienced a transformation.<sup>59</sup> But this transformation was not of the same magnitude in all cultures. I contend that the horse transformed the culture of the Wyoming Plains Shoshoni to a much greater degree than it did the culture of the Idaho Shoshoni, and that this difference in degree has direct bearing upon the problem of identifying the Sheepeaters.

The Comanche<sup>60</sup> and the Shoshoni both had the horse by 1700 in the vicinity of Black's Fork, Wyoming.<sup>61</sup> The Comanche traded horses to their Shoshoni kin. The Shoshoni had in turn traded them north through Idaho to the Blackfeet. The Blackfeet had the horse by 1751.<sup>62</sup>

With the introduction of the horse, Shoshoni culture, which had once been simple and uncomplicated, began to take on new forms. The economic life of the people changed along with their material culture. With their new mode of transportation these people could carry a greater amount of material possessions. Clothing became more abundant and stylish, and the heavy skin tepee could now be

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59. Wissler, C., 1914, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 16, pp. 1-25.

60. The Comanche were a branch of Shoshonean-speaking peoples who moved south and east from the Basin-Plateau region to become an autonomous tribe possessing the classical Plains culture. Their split with the original Shoshonean stock was sometime before white contact.

61. Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

62. Haines, Francis, 1938, "The Northward Spread of Horses Among the Plains Indians", *American Anthro.*, Vol. 40, pp. 429-437.

carried from place to place. These new material possessions were made chiefly from the buffalo. This animal became the most important single thing in the lives of the horse-owning Indian, for from the buffalo came not only skins for making of leather goods, rawhide, and robes, but also food in large quantities. Horse-owning Indians also experienced a change politically. Family units which had once traveled alone now came together to form groups classically described as bands.<sup>63</sup> Concomitantly, some sort of authority was vested in specifically recognized leaders who acted at the time of the communal buffalo hunts and in time of war. In addition the horse was a source of wealth and was easily stealable or easily stolen. Therefore horse-owning Indians came to know the techniques of both offense and defense, and in the case of Plains Indians, such as the Crow, a "war-complex" developed.<sup>64</sup>

It must be noted, however, that these culture changes did not occur rapidly or completely among the Shoshoni living in Idaho. As a matter of fact, some groups such as the Sheepeaters were virtually unaffected. The cultural transformation experienced by the horse-owning buffalo hunters of the Snake River plains, Idaho, was of a much lesser degree than the transformation experienced across the mountains by the Wyoming Plains Shoshoni. This difference in degree was determined to a great extent by ecological factors.

The buffalo disappeared from the Snake River Plains in Idaho about 1840.<sup>65</sup> Before their extinction they were scarce in Idaho as compared to their numbers on the plains east of the Continental Divide. This meant that the horse-owning Shoshoni of Idaho could not rely wholly upon the buffalo for their subsistence. In the process of their yearly travels they might dig "tobacco roots" on the Portneuf River, and they might fish for salmon below American Falls on the Snake. They invariably would go in May or June to the Camas Prairie in Idaho to harvest the camas there. In the process of these annual migrations<sup>66</sup> the mounted Indians would make frequent contacts with other Idaho Shoshoni participating in the same activity at the same time.<sup>67</sup> Almost all of the Shoshoni of Idaho went to the Camas Prairie. Much trading between various "domestic groups", and in fact between various tribal or linguistic groups, occurred in the vicinity of the Weiser River and Camas Prairie. "The Bannock traded buffalo hides to

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63. Steward, J. H., 1936, "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands", in *Essays in Anthropology* presented to A. L. Kroeber, pp. 331-350, Berkeley, California.

64. Lowie, Robert H., 1935, *The Crow Indians*, New York.

65. Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-66.

67. The most recently published monograph on the Shoshoni supports the general observations of conditions in Idaho, cf. Murphy, 1960, *op. cit.*

the Nez Perce for horses. The downstream Shoshoni came loaded with salmon; groups who wintered in northern Utah brought seeds and pine nuts; the impoverished local Shoshoni had nothing to offer but seeds, roots, and dried crickets."<sup>68</sup> Such vigorous interaction would lead to cultural as well as economic exchange and would not lend itself to a high degree of specialization in one group or another. The folk names applied by the Shoshoni themselves to designate these various groups were, it will be remembered, arbitrary and flexible. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Fort Hall Shoshoni of today do not differentiate clearly between those people who at one time might have been called *Tukudeka* from those horse-owning people who were sometimes called *Kutsundeka*. It is with good reason that the Fort Hall Shoshoni maintain, "We are all the same people, all the way back."

On the other hand, the situation among the Shoshoni of Wyoming would have been quite different. Here the *Kutsundika* or buffalo hunters took on a great number of the typical horse-owning Plains culture traits.<sup>69</sup> Hultkrantz says of these people, "No Shoshoneans deserve the name Plains Shoshoni better, because in cultural and social respects they approached the Plains Indians more than any other Shoshoni group, the Comanche Indians excepted."<sup>70</sup> Nearly the entire yearly cycle of Plains Shoshoni was spent in pursuit of the buffalo herds and the grazing of their horses.<sup>71</sup>

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68. Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

69. Lowie, 1935, *op. cit.*

70. Hultkrantz, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

71. Shimkin, 1947a, *op. cit.*, p. 279. cf. The recent monograph of the Murphys (Murphy, 1960, *op. cit.*) which was published following their work as expert witnesses on the side of the United States in the recent claims cases made by the Shoshoni against the government. These authors vigorously contradict the clear positions taken by Hultkrantz and Shimkin. The Murphys refuse to give much emphasis to any degree of specialization or Plains-affinity by the Eastern or Wyoming buffalo-hunting Shoshone. Instead they claim that the military superiority of Shoshoni enemies, notably the Blackfeet to the north, who had by 1750 acquired both the horse and ample firearms (from the British), forced the Shoshoni, whose hunting expeditions had once carried them as far north and east as Saskatchewan, to withdraw south and west toward the Basin-Plateau region. They further cite competition for the buffalo-hunting grounds east of the Rockies between the Shoshoni and the Blackfeet and Siouan tribes, Cheyennes, Crows (intermittently) and Arapahoes, and warfare which was documented from the beginning of the fur trade era about 1810, until several years after Washakie had agreed to lead his band onto the Wind River Reservation in 1868. The Murphys claim that this warfare and competition forced the Eastern Shoshoni back toward a close geographical and cultural affinity with their Basin-Plateau relatives to the west of the Rockies. That the Wyoming Shoshoni were at times hard pressed to hold their own against their enemies is not doubted. However, the fact that the Wyoming Shoshoni did compete among the Plains tribes and did, in fact, persist in their pursuit of the buffalo

In comparing the Wyoming Plains Shoshoni to any other of the Shoshoni peoples, such as the Sheepeaters, the cultural differences between the two are quite dramatic. The culture of the Sheepeater is essentially common to that of all the Plateau-Shoshoneans before the coming of the horse. All of these Shoshoneans can be generally classed as "walkers." With the coming of the horse cultural transformation among the Wyoming Plains Shoshoni was of greater magnitude than for any other Shoshoni group. The differences between the Wyoming Plains Shoshoni and any other Shoshoni peoples who remained "walkers" were of considerable note. It is not surprising, therefore, that the present-day Wind River Shoshoni clearly differentiate between those former people of the plains, the *Kutsundeka*, and those former people of the mountains, the *Tukudika*.

It is my contention that the *Tukudika* people, described by Hultkrantz as being a distinct culture group, are very similar in all their cultural characteristics to the *Tukudeka* described by Liljeblad. The apparent contradictions of Hultkrantz and Liljeblad had been brought about by individually describing a highly similar type people in terms of the peoples and environments of a specific locale.

On the west, in Idaho, the *Tukudeka* are in an area populated by peoples of a generally homogeneous culture which the *Tukudeka* themselves share. Wyoming, on the east, is an area in which the culture, or rather cultures, are heterogeneous, and in which the *Tukudika* are but one distinct group of several.

The apparent anomaly existing between the classification of Hultkrantz and Liljeblad arises, then, from a difference in emphasis by the two men. But when the assumption is made that there were a particular people, namely Sheepeaters, several major and complex qualifications must be noted.

In the first place, contact, including trade, diffusion of culture traits and intermarriage, did occur between all groups of Shoshonean speaking peoples. The intensity of this contact, however, at any given point in time and in any geographical region, varied. The degree of intensity determined whether the particular groups in contact maintained an individual identity or became virtually one and the same people. Liljeblad emphasizes that the intense degree of contact among Shoshoni west of the Continental Divide made these people virtually one. Hultkrantz emphasizes that east of the Continental Divide specialization occurring among two

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is sufficient evidence that they embraced and maintained, over time, to a significant degree, the "buffalo complex" of the Plains. Thus it seems fair to assume that the buffalo-hunting Wyoming Shoshoni exhibited a high degree of specialization and noted cultural differences from their Basin-Plateau brethren of Idaho and the west.

groups who concomitantly experienced little contact gave rise to two distinct peoples.

Reservations must be noted, however, because Liljeblad recognizes specialization among the Shoshoni west of the Continental Divide, and on the other hand, Hultkrantz recognizes some degree of contact between groups east of the Continental Divide.

Liljeblad, contrary to the emphasis he places on the similarities of the Idaho Shoshoni, notes that after the coming of the horse such things as wealth, evidenced by material culture items and horse ownership, began to reflect a class-distinction among different groups. "There was also an apparent regional contrast between the up-to-date attainments of progressive groups and the backwardness of those remaining in isolation." In regard to the food names used by the Shoshoni, Liljeblad says, "Indeed, as band organization and class distinction evolved, these terms sometimes came to indicate a person's social standing. As a mode of expression, 'buffalo-eaters' became synonymous with 'well-to-do people'; a 'buffalo-eater' would rank socially above a 'salmon-eater,' as would a 'big-salmon-eater.'"<sup>72</sup>

On the other hand, Hultkrantz notes, (contrary to his general thesis), that there were instances in the later stages of pre-reservation time when class and ethnic divisions were broken down. A particular band or hunting group led by a man named Tavasias spent most of its time on the plains following the typical yearly cycle of the *Kutsundeka*. Upon occasion, however, they took elk-hunting expeditions into Yellowstone Park. They were then called *Tukudika*. In addition, Hultkrantz notes a rather high degree of contact between the *Tukudika*, living on the southeastern

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72. Liljeblad, 1959, personal communication, *op. cit.* cf. Omer Stewart, 1958, "Shoshone History and Social Organization", reprinted from *Il Tomo de Actas del XXXIII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, Celebrado en San Jose de Costa Rica del 20 al 27 de Julio de 1958, pp. 134-142. Stewart goes even further than either Hultkrantz or Liljeblad in describing what he calls the development, during historic times among Shoshoni of both Wyoming and Idaho, of a "remarkably fluid, almost modern class system." (p. 137). "The actual history of the northern Shoshone Indians from 1805 to 1870 suggests that the ancient territorial food-named bands, with slight need for political leadership, were overlaid by a widespread, simple democratic tribal structure by which the wealthy horse-owners of all ancient local bands combined and followed the chief they wished. The larger groups combined or broke up as individual Shoshone Indians elected to give allegiance to one chief or another. This loose democratic government of wide geographical extent was the product of a single, unified, upper class of horse-using Indians. The older, local, food-named bands (of which the *Tukudeka* were presumably one) thus became, in fact, lower class people who lived in a small area which could be exploited on foot. The sedentary Shoshone, living beside the productive salmon fisheries, appear to be a middle class, intermediate between the poor Shoshococs, or Root Diggers, and the "real Shoshone", or "Buffalo Hunters." (p. 141.)

slopes of the Wind River Mountains, with the Wyoming Plains Shoshoni. Horses were acquired by these *Tukudika* from the latter.

Hultkrantz maintains that the term *Toyani* was reserved for "isolated mountain settler"; in other words, the very people we have sought to describe. He claims that the *Toyani* of Yellowstone Park were among the most isolated, but again, notation must be made of the fact that the Wyoming Plains Shoshoni often called the Yellowstone Park *Toyani* "*Panaiti Toyani*" ("Bannock mountain dwellers") because there were Bannock-speaking peoples among them. This leads us to observation that the Sheepeaters of Wyoming, that is those mountain peoples living generally in the Rocky Mountains along the Continental Divide, had opportunity for contact with the Shoshoni to the west just as they undoubtedly met in the summer elk-hunting expeditions of their brethren from the eastern plains. The Murphys document in some detail<sup>73</sup> transmontane hunting excursions to the upper drainage of the Missouri, made by the Bannocks of Idaho after they had acquired the horse. A portion of one of the routes followed by these hunters, and now known as the Bannock Trail, passed through Yellowstone Park, on the way to the buffalo range in Montana. In addition, W. G.<sup>74</sup> also mentions that his people (meaning the Idaho Shoshoni in general) often made elk-hunting expeditions to Yellowstone Park itself. Contact probably occurred, therefore, between these migrating hunters from both east and west, and the supposedly "isolated" *Tukudika* or *Toyani*.

To summarize, let us disregard for a moment the nuances and various emphases placed upon the problem of identification by the anthropologists whose geographically-oriented works we have just reviewed. By using a few assumptions let us attempt to reduce this complex problem into a set of easily understandable generalizations.

First, let us assume that the variously named "mountain dwellers" or "Sheepeaters" noted in the early historical sources were for the most part the very people whom we have sought to identify through ethnographic material and field work as "Sheepeaters."

Let us further assume, until it is proven otherwise, that much of the late prehistoric and historic archaeological evidence of Indian habitation which is to be found above 7,000 feet in the mountains of Idaho and Wyoming, was left by the Sheepeaters.

And finally, let us assume that most of the culture to be described in detail in Part Two was shared by all peoples identifiable as Sheepeaters, regardless of time or location. This culture was

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73. Murphy, 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 328. cf. Replogle, 1956, *op. cit.*

74. W.G., personal interview, *op. cit.*



characteristic of small independent groups of people who were alike in the subsistence patterns they practiced but who were absolutely lacking in any sort of territorial or political unity. And while it is recognized that the Wyoming *Tukudika* and the Idaho *Tukudeka* were distinct peoples, the exact differences existing between them or between any group of Sheepeaters cannot be known at this time. However, we can surmise that some such differences were naturally due to ecological circumstances persisting in the different mountain homelands of these scattered peoples, and that other differences must have been due to the various degrees of mixing and splitting which seem to have occurred at various times and places among the Shoshoni-speaking populations.

Therefore, the *caveat* will be maintained which recognizes differences among various Sheepeaters at a given time or place, and it will be emphasized that the term "Sheepeater" might most advantageously be employed in the adjectival sense. In this way we are better able to cope with the unmistakable archaeological, historical and ethnographic evidence which leads us to describe a particular culture, while at the same time allowing room for the inevitable differences in that culture.

We have reached a point then, in the definition of terms whereby we identify as "Sheepeater-like" peoples all those Shoshoni-speaking Indians who, throughout the greater part of their lives, possessed most or all of the culture to be described in detail in Part Two.

## PART TWO

Sheepeaters once lived through all of the mountainous country of present-day northwestern Wyoming, southwestern Montana and central Idaho. This vast region of distribution includes the Big Horn Mountains, the Absaroka Mountains, the Yellowstone Plateau, the Wind River Mountains (as far south as South Pass),<sup>75</sup> the Teton Range, the many ranges of southwestern Montana, the Lemhi Range, and the Salmon River Mountains.<sup>76</sup> Nearly all of these mountains rise from an elevation of 5,000 feet to over 11,500 feet. Relief in these mountains is exceptionally rugged, since the majority of them are uplifted and deeply dissected volcanic blocks. (The Wind River and Big Horn Mountains are not of igneous origin but have a rather smooth upland surface. However, canyons draining the slopes have made the topography here extremely rugged.)

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75. Hultkrantz, Ake, 1958, "Tribal Divisions within the Eastern Shoshoni of Wyoming", *Proceed. of 32nd International Cong. of Americanists* (1958) pp. 148-154, p. 152.

76. Raisz, Erwin, 1954, Landforms map of the United States.

Encompassed in the span of this relief are four major ecological zones.<sup>77</sup> These are the Transitional zone, located roughly between 5,000-7,500 feet; the Canadian zone, located roughly between 7,500-9,500 feet; the Hudsonian zone, located peripherally to the Canadian zone and roughly between 9,500-10,500 feet; and the Arctic-alpine zone, located above 10,500 feet.

In the Transitional zone cottonwood trees and willows abound in the river bottoms, and good range feed is provided by the short buffalo grass growing on the foothills. On the mountain slopes of the Canadian zone are found heavy stands of conifers, and groves of aspen and alders grow in the protected canyons. Many kinds of edible plants are found here as well as game of all kinds. The Hudsonian and Arctic-alpine zones both lie in the vicinity of timberline and become the habitat for elk, deer, and mountain sheep during the summer months.

Of the climatic factors in this region snow is the most important. Depth of snow on Yellowstone Lake in February averages five feet on the level. Westerly winds sweeping the mountains take snow from the exposed places and pile it in great drifts. These drifts last until June or July. But once most of the snow leaves the Arctic-alpine zone above timberline, the long ridges and broad upland plateaus there provide easy traveling, and the mountain passes become heavily used by both game animals and their hunters.

Winter temperatures in the Transitional and Canadian zones range from 50 degrees above zero to 50 below. "Chinook" winds warming the mountains for several weeks at intervals during the winter provide an opportunity for travel and hunting. Sheltered canyons at 7,000 feet often record higher temperatures than do the windswept open prairie and desert land at lower elevations.

Rainfall during the summer is slight, and most of the water for the many streams and lakes in the mountains is provided by melting snows.

The particular environment of the mountain region had much to do in shaping the culture of the Sheepeters. It seems fair to assume that the mountains isolated to a large degree people living there from their Shoshoni neighbors to the east and west. The ecological conditions of the mountains helped to create a sort of cultural "backwater" in respect to historical events occurring in neighboring regions.

Considered in the light of White's theories<sup>78</sup> on cultural evolution, the Sheepeters are an excellent example of a group of people who did *not* evolve into a different cultural type at the introduction

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77. Shimkin, 1947a, *op. cit.*

78. White, Leslie A., 1959, *The Evolution of Culture*, New York.

of some new cultural catalyst. With the introduction of the horse to North America the Sheepeaters did not undergo the transformation experienced by their kin, the Wyoming Plains Shoshoni. To the contrary, the Sheepeaters kept the *status quo*, culturally speaking, by retaining culture typical of all Basin-Plateau Shoshonean-speaking "walkers."<sup>79</sup>

Although in this respect the Sheepeater culture could be said to be stagnant, cultural specialization did occur. Culture traits, alone characteristic of the Sheepeater, developed. These specialized traits "overlay" the basic pre-horse Shoshonean-type<sup>80</sup> culture. This specialization was, I maintain, in response to the particular ecological conditions in which the Sheepeaters found themselves. It included the building of traps for large game and the use of dogs in hunting it, the making of a mountain sheep-horn bow, and the manufacture of warm winter clothing. Therefore it was both specialization and stagnation which helped shape the Sheepeater culture.

This culture was characterized by an elementary sociopolitical organization typical of the pre-horse Basin-Plateau Shoshoneans, and consisting of politically isolated, small, economically independent groups composed of one or two nuclear-families. The yearly subsistence cycle of these family groups centered principally around their pursuit of large game—deer, elk and mountain sheep, which represented their staple foods. The economics of such a subsistence pattern necessitated the simplest of social organizations. Elk, deer and mountain sheep are best hunted by less than four persons, and rarely would a kill of over three animals be made. (Driving these animals into traps is an exception.) The amount of meat from one or several of these animals is enough to supply a small family group with food for a week or more, but would not be sufficient for a large group. Campsites selected by the Sheepeater usually could accommodate only a small group and foot travel between these sites would be best done in such a group. Such economically oriented "domestic groups" (as labeled by Liljeblad) were generally found among many of the Shoshonean peoples before the coming of the horse.

Archaeological evidence allows us to make certain assumptions about the yearly subsistence pattern of the Sheepeaters. During the summer months the large game animals were followed on their migrations to the high and beautiful alpine pastures of the timberline country. The Sheepeaters carried few possessions on these high summer hunts, and probably moved camp often. If game had been frightened out of the upper basins of one drainage, it could

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79. Hultkrantz, 1958, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

80. Steward, 1938, *op. cit.*

be quickly located in the headwaters of the next small drainage. Marches of less than ten miles over the 10,000 foot divides would bring the Sheepster to a fresh country and a fresh kill could be made.

As the game moved to lower elevations with the coming winter, the Sheepsters did likewise. Most probably they spent the winters in semi-permanent camps in sheltered creek bottoms and canyons. Snowshoes were necessary for travel here, and these are recorded in the literature.<sup>81</sup> J. T. claims that the Sheepsters made snowshoe frames from mountain sheep horns.<sup>82</sup> Had any Sheepsters owned horses they would have been forced to winter in the lower elevations of the foothills. Likewise, if a hard winter forced the game out of the mountains, the Sheepsters, in all likelihood followed them.

Secondary activities, however, were not precluded from the yearly subsistence cycle of the Sheepsters. Berries, roots, herbs, nuts and insects were gathered, and game birds and small mammals were eaten. Short migrations out of the mountains to the habitats of various edible roots might have been made. Contact with other Shoshoni at this time was probable and trade would have been carried on. Also during the mid-summer months, spawning fish may have been caught in the meandering streams of mountain meadows. In the fall, trips were also made to berry patches.

The rugged terrain of this mountainous country had a large influence upon the traveling done by the Sheepsters. It is natural that most of them were "walkers" since without well-cut trails, use of the horse is difficult. As an exception, Hultkrantz maintains that a few Sheepsters had contact with *Kutsendeka* and acquired horses from them. This contact occurred in the southern portions of the Wind River Mountains and some of the Sheepsters there roamed for short periods of time in the Green River Valley. In fact, it seems that some of these "Sheepsters" were really impoverished Plains Shoshoni who had lost their horses or had been forced by the powerful Algonquin and Siouan tribes to abandon their former life on the plains.<sup>83</sup>

Sheepsters living in present-day Yellowstone Park and the adjoining Absaroka Mountains would have been much more isolated from contact with horse-owning Indians than those who lived in the Wind River Mountains. (The isolated *Tukudeka* of Yellowstone Park were called *Toyani* or "mountain-dwellers" by the

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81. Hultkrantz, Ake, 1957, "The Indians in Yellowstone Park", *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 125-149, October, 1957, p. 135.

82. J.T., personal interview, cf., footnote 24.

83. Hultkrantz, 1958, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

other Shoshoni.)<sup>84</sup> The chance that they would have owned horses is therefore minimal.

In lieu of the horse the Sheepeaters had domesticated dogs, but sources are at variance in regard to the use made of these dogs by different Shoshoni groups. Liljelblad<sup>85</sup> says that prior to the introduction of the horse, large dogs were used by all Shoshoni for both transportation and hunting. Jack Contor<sup>86</sup> says that the travois was in use before the coming of the horse, and that dogs either pulled a travois or packed loads, depending on their size.<sup>87</sup> J.T. said the Sheepeaters had dogs which were better property in the mountains than a horse. He said these dogs were "big—like a Russian hound."<sup>88</sup> It will be remembered that Osborne Russell<sup>89</sup> observed Sheepeaters in the Lamar River of Yellowstone with 30 dogs which were used for packing. On the other hand, Hultkrantz maintained that the dogs belonging to the Sheepeaters of Idaho were not big enough to be used for transportation and were used only for pursuing game.<sup>90</sup> He is supported in this by C.G.,<sup>91</sup> who said that her father had had two dogs that he used to run mountain sheep in a circle back to him, but she said that these dogs were never used for packing.<sup>92</sup>

Even with dogs the Sheepeaters undoubtedly carried most of their possessions on their backs. This limited both the amount that they could move from camp to camp and the distance they could

84. *Ibid.*, p. 152; and Hultkrantz, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 34. cf. Hoebel also uses *toyani* to refer specifically to the Yellowstone Park *tukudeka*. *Tukudeka* living in the mountains around the Salmon River, Idaho, were called *toyaino* by their neighbors. cf. Hultkrantz, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

85. Liljelblad, cf. footnote 8.

86. Jack Contor is head of the welfare office in Blackfoot, Idaho, and in that capacity has had contact (unfortunately) with most of the Fort Hall Indians. He has made the history and culture of the Northern Shoshone his hobby, and he has learned much from W.G. and his wife. He has compiled an ethnography of the Northern or Fort Hall Shoshoni which unfortunately lacks documentation.

87. Contor, Jack, Manuscript, *The Pre-Reservation Culture of the Northern Shoshoni*, Route 3, Blackfoot, Idaho. p. 8.

88. J.T., cf. footnote 52.

89. Cf. footnote 32.

90. Hultkrantz, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

91. Personal interview with C.G., Fort Hall, Idaho, December 30, 1959. C.G.'s father was a *tukudeka* of the Lemhi region and her mother was an *agaideka* from the same place. Her father was the principal informant from the Lemhi district for Julian Steward in 1936. C.G. made several articles of material culture for Steward at that time. Both Dr. Sven Liljelblad and Jack Contor recognize C.G. as being very honest.

92. C.G. denied telling Jack Contor that these dogs had been used to pull a travois. This contradiction has not been resolved. cf. Lowie, Robert H., 1924, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography", *Anthrop. Papers of the Am. Museum of Nat. Hist.*, Vol. 20, part 3, New York. Lowie says that the Shoshoni never ate their dogs. pp. 215-216.

travel. Pack straps were made of skin or woven vegetable fibers. Goods were wrapped and carried in woven sage-brush-bark baskets, and food was carried in these baskets. Cradles were made of skin coverings over an oval structure of willow sticks held together within a hoop-shaped rim. Clay pots and steatite vessels<sup>93</sup> were too heavy to be moved from camp to camp and were therefore cached.<sup>94</sup>

The clothing of the Sheepeaters was probably very similar to the clothing made and used by all the Shoshonean Plateau peoples.<sup>95</sup> A woven rabbit-skin blanket is nearly universally recorded by ethnographers<sup>96</sup> and was probably used by the Sheepeaters as well. Strips of rabbit skin were woven tightly into a cloth and the white tails were left to stand out in a zigzag pattern on the fluffy weft.<sup>97</sup>

After the coming of the horse, it was in the manufacture of clothing that the Sheepeaters became recognized by other Shoshoni as specialists. Liljeblad<sup>98</sup> says that as furriers they excelled all other Shoshoni and their produce was sought in trade by both Indians and the white "mountain men." Again, Osborne Russell recorded this of his encounter with Sheepeaters in Yellowstone Park:<sup>99</sup> "We obtained a large number of Elk, Deer and Sheep skins from them of the finest quality and three neatly dressed Panther Skins in return for awls axes kettles tobacco ammunition etc. They would throw the skins at our feet and say 'give us whatever you please for them and we are satisfied. We can get plenty of skins but we do not often see the Tibuboes', (or people of the sun)."

In the tanning of hides, animals' brains were used to soften them. The Sheepeaters were in the habit of repeating the process with two brains to a hide instead of one as did other Shoshoni, thereby producing dressed skins of great quality. Even before the coming of the horse the Sheepeaters had learned to make tailored skin clothing, presumably in response to the severe environment in which they chose to live. Two mountain sheep hides were used in making a woman's gown, and men's shirts were made from elk, deer, or mountain sheep also. Mountain sheep skins were considered too cold for footwear, however, and unsuitable for robes

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93. Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.

94. Personal interview on December 17, 1959, with staff member, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, who reported that typical Shoshonean steatite vessels had been found near the Medicine Wheel, Big Horn Mountains, Wyoming.

95. Lowie's (1924) use of the term.

96. Lowie, 1924, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Steward, 1943, *op. cit.*, p. 317; Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

97. Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

99. Russell, 1955, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

and blankets. A hunter's mocassins were made from badger skin, supposedly being very tough; and the typical single-piece Shoshoni moccasin<sup>100</sup> was made for both men and women from deer skins. Elk-skin moccasins were also made but were less preferred. Headbands were made of fox skin but these were rare. Coyote skin was used for ear flaps in men's caps and for leggings. Antelope skins were used for a man's breechcloth and were also sewn together for blankets. As the brittle hollow hair was quickly worn off these blankets, snowshoe-rabbit skins were then sewed in as a lining, making the blanket very warm. Before 1900 a few wolves roamed in the mountains of Wyoming and Idaho.<sup>101</sup> To kill one was a great achievement, and a blanket made from two wolf hides was the *ne plus ultra* of Sheepearer handicraft.

J.T. claims that Plains Indians traded eagerly for the clothes made by Sheepaters. In addition, the Sheepaters traded mountain sheep hides in exchange for buffalo hides.

One other specialty practiced by the Sheepaters, recognized by all other Shoshoni, was the manufacture of very powerful bows from the horn of a mountain sheep. Osborne Russell reported, "The bows were beautifully wrought from Sheep, Buffalo and Elk horns secured with Deer and Elk sinews and ornamented with porcupine quills and generally about 3 feet long."<sup>102</sup>

These bows were made from the thick ridge on the upper side of the ram's horn. The horn was heated over the coals to soften it and then the naturally curling horn was straightened. Unwanted portions of the horn were whittled away, and the remaining solid piece was 18 to 24 inches long and one inch thick at the butt. Heat was again applied, making the horn semi-plastic, and it was smoothed and shaped by pounding with a round stone. The end result was a very smooth and evenly tapered piece which was oval-shaped in cross section. A duplicate of this was made from the ram's other horn, and the two pieces were beveled at their butt ends and fitted together. A separate piece of horn about five inches long and as wide as the butt ends was placed at their junction. Wet rawhide was then wrapped around the three pieces. When it dried, this made a very firm joint. Sinew strips which came from the neck and back of large animals were glued to the back of the bow to give it added strength. The glue was made by placing shavings from the hoof and small bits of thick neck-skin or back-skin in boiling water, and then as a thick scum formed, it was skimmed off.

It took two months for a skilled specialist to turn out such a bow,

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100. Steward, 1943, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

101. Seton, Ernest Thompson, 1929, *Lives of Game Animals*, 3 vols., New York.

102. Russell, 1955, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

and other Shoshoni people and even people of other tribes traded eagerly for them. "A well-made sheep-horn bow would sell for from five to ten good ponies."<sup>103</sup> These bows were so well known among all Shoshoni peoples that present-day Shoshoni still speak of them. F.R., a Shoshoni living at Fort Hall, claims that such a bow could have put an arrow completely through a buffalo. J.T., of Wind River, tells of knowing a very old man who came to the Reservation and brought with him a sheep-horn bow. But the man has died and the bow cannot be found. J.T. thinks the bow may be buried with him.

Arrows had to be made from wood that was straight and had few knots. The choice material used by the Shoshoni was dogwood (*Cornus nuttallii*) and mock orange (*Philadelphus lewisii* or *Syringa*). In making arrow shafts the wood was straightened with a wrench. Such wrenches were made by drilling a hole in a large rib bone. Shaft-smoothers were made from two grooved pieces of sandstone and a type of "sandpaper" was even made from sand glued to buckskin. The arrows themselves were made in three sections, each about four inches long, and these were jointed with glue or boiled pine gum and sinew. Owl or eagle wing feathers were used because they did not absorb blood and thereby soften.<sup>104</sup>

Before the Sheepeaters learned to make and use the bow and arrow, they probably used the spear common to all Basin-Plateau peoples.<sup>105</sup> Spears would have been especially effective in dispatching game that had been driven into traps constructed by the Sheepeaters. Spear points (*Fig. 2B*) as well as arrow points (*Fig. 2A*) can be found at surface sites throughout the mountains of Wyoming and Idaho. The great majority of these sites<sup>106</sup> are strikingly similar, and from their characteristic association with a particular environment a reasonable picture of the habits of the people who left them can be reconstructed. At these sites the ground is littered with chipped stone which includes agatized wood, flint, chalcedony, obsidian, and a very hard, small-grained, black volcanic rock.<sup>107</sup> From this material the Sheepeater made

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103. All of the above account comes from Jack Contor. Reference to such bows appears often in the literature, but I know of no other description of the actual construction of such bows.

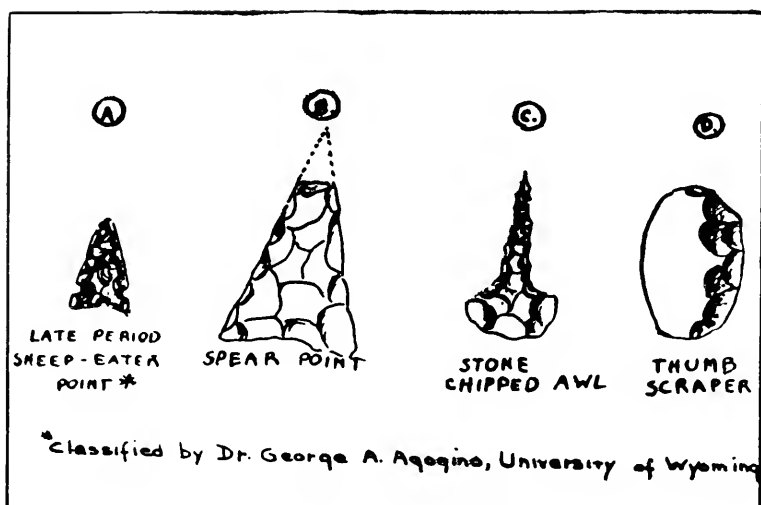
104. *Ibid.*

105. Steward, 1943, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

106. Innumerable such sites have been found by the writer in the Absaroka Mountains and in Yellowstone Park.

107. The agatized wood was formed in conjunction with the volcanic activity in this region and can be found outcropping in many places in the Absaroka Mountains. Likewise, obsidian is found in several places throughout Yellowstone Park, the foremost being Obsidian Cliff, midway between Norris and Mammoth. The source of material used as cores was close at hand, then, for the Sheepeaters.





SHEEPEATER ARTIFACTS

Fig. 2

knives, stone awls, spear points, arrow points and scrapers. (Fig. 2) Broken pieces of all of these articles have been found at the sites, as well as some perfect objects. The majority of the artifacts at the sites, however, are large flakes removed from the outside of core rocks. These cores have been found partially buried in the turf. Small flakes produced in making the tools and points themselves are also in abundance. It is probable that these sites were used throughout a long span of aboriginal time.<sup>108</sup>

All of the sites lie near timberline, which is 10,000 feet in the Absaroka Mountains. They are all situated at vantage points at or near the top of the many small drainage passes in the region. Game trails make their way, even today, through all of these passes and the majority of movement by game animals is habitually along these trails.<sup>109</sup> During the summer months the large game in these

108. As all of these sites are in very exposed locations, weathering has prevented any stratification. All of the articles except some half-buried cores and bones (probably a rabbit) are presently on the surface.

109. The writer had two similar experiences which help to dramatize the striking proximity between these sites, or "chipping grounds" as they are called, and the haunts of game animals. On the Buffalo Plateau which lies on the Continental Divide in the southern portion of the Absaroka Mountains, chipping grounds are found at every pass along the divide. One site was covered by an especially large amount of stone chips and a band of twenty mountain sheep were seen grazing within 500 yards of the site. In

zones, bighorn mountain sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), Rocky Mountain mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), and American elk or wapiti (*Cervus canadensis*), usually lie or "bed down" below timberline during the hot part of the day when flies are abundant. Then as late afternoon approaches they begin to feed along the game trails, through the passes, and out onto the nearby treeless upland ridges and plateaus.

It is not hard to imagine (Fig. 3) a family of Sheepeaters coming to these sites and carrying with them cores of stone as well as their bows and arrows. They would sit on the ground all day chipping out projectile points and various tools. Then as game was sighted, the men of the group would get up slowly and quietly and leave the women and children behind. Testing the wind and taking advantage of cover, they would then stalk the game. If they were lucky, a kill would be made. The abundance of chippings at these grounds indicates that many groups of families frequented the sites in this manner.

The Sheepeaters not only stalked game animals but used other techniques as well. As has been noted, all sources of information are in agreement that dogs were used for hunting purposes. These dogs would help the Sheepeaters to drive game<sup>110</sup> into specially



SHEEPEATER FAMILY ON CHIPPING GROUNDS

Fig. 3

Drawing by Henry H. Blagden

Hoodoo Basin which is again on the Continental Divide but in the northeast corner of Yellowstone Park and in the northern extreme of the Absaroka Mountains, chipping grounds were again found. Here within 50 yards of one site a band of over thirty elk were "bedded down."

110. These traps were probably constructed mainly to catch the mountain sheep as these animals are more easily driven than elk or deer.



SHEEPEATER GAME TRAP

Fig. 4

*Drawing by Henry H. Blagden*

constructed traps. As with the chipping grounds these traps are located at many places throughout the mountains. Such traps are especially plentiful along the southern boundary of the Absaroka Mountains and along the adjacent northern portion of the Wind River Mountains. An example<sup>111</sup> (Fig. 4) is found on a ridge at about 7,300 feet between Wiggins Fork and Bear Creek. A wing made of logs (now rotted) extends for a quarter of a mile. Another wing running off at an acute angle from the first extends 100 yards to a small cliff. At the apex of the "V" formed by these wings a ramp has been built up of logs and rocks. Below the drop off of the ramp a pen about ten by ten feet was constructed. A tree well over 100 years old is now growing out of this pen. Another trap on Jakey's Fork of the Wind River consisted of a large pit that had been excavated, obviously requiring considerable labor. Both these traps are located in the winter-range environment of mountain sheep.<sup>112</sup>

Another trap is located above Middle Fork and Deep Creek in the Wind River Mountains. This was built at 10,000 feet on the edge of a very steep ridge. It was so constructed that it blocked a major game trail descending the sidehill. Game scared down this

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111. Descriptions of these traps came from Wayne Darnall and Jock Conley, both Wyoming game wardens living in Dubois, Wyoming.

112. Interestingly enough, the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission has constructed a trap for capturing mountain sheep within a short distance of the old Sheep eater trap on Jakey's Fork.

natural trail would be stopped by the semicircular trap and then killed by pursuing hunters.<sup>113</sup>

To make use of these traps the Sheepeters must have hunted in groups, but the size of the group would not necessarily have exceeded the size of one or two nuclear families and therefore would have no significant effect upon social organization. The head of the family probably designated who would help drive the game and who would lie in wait near the traps to kill it.

One other type of trap was described by C. G.<sup>114</sup> She claimed that her father's people had once firmly implanted sharpened sticks in the ground. Deer were then driven toward the sticks and some impaled themselves as they tried to jump.

Throughout the mountains are also many man-made structures which were apparently used as blinds by solitary hunters. Some, such as those located in the Owl Creek Mountains above timberline (*Fig. 5*)<sup>115</sup> are built wholly above ground and are made of rocks piled four feet high in a semicircle five feet across. Miles of open, upland plateau country can be seen from these blinds. Another type<sup>116</sup> consists of a small pit dug out level with the ground. The



INDIAN HUNTER'S BLIND

Fig. 5

*Photo by Bob Edgar*

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113. Personal interview with Hugh Otte, Lander, Wyoming, December 27, 1959. Otte, a horse-packer and rancher, has seen many evidences of Sheepeters in the Wind River Mountains.

114. C.G., cf. footnote 91.

115. The pictures in Figures 4 and 5 were taken by Bob Edgar who lives in Cody, Wyoming. Edgar found six blinds as are pictured here on the Owl Creek Mountains.

116. Darnall and Conley, cf. footnote 111.

pit has been nearly covered with logs and rocks. These blinds are located close to cliffs. Mountain sheep, in order to see below them, are in the habit of walking along the edges of these cliffs. In the blinds the hunter merely waited for passing game.<sup>117</sup>

Although the Sheepeaters probably hunted large animals persistently throughout the year, game meat<sup>118</sup> was by no means all that they ate. Small animals such as various species of marmot, beaver, muskrat, pack rat, wood rat, porcupine, ground squirrel, red squirrel, fox, coyote, mountain lion, bobcat, badger, cottontail rabbit and snowshoe rabbit were eaten.<sup>119</sup> Ducks, geese and small birds were killed if possible. Most meat was broiled on coals, some was baked in a hole which was dug and then covered with fire. Some was boiled in water heated by hot rocks and contained in a heavy hide receptacle. If a large kill was made, some of the meat might have been dried on racks in the sun. But it should be remembered that the amount a Sheepeater could carry from camp to camp was limited by how much he and his dogs could pack. J. T. claims that the Sheepeaters professed a strong dislike for fish, presumably because only the poorest of Shoshoni ate fish.<sup>120</sup> If any fishing was done for the many trout and whitefish living in the mountain streams it was done with a snare. Large snare hooks were carved from the shoulderblades of deer or mountain sheep and fastened to a long pole.<sup>121</sup> The Murphys report that Wyoming Sheepeaters speared trout in the spring and summer and that "nets, traps and weirs were apparently not used."<sup>122</sup>

The Sheepeaters were similar to all the Basin-Plateau Shoshonean peoples in that they were gatherers as well as hunters. They probably utilized all possible foods in their otherwise hostile environment. Edible herbs, roots, berries, and nuts can be found in the mountains of Wyoming and Idaho. The camas root (*Quemasia*), which grows between Baker, Oregon, and the Camas Prairie in Idaho, was widely used by all peoples of that region. In

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117. Liljeblad (1957, *op. cit.*, p. 27) describes a special stalking technique. A preserved head and skin of a deer or mountain sheep was worn by the hunter who slowly worked his way close to a feeding herd. It is not known whether the Sheepeaters used this technique.

118. Moose are present in scattered numbers in the mountains and were probably killed if possible by the Sheepeaters. Antelope may have been hunted on forays to the plains. Hultkrantz (1961, *op. cit.*, p. 35) cites such a case. Contor (Ms., *op. cit.*) says that bear was not eaten, but Liljeblad (1957, *op. cit.*, p. 38) says it was.

119. Shimkin, 1947a, *op. cit.*, p. 265; Steward, 1943, *op. cit.*, p. 299; Contor, Ms. *op. cit.*, p. 10; Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

120. Liljeblad, (1957, *op. cit.*, p. 29) and Shimkin (1947a, *op. cit.*, p. 265) contradict Contor somewhat and say fish was eaten by Plateau people and Wyoming Plains Shoshoni.

121. Contor, Ms., *op. cit.*, p. 35.

122. Murphy, 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

addition, some peoples journeyed great distances to harvest and preserve this food. Shoshoni from the Lemhi district, including Sheepeaters, visited the Camas Prairie.<sup>123</sup> A digging stick was used by the women and was sharpened and then hardened in the fire. Its upper end was padded<sup>124</sup> or fixed with a cross-piece handle of bone or elk-antler.<sup>125</sup> A good digging stick was a prized possession and was often willed by a woman at her death. Roots were carried back to camp in cylindrical gathering baskets and after being cleaned, they were cooked in earth ovens (simple pits) for several days. If the bulbs were to be stored for future use, they were pounded into a mash, made into loaves, cooked for a second time in the earth pits, and lastly patted into thin cakes which were dried in the sun.<sup>126</sup> Bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*), found in central and northern Idaho, was prepared merely by drying. (It was readily accepted in trade by the Couer d'Alene and Nez Percé Indians who might travel some distance to procure it.)<sup>127</sup> Other edible roots probably utilized by the Sheepeaters were the "tobacco-root" (*Valeriana obovata edulis*) and several species of *Carum*, the false caraway.<sup>128</sup> Yamp (*Carum gairdneri*) grows along the streams and in mountain meadows in central Idaho. It was sometimes eaten raw. Otherwise it was boiled, dried, pounded into flour, and stored. When eaten it was mixed with melted fat. The mano-metate, typical of all gathering peoples of the Basin-Plateau region, may have been used by the Sheepeater women in grinding these foods, but because of its weight, like the steatite vessels, was in all likelihood cached.

Two vegetables probably utilized by the Sheepeater were *Chenopodium*, called "lamb's quarters" by whites, and *Claytonia*, called "miner's lettuce".<sup>129</sup> Pinon pine nuts, gathered before they were stolen by red squirrels and Clark's Nutcrackers, would also have been eaten.

Included in the many edible berries gathered in the late summer and fall were huckleberries, chokecherries, sarvisberries, currants, blackberries, and gooseberries. All could be eaten raw, but some were ground, seeds and all, then dried in cakes and stored. Others were boiled and a soup made. Root flour could be added to chokecherry soup in order to make a thick pudding.<sup>130</sup>

Insects, such as ants found under rocks in mountain meadows, and large grubs found in rotting fallen logs, may have been resorted

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123. Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

124. Contor, Ms., *op. cit.*

125. Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

126. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

127. *Ibid.*

128. *Ibid.*

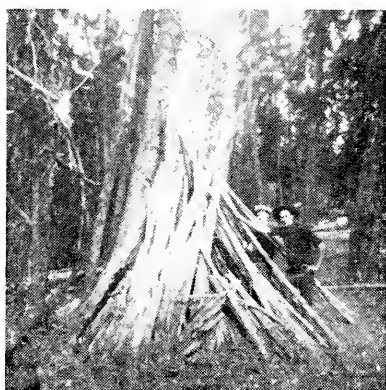
129. *Ibid.*

130. Contor, Ms., *op. cit.*

to for food by the Sheepeater. Big ants were roasted on a low fire until only their large black tail segment remained, and then these were eaten. Grasshoppers were not eaten.<sup>131</sup>

Traps and chipping grounds remain as clear-cut evidence of the Sheepeaters' previous existence. Dwellings are the third archaeological item of this sort. As with the traps and chipping grounds, dwelling sites have been found throughout the mountains of Wyoming and Idaho. One such site<sup>132</sup> was found at about 9,500 feet on the Buffalo Plateau in the southern Absaroka Mountains. It was a half mile below a major chipping ground and pass, and it was located on the edge of a snow-fed stream in a heavy stand of large Englemann's spruce. It consisted of several logs and stumps (now rotted) pulled together between two large trees to form a wind-break. In addition, what could have been a fireplace remained. Its proximity to the chipping grounds and game trails 500 feet higher at the head of the small mountain valley leaves little doubt that the same people sat on the chipping grounds and hunted by day and then returned to this makeshift camp at dark.

Other dwellings are found at about 7,000 feet in the bottoms of steep-sided canyons. These canyons are filled with aspen, pine and alders, and are well protected from the weather. The dwellings found here are nearly identical in their construction. (Fig. 6) The dwellings have been called "wickiups" both by present-day Shoshoni<sup>133</sup> and local whites. A great number of poles, up to 100,



SHEEPEATER WICKIUP

Fig. 6

Photo by Bob Edgar

131. Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 37, p. 96.

132. Found by the writer in August, 1958.

133. M.P., (personal interview, cf. footnote 57) recognized the term "wickiup" and said it meant "lodge" or "house". She said her people (the Wyoming Plains Shoshoni) did not use as many poles as did the *tukudeka*.

from 8 to 3 inches in diameter and 10 to 18 feet long, have been braced together at the top to form a conical structure with a height of 5 to 8 feet and a diameter of 6 to 9 feet. A small triangular door opening is left. Most of these wickiups are made from aspen poles which would have been easier to cut than pine. These poles have rotted at their bases over time, thus decreasing the height and diameter of the wickiup. A covering of pine boughs was probably thatched in shingle fashion on to the poles. This technique was employed by all Shoshoni and is described by Lowie.<sup>134</sup> J. T. claims that the Sheepeaters were able to make a more weatherproof wickiup than were the plains people. He said one or two families lived in the Sheepeater wickiup. A covering of mountain sheep, elk, or deer hide may have been used by some Sheepeaters, though they lacked the large and heavy tanned buffalo hides used by horse-owning Shoshoni.

These wickiups probably served as warm dwellings during residence in the semi-permanent winter camps. Game of all kinds winters on the open ridges surrounding these canyons and only an exceptionally severe winter forces them to lower elevations. Given the warm clothing provided by the Sheepeater techniques, and given enough game herds, life in these sheltered canyons would not be unreasonable.

A third type of dwelling was found<sup>135</sup> at about 6,000 feet. It is located on the west side of Rattlesnake Creek which runs into the Shoshone Reservoir west of Cody. This is an open foothill region where the ground is often bare in the winter time, affording easy grazing for both horses and game. This dwelling site was peculiar. In fact, I have found none resembling it recorded in any literature. Building material had been taken from large-based pines. These pines had been struck by lightning and their centers had been burned and rotted until only an outer shell was left. Slabs 12 feet by 2 feet by six inches can be stripped from this shell. Walls of the structures were built up in a log-cabin fashion and they remain about four feet high today. A rough doorway was left on one side. Two such structures were present, and the larger had interior dimensions of 6 feet by 10 feet. The smaller structure had only three sides, the larger had four. Considerable soil has accumulated since these structures were built. A buffalo skull, with all of the nose and jaw rotted away, was buried one foot deep on the outside of the back wall of the largest structure.<sup>136</sup> It seems

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134. Lowie, 1924, *op. cit.*, p. 211; cf. Steward, 1947a, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

135. Found by the writer in September, 1958.

136. No other artifacts were found, but no digging has yet been done.



logical to assume that Shoshoni peoples of some sort once lived there. It is possible that these peoples possessed a few horses. Maybe they were Sheepeaters. J. T.<sup>137</sup> mentions that the Sheepeaters living in the Wind River Mountains often wintered in the foothills. Some of these possessed horses according to J. T. and Hultkrantz.<sup>138</sup>

Archaeological evidence has done much to help us reconstruct a description of some of the material culture of the Sheepeater, as well as providing us with a hypothesis as to their patterns of subsistence. We have seen that the food quest obviously predominated in the rigorous life struggle of the Sheepeaters so we assume that their intellectual culture, just as was the case with their social culture, was elementary and probably similar to all other Basin-Plateau, pre-horse, Shoshoneans. Their religion consisted of "primitive shamanism coupled with a belief in various nature spirits."<sup>139</sup> The Sheepeater may have held the belief that supernatural power was granted to them through dreams and visions.<sup>140</sup> If any ceremonial dances were enjoyed by the Sheepeaters, it probably would have been in the company of different Shoshoni peoples.<sup>140</sup>

Speaking of their social institutions, it is known that marriage among the Shoshoni was an informal affair and was marked by no binding ceremonies. But among the more isolated of the domestic groups, marriage may have been relatively permanent. Sheepeaters who were especially isolated, such as those of Yellowstone Park,<sup>141</sup> would have had little opportunity to exchange partners. The customs of the levirate, and to a lesser extent sororate, were in operation among all Shoshoni and most probably applied to the Sheepeater. No particular rules of residence applied to the Shoshoni and especially not to the Sheepeater.<sup>142</sup> Patterns of descent were ambilineal and probably had little meaning for the Sheepeater, though cross-cousin marriage may have been preferred.<sup>143</sup>

Shallow though these descriptions of intellectual and social culture are, little more can be added without making the tenuous postulate that *all* intellectual or social customs of the Basin-Plateau Shoshoni were necessarily shared by the Sheepeaters. In the absence of any further information, I prefer to carry the description of Sheepeater culture only as far as has been done in this paper.

137. J.T., personal interview, cf. footnote 52.

138. Hultkrantz, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

139. Hultkrantz, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

140. Lowie, 1908, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-226; Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

141. Hultkrantz, 1958, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

142. Liljeblad, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

143. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

## CONCLUSION

In concluding, it must be admitted that relatively little is known about the Sheepeaters. A few inferences can be made on the basis of archaeological material but the exact nature of these peoples' lives may never be fully reconstructed. Problems of identification and of subtle cultural differences and similarities between various Shoshonean-speaking peoples remain only partially answered. The distribution of the Sheepeaters has not been clearly defined, and differences between various mountain-dwelling peoples themselves are not clearly understood. Nevertheless, the inherent complexity of ethnographic and historic reconstruction does not negate the efforts of those who have attempted it. The work of Liljeblad on the one hand and of Hultkrantz on the other has done much to acquaint us with the culture of an extinct people. A proper synthesis of these two points of view will carry us even further in the right direction. In addition, there is much need for detailed archaeological classification and description in the Rocky Mountain region. Such work would not only help us to locate and identify the Sheepeaters but would undoubtedly reveal that the mountain regions had long been frequented by a variety of ancestral peoples.<sup>144</sup>

Of the Sheepeaters, many unanswered questions remain, and those answers which were given here must be qualified as hypothetical at best. Nevertheless, the quest involved in making this reconstruction hopefully has lead us to a greater understanding of, and appreciation for, a people who have gone, leaving little trace of their existence or their passing from it.

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144. It is hoped that future publication of proper studies of the artifacts and culture layers presently being excavated in "Mummy Cave" on the North Fork of the Shoshone River, west of Cody, Wyoming, under the leadership of Dr. Harold McCracken and the National Geographic Society, will help to fill these current "knowledge-gaps."

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# *The Search for Jacques Laramée*

## *A Study in Frustration*

By

JOHN DISHON McDERMOTT

Probably every historian who works in the field of Wyoming history hopes to solve the mystery of Jacques LaRamee, the trapper whose memory is perpetuated by several rivers, a fort, a town, a city, a county, a mountain peak, a mountain range, a plains region, and more recently a television show.<sup>1</sup> Where did he come from? What was he like as a man? When did he first enter Wyoming? Who killed him? Where did he die? These are questions that have intrigued men for over a century, but wrapped in the cloak of time, nestled in the minds of men long dead, the answers have eluded the best efforts of scholars. The following pages unfold the story of my quest for the truth. Frustrating as it turned out to be, the quest did yield an answer to one of the questions.

Before revealing the results of my research, it might be well to review some of the stories told about LaRamee. Most of them are based on hearsay, the historian's curse, and some of them are pure fabrication, the products of over-active imaginations. Probably the best known account is found in C. G. Coutant's *The History of Wyoming*, published in 1899. It also has the distinction of being the most detailed of all the stories examined.

Coutant states that LaRamee was a French Canadian who entered this country as an employee of the Northwest Company. When rivalry with the Hudson's Bay Company led to bloodshed, LaRamee organized a band of free trappers and moved into undisputed territory near the headwaters of the North Platte River. He and his men rendezvoused at the mouth of the Laramie for several years. About 1820, LaRamee decided to trap beaver on the river that now bears his name, and dismissing his companions' warnings, he pushed on alone. The following year, his friends found him dead in a cabin built about two or three days journey up the Laramie from its mouth. Trappers accused the Arapahoes of the deed, but they vigorously denied it. Coutant makes much of La-

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1. "Laramie" is the form of the name which survives as a place-name. I have used the correct spelling, "LaRamee," throughout, except when quoting from a source.

Ramee's character and abilities, calling him an honest, courageous, peace-loving man, and a partisan worthy of the confidence of his men.

Coutant tells where he obtained the material for his account. He read statements by two former Fort Laramie soldiers, Surgeon H. S. Schell and Colonel A. G. Brackett, that mentioned the murder of the trapper by Indians near the Laramie River, nothing more. Schell served at Fort Laramie in the late 1860's and Brackett in the late 1870's. For the rest of his story, Coutant relied on "the older class of pioneers, such as Baker, Majors, Wiggins, Perri, Chapman, Lowe, Street, and many others." He goes on to state that none of the men interviewed knew LaRamee, that they were simply repeating stories told them by others. Hearsay is poor evidence, if it is evidence at all, and the details of Coutant's version will need verification before they can be fully accepted.<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to note that the farther back one goes into the literature, the closer one gets to the time of LaRamee's death, the shorter the stories become. Take, for example, the account of Matthew Field, a newspaperman who visited Fort Laramie in 1843 when it still belonged to the American Fur Company. Field took voluminous notes on everything he saw and heard, since he planned to write a number of feature articles for the *New Orleans Picayune* about the Rocky Mountain West. Yet, when he came to the LaRamee story, he was unusually brief:

30 years ago a trapper by the name of Laramie was killed by Indians on this stream which has since held his name, as also, the high mountain peak near. The country was shunned as dangerous at the time, but this trapper dared his fate in pursuit of the beaver.<sup>3</sup>

Rufus Sage, who stopped at Fort Laramie two years earlier, was even more terse in his diary:

This river received its present name from one Joseph Laramie, a French trapper, who was killed near its mouth, several years since, by the Indians.<sup>4</sup>

The reader is quick to perceive the contradictions in the three stories treated thus far. The date of death, the place of death, and the first name of the trapper vary considerably. Other accounts serve to confuse the issue rather than to clarify it. John Hunton's

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2. C. G. Coutant, *The History of Wyoming* (Laramie: Chaplin, Spafford & Mathison, Printers, 1899), 296-299.

3. Matthew C. Field, *Prairie & Mountain Sketches*, ed. by John Francis McDermott (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 80.

4. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., Rufus B. Sage, *His Letters and Papers, 1836-1847*, Vol. I (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1956), 340, f.n. 124.

version, based on talks with Jim Bridger, further illustrates the point:

He [Jim Bridger] said he was first at Fort Laramie in his teens, but did not know or remember the exact year; that he spent the winter that old man Laramie was killed, down at the fort and around here, and was one of the party who went out to search for Laramie when he did not come back in the spring as he said he would; that party went up the Laramie valley searching it and all its tributaries; that they found an unfinished cottonwood log cabin on the north side of the river below the mouth of Sabelle Creek, and one broken beaver trap near it, but no Laramie. He said that he learned some two years later from the Arapahoe Indians that some of the tribe had killed Laramie and put his body under the ice in a beaver dam. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Two points in the Hunton-Bridger version bear comment. William Sublette and Robert Campbell built the first Fort Laramie, Fort William, in 1834; therefore, Bridger could not have been around the fort at the time of LaRamee's death. Secondly, if we are to accept 1821 as the year of LaRamee's death, Bridger could not have been in the region. He left St. Louis in April, 1822, on his first trip west and traveled up the Missouri River with Major Henry!<sup>6</sup>

The last two historians to tackle the problem were Grace Raymond Hebard in 1926 and W. J. Ghent in 1933. Hebard states that LaRamee came from France, settled in Canada, and then migrated into Wyoming. She follows the Coutant version closely, but by way of introduction discusses the name of the trapper, and in so doing commits an unfortunate error. She remarks that Jacques is a Canadian corruption of the French word for John. Jacques is the French name for James.<sup>7</sup>

W. J. Ghent's article is the best produced by modern historians. For the most part, he repeats the Coutant version, but he is careful to point out the speculative nature of the story and qualifies each statement with such as "probably," "apparently," and "traditionally." He does, however, question LaRamee's birthplace, and suggests that he may have been the son of Louis Lorimier who was a trader among the Indians in the Ohio Valley, and later, the commandant at Cape Girardeau, Missouri. Ghent based his theory on the fact that Albert Gallatin's map of 1836 shows Laramie Peak as Lorimier's Peak.<sup>8</sup>

5. Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail*, Vol. II (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960), 233.

6. J. Cecil Alter, *Jim Bridger* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 15.

7. Grace Hebard's article appeared originally in the *Midwest Review* of March, 1926. The article is reprinted as an addenda in Virginia Cole Trenholm, *Footprints on the Frontier: Saga of the La Ramie Region of Wyoming* (Douglas, Wyoming: Douglas Enterprise Company, 1945), 354-357.

8. W. J. Ghent, "Jacques Laramie," in *Dictionary of American Biog-*

By now the reader should be hopelessly confused. Was the trapper's last name really LaRamee or was it Lorimier? Was his first name really Jacques or was it Joseph? Was he born in Canada or was it France or the Ohio Valley? Did he die in 1803 or 1821 or even later? Was he found dead in his cabin or under a beaver dam? Did he die near the mouth of the Laramie or several day's journey upstream? Did the Arapahoes kill him or was it some other tribe?

Confronted with this problem one might decide to write some of the Canadian fur companies to see if their records might reveal information concerning Jacques LaRamee. Paul Henderson, the noted trail historian, did just that in 1937, but his findings were never published. Writing the Hudson's Bay Company, he received an illuminating reply from J. Chadwick Brooks, a company employee in London. Although the records revealed nothing of Jacques LaRamee, they contained a number of references to a Jean Baptiste LaRamee. Jean Baptiste was in the company's service as a middleman from 1817 to 1822 in Canada, operating in the Cumberland House, Athabasca, and Peace River Districts, before retiring and settling in Montreal. A Northwest Company ledger in the same archives divulged information concerning yet another LaRamee, Francois, who began his career as a voyageur for the firm in 1804. From 1811 to 1820, he worked steadily for the Northwest Company in Canada, but the records did not pinpoint the area. The letter established the fact that there were LaRamees in Canada at about the right time.<sup>9</sup>

On August 2, 1963, my quest for the truth began. Miss Jean Colon of Davis, California, visited Fort Laramie National Historic Site and remarked that she knew a relative of the famous trapper. His name was J. Edmond LaRamee who lived in Montreal. In a short time a letter was on its way. No reply. A second letter brought a response:

Here is what I know of the family of Jacques LaRamee: There was only one LaRamee that migrated from France to Canada, in 1708. His name was Jacques Fissiau dit LaRamee, born in Blois City, France. He settled in Pointe-Aux-Trembles, near Montreal, and one of his descendants settled in St. Michel d'Yamaska, Province of Quebec. From this branch of the family came Jacques LaRamee, the

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*raphy*, Vol. IX, ed. by Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), 613. All those who mention the name of the trapper in diaries and letters of the period give the last name as LaRamee or names that are obviously variations of it. To my knowledge, there are no other contemporary documents that substantiate Ghent's theory.

9. Letter to Paul Henderson from J. Chadwick Brooks, Hudson Bay House, London, May 28, 1937. Original in Historic Research Files, Fort Laramie National Historic Site. This group of records hereafter cited as FLNHS.



fur trapper who migrated to the United States. He was one of the sons of Joseph LaRamee and Jeanne Mondou of Yamaska.<sup>10</sup>

I am sure that the reader can imagine the elation I felt when I received that letter.

To corroborate the letter and to learn more of the LaRamees, I wrote to the Provincial Archives, Quebec, and requested a genealogy of the Joseph LaRamee family. Roland Auger of the archives sent the desired information, at least most of it. He traced Joseph's ancestry back to Antoine Fissiau-LaRamee of Blois City, who turned out to be a master weaver. His son, Jacques, also a weaver, left France for Canada in 1708. One of his sons, Jean Baptiste, took up farming near Montreal in the 1740's, and Joseph was his son, a farmer at Yamaska.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. Auger was unable to provide the clincher, the name of the offspring of Joseph and Jeanne LaRamee, but sent the address of the priest in charge of the church records at Yamaska. The Reverend Pere Cure replied to my letter of inquiry on February 19, 1964, and brought to Fort Laramie a dark cloud that still hangs over it. Joseph and Jeanne had five sons, none of whom was named Jacques! Married on January 15, 1781, the couple's first son was Noel, born December 25, 1781. He was followed by Louis Theophile, born February 24, 1783; Joseph Michel, born June 8, 1784; Pierre Severin, born May 29, 1786; and Louis, born April 16, 1792.<sup>12</sup>

A hurried letter to J. Edmond LaRamee brought an apologetic reply and a suggestion. His genealogy, prepared by a Montreal firm, concerned only his immediate ancestors, and did not include the fur trapper's branch of the family; however, he had been told, presumably by one of his relatives, that Jacques had been the son of Joseph and Jeanne. He suggested that I contact the Drouin Genealogical Institute of Montreal to see if they could trace him.<sup>13</sup>

The Institute agreed to make the search, but after several months cancelled the contract, stating that nothing could be found of a Jacques that fit the description.

Could it be that the third son of Joseph and Jeanne was the mysterious fur trapper? Could Rufus Sage have been right, that his name was really Joseph? I am inclined to believe that he was, but I suppose that we will never know for sure. At least the quest

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10. Letter from J. Edmond LaRamee, Montfort, Quebec, October 1, 1963, FLNHS.

11. Letter from Roland Auger, Provincial Archives, Quebec, January 3, 1964, FLNHS.

12. Letter from The Reverend Pere Cure, Yamaska, Quebec, February 19, 1964, FLNHS.

13. Letter from J. Edmond LaRamee, Montfort, Quebec, April 17, 1964, FLNHS.

was exciting, though finally frustrating, and it did yield, beyond a reasonable doubt, the answer to one of the intriguing questions: Where did he come from? Only one LaRamee migrated from France in the eighteenth century, Jacques LaRamee from Blois City, France. All the New World LaRamees were his descendants. Whatever his first name, the real LaRamee was a Canadian.

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## *Wyoming*

*By*

ELIZABETH THORPE

This is Wyoming,  
The high, fresh country  
Of pale golden plains  
Sweeping widely  
To the far blue rims of mountains  
On the edge of the world.

Here are the uncontaminated streams,  
The naked heights where free winds blow.

Here is space unlimited  
For those whose hearts still need  
The look and feel of freedom.

Here is the lonely sky  
Uncrowded except for clouds  
That give brief respite  
From the painful beauty  
Of intense and infinite blue.

# *The Custer Court Martial*

By

ROBERT A. MURRAY

"A General Court Martial is hereby appointed to meet at Fort Leavenworth Kansas, at 11:00 o'clock A.M., on the 15th Day of September, 1867, or as soon there after as practicable, for the trial of Brevet Major General G. A. Custer, 7th U.S. Cavalry, and such other prisoners as may be brought before it."<sup>1</sup> With these simple phrases, the Adjutant General signaled the nearing climax of another chapter in the stormy career of this colorful and controversial officer.

This important but little known story began with the issuance of the following orders and instructions to Custer at the end of May, 1867:

Brevet Major General G.A. Custer, Lieutenant Col. 7th Cavalry will march tomorrow with six(6) companies of the 7th Cavalry, provided with fifteen(15) days rations, and five(5) days grain, to Fort McPherson, Nebraska. Full instructions will be given General Custer concerning his march.<sup>2</sup>

The Brevet Major General Commanding directs that you proceed with your command as indicated in S.F.O. #34, c.s. from these HQ, in a northerly direction to the Platte, and thence to Ft. McPherson, at which point you will find a large supply of rations and forage. As to the length of time you are to stay at Fort McPherson, should you receive no orders on your arrival there, you will be governed by the circumstances and such information as you may be able to obtain from parties at that place. From Fort McPherson you will proceed up the south fork of the Platte to Fort Sedgwick, and thence in the direction of Fort Morgan. If everything is found to be quiet and your presence not required in the vicinity of Fort Morgan or Sedgwick, you may come south to Fort Wallace, at which point you will find further instructions.

The object of the expedition is to hunt out, and chastise the Cheyennes, and that portion of the Sioux who are their allies, between the Smoky Hill and the Platte. . .<sup>3</sup>

Under these orders and instructions, Custer's command left Fort Hays, and marched to Fort McPherson, reaching there June 9th. After spending a week in that vicinity, the column moved to

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1. Special Orders 426, War Department, Adjutant General's Office August 27, 1867.

2. Special Field Orders 34, Headquarters, District of the Upper Arkansas, May 30, 1867.

3. Letter, Headquarters, District of the Upper Arkansas, to G.A. Custer, 7th Cavalry, May 31, 1867.

the Republican River, remaining there about a week before heading northwest to the South Platte River. Early on the morning of July 6th, the tired column arrived at the Platte, this time some 3 miles from Riverside Station, about 45 miles west of Fort Sedgwick.<sup>4</sup>

Since this was on one of the main routes to the Colorado settlements, extra precautions against desertions were taken. Custer ordered the stable-guard doubled.<sup>5</sup> Wagonmaster Harper remained on the alert through the night to safeguard stock of the train.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the men approached the teamsters that night and tried to trade for civilian clothes.<sup>7</sup> Later in the night Harper drove five men away from the wagon train stock.<sup>8</sup> By morning at least 15 men departed, including some of the guard.<sup>9</sup>

The column got a late start on the 7th, and marched about 12 miles to a noon-halt. Horses were unsaddled and allowed to graze.<sup>10</sup> After lunch and several hours rest, "Boots & Saddles" sounded and the column prepared to move out.<sup>11</sup> At this time, Custer sighted a band of uniformed men, headed for the Platte. He ordered out Lt. Henry Jackson, Officer of the Day. Jackson's orders from Custer were to "follow those men and shoot them and bring none in alive."<sup>12</sup>

While Jackson and the guard were getting under way, Custer ordered his brother Tom, along with Lt. W. W. Cooke to join the pursuit, giving them the same order he had Lt. Jackson.<sup>13</sup>

Major Joel Elliot volunteered to go along.<sup>14</sup> Somewhat better mounted, he soon took the lead, with Cooke not far behind, Tom Custer trailing by some distance, and Lieutenant Jackson and the guard bringing up the rear.<sup>15</sup> After about 20 minutes, they came upon those men who were on foot, four in number, three of them

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4. Captain L.M. Hamilton, testimony, in *Proceedings of a General Court Martial, G.C.M.O. 93, A.G.O., 1867*, convened at Ft. Leavenworth, pursuant to S.O. 426, AGO, 1867. (Hereinafter referred to as *Proceedings*).

5. Hamilton testimony, *Proceedings*.

Lt. T.W. Custer, testimony, *Proceedings*.

6. Harper, testimony, *Proceedings*.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. T.W. Custer, testimony, *Proceedings*.

10. *Ibid.*

11. G.A. Custer, *Report*, letter to Adjutant General, District of the Upper Arkansas, dated at Ft. Riley, Kansas, August 6, 1867. (Hereinafter referred to as Custer, *Report*).

12. Lt. Henry Jackson, testimony, *Proceedings*.

13. T.W. Custer, testimony, *Proceedings* also, Custer, *Report*.

14. Major Joel Elliot, testimony, *Proceedings*.

15. T.W. Custer, testimony, *Proceedings* Elliot, testimony, *Proceedings*.

armed. Elliot ordered them to lay down their arms and halt. Two did so immediately. The third, Private Charles Johnson, made a move with his carbine that Elliot thought to be threatening. Elliot was but a few yards off, moving at a gallop, so he simply rode into Johnson, knocked him down and sent his carbine flying, and rode on in pursuit of the mounted group of deserters.<sup>16</sup>

Shortly after Johnson was knocked down, Lts. Cooke and Tom Custer opened fire on the unarmed men. Johnson was hit twice at relatively close range, at least once while on the ground. Bugler Barney Tolliver was hit in the arm in such a manner that it appeared his arms were partly raised. Private Alburger received two wounds, one in the shoulder blade and one in the side, as he tried to run away.<sup>17</sup> The fourth man lay down as the firing commenced and was not hit.<sup>18</sup> Two other men moved off to the left of the line of pursuit, but were captured by the guard.<sup>19</sup>

Elliot and Jackson rode on in pursuit of the party of mounted deserters, found they could not catch them, and turned back.<sup>20</sup>

Elliot then ordered Bugler Leonard of the guard back to the command for a wagon.<sup>21</sup> It arrived in about 45 minutes and the wounded were loaded in it and taken to the command.<sup>22</sup>

As the wagon came up to the command there was a general rush toward it. Surgeon Coates moved in to examine the men. At this point Custer ordered everyone to stay away from the wagon.<sup>23</sup> The command soon moved out and marched on to a night camping place about 10 miles away. The wagon moved in the rear of the column in charge of Lt. Jackson. Some of the men brought their overcoats for the wounded men to lie on.<sup>24</sup> Surgeon Coates later testified that he visited the men and gave them an opiate,<sup>25</sup> but Jackson insisted he did not.<sup>26</sup>

The command halted for the night at a dry creek and secured water by digging in the sand.<sup>27</sup> Late that evening the Surgeon visited the wounded, examined their wounds and gave them opiates.<sup>28</sup> Custer is supposed to have enjoined Coates not to mention this to officers or men of the command. The wounds were

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16. Elliot, testimony, *Proceedings*.

17. Acting Assistant Surgeon Coates, testimony, *Proceedings*.

18. Jackson, testimony, *Proceedings*.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*, and also: Elliot, testimony, *Proceedings*.

21. Elliot, testimony, *Proceedings*.

22. Jackson, testimony, *Proceedings*.

23. Coates, testimony, *Proceedings*.

24. Jackson, testimony, *Proceedings*.

25. Coates, testimony, *Proceedings*.

26. Jackson, testimony, *Proceedings*.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Coates, testimony, *Proceedings*  
also: Jackson, testimony *Proceedings*.

not dressed until two days later, but the Surgeon accepted responsibility for this.<sup>29</sup>

That night Custer augmented the guard by placing all the officers of the command on duty in shifts. There were no further desertions on the road to Ft. Wallace.<sup>30</sup> The command marched on the morning of the 8th, reaching Ft. Wallace at 8:00 p.m. on July 13th.<sup>31</sup>

Custer then set out for Fort Harker late on the 15th of July. He did this on the pretext of going after supplies, but the records do not bear out the necessity of this, and this function was not within the scope of his orders. The general conclusion reached later was that he simply wanted to visit his wife.<sup>32</sup>

He formed an escort of the best-mounted men from each company,<sup>33</sup> a total of 76 enlisted men.<sup>34</sup> Captain Hamilton commanded the escort, and Lieutenants Cooke and Tom Custer accompanied it.<sup>35</sup> Considering the generally poor condition of all the horses, this column moved rapidly, reaching Big Creek early in the morning of the 18th, having come over 140 miles in 57 hours (of which time 5 hours were spent resting).<sup>36</sup> As horses gave out, men dropped behind the column and it was necessary for a detail to bring up the stragglers. Several horses were shot and others were abandoned.<sup>37</sup> Some dismounted men were left behind at stage stations and others were brought along in an ambulance.<sup>38</sup>

On the morning of the 17th, about two miles east of Castle Rock Stage Station, the command halted for about two hours. During this halt, Custer noticed that Private Alfred Young, the man detailed to lead one of Custer's personal horses, had fallen behind. He sent out Sgt. Connelly with six men, leading an extra horse, to find Young and bring him up, stating that the command would move on a short distance and wait for them. Connelly found Young at Castle Rock Station, mounted him on the extra horse and moved out to catch up with the column.<sup>39</sup>

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29. Coates, testimony, *Proceedings*.

30. T.W. Custer, testimony *Proceedings*.

31. Custer, *Report*.

32. J. Holt, Judge Advocate General, U.S.A., to the Secretary of War, November 8, 1867, letter.

33. Lt. W.W. Cooke, testimony, *Proceedings*

Elliot, testimony, *Proceedings*.

34. Elliot, testimony, *Proceedings*

Regimental rolls show 64 enlisted men with Custer on this trip.

35. Hamilton, testimony, *Proceedings*.

36. *Ibid.*, also Cooke, testimony, *Proceedings*.

37. Hamilton, testimony, *Proceedings*

also: Sergeant James Connelly, Co. D. 7th Cavalry, testimony *Proceedings*.

38. Connelly, testimony, *Proceedings*.

39. *Ibid.*

About two miles east of Castle Rock, a party of fifty to sixty Indians attacked Connelly's force. One man was hit and overtaken by the hostiles. Connelly saw that another man was wounded, tried to halt the detail to make a stand, but some of the men fled. The whole party then moved off rapidly on the trail of the column, leaving the wounded man behind. Some of the Indians fell back around the man they had caught, and others pursued Connelly's party to within one and one-half miles of the command, which had halted at Downer's Station. Sgt. Connelly and the detail rode into the station, reporting immediately to Captain Hamilton.<sup>40</sup> Hamilton reported the incident to Custer, whose only reply was to the effect that they would have to be moving on.<sup>41</sup>

After Custer's column left, Captain A. B. Carpenter, 37th Infantry, took part of the station's small garrison out to look for the men left behind. They recovered and buried the body of the dead man, and found that the second wounded man had escaped capture and was hidden along the road alive. They brought him in to Downer's Station.<sup>42</sup>

Arriving at Big Creek Station, near Fort Hays, Custer obtained fresh mules for his ambulance and with Cooke, Tom Custer and an enlisted man struck out for Fort Harker, leaving Hamilton and the escort to follow.<sup>43</sup>

Custer and his party met Captain Cox of the 10th Cavalry near Bunker Hill Station at 9:00 p.m. on the 18th. Cox was escorting a supply train for Fort Wallace. He also bore dispatches for Custer from the District Commander.<sup>44</sup>

These included the following letter from the Adjutant General, Headquarters, District of the Upper Arkansas, dated July 16, 1867:

The Bvt. Maj. Gen. Comdg. directs me to forward to you the accompanying communication from Dept. HQ, for your information and guidance and to say that he expects you to keep your command as actively employed as the condition of the animals will admit; you will see by the communication referred to you are not restricted in your movements to the vicinity of Ft. Wallace, but are to operate wherever the presence or movements of Indians may lead you.<sup>45</sup>

And the accompanying letter from Department Headquarters read:

The Major General Commanding desires you to give instructions to General Custer's Command which it is understood will arrive at Fort Wallace about the 17th inst. that until further orders it will operate

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40. *Ibid.*

41. Hamilton, testimony, *Proceedings*

Regimental roles indicate Alexander Harvey was the man killed.

42. Captain A. B. Carpenter, testimony, *Proceedings*.

43. Hamilton and Cooke, testimony, *Proceedings*.

44. Captain Charles G. Cox, testimony, *Proceedings*

also: Captain Thomas B. Weir, testimony, *Proceedings*.

through Fort Wallace as a base and between the Arkansas and the Platte. He will habitually draw his supplies from Fort Wallace but a sufficient quantity of supplies has been placed at Forts Hays, Larned, Dodge and Lyons in order that if he should find it necessary to visit those posts he will be able to obtain ample supplies. It is not proposed that he shall go south of the Arkansas at present except in case of hot pursuit.

The Battalion of Volunteer Cavalry will be kept as a rule intact and will operate in the general direction of the Arkansas, say from Zarah westward they will be governed by the same rules and orders and will find supplies at any of the posts on the Arkansas, designated herein and if pursuit leads them to the Smoky Hill at the posts on that route.

The tributaries of the Arkansas will be especially under the supervision of the Volunteer Cavalry.

I wish you would require itineraries from Commanders of every scout in accordance with reiterated orders from these HdQrs and the General Regulations of the Army. These troops will not belong to any post nor will their commanders interfere with the command of any post at which they may be or through which they may pass—except so far as to draw their regular supplies on proper requisitions.

These troops should move with pack mules, and not wagons, if means of transportation are required for supplies there are sufficient pack saddles at Fort Wallace and directions will be given to send twenty pack saddles to each of the other posts in your district where Cavalry may be stationed, say Forts Hays, Larned, Dodge, Lyons, Reynolds and Harker.

You will please determine how much of the 7th Cavalry you propose leaving at Wallace, whether any more than Capt. Keogh's Company or not and give the necessary instructions.

Captain Barnitz Company should be back at Fort Wallace by the time your orders reach there.

There are some lariats required for the pack saddles at Fort Wallace taken off by General Custer at Fort Hays and used for lariats for his horses; requisitions have been made but you had better see that the rope goes by the first train.

The cavalry should be kept constantly employed.<sup>45</sup>

Notwithstanding these orders, Custer and his party drove on to Fort Harker, arriving at about 2:00 a.m. on the 19th.<sup>47</sup>

Custer reported to Colonel Smith at Fort Harker, but it does not appear that he explained how he had come to Fort Harker nor under what authority he was traveling. He did not tarry long with Smith, but was driven to the railroad station by Weir and departed for Fort Riley on the 3:00 a.m. train.<sup>48</sup>

On arriving at his office on the 19th, Col. Smith discovered that Custer was not traveling with his command, that he had unquestionably received the dispatches sent with Captain Cox, and that he had given no evidence to Weir of any other orders which could

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45. Letter, Adjutant General, Headquarters District of the Upper Arkansas to G.A. Custer, 7th Cavalry, July 16, 1867.

46. Letter, Headquarters, Department of Missouri in the Field, to Brevet Major General Smith, District of the Upper Arkansas, July 13, 1867.

47. Weir, testimony, *Proceedings*.

48. *Ibid*.



account for this trip. Smith immediately telegraphed Custer at Fort Riley, ordering his return.<sup>49</sup>

Colonel Smith soon filed the following charges against Custer:

Charge 1st: Absence without leave from his command.

Specification 1st: In this that he Bvt. Major General G.A. Custer, Lieut. Col. 7th U.S. Cav. did at or near Fort Wallace Kansas, on or about the 15th day of July 1867, absent himself from his command without proper authority, and proceed to Fort Riley, Kansas, a distance of about 275 miles; this at a time when his command was expected to be actively engaged against hostile Indians.

Charge 2nd: Conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.

Specification 1st: In this that he Brevet Major General G.A. Custer, Lieut. Col. 7th U.S. Cav. immediately after the troops of his command had completed a long and exhausting march, and when the horses belonging thereto had not been rested, and were in an unfit condition for said service, did select a portion of such command consisting of three commissioned officers and about seventy-five men with their horses, and did set out upon and execute a rapid march from Fort Wallace, Kansas to Fort Hays in the same State; the said march being upon private business and with out proper authority or any urgency or demand of public business; and in so doing did seriously prejudice the public interest by overmarching and damaging the horses belonging to the said detachment of his command.

Specification 2nd: In this, that he Brevet Major General G.A. Custer, Lieut. Col. 7th Cav., while executing an unauthorized journey on private business from Fort Wallace, Kansas to Fort Riley, in the same state, did procure at Fort Hays in the same state on or about the 17th July 1867, two ambulances and eight mules, belonging to the United States, and did use such ambulances and mules for the conveyance of himself and part of his escort from said Fort Hays to Fort Harker in the aforesaid state.

Specification 3d: In this that he Bvt. Maj. Genl. G.A. Custer, Lieut. Col., 7th U.S. Cavalry, when near Downers' Station in the state of Kansas, on or about the 16th day of July, 1867, after having received information that a party of Indians had attacked a small party detached from his escort near said station, did fail to take proper measures for the repulse of said Indians or the defense or relief of said detachment; and further after the return of such detached party of his command with report that two of their number had been killed, did neglect to take any measures to pursue such party of Indians or recover or bury the bodies of those of his command that had been killed as aforesaid."<sup>50</sup>

On June 17th at Fort Wallace, Private Charles Johnson died.<sup>51</sup> Captain West of the 7th Cavalry filed a set of additional charges based on the treatment of Johnson, Tolliver and Alburger:

Charge: Conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline.

Specification 1st: In this that Brevet Major General George A. Custer, Lieutenant Colonel 7th U.S. Cavalry, while en route commanding and marching a column of his regiment, six companies or

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49. *Ibid.*

50. "Charges and Specifications" from *Proceedings*.

51. Coates, testimony, *Proceedings*.

thereabouts, strong, from the valley of the Platte River, to the valley of the Smoky Hill river, did, when ordering a party of three commissioned officers and others of his command in pursuit of supposed deserters who were then in view leaving camp, *also order* the said party to shoot the supposed deserters down dead, and to bring none in alive.

This on "Custer's Cavalry Column Trail" while marching southward, about fifteen miles south of Platte river, and about fifty miles southwest from Fort Sedgwick, Colorado, on or about the 7th day of July, 1867.

Specification 2nd.: In this that Brevet Major General George A. Custer, Lieutenant Colonel 7th U.S. Cavalry, did order the following named and designated soldiers of his regiment, viz: Bugler Barney Tolliver, Company K, Private Charles Johnson, Company K, Private Alburger, Company D, and other enlisted men of his command, *to be shot down* as supposed deserters, but without trial; and did thus cause the said men to be severely wounded.

This on "Custer's Cavalry Column Trail" while traveling southward, between fifteen and forty miles south of the Platte River, and between fifteen and forty miles south of the Platte River, and between fifty and seventy miles southwest from Fort Sedgwick, Colorado, on or about the 7th day of July 1867.

Specification 3rd: In this, that Brevet Major General George A. Custer, Lieutenant Colonel 7th U.S. Cavalry, after the following named and designated soldiers of his regiment, viz: Bugler Barney Tolliver, Company K, Private Charles Johnson, Company K, and Private Alburger, Company D, had been summarily shot down, and severely wounded by the order of him the said Custer, did order and cause the said soldiers to be placed in a Government wagon and to be hauled eighteen miles, and did then and there neglect and positively and persistently refuse to allow said soldiers to receive any treatment or attention from the Acting Assistant Surgeon with his command, or any other medical or Surgical attendance whatever.

This on "Custer's Cavalry Column Trail" traveling southward between fifteen and forty miles south of the Platte River, and between fifty and seventy miles southwest from Fort Sedgwick, Colorado, on or about the 7th day of July, 1867.

Specification 4th: In this that Brevet Major General George A. Custer, Lieutenant Colonel 7th U.S. Cavalry, while commanding and marching a column of his regiment, six companies or thereabouts strong, did, on or about the 7th day of July 1867; at a point about fifteen miles South of Platte River, and about fifty miles southwest from Fort Sedgwick, Colorado, order and cause the summary shooting Charles Johnson, Company K, 7th U.S. Cavalry, a soldier of his command; whereby he the said Johnson was so severely wounded that he soon after—to wit on or about the 17th day of July 1867, at or near Fort Wallace Kansas—did de cease; he the said Custer thus causing the death of him the said Johnson.<sup>52</sup>

The Special Orders mentioned earlier convened the necessary court martial. The officers detailed for the court included:

Bvt.Maj.Gen. W. Hoffman, Col., 3d. U.S. Infantry  
 Bvt.Maj.Gen. J.W. Davidson, Lt Col. 10th U.S. Cavalry  
 Bvt.Maj.Gen. B.H. Grierson, Col. 10th U.S. Cavalry  
 Bvt. Brig. Gen Pitcairn Morrison, Col.U.S.A.(retired)

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52. "Additional Charges and Specifications" from *Proceedings*.

Bvt. Brig. Gen. M.R. Morgan, Commissary of Subsistence  
 Bvt. Brig. Gen. F.D. Callender, Ordnance Dept.  
 Bvt. Lt. Col. T.C. English, 5th U.S. Infantry  
 Bvt. Major Henry Asbury, 3d U.S. Infantry  
 Bvt. Major Stephen C. Lyford, Ordnance Department  
 Captain Robert Chandler, 13th U.S. Infantry, Judge Advocate<sup>53</sup>

Brevet Major General Davidson was excused at his own request to serve as a witness for Custer.<sup>54</sup>

The court convened at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas on Sunday, September 15, 1867. Technical and procedural delays consumed several days.

The court was further interrupted by illness and absence of members, witnesses and of the accused. It was actively in session eleven full days, issuing its findings on Friday, October 11, 1867.<sup>55</sup>

Far from being a "plan of persecution" as Mrs. Custer called it,<sup>56</sup> the court seemed eager throughout the trial to avoid any action which might place Custer at a disadvantage in defending himself.

Custer, however, could offer no substantial defence to excuse his unauthorized absence or his unwarranted expenditure of stock, equipment and man power. His unauthorized absence stood out in glaring contrast to the severity of treatment he gave deserters.

As the trial proceeded, the Court and the Judge Advocate did modify certain of the specifications in line with findings and testimony.

The findings of the court were:

Of the 1st Specification, 1st Charge:

Guilty of the Specification, substituting the words "Ft. Harker" for the words "Ft. Riley" and the figures "200" for the figures "275".

Of the 1st Charge: Guilty

Of the 1st Specification of the second charge: Guilty

Of the 2nd Specification of the 2nd Charge: Guilty of the Specification substituting the words "Ft. Harker" for the words "Ft. Riley"; omitting the words "Two ambulances" and substituting the word "four" for the word "eight" and omitting the words "ambulances and" and attach no criminality thereto.

Of 3rd Specification of the 2nd Charge: Guilty

Of the 2nd Charge: Guilty

Of the 1st Specification of the Additional Charge-Guilty

Of the 2nd Specification of the Additional Charge, Guilty of the specification omitting the words "the following named and designated soldiers of his regiment, viz: Bugler Barney Tolliver, Co. K., Private Charles Johnson, Co. K, Private Alburger Co. D, and other" and substituting the word "three" in place of the words "the said."

Of the 3rd Specification of the Additional Charge the court finds the facts as stated in the specification except the words "and did then

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53. Special Orders 426, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, August 27, 1867.

54. *Proceedings*, discussions, Sept. 16, 1867.

55. *Proceedings*.

56. Quoted in Merington, *the Custer Story*, p.213.

and there neglect and positively and persistently refuse to allow the said soldiers to receive any treatment or attention from the acting assistant surgeon with his command, or any other Medical or Surgical attendance whatever." and attach no criminality thereto.

Of the 4th Specification of the Additional Charge-Guilty

Of the Additional Charge-Guilty

And the Court does therefore sentence him Brevet Major Gen'l G.A. Custer Lieutenant Colonel 7th U.S. Cavalry to be suspended from rank and command for one year, and to forfeit his pay proper for the same time.<sup>57</sup>

These findings went to the Judge Advocate General for review. He analyzed the evidence and the findings carefully, and made several pertinent comments:

The conclusion unavoidably reached under this branch of the inquiry, is that Gen. Custer's anxiety to see his family at Fort Riley overcame his appreciation of the paramount necessity to obey orders which is incumbent on every military officer; and thus the excuses he offers for his acts of insubordination are afterthoughts. . . The findings under the specifications are thought to be in accordance with the evidence.<sup>58</sup>

The case was passed to the Commanding General, who stated through the Inspector General:

The proceedings, finding and sentence in the case of Bvt. Major General Custer are approved by General Grant who directs the necessary orders to be issued by the Adjutant General—in which the lenity of the sentence considering the nature of the offenses of which Gen'l. Custer is found guilty, is to be remarked on.<sup>59</sup>

The Adjutant General issued orders to carry out the sentence on November 20, 1867.<sup>60</sup>

Custer and his wife spent that winter at Ft. Leavenworth, and then went to visit relatives in Michigan.<sup>61</sup>

In September, 1868, Phil Sheridan, long active in Custer's behalf, requested that Custer be returned to duty.<sup>62</sup> Higher headquarters acceded to Sheridan's request, and orders on September 25, 1868 remitted the balance of Custer's sentence, and bade him report to Sheridan.<sup>63</sup>

Thus Custer returned to lead the regiment through nearly eight more years of garrison life and campaigning, ending in fame and death on a dusty Montana hillside.

57. *Proceedings*.

58. Letter, Holt, Judge Advocate General, *op. cit.*

59. Endorsement, Inspector General to Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, Nov. 18, 1867 (on letter Holt, *op. cit.*)

60. General Court Martial Orders #93, Adjutant General's Office, November 20, 1867.

61. See van de Water, *Glory Hunter*, and other Custer biographies.

62. Telegram, Lt. Gen. W.T. Sherman (St. Louis) to Adjutant General, September 24, 1868.

Telegram, Adjutant General to Lt. Gen. Sherman, Sept. 25, 1868.

63. Extract, General Court Martial Orders of Sept. 25, 1868.

# *Beef Makers of the Laramie Plains*

By

ROBERT H. "BOB" BURNS

Up on top of the world are the Laramie Plains, an extensive plateau lying on top of the Rocky Mountains at an elevation of around 7,000 feet. They extend some 100 miles north and south from the Colorado line to Laramie Peak, and are some 50 miles wide from the base of the Laramie Mountains on the east to the foot of the Medicine Bow Mountains or main Rockies on the west. Since the early days the Laramie Plains have produced a variety of natural resources including fur, game, minerals, timber and livestock. The plains were named for an early-day French trapper, Jacques La Ramie, who spent the latter part of his life in the area and was purportedly killed by the Indians in 1820, near the mouth of the Laramie River.

It is not generally known that right on the south edge of these Laramie Plains, the first range cattle were ranged after an incident in which freight oxen were abandoned to die in the winter and were found the next spring in very good condition. Early explorers and later emigrants noticed the thick sod of grass on the western plains and they also noticed the good condition of the animals and sampled the nutritious meat from the large herds of game such as buffalo, antelope, deer and elk.

It is not surprising that when travel-worn oxen were turned loose to graze on these nutritious short grasses they soon recovered their strength and rapidly put on flesh. Many of these incidents have been reported by word of mouth but the reference seen most often is that in a government document published in March, 1885, which dealt with the range and ranch traffic in the western states and territories. Mr. E. S. Newman is mentioned as the freighter involved in this incident of turning out travel-worn oxen in a winter storm. The writer has worked for several years to obtain the information on later ranching operations of Mr. Newman and has found that they established ranch camps in Texas, Oklahoma, and Nebraska in the early days under the name of the Niobrara Cattle Company. Their headquarters were on the Niobrara at the mouth of Antelope Creek, near the present town of Gordon, Nebraska.<sup>1</sup>

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1. "The Newman Ranches: Pioneer Cattle Ranches of the West."

Before that time, Tom Alsop was freighting from Omaha to Salt Lake (Fort Douglas) for Ed Creighton, commercial tycoon of Omaha who had many enterprises and had held contracts in the building of the overland telegraph line in 1861 and the grading for the Union Pacific Railroad in 1868-69. Tom Alsop was the foreman of a string of bull teams and had 50 wagons with 4-6 bulls per wagon. When returning from Salt Lake in December, 1863, he was caught in a snowstorm on Sherman Hill (highest point on the Union Pacific Railroad in later days) and had to turn the oxen loose. He and his men rode horseback to Omaha and left the oxen presumably to die of exposure and starvation. The next spring they returned to salvage what they could of the wagon train and found the oxen alive and fat on Sand Creek near Chimney Rock, landmark on the Colorado-Wyoming line. Charlie Hutton was another freight foreman for Ed Creighton. Evidently all were impressed with Tom Alsop's experience for when they finished a grading contract for the Union Pacific Railroad in western Wyoming in 1869, they immediately came back to Laramie and set up a ranch with headquarters at the stage station crossing of the Big Laramie River, a few miles south of Laramie City. The partnership was known as Creighton, Hutton and Alsop. Creighton staked his trusted employees and they made good and later bought up portions of the holdings. Hutton took the east part of the ranch and Alsop the west part. Hutton remained here the rest of his life, but Alsop sold out his fine Shorthorn cattle and brand, TA connected, to Dr. William Harris. He took the cattle and brand to his ranch in Johnson County where the TA ranch later became the scene of some of the activity when the large cattle outfits invaded the county to run out those settlers they regarded as rustlers.

This brand TA was made up from Tom Alsop's initials. Tom Alsop sold his land to the Riverside Ranch owned by Balch and Bacon.

Before coming to Wyoming, Tom Alsop drove a stage in the pioneer days of Iowa. The dashing, tall, dark-haired driver, with his deep blue eyes, set many feminine hearts aflutter. Among them was a belle of Des Moines, Mary Bringolf, a debutante of the town, who later became Mrs. Thomas Alsop. Her people had rich land holdings near Des Moines and were quite well to do, and about the time of her marriage oil paintings were made of her and her husband by an artist in Des Moines. The new bride, like many others from the east who were used to the rich, velvety green verdure of that country, did not like the wide-open, windy, barren looking plains, with not a tree for miles. She had to put her fine

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Nebraska History Vol. XXXIV, No. I, Pp. 21-32, March 1953. Their headquarters camp was established in 1878 when the Sioux Indians were put on reservations and the Sand Hills of Nebraska were opened up.

walnut furniture and Haviland china into a typical western log cabin. Louise Alsop Pedersen, a daughter, wrote to the author in 1951 as follows:—"When we had to part with our fine father, I was only a little twelve-year-old-girl and so all I am writing to you I remember vividly even to the time when we lived on the Big Laramie ranch and we had a little five room log bungalow." There were few occasions when she could wear the beautiful gowns in her trousseau. She did, however, become acquainted with the wives of some of the officers at Fort Sanders a few miles away. They became enthusiastic equestrians and rode horseback frequently.

The ranch home is described as follows by John D. Alsop, a son, in a letter to the author in 1952—"The log house on the west side of the Laramie River was the old stage station, and there was the horse barns, blacksmith shop, and a corn crib and corrals there when I was a small boy. Father brought mother and I there in 1874 and we lived there until I was nine years old. Lou and Wm. J. Alsop were born there."

Tom Alsop sold out his holdings on the Big Laramie and, in 1880, moved over to the Little Laramie where he built a large horse barn which still stands at this time. In the early days on the Big Laramie, he raised an excellent kind of Shorthorn cattle and light horses used for pulling street cars. The horses bearing the brand T (for Tom Alsop) on their shoulder were known far and wide for their type, endurance, and usefulness. His annual horse roundup was an event between the "Rivers", and many a budding cow-puncher got his start on this roundup. He raised a huge Shorthorn steer which was quite an attraction. The steer stood 7 feet 3 inches high at the shoulder and weighed 2,360 pounds. The steer never did get fat for he had difficulty reaching the ground to feed and had to crop grass from the ditchbanks. He was shipped to Omaha, but broke a leg and wound up in the soap factory. Mr. Alsop went into the sheep business in 1870, and ran sheep in the Sand Creek country and later in the Little Laramie country. He died suddenly while on his way to Laramie to sell some livestock.

Tom Alsop brought a love and knowledge of livestock from his native England and raised exceptional livestock in the very early days of the range stock business. He and his partners, Creighton and Hutton, were among the first to realize the possibilities and utilize the short-grass range which is the basis of a replaceable resource, the source of the pastoral wealth of Wyoming and the West.

A noted cowboy, Broncho Sam, worked for Tom Alsop. He came to Wyoming from Texas prior to 1874, was an expert rider and made a name as a horse breaker. He was one of the Negro busters of the old west and was an artist not only in riding a buckner but also in handling and gentling "hot-blooded" horses. He handled horses very quietly and was never in a hurry and conse-

quently gained their confidence. He was always humming or singing in a low tone of voice which seemed to charm the wild horses.

When Broncho Sam was working for Tom Alsop a rare incident occurred. The Laramie River was high. Little John Alsop, a three-year-old youngster, was pulling his little wagon around. He started down an incline toward the river, the little wagon was too heavy and it pushed him off into the river. Observers called for help. Broncho Sam came running and jumped off a bridge after little John. He made one grab for John in that whirling mass of water and luckily was able to get hold of him. Years later, in 1951, John Alsop wrote to the author and described this incident. "Yes! Broncho Sam saved my life from drowning and as long as he lived I could talk Spanish as well as English. Sam talked Castillian Spanish, or the best Spanish, and Sam was half Spanish and Negro. But he had an English name—Sam Stewart. I believe Sam was a fine rider when he came to the Laramie Plains for he rode one of those longhorn steers from Texas through the streets of Cheyenne at one of the stockman shows in the 70s. He was a wonderful six-shooter shot, for I remember him bringing in an antelope or coyote now and then. As I remember him, he was about 6 feet and weight 175-180 and straight. I was about 10 years old when he shot his wife and the man with her, then shot himself through the breast, and lived nine days afterwards. So I would go down to see him every day and remember Dan Bacon saying 'Why did you shoot yourself Sam? We would see you freed' ".

It was a fortunate incident in Omaha in 1871 that resulted in Bob Homer stepping off the transcontinental train at Laramie City instead of continuing on to California as he had originally planned. Bob Homer was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1849, and was a member of one of the oldest families in that area. The family was founded in 1672 by one Captain John Homer, who had a prosperous shipping business to India and other trade centers of the rich and mysterious Far East.

Bob Homer spent three years as a representative of a trading firm and was in France during the Franco-Prussian War. After his return, he decided to throw his lot with the western country. A chum of his, Frank Sargent, was also intrigued with the western plains country. Their interest was kindled by a contact with Dr. H. Latham, one of the first surgeons of the Union Pacific Railroad at Laramie, who was highly enthusiastic in his praise of the Laramie Plains as a prospective livestock industry. Bob Homer and Frank Sargent arrived in Laramie City in August, 1871, and made immediate arrangements to start their ranching adventure. Bob Homer stated in his testimony at a water case trial that he leased the Lake Ranch (an old stage station) at the tip of the Boulder Ridge in 1871. Frank Sargent states that he arrived in Laramie



City in August, 1871, and started to build corrals and improvements. He writes in a letter,<sup>2</sup> "I was informed by residents of the place and parties interested in livestock that no sheds or hay were needed. Notwithstanding their advice, I purchased 50 tons of hay located about ten miles from my ranch. My sheep, about 2,000 in number, were to arrive by cars the first of September. I erected a comfortable log house for myself and men, a stable for the horses and corral 240 feet square. My sheep arrived in good shape from Iowa with a loss of only 10 or 10½ percent. About October 13 snow commenced to fall and the storm raged unabated for four days without intermission, and a high wind drifted the snow. Other storms followed and it was impossible to take care of the sheep or get feed to them. The storms continued until the middle of April and the sheep perished from starvation. I was thoroughly disgusted with the business and the country, but finally made up my mind to try again. I then purchased a fine ranch which would cut 200 tons of hay and purchased 1,000 ewes and built a fine set of corrals and sheds. I also purchased Cotswold rams and saved an increase of 60 percent. The first spring the sheep sheared 4½ pounds of wool apiece and the wool brought 30 cents a pound".

The financial account of Mr. Sargent's venture is interesting. He states that his initial investment in the sheep amounted to \$6,000, permanent improvements \$3,300, and the year's running expenses totalled \$1,930. His returns amounted to \$2,700 for wool and \$1,200 for lambs, a total of \$3,900. He adds interest at 6 percent on the \$9,300 investment to the running expense and comes out with a profit of \$1,412 for the first year with no payment on principal. Bob Homer mentions purchasing the ranch of George and Charles Brown in June, 1872, and this ranch is undoubtedly the one which Frank Sargent mentions. This place is the site of the present Flag Ranch buildings, located some nine miles south of Laramie. Creighton, Hutton, Alsop, Bob Homer and Frank Sargent brought sheep to Wyoming in the early '70s and thus were among the first in Wyoming to bring in the wooly backs. There was never much trouble between the sheep and cattle men in Albany County, probably because the early owners often owned both sheep and cattle.

The writer, who was raised on the Flag Ranch and was born in the Big House, has vivid memories of the gala house parties given when he was just a youngster. Typical Homer hospitality was extended during the holiday season, from Thanksgiving to New Year's, and their friends from far and near came to enjoy the hospitality of their "big house". Bob Homer was a man of

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2. Corthell Collection, University of Wyoming Archives.

cultured background, who had friends in every walk of life, and Belle Stuart Homer was a scion of Boston, and his helpmate in every way. Bob Homer's business dealings were above reproach and his Puritan thrift and careful business management assured the success of any undertaking he was connected with, from ranching to banking. It was generally thought that he was well to do, but the record books show he had to borrow considerable amounts of money from Frank Sargent and from his own father in the early days.

An interesting letter from Bob Homer to his father, dated August 11, 1878, asks for a loan of twenty-five thousand dollars for the purchase of cattle from the trail herds coming east from Oregon. This letterhead indicates that Sargent and Homer were breeders of fine blood Cotswold, Leicester, and Merino sheep, and had rams for sale at their ranch at Red Buttes Station, Wyoming Territory. The old blacksmith shop, made of enormous logs, still stands on the Flag Ranch. This log building was Mr. Homer's original homestead cabin on his squatter's claim on Spring Creek, below the Billy Rice place in the Sand Creek area. Next to the blacksmith shop is the carriage house, and the yellow buggy and harness of the Homers was still there the last time the writer visited there. The little saddle and harness room to the east of the red barn was a place aromatic with the sweat and leather smell of harness and saddles, and was the scene of many a "rainy day" session when hay hands gave the harness and saddles copious applications of English saddle soap and neatsfoot oil.

Bob Homer's standing in the livestock world was well expressed by John Clay, manager of the Swan Company and owner of the Clay-Robinson livestock Commission firm, who wrote the following when he learned of his friend's demise, "I write of a man whose honor was bright as the most brilliant star, who in his quiet way was liberal in his charities, who had a keen sense of humor, always kindly. In his business dealings, just, conservative in his methods, lovable on the ranch, in the bank (Mr. Homer was President of the Albany National Bank) or on the Rialto of Chicago where we often foregathered. He had the spirit of a cavalier with the thrift of a Puritan. He had great mentality, was human, modest, careful of his resources, withstanding the financial gales of the west. Most of his friends have gone before him, a few left to mourn his departure. Rest in Peace".

One of the first "learners" on the Gresley-Robbins ranch (some 25 miles west of Laramie) was Clement S. "Ben" Bengough, a remittance man from a prosperous and titled English family, who had a very fine education. Ben came to Wyoming around 1886 and spent a year or so at the Gresley-Robbins ranch and then took up the relinquishment of another Englishman, Pete Hammersley, near Morgan. Here Ben Bengough remained the rest of his life,

where he lived the life of a recluse most of the time, content to be with his fine library, and large amount of mail. He also watched his fine big steers wax fat on the fine meadow and high pastures of that area. Many interesting anecdotes are told of Ben, who did a great amount of reading. Al Mountford, a close friend who carried the mail to Morgan, told the writer that he had often brought 25 pounds of letters and magazines for Ben. Ben was a Latin scholar and often wrote entire letters in Latin to his sisters in England and Johannesburg, South Africa. Once he gave Al Mountford a check to cash. When Al presented the check to the banker, A. C. Jones (a close personal friend of Ben), he exclaimed in some astonishment that it was good—but that it was written in Latin.

Once some miners treed a bear near Ben's hermitage and called upon him to help them pull the beast out of the tree. Ben was delighted at the sport but his fearlessness resulted in some painful and deep scratches, for he pulled the bear out of the tree and down on top of himself. He then decided it would be extraordinary sport to box the bear but the miners, after examining his wounds and his shredded leather jacket, called off the proposed match.

Ben received regular remittances from England, but would never go back and claim a \$300,000 estate left him by an uncle. What surprised the writer when visiting the Bengough cabin was Ben's dislike for the comforts he had formerly enjoyed. His cabin was small, low ceilinged, a dirt-roofed structure which plainly showed the effects of many years of "batching" through the heavy coat of sooty grease on the roof sills. This primitive dirt-roofed cabin, which still stands on Cooper Creek, was indeed a far cry from the splendor of his ancestral home in England, the spacious, castle-like home known as "The Ridge", Wotton-under-Edge, in faraway Britain. A tall, lean, athletic man, Ben loved sports. Al Mountford related to the writer that Ben used to love to play catch and would insist that Al throw the ball as hard as possible. Ben thrived on the sport but Al came out with a sore arm and a sore "paddy". Another of Ben's eccentricities was his pack of eleven Siberian wolf hounds, some of which cost him as high as \$125 each. They were kept in a pen and were so vicious that he was afraid of them himself and never turned his back on them for fear they would kill him. He used to take the hounds out and run coyotes with them and apparently caught quite a few for at one time he gave Al Mountford some 150 pelts to sell in Laramie. This was not profitable however for the dogs ate up the profits in dog food. Al always had some dog food to bring to Ben, even in the deep of winter. Ben used to cook up some Scotch oats, bread, and dog food together and give his hounds a mulligan *sans* meat, unless a few rabbits were available occasionally.

In keeping with his sportsman's blood, Ben liked good horses

and generally had one or two hot-blooded horses around, according to Mrs. Fanny Johnson, who took care of him in his later years. Mrs. Johnson told the writer that Ben liked big steers and always had some oversized bovines around. When she first moved to the Hansell ranch near Ben's homestead, he had a cow and steer which he kept until they were six years old. When he shipped them to Omaha, Valhalla of large bovines in those days, the steer weighed 1,975 pounds, and the cow 1,500 pounds, and that's not all hamburger! Their fattening feed had been composed largely of the nutritious short grasses of the Laramie Plains.

Like many another old timer Ben loved to wager and would bet his "all" on any estimate of value, weight, or usefulness of any favorite animal. Ben had a pet steer which he thought would weigh a ton. He bet the "hands" on the 7L ranch, owned by Marsh and Cooper, a dozen Stetson hats and a jug of whiskey on his belief. He drove the steer to the railroad at Rock Creek, and there the scales showed the weight of the steer to be 1,910 pounds, according to Al Mountford. The cowboys had agreed to allow a shrinkage of 80 to 90 pounds on the trail to Rock Creek, so Ben won his bet. He had Stetson hats "to burn" and offered one to every friend who visited him for some time afterwards, until the supply ran out. The jug of whiskey went the same way but did not last so long.

In 1937, Mr. and Mrs. John Robbins returned for a visit to Laramie. John was the man who brought Ben over from England. The writer and his father, Otto Burns, accompanied the Robbins' on a tour of his early day haunts and that was a most memorable trip. The writer will never forget the enthusiastic responses of John Robbins and his dear Dad, which were a delight to hear, and he'll never forget their enthusiastic response to the unlocking of many memories from their subconscious minds, brought forth by the stimulation of the scenes of their early manhood when the Laramie Plains were indeed a pioneer country. John pointed out the ivy at the end of the Bengough cabin which, in 1937, was growing profusely. He had brought the plant over from England in the '80s. He was overjoyed at seeing a pair of elk horns (quite weathered with age) on the gable of the Bengough cabin and related with glee how he was with Ben when the elk bearing these antlers was shot, way back in the '80s. He took the antlers with him back to his home in Texas where he refinished them and put them on the wall of his vaulted-ceiling front room.

During his last years, Ben became embittered toward the town of Laramie and for some 18 years, refused to come near the city, to him the outpost of civilization. Ben died in 1934, and by his wish was buried on the hillside overlooking his ranch from the east. Today one can see his grave covered with stones and headed by a large grave stone which bears an interesting inscription which

was Ben's favorite, taken from Robert Louis Stevenson. Here is the inscription:

Clement S. Bengough  
19 Nov. 1934

This is the Verse you grave for me.  
Here he lies where he longed to be.  
Home is the sailor, home from the sea.  
And the hunter home from the hill.

An influence in the development of the American west, not often mentioned by historians, is that of the British-financed companies who established great ranches and business enterprises in the West during the last 30 years of the 19th century. The short grass ranges of Wyoming's Laramie Plains are one area of the west which received much help from such companies with their importations of purebred livestock, their crop experiments, their water development and other progressive enterprises, which took money and plenty of it. One of the largest and best known of the English companies operating on the Laramie Plains was the Douglas Willan and Sartoris Company. The main spring of this company was Jack Douglas Willan, born in Ireland of Scotch parentage. As a young man he migrated to the pioneer west and settled first in Larimer County, Colorado, where he engaged in the cattle business.

About 1877, his business took him to the La Bonte area near Douglas. At once he saw the great possibilities for making money by harvesting the abundant native grasses in the form of beef. He went to England to interest capital in his ranching project and found an immediate response from the Sartoris brothers, Lionel and Leonard. The outcome of their interest was the forming of the Douglas Willan and Sartoris Company which was incorporated in 1883. The new Company purchased ranches in the La Bonte region, on the Platte River near Douglas, and the Rand, Briggs and Steadman property on the Little Laramie River. This latter ranch on the Little Laramie was called the Milbrook ranch and was the home ranch of the Company.

The first interest of the company was the production of "blooded" horses which were sold throughout the west for saddle and harness purposes. In the east, these horses met a ready market for general harness purposes as well as to pull the street cars of those days which were "horse-powered". Both Shire draft stallions and thoroughbred studs were imported, and the Willan horses bearing the brand JJ on the left shoulder became famous throughout the Wyoming range country. Ribbons and medals sufficient to cover an entire wall of a room were won by "Breton's Pride", one of the outstanding Shire stallions. "Gambretta" and "Lord Arthur" were other noted stallions used by the Company. The Company maintained a livery stable in Laramie, known as the Windsor

Barn, which was still standing until a few years ago and was known as the Pyramid garage in its later years, and before that was the Windsor and Winslow Barn. It stood just across the street from the old fire station, and the ground is now used as a parking lot.

Purebred Hereford cattle were also raised by the Willan Company. The general manager of the Company, George Morgan Sr., was one of the first men to import Hereford cattle into the western United States. Jabe Smith came from England with one of the first shipments made by the Wyoming Hereford Ranch at Cheyenne and the Willan Company at Laramie.

The growing of the grain crops also claimed the attention of the Willan Ranch. They experimented with cereal crops and were among the first to prove the potential value of the plains for the production of such grain crops. They spent thousands of dollars on a "high line ditch" still to be seen on the side of Corner Mountain, north of the Centennial road (U.S. Highway 130). This ditch left the North Fork of the Little Laramie River at the Nelson Resort, now Rainbow Lodge, a few miles north of Centennial, skirted Corner Mountain, and came out on the Willan Flat, now known as the Blackburn Flat. The ditch would never hold on the hillside, and later a ditch was taken out lower down on the Little Laramie on the present Hein (Wright) ranch. The ditch has operated through the years and delivers water to the so-called Blackburn Flat, or Willan Farm, which has produced some nice crops.

The meadows on the Company holdings were carefully developed and produced prodigious amounts of native hay.

The Douglas Willan-Sartoris Company ranch had some 21,000 acres of deeded land with an investment of approximately two million dollars. The Company spent hundreds of thousands of dollars improving their property.

The home ranch on the Laramie Plains was located about 30 miles west and north of Laramie and was a magnificent layout with a number of buildings, including a horse barn holding 125 tons of hay and many horses. There were other horse barns, a buggy barn with stalls for stallions, sheds, bunkhouses, a cook house, carpenter shop, scale house, office building, and the "Big House." The "Big House" had an enormous recreation room, about 30 feet square and two stories high. The huge room was lighted by a sky light, and offices and living quarters were arranged on two floors facing the recreation room.

Parties and balls at the various large ranches were social events then, and the writer's father, who worked for the Willan Company when he first came to Wyoming in 1888, had the job of driving the Tallyho six-in-hand to and from Laramie City and the various ranches. In fact, they had a taxi service for both passengers and freight from Laramie and old Wyoming Station. Among the magnificent parties given in the great recreation room at the Willan

Ranch was one given in 1890 for the ranch employees. Steve Frazer, who had charge of the buggy barns, was given the job of rounding up the girls for the dance and Otto Burns called for them in the Tallyho. The Company reportedly spent several hundred dollars on this party and old timers of the Laramie Plains still remember it as a gala event. In fact, Mrs. Mary Bellamy told the writer of the fine times she had as a girl accompanying some of her girl friends to these ranch parties. Lizzie Fee and Esther Alexander, later Mrs. Steve Frazer, were among those who attended the Willan parties.

Everyone who ever had anything to do with the Willan outfit remembers it with kindly feeling, and the employees were high in their praise of it. The writer's close friend, Eli Peterson, is one of the few Willan employees now living. Eli is still most enthusiastic about the treatment the Willan outfit gave its employees. He recently gave the writer a picture showing a number of the Willan employees in front of the Horse Barn at the home ranch in 1889. Otto Burns is at the left in the front row and Eli identified the others. He, himself, was not in the picture for he said that a will-ing Swede kid like him was kept busy as chore boy and did not get into the picture. The Willan Company went bankrupt in 1892 and was sold out in parcels by E. J. Bell, a son-in-law of George Morgan, Sr. The home ranch is now in ruins, and only the bunk-house is standing.

The Sartoris Brothers were interested in mining properties as well as in ranches and put up the "ten-stamp mill", which still stands at Keystone. The writer has a copy of an interesting Prospectus booklet, put out by the Douglas Willan and Sartoris Company, which has a complete list of lands, buildings, livestock and other improvements. The ruins of the buildings at the ranch and the memories of the name and accomplishments of the Willan Company are all that remain of the dazzling Douglas Willan and Sartoris and Company enterprises. However, some of the fine blood persists in the livestock of today in the area, and some of the Company's experiments with crops and water development have pointed the way to crop production of today.

The last ranch we shall take a look at is another English outfit known as the Oxford Horse Ranch, or Whitehouse and Stokes, and later the Whitehouse and Palmer ranch just east of Red Buttes station, some 9 miles south of Laramie. Dr. Whitehouse was a graduate veterinarian from the Ontario Agricultural College in Canada. He formed a partnership with an Englishman named Stokes and they built up quite a ranch, boasting a half-mile track, a pack of 54 hounds, and a herd of around 3,000 thoroughbred horses grazing on 16,000 acres. The large horse barn, still in good shape, is typical of the early day horse barns built by the English ranchmen. It was built in 1887, and the iron-grilled box stalls can still be seen in their original condition on the west side

of the barn. The large hay mow can be reached at the back, with a drive-in from the hill into which the barn is built. The Englishmen had many hunts and races, and two of these on the Whitehouse place are still spoken of today.

Dr. Whitehouse purchased a famous race horse from England named "Fireball", and paid \$1,500 for him. He matched this horse with another famous race horse for a side bet of \$1,500. The money was in gold pieces and this money was kept in a buckboard by the side of the race track, and not a single piece was molested. The Whitehouse horse, "Fireball" lost the race.

Axel Palmer, that inimitable old timer who worked on the Whitehouse place in the early days and later was a partner in the outfit, told some interesting stories about it. He mentioned a rather unique pool game in which the stakes were in the form of \$20 gold pieces in a jack pot half-filling some of the pockets of the pool table.

Axel Palmer came to the ranch in the '80s and hired out and his first job was to keep the relief horses ready when a hunt was in progress. Scent hounds were used at first, and sight hounds (grey-hounds) were released later when the quarry was in sight. Coyotes, wolves, and antelope furnished the quarry. The writer remembers very well the large metal kettle which was used to cook the meat for these hounds. This kettle was brought over to the Flag Ranch of Bob Homer and was used for many years as a kettle to scald pigs in at butchering time.

Dr. Whitehouse was involved in a tragic hunting accident in 1887 when he accidentally shot George V. H. Gordon, a young Englishman, who was dressed in tan hunting clothes and was mistaken for an antelope. John Robbins, a partner of Gresley in the '80s, was a member of the hunting party and related the details to the writer.

The party was hunting antelope near the Oscar and Kelly Martin, or Winthrop ranch, about seven miles above the present Tatham or Leake Ranch and about 70 miles southwest of Laramie on the Big Laramie River. Robbins related that he rode horseback to Laramie to report the accident. *The Laramie Republican* of September 15, 1887, has an account of the accident. Gordon was buried in the Laramie Cemetery and the grave can be found about a hundred yards down from the main gate and on the fourth street to the east, and to the right. The inscription on the concrete and stone crypt reads as follows: "George Vincent Hamilton Gordon, late of Oriel College, Oxford, England, Second son of General E. H. Gordon R.E., who died Sept. 4, 1887 Age 22 years".

Dr. Whitehouse sold out, and from 1912 to 1922 was on the faculty at the Colorado Agricultural College in the Veterinary Division. In 1931, Dr. Whitehouse was principal of the Glasgow Veterinary College, and when the writer was at Edinburgh University in 1931, he called there but Dr. Whitehouse was not in.



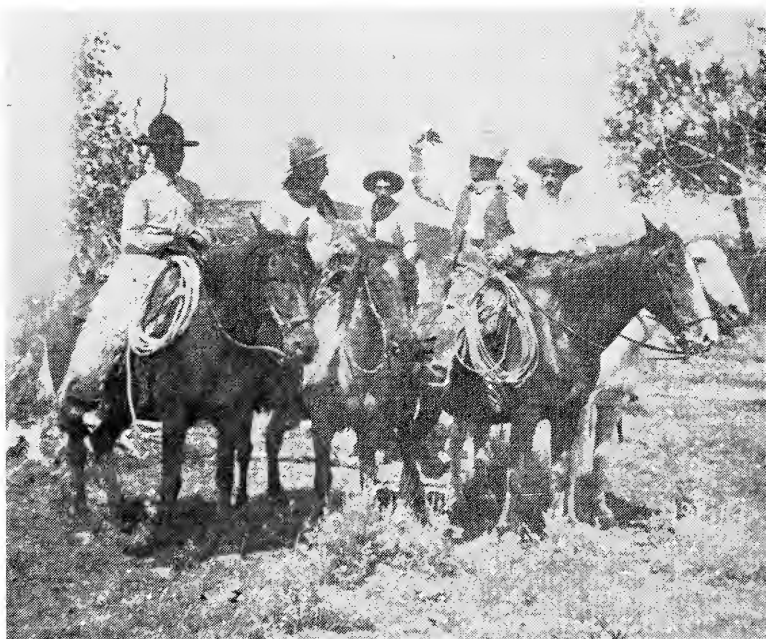
Dr. Whitehouse died in Glasgow in 1944. Mrs. Whitehouse was an artist and writer, and Axel Palmer has a drawing she made of the famous Oxford Ranch horses rearing up on their hind legs while hitched to the breaking cart, with divided seat and rear entrance, with Axel Palmer holding the reins and wearing his famous dogskin coat. The writer, as a youngster, had many an exciting ride in that old breaking cart with Axel Palmer at the reins.

Axel Palmer died in 1957 at the age of 93, but in his later years his humor and vigor were startling for a man of his age. He delighted in recalling his escapades of his early years. He and brother Gus certainly kept the city marshall busy when they came to town and, with their horses, really let the town know they were there. The wild Swedes rode or drove into town, generally the latter, and would bring their steeds right into the bar even if the doors were bulged open to accomodate them. When the Marshall came to arrest them, Axel, who had his team stuck tight in the door of the saloon, gladly handed over the lines to the Marshall, who was really stuck along with the horses, and the proprietor would not prosecute the crazy Swedes for he felt that they brought much business to his place. Axel delighted in telling a story on the writer who, as a kid, attended the Red Buttes school along with other youngsters, including his daughter, Rena Palmer Lawrence. One day the teacher sent Kid Burns home to get clean clothes as he had gotten into the mud and soiled his overalls. Now it was three miles home and too long a walk so Kid Burns found an excavation near the school house where he was out of sight and, turning his muddy overalls inside out, he came back to school in tidy clean overalls—the dirty side had been turned inside and the clean side shown to the world.

Axel Palmer liked to recite the following verse which depicts the change over from range days to modern ranch days, and the printed word cannot do justice to his delightful humor and accent and the sparkle in his eyes as he told this one:

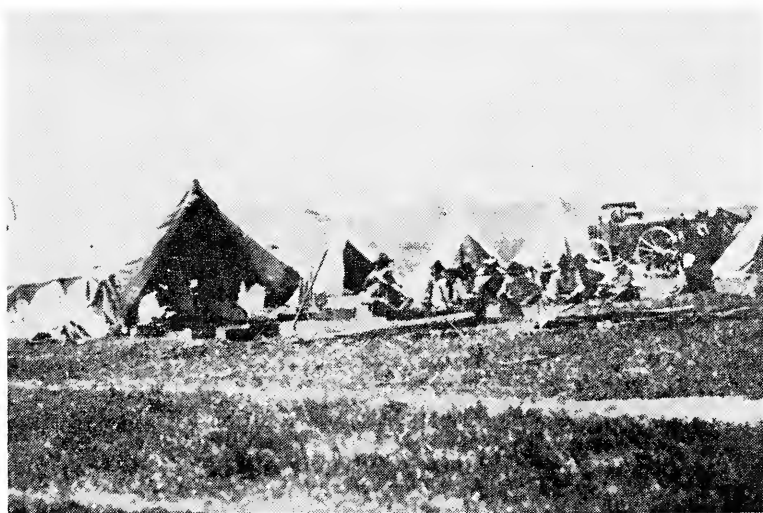
The Farmers have come,  
The Cowpunchers must go.  
The work's getting hard,  
And the Wages are low!  
We can ride a wild broncho,  
Or rope a wild cow;  
But be damned if we'll follow  
Either the harrow or the plow!

So the modern ranch now does some work with the soil, and year by year the care of the soil and the meadow and range becomes more important. However, the Laramie Plains will always be known as fertile producers of beef.



SWAN COMPANY COWBOYS

*Courtesy A. S. Gillespie*



ROUNDUP CAMP

*Courtesy A. S. Gillespie*

# *Reminiscences of a Swan Company Cowboy*

By

A. S. (BUD) GILLESPIE

A. S. Gillespie, one of the few old-time cowboys living in Wyoming today, was born and raised on a ranch northwest of Laramie, and for more than fifty years of his life was engaged in ranching. As a young man, he worked for a time for the Swan Land and Cattle Company, one of the largest and best known of the cattle companies which was established in Wyoming during the "beef bonanza" of the late 1800's. Gillespie is familiar with practices of early-day cowboys as are few men today, and his recollections are as authentic as they are interesting. He retired from active ranching some years ago and now lives in Laramie. Ed.

When I was working for the Swan Land and Cattle Company they kept about 12 or 15 cowboys, including a foreman, in their employ during the spring, summer and fall work with the cattle. Those fellows did no other work than what they could do on a horse's back. Also employed were a cook and a horse wrangler and a night wrangler, or a "night hawk", as he was called.

They hired boys about 19 years of age and paid them \$20 per month for the first year, after which, if satisfactory in their work, they were kept on and their wages raised to \$25 monthly. The third year, if they gave satisfactory service, their wages were raised to \$30 a month and in the fourth year they were considered to have served their full apprenticeship and received a man's wage which was \$40 monthly. The Company paid their two oldest men in length of service a wage of \$45 monthly and they were next to the foreman who received \$75 a month. These men were obliged to furnish their own saddles and riding equipment as well as their bed rolls. The Company furnished them with a tepee to sleep in.

In the early days the first work given the cowboys who were hired by the Company was to gather the saddle horses. In the days before the ranch system the cowboys were without work during the winter. The Company would have the horses gathered so as to start the cattle roundup not later than July 15th. There were two purposes of this roundup, to gather beef in the late summer and fall to ship to market, and to gather cows and calves to brand and alter in the late spring. In the early days, until the summer of 1895, the brand the Company put on the cattle as well as the horses was a horseshoe on the left side of the cattle, and two horizontal bars on the left hip of cattle. In 1895 the horseshoe

brand was eliminated and replaced with a figure indicating the year the calf was branded. The Company continued to use the horseshoe brand on the left shoulder of their horses as long as they operated a livestock business. Similarly, the Two Bar brand was used on cattle until they sold out the cattle and afterwards on their sheep until the final sale of the lands and livestock.

The first, or spring roundup, usually lasted about a month on the Laramie Plains, then it would go back down below the Sybille Mountains and work all the country down into Nebraska. About the middle of September the roundup would come back up into the Sybille Hills and the Laramie Plains and the men would repeat their summer's work. The Company would ship, on an average, a train-load of beef a week, and these were loaded on the cars at Rock Creek Station, Medicine Bow and old Hutton Station, on the old railroad grade about four or five miles south of the present community of Bosler, and occasionally at Lookout Station.

The Company would have a mess-wagon which the cook drove and in which he hauled the provisions. Then they used a bed-wagon in which they also hauled wood, with the beds piled on top of the wood. The "night hawk" drove the bedwagon, in addition to his duties of watching the horse cavvy during the night.

The cook used a pot rack, and Dutch ovens to cook in. For fuel the horse wrangler would hang a sack on each side of his saddle and go around picking up cow chips for the cook to burn when using the Dutch oven. The cook would dig a hole in the ground about eight inches deep, and put three or four inches of live coals in the bottom of the hole and then set the Dutch oven on this hot seat. He put whatever food he wished to cook in the oven, then put the lid on it. The lid had a deep edge which flared upward and provided a catchment basin for the hot coals, giving about two inches of hot coals on top of the lid in addition to the coals on the bottom. The oven made a fine place to bake bread as well as beans or other food. A long-handled shovel with a hook on the opposite end was used to hook the eye of the lid on the Dutch oven to lift the lid off. The cook also used the hook to lift the pots off the pot-rack hooks which were fastened so they could not come off. Everything he boiled he cooked on the pot rack.

The Swan outfit was the best of all the cattle companies I have known. They furnished a variety of good food and plenty of it. They would butcher a beef about every third day, serve plenty of potatoes, beans, canned goods—about three kinds of canned goods—and three kinds of dried fruit, all washed down with plenty of good coffee. The greatest cook of all time, as well as a teamster, in the writer's opinion, was Ed Held. He made the best suet pudding that the writer ever ate and had plenty of rice as well. Rice and raisins were cooked together for dessert when the cook did not make suet pudding.

Each rider was furnished with a string of nine horses. Six of

these were circle horses, two were cow horses and one a night horse. In the morning riders would catch their circle horses, throwing their ropes as soon as it was light enough to identify their own horse. They would eat breakfast at 3:30 in the mornings, break camp before sunup, and make a drive. One of the top men would take the drive to the right and another to the left. They would have these cattle at the roundup grounds by 9:00 A.M. Then they would rush into their camp. The horse wrangler would have the horse cavvy in the corral ropes, so they could catch their cow horses. They would then go back to the herd and cut out the beef cattle. They came into camp for dinner about 10:00 A.M. After dinner they would catch another circle horse, make a circle, and bunch the cattle at a designated place which the foreman selected. Then they would go to camp, catch another cow horse, and then back to the herd to work out another group of prime beef-steers.

They never shipped a steer until he was fat and smoothed up, if they had to keep him until he was seven or eight years old. They had to be beef. There were no cattle feeders in those days. The camping sites would be about seven or eight miles apart. They would have supper about 4 P.M. and would often move three or four miles after supper. They made it a practice to keep up with the beef herd with their wagons. They handled the beef herd so as not to cause them to shrink in weight from being moved too fast.

In those early days when the steers, cows and calves ran together on the same range they could not work so fast. Often they would catch so many cows and calves on the morning drive that they would not have the time to get the calves branded, so they would have to hold over long enough in the afternoon to brand the calves. That branding would perhaps spoil the afternoon for any other work.

The Company bought all of their saddle and work stock unbroken, preferring geldings and having no mares. The Company in the earliest days had owned mares but it was found that a gelding could be bought cheaper than they could raise them. Two of the best "bronc busters" were detailed to break the saddle brones. This work would be done at one of the ranches where there were good corrals.

The bronc buster did not ride the brones many times until the riders on the range could handle them. First he halter-broke the horses. Then he would tie a hind foot up, so as to gentle him, pet him all over and get on his bare back and crawl around on top of his back. Next he would put his saddle on him and get off and on from both sides and slide off behind. After the brones responded to all of these tactics, the rider would untie the hind foot, mount, then get the horse to moving around, turning him first one way and then the other until he became bridle-wise. He would ride the bronc about twice in the corral and if some progress had been

made with the other methods practiced on him, would ride the bronc around the corral for a short time with another rider acting as a helper. The helper would open the gate and ride out with the fellow on the bronc and haze him along when the bronc needed it. The hazer would keep the bronc away from places he might get into trouble, riding between the bronc and a fence, and he would sometimes have to haze the bronc back into the corral if he were wild. Ordinarily a horse would need to be ridden five times to get him well enough broken for the riders on the roundup to use. The bronc would have to be taught to stand during saddling.

After the Swan Land and Cattle Company got their lands to producing enough hay to feed a large portion of their she-stock, riders had work the year round. Soon after the last of the shipments was made in the fall and all of the calves branded, they would round up the cows and wean the calves. Generally they would winter the bulk of the calves at the Rock Ranch which was down near Torrington on the North Platte River. The riders would be taken off and distributed around among the different ranches to pitch hay out to the cattle. A small number of the riders would be kept to ride the year around. In the winter they would keep riding through the she-stock, and any animals that were not keeping up flesh while grazing would be cut out and taken to a ranch where there was hay.

Many of these men worked for that Company for 15 years or more. If some of them wanted to get married, the Company would put them on one of the ranches.

The Swan Land and Cattle Company had three strings of horses for each rider. The horses that were ridden all winter would rest all summer after the horse roundup. The first job for the riders was turning the cattle out of all of the different pastures. After the first go-round of shipping beef and branding calves, the riders would turn that string of horses loose and catch up a fresh string to start another go-round of branding calves and shipping dry fat cows in the Goshen Hole country.

An amusing thing happened in connection with counting cattle soon after Finlay Dun was appointed manager of the Swan Land and Cattle Company. The common method of counting cattle on the range was the book count which was not accurate and not satisfactory. One of the first things Dun was asked to do was to count the cattle. He knew the cattle were too scattered to get them into a bunch to count them, so he decided to put a tally mark on them with paint whenever they were encountered.

He started the roundup wagon out with the usual number of cowboys. They made a big drive, roped and pulled down every animal with the Two Bar brand, put a large paint mark on each one, and all the cattle were counted. But it had taken so long to round up all of the cattle on the open range that the cattle commenced to shed their hair and the paint mark shed off with the hair.

So the mark was not permanent and all of the work did not accomplish a thing. The cow-punchers composed a little ditty, which they sang and recited frequently with great glee:

"Daddy Dun's a dandy  
But his paint won't stick."

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## *Smooth the Way*

By

DICK J. NELSON

Let us smooth the way for others  
And make of life the most,  
Let us make the phrase 'my friend'  
Mean more than an idle boast.

Let us praise sincere endeavor,  
When praise will spur it on.  
Let us not withhold kind words  
Until the friend is gone.

Let us uphold the Christian spirit,  
Help make life a beautiful dream.  
Let us do these things before the hour  
One is called to 'cross God's stream'.



JOHN M. BOZEMAN

*Courtesy Montana Historical Society*



# Bozeman and the Bozeman Trail

By

BURTON S. HILL

In January, 1863, John Merin Bozeman reached Bannack, in Idaho Territory<sup>1</sup>, which part was to become Montana Territory May 26, 1864.<sup>2</sup> It was for his third attempt at gold mining. When the news came of the rich discoveries on nearby Grasshopper Creek in the Beaverhead Valley, he joined the rush<sup>3</sup> and made Bannack his headquarters. Born in January, 1837, in Pickin County, Georgia<sup>4</sup>, he was only twenty-six when he reached Bannack, but even by that time his movements and experiences had been many and varied.

When Bozeman was only twelve, his attention was turned to the West when his father, leaving a wife and five small children, joined the 1849 California gold rush. After his departure, when no word was ever heard from him, or of him, his family concluded that he had met death on the Overland journey. But this did not deter bold and adventurous young Bozeman.

Closely following the example set by his father, in 1860 John joined the Green Russell crowd in Georgia Gulch, Colorado. Married to Lucinda C. Ingram, January 9, 1856, he left her to shift for herself with their three small daughters, Linda, Lila and Martha C., while he hoped to accumulate riches in the Colorado mines. Unfortunately, though, when Bozeman reached his objective, the better claims had been taken, and he was glad to accept the invitation of the Stuart Brothers in Idaho Territory.

In the fall of 1860 and the spring of 1861, James and Granville Stuart found gold while prospecting in the Rocky Mountains of Idaho. At this, they wrote to their brother Thomas, then in Colorado, urging him to come at once. Thomas showed this letter to other young men who were also digging for Colorado gold, and soon got up a party of twelve who were willing to make the change. Among these were John M. Bozeman who soon afterwards arrived

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1. Merrill G. Burlingame, "John M. Bozeman," *Montana Trailmaker*, (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, March, 1941) pp. 542-568, hereafter cited as Burlingame.

2. Contributions of the Historical Society of Montana Vol. VII, p. 283, hereafter cited as *Contributions*.

3. Burlingame, p. 542.

4. Burlingame, p. 541, Note 2. There is some belief that Bozeman came from Coweta County, Georgia, but this does not appear to be true.

in Deer Lodge Valley, where he remained during the summer of 1862. But the mines gave only meager returns. The confining and arduous work little appealed to one so restless and roving as Bozeman, and after a few short months he was glad of the opportunity to seek the Beaverhead Valley. But once again he met with disappointment. Since all the favorable locations in the new Bannack diggings had been taken, he soon began to lose his enthusiasm for mining. Again he found the work so laborious, and so foreign to his astatic and creative makeup, that he began to cast about for a more congenial and attractive occupation.

With the development of the Idaho mines and new gold discoveries, it quickly appealed to Bozeman that a short route from the outside territory to Bannack was needed to accommodate the steady migration. Up to that time there had been two slow and expensive routes to Bannack. One was the water route up the Missouri River to Fort Benton and thence to the mines. The other was the southern route over the Oregon Trail to Fort Hall and then north a long distance mostly over barren plains.

Bozeman envisioned a direct route overland through the heart of the Sioux country to the Platte. He argued that the distance would be shorter and more direct, and that along the way there would be plenty of grass and water, and an abundance of wood. Almost immediately his enthusiasm attracted John M. Jacobs, a kindred spirit who had been in the northwest a number of years. Jacobs was a red-bearded Italian from the valley of Deer Lodge. He had married an Indian woman and knew the ways of the red men along the overland trails where he had been engaged in trading for cattle. In the spring of 1862 he had been guide for a train of forty wagons from Soda Springs to Walla Walla, where he had gained considerable experience in that type of endeavor.

In the spring of 1863, Bozeman and Jacobs, with the eight-year-old half-breed daughter of Jacobs, left Bannack to mark out the new road. Enroute to the Platte, they gained the Three Forks of the Missouri, crossed the Gallatin Valley, and left it through what is now known as Bozeman Pass. To locate a favorable route over which they could guide an emigrant train was their objective, but numerous reverses and misadventures so repeatedly harrassed them that their progress was slow and tormented.<sup>5</sup>

At the mouth of the Big Horns on the Yellowstone they skirted an Indian war party<sup>6</sup>, and fifty miles further along, on May 11, 1863, they had a scare from the James Stuart Yellowstone Expedition. Stuart and his companions had been in search of gold, when at seven o'clock in the evening of that day, across the river, they

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5. *Ibid.*, pp. 542-543.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 543.

spied what they took to be three whites with six horses. Three were packed and three were being ridden. As they approached from a distance of about three-fourths of a mile, Stuart hailed the trio, but received no return greeting. They only kept their course, and quickened their pace. Stuart was actually hailing Bozeman and Jacobs but did not know it at the time, and neither did Bozeman recognize his greeter. Fear of an attack by Indians or an unfriendly party kept the trail-makers on the run, while Stuart only wanted to get the news and invite them into camp.

After his manifestations of peace and good will, Stuart became apprehensive when the Bozeman trio did not respond, but made haste to get away. With the belief that they might be outlaws on the loose, he sent a group out with orders to return with them dead or alive, and to capture their pack horses and provisions. A chase of ten miles followed but finally had to be abandoned with no results since the pursuers were far outdistanced. They found only a fry-pan and a pack of cards the trio had dropped on the trail in their flight towards the Red Buttes on the North Platte, which was their objective.

But two days later in the Powder River country, the Bozeman party did run into real trouble when they suddenly came upon a band of seventy-five or eighty mounted Indians. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, and knowing resistance would be hopeless, Jacobs managed to drop his rifle and bullet pouch in a sagebrush patch before the Indians drew near. His presence of mind later proved to be perceptive since they were immediately stripped of everything else, and only after a stormy discussion among their captors were they allowed to remain alive. In exchange for their horses they were left three broken down ponies; and before their slow departure, the Indians administered a severe beating to Jacobs' little daughter as a punishment for being in company with white men.<sup>7</sup>

When the enemy was finally out of sight, Jacobs' rifle and bullet pouch were retrieved from the sage brush, and all possible haste was made to evacuate the dangerous neighborhood. They did not even remain long enough to kill and dry any meat before they realized they had passed out of the buffalo range. This proved to be a serious error since Jacobs had only five bullets for his rifle, and they were soon exhausted in an attempt to provide small game. It was only after severe hardships and near starvation that the Bozeman party finally reached the North Platte a short distance west of Deer Creek.<sup>8</sup>

It does not appear to be recorded when the trail makers reached

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7. Burlingame, p. 543. Granville Stuart in *The Yellowstone Expedition of 1863, 1876, Contributions*, Vol. I, pp. 187-188.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

their stopping place, but on July 1 a train was being assembled on the nearby Oregon Trail, preparing for the journey to Bannack. Bozeman and Jacobs had aroused considerable interest among the emigrants on the trail who had heard much of the rich Grasshopper Creek diggings, and they were anxious to get started.<sup>9</sup>

According to the diary of Colonel Samuel Word, he left St. Joseph, Missouri on May 7, 1863<sup>10</sup>, and reached the wagon rendezvous just in time to join the train which moved forward about eight o'clock on the morning of July 6. They left some eight miles above Deer Creek and set out in a northwesterly direction, hoping to reach Bannack in about six weeks. After starting, five other wagons overtook them, making a total wagon force of 46, with 89 men. James Brady, of Missouri, was chosen Captain, and their three guides were John Jacobs, Bozeman and Rafeil. The latter was to guide them to the Big Horns and the other two were to take over at that point.<sup>11</sup>

On July 14, the train reached the Dry Fork on Powder River, crossed over, and pitched camp. They found the water clear and pure, with plenty of cottonwoods everywhere. Game was also plentiful. Four days later, Crazy Woman Creek was reached where camp was made for a day. Word tells of a clear cold stream from which a mess of fish was caught. But an early start was ordered for the following morning since the guides advised that there would be a twenty-mile trek without water. Lodge Pole Creek [*sic*] Clear Creek, was reached about noon on the 20th, and camp was made at a location near the present site of Buffalo, Wyoming.<sup>12</sup>

Up to that time, nothing of unusual interest had been happening except a marriage which had taken place several days before. Both Word, in his diary, and James Kirkpatrick in his *Reminiscence of John Bozeman*, tell about it. A young woman who left her husband on the Platte was married to a young man named Beaumont, by John Bozeman who had absolutely no authority to perform such a ceremony. He was not a preacher or an officer of any kind, but when the parties insisted he complied, having Word make out a certificate for him. But regardless of the irregularity of the proceeding, some of the matrons were urgently of the opinion that the couple should have been joined in wedlock long before, thereby ending a scandal brazenly prolonged.<sup>13</sup>

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9. Burlingame, p. 544.

10. Diary of Colonel Samuel Word, *Contributions* VIII, p. 37.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 66. Burlingame, p. 545.

13. James Kirkpatrick, *A Reminiscence of John Bozeman*, State University of Montana, 1920, p. 5, hereafter cited as Kirkpatrick. Word, *Contributions* VIII, p. 69. Burlingame, 546.

Thus far on the journey the days had been fine and conditions favorable. Campfires enlivened the nightly scene and there was always accordion and violin music, as well as songs and stories. To further while away pleasant evening hours, Jacobs usually had a fund of anecdotes about the Bannack mining days, and he told of Indian life in wigwams of the Deer Lodge.<sup>14</sup> Bozeman, a fine looking Georgian of somewhat light complexion, was not as voluble as Jacobs, but was described by Kirkpatrick as a manly fellow in his fine suits of fringed buckskin.<sup>15</sup>

Among the various noteworthy happenings while the train was camped on Clear Creek was the appearance of a large bear, coming out of a clump of willows close by. He showed up just at noon spoiling for a fight, and against the admonition of Bozeman a number of the men flew to the fray with lamentable results. Before Bruin was put out of the way by some of the others with more prudence and less assiduity, he had caused a few painful scratches and cuts. Four men brought him into camp slung on a sapling. A grizzled old veteran with a growth of gray stubble on his chin, who had been prominent in the chase, was presented with a claw, Ed Walters, one of the wounded, with a tooth, and a man named Baker got the hide.<sup>16</sup>

After the bear fortuity, and the stock had been brought about in preparation for moving on, a large band of mounted Indians was detected on the slope of a distance ridge. The telescope revealed that they were well armed with bows and arrows, and a few with sawed-off shotguns, but as they briskly approached, and finally stopped a hundred yards away, they made signs of peace and good will; however, by that time the camp was in confusion. With cautious dispatch the stock was corraled and roped in, while arms were hurriedly taken up. But when the guides found squaws in the party, which assured a peaceful attitude, the tension was relaxed and the Indians allowed to approach for a parley. There were about 125 of them, who promptly squatted around a wagon sheet spread nearby on the ground.<sup>17</sup>

The women of the train thought they must offer a feast as a token of friendship, but Bozeman remonstrated that the Indians would accept such a gesture as a sign of fear. He was right, since no sooner had the dishes been laid than a young buck scornfully spurred his horse to ride over the spread. In the anticipation that something of this kind might happen, from his position in the center of the corral among the oxen, Bozeman drew a bead on the rash young savage. However, just before he pulled the trigger an old

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14. Kirkpatrick, p. 4.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 6. Word, *Contributions* VIII, p. 67.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6. Word, p. 67.

Chief sprang to his feet and saved the day by grabbing the bridle and sitting the horse on his haunches. With loud and caustic remonstrations directed toward the brave, he led his horse out of the crowd and the young buck was dispatched galloping to his tepee over the hill. Another moment might have meant serious consequences, with the train in inexorable difficulty with all the Sioux and Cheyennes in the region.

Dinner being over and enjoyed, the spokesman for the Indians made known their errand. They resolutely explained that the territory about was the only extensive game country remaining in the entire west, and that a wagon road through it would mean disaster. The antelope and buffalo would be driven away, and starvation for their squaws and papooses would result. The train could return to the Platte if desired; otherwise, all the Sioux and Cheyennes, already warned by nightly signal fires on the Big Horn Mountains, would collect to drive it back.<sup>18</sup>

Since these new developments would require private consultation the Indians were asked to retire until a decision could be reached. They left with a telescope and nine bridles concealed under their blankets, besides a square meal which they had well enjoyed. One young man was left behind as a courier.<sup>19</sup>

The situation was reviewed by several of the prominent men. Bozeman advised going through, explaining that they were well armed, could travel in a double line and could keep strict guard day and night. He rationalized that having mostly oxen, a stampede would be not easy and one could be stolen which would mean a great advantage. Jacobs and the other guides concurred, and Captain Brady urged going on in spite of the risk of losing his four teams and valuable outfit.<sup>20</sup>

At the conclusion of the Captain's speech, the young Indian came forward and shook his hand. He confirmed the tradition that his people admired bravery even in an enemy. However, most of the men, while still undecided, seemed to favor giving up the expedition on account of the risk to their families, so the Indian courier was sent back with the message that a decision would be reached in three days.<sup>21</sup> Immediately upon his departure it was determined to dispatch a messenger back to the military posts along the Platte requesting an escort, and Lieutenant William Coleman volunteered to make the ride. He was a conspicuously dependable young man much liked and admired. For many years afterward he was a prominent resident of Deer Lodge, Montana. Well mounted, he departed at midnight, with the admonition that if he

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18. *Ibid.*, p. 6. Word, pp. 66-67.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 6. Word, p. 67.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 6. Word, p. 67.

21. Kirkpatrick, p. 6.

did not return in three days it could be inferred that he had been captured by the Indians.<sup>22</sup>

At the expiration of a long and anxious three-day wait, when Coleman had not returned, John Bozeman offered to guide all who might wish to proceed. His only provision was that there must be at least eight wagons; but only four pulled into line. The remaining forty-one had already drawn up in the direction of the Platte, when most unexpectedly the brave young lieutenant came galloping into camp no worse for his adventurous ride.

However, Coleman's news was not favorable. There would be delays among the military men since permission had to be obtained from Washington; yet a company of soldiers did volunteer to undertake the mission. They were on the way with a cannon and supplies, but the train was already moving in the direction of the Oregon Trail and would not turn back.<sup>23</sup> This did not include Bozeman. He had organized a party of nine horsemen besides himself, with a pack animal, to continue the journey.

The party left the train at midnight. Considerable research reveals the names of only two who made the ride with Bozeman. They were George W. Irvin, II, later a prominent citizen of Butte, Montana, and Mike J. Knock, who afterwards became engaged in cabinet making and gunsmith work in Bozeman.<sup>24</sup>

To evade the Indians, the party traveled only at night, but the second night out, the pack horse stumbled and fell into a deep ravine, losing all the supplies. Instead of heading north from Clear Creek, as appears to be the impression in some quarters, the party took a westerly route over the Big Horn Mountains from the headwaters of Powder River into the Wind River country. But before turning northward, the travelers reached a point southwest of the present town of Thermopolis, Wyoming. The way was extremely difficult, with utter vexation and distress. But in later years, when Irvin was recounting the ride, he remarked, "There was one, however, who knew no such word as fail. It was John Bozeman. He succeeded in imparting to us some of his restless energy and inspiring us with his indomitable courage. The march was again taken up."<sup>25</sup>

On the headwaters of Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone, a four-day fast was ended by Bozeman shooting an eagle. The bird did little to appease the hunger of ten men, but it helped, even without salt. Yet, with all the difficulties and hardships, and the tiresome night marches through an unknown and unyielding country, there was no sickness, no casualty of any importance, and little com-

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22. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

24. Burlingame, p. 546, and notes.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 547, and notes.

plaint. When the Yellowstone River was eventually reached, no Indians had been encountered. This stream was followed in a westerly direction to its great bend. It was Irvin who named the low crest of the divide between the Yellowstone and Gallatin Valleys the Bozeman Pass, by which name it is still known.

Irvin's account points up another well-remembered incident which took place on the Three Forks of the Missouri, at the confluence of the Gallatin, the Madison and Jefferson rivers. At an angle of the Gallatin, the party came upon two white men cooking a meal, who at first thought them to be Indians. After being convinced otherwise, these fellows proved to be friendly and hospitable. The smell of frying bacon was too much for the voracious party, and in a very short time each member had made a meal of the rich food. During the night and following morning the larder of the two generous gentlemen was cleaned, and of necessity they had to accompany the Bozeman party to Alder Gulch, arriving early in August.<sup>26</sup>

With his restless energy and love for adventure, Bozeman could never be content in any mining camp. Along with his amiable and generous disposition, this handsome 200-pound man had no conception of fear and never knew fatigue. Not the least discouraged with the failure of his 1863 expedition, by mid-winter he was attached to a small wagon train enroute from Virginia City to Salt Lake City.<sup>27</sup> The possession of over \$80,000 in gold dust and treasury notes by members of the wagon and pack train was known to the Virginia City road agents, then at their height. Constant vigilance, a foiled hold-up, and a long dispute over the spoils obtained from the bandits, furnished entertainment throughout this journey.<sup>28</sup>

John Jacobs returned to the Platte from Clear Creek with the short-lived and failing expedition of 1863, and later showed up in Denver, Colorado.<sup>29</sup> And, by the long route, Samuel Word with many others of that ill-fated junket finally made it to Bannack. Word arrived on September 29, 1863, seeming to be greatly disappointed with the shack town he looked upon. In his diary he describes it as a hard-looking place with over 100 houses or shanties scattered along the canyon, but with grocery stores, bakeries and restaurants all doing a good deal of business.<sup>30</sup>

It is generally accepted that the Bozeman Trail started from Fort Laramie, and headed northwesterly along the Oregon Trail to the Bridger Crossing of the Platte. This point is a mile and a half

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26. *Ibid.*, p. 547.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 547-548.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 548.

29. Kirkpatrick, p. 7.

30. Word, *Contributions* VIII, p. 92.



south of Orin, and west of the C.B. & Q. Railroad tracks. From across the river it passed the location where Douglas now stands, and where Fort Fetterman was established in 1867. From there it took a northwesterly course through that area which is now Converse County, Wyoming, passing Brown's Springs, up across Sand Creek to Antelope Springs, to a point on the Dry Fork of Powder River, later to become well known as the Seventeen Mile Ranch. It was so named since it was that distance down Dry Fork to its confluence with Powder River, the location of the Bozeman Trail Crossing. On the west side of the Crossing the trail took a northerly course for some four miles to a point where Fort Connor was located on August 14, 1865.<sup>31</sup> Two miles north of the fort the trail veered northwest for about twenty miles, then turn almost due north to Crazy Woman Creek.

The trail reached Crazy Woman Creek from a high hill overlooking the entire valley. It came down this hill in a northeasterly direction to Dry Fork, which it crossed at the extreme east end before crossing Crazy Woman Creek, on the north side of which was a favorite camping ground for the emigrants.

After continuing northwesterly a distance of some five miles, the trail turned northward and kept that course for ten miles before changing directions slightly to the northeast. On this course it reached the Big Spring after a march of four or five miles, which point is just east of the present buildings on the Cross H Ranch, and some three or four hundred yards east of the present Highway 87. This was another favorite resting place for the emigrants, although the real camping ground was four miles northward on Clear Creek, about a mile east of Buffalo.

From Clear Creek the Bozeman trail headed northward across the present Johnson County fair grounds to a point on Rock Creek, about two miles east of Highway 87, when it turned northwesterly for a distance of five miles. A short distance west of the present M & M Ranch house, it turned north again and followed that course from Shell Creek west of both Lake DeSmet and Highway 87 until it reached a cut in the high hills just south of Piney. It went through this cut, which is only a short distance from the highway, and then headed westward for about a mile. It then turned almost due north to a point where it crossed Big Piney Creek. Before the crossing, and just west of the trail, on a table land north

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31. Renamed Fort Reno. Vie Willits, (now Garber) *The Bozeman Trail*, University of Wyoming, MS, 1908. Hereafter cited as Willits. Hafen and Young, *Fort Laramie*, The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California, 1938, p. 351. Fort Connor was actually rebuilt in the summer of 1866 on practically the same location, and renamed Fort Reno. This fact has many times been confirmed by soldiers stationed there, and who later were known to the writer.

of Little Piney, the celebrated Fort Phil Kearny was located in the summer of 1866.

The Big Piney ford was about one-fourth of a mile north of the present Geier Ranch house, and from there the trail reached the crest of the hill. After reaching high ground, it kept a northwesterly course through the Prairie Dog country along what is now the present Highway 87, finally reaching a ford on Little Goose Creek near Big Horn in Sheridan County. It crossed Big Goose at Beckton, then up through Dayton and Ranchester to the Gallatin Valley in Montana past Fort C. F. Smith, constructed in 1866. From the Seventeen Mile Ranch, the Bozeman Trail traversed Johnson County diagonally from south to north, as well as Sheridan County. The greater part of the entire trail lay in what is now Wyoming.<sup>32</sup>

From early in 1864, many emigrant trains steered their tedious way from points east over the Bozeman Trail into Montana, which became a territory that year. Unfortunately, few of these convoys kept any records, since perhaps their treks were completed without memorable incident. Yet, a few diaries were kept, and one of them was written and preserved by T. J. Brundage, late of Farmersville, California. In July of 1864, Mr. Brundage and his brother George, long a resident of Sheridan, Wyoming, came through on one of these trains. They were young men at the time and both became important citizens. In his diary Mr. Brundage wrote: "The magnitude of our train was 369 men, 36 women, 56 children, 150 wagons, 636 oxen, 194 cows, 79 horses and 10 mules. Valuation, \$130,000. The train could shoot 1,641 times without reloading."<sup>33</sup>

While little may have been recorded about a number of the Montana bound convoys of 1864, this does not apply to the Townsend and Coffinbury trains. These took to the Bozeman Trail in July of that year, and the difference may have been that they had experiences worth remembering. This is particularly true of Captain Townsend's train, also one of 150 wagons,<sup>34</sup> with a gun

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32. Willits. Hebard and Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail*, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1922, p. 120, hereafter cited as Hebard and Brininstool. This is a map prepared by Grace Raymond Hebard showing the trail to have started at Fort Sedgwick. Yearly maps of the Wyoming State Highway Department always show the course of the trail through Wyoming. As few as thirty years ago the ruts on the Bozeman were plainly visible at intervals along the entire trail, and could easily be followed, which the writer has done.

33. Hebard and Brininstool, p. 22 and note p. 57. Willits.

34. David B. Weaver, *Captain Townsend's Battle on The Powder River*, *Contributions* VIII, p. 289 (attributed to Mrs. W. J. Beall), hereafter cited as Weaver.

strength of 1,900 shots without reloading.<sup>35</sup> These included the shots from a number of Henry rifles owned by several members of the train.<sup>36</sup> The Henry was a 16-shot lever-action repeater with a tubular magazine below the barrel. It was patented in 1860 and manufacture was commenced in 1861. By 1862 the Henry was well into production, and in 1864 it was beginning to find its way to the frontier. The barrel and magazine tube of this rifle extended back a few inches behind the muzzle, and the magazine swung down for loading. Cartridges were pushed forward for feeding by a coil spring inside the tube. Protruding through the slit in the bottom of the tube near the receiver was a thumb latch attached to the spring. To load it was only necessary to push the latch forward, which compressed the spring in the forward section of the tube. Swinging this section open the cartridge dropped down the tube base first. The receiver of the Henry was made of brass. As long as the weak .44-caliber rim-fire cartridges were used, brass was satisfactory. It was an expensive metal but easy to work.

Compared to modern fire arms the Henry did not have a long range, but at short distances it was accurate and effective. At least, it was a decided improvement over the old muzzle-loaders still in common use. In 1864 the only other firearm to compare with it was the Spencer. It, too, was a repeater. The stock contained a seven-shot tubular magazine. It was an arm popular among the Union troops during the latter portion of the Civil War and later, but the Henry appeared to be far more popular on the frontier.<sup>37</sup>

David B. Weaver, Mrs. W. J. Beall, a long time resident of Bozeman, Montana<sup>38</sup>, and E. O. Railsback<sup>39</sup>, late of Billings, Montana, were the chief collaborators regarding the Townsend Train. They did not say how many Henry rifles were on hand, but said that they did go far in saving the day for the convoy before it reached its destination. Mrs. Beall's account of the journey was given in 1911.<sup>40</sup> She was a young woman in 1864, and Mr. Railsback was a small boy of five; but as late as 1940 he had a clear recollection of his experiences on the way to Montana. His story appears in the November-December, 1940, number of *Old Travois Trails*.<sup>41</sup>

The Townsend Train was assembled at the Reshaw Bridge near the present town of Evansville, Wyoming. The Railsback wagon

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35. E. O. Railsback, "The Townsend Train", *Old Travois Trails*, Powder River Number, November-December, 1940, hereafter cited as Railsback.

36. *Contributions* VIII, p. 291.

37. James E. Serven, "The Arrival of Cartridge Guns," *Guns Magazine*, March, 1964, p. 23.

38. *Contributions*, p. 283.

39. Railsback, p. 13.

40. Weaver. *Contributions* VIII, p. 288.

41. Railsback, pp. 13-16.

came all the way from a place below Ottumwa, Iowa, leaving there on April 19, 1864.<sup>42</sup> Another ox team owned by George Gibbony, a native of Philadelphia, and his partner, Isaac Best, came from Lynn County, Iowa. Mr. Gibbony later recalled many of the events incident to the Townsend Train while it made its way northward to the Gallatin Valley in Montana.<sup>43</sup>

All three collaborators remember the various Townsend Train happenings very much the same, differing only in minor details. The convoy started from the Reshaw Bridge in the latter part of June, 1864, and reached Powder River at its Dry Fork crossing on July 3. Camp was pitched near there on the west side with the intention of remaining several days to recuperate the horses and cattle. Time would also be provided for the women of the train to bake bread and put out the family washing. In the evening of the following day, being July 4th, the men staged a celebration, firing in unison every muzzle-loading gun and revolver in camp. This also afforded an opportunity to reload with fresh charges in the event of an Indian attack.<sup>44</sup>

On the evening of the 8th, while preparations were being made for an early hook-up and departure the following morning, orders were issued that the train would make a short march and pitch a new camp that night. This move was deemed necessary to prevent a possible Indian attack, and was ordered by Captain Townsend upon the advice of Mitch Bouier and John Richards, the two guides. The convoy was piloted northwestward up a stream now known as Soldier Creek, a distance of about three miles, to a cottonwood grove. At this location the new camp was set up, but the wagons were not corraled and the stock was turned out to graze.

During the summer of 1939 E. O. Railsback returned to the Dry Creek crossing with George G. Oster of Billings, Montana. With the assistance of the late Harvey Turk of Kaycee, Wyoming, he was able to locate and identify the site of the Townsend Train camp of July 9, 1864. On July 7, 1940, he visited the spot again in company with George G. Oster and Charles D. Schreibeis, editor of *Old Travois Trails*. At that time, in some detail, he narrated the events of a battle the Townsend Train had with the Indians commencing on the morning of July 9, 1864.

With the Train there were two brothers whose cow had not been located on the 8th, and on the following morning one of them returned to their Powder River crossing camp to look for her. Mr.

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42. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

43. Weaver, *Contributions* VIII, p. 287.

44. Weaver, *Contributions* VIII, p. 288. Railsback, p. 14. The above citation from the Weaver article is Mrs. W. J. Beall's story on Captain Townsend's battle with the Indians, but does not contain any reference to the July 4th celebration mentioned in the Railsback article.

Railsback remembers that this man's name was Mills. After his departure, breakfast over, the cattle fed, and the train assembled in the line of march, a man who had strolled ahead came rushing back to report the approach of a large party of mounted Indians. With this, orders were given to corral at once, and to place the train in a defensive position. In the meantime the Indians discovered that they had been observed. Years later Gibbony reported that with the aid of field glasses it could be observed how the Indians had concealed their ponies in a distant pine grove,<sup>45</sup> but returned and mounted when seen.

As the Indians approached, Captain Townsend sent Bouier and Richards out for a parley. They soon returned and reported that the Indians wanted something to eat, which was provided. They further reported that they were on their way to the Crow country to recapture some stolen horses, and asked permission to travel along with the train. This, however, was refused upon the advice of Bouier who maintained that an Indian could never be trusted. The visitors then suggested that the wagon train should move out, but this also was refused. The guides warned that it would then be the intention of the Indians to stampede the cattle once the train was in motion, thereby rendering the convoy helpless to proceed. Later events showed that the guides were sound in their judgement.

Since several shots had been heard just before the arrival of the Indians there was grave concern about the safety of the old man who had returned to find the cow. At once a posse of several mounted men started out to look for him. With this the Indians threw down the food they were eating and cut off the whites from the train. This gesture provoked a hand-to-hand fight in which several Indians were killed, and the severe wounding of one of the whites.

When the red men found out that they were outclassed, they hurriedly set out for a high point and commenced shooting at the train. Some were equipped with firearms while others had only the bow and arrow, but little damage was done since they were too soon out of range. When reaching the high ground the visitors proceeded to reassemble and made several running attacks on the wagon train, only to be quickly repulsed and turned back from the fire of the men with the Henry rifles. It did not take the Indians long to discover that these weapons not only far out matched their old muzzle loaders, but they also had a much greater range.

When the visitors found they could not dislodge the train by open attack, they attempted to stampede the draft animals by

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45. *Ibid.* Weaver, pp. 288-289. Railsback, pp. 13-16. Cottonwood trees have always grown along Powder River in the vicinity of the Townsend camp of July 9, 1864.

setting fire to the long grass surrounding the camp. With this Captain Townsend ordered his men to take shovels and make a hollow trench around the wagons. He also requested the emigrants who had wash tubs to fill them with water and stand ready to assist should that be required. Although attempts to fire the camp were not successful, the Indians kept up their running attacks until 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon, making a long day, since the battle started at 9:00 o'clock that morning. Although Mr. Railsback was not six years old at the time of the battle, he had a clear recollection of the occasion. He could remember seeing the Indians coming in sight from time to time, and how his mother, standing on a wagon wheel watching them, was almost struck by one of their bullets. It lodged in a cottonwood tree just behind her head.

After the Reds had finally retreated over the hills, it was found that four members of the train had been killed. There is some confusion as to the exact number who had lost their lives, but from all accounts four appears to be accurate. These included a man who had been walking ahead of the train, one who had been hunting, and the one wounded at the wagons during the fray. Three who had died on the day of the battle were buried near the camp. They were Frank Huddlemeyer, and A. Warren, of Missouri, but the third could not be remembered. The body of the man who had gone in search of his cow was never found.<sup>46</sup> It was later learned that he had been murdered and scalped.

After the Indians had crossed the ridge the whites counted sixteen riderless ponies. It was never exactly known how many Indians had been killed by the Townsend men since the Reds quickly removed their dead and wounded. However, it was later learned through the Crows that thirteen had been killed, aside from the wounded.<sup>47</sup>

David B. Weaver, a pioneer of Montana, came to Montana Territory in 1864 and added an interesting chapter about Captain Townsend's battle on Powder River. Weaver arrived at the Reshaw bridge on July 6, 1864, only to learn that the Townsend Train had departed a few days earlier. Since their train consisted of only 17 wagons, which had traveled together from Fort Laramie, it was considered advisable not to enter the Sioux country without a larger delegation. Hence, the Weaver party remained at the bridge until July 17, when 68 wagons had assembled. A train was then regularly organized under the leadership of Captain Cyrus C. Coffinbury, and moved out over the Bozeman Trail. On July 22 it reached Powder River, which it forded at the Dry Fork crossing

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46. Weaver, *Contributions* VIII, p. 284, and note 1, same page.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 292. In the Railsback article, the claim is made that sixteen riderless Indian ponies were counted after the battle.

and pitched camp at the Townsend camping ground on the west side. On this location they learned that Captain Townsend had abandoned the Bozeman Trail and traveled northwestward up the small stream now known as Soldier Creek.

At first Captain Coffinbury did not understand why Townsend had not followed the Bozeman Trail down Powder River, but considered it expedient to take this route. He believed there must have been some good reason for the change of course, and learned it the instant his train reached the Cottonwood grove where Captain Townsend had camped and fought the Reds. Even then there was much evidence of a prolonged Indian battle. While the wagons were going into corral, Mr. Weaver took a stroll about and instantly was attracted by a number of arrows scattered around in the grass. There were a dozen or more of them tipped with steel heads. This he knew was unusual since the Indians found such metal hard to come by and prized such arrows very highly. It could easily be deducted that the red men had departed the area under great stress. The arrow tips appeared to have been made from steel barrel hoops or pails, and by primitive methods great labor had been exerted to fashion them. And, it was well known that tedious effort was never a part of the Indian liking. If it had been possible, these arrows would have been carefully gathered.

While observing the arrows, Mr. Weaver's attention was attracted to another man somewhat in advance of him who had picked up a dark object from a scrub pine. It looked somewhat like a dead



MRS. W. J. BEALL



DAVID B. WEAVER

*Courtesy Montana Historical Society*

crow. The man made the error of bringing it into camp without first reporting his find to Captain Coffinbury, since it turned out to be the scalp of a white man. Great excitement prevailed, especially among the women and children. On the train there were twelve or fifteen families, and among them there was a state of terror, near panic. When the excitement had died down, further evidence of a conflict was found. At the lower end of the corral there was a large cottonwood on which one of Captain Townsend's men had blazed the surface and enscribed: "Captain Townsend had a fight here with the Indians July 9, 1864."<sup>48</sup>

The following morning, which was July 23, just after the train had pulled out, it came upon the graves of the Townsend men. The markers had been pulled down and the graves opened, leaving evidence that wolves had dug them up. Before passing on, three naked bodies were reburied by the Coffinbury men. Years later when Mr. Weaver was retelling pioneer times with Mrs. W. J. Beall, he learned that these men had been buried fully clothed in their blankets. It was then realized that the Indians had exhumed the remains for their clothing and blankets.<sup>49</sup>

From a statement by E. O. Railsback in his article on the Townsend Train, it may be learned that this convoy reached the Gallatin Valley on August 19, 1864.<sup>50</sup> Six days later the Coffinbury Train reached its destination. According to David B. Weaver, they reached Powder River on July 22, 1864, and the Tongue River on July 29, which was 172 miles from the Platte. On August 4 they made camp on the Big Horn, 234 miles from the Platte, and on August 14 reached the Yellowstone, which they followed to the crossing. This was gained on August 23. On the westerly side of the river a stop was made at the first Canyon about 150 miles above the point where the train struck the river. They came to this point on August 25, 1864,<sup>51</sup> and to Emigrant Gulch on August 27<sup>52</sup>, where Mr. Weaver and a few others remained.

After the Coffinbury Train reached its destination, the scalp found on the scrub pine July 22 was exhibited in Virginia City.

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48. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-292. (Contains Mrs. W. J. Beall's account, pp. 288-292). There is also an account of Captain Townsend's battle on Powder River by John K. Standish, in *The Billings Gazette*, Sunday, January 8, 1933.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 287, note 2. Hebard and Brininstool, p. 226.

50. Railsback, p. 13.

51. David B. Weaver, *Early Days in Emigrant Gulch*, Contributions VII, p. 76.

52. Hebard and Brininstool, pp. 1-227. The fact that it took the Townsend Train a few days longer to arrive at its destination than it did the Coffinbury has never been explained, but there may have been a number of reasons. The Townsend Train was more than twice the size of the Coffinbury and thereby not as mobile. Also, the destinations of the two trains differed and weather conditions could have played a major part.



There it was immediately recognized by the surviving brother of the old man who had returned to the Townsend camp on Powder River in search of a cow. As soon as he saw it he exclaimed: "That is my brother's hair!"<sup>53</sup>

One of those who piloted a train northward over the Bozeman Trail in 1864 was the Trailmaker himself. It appears to be well accepted that during the spring of that year Bozeman went as far east as the Missouri to arrange with all the emigrants he could interest, to follow him to the Montana gold fields. Evidence of the number he assembled, and of his arrival at the various points, is incomplete and fragmentary, although some guidance may be found. Albert J. Dickerson, in his *Covered Wagon Days*, gives an indication of the time Bozeman left the Oregon Trail. Camped near Fort Laramie early in July, Dickson, a member of the Dickson party, comments:

As I was strolling along the road a little way north of camp I came upon another note from the Phillips boys. It was dated a week earlier and stated a man named Bozeman was gathering up a train for the purpose of laying out a new road to Virginia City by way of the east side of the Big Horns, and that they were going to try to get in with them. The note was eagerly read at camp and the hope was expressed that we might be able to overtake the Bozeman party.

Shortly afterwards another report on the Bozeman Trail was found by Dickson:

The next day, July 7, about the middle of the forenoon as we were passing over the ground where Douglas now stands, we noted the deep imprint of wagon wheels turning due north at right angles to the trail. Beside the road at our left was another note on a cleft stick from the Phillips brothers, stating that they were going with Bozeman by the new route that he was laying out to Virginia City. . . . The message bore the date of July 1.<sup>54</sup>

The most direct statement as to the time the Bozeman Train arrived comes from John L. Sweeney, who when writing his record in 1899 for the Society of Pioneers of Montana Pioneers, said: "Place of departure for Montana, Ohio; route traveled, the Bozeman Route; came with James [*sic*] M. Bozeman's first train and helped make the road; arrived at Virginia City, August 3rd, 1864."

This date has not been confirmed by Mrs. W. J. Beall in her reminiscences in the *Bozeman Courier* July 8, 1814. She wrote:

In the forepart of July, 1864, W. J. Beall and D. E. Rouse were returning from Virginia City, where they had marketed their crop of potatoes and other vegetables, receiving 40 cents a pound for same, they met John M. Bozeman, whom they had known in 1863 and who had returned east that fall. He told them he was piloting an emigrant

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53. Weaver, p. 293.

54. Burlingame, pp. 549-550.

train from the east over what is now known as the Bozeman cutoff. He advised them to come and take up land and start a town on the location now known as Bozeman. He asked them to locate a claim for him, which they did.<sup>55</sup>

With no more information than she gives, Mrs. Beall's statement is confusing, particularly as to time, which seems to be early. Also, if W. J. Beall knew John M. Bozeman in 1863 it would appear certain that he did not reach Montana with the Townsend Train as did Mrs. Beall. Moreover, he could not have raised potatoes and other vegetables for market early in July if he had arrived that month.

W. J. Beall was Mrs. Beall's second husband, whom she married in November of 1868. At the time of her journey across the plains with the Townsend Train, she came with her first husband, A. H. Van Vlierden, and their two children.<sup>56</sup> It is quite certain that Mrs. Beall was not in Virginia City the forepart of July, 1864, and that her information of those days came from a different source. On another occasion she commented: "At the time of my arrival in the future city, John M. Bozeman had gone to Virginia City, and his train came after that date, August 1, 1864." Mrs. Beall did not say that she was in Bozeman (the future city) on the last mentioned date, and it could have been that the Bozeman Train did not arrive for some days. It appears well settled that Bozeman himself came in ahead of his train. At all events, if the Bozeman Train had not reached Powder River by July 1, 1864, it would have been traveling very fast to have entered Virginia City by August 3, 1864. His time would have been much faster than that made by either the Townsend or the Coffinbury trains, each taking well over a month from Powder River to their respective destinations in Montana. And, there is no evidence that Bozeman passed the Townsend Train along the way. To have reached Virginia City the forepart of August he undoubtedly crossed Powder River a few days ahead of Captain Townsend.

While the exact time of Bozeman's arrival may be a matter of some speculation, it is certain that the Bridger and Jacobs trains over the Big Horn Basin route came in a month earlier. The diary of Cornelius Hedges, which remained in the possession of his descendants until 1936, provides an excellent account of the trains piloted by James Bridger and John M. Jacobs. William W. Anderson, a member of the Jacobs party, mentions the time of arrival

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55. *Ibid.*, p. 551, and note, p. 30.

56. Confirmed by a letter from the Montana Historical Society dated June 5, 1964. After reaching Montana, unfortunate differences arose between the Van Vlierdens, causing a divorce in the fall of 1867. The two children, Lola and Minnie, were taken by their father from the home of a friend to some place in the east. After that Mrs. Beall never saw them again. They died in childhood.

of these trains as being early in July, 1864, leaving the Oregon Trail on June 7 of that year. They kept very close together, although Jacobs came in ahead of Bridger.

The Hedges diary reopens the question of the relation between Jacobs and Bozeman. The opinion has usually been expressed that Jacobs did not receive sufficient credit for his part in the opening of the new trail to Montana; but, there has also been an impression that these two trailmakers were still working together. Those who hold this view believe that Jacobs was testing the Big Horn Basin route for the team.

For one thing, the fact that Bridger arrived at Virginia City a month before Bozeman disposes of the widely accepted dramatic story that these leaders were racing neck and neck on their respective routes with Bridger having a head start on Bozeman. Along the Oregon Trail they did vie with each other as to which had the best route, but it went no further than that. Bridger claimed that the Big Horn route was shorter by a hundred miles, and was more secure from Indian attacks. Bozeman maintained that his route was easier to travel, and because of a wider spread of individual trails it would sustain a much larger travel throughout the year with more grass available. He put forth the argument that the narrow Big Horn route failed to have these advantages. But the old story of the two men taking their trains from the Oregon Trail, "Bridger with several weeks' start," of Bozeman who reached the Gallatin Valley ahead of Bridger, and the two leaders racing across the intervening divide to Virginia City, can no longer be regarded as authentic. The account is thrilling, and it makes a good story, but is inaccurate. This represents the thinking of the writers who have given the most intensive study to the Bozeman Trail.

Whatever interest Bozeman may have had in the arrival of emigrant trains over his route during the summer of 1864, is not clear since he had become prominent in the establishment of the town which bears his name. When he asked W. J. Beall and D. E. Rouse to lay out a townsite in the Upper Gallatin Valley near the passes which lead to the Yellowstone, he apparently had become impressed with the agricultural possibilities there. Beall and Rouse operated a ranch near the Three Forks.

Accordingly, on August 9, 1864, a meeting was held at Jacob's Crossing by the settlers of Upper East Gallatin for the purpose of laying out the new town. John M. Bozeman was elected chairman and W. W. Anderson secretary. After the chairman had stated the object of the meeting it was first resolved that the town and district would be called Bozeman. John M. Bozeman was then elected recorder, and the sum of one dollar made the fee for recording a claim. Anderson, who had become a leader in the little settlement, and was closely associated with Bozeman, often recalled his first entrance into the new city:

Not a fence pole, not a log house was there in sight to designate the future city of Bozeman. After looking around, however, for a few moments, we noticed a small wedge-tent constructed out of wagon covers, and after a little careful inspection we found a lonesome occupant in the person of W. J. Beall. To our "Pilgrim" inquiries he informed us that he was patiently waiting for the return of D. E. Rouse with "grub" from their ranch; that John M. Bozeman was piloting an emigrant train through from the Platte via the Powder River, Clark's Fork and the Yellowstone.

Although Bozeman sold his property in town and took up farming on a claim he still retained, his interest in the little city remained vital and animated. Actually, it remained more important to him than farming, since his way of life ever continued to be transitory and his interests ephemeral. To relieve the monotony of farm life he made various trips to Virginia City on which he carried the mail back and forth. For this service he charged fifty cents for each piece delivered, thereby making the journey not only pleasant but profitable. Such an operation was well suited to a man of Bozeman's varied characteristics. As an indication of his activity in fostering the new town, a reminiscence comes from W. J. Davies, later of Bridger, Montana. He recalled that when his emigrant party arrived in the valley on August 18, 1864, it camped near the few houses which marked the town site. The camp was visited the next morning, according to Davies.

by Mr. Elliott Rouse and John Bozeman, who told us of wonderful townsite they had discovered; and they spoke eloquently of its many advantages; its water privileges, and its standing right in the gate of the mountains ready to swallow up all tenderfeet that would reach the territory from the east, with their golden fleeces to be taken care of. All that and the promise of numerous corner lots prevailed with me and I moved camp to the great city of Bozeman.

Another report in 1864 or 1865 came from an emigrant who was with a party of miners traveling from Virginia City to the Yellowstone in search of another mother lode:

On our road we passed a half-dozen huts, dignified with the name of Bozeman City. Here lives a Cincinnatus in retirement, one of the great pioneers of mountain civilization, named Bozeman. To him belongs the credit of having laid out the Bozeman Cut-off, on the road from Fort Laramie to Virginia, and he is looked up to among emigrants much as Chief-Justice Marshall is among lawyers. I saw the great man, with one foot moccasined and the other as nature made it, giving Bunsby opinions to a crowd of miners as to the location of the mythical mines.

Along with his many other interests, in the fall of 1864 Bozeman induced Thomas Cover and P. W. McAdow to commence work on a flour mill just at the edge of the village. Afterwards, he assisted them in making connections and establishing their plant.<sup>57</sup>

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57. Burlingame, pp. 552-557, and notes.

This and similar other activities appear to have replaced Bozeman's interest in guiding emigrants over the road he laid out, since there is no clear evidence that he ever made another trip. Yet, during the entire year of 1865 there is little assurance that there was much emigrant travel. It was rather a year of warfare throughout the Indian country. There were, in fact, so many depredations and wanton Indian attacks that General Patrick E. Connor was selected by the War Department to launch an all-out campaign throughout the Powder River country to conquer the Sioux. Unfortunately, however, the operation was inadequately planned by officials who knew little of Indian warfare, and as a result little progress was made. Moreover, General Connor was relieved before he was fairly under way, but after he had established Fort Connor on the Bozeman Trail four miles north of the Powder River crossing. The following year it was renamed Fort Reno and became an important post.

Although General Connor's Powder River expedition did not bring satisfactory results, the Federal Government had become so vitally interested in a direct route to the gold fields that it could not then withdraw. After four years of the Civil War the United States treasury had become so virtually bankrupt that gold was critically needed to liquidate the rapidly accruing national debt. One of its great hopes was to encourage prospectors to seek the Montana gold fields with the view that their efforts would help to enrich the nation.

To secure the results so badly needed the Government put faith in a new peace treaty which it was sure would be avidly ratified and signed by the leading men of the northwestern Teton Sioux tribes. It is difficult to understand this attitude since the Sioux were so bitterly hostile that no white man dared enter their territory, much less travel the Bozeman Trail. Yet, when the treaty was put together the public was assured that the trail via Powder River would be safe; but, nothing of the sort was near the truth. By the spring of 1866 even the treaty leaders had become convinced that the hostiles had no intention of coming in and that their efforts had failed. Since it became apparent that some other approach was requisite, E. B. Taylor, superintendent of the Northern Superintendency, came to Fort Laramie with a new peace treaty and orders to assemble a peace commission. When assembled on June 1, 1866, it consisted of himself, Colonel H. E. Maynadier, then in command of Fort Laramie, Colonel N. R. McLaren of Minnesota, and Thomas Wister of Philadelphia. Charles E. Bowles of the Indian Department acted as secretary.

Taylor had been directed to put the peace treaty into effect, and he was determined that nothing should interfere with the program. Even though the men at Fort Laramie who knew the ways of the

Sioux tried to counsel with him, he refused to listen. Again and again he declared that he had been sent to make peace and that he was going to do just that. Accordingly, messengers were sent to the hostile camps calling the Indians in for a peace talk, and promising plenty of presents, including arms and ammunition. Not one real hostile ever arrived to sign the treaty, but the assurance of rich stores could not be resisted, so the Sioux came all the way from Powder River in full force. The talks got under way in June, 1866.

In the meantime, and without waiting to learn the outcome of the peace negotiations, the War Department started Colonel Henry B. Carrington of the 18th Infantry with an expedition to open the Powder River road to Montana. He started out with 2,000 troops, but only 700 of them were to accompany him to the Powder River country to open up the road and to establish three forts along the way. It is again difficult to understand how Washington concluded that Colonel Carrington, with 700 infantry, including bandsmen, could accomplish what General Connor was unable to achieve with 3,000 cavalry. Still, there was some strange thinking in 1866 regarding the Powder River country.

Carrington's troops and train of 226 mule teams reached Fort Laramie June 13, loaded down with equipment and supplies, including a saw mill, mowers, shingle and brick making machines, axes, saws and tools of all kinds. There were also rocking chairs, churns and canned fruit, besides turkeys, chickens, pigs and cows. Colonel Carrington was not a fighting officer, but as a builder he was well suited to construct and equip the new posts along the Bozeman Trail, and to organize a system of road patrols. It is astonishing how the high command assumed that the Sioux would sit quietly by while military posts were being erected in the midst of their best hunting ground, but that seemed to be the situation.

The expedition's own thirty-piece band livened up the march past Dobey Town on the outskirts of the fort, but when entry was made a decided quiet settled down over the peace negotiations with the council still in session. There were at once many attempts to ease the situation and to form a basis for better understanding, but when Red Cloud was being introduced to Carrington he drew his blanket closely about him and contemptuously declined it. While he was leaving the area with many of his followers, Standing Elk, chief of the Brules, was asking Colonel Carrington where he was going, and upon being told the Powder River country, he answered, "There is a treaty being made at Laramie with the Sioux that are in the country where you are going. The fighting men of that country have not come to Laramie, and you will have them to fight. They will not give you the road unless you whip them."

Notwithstanding the departure of Red Cloud and the many who followed him, a thousand or more Sioux remained at the peace council. These finally signed the treaty, and a similar one was

signed by a number of the Cheyenne head men, and left for the signature of other Cheyennes yet to arrive. While the Indians were celebrating the conclusion of the treaty council, and receiving their gaudy presents, Colonel Carrington was preparing for his departure northward to take charge of the situation, and to establish his three forts along the Bozeman Trail. Dismayed by the inadequacy of the ammunition he was able to requisition from Fort Laramie, and by the inferior quality of the supplies provided for him, he set out on June 17, 1866. The horses he had been promised were nonexistent, and with old-fashioned, muzzle-loading Springfield muskets in the hands of most of his regulars, while the bandmen carried new repeating Spencers, he guilelessly entered the Indian country. Colonel Carrington was an intelligent, conscientious and dedicated officer, but naive and immature in his conception of the untamed and tumultuous frontier. He never seemed rightly impressed with the enormity of the task laid out for him.

Fort Connor, then called Fort Reno, was reached June 28 without serious incident, except that Indians were encountered near the Horseshoe Station on the Platte, and near Bridger's Ferry. At the fort several wagon trains were found awaiting military escort up the Bozeman Trail on their way to Montana. For these trains Colonel Carrington issued a set of regulations covering their movement through the Indian country. He assured them that the road would be perfectly secure without escort being necessary. He advised that the trains must organize, keep together and not annoy the Indians. Even after his experience at Fort Laramie he appears to have had the fanciful belief, along with many other military and civil officers, that there would be no serious trouble with the Indians. Yet, two days after he issued his regulation, seven Sioux warriors ran off the sutler's herd within two miles of the fort. A pursuit by mounted infantry brought back one pack-pony laden with presents from the Fort Laramie peace council.

On July 10 Colonel Carrington marched from Fort Reno up the Bozeman Trail to Little Piney, 68 miles distant, to construct Fort Phil Kearney, and to provide for the construction of Fort C. F. Smith 91 miles further north in Montana on the Big Horn River. However, the Colonel's fortunes and vicissitudes, and those of his successors in the Sioux country, constitute another chapter in the history of the Powder River Country.<sup>58</sup>

Nonetheless, Colonel Carrington had a major roll in the affairs of the Bozeman Trail as long as he remained in the Sioux country. He had no more than entered the area than it became patently

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58. Brown, *Fort Phil Kearney*, C. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1962, p. 14. Hafen and Young, pp. 345-351. Hebard and Brininstool, pp. 266-269. George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1937, pp. 138-141.

evident that his troops could not possibly furnish military protection for the many emigrant trains expected to be on the trail during the summer of 1866. This was particularly true since he had to assign one entire company to garrison duty at Fort Reno to escort the mail to aid travelers in distress, and to assist in all other emergency duties. He learned that the best he could hope to do would be to issue a set of regulations for the benefit of the passing trains. In the main these consisted of instructions for the convoys to check in at Fort Reno and report to the commanding officer there; to keep together; to avoid recklessness in the Indian country; to have no unnecessary dealings with the Reds; not to furnish them liquor, and to provoke no quarrels by hostile acts. A copy of these instructions was to be posted at the office of each post or station commander so that the commanders of all trains could see and study them.

In the meantime, the emigrants arriving at Fort Laramie were being assured that the road was perfectly safe, causing them to improperly and inadequately supply themselves with guns and ammunition. This they seemed willing to practice in spite of other reliable information that a general raid existed over the entire trail. Many of them took serious cognizance of the actual situation all too late, and not until they were set upon by the Indians with no actual means of protection. This resulted in many emigrants being murdered, scalped, and their bodies mutilated, with the few arms they had being taken and their supplies stolen. The supplies furnished by the agencies were added to those accumulated along the trail and laid by for the day of a concerted Indian attack all the way from the North Platte to the Yellowstone.

With all the misinformation about the security of the Bozeman Trail, many train commanders did listen to the truth and profited by it. One of these was Hugh Kirkendall. In the summer of 1866 he and others were on the trail with a long train of household goods and merchandise for Montana. When the train reached Brown's Springs, a branch of Dry Fork of the Cheyenne, in what is now Converse County, Wyoming, the convoy was attacked by Indians, and a running fight was kept up all day. As the hours of fighting increased, more and more red reserves arrived until it seemed that all of the Indians in the Powder River country were engaged in the fight. Fortunately, though, Kirkendall was able to push the train forward after the red men had been repulsed with heavy losses. When the merchants came within forty miles of Fort Phil Kearny, a scout was sent to request an escort so that the train could be safely conducted beyond the post. Kirkendall was doomed to meet with disappointment. Word came back that there were not even enough soldiers to protect the fort with any real degree of safety. The fact was that the troops at Phil Kearny were practically bottled up with yelping Indians galloping around on all the hills, defying them to come out and offering all kind of insults.



Kirkendall finally got through, but by that time other freighting outfits were waiting at Fort Laramie for reinforcements. The authorities were then wisely issuing warnings to small groups of emigrants of the immediate and certain danger from the reds unless they were strongly guarded and moving in large numbers. Indian depredations along the Bozeman Trail, and the large number of emigrants who were daily being attacked by the Sioux, had given the Government a different attitude and a stimulated motive for organizational changes.

In the midst of this reshuffling a memorable cavalcade arrived at Fort Laramie. It was Nelson Story with his crew of twenty-five cowboys driving almost 1,000 head of Texas longhorns, with his wagon train of groceries coming along behind. This remarkable young man, not yet thirty, had struck it rich in the Montana gold fields. He had then exchanged some of his gold dust for thirty thousand dollars in greenbacks and gone to Texas early in 1866 to purchase the cattle. With his army of cowboys and trail herd he set out for the Bozeman Road, but stopped at Fort Leavenworth to purchase a train of ox-drawn wagons which he loaded with groceries and other supplies to start a store in the town of Bozeman. His outfit moved in a leisurely manner along the Oregon Trail across Nebraska to Fort Laramie, where the army officers there tried to persuade him to discard and forego his plans to continue on to Montana. Their appeals and warnings that Red Cloud would stampede his herd, and probably take the scalps of all his men did not deter young Story.

At Fort Laramie he was joined by Major John B. Catlin, who became second in command, and after he had provided his men with new Remington rapid-fire breach loaders, the cavalcade moved northward. Some distance from Fort Reno the drivers came upon a little Frenchman and a boy who were unharnessing their team. They had a trapper's outfit and were in the process of making camp. Warned against hostile Indians everywhere in the area, the two were invited to join the Nelson party, but the little Frenchman declined. He claimed that he had a greater fear of the white man than he did of the Indians.

As Story and Major Catlin moved along down the Bozeman Trail they were next abruptly halted by a furious Sioux attack almost in the shadow of Fort Reno. It was a headlong hit-and-run swat leaving two drivers badly wounded with arrows and the Reds getting away with a little bunch of the cattle. During the fracas the remainder of the herd was stampeded. It all might have been much more serious except the herders quickly responded with their Remingtons and put the enemy to rout. As soon as the cattle could be quieted down, a party of seasoned herders set upon the Sioux camp just as dusk was falling. Not giving the braves much chance to protest, and with a sudden punch, the cattle were recovered from the center of an arc of tepees. When the herd was reassem-

bled, Story pushed on to Fort Reno with his wounded companions in an ambulance sent out from the post, but not until some of his herders had gone back to see about the old Frenchman and the boy. They were found dead, scalped and their bodies mutilated. Their horses were gone, their wagon burned and their supplies scattered about. Before the herders returned they buried the unfortunate travelers who had met violent death. After a short rest at Reno, the main body moved out, leaving the two wounded companions. It was then late in the season and Story wanted to be on the way.

Three miles south of Fort Phil Kearny Story was halted by Colonel Carrington who would not allow the herd to be brought any nearer. He claimed that the grass close to the post was needed for his own livestock. The colonel then ordered the party to corral the cattle until a wagon train could come along with a minimum of forty armed men. Story and Catlin had only twenty-five. Even though they pointed out that their men, armed with Remington breach loaders, had a greater fire power than a hundred with old-fashioned Springfields, Carrington continued to hold firm. Even so, Story had little thought of remaining much longer. He had already been held up two weeks and it was then October 21st. That evening all the Story men were called together to vote on whether they should abide by Colonel Carrington's order or take the trail that night. All were in favor of moving on except George Dow who voted "no." No sooner was the word out of his mouth than he was tied up and placed under arrest.

Protected by the darkness of night the men hitched the oxen to wagons, moved the cattle out of the corral, and soon the whole party was headed northward down the Bozeman Trail. On the morning of the 22nd, Carrington was notified that the Nelson party had vanished. While furious over the violation of his orders, he nonetheless felt it his duty to dispatch a detail of fifteen men under a sergeant to join the Story party in order to bring it up to regulation strength. These soldiers with their muzzle-loading Springfields were only supernumeraries, but were welcomed to go along with the herd. Two days out Dow was released and informed that he could go back to the fort or remain with the drive. He decided to stay.

During the remainder of the drive the herd was grazed in the daytime and pushed forward at night. Along the way two Indian attacks were beaten off without difficulty. Only one man was lost. He carelessly rode too far ahead and was killed and scalped. On December 9, 1864, Story's spectacular drive reached its destination, which was a place near Virginia City. In all of the history of the northwest there has never been anything like his long drive.

Nelson Story became one of Montana's immortals. In 1862 he married Ellen Trent in Leavenworth, Kansas. She shared with him every vicissitude of the raw frontier, and later, fame and fortune. Their early life in Montana was up the gulch from Virginia

City where Story packed up and down the trail, partially for hire and partially in connection with his store which was attended by his wife. In those days Mrs. Story baked pies and pastries to be sold to the hungry miners, and in that way helped out.<sup>59</sup>

While emigrants on the Bozeman Trail continued to find their way to Montana, the untimely passing of Bozeman himself was marked on April 18, 1867. The previous morning he and Tom Cover left the town of Bozeman for Fort C. F. Smith on a flour-selling mission. They took two saddle horses and a pack horse carrying provisions and bedding, but the first night out they stayed with Nelson Story and W. S. McKinzie who had a cattle camp near the present city of Livingston. On the morning of the 18th Bozeman and Cover started on their journey, and reached a place ten or twelve miles below Mission Creek and a quarter of a mile south of the Yellowstone where they camped for dinner. They had about finished their meal when they saw four Indians approaching. Cover took them to be Blackfeet while Bozeman thought they were friendly Crows. They were Blackfeet, and while he was talking to one of them, another stepped behind Bozeman and shot him. Cover escaped in the bushes, but in the process of escaping he was shot in the top of the shoulder by one of the Indians as they made off with the horses. When they were out of sight, Cover spread a blanket over Bozeman's body, first taking his gold watch. He then walked back to the Story and McKinzie cattle camp where he secured a horse and came on in to Bozeman to report the tragic death of his companion.

The next day John Anderson, D. E. Rouse, Al Lund and John Baptiste left to take charge of the remains and bring them to the city for interment. They were joined by Nelson Story and W. S. McKinzie at their cattle camp, but at the site of Bozeman's death they decided to bury him there until the traveling would be better. Moreover, the waters of the Yellowstone were rapidly rising at the ford where they had to cross and they had little time.

It was not until 1870 that the remains of John M. Bozeman were returned to the town which bore his name. His burial casket was made out of native pine by W. J. Beall and Judge A. D. McPherson, and after a public ceremony, burial was made in the Nelson Story plot. Later Story erected a monument bearing the inscription: "In memory of John M. Bozeman, aged 32 years, killed by Blackfoot Indians on the Yellowstone, April 18, 1867. He was a native of Georgia, and one of the first settlers of Boze-

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59. Brown, pp. 60, 135-138. Hebard and Brininstool, pp. 279, 227-232, 221-225. Hyde, pp. 160-161. Byron Nelson's article about his father, University of Wyoming Library. Burlingame, pp. 563-567, regarding death and burial of John M. Bozeman. If Bozeman was born in 1837 he was only 30 years old at the time of his death, in 1867.

man, from whom the town takes its name”<sup>60</sup> When W. S. McKinzie died in 1913 his remains were buried beside those of Bozeman, and Nelson Story erected another monument over the two graves which reads: “Here lies two friends.”

During his lifetime John M. Bozeman saved little for himself but gave much to help settle and develop the frontier. He might have used the time allotted to him for personal gain, but rather, he used it to make possible the comfort and enjoyment of those to come after him. His carefree nature made it possible for him to leave his wife and three small children without adequate support while he roamed the west hoping to find a fortune. When he left he may have considered that his venture would turn out for the best, but there is little evidence that he ever gave his family much help or thought, although his daughters grew up and eventually married. In defence to Bozeman’s performance, it can be said that it was not unlike that of many frontier leaders of his day. He possessed a high degree of skill as a frontiersman. His superior quality of leadership and personal bravery have never been questioned. He had the rare ability of seeing any situation in its true perspective, and the aptitude for dealing with it first hand. He will primarily be remembered as a trailmaker and a train commander, but also as a community builder and a dedicated townsman.<sup>61</sup>

By 1868 the Government had become aware that it either had to whip the Sioux or give in to them, and as to the Powder River country, the latter was done. During that year the forts along the Bozeman Trail were abandoned, the road itself closed, and the territory turned back to the Indians. In seeking an excuse for this policy Washington temporized that, by humoring the Indians and keeping them quiet, the Union Pacific could be rapidly completed, and then the Powder River road would be of no importance. It was theorized that a shorter and better road to Montana could run from the railroad line west of the Big Horn Mountains. However, with this view it was not taken into account that the Northern Pacific had to be built along the northern edge of the Powder River country. It further was not taken into account that the Indians, if left undisturbed, would certainly block the building of that road, and that white men were already forming the belief that gold could be found in the Black Hills and in the Big Horn Mountains.<sup>62</sup>

It has been shown that one determined blow in the winter of 1867 would have cleared the Powder River country of the hostiles, but as it was, the inevitable clash did not come until 1876. It did

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60. Burlingame, pp. 563-567 regarding death and burial of John M. Bozeman.

61. Burlingame, p. 568, note, p. 541. Linda Bozeman was married to William Kirk, Lila to J. H. Honea, and Martha C. to John M. Neal.

62. Hyde, p. 160.



SITE OF TOWNSEND BATTLE AS IT APPEARS TODAY

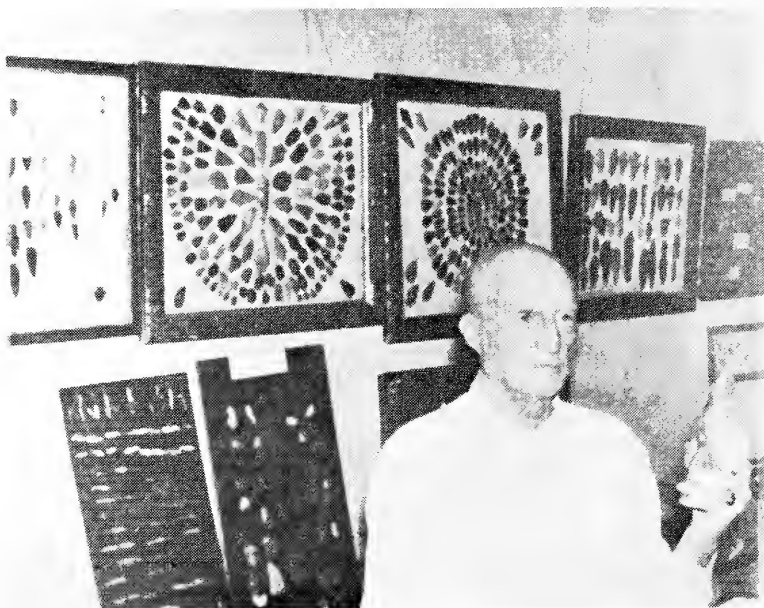
*Photo by Rev. Stuart D. Frazier*

not come even then until another lesson had to be learned by the Custer tragedy on the Little Big Horn June 25, 1876. It was not until General Crook's defeat of Dull Knife which took place on Powder River November 25, 1876, that the tide was turned. During that winter the hostile, widely-separated camps were so constantly and successfully harrassed by the army that further resistance finally became impossible and peace was unpreventable.<sup>63</sup>

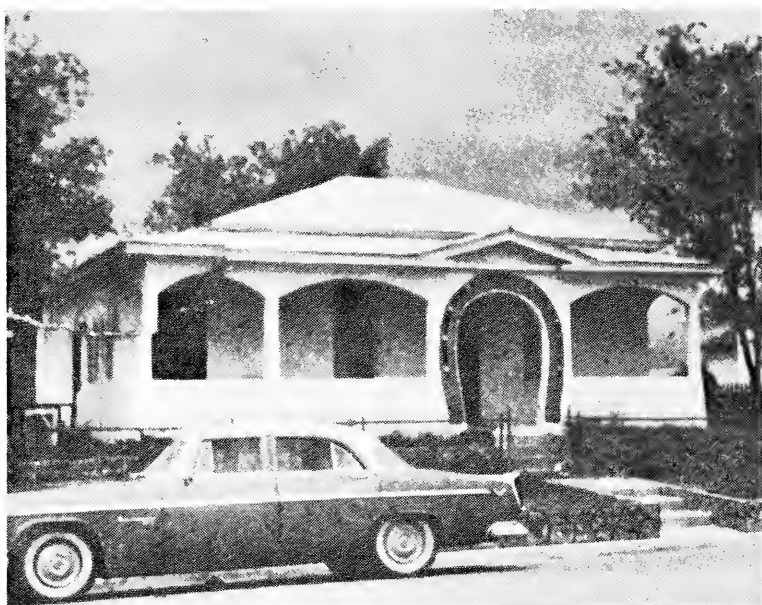
The following year saw the beginning of Fort McKinney on Clear Creek, and by 1878 the Bozeman Trail was again in full use. For many years afterwards it continued to be used by freighters and stage lines into Buffalo and Fort McKinney three miles westward, and to other points north, as well as by emigrants. Even today the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of many well known and well established pioneer families in northeastern Wyoming proudly relate that their forebears arrived in covered wagons over the Bozeman Trail.

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63. Hyde, pp. 287-288.



LEW H. BARLOW



HORSESHOE VILLA

*Courtesy Mae Urbanek*

# *Lew Barlow of Gillette*

By

MAE URBANEK

This article was written for the *Annals of Wyoming* several months before Mr. Barlow died in Gillette, on March 31, 1964, at the age of 95. Ed.

"There were no fences and mighty few log and sod shacks between Miles City, Montana and Gillette, Wyoming, in 1898. It was wide-open range. Gillette was a railroad town with only thirty inhabitants. The only place to buy a meal was in a small shack down by the railroad tracks."

In these words L. H. Barlow, "Lew" to his scores of friends, describes Wyoming as he first saw it. Tired of breaking broncos and hunting horse thieves in Idaho, he had shipped his two carloads of cattle to Miles City and then trailed them south to the prairies around Gillette. His uncle, W. F. Draper, of Sundance, described these grassy plains as "the best range land west of the Missouri."

Today Gillette is crowded with automobiles, and the streets swarm with people. The old ranching town is enjoying an oil boom. Derricks are going up in a wide area; wells are being dug. Tireless rocker arms are pumping millions of gallons of crude oil to the surface. On a quiet, side street in Gillette stands a distinguished-looking house with a huge horseshoe front. This is the home of Lew Barlow, still a vigorous 94-year-young pioneer. The oil is no surprise to Lew. His home is filled with tables overflowing with petrified proof of the source of all oil—prehistoric marine life that flourished a hundred million years ago where Gillette now stands.

About fifteen years ago Lew retired from active ranch management and took up collecting artifacts and fossils to "keep myself young." For five successive terms he was mayor of Gillette. He continued to rope calves on the ranch "for exercise," and rode his favorite mount, a Palomino, in many parades. But he still found time to hunt and probe deep in the earth for his fossils. Campbell County is good hunting ground, and Lew is an extra fast worker. Tables sagged under the weight of his finds.

"Many centuries ago this country had a climate like that of Florida today," Lew explains before he starts showing individual fossils in his collection. "There were many lakes. Both land and water were thickly populated with animals, varying in size from worms to dinosaurs. Plant growth was lush and tropical in nature. Sequoia timber grew here. In California where it now grows it is known as redwood.

"Then came the time of a great upheaval. The Black Hills were formed. Devils Tower rose, and the Missouri Buttes. The air was filled with choking ashes. Billions of animals and trees were buried under soil and rocks and ashes. Masses of trees crushed and buried then form our extensive coal mines of today. Where marine life and wood were pressed into water with tons of earth upon it, water began its patient work of replacing the once-living cells with calcium and silica. So the fossils of fish and animals, and the petrified wood was recast and preserved for us by water. This buried life also produced the oil we are pumping out today."

Lew then shows his visitors the petrified proof that he has gathered. Ammonites still glowing with prehistoric iridescence are perhaps his most fascinating fossils. They are coiled shells from the Mesozoic age, similar to the mollusks that exist today. Lew has them varying in size from over a foot in diameter down to less than one inch, but still perfect in form. One unique fossil has an unborn baby ammonite clearly visible. Other fossils from that ancient time include baculites, trilobites, belemnites or ink fish, fossil fish, fossil leaves and ferns, a petrified oyster, a petrified frog, dinosaur gizzard stones, dinosaur teeth and bones, and a piece of a cycad. Cycads are petrified plants that once grew in ancient swamps were they were oats for dinosaurs.

A recent addition to Lew's collection is an immense joint of backbone, about three feet in width, and two feet deep. At the School of Mines in Rapid City, South Dakota, Lew compared it with the backbone joints of dinosaurs and found it much larger. Since identification is not possible, scientists agree with Lew that it probably was once a living part of an ancient mammoth. The bone comes from the state of Washington, where a friend found it and brought it to Lew for his collection.

While gathering fossils, Lew also gathers many artifacts from much more recent times. He has hundreds of arrowheads, many perfect and also many broken parts which he has used to form letters of mottos such as: "Give Me a Home where the Buffalo Roam in Old Wyom"; "God Bless that Mother of Mine"; "The Old Rugged Cross", with a cross of perfect arrowheads. These mottos are framed and with paintings and photographs and funny quips decorate the walls of his home.

A hand-made United States flag with 42 stars hangs on one wall. This flag was found by a friend while he was tearing down an old log cabin near Gillette. It was buried under two layers of wall paper. A flag with 42 stars is especially unusual because it existed only for eight months, from November, 1889, when the two Dakotas, Washington and Montana joined the Union, until July, 1890, when Wyoming and Idaho were added.

A cannon ball five inches in diameter and two smaller iron balls are from an old battlefield southwest of Gillette. "A real battle took place there but no historic record of it exists," Lew says.



"A Mexican horse wrangler, John, told me that he and some early settlers with a small detachment of army men battled for their lives with the Indians on that hill. You can still see the deep pits they dug, now well grassed over. An old wooden-wheeled cannon was used to fire the shot. It scared the Indians away and saved the lives of the settlers."

Lew Barlow was born in Nebraska, near Omaha, but came west while very young "to get away from my relatives." He lived in Idaho for thirteen years, where he worked for cattle outfits and became a top rider. He recalls seeing Indian women dig roots from the prairies and rub the roots between stones, making the product into coarse bread. Lew has several such rubbing stones, and many Indian scrapers, knives, and hammers in his collection now.

After he reached the Gillette area with his cattle in 1898, he waited a year before he returned to Idaho for his wife and baby. By that time he had a one-room log house east of Gillette ready for them.

"All the fuel we had was coal that we dug for ourselves. One day while my wife and I were gone for a load of the black diamonds, the log house burned down. But my mother-in-law saved herself and the baby. We didn't have any money, so I traded two cows for a shack without windows in town", Lew recalls.

"In 1917 I figured I had better get myself a ranch as the day of the free range was over. I homesteaded out in the Deadhorse Basin and started building. Hard times came and the homesteaders wanted to get out, so I just kept adding blocks of land until our ranch was ten miles across."

Lew now lives alone in his "Horseshoe Villa" in Gillette. Mrs. Barlow died a number of years ago. His sons, Glen and Lew, operate the old ranch, while his daughter, Mrs. Ed Littleton, and a son, Fred, live in town. Visitors from every state in the Union, Canada, Europe, Asia, and Africa have signed his guest book and looked at his famous collection. Often groups of school children come to see his petrified proof of an exciting past and listen to Lew's 'okes as he shows them around.

In 1962 the Wyoming State Historical Society presented an award to Lew. It reads: "To L. H. Barlow in recognition of his activity in the promotion and preservation of Wyoming history in the fields of Archeology and Paleontology and for his collection in these fields."

Lew Barlow believes that people are too busy in these modern times for enough of the good old-fashioned laughs. "Roping and riding was work for cowboys in the early days. Rodeo like we have now is only a show, but kinda nice to look at." A twinkle lights the eyes of Lew as he remembers the past.

He likes the old Germanized saying, "Ve got too soon oldt, and too late schmardt." His favorite motto made of arrowheads is

"Life is not all for money, so make it a song instead of money, and enjoy our milk and honey." This philosophy plus the hobby of collecting fossils and artifacts keeps Lew healthy, alert, busy and happy at ninety-four. "My goal is a hundred or more," he chuckles.

# *John Shepherd Day*

*By*

J. HEROLD DAY

John Shepherd Day started school in the spring of 1869 at the age of four, but with only a few years of formal schooling, he was a self-educated man. His hobby was reading.

His parents, both of whom were born in England—one in London, the other in the South of England—died when he was young; his mother when he was eight years old, his father when he was thirteen.

He worked on a neighbor's farm the summer he was thirteen. The next winter, he went north where his elder brother was working in the timber and got a job as a chore boy, earning \$10 a month the first year, but was a lumberjack the next three years.

In 1882, when he was 17, he quit the timber and went to the Dakota Territory and spent the first winter in Bismarck, a tough town with much gambling during the winter since there was little else to do for the many buffalo hunters gathered there. The buffalo were exterminated in that area that year. There was some trading carried on with the Sioux Indian who had been subdued only recently.

In the summer of 1883, he worked on the grade construction of the railroad from St. Paul to Great Falls. In the early fall he quit, to work for a friend to supply the construction gangs with meat—mostly deer, some elk and antelope.

Between these two jobs, in the hottest part of the summer, John Day and another man tramped through what is now North Dakota to the town of Crookston on the Red River, bought a small row boat and drifted down the river to Manitoba. Mr. Day was well known for his walking ability throughout his life.

The urge to see new territory was upon him again, and Leadville, Colorado, was booming at this time, so in the year of 1884, Mr. Day had the contract to clear the trees, mostly cottonwood, from the right-of-way of the Colorado-Midland Railroad, as it was then called. He worked to the junction of the Green and Grande Rivers. That was the kind of work he liked best. He was an excellent woodsman.

In 1885, John Day moved on to Wyoming, coming first to the Cheyenne country. He worked that spring on Horse Creek, shearing sheep, and then drifted on to the Sweetwater that summer where he worked for Jack Cooper as a cowboy.

He spent the winter of 1885-86 around the Rongis stage station,

where most of the cowboys holed up for the winter, doing odd jobs such as cutting wood.

One cold winter night, the body of Jack Cooper, the cowman for whom he had worked the summer before, and who had been killed in a gun fight, was brought in to the Rongis stage station. Every room was occupied, and the station owner was at his wit's end as to where to put the body. He asked every roomer if he would take the body in with him. The answer was a definite "No" until he came to John Day's room. Mr. Day said, "Sure, I'd rather have a dead man in with me than some of the live ones I know!"

Andy Rutledge had a contract with the Rawlins Mercantile Company to cut logs and build a stage station to compete with Rongis. John Day went to work for him in the spring of 1887 cutting logs and breaking horses for the stage line. In order to get the logs down to lower ground where they could be more easily reached with horses, Mr. Day constructed a logging chute on Willow Creek on Green Mountain, the ruins of which are still there.

Rutledge also had the mail contract between Lost Cabin and Rongis at that time, and Mr. Day, as substitute carrier, drove it between Rongis and the 71 Horse Ranch on Deer Creek a few times the winter of '87 and '88, where it was picked up by someone else and taken on to Lost Cabin. The winter of '87 and '88 was a hard, cold winter with much snow, necessitating the use of a pack horse at times instead of the usual team and wagon.

Andy Rutledge was an honest man and a good friend, but he picked the wrong outfit to back him. The Rawlins Mercantile Company went bankrupt. Before the crash came, Rutledge warned Mr. Day, telling him to get the clothes he needed from the store in lieu of the wages he had earned.

J. B. Okie of Lost Cabin happened through Rongis in the spring of 1888 on his way to Oregon after sheep he had bought there. Rutledge introduced John Day to Okie recommending him highly, and Okie hired Mr. Day as general ranch and sheep foreman, a position he held till he left Okie's employ in 1893 to go into business for himself.

While he was working for Okie, he served as a guide on a pack trip through Yellowstone Park for the Okie family and friends. This was about 1891.

John Day went into the sheep business in 1893, but that venture lasted only two years.

John S. Day married Hannah Welch, November 29, 1894, in Lander, Wyoming. They spent their first year of married life in sheep camp living in a tent.

Mrs. Day went to her father's home in Ogden, Territory of Utah, when her first child, John Herold, was expected, and when he was almost three months old, she took the U.P. train as far as Rawlins, where Mr. Day met them with a covered wagon. They were caught

in a blizzard on the way, but arrived in Lost Cabin the day before Christmas, 1895.

From McGraw, a prospector, Mr. Day had purchased the relinquishment rights to a homestead on Badwater Creek about three miles west of where Lysite now is, and six miles west of Lost Cabin, in the fall of 1896. He and his wife and their infant son lived there in tents that winter while Mr. Day cut and hewed logs for the house he built the spring and summer of 1896. Mr. and Mrs. Day lived there the rest of their lives.

John Day raised hay and grain on his ranch and ran cattle, using the ER brand at first and then the Battle-Axe. He had horses, of course, and in the early 1900's, he raised pigs and cured his own hams and bacons.

He had a few mining interests on Copper Mountain during the boom after 1900. He paid a few assessment fees and hired a miner or two to do assessment work.

During the building of Shoshoni, lumber was hauled down from Okie's saw mill on Big Deep Creek in the Big Horn Mountains to Lost Cabin, the road being kept open even in winter, and there the freighters picked it up and hauled it to Shoshoni. John Day's Battle-Axe Ranch was the overnight stop between Lost Cabin and Shoshoni, both coming and going. It was not a road ranch, as only the freighters and their horses were fed and put up for the night. The ranch served in that same capacity during the building of the Burlington Railroad in 1910.

John Day and Ed Knapp had a contract to furnish beef for the construction gangs working on the Burlington railroad as it was being built between Alkali Creek and the mouth of Hoodoo Creek (a distance of approximately 30 miles) about 1910. Mr. Day furnished hay for the horses used in the construction of the railroad about this same time.

The flood of 1923, when Badwater went on the rampage, washed away the farming land of the Battle-Axe ranch, but John Day continued to run cattle.

Mr. Day served on the Lost Cabin school board when it was the only school in the area.

He was a quiet man, never spoke ill of anyone and got along with everyone—cowman and sheepman alike, in the days when that was not easy to do. They all liked and respected him.

John Day was in poor health the last years of his life, but he never ceased to plan for the future. Even on his last sick bed, at the age of 79, he was planning what he would do as soon as he got out of the hospital.

## Book Reviews

*The West of William H. Ashley.* Edited by Dale L. Morgan (Denver: Old West Publishing Co. Index, maps, illus. 341 pp. \$35.00.)

One of the most outstanding books of Western Americana to come off the press in recent years is this volume, *The West of William H. Ashley*. It is a monumental work by a distinguished author and should be one of the enduring monuments in the history of the fur trade in the Rocky Mountains.

Other fur traders came west before Ashley, but his name is inseparable from this period of history. It was he who established the rendezvous, the gala "mountain fair" which occupies a dramatic place in our history, and who introduced the free trappers to the West, those intrepid souls who became known as the mountain men. He made the fur industry pay off for the Americans, and the forces which he unleashed opened up the West and greatly affected its history.

The book is divided into two main divisions, Book I "The Bloody Missouri," and Book II "Beyond the Continental Divide," and prefaced with an extensive introduction by the author. In the introduction Mr. Morgan has written a biographical sketch of Ashley and a review of the fur trade and exploration in the West prior to the Ashley Period.

In Book I he develops the history of the turbulent partnership between William Henry Ashley and Andrew Henry during the years 1821-24. It was during these years the partners attempted to establish operations on the Yellowstone, suffered crushing blows at the hands of the Arikara, and turned to the central Rockies for a new source of furs. Henry withdrew discouraged just before the new fur bonanza was discovered.

Book II traces Ashley's travels during the years 1824-26, during which time he inaugurated the rendezvous and formed a new partnership with Jedediah Smith. Ashley sold out to Smith, Jackson and Sublette in 1826, following which he served as banker and agent for the new partnership. In 1831 Ashley entered public life once again, a field in which he had been active earlier. His story ends in 1838, the year he died.

This volume represents a lifetime of interest by the author and twenty years of research and study. Dale Morgan has drawn upon all possible sources and records and presents them here in a most comprehensive manner. The Ashley papers are supplemented by letters of Indian agents, army officers, members of Congress, records from rival companies, from his own men, and newspaper accounts. Morgan ties these documents into a cohesive whole

through his narratives. The documents are further enlarged upon and illuminated in an appendix of extensive notes which totals more than one hundred pages.

The book is in an unusually large format, fourteen by nine and a half inches. It is beautifully illustrated with Catlin sketches, two reproductions in black and white of water colors by Charles Bodmer, by several early maps, and by a large fold-in map of the West, "The West of William H. Ashley, 1821-38," including an inset showing in detail the area described in Ashley's diary.

*Cheyenne*

LOLA M. HOMSHER

*The Great Gates.* By Marshall Sprague. (Boston, Little, Brown and Co. 1964. Illus., index. 468 pp. \$7.50.)

Marshall Sprague, a resident of Colorado, is probably best known for *Money Mountain*, which treats the gold rush at Cripple Creek during the turn of the century, *Massacre: The Tragedy at White River*, and *Newport in the Rockies*. His latest non-fiction book, *The Great Gates: The Story of the Rocky Mountain Passes*, must of necessity cover some familiar historical terrain: the explorations of the Spanish in the Southwest, Lewis and Clark in the north, fur trappers and traders, army men like Stephen Long and John Fremont, imaginative miners during the gold and silver booms, and the railroad builders and surveyors working in the late 1800's. But the focus on the character and history of the mountain passes themselves, as well as the adventures of the men who became involved with them, gives freshness and significance to the book.

And there are relatively new faces and events appearing here also. Elderly Major Jacob Fowler of Kentucky explores southern Colorado and northern New Mexico with his Negro slave and compiles his impressions in quaintly misspelled diary entries. Despite a potentially debilitating injury suffered in a fall from his mount (a common hazard for early western travelers, causing the death of Josiah Gregg and badly injuring George Buxton), Captain Howard Stansbury, a civil engineer sympathetic with both Indians and Mormons, surveys the Salt Lake region and a route through southern Wyoming where the Overland Trail and Union Pacific Railroad later run. Young Lieutenant John Mullan, an energetic twenty-three-year-old Irishman, effectively investigates high passes on the Continental Divide in west-central Montana.

In addition, we become acquainted with intriguing, usually neglected figures such as Dr. James Hector, whose accident gave the name Kicking Horse to the river and pass in western Alberta; a cantankerous engineer, Frederick W. Lander, who developed the

Lander Cut-Off to shorten the route to Oregon; Dr. Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden, director of the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories in 1869-1878, and his young scientists who accomplished a major and little-heralded job of mapping the Rocky Mountains at a surprisingly early period in the West's history; and such railroad developers as John Evans, William Palmer, Otto Mears, James Hill, and William Van Horne, an Illinois farm boy who was knighted by Queen Victoria and became president of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Wyoming readers will have a special interest in the chapters entitled "Teton Tourists" and "South Pass: Fruit of Failure," both of which center on important passes in the state.

Two final and unusual chapters treat the role of early alpinists in exploring and popularizing the Canadian Rockies and the effects of automobile travel on the mountain passes since the development of what Mr. Sprague calls the "benzine buggy" early in the present century. He concludes with a pertinent question for the West as a whole: "Of course we are a-tingle about the astronauts now, flying over the Rockies in six seconds flat every hour or two, making ready so that the rest of us can go touring to the moon almost any Sunday. The dear old wagon-road days! People say that the hills were higher then. But were they really? Some of us find them pretty high still, higher even than where the space ships go. Tell me, do they have sweet-voiced ptarmigans and alpine meadows in the stratosphere? Cutthroat trout lazing in crystal streams? Do they have hillsides of aspen against the dark spruce, aspens blazing gold and orange in the crisp air of September? Will the lift-off from that launching pad send me somewhere better than the top of Mosquito Pass?"

For some who live in the Rocky Mountains and share a delight in the beauty, solitude, and danger of the passes dealt with by Mr. Sprague, the answer is a clear "No." And though an obvious conclusion from the strand of history developed in the book is that change is inevitable, those who value the distinctive character and intangible satisfactions found in the high country might give thought to what has happened so far in opening up the Rockies and choose the directions for future economic explorations and expansions with great care. It is possible the time may come when unspoiled nature is more important economically and psychologically than railroads, dams, mines, and missile silos.

Mr. Sprague's enthusiasm for his subject is apparent, and he transmits it to the reader in a clear, informal, and often humorous style of writing which makes the book a sound one for the general reader as well as the more serious student of the West. In particular, he takes delight in the quirks of personality and fate which, as the late H. L. Davis conveyed so well in his Oregon novels, have been a part of the region's history. The book has useful notes, two maps, thirty half-page or full-page photographs of various



passes, and an index. In addition, one of the intriguing aspects of *The Great Gates* is a listing of passes (a miniature guidebook really) with annotations on such matters as elevation, location, nature of transportation required for crossing, and historical background.

*University of Wyoming*

ROBERT A. RORIPAUGH

*Cowboys and Cattlemen. A Roundup from Montana The Magazine of Western History.* Selected and edited by Michael W. Kennedy. (Hastings House, 1964. Illus., index. 364 pp. \$10)

This book is an anthology of twenty-four articles on practically every phase of the cattle industry from the 1850's until 1900. It is illustrated with copies of paintings and drawing by Charles Russell, Ed Borein and others. Dozens of historic photographs by L. A. Huffman and unknown photographers are included in the text.

The titles of this fascinating book, arranged in different sections are: From Beaver to Beef; Rangeland Royalty; Trail Drivin' and Texans; Bad Medicine; Mavericks, Rustlers, Renegades and Strangers; Rawhide and Sage Brush; and End of the Open Range.

Some of these various articles pertain to Wyoming history as well as Montana.

Authors of these articles are: Lewis Atherton, Robert Fletcher, Larry Gill, Donald H. Welsh, Ernest M. Richardson, Michael S. Kennedy, James A. Russell, Joe B. Frantz, Floyd Hardin, Ray H. Mattison, Wallis Huidekoper, Rufus A. Coleman, T. J. Kerttula, Oscar O. Mueller, Helena Huntington Smith, J. Frank Dobie, Allen Toole, Matt J. Kelly, George T. Armitage, L. A. Huffman, Mabel Lux, Mark H. Brown. Dr. Robert H. Burns and Gene Gressley of the University of Wyoming are also authors of two of the articles. Dr. Burns unraveled the story of the Newman Ranches after almost fifteen years of research.

The thrilling story of the first trail drive to Montana Territory across Wyoming by Ft. Laramie and up the Bozeman Trail by Nelson Story in 1866 is told by Michael Kennedy. Nelson Story with twenty-five riders brought 1,000 head of cows and calves from Texas. He astounded the commandants of Ft. Laramie, Ft. Reno, Ft. Phil Kearny and Ft. C. F. Smith with his audacity and determination to drive his herd to Montana. It was suicide with all the Indians on the warpath. Yet, by his sagacity he succeeded in taking this herd to winter range near Livingston, Montana.

"Moreton Frewen, Cattle King with a Monocle", by Ernest Richardson, relates some of the life of the Frewen brothers, Moreton and Richard, while in Wyoming. They owned the 76 Ranch,

near present Kaycee, on Powder River, from 1879 to 1886. They also owned a mule ranch on Powder River in Montana; which in later years was known as the Spear Bitter Creek Ranch. Richard spent most of his time there. Moreton's home on upper Powder River was called Frewen Castle and was visited by many noblemen from Europe. They even captured elk and buffalo, which they somehow managed to take to the railroad at Rock Creek, and shipped to England and Ireland. The extravagant life at the 76 has never been equalled in this part of Wyoming.

Helen Huntington Smith's contribution, "The Truth About the Hole-in-the-Wall-Fight", doesn't entirely agree with the story I have heard from Walter Monnett. He was one of the men who was with Bob Divine and his own horse was shot through the neck. He said that Joe Le Fors shot Bob Smith. I believe that the late Robert Helvey, of Sheridan had a tape recording of Mr. Monnett's account of this fight.

*Sheridan*

ELSA SPEAR BYRON

*The Oregon Desert.* By E. R. Jackman and R. A. Long. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1964. Illus., index. 407 pp. \$4.95.)

The authors have covered material of such scope that their writing might easily have become pedantic. Instead, writing much as they must speak, they have seasoned their facts with the warm touch of philosophy and homespun humor.

It is a book that can answer many of the questions asked by the inhabitants and visitors to this 24,000 square miles of "high desert", who may wonder about the odd formations in the hills, the people who came before, the names of the wild flowers and the ghost towns and all those features that make the area unique.

Each of the authors writes about what he knows best. E. R. Jackman traveled throughout Oregon for years while working with the Extension Service of Oregon State University. With his scientific background, he discusses the prehistoric past of the area, of the tremendous upheavals that cut off its moisture supply. He speaks of the animals and plants.

Practically a lifetime resident of the region, Reub Long earned his living in about as many ways as were available—everything from sheepherder to freighter. Mainly he has been a cowboy, and he now owns thousands of acres of desert range. Reub tells of the homesteaders, the sheepherders, the cowboys, the freighters, the old-time doctors. He spins tales of his life on the desert—his family, friends and his many enterprises.

The Oregon desert has some inhabitants in common with Wyoming—wildlife such as mule deer, bobcats, skunks and antelope; wild flowers such as Indian paintbrush and lupine; cattle, sheep and horses and, of course, the sagebrush.

This dry section of Oregon also shares some of Wyoming's problems: water, range development and management and irresponsible hunters. All this is covered in the book and much more, and yet it is a book that can be read by anyone with enjoyment. Any chapter in it can stand alone as a separate article, but continuity is maintained throughout, for each chapter is written with the Oregon desert as its setting.

Cody

ANNE FENDRICH

*The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803-1805.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Ernest Staples Osgood. (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1964. Illus., index. 335 pp. \$12.50.)

One of the fascinating chapters of the history of the West is the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The expedition has been well documented, for President Jefferson encouraged the captains and their men to keep as many journals as possible on the trip so that, if any were accidentally lost, there was a chance of survival of a part of them. Both Lewis and Clark and seven of their men, kept journals. Four of the latter have been preserved and published, and Reuben Gold Thwaites in 1904-05 transcribed, edited and published the captains' journals, with those of two of their men, under the title *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*.

These journals consisted of several small notebooks officially kept by the captains. It was long suspected that they had kept field notes and transcribed them into the official records. The notes were presumed to be lost.

In 1953 a dramatic discovery was made in the attic of a house in St. Paul, Minnesota, where, in a large collection of papers being investigated by the Minnesota Historical Society, was found what proved to be the rough field notes kept by Captain William Clark and used as the basis of preparation of his official record. These notes are now located in the Collection of Western Americana at Yale University, placed there by Frederick W. Beinecke.

Ernest Staples Osgood, eminent western historian, has conducted an admirable piece of detective work in authenticating the notes, in reconstructing their history and travels as nearly as could

be done, and in his work of editing and comparing them with the later official field notes.

The notes are published here in two parts. The first, the Dubois Journal, fills in a gap of information between the Ohio journey and the journey up the Missouri river and back to civilization. The Dubois Journal notes had not been transcribed into any permanent record for preservation and practically nothing had been known of the party's sojourn at this point.

The second part consists of the notes on the River Journey, the 1600 miles covered to the Mandan village. Although official records on this part of the trip had been kept, these rough notes add many side lights to history. Clark had jotted down notes on the people in the party, the problems confronting them and possible solutions, hearsay reports on the country they were to traverse and through which they were passing, and rough maps sketched on the basis of information available, made to plan the route of the journey.

Following the notes edited by Dr. Osgood, facsimile copies of the original documents are reproduced here in full size. Anyone who wishes can thereby conduct his own investigation and comparison of these notes and reach his own conclusions.

This book, published in outsize format, is a fine contribution to Western Americana. Hopefully we look forward to other discoveries of notes hidden away in attics and basements which may have escaped the ravages of time and which will shed equal light on other obscure phases of Western history. Too much of the true frontier story of the West remains yet untouched by the historian.

*Cheyenne*

LOLA M. HOMSHER

*The Story Catcher.* By Mari Sandoz. (Philadelphia, The Westminster Press. 1963. Illustrated by E. J. McCorkell. 175 pp. \$3.25)

This little novel is the second Mari Sandoz has written in which the central character is an Indian boy who is determined to win his standing in the tribe by means other than the traditional ones. It is the story of Young Lance who wants to be what we would call a tribal historian instead of a great warrior, "Story Catcher" he would be called by the Indians. Such a position was most highly respected; consequently standards were high, qualifications demanding, and total acceptance was not easily achieved. The "story catcher" had to be much more than a mere story teller or handy with his artist's tools. He had to have great insight, objectivity, integrity, and skill to convey in his seemingly simple drawings the

aspirations, the sufferings and failures, the defeats and triumphs, the heroism and genuine worth of his people. Young Lance had to earn his place, and the novel is, of course, the story of his maturing, his struggles, his learning humility, his mistakes and their consequent punishment by the tribe, and, at the end, his deserved reward.

As the story develops there is an abundance of excitement and suspense—Lance's capture of the little enemy Ree boy (who provides an admirable study of human relationships), the inevitable pursuits, battles, captures and escapes, all of them dramatic, convincing, and stirring.

As usual in Mari Sandoz' books, the story is beautifully told, though perhaps somewhat less poetically than the earlier novel, *The Horse Catcher*. But it is, of course, a different story told in its own effective way, written in that flawless style which is one of Miss Sandoz' marks of distinction. The sympathy and admiration which she has always had for these people are there, along with her great knowledge and understanding; and she invests these Plains Indians with the simplicity, dignity, and nobility which for her are their distinguishing characteristics. Like her other works which deal with the Indians, this one is fine and satisfying, one which should contribute to our appreciation of a people too often maligned.

*University of Wyoming*

RICHARD MAHAN

*War Eagle. A Life of General Eugene A. Carr.* By James T. King. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1963. Illus., index. 321 pp. \$6.00)

Author King, in his vivid story of the life of General Eugene A. Carr, gives the reader a fascinating account of the military life and exploits of this most deserving personality. A soldier of high moral character and personal convictions, "War Eagle," as he was called by the Indians, distinguished himself in the Civil War by winning the Congressional Medal of Honor.

In nearly forty years of service, thirty of which were devoted to the life of a frontier cavalry officer, he experienced the heartbreaks of loneliness, isolation in remote frontier posts, and "Old Army" political maneuvering. Obviously devoted to, and respected by, his men his deep concern for adequate supplies and equipment usually brought frustrating results.

The description and details of his many Indian campaigns are accurately and vividly set forth. It is quite evident that General

Carr's niche in Western history has been sorely neglected. His experiences in Arizona Apache country alone make this book well worth reading, and no student or historian of Indian warfare would fail to recognize General Carr as an outstanding cavalry officer who contributed significantly to American expansion Westward. He truly deserved his promotion to Brigadier General, but he paid a handsome price—premature retirement from a service to which he devoted his life.

*Cheyenne*

E. T. BOHLEN

*Custer Country.* By Ralph E. Scudder. (Portland, Binford and Mort, 1963. Illus., index. 63 pp. \$3.00)

For the student of Custer history or the Custer "buff", this book should be in great demand for it accomplishes in 63 pages what some authors have tried to do with many thousands of words and hundreds of pages. The old Chinese proverb, "One picture is worth ten thousand words," well applies to what Ralph Scudder has accomplished in compiling his *Custer Country*.

Of all the words printed in describing the terrain and country that Custer and the 7th cavalry crossed in pursuit of the Indian, and the deadly battle on the Little Big Horn June 25, 1876, none can accomplish or describe this area so well as the fine oblique aerial photographs used in this work, to show the topography, lines of march, and battle sites.

The author used a professional photographer and airplane to photograph the terrain over which Custer and his men marched and fought, and did the aerial photography on the anniversary date of these events to show the topography, as near as possible, as it looked to these Indian fighters as they marched into the unknown from the mouth of the Rosebud creek to the banks of the Little Big Horn.

The text of this book guides the reader through the different phases of this campaign very precisely, inasmuch as the aerial photos used eliminate the need for a word picture of the surroundings and terrain, so often necessary in other works on this subject.

This book is interestingly written and is very nicely illustrated with 35 pictures and six uncluttered maps, and the aerial photography is superb. There is an ample bibliography and index. This book is a fine work by itself, but of more importance is its ability to supplement all previous Custer publications used by either the amateur or professional historian.

*Sheridan*

GLENN D. SWEEM

*Tales of the Frontier.* Selected and Retold by Everett Dick. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1963. 390 pp. \$6.00)

An entertaining and comprehensive collection of stories of the old west has been brought together in this latest book of Everett Dick.

According to the author's statement in his foreword, he encountered the stories over many years of research, and he recorded the sources so that they might someday be shared with others. All the stories are true, or have been told as true, but any erroneous details have been correlated with historical fact.

The period covered chronologically is from the early 1800's, when the opening western frontier was still along the Missouri River, through the latter years of that century when bonanza ranching was in full swing on the great plains.

Among the stories familiar to Wyoming readers are those of Portugee Phillips' ride from Fort Phil Kearny to Fort Laramie, and of Ah-ho-ap-pa, daughter of Chief Spotted Tail, told here as "The Princess of Fort Laramie." Many more stories are found here for the first time under such intriguing titles as "Bushel of Doughnuts", "The Circuit Rider and the Sinners", "The Kitchen Frontier", "The Traveling Courthouse" and "The Phantom Piccolo Player."

A section of clear and precise maps is included in the book, and is most convenient and helpful to establish geographic background for the stories. Some of the maps are The West of Lewis and Clark, The West of the Trapper, the frontiers of mining, and overland transportation and rails of the west.

The reader is sure to put Dick's book down with a fresh realization of the vigor, adventure, humor, tragedy and heroic endeavor that went into the development of our western country.

*Cheyenne*

KATHERINE HALVERSON

*Dr. Bessie.* By Alfred M. Rehwinkel. (St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House. 1963. 171 pp. \$3.00)

This is a delightful biography of Dr. Bessie Efner Rehwinkel presented in a running narrative by her husband.

At a time when women doctors were extremely rare, she graduated from medical school and set up practice in a small town in Iowa. She went through the usual trials of any young doctor in addition to the ones due to her sex. She finally became established and was enjoying a successful practice when the panic of 1907 set

in. As a result she decided to try a frontier country, and in December, 1907, she moved to Carpenter, Wyoming.

The land was then opening to homesteaders, and her description of the early life of the homesteader is well worth reading.

In the course of her practice she attended a severely injured young minister from Burns, Wyoming, and eventually married him.

The marriage ended her life as a doctor, but she then described a most interesting life as the wife of a rural minister in northwest Canada.

This is a well written and interesting account of the early homesteading days of Wyoming.

*Cheyenne*

DAVID M. FLETT, M.D.

*Higher Education in a Maturing Democracy.* By Louis G. Geiger. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1963. 91 pp. \$3.00)

These two readable and delightful essays discuss the effects of and changes in higher education throughout the past one hundred years. Within this framework the author covers the achievements, failures and faults of the Land-Grant Colleges. The frankness of the author's criticism, not only of the colleges but of those individuals and groups that through lack of knowledge or for personal motives criticize or condemn the colleges, is likely to make this book a controversial one.

The first essay sketches briefly the history of higher education from 1850, when not one college had a laboratory, to the present; from the time when the majority of the curriculum was devoted to Roman and Grecian literature and history to the institution with a program equally strong in the humanities and the sciences; the availability of colleges to the entire population, with the resulting effects on the maturity of the nation, sociologically as well as politically; the scientific and agricultural advances, and the fine arts and moral conduct. In concluding the first essay, the author expresses the belief that the colleges and universities are providing the common experience for Americans that the frontier once did . . . the common experience necessary to draw us together . . . that they are creating a "new American style."

The second essay which considers the Land-Grant idea and the transformation of American society is based on the Land-Grant colleges of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountain Region. In these areas the role of such colleges has been most marked, for in these regions the Land-Grant colleges stood alone with no competition or guidance from powerful private or sectarian institutions. While the author acknowledges the numerous and extremely bene-



ficial achievements of the Land-Grant colleges, he also discusses their faults and failures. It is from this discussion that controversy might develop. The Land-Grant colleges' fierce competition among themselves in copying and duplication has resulted in the achievement of a "system of higher education lacking in system" with little if any working together or sharing in a common enterprise. "Competition", the author states, "may be the life of trade, and possibly of religion, but in the field of education it has also been the source of frustration and waste."

The lack of college histories and even the colleges' reluctance to have good histories written is commented upon. The reluctance of the colleges to make available the papers necessary to the writing of a college history is also considered. The great majority of college histories, the author notes, are "some variation of the rise-from-rags-to-riches theme, and not much more." The colleges are criticized not only for not wanting an impartial outside appraisal of their operations, but also for their smugness and their philosophy that they have never been guilty of a failure or mistaken policy that could not have been remedied by spending more money.

"Democracy's College" as the author refers, not inappropriately, to the Land-Grant colleges, seem to him to turn out more graduates who lack either sound judgment or a clear sense of their public responsibilities than do private institutions. Preparation of high school curriculum with no assistance from the professors of the subject matter area is decried, as is the launching of a new college curriculum which is "preceded by a search of other colleges' catalogs; new course descriptions smell of plagiarism." The "irresponsible interference" of outsiders leads the author to conclude that not Washington, but local influences, exert more "ideological interference" in our colleges. Only complete and candid information can be the answer to critics and friends alike, concludes the author.

The only question I would ask the author is this: Is this a maturing or a decaying democracy?

*Cheyenne*

J. PELHAM JOHNSTON

## Contributors

DAVID D. DOMINICK served three years as a U. S. Marine Corps officer following his graduation from Yale University in 1960. He is presently a law student at the University of Colorado. Born in Philadelphia, he moved with his family to Cody, Wyoming in 1940. His father, Dr. DeWitt Dominick, is a prominent physician, and the family operates the 7-D dude ranch in the Sunlight Basin during the summer.

J. HEROLD DAY, born in 1895, has been engaged in cattle ranching in Wyoming all of his life. As a young man he worked for his father and other ranchers as a cowhand, and later acquired ranch holdings of his own. A few years ago ill health forced him to sell his cattle and lease his land, but he and Mrs. Day still live in the same ranch house they have occupied since 1917, on Bridger Creek, near Lysite.

JOHN DISHON McDERMOTT. See *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 34, No. 2, October, 1962, pp. 261-262.

ROBERT A. MURRAY. See *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 36, No. 1, April, 1964, p. 124.

ROBERT H. BURNS. See *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 22, No. 2, July, 1950, p. 76.

A. S. GILLESPIE. See *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 34, No. 2, October, 1962, p. 262.

BURTON S. HILL. See *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 34, No. 1, April, 1962, p. 131-132.

MAE URBANEK. See *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 27, No. 2, October, 1955, p. 251, and Vol. 35, No. 2, October, 1963, p. 245.

## ERRATUM

The cover picture of the *Annals of Wyoming* for April, 1964, was identified incorrectly as Cloud Peak. The title of the picture was taken from information on the original glass plate negative in the Stimson Collection. After its publication letters were received from Hans Kleiber, of Dayton, and Elsa Spear Byron, of Sheridan, stating that the peak shown in the photograph is Black Tooth. Mr. Kleiber suggested that the picture was probably taken from the Highland Park area at the head of North Piney Creek. Their corrections are appreciated.

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