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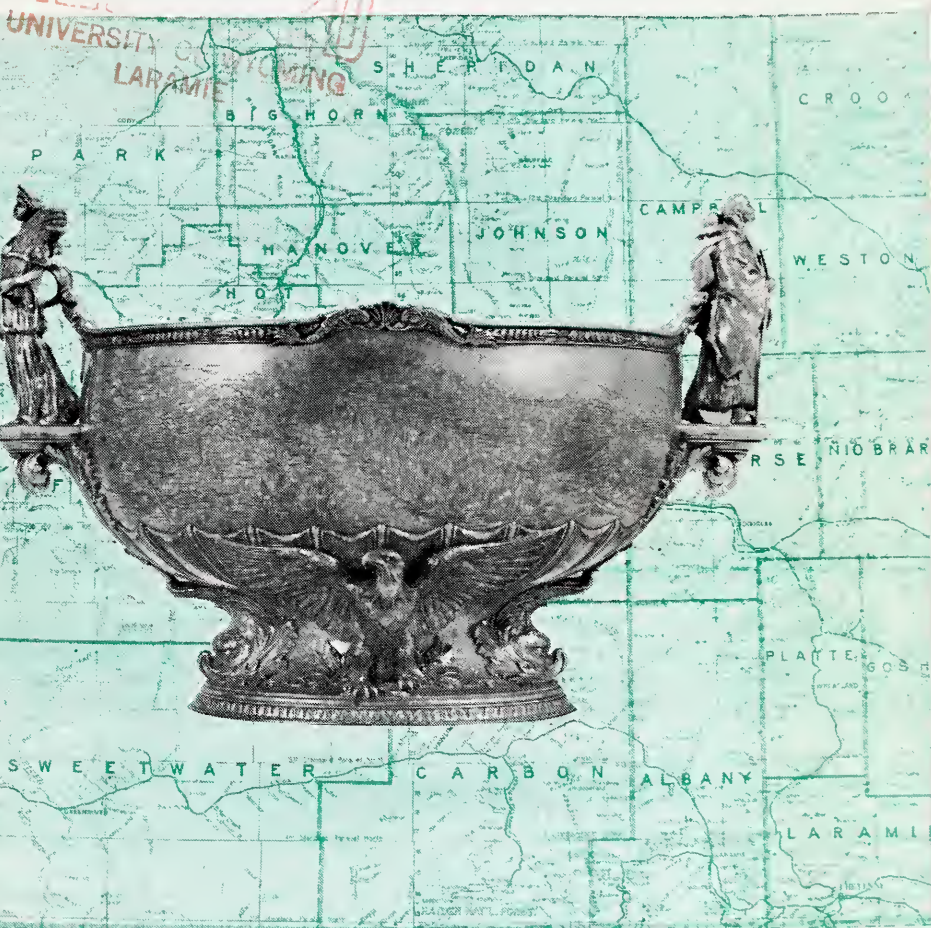






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Annals of Wyoming



Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

The punch bowl is the principal piece in the silver service used on the battleship U.S.S. Wyoming from 1911 to 1946. One of more than fifty pieces in the service, the 30"x18"x21" bowl depicts the growth and progress of Wyoming. Sculptured figures of Sacajawea and a pioneer woman form the handles of the bowl.

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ANNALS OF WYOMING

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The map used as the background for the artifact on the cover is a copy of one published by the Clason Map Co., Denver. Although the original bears no date imprint, the twenty-one-county map of Wyoming was published sometime between 1913 and 1922. In 1913 Goshen, Hot Springs, Lincoln, Niobrara and Platte Counties were organized. Teton County, organized in 1922, and Sublette County, organized in 1923, do not appear on this map. Other maps, of varying dates, will be used from time to time on the covers of the *Annals of Wyoming*.

Portrait in Oil

The Belgo-American Company

In Wyoming

By

WILSON O. CLOUGH¹

In April of 1904 a little book appeared in Paris, France, under the title (as translated) of *Wyoming: An Anecdotal History of Petroleum*. Its author was one Robert Charles Henri Le Roux, here called Hugues Le Roux, journalist, traveler, and literary man. Internal evidence indicates that M. Le Roux was in Wyoming in the spring of 1902, called upon some leading citizens, and visited the small beginnings of the Salt Creek oil field in the company of Joseph H. Lobell, representative in Wyoming of the Belgo-American Company of Wyoming Petroleums, and Mr. Cy Iba, resident of Casper. Much of his book dealt, therefore, with Wyoming oil history, then in its infancy.

In the same year, possibly in the same month of April, 1904, there appeared also in Paris a pamphlet-sized booklet likewise entitled *Wyoming*, with the lengthy subtitle of *A State of the American West; and General Considerations on the Far West*. Its author was André Emile Sayous, student of economics, lecturer at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, and prolific writer of articles on economics. M. Sayous visited Cheyenne, Laramie, and Casper in the spring of 1903, his visit coinciding with that of M. Noel Pardon, labeled by the *Cheyenne Leader* "former Governor of the French Colonies," who was conducted on a tour of certain oil fields by Professor Wilbur C. Knight of the state University. Sayous, who probably went along, was less enthusiastic than Le Roux, and a bit more wary in his opinions.

An aura of indefiniteness as to motivation hovered about these two small books, both touching on Wyoming's general situation and prospects, with side glances at oil production, until a third book

1. "Dr. Gene Gressley," says Dr. Clough, "called my attention to the book by LeRoux. It led me to the other two documents treated below, none of them previously put into English, and the story which follows. I must thank Dr. Samuel H. Knight and Dr. T. A. Larson for their reading of this article in manuscript."

came to light, likewise published in French in 1904, probably in May, but this time in Brussels. Though its author, Louis Magné, made passing reference to the other two books, as will appear, his major concern was indicated by his title (translated): *History of the Belgo-American Company of Wyoming Petroleum*s. It appears that M. Magné had written previous articles in financial journals concerning his growing doubts about this company; but here, in a text thoroughly documented up to the time of publication, he more than hinted at high financial shenanigans in Europe, and even wondered if there were actually oil in Wyoming. He wished, he said, that he could know the outcome of this fantastic narrative, which, in his opinion, promised a rude jolt to someone. His favored target on the scientific side was one Dr. Boverton Redwood of London, geologist, on whose authority rested much of the company's inflated propaganda; but most of all he belabored the company's European instigators.

Such are the major *dramatis personae* of a story here limited more specifically to 1902-1905, but ranging also from 1899 to 1910. It is not the purpose of this article to deal with the larger story of oil in Wyoming, but merely to outline this single episode, because the above documentation is almost unknown, it appears, within Wyoming history. Indeed, as far as a cursory investigation reveals, none of these three books was even mentioned in the literature of the time in the state's newspapers or journals. The bibliography therefore, is rather strictly limited in the interests of completeness within a narrower frame.

I

It was no news by 1900 that oil was to be found in Wyoming, though actual production was as yet slight. Cy Iba, an old timer who had observed traces of oil in the Seminoe region in 1851, returned from California in 1882 to claim locations there and in the Salt Creek area. The first real drilling was in 1888, when Philip Shannon, a man experienced in the Pennsylvania oil fields, helped found the Pennsylvania Oil and Gas Company in Wyoming, which brought in the first well in 1890, and in 1894 built a small refinery in the new, raw town of Casper. In 1893, Professor Wilbur C. Knight published the first Bulletin on the Salt Creek area, "a remarkably clear and accurate geological report," Dr. Larson calls it, as, indeed, it proved to be.² First samples sent east for analysis surprised the specialists, who pronounced it the finest lubricating

2. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 301. See also Mokler, *History of Natrona County*, pp. 248-252, and H. D. Roberts, *Salt Creek, Wyoming*.

oil yet seen. For a time, the Union Pacific used this lubricating oil on its engines without refining it.

It was due to these early operations that Dr. Boverton Redwood of London was induced to visit Wyoming in 1899. This distinguished British geologist, familiar with the great Russian oil fields and consultant for the British Parliament on matters of petroleum, had intended to stay three weeks in Wyoming, but extended his visit to three months, touring the state with Professor Knight, and returning to London with glowing reports of untouched resources of petroleum in Wyoming, and the fullest confidence in Professor Knight's reports.

Redwood had long known the great oil fields of the world, and came skeptically to Wyoming, expecting to be disappointed. But "I was mistaken. It is proved that this country is the best oil-bearing district that could be found from the geological point of view," he wrote. It is "enormously rich," and production is "absolutely assured."³ The importance of this opinion, which Dr. Redwood continued to affirm, lies in the fact that on it, and on Professor Knight's judgment, the European edifice of the Belgo-American Company was erected.

Let us remind ourselves, then, at this point, that, despite some flurries of interest in the Uinta, Popo Agie and Lander areas, there was still in 1901-1902 very little testing or production of oil in Wyoming, and that a major problem was that of distance from markets and lack of transportation facilities. Not until a decade later would any real advances be made. Transportation still meant heavy teaming or railroads, for good roads and auto-trucking were still unknown. Again, we must not forget that there is a great gap between careful scientific evaluation in the field, and the feverish activities of speculation and promotion in far distant world capitals. The scientific judgments of Professor Knight and Dr. Redwood have been remarkably substantiated by time, even to the unfortunate "Dome" field, where today there is renewed activity. On the other hand, we can share with M. Magné some of the dismay at what he was witnessing in Europe; for the very date of our three little books in French, the spring of 1904, was, indeed, one of crisis for the Belgo-American affair.

* * *

Though Magné's book was the last of the three to appear, its documentary importance justifies our beginning with it.

In June of 1901, so Magné reports, a joint stock-company called

3. Louis Magné, *Histoire de la Société Belgo-Américaine*, etc., p. 166, quoting Dr. Redwood. It was this confidence on the part of Redwood that so disturbed M. Magné, as will be seen.

"The Anglo Oil Fields Limited" was formed in London, with seven subscribers and a nominal capital of 300,000 pounds, shares at one pound each, its stated aim being "to acquire, exploit and develop, sell or dispose of by all other means, oil-bearing lands in the State of Wyoming (United States of America)."⁴ Such lands, said the prospectus, were "to be chosen especially by the expert of the company, in a total of 295,000 acres of oil-bearing lands known under the name of oil-bearing basins of Dutton and Beaver, situated in the counties of Natrona and Fremont."

From the start, Magné's approach is one of suspicion. His opening words are: "This history will be serious and comic, true and fantastic, full of the most irrefutable documents and the numerous surprises of a newspaper serial. . . . I do not know the outcome. I should have liked to wait for it, but the promoters and actors multiply their divers activities so fast that I risked not being able to follow them." (p. 5)

Certain surveying engineers employed by the Union Pacific railroad, says M. Magné, observed evidences of oil. Not having personal resources, they offered an option to an English correspondent, who made overtures to Mr. Henry Walter of London. Mr. Walter, desiring information, engaged Dr. Boverton Redwood to examine the lands and to search out further advantageous lands. Dr. Redwood then spent (1899) three months in Wyoming, and "much struck by the geological conditions of the region, covered almost all of Wyoming in the company of the official geologist of the state, Dr. Wilbur C. Knight, whom Dr. Redwood considers a man as competent as honorable and in whom he has since retained his utmost confidence." (p. 14)

Thereupon Dr. Redwood strongly recommended the acquisition of properties, plus "a whole series of other lands which Messers Redwood and Knight estimated to have considerable value. This especially favorable opinion of Dr. Redwood is recorded in a report which he drew up on his return to England and on which rests the constitution of the Anglo-Wyoming Oil Fields Ltd." (p. 15)

It was this extreme confidence in the judgment of two men only, one far distant in Wyoming, that disturbed M. Magné; and understandably so, especially since in 1901 and 1903 the French government had issued specific warnings against oil stocks whose capital was mostly "paper," and whose products were "hypothetical," companies, in short, called "wildcat," which the French rendered

4. Magné, pp. 11-12. M. Magné's authority for the first part of his *History* was a "Note" printed in 1903 by the Belgo-American Company in Brussels, Belgium, entitled (as translated) "Note on the Origin, Creation and Development of the Belgo-American Company of Wyoming Petroleum." Since Magné's documents, even the English ones, are in French, I must hope that I have rendered them with reasonable accuracy in each case.

as "*chat sauvage*, that is, as hard to catch as this cat of the woods." (p. 7)

This original company, says M. Magné, made no effort to develop the lands themselves, some 40,000 acres leased on Redwood's recommendation, but set up a series of associated companies to do the work, a percentage of returns to go to the mother company (a procedure followed by other great syndicates). Obviously, says Magné, a company with 20,000 pounds (if paid), and 280,000 on paper, could hardly expect to inaugurate exploitation in distant Wyoming. Therefore, Mr. Henry Walter, promotor and seller, went to Brussels, "a city blessed with certain founders of joint-stock companies," and was there favorably received by Belgians and some "international elements," including one Rudi Landauer. The two worked out a new group, called "Syndicate of Wyoming," and, from April 10, 1902, "The Belgo-American Company of Wyoming Petroleums."⁵

Note that this last date coincides with the visit of M. Le Roux to Wyoming, though a precise connection is impossible to prove. Le Roux had been in Africa in 1901, and was in Massachusetts in February of 1902, *after* a trip via Canada to the oil fields of Indiana and Pennsylvania (for what purpose?). Why did he turn west again, then, for his trip to Wyoming? He does not tell us. The possibility that he might report usefully on American practice, and further give a first-hand account of oil in Wyoming, must have had its interest for the Belgian company. The fact that Le Roux did not publish until 1904 enabled him to add material from 1903, as clearly appears in his book, including his later almost reverent interview with Dr. Redwood in London. Le Roux, at the end, speaks of landing in France "early in the summer of 1902," and "after two years of absence," which leaves between April and June for his trip to Wyoming. We shall return to M. Le Roux below.

Complicated correspondence between London and Brussels followed the naming of the Belgo-American Company (hereafter so abbreviated), especially between Landauer and Dr. Redwood. Magné prints these letters in detail, admitting that Dr. Redwood may be "even the finest expert in the world," though he finds himself disturbed by the British geologist's readiness to encourage the operations which follow. Landauer in November of 1901, for example, proposed a series of questions for Dr. Redwood's answers. Redwood's replies were direct, sometimes merely a "Yes," the tenor being a complete assurance on the promise of Wyoming's future.

On December 28, 1901, Henry Walter sent Landauer plans for procedure. They will sink a well near Lander, and another on 100

5. Magné, p. 17. Magné's book is much too detailed for more than summary in this article, hence the occasional page references in parentheses.

acres "especially selected" by Dr. Redwood. Walter expects to visit Wyoming himself, and promises a "gusher" of 10,000 barrels a day and possibly a profit of 500,000 pounds annually. Dr. Redwood accepts his part—though he never revisited the scene, and must have relied on Professor Knight for information. Publicity for the new project began in February of 1902. The Belgian company now set its capital at one million francs, divided into 10,000 shares at 100 francs each, a franc then being about five to a dollar.

The first publicity (as quoted by Magné, pp. 30-34), in a journal called *Economic Progress (Eessor Economique)*, said in part: "A group of Belgian financiers have just bought the Wyoming Oil Fields and will establish three hundred branch offices in the different countries of Europe." The territories acquired, it goes on, "comprise 300 acres in the counties of Natrona and Fremont. . . . M. Boverton Redwood of London . . . and Messers J. Mills of Chicago have explored the region and from their studies the result is that there are 60,000 acres of fine oil-bearing lands."

Information follows (similar to that in Le Roux and Sayous) on locations, promises, railroads. One sentence will be often repeated: "The sole difficulty which prevents the development of these vast oil fields has been the question of transportation." But, says the announcement, "That obstacle will soon be conquered. A pipe line is actually being constructed which will carry petroleum to existing railroads in the proximity and to those which will be constructed." Directors (no names given) are "personalities of high finance and banking." And "we are assured that in America a gigantic trust is on the way to being formed. . . . A company has contracted to buy every barrel of oil on the spot. Branch groups will be founded, with offices in Belgium, Germany, France, Spain and Italy."

The gigantic American company must refer to the later Belgo-American Drilling Trust company, an American subsidiary formed to handle details in America. Who contracted to buy the oil has not been stated.

* * *

A constitution was framed, dated April 10, 1902, with twenty-four subscribers, and detailed statements of location of wells and distribution of profits. Capital stock had to be increased, if only because Belgian law required a capital of one million francs for entry on the Belgian and Paris stock markets. The original sums, complains Magné, were not used for exploitation but as rewards to the "pioneers" of the company. The American branch now appears; its contract called for drilling of at least one, and perhaps three to five wells. There were also promises of tools, machines, accessories, leases, options and operations. Yet actual capital was still too limited to promise much work. In November of 1902, capital was increased by issuing 390,000 new shares at 100 francs

each, and the Council was empowered to realize an increase up to three million francs, with an ultimate goal stated as forty million. The enterprise was launched—at least, in Europe.

II

Toward the end of the autumn of 1902 (M. Magné is still relying on the Belgo-American's published "Note" on its history), the Company asked for a "Committee of Studies," or of investigation, to be composed of distinguished personalities who should recommend on the company's projects and reliability. This committee, composed of distinguished gentlemen, was headed by M. Albert Bourée, labelled "ambassador of France,"⁶ and included members of the French institute, an inspector general of mines, the Spanish minister to France, M. Noel Pardon, "governor of colonies," and M. André Sayous, 'doctor of law, professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes.' Some of them were already shareholders in the Company, notably Bourée and the Spanish minister. "I do not dispute their right," says Magné. "I merely establish the fact." (p. 49) This committee, selected, according to the Company's report, for its "authority and impartiality," was asked to examine in depth the Wyoming project, especially the Dome properties, and advise on further acquisition of lands.

M. Magné, on his account, finds this action amazing. Despite the distinguished names, he cannot overlook certain facts. No member of this committee visited America (Pardon and Sayous came later); one man only, M. Linder, went to London and interviewed Dr. Redwood, already an employee of the Belgo-American, looked at one small map of Wyoming, the authority of which rested on Dr. Redwood's recommendation, and reported to the Committee in session on December 15, 1902, all members present. It returned a unanimous verdict of approval, on the strength of which the Belgo-American company issued 10,000 new shares toward an outlay for 1,280 acres of oil-bearing lands in the Dome area, east of Rock Springs.

Magné had access to M. Linder's report (pp. 64-66). Linder had said in substance: He had made a geologic and technical examination of Dr. Redwood's papers and theories. His doubts were thus "gradually dissipated," particularly by maps of the United States and Wyoming. Linder then gave some technical account of the oil fields of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and of the synclinal folds in Wyoming, "where the indications of the existence of petroleum in depth are of an incontestable certainty." Thus "One has the right to conclude from these facts," said M. Linder

6. Possibly Frederic Albert Bourée, 1838-1914, one-time French minister to Belgium, Denmark, China, and Greece, retired before 1900.

(the italics are Magné's), "that the region in question *must be MORE OR LESS oil-bearing* and that petroleum, when drilling reaches its depth, will be susceptible of gushing above ground; these conclusions confirm those of Dr. Redwood."

Magné had also the minutes of the Committee (pp. 61-63). The question before them was whether it was to the advantage of the Belgo-American company to acquire another 1,280 acres, "against the release of one million francs, namely, 10,000 shares entirely free of the Company, whose nominal capital will thus find itself brought to two million francs." The Committee, said the minutes, "having seen the different documents deposited in the dossier, and especially the history of the business, the reports of Dr. Boverton Redwood and M. Willem [*sic*] C. Knight, state geologist of Wyoming," as well as the Company's statutes and the map of Wyoming, etc., "considers its conclusions as fully justified as possible in such matter . . . (and) gives out the advice that the consulting Company . . . has every advantage to realize the projected operation."

The minutes were signed by M. Bourée, president, and M. Noel Pardon, "administrative delegate." The Belgo-American Company declared itself highly satisfied with the report, adding, "it would be difficult to place the operation under more favorable or more distinguished auspices;" further operations, it said, would "have their pivot in France." (p. 63) M. Bourée was offered a place on the Company's Council, and later became its president.

Since M. Magné wrote his report in 1904, we may turn here to his sidelight on M. Pardon, who will appear again, and who, it will be recalled, visited Cheyenne and Wyoming in the spring of 1903. What report he gave on his visit we do not know. But on February 24, 1904, reports Magné in a footnote (p. 47n), the Belgo-American company published a note in the Paris newspapers to the effect that certain agents, taking advantage of M. Pardon's visit to Wyoming "on behalf of the Syndicate of Wyoming," were announcing themselves as qualified to lease territories belonging to the Company's domain. The Company wished to put the public on guard against such maneuvers. On the following day, the Paris *Temps* ran a brief item: "M. Noel Pardon begs to state that *he has no connection* (italics are Magné's) with the Belgo-American Company of Wyoming Petroleums." This item is, we must admit, a bit strange, since Bourée is said by Governor Fenimore Chatterton of Wyoming to have visited him in February of 1904, and Bourée's son was a visitor in April 1904 (see below).

Magné, however, is now concerned about production in Wyoming. A large return had been promised from the Henderson property near Lander—but no further news is forthcoming. Dr. Redwood had promised 7,000 barrels a day and "a certain acquisition of large revenues," dependent, it is true, on a railroad to Lander, also not forthcoming. Yet by June 1903, the Company speaks of "augmentations of capital which may rise to a total nom-

inal sum of forty million francs, of which several millions will be envisaged as being subscribed in specie" (i.e., not on paper only). And yet they are still speaking of regularizing the Henderson property (i.e., paying for it), and other documents urge stockholders to be patient; for the problem of transportation still hangs fire, though solution is said to be "relatively easy." Magné suspects, not without reason, that the Company is deeply involved in distances, also lack of tools, equipment, transportation facilities, and money. Thus "a brief delay in dividends" is announced.

Mention is made in April, 1903, of a capital of four million francs, in August of 7,500,000 francs, Henry Walter and Landauer holding a majority of shares. A "London Wyoming Company Ltd", headed in Laramie, appears briefly, and the acquisition of the Dome terrain is announced. A rare report on assets of June 30, 1903 (required by Belgian law), is discovered by Magné in an obscure Belgian journal, showing, says he, an actual working capital of some 33,000 francs (less than \$7,000), though capital shares are put at four million francs. However, the "Wyoming Syndicate" is said to be pursuing the work of operations, though with what funds is not specified.

Magné is becoming a bit irritated. When he reads that Dr. Redwood predicts that "the oil-bearing fields of Baku, as magnificent as they are, are considerably surpassed in value by those of Wyoming," Magné explodes: "How could one make himself the responsible editor of such affirmations?" (p. 93) [Yet we can now assert more than a half century later that Dr. Redwood was correct.]

Magné's indignation goes farther: (p. 55)

For two years they have flashed before the eyes of the public and to attract capitalists that Wyoming is an immensely rich state, that the Syndicate of Wyoming has acquired one of the richest portions of this wealth, in order to share it with its happy shareholders, that the greatest expert in the world has attested to its wealth, that the greatest names, the greatest authorities, the most assured competencies, have stamped with approval and guaranteed these marvels. And it all ends in what? A suit in court to have payment of a sum of 125,000 francs, which seems truly very petty in regard to the millions and millions which figure in the shares of the promoters!

The suit mentioned refers to back payments due on the Henderson property. Yet in November 1903, the Belgo-American company announces negotiations for certain Salt Creek beds, and "the firm resolve to give it an intensive development destined to a steady growth in profits." (p. 105) This property was obtained from the Pennsylvania Gas and Oil Company. More surprising is the announcement in Europe that the Company has "definitely" acquired petroleum fields in Panama, favorable to shipments to South American countries, and to seagoing vessels, since the British have changed some cruisers from coal to petroleum for power.

We come thus about up to the year 1904 as far as Magné is

concerned, and should pause to pick up the threads in Wyoming itself; for Wyoming news media must be recognizing some of these events, and M. Le Roux' visit in the spring of 1902 and his book may throw some light on our topic.

III

We have mentioned above that M. Hugues Le Roux appears to have visited Wyoming in the spring of 1902. It is hard to escape a fleeting suspicion that he might have been in Wyoming in 1903 (again, or even for the first time); yet we can explain the apparent discrepancies by his admission that he received documents after his visit, from Wyoming friends, or by the probability that Mr. Joseph Lobell must have visited Wyoming more than once before he was assigned to Cheyenne in the spring of 1903. However, we must look upon M. Le Roux' techniques with a little skepticism when we discover that his interview with Bryant B. Brooks, for example, manages Le Roux' questions in such a sequence as to bring out the replies in almost the exact words and order of points as those of the speech of Mr. Brooks in December of 1901 before the Wyoming Industrial Convention in Laramie, as printed in the *Proceedings* of April 1902. The same is approximately true of his interview with Professor Knight and Knight's previous published reports on oil in Wyoming. One surmises that M. Le Roux was not above a journalistic trick of inventing an interview from a printed talk or paper. But this does not detract from the readability of his word pictures of these gentlemen.

Le Roux was an experienced journalist, born in 1860 in Le Havre, France, a contributor to French journals, author of plays, novels, literary studies, and travel books, including three before his trip to Wyoming, on the Sahara desert, Norway, and Abyssinia. His Wyoming book begins with a vivid description of loading coal at Port Said on the Suez, and the obvious advantages of oil over coal. He continues with an interview with the Negus of Abyssinia, and that monarch's hope for oil for lamps in his backward country. Le Roux then devotes several chapters to the history of oil in the United States, the early experiments, and the rise of Standard Oil. Only on page 95 does he arrive in Cheyenne, where, since hunting is not in season, he might as well look into oil. Yet he spends a number of chapters on cattle, sheep, railroads, even the Cheyenne rodeo and Teddy Roosevelt's visit to Cheyenne in 1903. Thus his story ranges in Wyoming from 1901 to 1903.

Though Le Roux gives but the barest mention of the Belgo-American company, his theme is oil. High points are his interview with Professor Knight, his trip to the Salt Creek field with Lobell and Cy Iba, and, some time later, his visit to Dr. Redwood in London. All these are accompanied with reassuring statistics on oil in Wyoming. It is unfortunate that we cannot give more space

to this book, which, though it contains no extremely novel information, is readable. Over thirty small photographs illustrate the work, mostly pictures familiar to Wyoming publications of the day. One, here reproduced, has its humor in presenting Mr. Lobell and Cy Iba as "dining" at the "Metropole Hotel" halfway between Casper and Salt Creek.

The Wyoming Industrial Convention in Laramie on December 12-13, 1901, was widely hailed in the state as of much importance. Delegates came from every county, and speeches touched on every phase of Wyoming's economy and future. Professor Wilbur C. Knight⁷ spoke on the state's oil resources (but made no mention of the Dome field at that earlier date). The *Proceedings* were published the following April, 1902, from which M. Le Roux appears to quote.

Le Roux opens his chapter on Professor Knight with the statement that he had "a warm and urgent letter" [from whom?] to that gentleman, whom he describes as a vigorous, self-made American type, a man who had covered the state on horseback, and was widely respected as an authority. "The Belgo-American company with which he was associated," says Le Roux (p. 155), "finally gave him the resources he needed to explore the oil-bearing fields of Wyoming. He prepared an oil map for them." With this map, still in a draft stage, Dr. Knight gave Le Roux a fine lecture on the state's oil resources, the locations of fields, and optimistic predictions. It is no doubt this map that appears in the back cover of Le Roux' book, showing in red the locations of oil fields, also proposed new railroad lines and even a pipe line from Salt Creek to Arvada on the Burlington to the north. The Professor expressed his regrets at being unable to leave his University duties for a trip, but recommended Lobell and Cy Iba as companions. Knight was unfortunately "suddenly stricken with peritonitis" in July 1903, to the great loss of the state and geology, Le Roux adds in a footnote.

At the end of the chapter, a footnote, evidently added late in 1903, states that Professor Knight in his last year had given much time and attention to the "Dome" field, also called the Knight field, in Sweetwater County, some forty miles east-north-east of Green River, in the midst of a desert at 7,000 feet elevation, from which

7. Wilbur C. Knight was born in Illinois in 1858, received his A.B. and Ph.D. from the University of Nebraska (the latter in 1902), and in 1893, after serving as Superintendent of Mines in Colorado and Wyoming, joined the staff of the young University of Wyoming as professor of mining engineering, metallurgy and assaying. In 1894 he undertook a state survey, from the Nebraska line to the Tetons. Bulletins on Wyoming's mineral wealth appeared from 1894 on. In 1899 he directed an unusual expedition of over 100 geologists and paleontologists over the state, from which three carloads of dinosaur bones were shipped to various centers. It was said that no other man had located more oil fields in Wyoming.

he had predicted that "oil will probably gush forth in great floods, it will be light, and excellent in quality," but that they would undoubtedly have to drill to 3,000 feet. "Professor Knight," says Le Roux, "himself acquired the right of proprietorship, but ceded it to the Belgo-American company. At the end of 1903 several wells were in process of being drilled." (p. 170)

Le Roux's next three chapters are devoted to his trip to the Salt Creek field. He was met at Casper by Mr. Lobell, whom Le Roux describes as a native of Louisiana, yet a true "Latin" in French origins, handsome, supple, and well traveled from Chicago to London, Brussels and Paris. "As fast as the Laramie professor discovers oil beds, the Chicago attorney draws up contracts with the owners of the land and the State authorities, in the name of the Belgo-American company, of which he is the administrator." (p. 193). Cy Iba is pictured as a man "approaching seventy," "still straight and alert," one who "knows the country like his own handkerchief," "always a frontiersman," a master at practical jokes, not always gentle. His expression is that of a man "who had never been afraid of anything." (p. 194) The party rode some fifty miles north from Casper, through rather bare country, but appealing from its absence of man. Le Roux describes the sixteen-horse teams they met transporting oil, the small derricks of the day, the camp's buildings, the method of operation, and the later visit to the Casper refinery, under one Dr. Salathe, a Swiss chemist. Mr. Lobell, en route, produces convincing figures of vast profits in the offing, at least \$50,000,000 from surface wells, with much more in wells at lower levels (pp. 235-238).

Le Roux then outlines the railroads of the state, repeating Lobell's projects for lines to Lander and Salt Creek and further. Le Roux asks whether the other lines may not oppose such plans. Lobell is reassuring. Standard Oil, he says, slightly digressing, is not a producer but a refiner; and besides, as the eastern fields fall off, they will be seeking new outlets. A footnote, apparently pertinent, announces that "Mr. Fenimore Chatterton, present governor of Wyoming, has accepted the presidency of the Petroleum Company of Wyoming, which is the American form of the 'Belgo-American.'" (p. 265) Chatterton became governor on April 28, 1903.

Finally, Mr. Le Roux makes his London visit to Dr. Boverton Redwood, "the oracle," "in the first days of January of the present year" (1903 or 1904?). (p. 294) The great man is most gracious and most reassuring on Wyoming's prospects. All the most favorable conditions are there, he says, and at a most seasonable time, for Standard Oil is well aware of future fields, hence regards Wyoming as a storehouse. It appears, then, from the above, that the problem in Wyoming was railroads and Standard Oil, and so it proved.

In short, M. Le Roux, whether employed or not by the Belgo-

American, must have been accepted with interest by that company's promoters. M. André Sayous, however, is a different matter. Despite his presence on the Committee of Studies above, his account of Wyoming is full of caution and skepticism. Sayous was born in 1873, hence but thirty at the time of his visit. He had already published studies of European stock markets,⁸ which may account for his more careful documentation. It appears, moreover, that this tiny book was originally an oral report in 1903 before the Society of Social Economics, no doubt in Paris. There is no direct mention in it of the Belgo-American company and none of M. Pardon, whom he accompanied to Cheyenne and Wyoming.

M. Sayous begins by saying that Wyoming is little known, even in the eastern states of the Union, and that data is difficult to come by. Besides, "one runs into perpetual bragging. The inhabitants of the West admire everything that is their own work;" and the journalists are not much better. (p. 7) M. Sayous then quickly summarizes a few historical facts and present observations: elevation, climate, barren landscapes, occasional beautiful valleys, cattle and sheep, and mines. Oil gets no more than its share of attention. One brief paragraph reads:

The mining deposits are not totally unknown, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Wilbur C. Knight, the regretted professor at the University of Wyoming. But their wealth is still the object of occasional enterprises. The means of communication are notoriously insufficient. The capitalists of New York and Boston have small confidence in a state where the master-extortionists are numerous, and assuredly honest men are rare. (pp. 16-17)

Sayous' description of social Wyoming is not too flattering. He mentions the mixed population, some of them escapees from older states, the equal rights for women, the lag of schools, the lack of public morality and the indifference to life, particularly in Casper, where "everywhere are stinking saloons and gambling halls," and citizens are held up in the evenings and robbed. Indeed, "We have never seen in all America, including New Mexico and Arizona, a camp more steaming with crime and vice." (p. 24) M. Magné quotes this passage with satisfaction, as if it proved the dangers of investment in Wyoming oil. Cheyenne M. Sayous liked somewhat better, partly because a simpler society "does not have the ridiculous pretensions of Denver's 'society'".

The Union Pacific also comes in for a caustic remark or two. Wyoming, he says (p. 26) "has been since its formation as a State, and remains, the 'property of the Union Pacific.'" The governor cannot be elected without its consent, and "the present governor is

8. *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1943) Vol. 164, pp. 302-322. A pamphlet on him issued in 1940 (near the time of his death) listed some 92 articles by him, "almost all extracted from French and foreign reviews."

a former employee of the railroad . . . half politician, half business man—a business man profiting by politics to enrich himself and his friends.” (pp. 27-28) The governor in 1903 was Fenimore Chatterton.

Sayous devotes a chapter to the railroads, which, he thinks, hamper development or control it to their own advantage. The solution would be a north-south line from Colorado to Montana. Mineral wealth includes gold, copper, iron and coal, with some eastern and European capital interested in petroleum, “and not without reason.” The *Petroleum Series* put out by the University is of “great scientific value” (p. 27). The Pennsylvania Company in Salt Creek finds oil of an excellent quality, “if the lines of communication were better.” The Henderson property lacks transportation; and “Near Rock Springs, on the ‘Dome,’ it becomes more and more uncertain whether or not they will find petroleum in ‘paying quantities.’” (p. 42)

The obstacles, says Sayous, are capitalist exploiters, who build up shares “in an unheard of fashion,” especially in Europe. Fields will be valued in the millions which have not produced, and perhaps never will; and this continues “to the moment of catastrophe.” The next sentence, as if a hint to the Belgo-American, reads: “A curious thing: the more they drill wells at the ‘Dome,’ and the more the chances of success diminish, the more the ‘market’ seems delighted.” (p. 43). “The only man,” he adds later, “who knew the geology of the state, the eminent professor Knight, died this past year. No one can take his place, and yet numerous drillings are needed to better inform us on the pockets of oil.” (p. 43)

Nor is Sayous optimistic about the railroad situation. The Chicago and Northwestern, he says, belongs 56% to Mr. Rockefeller, and offers no guarantee that it will build a line to Lander; “and a foreign company cannot dream of building a railroad by itself.” (p. 43) In short, “The moment has not yet come for a normal development of the oil fields of Wyoming.” (p. 44) The big companies will protect themselves, and American oil men know their business.

It is clear, then, that M. Sayous did not offer much comfort to his European readers; and one suspects that M. Magné did not quote him further only because his own book came too nearly at the same time.

IV

Publicity in Wyoming on the Belgo-American Company began slowly. The *Wyoming Industrial Journal* for December, 1901, mentions “London capitalists” who visited Wyoming and were pleased with what they saw. In January 1902, the same *Journal* mentions bulletins by Professors Knight and Slosson in the *London Petroleum Review*, and “a very exhaustive article by Professor Wil-

bur C. Knight" in the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, which gives "in comprehensive language the history of the first well, the topography of the section and general geology, and describes the fields which are known as Hilliard, Carter, Spring Valley and Twin Creeks." The same issue reports English and Belgian capital as interested in Wyoming.

By October of 1902, we read that Charles Walter (brother of Henry Walter of London) of the Belgo-American Drilling Trust Company has arrived "in Laramie to superintend work in the Wyoming oil fields," and that under the guidance of Knight and Dr. Boverton Redwood "nothing will be left undone to place the resources of Wyoming . . . on the markets of the world." Charles Walter is quoted as saying that his brother has worked hard for several years to acquire control of "what we are led to believe . . . are the most valuable oil sections throughout the state." The December 1902 issue announces the start of drilling in the Rock Springs area, and that Professor Knight has been given leave of absence to "assist the Company in locating its numerous wells."

Information picks up in 1903. By April, the *Industrial Journal* is reporting that the Belgo-American Drilling Trust has paid \$450,000 for oil wells, and that Mr. Joseph Lobell has arrived to make his headquarters in Cheyenne and to take charge of extensive operations. The above deal, it is said, is "the biggest oil deal ever consummated in Wyoming," with twelve flowing wells, rigs and buildings and properties in the Popo Agie area, and options on lands in Fremont, Natrona, Sweetwater, and Albany counties. Lobell will leave in a few days with Professor Knight for a tour of properties. In May Lobell is talking of a railroad to Lander.

The June issue of 1903 (p. 14) carries a portrait of Joseph Lobell and a picture of the No. 1 Dome well. "It would seem," reads the story, "that Wyoming oil fields are to receive the financial attention they deserve. . . . The state's welcome friend at this time is the Belgo-American Drilling Trust Company, which is backed by Belgian and other foreign capitalists, and which has acquired title to thousands of acres of valuable oil lands." Lobell is described as director of the company, a Chicago attorney, "devoting considerable time to railroad matters and has under consideration the building of a new Wyoming railroad. In this regard he is being ably aided by Governor Chatterton."

In the same issue we learn that M. Noel Pardon of France, "former Governor General of French colonies," will visit Cheyenne on May 30, representing the French minister of Commerce, and will visit the Belgo-American oil fields. "If satisfied with what he sees, his representation will result in the expenditure of several millions in Wyoming." A Paris journalist accompanies him, who will later write a book on Wyoming. We take this to refer to M. Sayous, who, though not strictly a journalist, did accompany Pardon to Laramie, and did later produce a small booklet. M. Pardon

was tendered a big dinner at the Cheyenne Club, given by Lobell, attended by fifty leading men of the state.

In July the *Industrial Journal* says that Knight "recently returned from a trip through the state with M. Pardon . . . which the French gentleman enjoyed greatly. M. Pardon expressed himself as well satisfied with the properties of the Company, and it is likely that his recommendations will bring much more capital out here."

Thus the Belgo-American is launched in Wyoming with Chamber of Commerce enthusiasm.

Similar stories, of course, appeared in the Wyoming newspapers. A souvenir issue of the Cheyenne *Leader* in 1903 carried a special story on the foreign company, repeating material given above, and a representative is quoted as saying: "We come to your state not to seek capital but to build up and develop Wyoming."

"Professor Wilbur C. Knight," says the *Leader* in April, "is the great expert of the Company for this state and is under the direction of Dr. Boverton Redwood of London. . . No purchase of oil lands is made without first being visited and inspected by Dr. Redwood and Dr. Knight. . . Professor Knight was in the city all day yesterday consulting with Mr. Lobell in regard to the affairs of the company."

On April 28, 1903, the *Leader* reports that M. A. E. Sayous of Paris is in Laramie, where he will look over company properties, and write articles and a book on them, and the Laramie *Boomerang* repeats the information on May 3, and on May 7 tells of M. Pardon's trip with Dr. Knight. In July Dr. Knight died.

"New Railroad in Wyoming" says the *Leader* head on May 2, 1903, for Mr. Lobell announces that the Company is "now ready to enter into arrangements for the construction of a railroad to Lander, South Pass, and other oil fields of the company, or the erection of pipe lines." And on June 2, Pardon and Lobell are leaving for Belgium and France, "where they will secure the necessary funds." By November 8, 1903, a feature story in the *Leader* "announces positively" that the company will begin a railroad before January 1, not only to Lander, but "numerous spurs and branches," including one to Salt Creek. The same information appears in the *Wyoming Industrial Journal* for November 1903 (p. 154), where Lobell is said to be going to Europe until February. Here we also learn that "Professor Knight was in charge of drilling operations, receiving a salary of \$5,000 a year for his services, but since his death state geologist H. C. Beeler and L. C. Traig [Craig?] . . . have been employed."

And on November 29, 1903, the *Leader* informs us that the Belgo-American Drilling Trust has purchased the entire holdings of the Pennsylvania Oil Company in Wyoming, including the refinery in Casper, which "practically doubles its holdings," and is "considered a good thing for the state." The December *Industrial*

Journal adds that the deal includes wells at Salt Creek and 105,000 acres of territory.

It is clear, then, that the Belgo-American company did not totally neglect its Wyoming operations, despite Magné's doubts. Yet, as we approach 1904, we encounter signs of trouble ahead, the worm of hesitation entering the apple of promise still held out at home and abroad.

V

The problem still is that of transportation, the delay in production, and the lack of concrete funds. In August of 1903, the *Industrial Journal* speaks of three wells in the Henderson field as plugged until a railroad is forthcoming. In the feature story of November 8, 1903, in the *Cheyenne Leader*, mentioned above, the writer admits that the Casper *Derrick* has referred to the Belgo-American Drilling Trust in "a slurring manner," to which Mr. Lobell is impelled to give a vigorous denial. Said Mr. Lobell, "absolutely without foundation." The trust has no stock for sale, all is held by the directors, of whom he is one. "Had the Derrick kept its eyes open it might have observed *bona fide* operations now in progress." Besides, there is the confidence of senators Clark and Mondell, who have turned over "large areas of oil lands on the understanding that a reasonable price for the land shall be paid if the trust's drilling and development of operations meet with success." Again "Governor Chatterton is fully acquainted with the plans of the trust," and "is pushing the railroad plans to a successful conclusion."

The Company, the article continues, is "now drilling five wells at Salt Wells [Dome] and employs thirty to fifty men there constantly. . . . Within the next two months operations are to be begun which will open the eyes of central Wyoming." It seems that refineries are planned at Orin Junction and Lander. Also "the entire block at the corners of seventeenth and Ferguson streets" has been leased for Lobell's office in Cheyenne. The *Industrial Journal* for November carries much the same.

Yet 1904-1906 were years of national slump, and also a period of American attack on big trusts, especially the Standard Oil of New Jersey, culminating in 1911 in its being broken up into subsidiary companies. Wyoming oil production thus languished.

In Europe M. Magné has still something to say about the spring of 1904. In February of that year the Belgo-American announces an international company to be formed in Geneva, "with an original capital of fifty million francs," aimed first of all at developing business already under way in Wyoming. "After vague rumors," said "a Parisian organ" on February 13 (Magné, p. 117), "an important group of American capitalists" [not named] "better informed than anyone on the real value of the rich oil-bearing beds

acquired by the Company . . . are ready to speed up the realization of the value of these properties." On the administrative committee are names like M. Bourée once again, the Duke of Somerset, several counts and three princes. M. Pardon and M. Sayous no longer appear. Yet M. Pardon, despite his announcement that same month (above), must have been active, for Governor Chatterton in his memoirs has the following recollection:

One morning in February 1904 Governor Pardon of France came to my office, stating he was on the way to Paris to report on the oil land holdings of his associates at Dallas, eight miles east of Lander in Fremont. He asked me how I would suggest to get oil to market. I drew a line from Lander to Casper on the Wyoming map . . . and advised a railroad by the extension of the Chicago and Northwestern railroad from Casper. . . . I advised him to call on the Chicago and Northwestern officials at Chicago. This he did; but the proposals were laughed at by the officials. He wrote me the result of his interview and asked if I would undertake the building of the road if the French furnished the funds. I wrote him fully regarding what the French must do and what I would do. In March I received a cable from him to begin planning; that funds for surveying were in the mail. . . . Therefore on March 31, 1904, I organized the Wyoming State Railway and began the survey.⁹

But, continues Governor Chatterton, there was opposition and citizens were disinterested, so that the railroad was not completed until 1906. Yet in June of 1903, Lobell was quoting Governor Chatterton as ably aiding him in the railroad project, and in May of 1903 is announcing that the Belgo-American Company is ready to enter into negotiations for its construction; and in November 1903, the Governor "is pushing the railroad plans." Actually, it was the Chicago and Northwestern that finally did build the line to Casper. Nor does Mr. Mokler's account fully agree. For he says that the Casper town council on February 27, 1904, granted to the Belgo-American company forty acres of land within the corporate limits for a new refinery, and a right of way for the proposed railroad, plus water and an exemption from municipal taxes for ten years; and that Lander did likewise. Again, officers of the Company were feasted at Casper in the summer of 1904, and met at Lander by a band and a dinner. Yet they "made no promises."

"For more than a year," says Mr. Mokler, "the people of Casper and Lander were on the anxious seat; both towns continued to offer the best they had . . . but alas . . . on account of some irregularities and financial difficulties it was compelled to decide that it would build neither a refinery nor a railroad."¹⁰ He adds that later some of the company were arrested for fraud, but does not give names.

9. Fenimore Chatterton. *Yesterday's Wyoming* (Aurora, Colo.: Powder River Publishers and Booksellers, 1957), p. 90.

10. A. J. Mokler, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-250.

The Laramie *Boomerang*, also anticipating the Governor's date above of March 31, ran a long story on March 1, 1904, on the new railroad to the effect that: "Last week the formal announcement through Governor Chatterton of Wyoming that the oil company would construct a line of railroad from Casper to Orin Junction, Wyoming," stirred all railroads to activity. The added items are of interest.

"To protect its territory, the Northwestern has announced that it will immediately construct a line from the present terminus, Casper, westward to Lander, and northwest into Big Horn, completely parallel with the Belgo-American lines. The Northwestern has let contracts for 800,000 cross ties, and at every station along the western division it is said that the road has gathered bridge timbers, steel rails and other construction material, ready for the opening of Spring." Indeed, the item says that the Northwestern threatens to go on to Ogden, and the Union Pacific will probably purchase the Belgo-American line north and go on to Yellowstone. A "building war" is thus threatened.

The Belgo-American, now openly challenged, made one big gesture of defiance. In the Laramie *Boomerang* of March 9, 1904, a new article stated that

A prominent state official interested in the Belgo-American Drilling Trust [could this be the Governor?], in speaking of possible opposition on the part of the Standard, revealed the plans of the Company in this regard and stated that this has been taken into consideration before the \$10,000,000 was appropriated for the construction of the new railroad to open up the Lander oil fields.

'Should the Standard Oil company inaugurate a fight against us,' said the official, 'and it became apparent that we would have to engage in a rate war against the Rockefeller trust, we will not market a gallon of oil in the United States but ship the entire product to our wells in Europe, where through the influence of the directors of the company, who include many distinguished statesmen and members of the nobility of England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and the Netherlands, we can favorably compete with any corporation and find a ready market for our entire product. Not only can we dispose of all of our oil in this manner, but it is probable that a large proportion of the product of our wells can be sold on the continent irrespective of any opposition, as the market there affords better facilities and remunerative profit.'

This article added that no contract had yet been let for the new railroad and "will not be until Mr. J. H. Lobell returns from Paris within the next two weeks." But Kilpatrick of Denver is almost assured of the contract. And on March 12, the report is that a corps of engineers is in Casper to begin surveying, which news is "gratifying to the citizens, and sets at naught all reports to the contrary." The same general story appeared in the *Wyoming Industrial Journal* for March, 1904, with the item that L. J. Craig had arrived as oil superintendent for the Company, and that the Company will rival Standard Oil in a few years, and will expand

\$100,000 at the Rock Springs field. The Dome field is said to have two wells down 2,000 feet, "considered a remarkable feat by oil men."

On March 17, 1904, a further story appears in the *Boomerang*, affirming that the plans of the Belgo-American company "are far more extensive in their entirety than at first announced and the syndicate of European capitalists will build no less than five railroads." But the Chicago and Northwestern is quoted as announcing: "We are not worrying . . . The Northwestern can build roads faster than any other railroad in the country." Nevertheless, "Local men declare that the Belgo-American Trust will force the hand of the Standard Oil company and open up the Wyoming fields in spite of acknowledged opposition of the Standard." Almost the same story appears in the *Cheyenne Leader*.

We are not surprised, then, to read on March 23 that the Chicago and Pacific Railroad is incorporated to build from Casper to Ogden. "It is believed," says the *Boomerang*, dated from Cheyenne, "that the real purpose of the company is to secure a right of way for speculative purposes to compel the Belgo-American Drilling Trust, which really intends to build from Casper to Lander, to pay a fancy price for the right of way. There is but one feasible route at several points."

Two days later the *Leader* and the *Boomerang*, in a story headed Casper, report that the engineers for the Belgo-American have completed a survey from Orin Junction to Casper, "and will leave tomorrow to survey the route on to Lander," while a third party is surveying to Salt Creek. Yet an ominous note is added: "For some time it has been reported that the company of French, German and Belgian capitalists were merely playing with a bubble which would soon burst, but your correspondent [not named] has it from a source that cannot be questioned that the company is not only sincere . . . but that contracts for grading will be let in the immediate future."

On March 30 Governor Chatterton goes north to meet representatives of the Belgo-American, assuring readers that contracts will be let, "possibly within a couple of weeks," and that money is available in eastern banks and will be transferred to Wyoming as fast as needed.

However on March 29, the *Cheyenne Leader*, now showing some signs of hostility to Governor Chatterton in the coming state election, uses a *Denver Post* dispatch for an editorial comment. The *Post*, it says, is "certainly responsible for the 'dopiest' dream of all," namely, that "Into the war between European kings for control of the resources of an American state, has entered an American railroad king, a Coloradoan. . . . Leopold, king of Belgium, is the prime mover in the Belgo-American Company, and has been buying up the oil and mineral lands in Wyoming and has planned a

road to run from Lander, Wyoming, to Orin Junction, and ultimately to Cody. These two commercially inclined monarchs have been fighting each other financially for the control of Wyoming resources." However, says the Cheyenne editor, the real rivalry has been with Sweden for the Encampment railroad. "Such palpable freaks of the imagination can do the state no good, and must be exceedingly distasteful to the Van Horne-Miller people and also to the Belgo-American syndicate."

Not even M. Magné had dragged in the king of Belgium. Such seems to be the height of both rumor and confidence, for less and less information appears in the newspapers from April 1904 on, the very period of the publication in France and Belgium of our three books.

On April 14, 1904, the *Leader* quietly announces that the Chicago and Pacific branch of the Chicago and Northwestern will build from Casper to Lander and to Ogden via South Pass, the *Boomerang* adding "and will be backed by one of the most powerful railroad organizations in the world."

Now rumors shift to touch state politics, for the *Leader* on April 30, openly favoring B. B. Brooks for governor, says in an editorial: "It is understood throughout the State that the Belgo-American company has agreed to defray Mr. Chatterton's campaign expenses . . . of course . . . from utterly disinterested motives." The Cheyenne *Tribune*, however, denies this allegation. But the next day, May 1, the *Leader*, persists: "If the road proves all that he claims it will be, his election would mean the turning over of the state to the worst octopus of a trust that the West has ever known." The Belgo-American is said to have offered the presidency of the Drilling Trust to Chatterton; nor is his interest in the railroad entirely dissociated from the governor's investment in the coming Riverton Reclamation project.

In this April month of crisis, a group of "eminent visitors" appears. The Laramie *Boomerang* for April 23 reports: "Last Saturday [April 16] a party of European capitalists arrived in Casper, accompanied by F. J. Lobell of Chicago and George Lobell of Cheyenne [son and brother of Joseph Lobell], all of whom have an interest in the Societe Belgo-Americain(e)." Among them are gentlemen from Geneva, Paris and Rome, and M. Henry Bourée, son of M. Albert Bourée, president of the Belgo-American in Europe. On Monday Governor Chatterton and L. J. Craig are in Casper talking with Casper business men about a right of way for the railroad. Then the entire foreign party proceeds to Lander by buggy, returning via Thermopolis, purpose unknown, as reported on May 8, pleased with their trip, and "An advance dispatch of approval was cabled to the directors of the company in Brussels." This is the incident Mr. Mokler described for us above.

Thus, says the *Boomerang*, also the *Wyoming Industrial Journal*

for May, 1904, millions of capital is ready to enter Wyoming, on the authority of M. Henry Bourée, a French naval officer, as interviewed in New York. Governor Chatterton is reported in New York in June, still hoping for contracts for the projected railroad. From this time on newspapers are increasingly silent on the company's affairs, and the *Wyoming Industrial Journal* runs almost no oil news for months to follow.

We must now return briefly to our critic, M. Louis Magné, who has yet a few words to add, though only up to May, 1904, in his information. Further publicity in Europe followed on the huge international company in Geneva, with fifty million francs subscribed by some thirty stockholders, who may, as needed, carry it to 125 million francs. For the first time, Magné mentions Joseph Lobell, "present proprietor of miner's rights on oil-bearing fields of the Salt Creek district," and "the friend of M. Hugues Le Roux, who has devoted such an amusing place to him in his 'book' on Wyoming," (p. 121 and note)

The expanded company, in its publicity, claims to have made "heavy sacrifices," and "victoriously overcome the initial setbacks" (this is in February 1904). Yet an admission of criticism creeps in: "We abstained from noticing the attacks directed at the Wyoming businesses by enemies whose wish to harm went so far as not to fear contradicting both themselves and the truth. . . The outcome amply justifies our foresight, and it is a case of quoting the Arabian proverb: 'The dogs bark—but the caravan passes.'" (p. 118) Magné's comment is brief: "At least I should not have let the caravan pass without having counted and evaluated the bales of merchandise."

The power of publicity! exclaims Magné. "Everything has served: articles of scientific appearance, the most colossal boasts, reports, interviews, the show of names and locations, the phantasmagoria of millions, the most audacious plans, the companies, committees, even the book signed with a known name. . . At every new step . . . a new ornamentation." (p. 123)

At this point Wyoming readers will be happy to learn of an overlooked hero in the pantheon of state history—Mr. Rudi Landauer, as he was portrayed in *Figaro* for February 24, 1904, as uncovered by M. Magné. Too long for total quotation here, the article hails M. Landauer as a man of "gigantic proportions," a pioneer in Wyoming oil, and director of a company which rivals Standard Oil.

It is a country which (says the article), until M. Landauer came to bring it to life, was hardly favored by nature or man. Located on the far frontier among lands, on a broad plateau of the Rocky Mountains, deprived of all kinds of means of communication, it seemed hostile to all attempts at colonization.

It is nevertheless this land so long unknown which M. Landauer has

made the field of one of the most colossal industrial enterprises of the world.

It was not without effort, however, and patient research that he was able to arrive at such a result. He had to discover the points where one was sure to find petroleum, acquire almost one by one all the parcels of this vast oil-bearing territory, and, to accomplish this, frustrate a thousand manoeuvres of his competitors and call on treasures of diplomacy.

All that is past, this perilous phase has been victoriously traversed; and this bold pioneer has today only to harvest the fruit of his efforts. (Magné, quoted p. 126)

But *Figaro* did not pause here. It was clear, it said, that to develop such lands, and to build the necessary railroads, work and money were needed. Here M. Landauer found an "incomparable partner" in the person of one Colonel Power, an American, of the *Petroleum World* (whose chief claim to fame appeared to be, says Magné, that he once picked up 75,000 pounds, a third of a million dollars, at Monte Carlo).

Thus M. Magné is brought up to the spring of 1904. But he has a query or two left, and understandably turns to a basic one: "Does Petroleum Exist in Wyoming?" "The strict truth reduces to very little evidence . . . for I do not take promises and prophecies as unquestioned." (p. 129)

Nor am I influenced (he continues) any more by the incomparable science of the very illustrious Dr. Boverton Redwood. I challenged this expert, as is my right, because behind the more or less scientific words and phrases he uses, I not only do not discover the reservations of a true scientist, but instead the obvious exaggerations of a business man. This quasi-discoverer of oil-bearing fields in Wyoming from Europe, who began such a campaign as we have witnessed and who perseveres in it like a Barnum, does not impose on me. All I can admit is that he is illustrious with the promoters of the Belgo-American Company and their substitutes; and that is nothing to be envied. (pp. 129-130)

As for M. Le Roux' book—and what a book! Magné ejaculates, and one which the Belgo-American company must know; and what a "terrible portrait" of the "oracle," Dr. Redwood, who is "if the most convinced of experts, certainly the most romantic." (p. 133) Le Roux, he exclaims, even gives a picture of a lake of oil so heavy that ducks cannot rise from it! On such evidence does the whole edifice of the Belgo-American rest!

But not quite. There is Professor Wilbur C. Knight, whom Magné is forced to treat with more respect. "This other expert, this time American, has since died. I shall respect his memory."

I must also do him this justice (he continues), that the document he drew up is infinitely more clear, even though or because his is more cautious and reserved than Dr. Boverton Redwood's.

When M. Knight puts at the head of his chapters '*Probable* geographic situation of oil-bearing horizons,' or '*Reasons* which make us *suppose* the presence of oil in the dome in question,' or again '*Probable* production,' we are sufficiently warned.

And he advises in addition 'the use of machinery capable of drilling to a depth of at least 3,000 feet' . . . And he warns that 'as for water intended for consumption or the work of drilling, that has to be brought from far,' and even 'buy it from the Union Pacific,' and that the same, or nearly so, will be true for fuel. And he admits that 'the property in question is located in the middle of a desert'.

It is true that Dr. Boverton Redwood is not embarrassed by so small a matter. (p. 138)

To support this last statement, Magné quotes from a letter of Dr. Redwood to Henry Walter, written June 23, 1902, to the effect that the geologic conditions are most favorable at the Dome area, on which "drillings pushed to a moderate depth" should bring gushers. And again on Sept. 11, 1902: "I am sure our friend M. Landauer need have no apprehensions as concerns the ultra-cautious observations of Dr. Knight as to the depth of the wells. It is perfectly possible that, in one part of the Dome formation, one or another of the oil-bearing stratifications may be situated at a depth of 3,000 feet . . . but I am convinced that Dr. Knight, in mentioning this depth, intended to indicate the level of the productive beds which might be reached by drilling." (p. 139)

Now Magné turns to M. Sayous, quoting, as we have shown above, only partially from him, and that much to raise doubts about Wyoming. Sayous, he says, does admit reasons for capitalist interest in Wyoming oils, but also shows that transportation is a prohibitive problem, and that western society is hardly trustworthy.

The Dome field occupies Magné next. Here he finds repeated assurances, deeper drillings, halted in winter and discouraged by depth, and repeatedly delayed dividends. The field in 1904 hardly seems promising.

"Where does it all end?" Asks M. Magné, and answers, "On the Stock Market." His final pages summarize his findings, admitting that the conclusion is still uncertain, and asking some pertinent questions, for that day or ours. When does a mining property justify selling stock? How can one evaluate ahead of production? How evaluate for putting shares on the market? If promoters are honest, can they justify building up shares without sufficient money to guarantee production? Should they take the paper evaluation of another company as a reliable criterion of value? Should they rely wholly on the opinion of one "expert?" What kind of laws should restrict exaggerated publicity? There are, he says, honest Belgian companies, and one should not always shout "Another Belgian company!" But let us have better laws, information, more light.

So we leave M. Magné and his lively and persistent little document. As a banker and an European, he was justifiably concerned. He must later have recognized further factors at work—American energy and competence, the power of American opposition, once aroused, and, finally, the actual presence of vast resources in oil in the state of Wyoming.

VI

The Belgo-American Company did not immediately collapse, though its days were clearly numbered. In the *Wyoming Industrial Journal* for December, 1904, after months of silence on oil, it was announced that Standard Oil had concluded to attack the Belgo-American Drilling Trust Company in Wyoming, and "Fur will fly." On the same page one reads: "A sensational telegram says that the Chicago and Northwestern has secured the route proposed by the Belgo-American Company and the road will surely be built next season."

The Cheyenne *Leader* of January 4, 1905, confirmed this story, noting that the Northwestern railway company has been granted by the United States the right of way across part of the Indian reservation to Lander, previously granted to the Belgo-American, "but in view of the speculative character of this project and the uncertainty that the syndicate will engage in actual railroad building," the grant was now given to Northwestern, and it "will commence operations without delay."

Yet in February of 1905, M. Henry Bourée was once again in Casper, still manager of the Salt Creek wells of the Company and the refinery, describing the use of gas-line engines and local markets for the refinery in Casper; also promising a great electric power house near Lander to supply power to the Clarissa gold mine at South Pass, to be operated by oils from the local fields. Work on the railroad west from Casper had commenced, however, and not by Belgo-American.

In July of 1905 the *Industrial Journal* quotes an article from the Evanston, Wyoming, *News Register* entitled "Hot Air vs Oil Claims." It protests "lagging methods of so-called Oil companies operating (?) in Wyoming."

To say that the Standard octopus has a finger in the pie would be but quoting hearsay, but every indication points to such being the fact. The writer believes that the Standard people have been looking to our field as a sort of reserve fund, and at the proper time will enter the field and bring the precious liquid to the surface. The time is not yet ripe for their operations, and they are accordingly holding back the development until such time as they can secure a 'corner' on this part of the globe.

There is a paucity of oil news from this time on until 1908 or 1909. In January of 1906 a brief flurry of interest surrounded the item that the Detroit Wyoming Company was looking into the Lander area, to use the machinery of the Belgo-American company, but whether independently or not was not known. In October of 1906 the Northwestern railroad reached Lander, with local rejoicing.

Joseph Lobell remained for some time in Wyoming, though often absent. The Cheyenne *Leader* once mentioned his appearance in London in the full regalia of a colonel in the Wyoming National

Guard; and investigation, it announced, did indeed uncover his appointment to such a rank by former Governor Chatterton.

In the spring of 1904 Belgo-American shares were being quoted in Europe at their top, up to 200 and 300 in March and September in 1903 (on the original 100 francs a share), and the high point of 357 in March, 1904, but soon falling off. (Magné, pp. 162-163). Perhaps M. Magné had something to do with the drop.

In 1906 a Dutch company, employing an Italian geologist, became interested in the Salt Creek field, and in 1908 brought in the first gusher. By 1909, August, the *Wyoming Industrial Journal* was stating that attention was once more turning to oil and gas, "and by a class of men competent to handle the problem successfully. The two most accessible and best fields have been tied up in useless litigation and dispute for the past three years and production has been nothing in consequence."

The Belgo-American company and the "Wyoming Syndicate" had, indeed, been in litigation for some time, and in 1910 went into the hands of liquidators. Some of its shareholders, hoping to salvage something, formed a Franco-American Oil Company, headed in Maryland, to which liquidators turned over assets in return for 100,000 preferred shares at \$20 a share (100 francs). But the future of oil lay in American hands. After all, they were on the scene, and, as Sayous had said, knew their business.

In 1910 a Colorado group organized the Midwest Oil Company, and built a pipe line from Salt Creek to Casper, and a new refinery at Casper, with arrangements with Standard Oil of Indiana. The Franco-American had by this time consolidated with the Dutch company, and in 1914 was absorbed by the Midwest Refining company. Mr. Mokler (p. 254) says that Standard Oil of Indiana had secretly in 1913 bought lands, announced in July of that year. In 1921, the Midwest Company passed into the control of Standard Oil.

The real oil boom was accelerated by World War I in 1917, though the major advances came with the advent of motor power and the growth of the automobile, especially in the 1920's. By 1923 the Salt Creek field was producing over 40,000,000 barrels a year, and by 1968 production had reached at least 460,000,000 barrels in all, justifying Dr. Redwood's comparison with the Russian fields. Railroads were no longer the determining factor, as Magné had understandably supposed; for a new day had arrived, and history would never be quite the same. "I await the final act of this comedy," Magné had written. The comedy came to its end in Europe, and other tragi-comedies followed in America; but it was not all as he had imagined, for what the Europeans had taken as American boasting only was also in part the harbinger of deeds to come. Wyoming was neither so remote nor so untameable as they had supposed; and the Americans, as Sayous had said, knew their business.

Behind such a story must have been a good deal of financial wheeling and dealing beyond the skill of an amateur in the field to comprehend. Here we have but offered a rapid glimpse of the rise and fall within a few short years of the Belgo-American Company of Wyoming Petroleum and its American subsidiaries, the Belgo-American Drilling Trust Company and the Wyoming Syndicate. Success might have been theirs if—but the ifs were too numerous and too complex for anyone's easy grasp; for, as in all history, the threads are woven of a past only half glimpsed, and a future of present effects turned into causes for further unforeseen consequences. Nor are the actors always clean-cut villains or heroes, but mostly groppers within a drama whose larger plot no one can as yet unravel.

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High and Dry in Wyoming

While the angry floods are raging over valleys fair and wide,
We are safe here in Wyoming from the terrors of the tide.
While the river banks are running o'er with water strong and deep,
We irrigate our plots of spuds and crawl away to sleep.
While the peaceful homes of hundreds in the land that gave us
birth,
Are moved from off foundations and swept from off the earth,
We are quietly reposing in our cabins night and day,
'Mid the green and yellow sagebrush of Wyoming, far away.

While the Kansas hen is cackling loud her farewell lullaby,
And a thousand chicks are swallowed up by angry waves to die,
Wyoming's brood of little chicks is high above the tide,
And the happy hen and rooster do the cakewalk side by side.
While potato bugs in Iowa are called to quick reward,
And a million green grasshoppers disperse with one accord,
The ambitious little sage tick has everything his way
'Mid the green and yellow sagebrush of Wyoming, far away.

—Phil Space, in *Grand Encampment Herald*
Reprinted in *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, July, 1903

* Fort Fred Steele, east of Rawlins, was one of the protective military posts established as the Union Pacific Railroad was built across Wyoming in 1868. After it was abandoned as a military post in 1881, Fort Steele continued in existence for some years as a logging town. This tie drive in the North Platte River, at the Fort Steele tie plant, probably was photographed in the early 1900s.



Stinson Photo Collection
Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

"THE DAYS THAT ARE NO MORE . . ."

*(see footnote p. 32)



University of Wyoming Western Archives

JOSEPH LOBELL AND CY IBA DINING AT THE HOTEL METROPOLE HALFWAY
BETWEEN CASPER AND SALT CREEK



University of Wyoming Western Archives
OIL WELL AT LANDER, 1902

Although the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 was expected to usher in fifty years of peace between the United States and the Indians of the plains, three factors foredoomed the dream to failure: The Indian policy of the United States with its vacillations and misunderstandings; public attitude toward the Indians, colored by desire for their lands, fear of the braves, and a dogmatic faith in their own destiny to populate and civilize the plains; and lastly, the Indian's way of life, which he was loath to abandon, as it satisfied his social and emotional needs.

Misunderstandings contributed to clashes between reds and whites; pressure upon their lands by gold seekers, stockmen and farmers, and the destruction of their game by immigrants made the Indians apprehensive; forays of hungry braves on settler's stock, and their reluctance to abandon their game of inter-tribal raiding for horses, scalps and prestige kept the whites on edge.

Despite the fact that Federal troops waged war against their Sioux and Cheyenne friends a few years after the Treaty of 1851, nearly fourteen years elapsed before an appreciable number of Northern Arapahoes engaged in hostilities. Even then a majority of the tribe abstained. During the Powder River Wars, 1865 to 1868, more participated, but never the entire tribe. Only once during the period from 1851 to 1879 is there any likelihood that all of the Northern Arapahoes fought against the whites. This was in the Bates Battle of 1874; and even here positive evidence is lacking. During Custer's final days, when hundreds of Sioux and Cheyennes followed Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, the Northern Arapahoes, almost to a man, refrained from hostilities. This fact, with others of a kindred nature, finally brought recognition by the Government of the peaceful disposition of the Northern Arapahoes.

On the basis of the evidence examined the Northern Arapahoes should be classed among the most peaceable of the plains tribes.

A Picture of Troublous Times

East of the Rocky Mountains the Great Plains of North America run through the United States from north to south, spilling over the Mexican border at the southern end, and broadening into the prairie provinces of Canada in the north. The portion within the United States forms a vast area some 1300 miles long and up to 600 miles in width. From an elevation of scarcely 2000 feet at the eastern fringe, they rise gradually toward the west, blending with the foothills of the Rockies at altitudes of 4000 to 6000 feet. They embrace the greater part of the states of North and South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas, include portions of Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming and Montana, and are home to 7,000,000 people.

Except for the hills, streams and canyons which occasionally break their surface, the topography is smooth and nearly treeless over thousands of square miles, and monotonous in its regularity. At sunrise and sunset shadows stretch endlessly, it seems, across the prairie, long, dark, ungainly appendages, distorted with every variation of the ground. Brilliant sunshine and blue skies characterize the region summer and winter, for the air is dry, precipitation slight and the evaporation rate high. Unbroken winds of high velocity whip soil and dry snow from the earth to produce dust storms or ground blizzards. Local cloudbursts occur from time to time, filling hollows which have been dry for years, or generating flash floods and wreaking havoc. Rapid changes of temperature take place: with the approach of a cold front the thermometer may drop 40, 50 or 60 degrees in a few hours; conversely, the warming Chinook wind may bring a rise of eight degrees in ten minutes. Open winters are common, but when the blizzard strikes, low temperatures, stinging wind and dustlike, blinding snow blot out the landscape, tie up traffic and destroy game, livestock and sometimes human life. Yet the tremendous openness, the clear, unobstructed vision and the wide horizons exert a hypnotic appeal upon the plains dweller.

In the days before the first plow broke the prairie the land was covered with short, native grasses—as parts of it still are—hardy, drought resistant, nutritious, excellent feed for buffalo or cattle. Sagebrush covered unmeasured acres; cactus and soapweed (a diminutive yucca) appeared in spots and patches; blue islands of larkspur beautified the rangeland in early summer; wild sunflowers blossomed later in the season wherever they could find a toehold. Cottonwoods grew along the water courses, where sufficient moisture could be had; box elders yielded sap to the Indians in lieu of maple syrup; in canyons and on rocky hillsides grew the ponderosa pine, which, once rooted, withstood biting winds and drought; the juniper (or red cedar, as it is called) was similarly found; lodgepole pines, essential to the Indians for travois and tipi poles made stands in the Black Hills and other uplands.

Today the land supports vast acreages of wheat, corn, alfalfa and diverse crops. Dams on the Missouri, Platte and other rivers produce power for the region and irrigation for favored sections, but dry farming is far more extensive than irrigated agriculture. Unbroken rangeland encourages ranching, and sub-marginal farmland has been reclaimed for sheep and cattle grazing. Oil wells and refineries have sprouted in many sections; coal, iron, copper and other minerals are mined. The larger cities such as Denver and Omaha contribute manufacturing, slaughtering, packing and shipping, to produce a diversified economy.

Although trappers and traders had long since penetrated the plains and Rocky Mountains, census records indicate no white population for the region in 1850. More than 50,000 Indians were

estimated.¹ Immigrants to Oregon and California, unable to leap the plains, followed the long, tedious trails across them.²

The plains themselves were Indian land; great herds of buffalo still grazed thereon, though whites had reduced their numbers appreciably—and the Indians resented this intrusion. Bands of antelope foraged on the grass, while in the hills both deer and elk afforded a change of diet to the red men. As yet no highway crossed the plains, but close to the long tortuous streams, trails were worn by horse and bullock hoofs, and ruts cut deep by the wheels of many wagons. Though plans for a railroad to the Pacific received serious consideration in Washington, nineteen years would pass before it became a fact. When the white men killed or drove off game and their stock devoured the pasture near the trails, the patience of the Indians wore thin. With a thorough knowledge of the land, with the mobility needed to live from it, with a life which taught them how to strike and disappear, the mounted braves held the whip hand. It was a tribute to their magnanimity that many immigrants crossed the plains alive.

By 1879 the picture had altered. White men possessed the bulk of the land; unwanted confinement on comparatively small reservations was the lot of the Indians; the buffalo, for generations the daily bread of the aborigines, had dwindled almost to the vanishing point, and within a few years would exist only as a curiosity and tourist attraction. Cattle and sheep by the hundreds of thousands had replaced the indigenous bovines of the plains.³ Oregon's fertile lands and California's gold attracted thousands of immigrants who went 'round Cape Horn, to the Isthmus of Panama, or across the plains to reach their destination. The discovery of gold in Colorado, Montana and Wyoming, and the free land of the Homestead Act brought other thousands to the plains; and where gold seekers or ranchers moved in, almost invariably the Indians were forced to move out. The cross-country stage line and the Pony Express, each serving an interim purpose, came and went; the first railroad to the Pacific operated in 1869; three more were well under way by 1879; the telegraph had preceded the railroad across

1. "Message of the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress," *Thirty-second Congress Executive Document No. 2*, Washington, A. Boyd Hamilton, 1851, p. 289. The figure was used by President Fillmore.

2. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, (Revised Edition), New York, Macmillan Co., 1933, v. 1, p. 612. In less than a month in 1850 more than 18,000 people crossed the Missouri on their way to California, where the population had already reached 92,000. By 1860 it rose to 380,000.

3. Edward Everett Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1930, pp. 100-102. Dale shows that by 1885 members of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association (founded twelve years earlier) owned about 2,000,000 head of cattle in Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Montana and Dakota.

the continent. Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado had attained statehood; Montana, North and South Dakota and Wyoming would follow suit within a few years.⁴ Some two million whites made their homes on the Great Plains by 1879. The independence of the bison-hunting Indians was gone forever.

The transformation on the plains from 1850 to 1879 did not occur without pain and turmoil, for these were troublous times. As the game on which they depended for food, clothing and shelter dwindled under the impact of the whites, the Indians suffered hunger and privation. Dissension brewed, trouble arrived and there were few dull years. The difficulties of three decades will be briefly described, as well as several important factors behind them.

The Treaty of Fort Laramie, 1851, ushered in dreams of fifty years of peace; but misunderstanding brought tragedy. The chance meeting of a lame cow and a hungry Sioux begot the Grattan Massacre of 1854.⁵ A boastful young officer, bent needlessly upon punitive measures, had failed to learn that cannon and tactless blunder would not settle the Indian problems. The next year General Harney avenged his slaughter by chastising the Brulé Sioux.⁶ For alleged depredations Colonel Sumner attacked and defeated the Cheyennes in 1857.⁷ As the stream of immigrants expanded, the game supply diminished further, Indian alarm intensified and hungry red men helped themselves to more of the white men's stock. Settlers' fear of the natives' treachery likewise increased. In 1861 the Civil War brought rumors of an Indian-Confederate States alliance, a fear accentuated by the great eastern Sioux uprising of 1862, when more than 700 whites in Minnesota died within a week.⁸ By 1864 sporadic depredations in Colorado intensified the settlers' fears, who gave credence to the report of an inter-tribal coalition to drive the whites out of the plains. In Colorado nearly every ranch along the road from Julesburg to Big

4. Montana and both Dakotas gained this status in 1889, and Wyoming the following year.

5. George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, p. 105. The cow had strayed from a Mormon immigrant train near Fort Laramie in southeastern Wyoming. When it was discovered that a young Sioux had butchered the animal, Grattan, fresh out of West Point, approached the chief of the Sioux band with guns and threats. The result was that a matter which could well have been peaceably settled ended in the destruction of Grattan and his command.

6. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1855*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1856, pp. 398-401. This will hereafter be cited as *Annual Report*, with the year noted.

7. J. P. Dunn, *Massacres of the Mountains*, New York, Archer House, 1858, pp. 211 f.

8. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, pp. 128-129. On the western plains even friendly Indians were suspected of treachery. The eastern Sioux were related to, but not identical with the Sioux of the western plains.

Sandy, a "distance of 370 miles" was shortly deserted.⁹ Colonel Chivington's massacre of friendly Arapahoes and Cheyennes at Sand Creek, Colorado, seemed a natural result, but Indian apprehension of white treachery vastly increased. Violence ballooned, and fearsome retaliation followed. Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Sioux raided along the Platte; the Overland Stage depot at Julesburg, northeast Colorado, twice was hit; terror spread throughout the Platte valley.¹⁰ Since punishment must follow, General Connor struck the red men in their homeland and began the First Powder River War in 1865.¹¹ Indian resistance to the building of the Bozeman Trail through their hunting grounds presaged the Second Powder River War, which soon ensued. Peace came in 1868, followed by comparative quiet, but minor conflict continued in Wyoming's Sweetwater mining district.

In the mid-seventies the Indian Bureau boasted that results had "fully justified" its peace policy.¹² Had the ears of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs been better attuned to the signals of the time, he might have realized that hoof beats on the distant plains marked desertion of the agencies by hundreds of Sioux and Cheyenne warriors, gone to join Chief Crazy Horse and the medicine man, Sitting Bull, Sioux leaders out to resist the white man's encroachments. Shivers of excitement ran through the settlements. Then in 1876 came the news which shocked the nation, the wiping out of Custer and his entire command in the Battle of the Little Big Horn in Montana.

Three factors of great importance in producing this unfortunate state of affairs will be reviewed. First was the Indian policy of the Federal Government. Under the War Department from 1832 to 1849 mismanagement and discouraging results had characterized the Bureau of Indian Affairs.¹³ Too frequently military force had

9. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report 1864*, p. 254. The quotation is from the letter of George Otis, general superintendent of the Overland Mail Line, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

10. *Op. cit.*, Grinnell, pp. 181-182.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205. This was the Powder River region of northern Wyoming and southern Montana, where game was far more plentiful than elsewhere; thus the tribes of Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and the bands of Sioux with which they shared the Platte Agency spent much time there.

12. *Op. cit.*, *Annual Report 1875*, p. 531. The report indicated that trains of the Union Pacific Railroad had been running undisturbed, as Indian difficulties had waned. Moreover, although hundreds of miners and pilgrims (in violation of the Treaty of 1868) had swarmed over Sioux country, including the Black Hills in their search for gold, no fighting had resulted. "And with any kind of firm treatment" bearing "a resemblance to justice, there will be no serious contention with this powerful tribe hereafter."

13. *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1878*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1879, p. 10. Time and again in Indian Bureau reports Indian antagonism to the military is pointed out. On various occasions they requested civilian rather than military agents.

antagonized the Indians rather than pacifying them; so in 1849, convinced that civilians could better cope with the situation, Congress transferred Indian Affairs to the recently-created Department of the Interior. The belief and hope was that an era of great promise would be ushered in.¹⁴ With kindness substituted for coercion, with benevolent and missionary societies to assist, the Indians might be guided along the pathway to civilization. The Indian Bureau in its new setting achieved its first major accomplishment with the signing of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, a seeming triumph and vindication of the policy behind its own transfer. At this time it propounded a course based upon the negotiation of treaties with, and the payment of annuities to the Plains Indian tribes. During negotiations interpreters would explain the treaty provisions so misunderstanding could not creep in; the Indians must be convinced that the government intended to be entirely fair. The purpose was threefold: to acquire a right of way through the Indian lands, to gain the good will of the aborigines, and to render them sufficiently dependent upon the issue of annuities as to insure their subservience to the will of the government.

With the passage of a dozen years and several Indian campaigns the solution to the problem of the buffalo-hunting natives seemed no closer. By this time the accepted practice was the use of force to "induce their consent" to negotiate, then to make treaties with them.¹⁵ Following President Grant's inauguration in 1869, a fresh attempt to win them over by peaceful means gained support. Nonetheless, the Secretary of the Interior stressed the fact that force might be necessary,¹⁶ and the Board of Indian Commissioners advocated supporting the agents with military force when needed, thus sparing them the ignominy of "being the toys or tools of lawless savages."¹⁷ Believing that the Indians' resistance to civilizing influences could not be broken down as long as they had buffalo to

14. *Op. cit.*, "Messages from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress", p. 3.

15. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report 1864*, p. 10.

16. *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1873, p. iii. He indicated that the purpose of the "so-called" peace policy was to get the Indians on reservations as rapidly as possible. Resistance on their part would be countered by the use of "all needed severity" to place them there.

17. *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1874*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1875, p. 62. When he tried to count their lodges in 1874, Agent Saville was arrested by Sioux Indians new to the Red Cloud Agency, groups which had not signed the Treaty of 1868. Seven hundred "regular" agency Indians came to his rescue—Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Shortly thereafter five companies of troops were stationed at Fort Robinson (near Chadron, Nebraska) to protect the agency. Interestingly, when 26 troops were sent to suppress another insurrection of non-treaty Sioux, the "regular" Indians had to rescue not only the agent, but the troops as well. (*Op. cit.* *Annual Report, 1875*, p. 87.)

hunt, the Interior Department opposed congressional measures to prevent the "useless slaughter" of these animals in United States' territory.¹⁸ Only when they had vanished from the plains could the red men be confined to reservations, learn to cultivate their individual land allotments, and live like white men.¹⁹

A month after the Custer debacle of 1876 military supervision returned temporarily to the five agencies which served the various bands of western Sioux. Proponents of a policy of force demanded that Indian Affairs revert to the War Department. Backed by this highly vocal group who believed the Indians should be soundly drubbed, a bill to effect the transfer was passed by the House of Representatives, but the Senate held it up, pending investigation.²⁰ With scarcely an exception the Indians were "unqualifiedly" opposed to it.²¹

Throughout these years Indian policy was consistent in only one respect. This has been succinctly stated by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945. "Generally speaking," he said, "the mere obliteration of Indianhood was the historical policy."²²

Public attitude toward the Indians constituted a second important factor contributing to the difficulties between the red men and the white during these years of trouble, the predilections of western settlers being especially significant. It is not strange that they lost little love upon those whose rights frequently nullified their efforts to obtain the resources and lands which they coveted, especially when they felt that the Indians neither would nor could put them to proper use. In addition, fear of the warriors of the plains existed as an ever-present reality to work upon their emotions. In the press of the region periods occurred when weekly, and sometimes

18. *Congressional Record*, First Session, 1874, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1875, p. 62. Representative James A. Garfield, who became President of the U. S. in 1881, also spoke strongly against any control measure. The *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, *Op. cit.*, p. vi, shows that the Secretary, also, favored the destruction of the buffalo to hasten the Indians' dependence "upon the products of the soil and their own labors".

19. Evidences of the extreme importance placed upon the gospel of individual allotments—completely foreign to the culture of the Plains Indians—may be found in *Senate Document No. 319, Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, v. 2, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1904. It is stressed in the Sioux Treaty of 1868, pp. 998-1003, the Northern Arapaho and Cheyenne Treaty of 1868, pp. 1012-1015, the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Treaty of 1867, pp. 984-985, and in various other treaties.

20. *Op. cit.* *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1878, p. 9. The transfer was not approved by the Senate.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

22. Letter from former Indian Commissioner John Collier Sr., Jan. 6, 1962.

daily reports of Indian depredations appeared.²³ The fact that most of these were biased and others false did not lessen their effect.

In various histories of the region under study, as well as in contemporary reports and documents, the feelings of the white settlers are reflected. Following the Treaty of 1851, Coutant claims in the *History of Wyoming*, the reduction of the garrison at Fort Laramie resulted in Indian insolence.²⁴ The red-complexioned lords of the soil, he asserts, were pleased by nothing except the robbing of trains and the killing and scalping of white men.²⁵ Bancroft contrasts the censuring of Colonel Chivington for his massacre of Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Sand Creek, Colorado, with the resolution of thanks to him which was passed by the Territorial Legislature of Colorado!²⁶ His own feeling of approval is apparent. Even Hebard, who wrote at a later date, seems to have caught something of the same spirit, although she generally shows far greater sympathy for the Indians than do either of the older historians. In her background of the Sand Creek affair (1864), she justifies Governor Evans' assumption that none of the Indians intended to be friendly, on the grounds that they failed to respond to his call for them to come in and confer with him.²⁷ She says furthermore that when Black Kettle's Cheyenne's finally reported for a conference, the governor was fully aware of their insincerity.²⁸ There is reason to believe that both of these statements fall short of fact, which will be shown in a later chapter. Captain H. G. Nickerson, a settler and Indian fighter of the Sweetwater and Wind River regions of Wyoming, referred to the Indians of that area as inhuman fiends.²⁹ Since he specified only that the Indians in question were hostile, he probably meant the Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes, as the only other Indians present in the 1870s were the Shoshones, who were not considered hostile.

With the founding of Cheyenne, Wyoming, and the publication of the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* in 1867, similar reflections of the

23. Mildred Nelson, *Index to the Cheyenne Leader, 1867-1890*. Microfilm) A study of the index indicates that this was especially true from 1867 to 1877.

24. C. G. Coutant, *The History of Wyoming*, Laramie, Chaplin, Spafford and Mathison, 1899, p. 318.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

26. Hubert H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert H. Bancroft*, v. 25, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming, 1540-1888*, San Francisco, the History Co., 1888 (1890), p. 466. Bancroft wastes little sympathy on most of the Indians of the region, and none at all on the Arapahoes.

27. Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail*, Cleveland, the Arthur H. Clark Co., 1922, v. 1, p. 127.

28. *Loc. cit.*

29. H. G. Nickerson, "Early History of Fremont County," *State of Wyoming Historical Dept. Quarterly Bulletin*, v. 2, July 15, 1924, p. 3.

public mind appeared in the press. Not the least of the targets was the (Indian) peace policy of the United States Government, and the Quaker influence within the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Thus the spirit of conciliation which graced the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 (ending the Powder River War) drew biting criticism. The editor of the *Leader* predicted that there could be no peace "until the roving destroyers are whipped into subjection . . . and humbly beg for life and mercy on any terms which shall be dictated by the invincible whites. . . ." ³⁰ At a later date he coined a gem of satire in ascribing the murder of a Sweetwater settler to "Quaker applesauce." ³¹

The rights of Indians had their champions, but only a brave person would speak in their defense. At the investigation of the Sand Creek massacre one such individual testified that to "speak friendly of an Indian" was "nearly as much as a man's life is worth." ³²

The hostility toward Indians which typified the press was duplicated by the governor and legislature of Wyoming Territory. In his message to the Legislative Assembly in November, 1875, Governor Thayer dwelt upon the injustice of expelling miners from the Black Hills (in Dakota Territory), whereas the Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes continually violated the boundaries set for them by the Treaty of 1868. The Black Hills with their precious metals, he said, were of no use to the wild Indians who prevented their development. ³³ Since 1868 the "Indian marauders" had stolen more than \$600,000 worth of stock and slain seventy-three citizens engaged in lawful pursuits. Yet he knew of no case in which an Indian had lost his stock nor life at the hands of the whites, with one exception, the killing of four (Arapahoes) by a sheriff's party which pursued them for stealing horses. ³⁴ If the governor spoke the truth he must have been unaware of a number of such incidents, including the flagrant shooting of the Arapaho chief, Black Bear, and ten other men, women and children in his unarmed party of fourteen who, on their part, were engaged in lawful pursuits. ³⁵

In concluding his message, Governor Thayer recommended that the Legislative Assembly embody its views in a memorial to Con-

30. *The Cheyenne Leader*, April 3, 1868. (Microfilm)

31. *Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1872.

32. *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee under the Joint Resolution of Mar. 3, 1865*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1865, p. 34.

33. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming 1875*, Cheyenne, *Daily Leader Office*, 1876, pp. 35-37.

34. *Loc. cit.*

35. *Executive Document of the House of Representatives of the Third Session of the Forty-first Congress, 1870-1871*, Wash., Govt. Printing Office, 1871, p. 643. This occurred near the present town of Lander, Wyoming.

gress. The Assembly concurred; the memorial was drafted. The excerpts below will leave no doubt of their convictions:

"Memorial and Joint Resolution of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming, Feb. 23, 1876:

While all the power of the Government has been threatened, and in a sense used, to prevent white men from trespassing on their lands, so uselessly held by them to the exclusion of those who would mine for precious metals (which it is well known exist there) these lawless pets have been allowed to leave their reservations (so called) whenever they would, to prey upon and devastate the property, lives, and peaceful occupations of these frontier settlers, with the virtual consent of their guardians, the agents of the Government. While the blood-seeking brave (God save the word!) and his filthy squaw have fed at the public expense in those hatchholes of fraud known as agencies, the widow and children of the white man slain by the treacherous Indian have been obliged to depend on their own energies or the bounty of neighbors for the necessities of life.

In behalf of a long-suffering people . . . we would ask that the Indians shall be removed from us entirely, or else made amenable to the common law of the land. . . .

We ask that our delegate . . . may be listened to and heeded with at least as much respect as some Indian-loving fanatic of the East. . . ."³⁶

A final factor contributing its full share to the misunderstandings and violence of this period was the Indian way of life. Unique and distinctive in many respects, it was neither understood nor appreciated by the whites.³⁷ Like the buffalo which they hunted, the plains Indians separated into comparatively small bands in the winter, but with the coming of spring they gathered into larger groups. The resultant reunion was a time of visiting and happiness; sodality or age-group lodge meetings were held. As the lodges cut across band lines, this was the natural time for them to meet. The Sun Dance, which ordinarily was set up at this time, cut across both lodge and band lines.

The Sun Dance, which went by different names in different tribes, likewise varied considerably in ritual, but it was a significant religious ceremonial among all groups which practiced it. That of the western Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes bore many points of similarity. Since this paper largely concerns the Northern Arapahoes, a few points regarding their Offerings Lodge, as their Sun Dance is called, will be given. It was pledged—or "set up" as they

36. *Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives, Forty-fourth Congress, First Session, 1875*, Wash., Govt. Printing Office, 1876, pp. 2-3. The Indians were regarded as the Federal Government's "lawless pets", who were not held accountable for their actions.

37. Fey and McNickle, in reviewing U. S. Government Indian policy from 1787 to 1959, state that none of it was seen through Indian eyes until 1928. (Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans*, New York, Harper and Bros., 1959, p. 68.)

say—by ceremonial vow; each participant entered it likewise by vow.³⁸ It included three and one-half days with neither food nor water, usually beneath the hot sun of late spring or summer. The hope of attaining individual power and prestige through the Sun Dance was evident, but equally so was the want of healing, physical or mental, for self, family or friends. Man's dependence for existence on food and water were accented throughout the ceremony, while certain features stressed the idea of fertility in relation to the sun, earth, moon and sex, without which there would be neither food for man nor the possibility of perpetuating life on earth.

The lodges had definite responsibilities in the hunt and on the march. This was frequently a matter of survival. When many animals from a herd of buffalo were slaughtered and butchered, it was the function of one of the sodalities—one composed of men of mature age—to see that every family received its fair share of the meat. Sometimes the impetuous youths of a younger lodge, hungering for a chance to gain prestige in a raid or battle, had to be held in check for the safety of all concerned. Men of advanced age, always few in number, men who had been step by step through all the sodalities, directed not only the lodge ceremonies, including the Sun Dance, but many other tribal activities as well; hence society was hierarchical. The older men and women were generally held in high respect.

Despite a feeling of strong tribal kinship, the various bands with their own chiefs or leaders often acted independently.³⁹ They fought with bands from hostile tribes, joined friends or allies against their foes, raided for horses, and ranged far afield to visit friends and relatives. They were generally free to make their own decisions. Bands of Northern Arapahoes, a typical plains group, from time to time were reported from dozens of points between the Republican River in Kansas and the Mussellshell in Montana, a distance of 800 miles as the crow flies, much farther as they had to travel, that is mounted on horses and sometimes dragging travois

38. In 1938 a 'teen-age Arapaho girl became quite ill. Hoping for her recovery, her father and her brother vowed to enter the Sun Dance. She died, but her death could not release them from their pledge. The Arapahoes explain it by saying, "You see, you have already made the vow—" It cannot be broken. (James C. Murphy, *Personal Notes Taken on the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming, 1933-1939.*)

39. In 1864 the Northern Arapaho chief, Friday, took his band of less than 200 to Ft. Collins, Colorado, determined to remain at peace with the whites. Black Bear's band of several hundred joined them for a time, then left for other parts. In the meanwhile Medicine Man's band—about half of the entire tribe—remained hundreds of miles to the north, in the Powder River country, where buffalo were plentiful. This will receive further treatment later.

loaded with their lodges and household goods.⁴⁰ Pursuing their migrant life and living off the chase, a few thousand Indians split into tribes and sub-divided into bands thus occupied untold acres of land; and upon this the whites cast covetous eyes.

For the Indians of the plains warfare had a different connotation than for the whites. True it is that Indians slaughtered every man in Custer's command in 1876, and that under desperate conditions they had been known to "charge on a whole company singly, determined to kill someone before being killed themselves".⁴¹ In such cases the Indians were battling white men under exceptional circumstances; they did not typify strictly Indian warfare. To the warrior of the plains taking a scalp was more important and an act of greater bravery than the killing of many enemies; successful stealth and cunning brought greater prestige than risking one's life to strike a blow. The bravest act of all, ranking far above killing an enemy, was that of counting coup, that is touching or striking an enemy with a long, peeled wand of wood which had a feather tied to the small end.⁴² This was the great prize.

The care with which the plains Indians protected themselves while delivering a blow may well be imagined from a report of an all-day battle between Shoshones and Northern Cheyennes (traditional enemies) in the Big Horn region of Wyoming in 1877. The former lost one man, two women and two children in what is described as one of the "fiercest" engagements which ever occurred in the vicinity!⁴³ Cheyenne losses were unknown, but probably comparable.

Fighting between hereditary enemies sometimes brought consternation to white settlers in the plains and Rocky Mountain West. In the early 1860s, for instance, Arapahoes, camped in what is now downtown Denver (Colorado) in considerable numbers, went over the mountains to raid the Utes. When they returned with the news that the latter were chasing *them*, near pandemonium broke out in the settlement.⁴⁴ As late as 1874 the Indian agent at Denver complained of repeated acts of murder on their "plains enemies" by Utes who came east of the mountains on buffalo hunts.⁴⁵ He sug-

40. Grinnell, *op. cit.*, p. 181, records 80 lodges of Northern Arapahoes on the Republican in 1864-65, to visit their southern kinsmen. Peter Koch reported members of the same tribe on the Mussellshell to trade in 1869-70. See Elers Koch (ed.), "The Diary of Peter Koch," *The Frontier*, v. 9, Jan. 1929, p. 156.

41. *Op. cit.*, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, p. 92. From a letter of Major Anthony after the Sand Creek massacre, when Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho men, women and children were shot down without mercy.

42. Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1957 (new edition), pp. 9-10.

43. *Op. cit.*, *Annual Report 1877*, pp. 605-606.

44. *Op. cit.*, Grinnell, p. 119.

45. *Op. cit.*, *Annual Report 1874*, p. 272.

gested that a competent and trustworthy party accompany them to see that they hunt *buffalo* rather than Sioux, Arapahoes, Cheyennes and Kiowas.⁴⁶

On the Indian scale of prestige the stealing of horses from a legitimate enemy was outranked by counting coup alone. Not only was it considered an "honorable pursuit", but often profitable as well.⁴⁷ Horses were indispensable for the hunt, warpath, travel, and as gifts at weddings and other societal gatherings, and of course for trading purposes. In 1804 Lewis and Clark had found the Mandans of North Dakota bartering horses to the Assiniboines for axes, arms, ammunition and other goods of European manufacture which the latter tribe obtained in Canada. In turn the Mandans traded these south to Crows, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and others for horses and leather tents.⁴⁸ Indeed, it was through the combination of trading and stealing that horses had gradually moved northward through the tribes from Mexico to Canada.

Since horses were the most valuable booty of warfare, it logically follows that the plains tribes were unwilling to forego the pleasure of retaining traditional enemies for horse-raiding purposes. Naturally enough, Indian agents often felt that their own wards were picked upon by others, but a study of the records indicates that rarely indeed did one tribe prove less guilty than another. In 1860 the Pawnee agent cited eight unwarranted raids by Brulé Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes in which his charges suffered a loss of thirteen lives, thirty horses, and sixty lodges burned.⁴⁹ Doubts of Pawnee innocence in this endless cycle arise when a later report (1862) indicates that a "recent" raid by "Brula" Sioux was staged to *recover* horses which the same Pawnees had stolen from them a few weeks earlier.⁵⁰ Some enlightenment is found in the statement of A. G. Colley that the pastime is "a part of their lives, being taught it from infancy".⁵¹ With the aid of the military he had held in check the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes of his agency, but when Utes ran off eighty Cheyenne horses within a mile of the post, a counter raid was shortly under way!⁵² During the same year (1863) four soldiers were wounded and one lost his life while pursuing Ute Indians who refused to surrender horses "legitimately"

46. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

47. *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 753. The agent to the Sioux, Northern Arapahoes and Northern Cheyennes thus called it in 1875, adding that it was as difficult to convince the Indians that horsestealing was wrong as to persuade a horse-jockey that it is wrong to sell a neighbor an unsound horse.

48. Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, New York, Dodd, Mead and Co., 1904, v. 6, p. 90.

49. *Op. cit.*, *Annual Report* 1860, p. 317.

50. *Ibid.*, 1862, p. 97.

51. *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 252.

52. *Loc. cit.*

stolen from their Sioux enemies.⁵³ Governor Evans of Colorado Territory endeavored to end the long-existent hostilities between the Utes on one hand and the Cheyennes and Arapahoes on the other, but the latter tribes protested his efforts as "unwarrantable interference".⁵⁴ The governor persisted until he had convinced himself that there would be no further trouble; but the raids continued for a dozen years or more, as the Indians prolonged the enjoyment of their sport.

From the beginning Indian policy had been based upon the premise that the red man must adapt himself to the white man's superior way of life. The whites were concerned lest the Indians should not learn to live like them; but the Indians were sometimes concerned lest they should. At the conclusion of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, a group of men and women from several of the signatory tribes were brought to Washington, D. C., and other eastern cities, ostensibly to impress them with the power of the U. S. and the vastly higher culture of its citizens. Though assuredly impressed, they longed to return to their broad plains and the freedoms of their own society. Before they left the East one committed suicide; others, it was said, were so depressed that they might follow suit should they remain longer in its crowded cities.⁵⁵ Despite this sad beginning, the Indian Bureau for more than twenty years stuck to the theory that to see is to be convinced, and continued to bring parties of plains Indians to the East. Retaining their optimism and enthusiasm, advocates of the policy were overjoyed when five delegations numbering from five to fifty made the trip in 1872, and the Board of Indian Commissioners lauded the beneficial results in "all cases."⁵⁶ Little doubt was felt that the "ease, comfort and luxury" of the cities would create in the Indians a desire for better things than could be found in their wild, roving life".⁵⁷ Yet nearly all the delegates grew so homesick for the plains that they wanted the trip to end as soon as possible!⁵⁸

Other indications of the Indians' preference for their own way of life appear in various reports of the period, of which several examples are given below. In 1856 agent Twiss of the North Platte Agency found no desire among the Sioux, Arapahoes, nor Chey-

53. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 33. Evans was ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the area.

55. *Op. cit.*, "Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress," p. 335. Thomas Fitzpatrick, who escorted the Indians on the trip, reported that it would not surprise him at all if others committed suicide.

56. *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1872, p. 5.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

ennes to adopt the white man's life, not even to planting corn.⁵⁹ Seven years later, when Governor Evans of Colorado Territory attempted a treaty with the same three tribes, his emissary informed them that he wished them to settle on a reservation and live like white men; but they retorted that they were not yet reduced so low.⁶⁰ When the Arapaho, Friday, discovered through unusual circumstances that the milk of human kindness existed even among whites, he did not lose his longing for the plains nor the ways of his people. Lost from his tribe in 1831 at the age of nine, he was found by white traders, sent to St. Louis, Missouri, and taught to speak fluent English, to read and write. Though duly impressed by the consideration which he received, he returned in a few years to his people.⁶¹ As a young man he assumed the chieftainship of a small band of Northern Arapahoes, and with them he remained.

An interesting speculation regarding Friday's return to his tribe appears in *Broken Hand*, by Hafen and Ghent, the story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, who discovered and provided for the young boy. The lad, it is said, had fallen in love with a white girl, only to be rejected because of his race.⁶² Though previously ready to remain with the whites and become as one of them, the bitter disillusionment drove him back to his people.⁶³ In the light of further information, this theory seems to be the wishful thinking of one so sure of the incomparable excellence of his own culture that he cannot recognize the validity of another choice. Friday himself in 1864 explained his decision in quite a different manner. On friendly terms with the Overland Stage Line agents at Latham, Colorado, he told them much of his early life, including the years at St. Louis. It was, he said, his love for the plains and his tribe which had made him return to his Arapaho life.⁶⁴ Whatever the romantic bent of his stripling years may have been, the adult Friday followed Arapaho custom in matrimony as in his daily living. Though other forms of polygamy were known to his people, the marrying of sisters (sororal polygyny) was a preferred pattern. Friday married four sisters.⁶⁵

59. *Op. cit.*, *Annual Report 1856*, p. 647.

60. Leroy R. Hafen and Francis M. Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West 1834-1890*, Glendale, the Arthur H. Clark Co. 1938, p. 314.

61. Leroy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *Rufus B. Sage. His Letters and Papers 1836-1847*, Glendale, the Arthur H. Clark Co., 1956, v. 2, pp. 302-303.

62. Leroy R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand*, Denver, the Old West Publishing Co., 1931, p. 271.

63. *Loc. cit.*, Hafen and Ghent here quote the *Manuscript Journal* of Talbot, a member of John C. Fremont's second western expedition.

64. Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelly, *The Overland Stage to California*, Topeka, Root and Connelly, 1901, p. 347.

65. *Op. cit.*, Murphy, *Personal Notes*. Lowie says that the sororal form of polygyny was the most common among the plains Indians because sisters were less apt to quarrel than unrelated co-wives. (Robert H. Lowie, *Indians of the Plains*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954, p. 80.)

With the Indian policy of the Federal Government based more upon good intentions than knowledge and appreciation of Indian ways, with the settlers of the West coveting a nearly empty land and its unexploited resources, with the roving life of the Indians conflicting with the interests of the settlers, trouble was inevitable. The red men were numbered only in the tens of thousands; the plains could supply the homes and wants of millions. A dominant race found the buffalo and the Indians in the way; they must therefore change the pattern of their lives or perish. The former were slaughtered to the point of near-extinction; the latter were deprived of the lands of their ancestors, and shunted onto reservations.

The Northern Arapaho Indians

Three plains groups, the Blackfeet, Cheyennes and Arapahoes, though living far from the homeland of the bulk of their linguistic relatives, spoke Algonkian dialects. A conjecture widely credited but lacking positive evidence holds that the Arapahoes—like their Cheyenne friends and associates—deserted sedentary, agricultural villages, perhaps in Minnesota, to seek a fuller, richer life upon the plains when the acquisition of horses made the change to buffalo hunting highly attractive. Actually, nothing is known of their place of origin, early history or migrations.⁶⁶ Certain features of the Arapaho language indicate a separation of more than a thousand years from the woodland Algonquins of the Great Lakes area and the East.⁶⁷

Although Canadian reports of the Gros Ventres branch of Arapahoes antedate the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific by more than fifty years, these American explorers first made known the existence of the Arapahoes proper, whom they found in the vicinity of the Black Hills (South Dakota) in 1804.⁶⁸ Because they lived upon the buffalo they were known as "Gens de vach" or "cow people."⁶⁹ Alexander Henry, who met them in the same locality in 1806, referred to them as the buffalo Indians.⁷⁰

Buffalo Indians they were indeed, for, by dropping heated stones into buffalo rawhide fitted into holes in the ground, they boiled

66. A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho, Part I", *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, 1902, v. XVIII, p. 4.

67. A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho Dialects", *Univ. of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 1917, v. 12, p. 73.

68. Op. cit., Thwaites (ed.) *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, p. 190. The *Atsina*, or Gros Ventres of the prairie, now in Montana, are an Arapaho group speaking an Arapaho dialect. They still intervisit with the Northern Arapahoes.

69. *Loc. cit.*

70. Eliot Coues (ed.), *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, New York, F. P. Harper, 1897, v. 1, p. 384.

their buffalo meat; dried, shredded buffalo flesh mixed with buffalo fat became pemmican, which they packed into *parfleches* for storage and travel; from bones of the bovines they fashioned awls, needles and other tools; buffalo sinews contributed bowstrings and thread; buffalo hides stretched around thin, pole frames formed their tipis or lodges; buffalo robes served as bedding; and when wood was not handy, buffalo chips—or dried dung—kept their home fires burning.⁷¹ To round out the list—though far from exhausting it—the use of pulverized dung in lieu of diapers should be included.⁷²

As their material culture was based upon the bison, the hierarchical structure of their society was adapted to a life upon the plains. The older men retained comparatively tight, but not tyrannical control. Since the prudence of the young men frequently fell short of their drive for prestige, some such restraint was essential, to hold them in check. A sodality system which provided for the social needs of the Arapahoes from adolescence to old age made possible the effective exercise of the necessary controls. These age-group lodges were so organized that as their years and experience increased, the members advanced, sometimes as an entire group, to the privileges and responsibilities of a higher fellowship. As illness, accident and the daily hazards of their migratory life gradually decreased their numbers, they progressed from stage to stage with an ever-lessening membership. Reverence for age and its authority was inculcated, and the rash actions of the immature and the impatient frequently were curbed. Deference to the elders became institutional; deep respect and affection were rendered to old men and women. Their needs and their desires received considerable attention.

From the foregoing information it may be surmised that sodalities, in Arapaho society as in that of other plains tribes, held a central position. Though actually nine in number, only seven were specified as lodges, for the first two, respectively for 'teen-age boys and men in their twenties, lacked regalia and degrees, thus could not attain this distinction. Since seven was one of the three sacred numbers in Arapaho ceremonial practice, the enumeration of this many lodges had ritual significance.⁷³

Several sodalities deserve particular notice. First of these are

71. *Ibid.*, p. 370. Henry tells of 300 buffalo dung fires smoking in every direction at an Indian camp on the plains. White settlers learned to use buffalo chips for similar purposes.

72. Sister M. Inez Hilger, "Arapaho Childlife and Its Cultural Background," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 148, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1952, pp. 28-29.

73. The other two numbers are four and sixteen. Any alert observer of the Arapaho Sun Dance ceremonies and structure of the Sun Dance Lodge will notice numerous examples of ceremonial usage of these numbers.

the Firemoths or Crazy Men, who reversed their ways and language during the ritualistic processes and became clownish.⁷⁴ They would attend a ceremonial feast, for instance, only when requested not to come. Second is the Dog Lodge, composed of older men with their wives. Its members held special wartime responsibilities, especially those who were recipients of the higher degrees. They could not leave their battle stations unless ordered to do so by a comrade. The shaggy dog—holder of the highest degree of the lodge—had to retain his position until driven away by a companion.⁷⁵ The third of these, at the top of the social pyramid and representing the oldest group of men, was the Water-dripping Sweat Lodge, in which no more than the sacred number seven could hold membership. Finally, the women participated in a sodality of their own, the Buffalo Lodge, which apparently lacked age requirements.

Initiates of the various sodalities were sponsored by ceremonial grandfathers (grandmothers for the women), whom they treated with great deference, and from whom they received their instruction. This relationship, enduring throughout life, prohibited the grandson and his wife from engaging in any activities, even social games, which would bring them into conflict with the sponsor. In their turn, the grandfathers who directed the initiates received instructions from the old men of the Water-dripping Sweat Lodge, owners of the seven sacred tribal bags or bundles, each representing certain powers. In all cases the instructors received many gifts, as well as repetitive expressions of thanks from those whom they directed.

At what time in the past divisions among the Arapaho groups first appeared is a matter of conjecture, but the dialectical differences between the Arapahoes proper and the Gros Ventres indicate a separation of considerable duration.⁷⁶ Of more recent origin was the splitting of the main body into northern and southern divisions. Of the various theories offered to explain this geographic cleavage, some are obviously false, as written references to both groups antedate the events cited as the causes of parting. One apocryphal tale which has been given considerable credence attributes the separation to ill feeling generated through the slaying of a

74. William C. Thunder, letter of Dec. 23, 1938. Much of the information on lodges comes from this source. The remainder is taken from A. L. Kroeber, who gives a much more complete account in "The Arapaho, Part 11", *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, 1904, v. XVIII.

75. The Dog Dancers and the members of the other sodalities also held special Sun Dance responsibilities.

76. A reunion of the Gros Ventres and Northern Arapahoes occurred from 1818-1823, apparently the last of more than a few months duration. Smallpox decimated their numbers at this time. (See Hugh L. Scott, "The Early History and Names of the Arapaho," *American Anthropologist* (n.s.) 1907, v. 9, p. 553.)

Northern Arapaho chief by a member of a Southern Arapaho band in the 1850s. When in 1897 he told to Hugh Scott a simpler and more credible explanation, the Southern Arapaho, Left Hand, denied all implications of uncongeniality as a contributing factor.⁷⁷ There had been no quarrel, he said, nor any unpleasantness between the bands, but the Northern Arapahoes merely preferred to remain in the north, while the Southern Arapahoes came to prefer the south, where horses were more plentiful.⁷⁸ How long a time elapsed from the first seeking of different pastures until the separation became complete cannot be surely said, but the division seems to have developed in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, certainly not later than 1816, according to Scott.⁷⁹

Although the southern group now shares a reservation in Oklahoma with the Southern Cheyennes, their historic friends, and the northerners live on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming with the Shoshones, they still feel themselves to comprise one people, and they speak the same language. Intervisitation is common. Occasionally a Southern Arapaho moves permanently to Wyoming, or a Northern Arapaho to Oklahoma.

They mutually regard the Flat Pipe, long in the keeping of the Northern Arapahoes, as their most sacred tribal possession. Though hidden by its wrappings from public view, the pipe holds a prominent place in the Northern Arapaho Sun Dance ceremonies. Hung on its quadruped of poles, sacrifices or offerings are made to it by those who have vowed to do so. It is approached with as great reverence as is the cross or altar by a member of any Christian sect, and the offering is carefully laid over it. "Dressing the pipe", the Arapahoes call it.⁸⁰

Two names frequently used to distinguish the Northern Arapahoes from the Oklahoma group are translated as People of the Sagebrush, and Red Bark People, the latter referring to their practice of mixing red osier dogwood bark with tobacco.⁸¹ By them-

77. *Ibid.*, p. 558.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 560. Left Hand's explanation is perfectly logical. Historically horses moved from south to north, from Mexico through the U. S. to Canada, both through trading and raiding.

79. *Loc. cit.* This version of the geographical cleavage differs little from that of other careful investigators, with the exception of W. P. Clark, who obviously misinterpreted information received from Little Raven, another Southern Arapaho. He concluded that the division occurred in 1867, when the Northern Arapahoes refused to join in a war on the whites. (See W. P. Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, Philadelphia, L. R. Hammersly and Co., 1885, p. 40.)

80. *Op. cit.* Murphy, *Personal Notes*. John S. Carter has written a monograph on the pipe, "The Northern Arapaho Flat Pipe and the Ceremony of Covering the Pipe", *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 119*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1938, pp. 69-102.

81. *Loc. cit.* The Arapahoes say that the translation usually given, "Red Willow People," is a misinterpretation.

selves and their southern relatives they are sometimes called the "mother tribe."⁸²

For generations the Arapahoes and Cheyennes intermarried, camped and hunted together, and jointly raided and fought with their common enemies. Alexander Henry found them sharing a campground as early as 1806.⁸³ How far in the past their amicable relationship began is problematical. Eventually they extended their alliance to include the Western Sioux; and the three groups, particularly those in the north, pressed raids—whether retaliatory or aggressive—against the Crows, Utes, Pawnees and Shoshones. The forays afforded excellent opportunities for the younger braves to slake their thirst for prestige.

Names of various Northern Arapaho men and women of a later day commemorated the exploits of their ancestors in inter-tribal warfare. Thus Red Plume and In-Among-Them (brothers) received their names from a grandfather who had once counted coup on a Crow warrior who wore a red feather; and at another time he had dismounted to fight the Crows on foot—in among them.⁸⁴ Likewise the name of Woman-runs-out was bestowed upon her by a grandfather who, also in a battle with the Crows, had pitied a woman who ran out of a tipi with a baby on her back.⁸⁵

After the Treaty of 1851 the Northern Arapahoes and Northern Cheyennes shared a common agency with various bands of the Western Sioux. Despite efforts of the Indian Office to persuade the two former tribes to join their relatives in Indian Territory (now included in Oklahoma), they stayed in the north until United States soldiers rounded up hostile Indians following the Sitting Bull campaign, 1876 to 1877. A move to the south was forced upon the Cheyennes, but part of them refused to remain there and broke away to the north, where many met their death from soldiers' bullets. The Arapahoes joined the Shoshones in Wyoming, and there they may be found today.

Throughout the period of turmoil surveyed earlier, (1851-1879) the closest associates of the Northern Arapahoes were depicted as the fighting Cheyennes and the warlike Sioux, the latter composing the largest, most powerful plains tribe (estimated at 53,000 people), and the one most feared by the whites.⁸⁶ This fellowship, combined with their reputation of being more reserved, treacherous and fierce than their neighbors, would incline one to expect the Arapahoes to be usually in the thick of the fighting, in the focal point of trouble.⁸⁷ Yet this does not seem to be the case.

82. Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, New York, Pageant Book Co. Inc., 1959, p. 72. (Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907.)

83. *Op. cit.* Coues, v. 1, p. 384.

84. *Op. cit.* Murphy, *Personal Notes*.

85. *Loc. cit.*

The Northern Arapahoes regarded themselves as peaceful people. In 1875 Black Coal, then their most important chief, expressed this tribal feeling before an investigating commission at Red Cloud Agency (Nebraska), where the Northern Cheyennes, several bands of Sioux, and his own tribe were served. "The Arapahoes," he testified, "are called the peace tribe. I never begin war. When I make peace I always keep it. That is the way with all the Arapahoes. . . ."⁸⁸ Whether or not Black Coal's statement is wholly valid, it represents far more than a tribal platitude.

In the *Fighting Cheyennes* Grinnell breaks with popular judgment to present (briefly) a pacific facet of Arapaho character. Though stubborn fighters in supporting their friends and allies, he found them milder and more easygoing than the Cheyennes.⁸⁹ James Mooney, probably the first noteworthy anthropologist to gain the confidence of the Arapahoes, believed them to be religious, contemplative and friendly, neither truculent nor pugnacious, but more tractable and less mercenary than the general run of prairie Indians.⁹⁰ Despite these and other evidences which will be presented, the few historians who acknowledge any peaceful inclination among the Arapahoes cite only Friday in this respect, and his efforts to influence his people are generally regarded as abortive. There can be no contention as to his bent for peace; his importance must be recognized, but there are indications that he did not stand alone. The case of Friday will be given first.

Though sorely tried by the tactics of the dominant race determined to occupy his and other Indian lands, he remained a staunch opponent of force in dealing with them. There is no evidence that he ever took up arms against the whites. When fear of a general Indian insurrection rose toward a *crescendo* in 1863 and rumors magnified the apprehension, Friday, camped with his band at the Cache la Poudre in Colorado, insisted that he would keep the peace, and refused the offer of a Sioux warpipe.⁹¹ Even the terrors of the Sand Creek massacre of Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes in 1864 failed to shake him from this resolve, and he took no part in the raids along the Platte which followed, although one band of Northern Arapahoes joined the Sioux and Cheyennes in these.

86. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 4. This is an Indian Office estimate.

87. *Op. cit.* Kroeber, "The Arapaho, Part 1", p. 4.

88. *Report of the Special Commission to Investigate the Affairs of the Red Cloud Agency, July, 1875, together with the Testimony and Accompanying Documents*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1875, p. 377. Most historians of this period would challenge Black Coal's claim.

89. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, p. 3.

90. James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890", *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892-93*, Part 2, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1896, p. 957.

91. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1863, p. 254.

Nor did he participate in the Powder River fighting, 1865 to 1867, though General Connor's punitive expedition (1865) brought the latter into conflict with Black Bear's band, when his soldiers attacked them on the Tongue River, a tributary of the Yellowstone.⁹² It was not until 1868, when peace had come, that Friday's band finally was evicted by Federal Government authorities from their encampment on the far-away Cache la Poudre. He then joined his brethren in the Powder River region.

After Friday, the influence of Chief Medicine Man in steering the Northern Arapahoes along the path of peace should be considered. This chief, known to whites as Roman Nose, has received little attention from historians. Among his own people, however, he exercised great authority from the mid-1850s until his death during the winter of 1871-1872. During this period he frequently acted as spokesman for his tribe, and on at least one occasion for certain bands of Sioux and Cheyennes as well. Like Friday, he abstained from the Platte River hostilities of 1864-1865, keeping his band, more than half the entire tribe, in the Powder River country, hundreds of miles from the raids in question. Also as with Friday, he refrained from taking up arms against the whites following the thoroughly unjustified Sand Creek massacre of Cheyennes and Southern Arapahoes in 1864. Indeed, Indian Office reports indicated that the outrage "effectually prevented any more advances towards peace by such of those bands which were well-disposed" excepting the Arapaho chief "Roman Nose", who had sent word that he was anxious to live with his people in the locality of the "Little Chug" river (the Chugwater, about thirty-five miles north of Cheyenne, Wyoming).⁹³ In response to Governor Evans' offer of the previous summer to protect all friendly Indians, he had brought his large band all the way from Powder River, where buffalo hunting was still good, only to be rebuffed on the flimsy ground that the Little Chug was too close to the great routes of travel.⁹⁴ Although Medicine Man's part in the Powder River Wars remains enigmatic, after the peace of 1868 he avoided collision with the whites, on one occasion even moving his people to the Milk River Agency in Montana (which served the Gros Ventres relatives and Crow enemies of the Arapahoes) rather than risk an open rupture which seemed imminent in Wyoming.⁹⁵

92. Black Bear's band was probably the one which had aided the Sioux and Cheyennes in their raids along the Platte River. The indications will be shown later.

93. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1865, p. 25.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 177. Ft. Collins, Colorado, one of the main stations to which Governor Evans of Colorado Territory had requested friendly Indians to report, was just as close to the main routes of travel.

95. The move followed the murder of Black Bear and a number of other Arapahoes by an armed band of whites, near the present town of Lander, Wyoming, in 1871.

Finally, after Friday and Medicine Man, Black Coal too, deserves mention in this regard, though he has more frequently been classed as a raider than as a man of peace. When he succeeded Medicine Man, following the latter's demise, the Arapahoes returned to the Wind River region of Wyoming to raid their old enemies, the Shoshones, whom they blamed for collusion with the whites in the death of Black Bear. Their forays were terminated by a clash with United States troops, the Bates Battle of 1874, after which Black Coal fought no more. Having made peace, he stuck to it, even in 1875, when droves of Sioux and Cheyennes deserted their agencies to follow the war trail with Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, thus making a mockery of the Indian Commissioner's boast that the process of feeding the Sioux had "so far taken the fight out of them . . ." that they would not "risk the loss of their coffee, sugar and beef" in a campaign against the soldiers.⁹⁶

Since Friday as a boy in St. Louis had known white men under suspicious circumstances, it might be argued that both Medicine Man and Black Coal had come under his influence and reflected his own attitude. It might be said, in short, that without him the ameliorating factor in Arapaho-white relations might never have developed. But when the available evidence is considered it appears that the amicable inclination of his people may have preceded Friday's influence, and that it did not vanish with his death. Moreover, the trait was shared by Northern and Southern Arapahoes, and was not entirely restricted to their relations with the whites. Grinnell has pointed out that the Arapahoes had, in past time, fought the Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches, not through any real antagonism to them, but rather because they were the enemies of their own best friends, the Cheyennes. The Apaches must have been cognizant of this fact, for in 1840 they approached the Arapahoes with the request that they act as intermediaries in arranging a peace conference between the five warring tribes, the Cheyennes and Arapahos on one hand, the Apaches, Comanches and Kiowas on the other.⁹⁷ The Arapahoes obliged; full agreement was reached, presents exchanged, and hostilities between them permanently ceased.

Moving to a later day—nearly ten years after Friday's death in 1881—it should be noted that a remarkable Arapaho left his home in Wyoming to carry to his southern brethren and others in Indian Territory, the Ghost Dance religion, which had originated with Jack Wilson, the Indian Messiah of Mason Valley, Nevada. Since it was definitely a religion of peace as he taught it, this Arapaho missionary who influenced many tribes, might well have been called the Apostle of Peace. Paradoxically, he shared with the great

96. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1875, p. 5.

97. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, pp. 63-66.

Sioux warrior of the 1870s the name of Sitting Bull.⁹⁸ Fittingly, perhaps, after the decline of the Ghost Dance religion, Sitting Bull—Hanacha Thiak in Arapaho—became a Mennonite convert, thus affiliating himself with one of the historic peace sects.⁹⁹

Finally, as noted above, it was not the Northern division of the Arapahoes alone which strove from time to time to maintain peaceful relations with the United States Government. In 1870 and subsequent years, notations of the desirable attitude of the Southern Arapahoes appeared in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Declarations of peaceful intent made at this time were thereafter honored by the Southern Arapahoes.

Similar commentaries on the conciliatory spirit of the Northern Arapahoes appeared in 1872.¹⁰⁰ Others followed in 1873; and by 1875 it seemed only the course of wisdom to plan to separate them from the more recalcitrant Cheyennes.¹⁰¹ Subsequently, when Sioux and Cheyenne warriors left their agencies to join the forces of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, it became obvious to their agent at Red Cloud that the Arapahoes, “. . . almost without exception, remained loyal to the government.”¹⁰²

Following the Custer debacle, the Interior Department—long under pressure from settlers to open up the northern Indian lands—undertook active measures to transfer the Northern Arapahoes, Northern Cheyennes and some of the Sioux to Indian Territory, notwithstanding their opposition to the change. The Cheyennes were compelled to go; but the purported warlike inclination of the Sioux, and its fearful potential toward settlers in the adjacent states and the “civilized Indians” of the area resulted in such a flurry of protest that the plan to shift them was stymied.¹⁰³ Congress passed an act expressly forbidding the President to move “any portion” of the Sioux nation to Indian Territory.¹⁰⁴ Conversely, final recognition of the Northern Arapaho efforts to keep the peace led the United States Government to grant their plea to remain in the north, rather than coercing them into the dreaded transfer.¹⁰⁵ Shortly thereafter the Indian Bureau completed arrangements to move them to their present location on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, where the Shoshones already resided.

98. James Mooney (*op. cit.*) gives the full story in *The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology 1892-1893*, Part 2.

99. *Op. cit.* Murphy, *Personal Notes*.

100. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1872, p. 651.

101. *Ibid.*, 1875, pp. 546-552.

102. *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 415.

103. *The Congressional Record*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1877, Forty-fourth Congress, Second session, v. 5, p. 1617.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 1736.

105. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1877, p. 459. The Northern Arapahoes feared they would die “in that miasmatic country”.

The Treaty of 1851 as the Hopeful Promise of a New Era

In 1849, with California's gold rush sparking a tremendous population boom, and the settlement of Oregon under way, President Fillmore proposed a plan to bind together the widely separated eastern and western frontiers of the United States with a permanent highway to cut across the vast and nearly empty expanse of plains and mountains which lay between.¹⁰⁶ A railroad, he said, would best satisfy the wants and needs of the people, though he did not envisage its immediate construction.¹⁰⁷ Some means must be devised to extinguish Indian title to the needed strips of land, for difficulties already had arisen between the thousands of westbound immigrants and the "wild" tribes of the plains, through whose habitat the projected right of way would have to pass.¹⁰⁸

Since the wrath of the Indians had been aroused by the immigrants' destruction of their game and forage, the President recommended a gift of \$50,000 to assuage their feelings. In exchange for the right of the Government to maintain roads and military posts in certain parts of their territory, annuities valued at \$50,000 should be distributed among them for a period of fifty years. Thus their good will would be purchased, and fear of the loss of treaty rations would surely elicit their best conduct toward the whites. Should molestation of travelers and their stock not cease, the positive identification of the guilty parties must be assured. By laying the country off into geographical or rather "national domains" the Government could readily identify the predators, or at least the tribe to which they belonged.¹⁰⁹

Condemning the unsuccessful practice of coercion formerly pursued by the War Department, Fillmore stressed the necessity of kindness in dealing with the aborigines. If the Government would undertake to feed and clothe them, they might be somewhat gently led into the pathways and arts of civilization.¹¹⁰ Once the dwindling herds of buffalo were gone from the plains, the Indians must adapt or starve, and without aid they would be unable to establish themselves, "even as graziers".¹¹¹ The contemplated period of fifty

106. "Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress", *Thirty-first Congress Executive Document No. 5*, Washington, printed for the House of Representatives, 1849, p. 13.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

108. *Loc. cit.*

109. *Op. cit.* "Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress", 1851, p. 290.

110. *The Congressional Globe* (Appendix), Washington, John C. Rives, 1852, p. 10.

111. *Op. cit.* "Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress", 1851, p. 290.

years (of annuity issues) probably would be sufficient to determine the feasibility of civilizing the native nomads.

Congress responded with an appropriation of \$100,000 for a great conference to be held at the confluence of Horse Creek and the North Platte River, in extreme western Nebraska, a few miles southeast of Fort Laramie, Wyoming.¹¹² The amicable assembling of the Indians—Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Assiniboinés, Gros Ventres, Arikaras and Crows—ten thousand of them, was due largely to the dedicated work of Thomas Fitzpatrick, agent to the Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes.¹¹³ The Crows made an overland trek of some eight hundred miles to take part in the conference.

Though their habitat and territorial claims did not concern the immediate purposes of the council, the Shoshones came in to observe and learn. They had been invited so that they might witness the United States Government's fairness in dealing with the redmen, and its solicitude for their welfare. The impression thus created might prove salutary in case negotiations should be undertaken with them in the future.

Except for one short interval of anxiety with the arrival of the Shoshones—traditional enemies of the Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes—the tribes camped peaceably together during the eighteen days of the conference.¹¹⁴ On ground which had formerly witnessed enmity, bloodshed and scalping among them, the peace pipe passed freely from hand to hand and mouth to mouth. The conduct of the Indians earned the "admiration and surprise" of all present.¹¹⁵ Struck with the evidence of sincerity, trust and hope shown by the Indians, D. D. Mitchell, one of the chief negotiators, expressed the belief that nothing short of "bad management or some untoward misfortune" could ever break this spirit.¹¹⁶

Father De Smet, whose years of missionary experience with Indians gave him a temporal as well as a spiritual interest in them, was heartened by the obvious sincerity and benevolence displayed by the delegates of the United States Government throughout the meeting.¹¹⁷ They neglected nothing which would forward the primary objectives of the conference: the cession by the Indians

112. The agreement which emerged from this conference is known as the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851.

113. The figure of ten thousand is the estimate of Father De Smet, an interested observer at the meeting. See Hiram M. Chittenden and Alfred T. Richardson (ed.), *Life, Letters and Travels of Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873*, New York, F. P. Harper, 1905 (c 1904), v. 2, p. 674.

114. *Op. cit.* Hafen and Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West*, pp. 180-181. A French interpreter managed to pull a Sioux from his horse in time to prevent an act of vengeance against a Shoshone who had (formerly) killed his father.

115. *Op. cit.* "Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress", 1851, p. 288.

116. *Ibid.* p. 290.

of a practical right of way across the plains, for which they would receive equitable compensation; the cessation of depredations and hostility toward the immigrants; just remuneration for past injuries incurred by the red men at the hands of the whites; and the establishment of permanent peace between the tribes of the plains. To minimize the possibility of misunderstanding the terms of the treaty, these were read article by article, and painstakingly explained to the interpreters before their translation into the various Indian languages.

Though far from pleased at the prospect of further myriads of immigrants passing into and through their lands, the tribesmen signified reasonable satisfaction with the treaty provisions and looked hopefully forward to better days. The response of Cut Nose, Northern Arapaho, has been selected as typifying feelings commonly expressed at the conference. He said in part:

"I will go home satisfied. I will sleep sound and not have to watch my horses in the night, or be afraid for my squaws and children. We have to live on these streams and in the hills, and I would be glad if the whites would pick out a place for themselves and not come into our grounds; but if they must pass through our country they should give us game for what they drive off. . . ." ¹¹⁸

A new day, it seemed, had dawned in Indian-white relations, a day presaging an era of tranquility and consideration. Peaceable citizens could cross the plains unmolested, and the Indians would have little to fear from the machinations of mischievous whites, for they would receive the justice which was their due. ¹¹⁹

Having implanted in the Indian mind the idea that peaceful negotiations with the Federal Government could be fruitful, the treaty planners did not intend that it should wither and die. Further steps were needed to impress the prairie dwellers with the power and numbers of the whites, and the great advantages of their way of life. Therefore, with Father De Smet accompanying him as far as St. Louis, Thomas Fitzpatrick escorted a delegation of important members of the plains tribes to Washington, D. C. Of these, three were Arapahoes, Tempest representing the southern bands, and Eagle Head and Friday from the northern groups.

Pleased with the opportunity to introduce the Indians to the rewards of agricultural labor, Father De Smet led the group to St. Mary's Roman Catholic Mission to the Pottawattomis in Kansas,

117. *Op. cit.* Chittenden and Richardson, *Father De Smet*, v. 2, pp. 675-676.

118. *Op. cit.* Hafen and Young, p. 190. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, from *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* by LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young.

119. *Op. cit.* Chittenden and Richardson, *Father De Smet*, v. 2, p. 684.

where the bison hunters were deeply impressed by the great quantities of tasty vegetables and fruits. Eagle Head was moved to ask that "Blackgowns" be sent to his own people, so they, too, might cultivate the land, and no longer feel the pangs of unsated hunger.¹²⁰ But little did he realize that thirty years must pass before the blackgowns would come to the Northern Arapahoes.

From Kansas City to St. Louis the party traveled by riverboat on the muddy Missouri. Highly excited by the strange experience, many of the delegates expressed their wonder at the steamboat, and the numerous villages along the river's bank.¹²¹

In Washington, D. C., still under the guidance of Fitzpatrick, the round of tours and receptions made it unlikely that the Indians would ever forget the seat of the nation's Government. The most notable occasion may have been their visit to President Fillmore in the White House, in early January, 1852. Here they were presented with flags and silver medals.¹²² Two days later, the Hungarian revolutionist, Louis Kossuth, also honored them with a reception; and here too, each member of the delegation received a special medal.¹²³

With each step so carefully planned and executed, the thought that the Fort Laramie Treaty should fail to solve, or at least to greatly alleviate the problems between the Indians of the plains and the white intruders upon their lands seemed preposterous. Conceived in good will and sincerity, designed and negotiated with optimistic solicitude, received by the red men with faith and hope, it appeared unlikely that any untoward sequence of events should arise to prevent the attainment of its intentions. The hopeful promise of a new era seemed, indeed, to be at hand.

[To be continued]

120. *Ibid.*, p. 690.

121. *Op. cit.* Hagen and Ghent, *Broken Hand*, p. 247.

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

123. *Loc. cit.*

TRAINS ON HARTVILLE SPUR

Regular trains are now running on the Hartville spur from Badger, on the Cheyenne & Northern, to Porter, on the North Platte River, which place is distant about four miles from the town of Hartville. The road has been finished from Badger to Porter and is said to be a fine piece of track. From Porter on to the Sunrise mines, above Hartville, the grading is now almost finished. As soon as the bridge across the Platte at Porter is finished the steel gangs will rush work and the line should be completed to the mines in a few weeks. A daily mail service has been established between Badger and Hartville. Stages connect with the spur trains at Porter daily.

—*Wyoming Industrial Journal*
February, 1900

A MODERN ESTABLISHMENT

Where a fine meal can be had for 25 cents, is at the Silver Moon Restaurant on Seventeenth Street, Cheyenne, Wyo. The price, which, of course, is very low, does not indicate that the meal is cheap. On the contrary, everything the market affords is served. The food is well cooked and as much pains taken in its preparation as though it brought 75 cents or \$1.00. The Silver Moon is an innovation in the way of restaurants, being conducted in that manner which always pleases the patrons.

In addition to its regular meals, Sunday dinners and short orders, the Silver Moon prepares special spreads. An enviable reputation is also being built up for its ices, ice cream, sherbet, etc., which are furnished in almost any quantity for dancing parties, banquets and private parties.

Don't overlook the Silver Moon when in need of a good meal.

—*Wyoming Industrial Journal*
February, 1900
Advertisement

The Last Eden

THE
DIARY OF ALICE MOORE
AT THE
XX RANCH

Edited by Austin L. Moore

INTRODUCTION

The Last Eden is a teen-aged girl's account of her life on a Wyoming ranch in the summer of 1912. She describes her experiences and reactions simply and freely, totally unaware that more than fifty years later her record would be published. The reader, regardless of his years, will feel a nostalgia for spacious meadows, rocky, tree-clad mountains, unpolluted air, cold rushing water, violent storms, wild animals and plants, and a harmonious family life led close to nature.

The XX Ranch (Double X Ranch) occupies a tract of some 20,000 acres in the Laramie Mountains of southeastern Wyoming. The altitude at the ranch buildings is 7,500 feet. The present occupants of this domain are Chester Williams and his wife, Edith, a herd of Black Angus cattle, and numerous deer, antelope, coyotes, porcupines, badgers, woodchucks, prairie dogs, chipmunks, rabbits, eagles, hawks, lesser birds, and trout.

My family spent five summers in this paradise when I was a boy—1906, 1907, 1909, 1912, and 1915. We were the beneficiaries of the Williams family's goodwill. We paid nothing for being hauled to and from the station, nothing for the privilege of camping, and only nominal sums for the provisions we bought from them. Their hospitality exceeded all reasonable bounds and will be forever remembered with gratitude by the Moore family.

William Richard Williams, the founder of the XX Ranch, was born into a farming family in Nova Scotia on October 3, 1840. He was the second child and the eldest son in a family of thirteen children. "Dick," as he was called, left home in the spring of 1867 and traveled west by boat and train to St. Joseph, Missouri. There he joined a wagon train and drove an ox-drawn freight wagon to Denver. His compensation for this arduous and dangerous trip was twenty dollars. He arrived in Denver ahead of the Union Pacific Railroad which at that time reached only to Julesburg. The future metropolis was a small settlement composed of log cabins and a few false front stores.

Dick Williams first found employment on a ranch near Denver.

Before long, he went to work in a sawmill near Virginia Dale. Then he formed a partnership with W. H. and J. T. Holliday, and in 1868 the three men built a sawmill and log buildings for workers on the site of the present XX Ranch buildings. In this operation the Hollidays functioned as sawyers, and Williams did the logging. The lumber was sold to the Union Pacific Railroad and to the government for the construction of Fort D. A. Russell (now F. E. Warren Air Force Base). In 1871, with the Dale Creek area about "milled out," Dick Williams and W. H. Holliday built another sawmill on Box Elder Creek. They sold some of their lumber to the residents of the rising town of Greeley, Colorado.

In 1872 Dick journeyed to his native Nova Scotia to marry Margaret Keyes whom he had known since childhood. The wedding took place in the Presbyterian church. He returned to Wyoming with his beautiful, seventeen-year-old bride, one of his brothers, and two of his sisters. The rail fare by chair car from Nova Scotia to Sherman was one hundred dollars per person, and Dick paid the expenses for the entire group. The journey lasted ten days. The party stayed at the Nash Hotel in Sherman for a few days. Dick and "Maggie" then took up temporary residence in a log building near the sawmill on the Box Elder.

The partnership of Holliday and Williams was amicably terminated in 1873 with Holliday keeping the sawmill and Dick the cattle and wagons. In the same year Dick filed papers in Colorado Territory for a 160-acre homestead on the site of the Dale Creek sawmill. A survey made at a later date showed that the land was in Wyoming and belonged to the Union Pacific Railroad. This invalidated the contract, and Dick had to buy the land from the railroad. He paid two dollars and fifty cents an acre at a time when some of the land in the area was being offered at five cents an acre.

Dick and Maggie moved from the Box Elder to Dale Creek in 1873. They occupied the old sawmill cookhouse until 1880, then moved into the sturdy frame house which still stands on the ranch. Their children numbered seven: Hattie, born in 1874; Rachel, 1875; Arthur, 1880; Chester, 1881; Harry, 1884; Stella, 1888; and Earl, 1890. All of the children were born at the ranch with only a midwife in attendance.

Using the ranch as a base, Dick acquired more oxen and wagons and went into the freight business. He hauled freight for the railroad and the government and built one of the largest and most wide-ranging outfits in the territory. His bullwhackers drove teams composed of eighteen lead, swing, and wheel oxen with each team pulling three wagons. A team and wagons together measured forty yards in length. The load per steer was 1,000 pounds, and the charge for hauling was one cent per mile. At the peak of the freight business in 1878 and 1879, Dick owned some 400 working cattle and often had caravans of fourteen teams on the road at one

time. Booming prosperity was short-lived. The severe winters of 1879-80 and 1880-81 killed most of his working cattle, and in 1881 he sold the business.

Turning to full-time ranching, Dick Williams fenced his land, piped spring water into his house, and built corrals, barns, a blacksmith shop, and a bunkhouse for his hired men. He stocked the ranch with Galloway and Aberdeen Angus beef cattle and also raised saddle horses and Standardbred trotting horses. His proud, chestnut sorrel stallion, Wyoming, gained fame as a studhorse and sired many a spirited colt. To supplement his income he sold hay and potatoes and, using a tread horse-powered threshing machine, threshed grain for neighboring ranchers. Over the years he acquired 12,000 acres of spectacularly beautiful land in Albany county and a farm near Fort Collins, Colorado. The rocky, timbered mountains of the Dale Creek property were interspersed with mountain pastures and fertile valleys. The creek provided water for irrigation of the native hay in the meadows.

Dick and Maggie helped relatives and friends in Nova Scotia to migrate to Wyoming and assisted them and other new settlers by lending tools, giving feed for livestock, and aiding in building houses and barns. The ranch became a social center on occasion. On the Fourth of July from 200 to 500 friends, some driving all the way from Cheyenne and Laramie, assembled for cow pony racing, harness racing, and dancing which sometimes lasted from early evening until dawn.

Dick Williams died in 1906. Then, his daughter, Rachel, with the help of the family, successfully managed the business. In 1928 the XX was incorporated as The Williams Land and Livestock Company. The original stockholders were Maggie, the wife of the founder, Stella (Williams) Gunnison, and Rachel, Chester, and Earl Williams. One of the first acts of the company was to sell the farm at Fort Collins for \$33,000 and invest the proceeds in more land in the Dale Creek area.

Rachel Williams died in 1934, and after a two-year interval Chester Williams became president and manager of the company. In 1951 his son-in-law, Forrest S. Blunk, an attorney at law, and his wife, Edith Margaret, became involved in the management. They now own the cattle and recently have constructed new buildings and windmills. Most of the shares of the company are owned by Chester Williams and his wife, Edith, with the Blunks holding a minority interest. The XX is probably the oldest ranch in Wyoming to have remained in the same family from its inception.

The foregoing information has been drawn largely from Laura Briggs' "William Richard Williams," 1939, and Edith Blunk's "The XX Ranch," 1959. Both manuscripts are in the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne. Mrs. Blunk reviewed the manuscript and provided additional details in the spring of 1967.

The Moore family of this narrative included Frank and Coral Moore and their children, Alice, aged fifteen; Austin, eleven; and Roger, two. Frank Moore in 1912 was in his eighth and last year as pastor of the First Congregational Church, Cheyenne. His early experiences in Wyoming are related in *Souls and Saddlebags, the Diaries and Correspondence of Frank L. Moore, 1888-1896*, edited by Austin Moore.

In editing Alice Moore's diary, prime consideration has been given to readability and tempo. Consequently, some repetitious passages have been omitted and some sentences and paragraphs have been rearranged and re-grouped. To complete the record, a few details drawn from Alice Moore Sawyer's recent letters, Frank Moore's diary, and the editor's memories have been incorporated. Punctuation has been standardized, and the correct spelling has been given to the very few misspelled words. The quotation from Wordsworth on the first page of the diary was inserted by the editor.

AUSTIN LEIGH MOORE
East Lansing, Michigan
February, 1969

THE DIARY

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven!
William Wordsworth

Cheyenne, Wyoming **Tuesday, June 25, 1912**

We are anticipating and longing for our vacation on Williams' Ranch. Every day we recall our past experiences there. We have such beautiful memories.

Cheyenne, Wyoming **Friday, July 12, 1912**

I packed, and Austin and I went to the church to get books to take with us to camp. Mama packed too, and most everything is ready. We have a big box for a bed for Roger. The groceries came and we packed them in the grub boxes.

Cheyenne, Wyoming **Monday, July 15, 1912**

The long-looked-for, longed-for, hoped-for day has come at last. Such a day—cold, cloudy, and disagreeable, but at 10:30 the sun came out, and big, white clouds floated in the blue sky.

I worked in the garden finishing it entirely, fixed up my room, packed, and wrote my diary. Then I got dressed in my blue wash dress and white hat.

At 11:45 we started for the train. Mama and Papa each carried

a basket and a satchel. I wheeled Roger in his sulky, and Austin carried fish poles, his gun, and his lasso rope. As usual, we looked funny.

The train started at 12:20, and soon we were buzzing through the outskirts of Cheyenne. Roger was terribly excited and kept saying, "Go on ne engine" and "Go on ne cars." To calm him we went to the diner right away. We had an omelet which we divided, beets, meat, and bread. Austin had ice cream, and Mama and Papa and I had pieplant pie. Oh, that pie! It was so sickish. To take away the taste, Mama and Papa ordered ice cream which was just as sweet. Ugh! Austin and I had cocoa with our dessert.

Back in the coach I got out my mail sack of candy and ate it while enjoying the scenery between Otto and Buford. Sherman at last! We got off the train safely, but our tents, grub boxes, and tool chest nearly didn't. Papa had to stop the train to get them off.

Chester Williams, who lives near Sherman, and a man called Blackie (his name was Percy Cota) were waiting for us at the station. They loaded our baggage on the lumber wagon which Blackie drove. We rode in a buggy with Chester Williams. On the six mile trip to the XX Ranch we saw Cap Rock, Bald Mountain, and the snowy peaks of the Colorado Rockies. The roads are bad in some places, and it was a slow trip. Near the ranch we saw our beloved Eagle's Nest Rock, Pine Ridge, and the mountain we named for me. The ranch house came into view and opposite it the point of rocks where we camped in 1906 and 1907. The sagebrush smelled so good.

At the ranch we were welcomed by Miss Rachel Williams and Miss Jennie Keyes. Then Austin and I took Roger to see the blacksmith shop, the horse and cow barns, the woodpile, and the junk heap in the gulch. We looked at some black cattle in the corral, and then with old Ragtime, the collie dog, went to see the pigs. Roger liked them best of all.

Blackie finally arrived with our baggage. Mama and I left our hats at the ranch to keep them nice. Then we all got on the lumber wagon and rode a mile and a half to our camp ground. We drove along Dale Creek through a rocky little canyon, then down to the foot of the Lower Meadow. Redwing blackbirds sang in the willows by Dale Creek, and nighthawks swooped through the air catching insects. The men dumped our baggage at the foot of Home Mountain where we camped in 1909 and drove home. We are camping again. How happy we are!

We decided to pitch camp on high ground under some pine trees. At our backs is Home Mountain, and looking west, we see Coyote Hill, Sunset Cliff, Pine Ridge, and Dale Creek winding like a snake through the meadow. North of us is Bear Mountain and, to the south, Indian Mountain, and a wild canyon which runs all the way to Colorado.

Austin and I helped Papa pitch the big khaki tent, the tepee tent

where he and Austin will sleep, and the tent for Mama, Roger, and me. For supper we had sandwiches, potato chips, hard-boiled eggs, cherries, and coffee made in our new coffeepot. After supper Mama and Papa unrolled the tarpaulins and made the beds. The mosquitoes are quite bad, but the deerflies are worse.

Those beds! We slept on the ground covered only by a tarpaulin and a few blankets, and I was sore in about fifteen minutes. The ground felt like mountains with pins and rocks on them. We managed to get to sleep, but when Mama and I woke up, we were nearly frozen.

The XX Ranch, Wyoming **Tuesday, July 16, 1912**

Yes, Mama and I were really cold when we got up. We dressed quickly and were soon quite warm. Breakfast, consisting of our usual Shredded Wheat, was served on a box. While we ate, the redwing blackbirds in the willows by the creek outdid themselves whistling and singing.

After breakfast Austin and I walked to the ranch for milk. On the way we saw a rabbit and many kinds of wild flowers. While we were gone, Papa put up the dining room tent, trenched the tents, and started building a dining room table from rough boards. Later we pitched the commissary tent and moved the grub boxes into it. After that we all cut spruce boughs and made deep mattresses for our beds.

In the afternoon I read *Girls New and Old*. Pretty good. Then Papa, Austin, and I went fishing downstream. I got lots of mosquito and deerfly bites and no fish. Papa and Austin each caught two speckled trout. They cleaned them and Mama fried them in cornmeal and salt for supper.

There is a beautiful golden new moon tonight, and the stars are bright. Getting ready for bed, I found three woodticks on me. Mama held a lighted match to their tails which made them draw their beaks out of my skin.

The XX Ranch **Wednesday, July 17, 1912**

Austin and I got milk at the ranch. When we got back, we swung in the hammock which Papa has hitched between two pine trees. We pitched horseshoes awhile. Then Austin and Papa went fishing and caught six. Later we walked a quarter of a mile to Aspen Spring where we get our drinking water. It was overgrown with grass, so Papa dug it out. When the dirt settles, we will be able to dip cold water from it with a pail. Near the spring we cut poles for Austin's army "dog" tent.

Toward evening we walked around the base of Home Mountain hoping to see animals, but saw none. It was cold, and heavy fog settled on the tops of the mountains. Insects didn't bother us

because of the cold. When we returned to camp, we built a fire of pitch pine logs in the middle of our half circle of tents, warmed ourselves, and sang "Juanita," "Annie Laurie," "Old Black Joe," "Tenting Tonight," and other favorite songs. To bed at nine in the "booing" cold, but our pine bough beds were fragrant and warm.

The XX Ranch Thursday, July 18, 1912

Papa's birthday—cold, raw, damp. Dew was so heavy on the flowers and grass that walking just a short way wet our shoes dreadfully. Fog hanging heavy on the mountaintops gradually settled over the entire meadow. At 4 p.m. we could see only the nearest bushes by the creek.

Austin and I played Authors most of the morning. We built a big fire and had dinner around it, including a birthday cake for Papa. After that, I took Austin's microscope and looked at grass, flowers, sagebrush, and dewdrops. That little microscope revealed beauties unknown and unseen to the naked eye. I got Papa's field glasses and watched birds and chipmunks. Those chips! They are so tame. If I sit still long enough, they will come for the food I put down for them. I call a fat, quite tame chipmunk, "Grandpa." He chases other chipmunks away when they come for food.

After supper we sat on campstools by the fire, and Mama read aloud *The Last Days of Pompeii* by Bulwer Lytton. We are just getting into it, but it is quite interesting even now.

The XX Ranch Friday, July 19, 1912

When I woke up, the fog was gone and the sun was shining beautifully. I asked Roger to say "Old Mother Hubbard" and "The House that Jack Built." I asked him several times, and each time he said, "No." Finally, to make me stop bothering him, he said "I tired."

Papa and I went fishing upstream toward the ranch. He caught a fifteen-inch rainbow trout. I caught nothing, but succeeded in getting my feet soaked through. Austin, Papa, and I pitched horse-shoes when we got back. After that, Austin practiced lassoing and I embroidered.

Papa showed me where a prairie dog lives, and I stayed near his hole to watch him. When first he saw me, he stood stock still right where he was. I didn't move, and he began to eat again. I moved closer. He was yellowish brown, tall and slim, with a long tail, small forefeet, little brown eyes, small ears, and a twitching nose. As soon as I got close enough for him to think there was danger, he gave a little piercing cry and darted into his hole. The hole was set in the middle of a mound of dirt and slanted into the ground.

Another prairie dog looked at me over a stone and, making the same piercing cry, ran for the hole and dived in.

Returning to camp, I saw a baby rabbit, four or five chipmunks, and some wrens. In the willows the blackbirds constantly sang their one beautiful song.

Before supper I got in the hammock and read *Girls New and Old* by L. T. Meade. I read it again after supper. Just fascinating. To bed early.

The XX Ranch **Saturday, July 20, 1912**

Beautiful day. If it weren't for the wind, it would be suffocating.

Papa went for the milk. Since I could do nothing to help, I finished *Girls New and Old*. Austin finished *The Riflemen of the Ohio* and has started *The Border Watch*, both by Altscheler.

After dinner I looked through the microscope and saw many strange and interesting things. I looked at a mosquito and at the wings and eye of a deerfly. I got some flowers, grasses, and cactus spikes and looked at them too. The chipmunks came to see me, and I took six pictures of them within six feet and hope that at least one or two are good.

We read *The Last Days of Pompeii* by the campfire until dark. Then we walked away from the fire with Papa, and he showed us some constellations. It was very clear, and we saw many shooting stars.

The XX Ranch **Sunday, July 21, 1912**

Cold in the morning, but so hot in the afternoon that Roger took his nap under a tree. At 4:00 when we woke up, we all climbed Home Mountain taking supper with us. It was a hard climb over big granite boulders and fallen spruce and pine trees. The air was fragrant and delicious, and the wind sighed through the pine trees. At the summit we saw the distant range and intervening mountains and valleys.

It being Sunday, Papa read us the story of Joseph from the Bible and we sang "Rock of Ages" and "Lord of All Being." When we were saying the blessing before eating, Roger kept saying as loudly as he could, "Bess a Lord, Bess a Lord." For supper we had Van Camp's pork and beans warmed over the fire, triscuits, pickles, cookies, and oranges. On the way down the mountain we saw a beautiful thunderhead over Sunset Cliff. When we neared camp all of us gathered wood. We tried to select pitch pine logs and knots because they burn best.

I read *Joe's Luck* by Horatio Alger and finished it. Now I am reading *Jean's Opportunity*, but don't like it very well so far. By the way, Papa and Austin saw deer tracks this morning at our spring.

The XX Ranch
Monday, July 22, 1912

It was nice when we got up, but it soon clouded over. Before dinner it rained some and in the p.m. there were several showers. Mama didn't feel well so Austin and I took turns taking care of Roger. He gets into mischief an awful lot.

Between showers Papa and Austin pitched the dog tent and hoisted a little American flag on it. Austin put his gun, bullets, slingshot, and canteen in it. I helped Papa hang our big American flag between two trees, and now we are about settled.

After supper it was so damp that we retreated to the khaki tent and read *The Last Days of Pompeii* by the light of our lamp and the campfire.

The XX Ranch
Tuesday, July 23, 1912

To the ranch this morning with Papa, Austin, and Roger. Mama did the washing while we were gone. After dinner Papa read "*The Last Days of Pompeii*. We are getting pretty excited about it.

At 3 p.m. Papa, Austin and I started downstream through the big canyon. Papa took his fish pole and caught eight. I took my camera, and Austin took his Stevens 22 rifle. He shot at a rabbit, but only grazed him.

We intended a short trip, but ended by going all the way to the place where Dale Creek and Hay Creek unite. At the deepest part of the canyon granite walls towered straight up on either side of us. We had to cross the creek twice. There were lots of flowers, raspberry bushes, and strawberry vines. We saw a beautiful kingfisher and a pine tree about seventy-five feet high. The deerflies and mosquitoes were awful. At the juncture of Dale and Hay creeks were many deer tracks.

To escape the insects, we returned over the mountains. It was very clear, and we had a grand view of the range from Long's Peak north. On the last lap we came down the old Indian trail on Indian Mountain. Camp at last, and Mama had supper ready. We weren't too tired to read *The Last Days of Pompeii* until 9:15. In the night I heard coyotes yelping.

The XX Ranch
Wednesday, July 24, 1912

Papa went to Aspen Spring for water and on the way shot a rabbit. Austin and Papa then went for the milk. They climbed up on some flat rocks, and there it was that Austin saw a rabbit and shot him dead! I took a couple of pictures of Austin with the rabbit in front of his cherished dog tent. He was so pleased and I was, too, because he has wanted to get one so badly.

I embroidered some on my slipper bag and nearly finished it. Then I wrote letters and my diary. Chester Williams called and brought the mail. He is our first visitor in the nine days we have been here.

A beautiful sunset! Papa taught us to tip our heads to the side to bring out the colors more vividly. We read *The Last Days of Pompeii* by firelight and lamplight.

The XX Ranch

Thursday, July 25, 1912

A month ago we were longing for, talking about, wishing for camp. Now it is actually here, and I can't realize it.

We see few people, but have many friends here. I know a three-foot-long water snake, chipmunks, prairie dogs, and rabbits. My bird friends are redwing blackbirds, rock wrens, a hummingbird, magpies, hawks, kingfishers, and robins. Last night I went to the commissary tent to get *The Last Days of Pompeii*. I heard a noise in the grub box. I opened the box expecting to see a field mouse. Instead a mountain rat many times the size of a mouse jumped out.

Austin and Papa, returning with the milk, saw a badger very near our camp. We all went to look at him through the field glasses. He has stripes on his sides and a pointed face. After lunch Austin went badger hunting. He lay under a pine tree near where Papa found the hummingbird's nest the last time we camped here. He waited about two hours, and when the badger finally came out of his hole, he fired two shots and missed.

We had camp soup tonight in the kettle which we hang over the fire from the tripod. Papa made it from two quarts of water, a cup of cornmeal, and some salt. Yum! Yum! More of *The Last Days of Pompeii* by firelight.

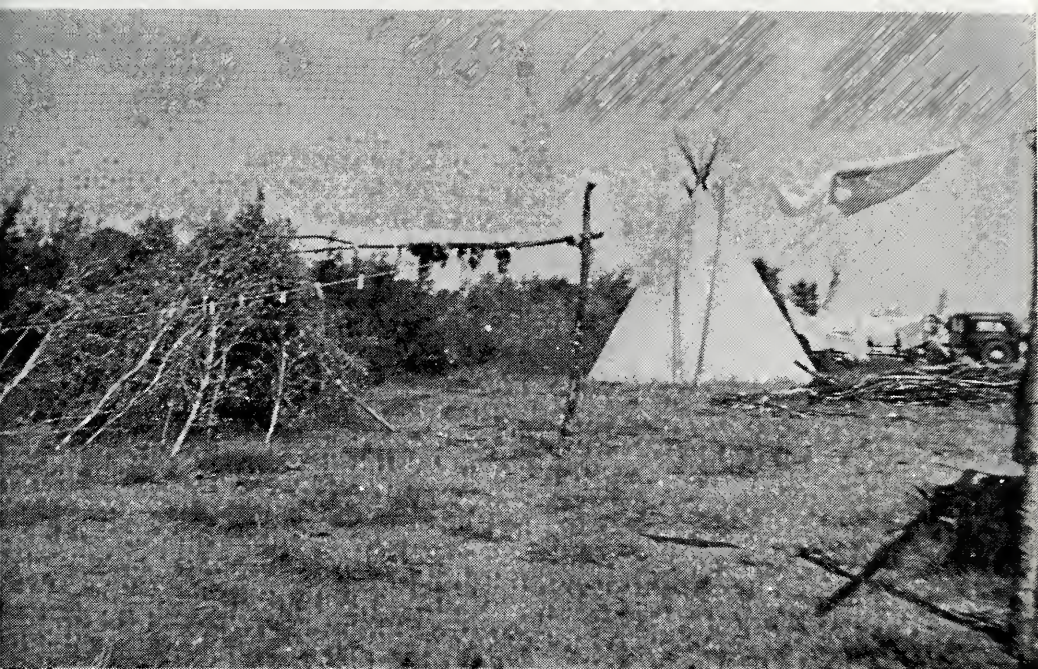
The XX Ranch

Friday, July 26, 1912

I took Roger to the ranch this morning. At the horse barn he saw a horse eating hay and said: "Horse eat Shredded Wheat." A little later, he asked to see the lady. The lady, Miss Keyes, gave him some cookies, and that is probably the reason that he wanted to see her. (Jennie Keyes was the only sister of Margaret Williams, the wife of W. R. Williams who founded the ranch.)

After a dinner of pancakes and bacon, I embroidered and wrote my diary. Austin went back to his hideout by the badger hole. He waited patiently, but the badger didn't come out and has probably moved to a safer place.

It rained quite hard after supper. Papa read *The Last Days of Pompeii* to us in the khaki tent and nearly finished it. Mama did my hair up in my new hairpin curlers.



James C. Murphy

SUN DANCE FIELD, WIND RIVER RESERVATION, 1939



James C. Murphy

SHELTER USED DURING SUN DANCE, WIND RIVER RESERVATION, 1939



James C. Murphy

CLEONE AND WILLIAM CALLING THUNDER, NORTHERN ARAPAHOS,
WIND RIVER RESERVATION, 1939



Austin L. Moore

THE WILLIAMS' XX RANCH, DALE CREEK, 1912



Austin L. Moore

THE DALE CREEK CAMP OF THE MOORE FAMILY,
LOOKING TOWARD SUNSET CLIFF, 1915



Austin L. Moore

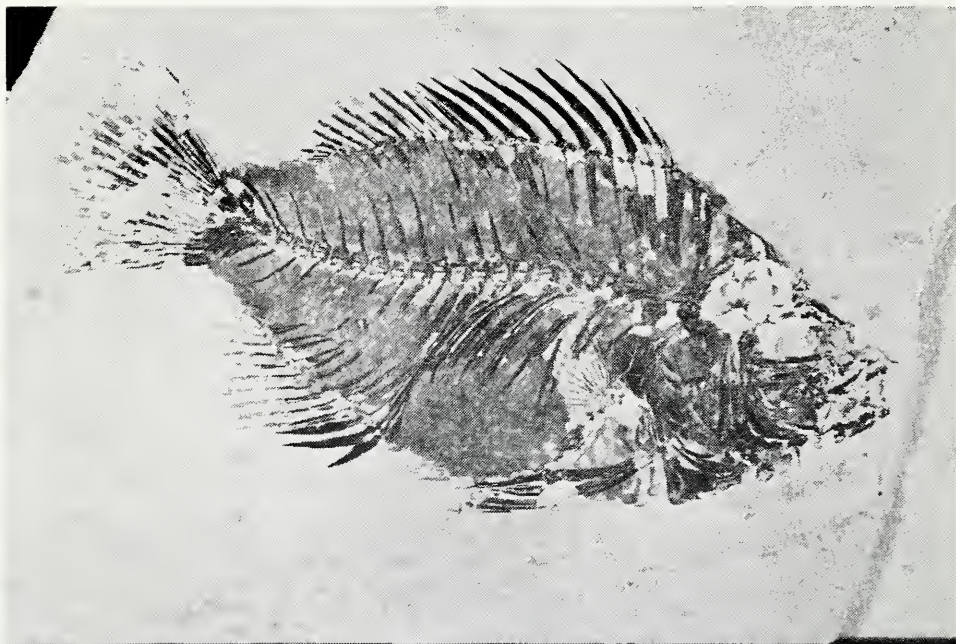
AUSTIN AND ALICE MOORE, DALE CREEK CAMP, 1909



Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OFFICERS, 1968-1969

Left to right, Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Worland, 1st Vice President; J. Reuel Armstrong, Rawlins, 2nd Vice President; Miss Maurine Carley, Cheyenne, Secretary-Treasurer; Curtiss Root, Torrington, President.



Stimson Photo Collection

Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

TYPICAL FISH FOSSIL FROM FOSSIL SYNCLINE LAKE

The XX Ranch
Saturday, July 27, 1912

Cloudy but warm. I took Roger to meet Papa and Austin who were returning from the ranch. The goldenrod is blossoming and I gathered a great bunch of it. When we got back to camp, I arranged the bouquet and embroidered my butterfly centerpiece.

In the afternoon heavy, lowering clouds gathered in the east and moved toward us. Thunder rolled, and soon heavy drops started to fall. We just made it to the khaki tent. Soon it was raining violently. Sheets of water fell, and only dim outlines of the mountains were visible.

An hour after the storm the sun came out. Austin, Roger, and I walked to the creek and found that it had risen quite high. To please Roger, we yelled to hear our echoes.

Mama and Papa made doughnuts tonight, and we had some for supper. We finished all except the last chapter of *The Last Days of Pompeii*. At 8 o'clock we heard a coyote barking.

The XX Ranch
Sunday, July 28, 1912

Beautiful day, no clouds, quite warm.

Papa and I went for the milk by a new route. We started at 8 a.m. and got back at 10:15. We took the wagon trail east which bends across the mountains north. In one place larkspur makes a beautiful purple carpet. When we climbed high, we had a fine view of the rugged, forested mountains.

We came to a district schoolhouse used by the children of the ranchers. It is made of logs chinked with mortar and has four windows. The door isn't locked, so we walked in. There are six or eight rude benches each long enough to seat three pupils. In a corner is the teacher's desk and on the back wall hangs a map of the United States. A little stove stands near the back of the room. Outside is a big wood pile and a spring.

Leaving the schoolhouse, we followed the path back of Pine Ridge until we struck a trail which led us to our first camp site opposite the ranch. It was good to be back on familiar ground. An old box, several poles, and a bread can are still there.

At the ranch we got milk, butter, and bread. Returning over our usual route through the canyon and meadow, we saw deer tracks made in the road since the storm. When we got back, I took care of Roger and wrote my diary while Mama rested. I have started *The Virginian* by Owen Wister, and Austin is reading *Pete Cowpuncher*.

Toward night Papa, Austin, and I hiked up Indian Mountain on the old Indian trail. The footing was uncertain because of the steepness and the loose gravel which has washed down. We got nearly to the top. Coming home we went back of Indian Mountain

and down over Home Mountain. As we descended, the sunset was a gorgeous gold, copper, and pink.

We finished *The Last Days of Pompeii*. It was a thrilling story. Glaucus and Ione finally escaped, thank goodness. But poor, blind Nydia! She was so good and didn't deserve to die.

The XX Ranch

Monday, July 29, 1912

Coming home from our walk on Indian Mountain yesterday, we decided that we must climb Pine Ridge, so this morning we packed up and started. After an exhausting ascent we reached the top. Such a grand view of the range! We saw Bear Mountain, Cap Rock, Long's Peak and, nearer at hand, Twin Mountain and Table Mountain.

Dinner was awfully good, especially for hungry people. We had cold beans, pickles, onions, bread and butter, vanilla wafers, and pineapple. When Papa was eating a combination of a vanilla wafer and an onion, Mama said to him, "How does it taste?" Papa replied, "It tastes just like—a skunk."

After dinner Roger took his nap under a canopy. While he slept, Papa started *Uarda*, a story about ancient Egypt written by G. M. Ebers. Then I read some of *Alice in Wonderland* to Austin.

Our route home took us to the ranch. The mail was there and in it our beloved *St. Nicholas Magazine*. I looked and found that I am on the role of honor for my picture of Austin shooting his rifle at Boulder last summer. The competition was called, "Through Fields and Lanes."

The weather looked threatening so we left for camp. Austin and I hurried on ahead to get started reading *St. Nicholas*.

The XX Ranch

Tuesday, July 30, 1912

When the sun rose it was clear, but a little later the sky clouded over. The a.m. passed uneventfully. Not so the p.m.

After dinner very heavy clouds gathered in the west. Some were deep blue, and in one place they were black as night. Expecting heavy rain, we tightened the tent pegs. In a very few minutes the storm arrived. Austin and I were in the commissary tent, Mama was in the khaki tent, and Papa and Roger were in the sleeping tent.

I was reading "The Young Shield Bearer" from *St. Nicholas* to Austin when the deluge started. Soon we couldn't hear ourselves talk. The wind began to blow, and blow it did. We moved the books and Roger's sully. Water flowed in and, except for the trenches which Papa dug, the tent would have been flooded. Some water came in anyway. Austin and I stood on boxes to keep our feet dry. I held on to the tent pole with all my might to keep the tent from blowing down.

The sleeping tent with Papa and Roger in it almost blew down. The fly came off, and Papa had to hold the tent pole as tight as he could.

The wind and rain accompanied by hail, thunder, and lightning lasted about twenty minutes. When the storm abated, we went out and were astonished at the changes which had taken place. Down Pine Ridge came a veritable river, rushing, dashing, tumbling to the creek with a thundering noise. Near us running through the hay in the meadow was another river. But Dale Creek! It had risen three or four feet and was about to overflow its banks.

The rain stopped. After awhile a man sent by Rachel Williams came in a wagon to take us to the ranch for the night. Papa said he thought we could get along all right, so we didn't accept. Austin and I climbed a little hill north and saw a stream rushing down from Aspen Spring. The water was very muddy.

Soon the storm moved east, and the sun came out. Then it clouded over again and looked threatening. Our beds were damp and Roger's bed was wet, so we decided to go to the ranch after all.

After supper we started. As usual we were a funny-looking outfit. At the ranch Rachel Williams and Miss Keyes told us about the storm there. We stayed up until 9:00. Papa and Austin slept in the front room upstairs and Mama, Roger, and I in the back room.

The XX Ranch Wednesday, July 31, 1912

Up at six. We didn't intend to stay at the ranch for breakfast, but they wanted us to so we did. They served us meat, potatoes, biscuits, jelly, cookies, and coffee. Going back to camp, we carried water as well as milk because our spring is filled with mud.

Everything was all right at camp. We began to dry our bedding. It was difficult because every now and then it sprinkled a little.

At noon heavy clouds gathered in the northwest, and then it started to rain again. It poured as hard as yesterday. Fortunately, there was no strong wind. Great was our astonishment when looking out we saw a flood. Streams wider than yesterday's were pouring down the gulches. Dale Creek, forty feet wide in some places, was sweeping helter-skelter over the meadow.

Our beds were damp, but not wet, so we decided not to go to the ranch. After supper Mama melted some brown sugar for us. It was awfully good. Then we read *Uarda*. Not very interesting yet. By nightfall the flood had receded within the banks of the creek.

The XX Ranch Thursday, August 1, 1912

We got up at 5:30 a.m. in a fog that hung heavily over the mountains. By about 10 the mist lifted and the sun shone brightly.

Austin, Papa, and I went to the ranch to see the effects of the flood. The bridges aren't washed out, but the water has swept over them. Much of the hay in the meadow is flattened, and there is lots of debris on it. Rachel Williams was churning butter when we arrived. We waited for her to finish so we could take some back with us.

About 4 p.m. Papa and I went downstream to the big canyon in search of flowers for me to press. We got Mariposa lilies, blue-bells, Indian paintbrush, baby's breath, flax, horsemint, white daisies, larkspur, cranesbill, black-eyed Susans, and goldenrod. While we were pressing the flowers, Austin shot a good-sized prairie dog. We cleaned him and tacked his hide to a board to dry.

Beautiful sunset tonight. The clouds over Sunset Cliff were a wide band of pure gold. After supper Papa told us the story of how he shot a deer when he and Mama were living in the Big Horn Basin.

The XX Ranch **Friday, August 2, 1912**

Austin and I went to the ranch by the long Pine Ridge route. We found that the torrent has deposited a bed of fine gravel in Aspen Spring and carried large rocks down the slope. Near the spring are lots of nearly ripe strawberries. We continued on around Bear Mountain and came to the little schoolhouse. There I took pictures.

Following the trail, we came to Bone Valley where there are many skeletons of cattle and horses. Mama hates the place and doesn't want us to go near it. We went close anyway and saw lots of big ribs, skulls, and teeth. The bones have been picked clean by coyotes and hawks and are very white.

We came next to the place where Austin fell into a bed of cactus the first time we camped here. I'll never forget how he howled when Papa pulled out the spikes. Nearby at Gooseberry Spring we picked half a pail of gooseberries and currants. We got the milk at the ranch and returned to camp by our usual route. On the way I picked more flowers to press. The mosquitoes and deerflies bothered us some, but aren't half as bad as they were.

After dinner I made a butterfly net for Austin. He is going to catch butterflies and bugs for his cabinet collection.

Austin and I looked over the gooseberries, and Mama made a pie and baked it in the Dutch oven. I read *The Virginian* and Austin started *The Horseman of the Plains* by Altsheller. I had a headache and went to bed early.

The XX Ranch **Saturday, August 3, 1912**

Another beautiful day. Austin and I went for the milk. We took the butterfly net and caught eight or nine butterflies and saw

lots of others. Austin caught seven bees, a dragonfly, beetles, and other bugs. He is keeping the bugs in his dog tent and will put them in his cabinet when we go home.

After dinner I stayed in camp writing my diary and copying one-third of my Boulder diary. Everyone else went to the spring to pick strawberries. They returned after awhile with great tales. Papa found three Indian arrowheads and Austin some pieces of flint, all apparently uncovered by the cloudburst. Austin caught quite a number of butterflies, including a red one. Mama picked a quarter of a lard pail of strawberries.

We sang and talked around the campfire at night while the fog settled low on the mountains and sheet lightning played on the horizon.

The XX Ranch **Sunday, August 4, 1912**

The fog was gone when we woke up, and there was not a cloud in the sky all day long.

Miss Keyes, Rachel Williams, and Ragtime paid us a visit in the afternoon. I have been wearing my old, thick, blue dress with plaid trimmings all summer, but I changed into my thin dress when I saw them coming. We visited and then walked to the big canyon and back gathering flowers. We had a fine supper, one of the best things being graham bread baked in the Dutch oven. Our guests left right after supper.

We had our Sunday around the campfire. There were so many bright stars. They looked so near and seemed more numerous than ever before. Papa is teaching us to recognize the Little Bear, the Big Bear, Venus, Jupiter, Vega, Arcturus, Hercules, Cassiopeia, Dragon, Lyre, and Herdsman.

The XX Ranch **Monday, August 5, 1912**

The time of our talked of, looked for, longed for vacation is growing short. Is it possible that school will begin in a month?

Perfectly beautiful day, not a cloud, and warm. I got up at 5:30 and helped Papa get things on for breakfast. Austin and I went for the milk. His ambition now is to be a rancher. Mama did the washing while we were gone. After a fine dinner I wrote my diary, embroidered, and continued copying my Boulder diary.

Papa and Austin went fishing and caught six in about half an hour. We had them for supper. *Uarda* by firelight, and we are beginning to find it interesting.

Cold when we went to bed. My bed has not been terribly comfortable, but I fix myself in the valleys and mountains of the spruce boughs and can sleep all right.

The XX Ranch Tuesday, August 6, 1912

Still cold when we got up. After a good breakfast of bacon and toast, Austin and I went to the ranch for milk and bread. I picked flax to press, and Austin found some bird feathers for his cabinet. We hunted for arrowheads, but found none. When we got back to camp, we shot at a target and Papa got the best score.

After dinner I embroidered and copied all but thirty pages of my Boulder diary. Papa and Austin hiked up Indian Mountain and down the big canyon. They saw two hawks and the tracks of a large elk and a coyote. They hunted for arrowheads coming back.

Papa says that all of the country around here was once a hunting ground for Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux Indians. On various searches he has found five arrowheads and Austin one. I found a flint stone peculiar in its shape which was probably an Indian skinning knife. I gave it to Austin, and it made him happy all right.

Before supper Papa fished near camp and caught six. While fishing, he saw something swimming with a broad back and wide tail. It was a beaver. There is a beaver dam about 100 yards from our camp and near it some quaking aspens that the beavers have gnawed down. The dam is made of many sticks and has created a deep, blue pool above it. Beavers are very shy, Papa says, and this is the first wild beaver he has ever seen.

The XX Ranch Wednesday, August 7, 1912

Kind of cloudy and cold, but not disagreeable. Mama didn't feel well so she stayed in bed until 7:30. I dressed Roger, got water from the creek, did the dishes, and hung our damp clothes out to dry. Mama sat by the campfire all morning, and I sewed. Austin and Papa pitched horseshoes and played chess.

After dinner I watched the chipmunks. Weensy, the smallest one, has queer stripes and a tail as long as himself which he flourishes proudly. He squeaks the loudest of any of the chipmunks. Grandpa is fattest and biggest and thinks he is the boss of the mountain. He chases other chipmunks without gaining a thing but satisfaction. He is like lots of human beings, I guess.

The woodticks are about gone. I have had six, the most of any of us this year. Mama has had two, and Austin, Roger, and Papa none. Mama and Papa decided to put our bed up on the cots because the mice have been bothering Mama. So after Roger woke up, they did it.

After supper Papa built a crackling fire in front of the commissary tent and read *Uarda*. We roasted potatoes in the coals. They were baked to a turn, and we each had two with butter and salt. I nearly froze going to bed, but slept just fine.

Sometimes when I think that we must go home, it almost overwhelms me. I think about 999 times a day, "I just can't go."

The XX Ranch
Thursday, August 8, 1912

Foggy and damp when we got up, but the fog soon lifted. Austin and I ran races on the rocks to get warm. Then all of us, except Mama, went to the ranch.

There we were struck by a thunderbolt from a clear sky. Papa got a letter saying that he has to be in Cheyenne by Saturday. This cuts four whole days from our vacation. Austin got the news from Papa and when he told me, I couldn't believe it. But he was so much in earnest that I had to. We have so many things planned. Now all is ruined, just like a torn cobweb. There is one good thing. We are all well, rested, and in good condition.

We ate dinner just as soon as we got back. Austin took down his dog tent and Mama and Papa packed, not to go to camp, but to leave it! As each tent comes down it makes things look bare and leaves me with an awful feeling. Oh, how it looks! It seems even now that our camp just can't be broken. I wish it was a bad dream, but it is all too true.

Papa and Austin fished before supper and caught ten. We ate on our table without a tablecloth. Our little pet rabbit came around while we were eating, and I got a couple of pictures of him. We saw "Grandpa" and "Weensy" for the last time.

After supper Austin and I burned the pine boughs we have used for our mattresses. The smoke blew way down the valley. We put on logs and sat by the campfire. Venus and the Milky Way came out, and the mountains were inky black against dark sky.

Finally we gathered up our duds and started for the ranch. We had an awful lot to carry and, it being dark, we had a kind of a hard time of it. At last we got there. During the night a heavy frost fell.

Cheyenne, Wyoming
Friday, August 9, 1912

Roger went to bed at 9:00 last night and got up at 5:00 this morning. So we all got up at 5:00. The later he goes to bed, the earlier he gets up. We were all pretty tired, but managed to get down to breakfast. Rachel Williams baked biscuits and we had them and our last fish.

After breakfast I put up my hair around my head and got dressed in my blue dress, slippers, and white hat. Earl Williams came with the wagon, and Austin and I rode with him to the dear old camp to pick up the heavy baggage. Austin and I walked back, taking last looks at Pine Ridge, Coyote Hill, Alice's Mountain, Austin's Mountain, Sunset Cliff, and Eagle's Rock. The flowers and hay in the meadow smelled so sweet. At the ranch we said farewell to the big and little pigs, old Ragtime, and to Aunt Jennie and Rachel

Williams, in fact, to the ranch. Aunt Jennie gave us a lot of cookies when we left.

Going to Sherman, Papa rode with Chester and the baggage, and the rest of us rode with Earl in the buggy. The road was very bad, and the horses had a hard pull. We got to the station an hour and ten minutes before train time.

While we waited, several freight trains chugged up the long slope and rumbled past, so Roger had a fine time. Papa put two pins on the rail and after a freight train ran over them we had a pair of scissors. Papa had, of course, crossed the pins. I took Roger to the telegraph office where a man was clickety clacking a message on the telegraph keys. Before the train came, we had dinner on a table behind the station.

The train came, and we all piled into a car that had red plush seats. Mama bought Austin and me a package of Cracker Jack. It was awfully good. At Granite Canyon I was looking through the field glasses when Mama said, "Look through them to the end of the car." I did, and there stood May. [Clouser] Of course we sat together and had a fine time.

We got to Cheyenne at 3:00 p.m. and walked straight home. Roger recognized our house and walked right in. Austin and I were astonished at the garden and lawn. The grass is so green, and the corn and cosmos are very high. Rooster Boy looks the same, but the other chickens have grown almost past recognition. I went in and played the piano almost the first thing. It seemed good to play again, but I have almost forgotten how.

I liked getting back to my own room, but when I got in bed I longed for my camp bed, the quiet of the night, the ripple of the creek, and the sound of the wind in the pines.

EPILOGUE

In August of 1961 the editor and his wife, Bea, drove from East Lansing to Wyoming and toured the state, collecting material for a book. The highlight of the trip was a visit to the XX Ranch. We drove in from Laramie via Tie Siding.

Chester and Edith Williams were expecting us and took the day off to drive us around the vast estate in their Chevrolet. I found the ranch as romantically beautiful as it has been these many years in my dreams. Even more, because deer and antelope, as well as cattle, now add charm to the rocky, wooded slopes and the mountain pastures. The wild herds keep their distance, but are not excessively shy as they were in my youth when there was open season all-year-round and every man carried a gun.

We had delicious Aberdeen Angus beef sandwiches and coffee in a patch of sagebrush on heights which command a superb view of the Rockies. Nearby were gnarled pines bent by the northern wind and stark, dead trees with silvery trunks and branches. We talked

of the old days and of members of the Williams family and my family now deceased. Chet, still vigorous at eighty, discussed stock raising, the superiority of Black Angus over other breeds of beef cattle, and the importance of matching herd size to available pasturage. We were struck by his love and concern for every wild creature, every tree, and every flower and blade of grass on the land. The ranch must make some money, but to Chet and Edith preservation of the land and its beauty is far more important.

Bea and I spent the night in Laramie and returned the next day for a final outing. We hiked down the little canyon and through the meadow to the old camp site at Home Mountain. I built a fire in the pine grove, and we had a luncheon of broiled bacon, buns, and potato chips. Resting on a bed of pine needles, I listened again to the rippling water of Dale Creek and to the wind in the pines and aspens. We walked in air fragrant with flowers to the mouth of the big canyon. Then, as the sun began to sink over Sunset Cliff, we reluctantly retraced our steps to the ranch, said farewell to our kind friends, and departed.

And the Lord God planted a
garden eastward in Eden.
Genesis.

THE DRAFT HORSE IN THE LEAD

The draft horse is now the leading market horse in America. Forty per cent. of the horses sold at Chicago are draft horses, nearly double that of any other class of horses, yet the fast horse men told us the draft horse would soon play out. Already he leads the horse markets of the world. The business of the cities depends upon the draft horse. The merchants and manufacturers vie with each other for the finest draft horse teams, and there is no better advertisement for any business than an attractive team of large handsome draft horses. The farmers who will raise and mature such horses are sure of big prices, for the demand is far greater than the supply. Dealers have orders to buy such horses whenever they find extra good ones that are sound, with size and vigorous action, to walk briskly away with the big loads.

—*Wyoming Industrial Journal*
February, 1900

As has been announced in the *Industrial Journal* a number of times the Sherman Hill cut-off, to avoid the heavy grades, sharp curves and high bridge across Dale Creek, is to be built. As we go to press contractors are in Omaha awaiting the announcement of the name of the successful bidder for the job. It is stated that as soon as the Union Pacific awards the contract the work will be sub-let to a number of contractors who are now in Omaha for this purpose, and that work on the cut-off will be commenced as soon as men, teams and outfits can be placed on the ground. The cut-off will be commenced as soon as men, teams and outfits can be placed on the ground. The cut-off necessitates the building of a rock causeway across Dale Creek. It is said that it will require from two to three years time to complete this cut-off. Thousands of men will be employed.

—*Wyoming Industrial Journal*
February, 1900

Fort David A. Russell: a Study of Its History From 1867 to 1890

WITH A BRIEF SUMMARY OF EVENTS
FROM 1890 TO THE PRESENT

By

PEGGY DICKEY KIRKUS

[Conclusion]

V. HEALTH OF TROOPS

Health of the troops has always been a prime factor in the morale and effectiveness of an army. During the latter nineteenth century the medical corps was a special branch of the service under the command of the Surgeon General in Washington.¹ Army doctors were surgeons, who ranked as field grade officers; assistant surgeons, whose rank was that of company grade officers; and acting assistant surgeons.² Their duties included treatment of the sick and injured, inspection of food and water supplies, and the supervision of all aspects of sanitation on the post. In addition, they went into the field with the troops and were quite often casualties themselves.

Army regulations required that the post surgeon make a monthly report to the Surgeon General on conditions under his jurisdiction. These reports varied with the men who wrote them, but some of them contain the most complete record available on life at Fort D. A. Russell.

The most frequently repeated complaint in these reports during the first years of the post was overcrowding in the barracks. In 1870, the post surgeon wrote:

The bad sanitary condition of barracks is one of the more important . . . causes [of mortality from disease], and gives rise more especially to continued fevers, diseases of the respiratory organs, and tuberculosis affections. . . .

It has been said that we have the best-fed and worst-housed Army in the world, and the statement seems more nearly correct than such generalizations usually are.³

1. Whitman, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-65.

3. *A Report on Barracks and Hospitals, op. cit.*, p. XXXII.

Fort Russell received many of its troops directly from basic training stations. Often these men were in poor physical condition before they entered the army, and they brought with them diseases which spread to others in the close confines of the barracks. In July, 1868, the post surgeon reported the following list of conditions which he treated:

Typhoid Fever	3	Cases
Acute Diarrhoea	27	"
Chronic Rheumatism	7	"
Colic	11	"
Piles	7	"
Sprain	10	" 4

During the winter months the types of illness changed, as the men were exposed to the rigors of heavy snow and chilling wind. This exposure, in addition to drafty barracks, lowered their resistance to infection. In December, 1869, these illnesses appeared on the surgeon's treatment list:

Tonsillitis	4	Cases
Acute Rheumatism	5	"
Acute Bronchitis	16	"
Inflammation of Lungs	2	"
Contusion	6	"
Frost Bite	5	" 5

A chart in the Surgeon General's Report of 1870 shows the total of all illnesses treated by the surgeon's staff at Fort Russell for the years 1868 and 1869:

	1868	1869
Mean Strength	589.91	435.08
Whole Number Taken Sick	907	413
Typhoid Fever	1	1
Malarial Fevers	76	24
Diarrhea and Dysentery	126	65
Tonsillitis	123	51
Venereal Diseases	16	11
Rheumatism	79	29
Phthisis [Tuberculosis]	1	1
Catarrhal Affections*	215	97
Number of Deaths	7	2

*Include laryngitis, bronchitis, pneumonia, and pleurisy⁶

The basic cure for almost anything consisted of quinine, cathartics, and whiskey. Quinine was prescribed routinely for fever,

4. "Fort D. A. Russell: Record of Medical History of Post," *op. cit.*, I, 83.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *A Report on Barracks and Hospitals, op. cit.*, p. 345.

colds, and respiratory ailments. A large wound or amputation was cauterized, with whiskey used liberally as a sedative.⁷

In 1876, the surgeon's report included the case history of Private John F. Murphy, who shot himself in the wrist while cleaning his carbine. Attempts were made to save the hand and arm, but two weeks later he began to hemorrhage heavily from the wound. After consultation, the doctors present decided to amputate the affected hand and forearm. The surgeon reported no bad symptoms and only slight shock to the patient's system. He described the steps taken after surgery:

The constitutional treatment consisted of Quinine, . . . [illegible], Alcoholic Stimulants and Cod Liver Oil, beef tea, milk, eggs, etc. *ad libitum*. The stump was dressed with weak carbolic lotion. The patient made a satisfactory recovery.⁸

In 1899, a smallpox epidemic broke out at Fort D. A. Russell. The carrier was a recruit who had just come to the post. He was ill when he arrived, and by the time the rash appeared and was identified, he had infected others in his barracks. The company was immediately isolated from the rest of the personnel. The surgeon ordered contaminated blankets and bedding destroyed. The men were confined to the barrack, and were kept isolated from each other as much as possible. Everyone was vaccinated against the disease, but the vaccine must have been of poor quality, since many of the men did not react to it. Because of the efforts of the post surgeon, however, the outbreak was held to six cases, all of whom recovered from the disease.

Two years later seven cases of smallpox were reported at the post. These were all new recruits and were quarantined before it spread to any others.⁹

One of the first things that many new recruits had to learn was the fine art of bathing. At the recruiting depots they were instructed in personal cleanliness. The Surgeon General instructed in 1870:

Cleanliness does not mean the washing of face and hands alone; at least once a week every man should thoroughly cleanse his entire person; and it is economy and good policy to make the facilities for this purpose such that the men shall consider their bath a pleasure and a necessity.¹⁰

Post records mention company bath houses during the 1870s. The surgeon complained about the men having to walk several yards from their barracks to reach the bath house. When they

7. Whitman, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

8. "Fort D. A. Russell: Record of Medical History of Post," *op. cit.*, II, 233-35.

9. *Ibid.*, IV, 104-06.

10. *A Report on Barracks and Hospitals, op. cit.*, pp. XVI-XVII.

returned to their quarters, their damp bodies were exposed to the elements.

In addition to personal cleanliness, the men were responsible to see that their clothing was laundered regularly. As there were no facilities for washing in the barracks, it became customary to hire women to do this chore. These laundresses were usually the wives of enlisted men, who needed the extra money. Until water was piped into the post, they lived in small quarters along Crow Creek. One room of each house was set aside as a washroom.

When the post was rebuilt in the mid-1880s, Lieutenant James Regan, in a letter to the Quartermaster General, requested that a steam laundry be introduced at the post:

A laundry of this character is, in my opinion, very desirable, especially now since the great improvement in the men's buildings, etc. Washer-women are few at the post and the ones now remaining are not always reliable.¹¹

Instead of steam laundries, Chinese laundrymen were brought to the garrison to do the work. There seems to have been few complaints about their work, but the post surgeon reported repeatedly on the filth of these laborers. In January, 1896, the post medical record read:

The premises occupied by Chiman [*sic*] for laundry purposes near the post hall are in a very unsanitary condition. They are in the habit of throwing the washwater and table offal on the ground, causing a large stagnant pool outside and under the house.¹²

By 1899, conditions had become even worse:

The lack of sanitation which has steadily grown worse during the summer is now as follows: The kitchen and laundry waste water of ten years has been turned into the gravel on the north side. For two years it has accumulated in two large stagnant pools, which show a deposit of many inches deep of sewerage. The rear of the quarters is littered with old lumber and other trash soaked with waste water. . . . An odor arising from the conditions as given above has frequently been perceptible to me at several rods distant.¹³

Officials eventually ordered steam laundries installed and connected with the sewer lines. The old washing areas were destroyed and disinfected.

In an era of hard drinking, the problem of drunkenness frequently plagued the post. The men could obtain their liquor from the post sutler, who was a retail merchant licensed to operate a store

11. Letter from Lieutenant James Regan to the Quartermaster General, April 19, 1886, from Kendall, Unpublished Notes, *op. cit.*, File No. HCL 2:1:4.

12. "Fort D. A. Russell: Record of Medical History of Post," *op. cit.*, IV, 26.

13. *Ibid.*, IV, 114-15.

on the post, or they could buy it in the city of Cheyenne, where the supply of alcohol was always abundant. On payday the problem was at its worst. Often a trooper would spend his whole pay check on one big spree.

A man was seldom brought before a court-martial for simple drunkenness. Instead, the men in his company usually found a way to sober him up without bringing the incident to the attention of his officers. In one such cure, the offender was bound, gagged with a bar of army soap, and left in this position for several hours. The results were revolting and left a permanent memory of the event. Another routine which effectively sobered the offender was being spread-eagled on a wagon wheel. The arms and legs were tied along the edges and the hub of the wheel bulged in the middle of the back unmercifully. This torture lasted for one-half day to a whole day. A soldier who was found staggering around the post with his bottle still in his hand sometimes found himself with the job of burying it. This he did by digging a hole ten feet square by ten feet deep, laying the bottle to rest, then replacing the dirt. A man was usually sober by the time he completed this task.¹⁴

Isolation and boredom were synonymous with daily life on a frontier post. As the army had no over-all plan for rotation of troops, a company of men might expect to be stationed at the same garrison for several years. The regular fatigues and guards became terribly monotonous, and the men welcomed any diversion from the routine. Amusements included athletic events, hunting and fishing, dances and musicales.

Since Fort Russell usually had horses, games involving horsemanship were very popular. Horse racing was the most popular. They also used their mounts to pursue deer and antelope in the area. Other sports included ball playing, gymnastics, and tugs of war. The post surgeon complained in July, 1896, that "the number on sick report during the past month has been considerably increased through injuries received in athletic sports."¹⁵ He agreed that proper exercise was very beneficial both physically and as entertainment, but requested that prolonged exertion be limited. "During the past week," he wrote, "one game of 'Tug of War' lasted fifty minutes and resulted in the disabling of two men severely and several slightly."¹⁶ He recommended that a time limit of five minutes be enforced in this game and encouraged moderation in all sports.

Masonic lodges were a popular outlet and allowed the officers and men to meet together on equal status. A chapter flourished

14. Whitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

15. "Fort D. A. Russell: Record of Medical History of Post," *op. cit.*, IV, 38.

16. *Ibid.*

at Fort Russell.¹⁷ The post also possessed a library of 286 volumes, billiard tables, a theater, and a dance hall.

Drama and musicales were especially popular with the officers and their ladies. Elizabeth Burt, the wife of a major [Andrew S. Burt] who was stationed at Fort Russell from 1869 to 1871, described some of the productions which they presented:

Among the officers and ladies enough theatrical talent appeared to make it possible to place on the stage many very entertaining plays such as "Caste" in which my husband won laurels in the despicable character of Pop Eccles, and again as Golightly in "Lend Me Five Schillings," and others. Colonel Bartlett, Major Burt and Lieutenant Stembel were among the stars. Major Mears shone prominently as stage manager. Mrs. Royall as the Duchess, with her young daughter as the Prince, assisted by Major Burt as Ruy Gomez, made "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady" a brilliant success.¹⁸

Dances were always popular, and almost any event was occasion enough to invite friends from Cheyenne to join them for a ball.

The religious life of the soldiers was not neglected. Early in 1868, an Episcopal missionary, Reverend Joseph W. Cook, came to Cheyenne. He soon became friends with a number of people at the fort. Because of lack of adequate facilities in Cheyenne, Reverend Cook soon moved into the quarters of Surgeon Alden. On February 2, 1868, the missionary went to Cheyenne to hold services, but he

got back in time to see "Dress parade" at Fort. Men made fine appearance, but I thought it terrible that they should have inspection and general review in the morning and then have to turn out on Sunday afternoon also.¹⁹

He held services at the post on Sunday evening.

Edmund B. Tuttle became the first post chaplain. His duties consisted of holding religious services, performing burial services, and overseeing the educational program at the post.²⁰ Attendance seems to have been quite good at services. Reverend Cook reported that on the evening of March 22, 1868, he substituted for the chaplain, and that 200 men attended the service.²¹

Before the post was rebuilt during the 1880s, both chapel and school were held in one wing of the hospital. School was held during the winter months under the supervision of the post chaplain. Enlisted men and children of personnel stationed at Fort Russell and Camp Carlin attended the classes. Qualified enlisted men received extra-duty pay of thirty-five cents per day for teach-

17. Rickey, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

18. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

19. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

ing.²² This education was sketchy, and many parents supplemented the schooling by teaching their children at home.

A woman who was brave enough to follow her husband to a frontier post had to be prepared to face hardships and privation, as well as see the joys of keeping the family together. Regulations of the Indian Wars era did not even recognize the presence of military dependents. They were looked upon officially only as camp followers, and as such could claim no privileges or rights. A few commanders urged their men not to bring dependents and made life miserable for wives. Some claimed that having wives with them made the men poor soldiers.²³ Most of the commanders, however, were happy to have the feminine influence at the garrison.

Women on the frontier faced the same problems as those in more settled areas and had many trials in addition. Their first difficulty was getting household goods to their new station. According to War Department regulations, an officer was allowed a maximum of 1,000 pounds of household goods to be moved at government expense. Anything above this had to be contracted to a civilian freighter at a very high cost. As a result, it became the practice for an officer to have three large wooden chests into which he packed only those items of greatest necessity. Most of any remaining goods were sold at auction. The effects which the military family did choose to take along often arrived in poor condition due to the carelessness with which the soldiers on the packing detail had wrapped them. Jolting along rough wagon roads and poor handling also resulted in much breakage and damage, particularly to glassware and china.²⁴

Since the War Department did not recognize the existence of military dependents, the woman who chose to follow her husband became a pitiful victim of circumstance if he died or was killed during a campaign. Elizabeth Burt describes the anxiety which most of the women must have felt when their husbands left for the field:

These partings were always great trials to me. Our family farewells were always made in quarters behind closed doors. Then he to his duty and I in a back room to my tears and prayers. I would choose a back room to shut out the tune the band played, marching the company out of the post, "The Girl I Left Behind Me." To this day when I hear that air tears come to my eyes.²⁵

An army widow immediately lost all claim to pay and allowances and was given notice to vacate quarters within a short period. Commanders were generally sympathetic and liberal, but it was

22. Kendall, Unpublished Notes, *op. cit.*, File No. HCL 2:1:1.

23. Whitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-45.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

25. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

their duty to see that when the set time arrived, the women were gone.²⁶

The birth and raising of children offered a special problem on the frontier. Women anticipating childbirth often returned to their families in the East, if they could afford it. Those who remained at the post had to accept the fact that the post surgeon would probably be in the battlefield just when she needed him.²⁷

Fear for her children's safety pressed upon every mother. Mrs. Burt recalled an incident which increased her apprehension. While their company was travelling to Fort C. F. Smith, a group of friendly Crow Indians joined them in camp. The Indian squaws seemed fascinated with the Burts' baby girl. Mrs. Burt relates that:

Crazy Head's squaw made me understand she wished to hold [the baby] in her arms. As she seemed dressed in clean garments, I consented, though with reluctance. Soon the baby was the center of admiring squaws, who held a great pow-wow over her.

Crazy Head entered into it, too, with apparent interest. Our curiosity was greatly aroused to know what this animated discussion meant. The mystery was solved when Crazy Head made an offer to my astonished husband to buy our blessed baby.²⁸

After offers of twenty ponies, then thirty ponies, and even Crazy Head's squaw in return for the baby, Major Burt ordered the Indians to leave camp at once. Mrs. Burt added later:

All the time we were among the Indians I could not divest my mind of this harrowing fear that some day they would try to steal the children.²⁹

Despite their mothers' fear for their safety, or perhaps because of it, children at frontier posts thrived. They became sturdy and independent, fine horsemen, and competent in the use of weapons. Because of their contact with battle-hardened soldiers, they often became proficient in the use of profanity, but this was soon remedied by liberal use of the strap.³⁰

Along with these problems, the wives of enlisted men found it difficult to manage a household on the pay which their husbands received. To help with finances, these women often sought jobs as post laundresses or in officers' quarters as cooks or maids.³¹

In spite of the difficulties, army wives found time to hunt and fish with their husbands; go riding; do handwork, such as embroidery or knitting; write short stories and verses; and take part in planning the parties and dances which helped raise the spirits of the person-

26. Whitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-54.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

28. Mattes, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-22.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

30. Whitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-52.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

nel. Mrs. Burt was especially happy during her stay at Fort Russell between 1869 and 1871:

On pleasant days to drive to the station in Cheyenne, about three miles from the post, was one of our pleasures. Often in this way we had a passing glimpse of friends. A walk to hunt mushrooms was a pastime for those who were fond of them.³²

During the harsh Wyoming winters, most of the recreation moved indoors. Mrs. Burt was particularly fond of the musicales which livened the winter evenings:

To hear Mrs. Bradley's rich soprano voice sing "Robin Adair" is recalled by me now as a rare delight. The diversions, in addition to the weekly hops, combined to make the long winter evenings pass in a happy social way, which without these aids, would have been drearily monotonous.³³

VI. THE INDIAN PROBLEM

Fort David A. Russell was established to provide a convenient station for the control of hostile Indians in the area. From the first months of its existence, numerous scouts and guards went out from the post to protect crews who were constructing the Union Pacific Railroad. As the territory became more densely populated, this protection also became available to the settlers who from time to time faced the wrath of the Cheyennes, Utes, Arapahoes, and Sioux.

When the West blazed into the fury of a full-blown Indian war during the 1870s, Fort Russell became a troop station always prepared with fresh soldiers and horses and a medical center for the aid of those injured in combat.

The American Indian was continually and increasingly displaced, beginning when the first Europeans established settlements along the eastern seaboard. Treaties for huge tracts of Indian land often cost the intruders no more than a few dollars worth of trinkets and beads. For decades the eastern Indians were traded and cheated out of their lands. Occasionally a tribe rebelled at seeing its hunting grounds overrun by white settlers, and bloody battles ensued.

The white man moved steadily westward under the protection of army troops until the early 1860s, when the American nation was divided by civil war. Then manpower became scarce and the posts at the western edge of settlement were forced to operate with a bare minimum of personnel. Little could be done to keep the hostile Plains Indians from raiding, looting, and killing at will. When the War Between the States ended in 1865, there was a great clamor for increased protection along the lines of settlement. In addition, the

32. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

33. *Ibid.*

decision to build the Union Pacific Railroad brought new impetus for military force to quell the Indian trouble.

What caused the disturbance in the Northern Plains area? As the white man had pushed west, he had made treaty after treaty with various Indian tribes. Some of the tribes had relinquished large portions of their ancestral hunting grounds to the American Government. But until the period after the Civil War, the dispossessed Indian always had a place to make a new home. Suddenly within the decade between the mid-1860s and the 1870s, the Red Man found his last good hunting grounds being destroyed and his lands overrun by miners and settlers. He realized that he could no longer put faith in a white man's peace. Facing starvation and the threat of extinction, bands of Sioux and Cheyenne gathered together with renegades of other tribes to resist further intrusion.

Two Indian treaties which were concluded during the 1870s, before the founding of Fort D. A. Russell, were of particular importance in the life of that post. In 1865, a treaty with the Arapaho and Cheyenne Indians provided for the removal of these tribes from the lands to be crossed by the Union Pacific Railroad. Because of this treaty there were no hostiles in the immediate vicinity when the post was built. Another treaty, signed at Fort Laramie in 1868, foreshadowed the reservation system by assigning certain definite areas into which the tribes must move and provided that unauthorized white men were forbidden to enter the reserve. The latter treaty allowed the Sioux to retain their favorite hunting grounds in the Black Hills of South Dakota. Other boundaries set aside the lands north of the North Platte River and east of the Big Horn Mountains as a hunting reserve.

The post medical records provide a glimpse into the duties performed by the first men stationed at Fort Russell. During the latter months of 1867 and in 1868, troops left the post regularly to patrol and guard the railroad workers at Pine Bluffs Station, Sidney Station, Salt Lake, and the North Platte Station. Another regular task was to escort workers and dignitaries to points in the area of Fort Russell. Such trips took them to Salt Lake City, Alkali Station, Porter Station, and locations up to 300 miles distant.¹

On January 20, 1869, two companies of the Second Cavalry left the post on an expedition against Indians who had been harassing settlers near the Republican River. The force returned seventeen days later with an unusually large number of sick and wounded, due partially to the harsh winter weather.²

1. U.S., War Department, Surgeon General's Office, "Fort D. A. Russell: Record of Medical History of Post," Manuscript in the National Archives, Microfilm Copy in the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department (4 vols.), I, 5.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 105.

Troop movements of 1870 included an expedition against the Indians near Pine Bluffs, a detail toward Laramie City after prisoners escaped from the guard house, and regular patrol duty to Sweetwater Mines; Pine Bluff Station; Antelope Station; Camp Douglas, Utah; Fort Bridger, Utah; Sherman Station; Hillsdale Station; and Chug Creek. In September of that year two companies of the Fifth Cavalry provided escort for members of an Indian Peace Commission to Fort Laramie.³ Similar missions occupied the troopers of Fort Russell during the early 1870s and few notable encounters were reported.

Because of persistent reports of gold in the Black Hills, in 1874 the United States Government sent troops to investigate. General George Custer proceeded into the area with ten companies of the Seventh Cavalry, 110 wagons, and sixty scouts. A number of newspapermen and photographers joined the party. Upon their return Custer announced to the world that there was, indeed, gold in the Black Hills.⁴

The Interior Department also sent a team of civilians to ascertain whether or not there were any worthwhile deposits of gold. The expedition, under Professor Walter P. Jenney, returned with indisputable proof that the hills were rich in the precious metal.⁵

Gold fever swept the nation. Expeditions of miners began fitting out soon after the announcement came. From Washington, government officials tried to prevent violations of treaty stipulations with the Indians. General W. T. Sherman issued orders for troops to arrest violators and destroy all transportation and property which might aid them in advancing into treaty lands.

The Black Hills were teeming with Sioux, and this infiltration of white prospectors could mean nothing but trouble. In July, 1875, General George Crook left Cheyenne with orders to eject the miners from the Black Hills.⁶

The prospectors who slipped into the area panned for gold until they were evicted. Then they told of rich deposits which they had seen. After this testimony, it was impossible for troops to keep them out. During the latter part of 1875, the Army evicted hundreds of miners, but they found ways to return. Within weeks, a

3. *Ibid.*, I, 161.

4. Merrill J. Mattes, *Indians, Infants, and Infantry* (Denver: The Old West Publishing Co., 1960), p. 193; and Edward Settle Godfrey, *Diary of the Little Big Horn*, ed. Edgar I. Stewart and Jane R. Stewart (Portland, Oregon: Champoege Press, 1957), p. vi.

5. Paul I. Wellman, *The Indian Wars of the West* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1947), p. 125.

6. George Crook, *General George Crook: His Autobiography*, ed. Martin F. Schmitt (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 188.

score of mining towns sprang up—Deadwood Gulch, Custer City, and Keystone among them.

The situation was becoming serious. The Black Hills were not only the favorite hunting grounds of the Sioux but were also believed sacred by them. In an effort to prevent war, the government tried to buy the Black Hills, but the Sioux rejected with scorn the offer of \$6,000,000. The commission failed completely.⁷

That fall, the anti-reservation Sioux moved from their assigned agencies into the wilderness. War seemed inevitable. Late in December, 1875, messengers were sent to the renegade bands, which had gathered under the leadership of Sitting Bull and Chief Crazy Horse. They were ordered to return to their agencies immediately. January 1, 1876 was their deadline.⁸

Early in 1876, President Grant opened the Black Hills to the white prospectors and issued orders to the army not to stop them from going in. The Indian inspector recommended that troops drive out the renegades during the winter, but the weather was unusually cold and the Indians were given until January 31, 1876 to get back onto the reservation.⁹

The January thirty-first deadline passed and the hostiles staunchly refused to be forced onto a reservation. The Department of the Interior then turned the problem over to the War Department. General George Crook, Commander of the Department of the Platte, was ordered to lead a campaign to drive the hostiles back onto the reservation. The General was familiar with Indian fighting tactics and was aware of the advantages held by the Indians.¹⁰

War plans were made hurriedly. They called for three expeditions to strike the Indian camps during the early spring, while the cold weather held the hostiles relatively immobile. General Crook was to move north from Fort D. A. Russell by way of Fort Fetterman. He was to meet General George Custer, who was marching west from Fort Abraham Lincoln, and General John Gibbon, who was coming east from Fort Ellis. Severe winter weather prevented Custer and Gibbon from reaching the rendezvous.

On February 21, 1876, General Crook left Fort D. A. Russell with five companies of the Third Cavalry to conduct a campaign into the Powder River country. Colonel J. J. Reynolds, commander of the post, also accompanied the party. They were joined by other troops of cavalry and infantry as they proceeded through

7. Wellman, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-29.

9. Oliver Knight, *Following the Indian Wars: The Story of the Newspaper Correspondents Among the Indian Campaigners* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 161.

10. S. E. Whitman, *The Troopers* (New York: Hastings House, 1962), p. 42.

Fort Fetterman. The object of the campaign was, as General Crook expressed it

to move during the inclement season by forced marches, carrying, by pack animals, the most urgent supplies, secretly and expeditiously surprise the hostile bands and if possible chastise them before spring fairly opened, and they could receive . . . reinforcements from the reservation.¹¹

The command consisted of ten companies of cavalry and two of infantry which were organized into battalions in the following manner:

Battalion	Company	Regiment	Commander
1st	M	3rd Cavalry	Captain A. Mills
	E	"	3rd Cavalry
2nd	A	3rd Cavalry	Captain Wm. Hawley
	D	"	3rd Cavalry
3rd	I	2nd Cavalry	Captain H. Noyes
	K	"	2nd Cavalry
4th	A	2nd Cavalry	Captain T. Dewees
	B	"	2nd Cavalry
5th	F	3rd Cavalry	Captain A. Moore
	E	"	3rd Cavalry
6th	C	4th Infantry	Captain E. Coates
	I	"	4th Infantry ¹²

In addition the party contained medical personnel, military aides, scouts and guides, a correspondent from the Rocky Mountain News of Denver, and a large number of civilians employed to man the pack trains. The population of the party numbered 883 men. Horses and mules numbered 1548. The expedition also carried rations for forty days, including beef on the hoof.¹³

The weather was bitterly cold, the thermometer falling as low as 40° below zero. On the afternoon of March 16, as the column moved into the Powder River area, a scouting party discovered two Indians. General Crook divided the command into two groups and sent Colonel Reynolds in command of three battalions in search of the Indian trail. Reynolds took rations for one day's march. The remainder of the troops and all the pack trains remained on Otter Creek with General Crook.

The night was cloudy and extremely cold. Reynolds' force marched throughout the night until 4 A.M. of March 17. At a point near the Powder River, the command dismounted to await the report of a scouting party which had been sent on before. Colonel Reynolds reported that

11. J. W. Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 201.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

while waiting here for two hours the men suffered intensely from cold, the officers of the command being obliged to move about among their men and prevent them from falling asleep in which case they would almost certainly have been frozen to death as the ground was covered with several inches of snow and the weather very cold.¹⁴

The scouts returned with the report that they had located a large Indian village on Powder River. Reynolds ordered the battalion led by Captain James Egan to charge the village on horseback. Another group under Captain H. Noyes was to seize the Indian ponies which were grazing in the vicinity and retain the captured herd. A third force, under the command of Captain A. Moore, was to dismount and follow up the attack on foot.¹⁵

The initial attack was very successful. The Indians were taken completely by surprise. It was shortly after daybreak, and most were still sleeping. The Sioux ran for the rocky bluffs which overlooked their camp. By that time, the troopers had captured the Indian ponies, so that the warrior were afoot.

The hostiles recovered quickly from their original panic. They organized their lines behind rocks and trees along the hillside and opened up a deadly fire against the cavalymen. Captain Anson Mills led his men in the destruction of the village. All the tepees and supplies were burned, although the commander had some difficulties restraining his hungry men from carrying off pieces of buffalo meat which they saw in the tepees. The explosion of the ammunition supplies, along with shots from the concealed Indians, made this task less than safe. Moreover, the Sioux and Cheyenne were becoming more and more daring, and there was danger that the troopers would be cut off within the valley. As the casualties increased, Colonel Reynolds suddenly ordered a retreat.

By sundown on March 17, the command had reached the site which had been selected for their meeting with General Crook's troops and supplies. Colonel Reynolds described the condition of his men:

We had marched fifty-four miles and fought four hours during the last twenty-six hours had no sleep during the previous night and in fact no rest during the previous thirty-six hours and march of seventy-three miles from the camp on the Tongue River.¹⁶

General Crook's column failed to arrive to relieve them. The men were so exhausted that Reynolds ordered the guard changed frequently to prevent their falling asleep.

At this point, the expedition's only achievements were capturing the pony herd, burning the renegade village with all its supplies, and killing a very few of the enemy. Colonel Reynolds estimated the

14. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-08.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

captured horse herd at 400 to 700 animals. Suspecting that the Indians might attempt to recapture the herd, he ordered that the Indian ponies be kept separate from the cavalry horses. Upon the advice of one of the scouts, Frank Grouard, he turned the ponies out to graze along a ravine, guarded only by a handful of tired soldiers. Sometime during the night, the ponies disappeared, and no trace was found of them. It was believed that their Indian owners probably recovered them as they grazed.¹⁷

Thus what began as a rout turned into a victory for the Indians. Reynolds could claim only to have destroyed the village and killed a few of the enemy, while his own command lost four dead, six wounded, and sixty-six men badly frozen.¹⁸ The weary troops returned to Fort Russell on April 6, 1876.¹⁹

General Crook was furious when he learned of the failure of the mission. He immediately initiated courtmartial proceedings against Colonel Reynolds, Captain Moore, and Captain Noyes. He gave the following reasons:

... first a failure on the part of portions of the command to properly support the first attack. Second, a failure to make a vigorous and persistent attack with the whole command. Third, a failure to secure the provisions that were captured for the use of all the troops instead of destroying them. Fourth, and most disastrous of all, a failure to properly secure and take care of the horses and ponies captured nearly all of which again fell into the hands of the Indians the following morning.²⁰

After a lengthy trial which was marked by enmity and counter-charges, the tribunal found Colonel J. J. Reynolds guilty and sentenced him to be suspended from rank and command for one year. Captains Moore and Noyes were found guilty on lesser charges. Moore was ordered confined to the post for six months; Noyes was soundly reprimanded by the department commander.²¹

The army lost a decided advantage by showing such weakness in its first winter campaign. The Indians took advantage of this warning to mobilize and recruit other hostiles from surrounding villages. By the time the soldiers appeared again, the Cheyennes and Sioux, under the leadership of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, had prepared for all-out war.

By mid-May, the snow was clearing, and battle plans were ready. Again three columns were to converge on the Indians. This time,

17. *Ibid.*

18. Wellman, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

19. "Fort D. A. Russell: Record of Medical History of Post," *op. cit.*, II, 228.

20. Vaughn, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-02.

21. U.S., Bureau of Military Justice, Department of the Platte, *Record Book No. 38*, General Court-Martial Order No. 29, May 2, 1876, cited by Crook, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-93.

General Alfred Terry was to lead 1000 men west from Fort Abraham Lincoln; General John Gibbon planned to bring 450 men east from Fort Ellis; and General Crook was to come north with 1000 men from Fort Fetterman.

On May 19, 1876, Colonel William B. Royall led several companies of cavalry and infantry and a large part of the wagon and mule train equipment from Fort D. A. Russell to join Crook at Fort Fetterman. Because of swollen rivers, these troops were forced to march north so that they could cross a bridge which had been built across the North Platte River near Fort Laramie. Then they proceeded northwest to Fort Fetterman for the rendezvous with Crook.²²

When General Crook concentrated his command at Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, the men numbered forty-seven officers and 1002 soldiers. Colonel Royall was put in command of the cavalry units, and Colonel Alexander Chambers took charge of the infantry.²³ This campaign was to be like none known before. Army training manuals called for leisurely marches relieved by halting for ten minutes of each hour, long lunch hours, and camping early in the evening. Accompanying such an ideal unit would be numerous supply wagons, carrying everything that the men could conceivably need. Indeed, General Crook ordered that no man in the command should take more baggage than could be packed in a saddle. This limited each soldier to one blanket, a saddle blanket, an overcoat, one rubber blanket, and a mess kit. Supplies were loaded aboard pack trains, allowing only half rations per man. This streamlined army was able to move three times as fast.²⁴

The column left Fort Fetterman on May 29. So large was the aggregation of men, animals, and supplies that even with the frugality in supplies the long line stretched for four miles.²⁵

Crazy Horse, the great Sioux chief, was aware of Crook's movements. He sent a messenger to the American General warning him not to cross the Tongue River. In reply, Crook proceeded immediately to the Tongue and camped along its banks. On the evening of June 9, Crazy Horse suddenly opened fire on the encamped army. Crook quickly organized his troops, shouting orders as the bullets flew overhead. Captain Anson Mills led a battalion in a charge, and the Indians retreated. They were not yet ready for a major encounter.²⁶

General Crook had every reason to be confident that his troops could clear the area with little difficulty. Indian agents had assured

22. "Fort D. A. Russell: Record of Medical History of Post," *op. cit.*, II, 229; and Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

23. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

24. Crook, *op. cit.*, p. 205; and Whitman, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

25. Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-75.

26. Wellman, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

him that the Indian camp was composed of about 500 braves who were led by Crazy Horse, and that most of the young men were quietly at peace on the reservation. As it turned out, as many as ninety per cent of the young braves had left the reservation, and Crook was soon to oppose an army at least the size of his own and possibly larger. Crook's plan had been to surprise the enemy and fall upon their main village. Crazy Horse, however, was aware of the general's every move and planned to encounter the white soldiers on a site of his own choice and at his own time.²⁷

On June 15, almost 300 friendly Indian scouts joined Crook at his camp on the Tongue River. These were Crows under the command of Alligator-Stands-Up and Shoshones led by Washakie. The following day, Crook left his supplies with infantrymen and crossed the Tongue River. His command now numbered almost 1400 men. They reached the Rosebud River that evening.

Early on the morning of June 17, Indian scouts raced toward Crook's column yelling, "Sioux! Sioux! Heap Sioux!" Then on the bluffs beyond, Crook saw so many braves that he knew he must be dealing with Crazy Horse's main army. The battle which followed was long and bloody. Crook soon found his men engaged in two separate battles. Captain Anson Mills charged a large group of Sioux and soon had to call for reinforcements. Captain Noyes was sent in with his battalion, and still Mills was hard-pressed to hold his own with the swarm of Indians. Colonel Royall, meantime, was battling the enemy on a nearby bluff. Soon every man in Crook's army was engaged.

Crazy Horse was fighting as if this were the deciding battle and he must be the victor. There was no retreat, no falling back. When the battle was about two hours old, fresh warriors, led by Little Hawk and American Horse, arrived.

The Sioux suddenly took the offensive. Colonel Royall's command was cut off from the rest of the column. On the flank of this group, Captain Guy V. Henry led a company of troops, augmented by many of the Crows and Shoshones. In a charge which followed, the troopers were able to retreat into their own lines at the cost of heavy casualties. Captain Henry called encouragement to his men from his position at the rear of the line. Suddenly he winced but kept his face turned toward the enemy. He kept shouting to his men, trying to rally them. At last the warriors' attack was beaten off. Only then did his men notice that Captain Henry had been shot directly in the face. He continued to ride until he fell unconscious from his horse. He was rescued by the heroic efforts of his Indian allies and taken behind the lines for medical attention.²⁸

27. George A. Forsyth, *The Story of a Soldier* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1900), pp. 314-15; and Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-85.

28. Wellman, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-37.

The battle raged for several hours. In the afternoon, the warriors finally withdrew, leaving the field to the soldiers. Now Crook knew what he was up against. It was far from the easy victory which he had envisioned. In fact, many believed that it was more a victory for the Sioux than for Crook. They had fought to an impasse. When asked why the Indians left the field that day, one Indian historian explained, "They were tired and hungry, so they went home."²⁹

After the battle, Crook united with his supply train. The injured were loaded aboard improvised litters, called travois, and transported back to Fort Fetterman. The most serious cases were taken on to Fort D. A. Russell. Among these was Captain Henry. He was not expected to recover from his wound, as the shell had blown away one of his cheeks and had badly mangled the remainder of his face. He reached the Fort Russell hospital on July 6, 1876. To the surprise of many, he recovered and later resumed his command. On February 27, 1890, he was brevetted a Brigadier General for his service in the Battle of the Rosebud.³⁰

Following the indecisive encounter on the Rosebud, Crook led his men on a long, weary search for hostiles through the Yellowstone country, then back through the Black Hills of the Dakotas. While on this lengthy march, supplies were so short that the men were obliged to kill some of their own horses for subsistence. The excursion has often been referred to as Crook's "Starvation March." Finally the commander sent Captain Anson Mills's battalion to search for food.³¹

Meanwhile, shortly after the engagement on the Rosebud, the entire force of the renegade Indians descended on General Custer's battalion, writing one of the bloodiest pages in Indian warfare. After the massacre on the Little Big Horn, the Sioux scattered. They had to hunt for game to supply their needs during the coming winter.

One of the old chiefs, American Horse, had taken one of these bands into the Black Hills to hunt. As Captain Mills rode toward Deadwood seeking supplies for Crook's men, he accidentally discovered the camp of these Sioux near Slim Buttes. On the morning of September 9, 1876, Mills attacked the village, sending the Indians scrambling into nearby bluffs. Mills managed to trap American Horse and four other warriors, along with a few women and children, inside a cave. The Captain sent a courier for General Crook. The Indians fought bravely, holding off Mills's men

29. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

30. Ralph C. Deibert, *A History of the Third United States Cavalry* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Telegraph Press, n.d.), pp. 27-28; and "Fort D. A. Russell: Record of Medical History of Post," *op. cit.*, II, 230.

31. Deibert, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

for most of the day and killing two of them. The General arrived late in the afternoon.

Crook tried to persuade the Indians to surrender. They refused. The cavalry replied by directing intense gunfire into the mouth of the cave. Again they requested American Horse's surrender. Finally he did send out the women and children but refused to give himself up. Again the shooting began. After two hours, the return fire ceased. Scout Frank Guard crept to the mouth of the cave and once more asked for their surrender. This time the answer was affirmative. Two young braves emerged, carrying American Horse between them. The old chief was fatally wounded.³²

The toll was only three warriors and a woman and child killed. It was a small victory, but the spoils of battle made it worth the effort. The hungry troopers discovered that the camp contained a large supply of provisions, including fresh meat. The soldiers celebrated and feasted before setting out for their posts.³³ The troops returned to Fort Russell on November 2, 1876, emaciated and exhausted.³⁴

General Nelson A. Miles now took charge of the Sioux problem. Winter approached. His repeated raids, in addition to extremely cold weather, drove most of the renegade Sioux and Cheyennes into submission. Sitting Bull fled with a small band into Canada, where he remained for some years. Crazy Horse laid down his arms and led his followers onto the reservation to prevent them from starving. Thus the Sioux and Cheyennes were pacified, and for several years, only sporadic raids marred the calm.

The Ute Indians were a fierce tribe who chose the hilly areas of Colorado and Utah as a habitat. In 1859, the Utes signed a peace treaty with the American Government under which they were assigned reservations, with agents to administer a program of aid. Their natural enemies were the Arapaho and other Plains tribes, and they had avoided warfare with the white man even during the early 1870s when silver was discovered in the mountains which had long been their hunting grounds.

One band of Utes, led by the great chief, Ouray, took a reservation on the White River in Colorado. In 1878, N. C. Meeker, the leader of a white settlement at Greeley, Colorado, obtained an appointment as agent for the White River Reservation. Meeker was an honest and sincere man but arrogant and stubborn. One of his first acts was to move the tribe, despite their unanimous objection, about fifteen miles away to the richer farmland of Powell

32. Wellman, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-54.

33. Whitman, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

34. Jane R. Kendall, "History of Fort Francis E. Warren," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (January, 1946), p. 18.

Valley on the White River. This new location was the heart of the winter grazing and hunting grounds, and the new agency building frightened away the game in the area.³⁵ Meeker's dictatorial attitude confused the Indians. One of them, Samson Rabbit, later reported, "He was always mad. I think he was sick in his head. . . . We never knew what to do. He was mad all the time."³⁶

Meeker decreed that every Indian would work or starve. Then he turned their grazing lands into farm land. In the process, he destroyed the racetrack which provided a favorite recreation for the tribe. An agency ploughman began tilling the soil but was fired on by the angry Utes. They had applied to the government for a new agent but had received no reply. The Indians began a series of depredations. Meeker wired for help. He tried to take his family out, but the Utes refused to let them go.

General Crook received Meeker's request for aid and ordered Major Thomas T. Thornburg, commander at Fort Steele, to proceed to the agency. Thornburg left Fort Steele on September 22, 1879, with one company of cavalry and one of infantry plus supplies. At Rawlins, Wyoming, two companies of the Fifth Cavalry from Fort D. A. Russell joined the expedition.

Thornburg was under orders to find a peaceful solution to the problem. The commander is reported to have been carrying no firearms on his person. Near the reservation he met five Indians who demanded that the soldiers stay away from the reservation. Thornburg replied that he must go on but would camp near the agency and not go directly to it. Then the Indians disappeared.

The troops proceeded toward the agency through Red Canyon. Suddenly the Utes opened up a deadly fire. Thornburg ordered the men and wagons into battle position. As they were executing this maneuver the commander fell under enemy fire on the bank of Milk River.

Thornburg had ordered the wagons corralled. The troops gathered in the center of the wagons for what protection they could give. Captain J. S. Payne of the Fifth Cavalry now took command. He was wounded but continued to give orders. He sent a courier for relief.

The messenger arrived at Rawlins at 2 A.M. on October 1st. News of the attack was then wired to General Crook at Fort Omaha. Crook immediately wired Cheyenne, notifying Colonel Wesley Merritt at Fort Russell that he was to go quickly to the relief of Thornburg's men.

Meanwhile at the agency, Meeker and the other personnel there

35. U. S., Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1879* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879). pp. 17-18.

36. Wellman, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

seem to have been completely ignorant of the battle that was taking place on Milk River. They went about their regular tasks until a band of some twenty Utes approached the agency buildings, shooting and yelling. Before they were through, every white man was dead, including Agent Meeker. Two women and one girl were taken prisoner.

The troops in Red Canyon were completely surrounded by Utes. They had no way of knowing whether or not their messenger had gotten through the enemy lines. But on October 2, a troop of the Ninth Cavalry, under the command of Captain Francis S. Dodge, came to their aid. These colored troops were too few in number to be of any great help, but they brought with them word that Colonel Merritt was on his way with troops and supplies.

General Crook's message reached Cheyenne and was carried by courier to Fort Russell. Merritt received the telegram at 8 A.M. on October 1. Horses and mules and much of their equipment were at Camp Carlin. Men and equipment were mobilized, and by 2 P.M. that afternoon a special train, provided by the Union Pacific Railway, left Cheyenne filled with men and equipment. Another trainload departed three hours later. They both arrived in Rawlins early on the morning of October 2.

The column was composed of four companies of cavalry and one of infantry, each containing about forty-five men. These men, along with fifteen wagons with supplies, left Rawlins at 10:30 A.M. on October 2. The army arrived at the scene of battle before daylight on October 5. The relief was warmly greeted by the exhausted defenders in the trenches.

Colonel Merritt's men were quite tired after three days of forced march, so he decided to give them a little rest before they charged the Ute positions. Attack was never necessary, however, because an Indian messenger brought a copy of a letter from Ouray, the Ute chief, telling his warriors to desist from further combat. Colonel Merritt soon received orders to refrain from pursuing the Indians, as the Interior Department was negotiating for the release of the captive women and girl.³⁷

Merritt kept his forces in the area for several weeks, in case of another flare up. Meanwhile, the injured were transferred to the Fort Russell hospital. They arrived at the post on October 19; and hospital records list the injured as Captain Payne, Surgeon R. B. Grimes, twelve men of the Fifth Cavalry, two of the Third Cavalry, and two civilian teamsters. On November 29, 1879, Colonel Merritt returned with most of his troops.³⁸

37. M. Wilson Rankin, "The Meeker Massacre," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (July, 1944), pp. 92-122; and Wellman, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-23.

38. "Fort D. A. Russell: Record of Medical History of Post," *op. cit.*, II, 282.

Both the Colorado and Wyoming legislatures passed resolutions thanking Colonel Merritt and his troops for their prompt action in reaching and aiding the besieged men. Indeed, Merritt broke all existing records for his speed from Rawlins:

Merritt's time from Rawlins to the trenches, including stops to feed, two-hour stop at Thornburg's reserve camp, and eight hours at Williams's Fork, was sixty-six and one-half hours, breaking all records filed by the war department for distance and time in a force march of cavalry troops.³⁹

The white captives were freed at length, and the Utes again settled down to reservation life.

During the 1880s, the Indian problem subsided and left time for other undertakings at Fort Russell. In 1885, they began rebuilding the post, substituting permanent structures for those which had been erected hastily in 1867. The Quartermaster's Record became rather monotonous as it read continually: "No expenses incurred by Indian uprising."⁴⁰

In 1890, a strange delusion called the Messiah Craze spread through the western tribes. About twenty years earlier a Paviotso Indian in Nevada went into a trance during an illness and recovered to preach of the wonders which he had seen. According to the mystic, the ancient life of the Indians was to be restored, along with the game animals on which they had depended for so long. In 1888, a younger kinsman, Wovoka, claimed to have a personal revelation in which he learned a dance which was supposed to bring about a reunion with the dead—a Ghost Dance. In addition to the dance, he preached peace with the white man. He went so far as to call himself the Christ, returned to renew the aging earth.⁴¹

Whereas the earlier prophet had only a small following, Wovoka's doctrines spread throughout the Plains Indian tribes. His vision came at an opportune time. Game was growing scarce. Mismanagement and dishonesty among the Indian agents was resulting in great hardship and even starvation for some of the reservation tribes. The Northern Plains Indians took Wovoka's words of peace and changed them into reasons for a holy way against the white man. In revival meetings, they worked themselves into hypnotic trances, in which they claimed to see their ancestors, great herds of buffalo, and open lands—the earth regenerated.⁴²

Hostile demonstrations began to break out among the Sioux on

39. Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

40. Kendall, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

41. U.S., Department of the Interior, "Report of Pine Ridge Agency," *Fifty-Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), p. 49.

42. Robert H. Lowie, *Indians of the Plains* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954), pp. 180-81.

the Pine Ridge Agency. The agent there, R. F. Royer, became frightened and asked for troops. On December 15, 1890, agency police attempted to arrest Sitting Bull, who had returned to be with his people. Officials feared that he was trying to lead an uprising. Tempers flared and shooting began. In the affray which followed, Sitting Bull was killed, along with eight other warriors. In addition, six Indian police died.

On November 18, 1890, General Henry R. Mizner, commanding officer at Fort Russell, received orders to prepare to move toward the Pine Ridge Agency. Seven companies of the Seventeenth Infantry boarded a train on December 17, 1890, fully equipped for a winter campaign.⁴³

Indian bands scattered over South Dakota. Many fled to the Badlands. Minor skirmishes continued, but most of the Indians returned to the reservation. Big Foot's village was the only large one which refused to return. On December 29th, the camp was found on Wounded Knee Creek by members of the Seventh Cavalry and was surrounded by the soldiers. A shot was fired. Then the cavalymen began firing, as if in retaliation for the Custer disaster. This was, indeed, a massacre. Men, women, and children were helplessly encircled, with few weapons. Twenty-nine soldiers died. General Miles reported the Indian toll at not less than 200, about half of whom were women and children.⁴⁴

After the Wounded Knee incident, the Sioux resigned themselves. They received supplies and food and settled down to life on the reservation.

The Seventeenth Infantry returned to Fort Russell early in January, 1891, without having had a major encounter with the Sioux.

Scouting expeditions continued from Fort D. A. Russell until October of 1895, when the last company returned from the field. The Indian Wars had ended.⁴⁵

VII. FORT RUSSELL SINCE 1890

In May, 1894, the commander of Fort Russell, Colonel J. S. Poland, received a telegram advising him that a mob had seized a train in Idaho and had taken it to Green River, Wyoming. The offenders were trying to reach Washington, D. C. to join General Jacob Coxey in a protest march there. Coxey's Army, as the gathering was called, was attempting to persuade the government to aid the victims of a severe depression which was gripping the nation.

Colonel Poland left Fort Russell on May 15 with four companies

43. Kendall, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

44. Wellman, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-38.

45. Kendall, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21.

of men. At Green River, the United States Marshal requested that the troops hold 147 prisoners who were accused of seizing property from the Oregon Short Line. On May 18, the defendants were found guilty and were ordered back to Boise, Idaho. A detachment of forces from Colonel Poland's column accompanied the group. These troops of the Seventeenth Infantry quieted the demonstrators and then returned to Fort Russell.¹

The torpedoing of the battleship, *Maine*, in the harbor at Havana, Cuba, intensified bad feelings toward Spain and led the United States to declare war on that nation in April, 1898. The Eighth Infantry, which was then stationed at Fort Russell, left the post on April 21 for field service in Cuba. A small detachment remained to care for the fort.

During this war, American troops saw action in the Pacific, as well as the Caribbean. Because the active military force was so small, National Guard units across the nation were ordered into federal service. The First Regiment of the Wyoming National Guard was mustered as a battalion of infantry during May, 1898. After training at Fort D. A. Russell, the unit left for San Francisco, where they awaited transportation to the Philippines. All along the route of the Union Pacific Railroad, crowds of well-wishers came out to cheer the soldiers. They brought gifts, flowers, and fruit, and often in return, the girls asked the men for buttons to keep as souvenirs. One of the troopers related that "if she was a good looker, she got one. So when we got to 'Frisco some of us had our clothes tied on with string."²

The Wyoming National Guard unit did not reach the Philippines until July, two months after Commodore Dewey had won control of Manila Bay. The infantry was under the command of General Wesley Merritt, who twenty years earlier had led his men from Fort D. A. Russell to rescue the besieged soldiers at Milk Creek, Colorado. General Merritt arrived with a force of almost 11,000 men. The troops disembarked August 6, 1898. One week later, American troops took the city of Manila. The First Wyoming Battalion was part of the first brigade to enter the city. At 4:45 P.M., the battalion hoisted the first American flag in Manila. That flag now rests in the Wyoming State Museum in Cheyenne. The troops remained to fight in the Filipino insurrection and did not return to their homes until the fall of 1899.³

The State of Wyoming also furnished troops for the Second

1. Jane R. Kendall, "History of Fort Francis E. Warren," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (January, 1946), pp. 27-28.

2. Quoted in "Historical Sketch of the Wyoming National Guard," *Historical and Pictorial Review*, Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration of the State of Wyoming (1940), p. XX.

3. Kendall, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

United States Volunteer Cavalry. This regiment, which mustered into service at Fort D. A. Russell in May, 1898, was commanded by Colonel Jay L. Torrey. The organization became known as "Torrey's Rough Riders."

This unit left Fort Russell on June 22, 1898, for Camp Cuba Libre, near Jacksonville, Florida. They hoped to be sent on to Cuba immediately, but the regiment never saw action. During the journey to Florida, they were involved in two train wrecks. The first one, outside St. Joseph, Missouri, did little damage. However, an accident at Tupelo, Mississippi, left six soldiers dead; thirteen others were injured, including Colonel Torrey. By the time the troops arrived at Camp Cuba Libre and reorganized, they were no longer needed in Cuba. The regiment was mustered out on October 24, 1898.⁴

Following the Spanish-American War, Congress passed a military reorganization act, limiting the armed forces to 60,000 men. As a result of this measure, every military installation was studied as to location and facilities, and many faced the prospect of being vacated. In an effort to preclude this happening to Fort Russell, Wyoming Senator Francis E. Warren, who was a member of the Military Affairs Committee in Congress, used his influence to have the post declared a permanent installation. In a letter to the Secretary of War, Senator Warren defined the advantages of the post:

Fort Russell is a well-built post, healthy, convenient, with good water supply, sewerage, etc. It is three miles from the city of Cheyenne, but a railroad—the Cheyenne and Northern—passes directly through the post. There is a most excellent target range for artillery as well as infantry practice, and an immense sweep of advantageous ground for drill practice of any kind.⁵

He went on to describe the buildings, which had been constructed only a few years earlier, and to suggest that only a few additional structures would be required to house a battery of light artillery, in addition to a regimental headquarters and a battalion of that Regiment.⁶ In 1902, a committee from the Adjutant General's Office officially recommended Fort Russell as a permanent post.⁷

By 1906, the studies were completed, and the Secretary of War made the following recommendation:

4. "Historical Sketch of the Wyoming National Guard," *op. cit.*, p. xxiv; and "Torrey's Rough Riders and Colonel Jay L. Torrey," Research Memorandum in the Miscellaneous Files of the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, December 8, 1960.

5. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *A Letter from the Secretary of War Transmitting Results of Preliminary Examinations and Surveys of Sites for Military Posts*, Doc. No. 618, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902, p. 396.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

It seems to me the general policy should be to do away with the small posts as rapidly as possible and to concentrate the Army as far as practicable in regimental and brigade posts, care being taken to utilize in every possible way those posts of recent construction and especially those which by their location are capable of being expanded into regimental or brigade posts without too great cost.⁸

Fort D. A. Russell was among the posts which he desired to have enlarged to brigade size, with facilities for four additional batteries of field artillery to be added. Thus, Fort D. A. Russell survived when many of the western posts were abandoned. Additional structures were added throughout the next few years, but not until World War II strained the capacity of all American military installations did another large building campaign take place at the post.

Fort Russell sent troops in 1913 to guard the southern border from Mexican invasion. During the next three years, the army was involved in a number of skirmishes with the Mexicans. Finally, in March, 1916, Francisco "Pancho" Villa attacked Columbus, New Mexico, killing a number of soldiers and civilians there. Immediately following this incident, General John J. Pershing received orders to pursue Villa into Mexico. With a force of some 15,000 men, Pershing marched 400 miles into Mexico. After several months of futile campaigning, the army returned to American soil. The expedition was valuable in that it provided the soldiers with some practice which they would need when the United States entered World War I. Truck transportation for the first time became an integral part of Army communications and supply lines. Also, during this era, the first tactical aviation group was organized at San Antonio.⁹

When the United States declared war on Germany in April, 1917, the American Army was poorly prepared. Congress passed the first draft legislation in May of that year. National mobilization was swift and effective. Men were given a few months training, then shipped overseas to fight the Kaiser's troops. Fort D. A. Russell became a mobilization point and a training base for field artillery units.

The war ended with the signing of the Armistice on November 11, 1918. Under the national demobilization plan, military units were to be processed out of the service at posts nearest the men's homes. Fort Russell reported its first casualties in March, 1919. On March 31 the post Morning Report showed 385 arrivals. By June 22, the number had risen to 1377. On September 30 only thirty-seven casualties remained at the garrison.¹⁰

8. U.S., Congress, House, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1906*, Vol. I, Doc. No. 2, 59th Cong., 2d Sess., 1906.

9. Kendall, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

The years between the two world wars were pleasant ones at Fort Russell. Much of the time was spent in beautifying the post and improving living conditions there. Relations with the residents of Cheyenne were very cordial. Cavalry and artillery units were stationed there during most of the 1920s. The cavalymen mounted their animals and added color to the Frontier Days parades and rodeos. A local historian described this participation by the troops:

The Frontier parades were the most picturesque ever staged in Cheyenne, or ever likely to be, for the grim utility of modern war equipment cannot compare in glamour with the magnificent cavalry troops of that day. The horses were some of the finest the army ever owned, for they were selected as nearest to standard from the thousands of World War purchases; and a G. I. truck can't inspire the same romantic thrill as the old white covered supply wagons drawn by the army mules.¹¹

In the late 1920s, a reforestation program resulted in the planting of yellow pines and evergreen trees throughout the post. These plants thrived, and today they highlight the landscape of the base.

On January 1, 1930, a presidential decree changed the name of the post to Fort Francis E. Warren. Senator Warren, who had earned the Congressional Medal of Honor during the War Between the States, had come west to Wyoming and established himself as a capable public official. He served on the Cheyenne city council, as mayor of the city, and as the first governor of the state of Wyoming before being selected to represent the state in the United States Senate. Warren was a respected member of that body for thirty-seven years, until his death in 1929.¹² In recognition of his services to the state and nation, the post with which he had so long been associated was named in his honor.

The era of peace ended with Hitler's conquest of Europe. On September 16, 1940, Congress passed a Selective Service and Training Act, which was designed to provide a military force sufficient to defend the American nation and its territorial possessions. The new draft law affected Fort Francis E. Warren immediately. Contractors began work on the first of 387 temporary frame buildings which were to house a Quartermaster Replacement Training Center. These structures were built across Crow Creek, southwest from the old post.

By the time the United States actively entered the war, Fort F. E. Warren was sufficiently large to garrison 20,000 men.¹³ In 1942,

11. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

12. Marie H. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book: A Legal and Political History of Wyoming, 1868-1943* (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1946), pp. 1311-12.

13. U.S., Department of the Air Force, "A Brief History of Francis E. Warren Air Force Base," Manuscript prepared by the Historical Office, Francis E. Warren Air Force Base, Wyoming, p. 3.

an Officer Candidate School for the Quartermaster Corps was needed. The following year a Prisoner of War camp was activated.

The last Prisoners of War moved out of Fort F. E. Warren in 1946, but they left behind lasting memories of their confinement there. At the edge of the post cemetery, in a plot which has been fenced off to separate it from the rest of the graves, lie the remains of nine soldiers—eight Germans and one Italian—who died at the camp. The following excerpt from a wartime Army Regulation defined the method by which the remains of prisoners would be interred:

It is directed that a separate burial plot in the vicinity of the Post Cemetery be designated for burials of Prisoners of War. The remains of a Prisoner of War dying at your station will be buried in the designated plot, unless such remains be claimed by relatives for shipment elsewhere, without expense to the government.¹⁴

When the Air Force became a separate branch of the military, in 1947, the Army relinquished the fort to this new service. Eighty years after its founding, the installation was renamed Francis E. Warren Air Force Base. It came under the control of the Air Training Command. That organization brought men from all over the nation to train them as mechanics, electricians, clerk typists, bakers, warehouse custodians, records clerks, and in similar skills.¹⁵

The base remained a training center until February 1, 1958, when the Strategic Air Command acquired it for use as a strategic missile headquarters. The first Atlas Intercontinental Ballistic Missile arrived by truck in October of 1959. By November, 1961, three strategic missile squadrons were active at the base, under command of the 389th Strategic Missile Wing, the largest Atlas wing in the nation. On January 1, 1963, the Thirteenth Strategic Missile Division emerged, with headquarters at F. E. Warren Air Force Base. Assigned to this division was a Titan I unit at Lowry Air Force Base, Colorado. By July 1, 1963, the Ninetieth Strategic Missile Wing, with its Minuteman I, was active, and Warren became the only division headquarters in the United States to have all three types of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles: the Atlas, the Titan, and the Minuteman.¹⁶

Since that time the Titan and Atlas Missiles have been phased out. A new weapon, the Minuteman II, is replacing the older models.

14. U.S., Department of the Air Force, "Where Time Stands Still: A Brief History of the Francis E. Warren Air Force Base Cemetery, Wyoming," Manuscript prepared by the Office of Information Services, Francis E. Warren Air Force Base, Wyoming (July 1, 1956), p. 4.

15. *Warren Air Force Base* (Lubbock, Texas: Craftsman Printers Inc., n.d.), pp. 3-4.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

F. E. Warren Air Force Base has no tactical aircraft assigned; indeed, there is not even a landing strip on the base. For air transport of men and materiel, they use the facilities of the airport in Cheyenne.

Thus, the old cavalry post has undergone many changes. In 1967, the installation celebrated its centennial. During that one hundred years, the post has housed at various times horse cavalry, infantry, artillery, and the most modern weaponry. Francis E. Warren Air Force Base is living history.

There Are Mines and Mines

A very good point is raised by an exchange on the mining proposition built up on Indian lore and the like.

Because mining is remunerative, because it is safer than industrial trials, don't be deceived into believing that all advertised mines are what they are supposed to be.

For example: There are the mines that were discovered by old Indians, who had more knowledge of roots and tomahawks than they had of ore.

There is a mine that has ore running \$90,000 on the average and can be quarried like a sand pile.

Then there the mine that has a vein two thousand feet wide and that is nothing but ore—no waste rock in it.

There is the mine that can be developed in two months.

There is also the mine that contains some metal that has never been found in that district before.

And there are other mines with equally romantic stories about them.

There is just one kind of mine that is safe to invest in, and that is the one that has been located by men who understand their business, and is being opened in a manner that will bring results. In other words, there must be the property and the men back of it. These men must be in the business to produce wealth from what the mine yields.

Ignorant old Indians were not discovering mines. If they were gifted that way a great many properties would have been developed before the white man spoiled things. The natives that did find gold got it from placers, and then only from the surface.

Don't be deceived by pretty stories. It is as unreasonable to expect mining to be remunerative except through work as it is to look for a millionaire to build a factory and give it to strangers. There must always be "value received," and if the investor will look well to securing his dues he may rest assured that the company will not be defrauded. Investigation is the most harped on and the least heeded course in deciding upon investment.

—*Wyoming Industrial Journal*
April, 1905

Oregon Trail and California-Mormon Trails

FORT BRIDGER TO WYOMING'S WESTERN BORDER

Trek No. 19 of the Historical Trail Treks

Sponsored by

WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, WYOMING
STATE ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

Uinta County Chapter of
Wyoming State Historical Society

Under the direction of
Charles Guild and Maurine Carley

Compiled by
MAURINE CARLEY, Trek Historian

July 13-14, 1968

OFFICERS

Captains: Saturday, Lt. Leonard Wold, Wyoming Highway Patrol;
Sunday, Patrolman Lloyd Sanderson, Wyoming Highway
Patrol.

Wagon Boss: Ralph Harvey.

Announcer: Bill Dubois.

Guides: Charles Guild, Jim Guild, A. B. Hopkinson.

Historian: Maurine Carley.

Topographer: Paul Henderson.

Photographers: Adrian Reynolds, A. B. Hopkinson.

Press: *Green River Star*, Green River; *Uinta County Herald*,
Evanston.

Registrars: Rosalind Bealey, Jane Houston, Meda Walker.

Tickets: Fran Boan.

The portion of the Oregon Trail which had not been previously covered on emigrant trail treks was completed this year. The trail was approximately seventy-five miles from Fort Bridger to Wyoming's western border. Modern cars and the terrain made it necessary to travel mostly on highways rather than on the old trail. The mileage is that of the 1968 trek, not that of the original trail.

JULY 12, 1968

On Friday evening the Uinta County Historical Society entertained the trekkers at a delightful party from 7:30 to 9:00 P. M. at Hunting Hall, the Episcopal Parish House in Evanston. Pictures of early Uinta County were on display as were mementos from the Evanston Chinese Joss House, which had been one of three in the entire United States.

Nancy Wallace read an account of the Chinese in Evanston from *Uinta County. Its Place in History*, by Elizabeth Arnold Stone. Several other members added interesting bits about the Chinese inhabitants and their customs. Chinese fans were presented to the ladies and the men were given joss sticks.

Coffee, punch and cookies were served by the ladies of Uinta County Chapter. Several members from the Sweetwater County Chapter also came to greet the visitors.

SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1968

Caravan: 21 cars, 75 participants

Guides: Charles Guild, Jim Guild.

8:30 A.M. The Court House was the meeting place for registration, introductions and a group picture.

9:00 A.M. We traveled north on old Highway 189 to Interstate 80, and to Kemmerer Junction (15 M.) where we turned north to the left of Oyster Ridge, a hogback which had been one of the obstacles for the emigrants on the Oregon Trail.

10:00 A.M. At 23 M. a stop was made below Bridger Gap where the more adventurous trekkers drove up the steep road which wound over the hogback. At the summit the ruts of the old trail were plainly visible in the rocks. Below the Gap to the east, remnants of an Indian corral could be seen. It was made from cedar boughs laid close together in a large semicircle. The Indians chased game into the corral.

BRIDGER GAP

By Dorothea Guild

Most everyone who has been in this area knows about Bridger Gap and many saw it first as children. It seems strange to be telling its story in 1968 so long after the Gap was used and then practically forgotten. Those who have seen the Gap marvel that such a trail could have been traveled by wagons and teams.

There is no doubt that the Oregon Trail crossed this region but why here and for how long—no one knows. Bridger Gap was named for the famous Jim Bridger whose fort was nearby. Whether he discovered the Gap himself or served as guide through the

area is not recorded. However, it is one of many places named in his honor.

In order to reach here the Oregon-bound people, leaving Fort Bridger, crossed Black's Fork, turned north to Barrell Spring, crossed over near Bridger Station and then dropped back northeast over this hogback. An easier route left Fort Bridger, crossed Black's Fork and went by the Carter Station up to a place called Waterfall. Enough travel crossed here one hundred years ago to make ruts that can still be seen.

10:30 A.M. As we departed we could see traces of the trail as it came down from the hogback to Cumberland Flats where the trail and highway became one for six miles. The trail then cut across left through the hills up the Little Muddy toward Elk Mountain.

We passed the site of Cumberland, a busy coal town from 1913 to 1935, and its little cemetery. In the distance an open-hearth coal mine and hydroelectric plant was operating. It furnishes electricity and power for Evanston and much of Utah. In this area coal is mined by removing the surface earth and rock (over-burden) instead of by the usual shaft mining, leaving the scarred hills on our left.

11:20 A.M. At 51 M. we turned left into Diamondville to stop at the Rock Shop where we saw many fossil fish of all sizes and listened to a talk by eighteen-year-old Wally Ulrich, who had just won fourth place at the International Science Fair in Detroit for his project, "Paleoecology of Fossil Lake."

HISTORY OF FOSSIL LAKE

By Wallace L. Ulrich

The "life" of the Green River Formation began nearly 70 million years ago when the water of a great seaway extending from the Gulf of Mexico to Alaska began to recede. The sediments that were deposited in this vast seaway were slowly uplifted to form the present Rocky Mountains. The beginning of this orogeny marks the end of the Mesozoic era which is commonly known as the "Age of Dinosaurs" and the beginning of the Cenozoic era, or the "Age of Mammals". The Cenozoic is divided into two periods known as the Tertiary, lasting nearly 69 million years, and the subsequent Quaternary which began about one million years ago. The Tertiary is divided into five epochs defined by fauna and flora, which are the Paleocene, Eocene, Oligocene, Miocene, and Pliocene.

During the Eocene epoch of the Tertiary, the dwindling seaway and the orogeny of the land mass established several bodies of water in the area that is now southwestern Wyoming. These bodies of water were remnants of other receding and re-forming lakes which occupied the large basin lying between the Uinta and Wind River Mountains.

The most interesting exposure of the formation is that which was deposited in a small narrow lake lying west of the present Kemmerer, Wyoming. The lake is presently referred to as Fossil Syncline Lake.

Throughout the lake's five-million-year-existence it fluctuated slightly in size and shape. At times its maximum size was about ten miles wide and nearly forty miles long. At its minimum stage it probably covered an area five miles wide by fifteen miles long. The lake's fluctuation is and can be related to the climatic and structural unrest of this epoch.

The final disappearance of these lakes was probably brought about by several factors. The first was sedimentation, the somewhat irregular deposition of carbonate particles from the lake water, with a possible periodic mixture of volcanic ash from northern volcanoes. The second, a general uplift, brought rejuvenated streams which carried still more sediment out over the lake beds, thoroughly covering the lacustrine deposits.

During the following fifty million years, two other processes were taking place. The first was lithification, which is the conversion of loose sediments into indurated rock. Lithification is basically brought about by cementation, compaction and reorganization of the sediments. The lithification of the sediments deposited in the lake millions of years ago have now produced an "oil shale" formation which includes fossils. The other process is concerned with weathering and erosion. After the rejuvenated streams had reduced the upland areas, they began wearing down through the sediments they had deposited. Eventually the streams cut into the lacustrine formation, now termed the Green River Formation, exposing the oil shales.

The rock structure of the Green River Formation, when studied in conjunction with the preserved fossil specimens, can provide us with an amazingly complete picture of the environment of the lake.

The section of the Green River Formation that was deposited in Fossil Syncline Lake now totals nearly 330 feet of lacustrine sediment. Although fossil specimens are located throughout the entire 330 feet of shale, a very fossiliferous eighteen-inch shale unit which was deposited under "ideal conditions" is found about 250 feet above the base of the formation. In addition to favorable depositional conditions, this shale has been protected from harmful effects of seeping water by two four-to-five-inch layers of dark dense oil shale directly above and below the fossiliferous unit.

This "eighteen-inch" unit contains thousands of microscopic layers of deposited materials. Through the simple process of pressure, these laminations have been greatly compressed. The unit is composed basically of amorphous organic materials and precipitates deposited in a cyclic manner in varying amounts. Light and dark laminations alternate within the unit and suggest seasonal deposition, the light ones being associated with a cold period and

the dark with a warm period with more organic matter being present. Since seasons as we know them today came into existence about three million years ago, these laminations may not represent time intervals presently employed to denote seasonal changes.

The climatic conditions which prevailed during the period of sediment deposition in Fossil Syncline Lake have been described in detail by Dr. W. H. Bradley. The fossil plants indicate a generally warm climate. Some forms suggest a warm moist lowland, and others a cooler, probably drier, upland region.

All of the vegetation found is of terrestrial origin. The evidence of two varying land conditions is best explained by realizing that the streams bordering the lake could have brought upland vegetation into the lake along with the surrounding flora. Wind currents also probably brought upland flora into the lake. Dr. Bradley compares the flora found in the Gulf Coast states today to that of the Eocene fossil lake. It is believed that during the time when the "eighteen-inch layer" was deposited the lake's climatic conditions were very similar to that of the southern coast states.

Bradley pictures the depths of the Green River lakes as "broad sheets of water some ten to fifteen feet deep near the shore and perhaps as much as 100 feet in the middle."

The smooth laminations of the varves indicates that the water was quite calm, and that the lake (as a typical semi-tropical lake), was thermally and/or chemically stratified. Under such conditions, the lowest layer of water would become stagnant and lose its oxygen. With the exception of anaerobic bacteria, life could not have existed in this lower region.

Such microscopic organisms as spores, pollen grains, insect parts, and free swimming organisms settled into the ooze from the upper water layers. Reptiles and a bat have been collected along with fish from the Fossil Syncline Lake formation.

Through deposition of sediment, along with the pressure and heat resulting from the accumulation, the dead and trapped organisms became fossilized over millions of years.

12:10 P.M. Lunch was enjoyed in the park in Kemmerer through the courtesy of the Mayor. Several members of the trek took time to visit the first J. C. Penney store and the nearby Penney home.

1:20 P.M. We left Kemmerer on Highway 30N toward Sage Junction. A stop was made here (59 M.) where Mrs. Carl Ulrich pointed out the old ghost town of Twin Creek and the site of a trading post frequented by the Indians and early settlers.

1:45 P.M. We stopped at the Fossil Rest Area to read the legend and look at the bluffs from which have come fossilized fish, insects, snails, clams, a few birds and bats, palms and fern leaves. This area has been recommended for designation as Fossil Butte National Monument.

2:05 P.M. At Sage Junction (81 M.) we turned left on 89 and again left on a good county road which led us up a hill for four easy miles. When the road turned into a shepherd trail, we stopped on a bluff and looked down into North Bridger and Spring Creek Valley where evidence of the old trail, winding along at the foot of Bull Dog Mountain, could be seen across the valley.

GRAVE SPRINGS

By Earl Nebeker

Grave Springs is about one-eighth of a mile to the east and a little north of those alkali knolls you see across the valley. Why the word springs is used I do not know as there is just one spring which runs water. I have visited this spot many times in the past forty-five years and have seen only one spring. There is a bog at the foot of the "Alkie Noles" and a little to the west of them but they never run water. This bog may be the reason for the word springs.

The graves are about seventy-five yards due west from the headwater of the spring. At the turn of the century these graves could be clearly seen and there was a marker which read "Graves Unknown." There have been many conjectures about the word "unknown" but the most likely is that emigrants who died late one year were found and buried the next spring by early travelers.

This branch of the Oregon Trail was used in early spring or late fall. To the north another branch which went through a range of pine trees at an elevation of 9000 feet was usable only in midsummer between spring thaws and fall snows.

The emigrants using this trail which passed Grave Springs came up Little Muddy Creek to where it meets a hollow coming in from the west. This hollow is called Road Hollow probably because of the weaving of the road there. They then went over the Bear River—Green River divided just southwest of Elk Mountain and came down the North Fork of Bridger Creek which runs past Grave Springs.

Not much water ran in the creek but there were several small fresh water springs scattered every two or three miles along its route which made good camping grounds. They are nameless because evidently no tragedy occurred near them as did at Grave Springs, or Graves Spring, which would be more nearly correct. It is suggested that a permanent marker be placed at this spot to remind future visitors of the hazards endured by the emigrants one hundred years ago.

All this country we see before us is known as Bridger Basin.

BACK IN THE MOONSHINE DAYS

A story told by Earl Nebeker

Back in the moonshine days I was a young man working on a

ranch just south of here. Many an evening was spent watching the activity along the road as a number of stills operated near the springs on North Bridger and Spring Creeks.

High on the hill, moonshiners would flash lights to indicate that their product was ready. Responding signals would come from car lights along the highway to show that it was safe for the moonshiners to come out on the main road with their loads of whiskey. This Green River Whiskey was known far and wide for its excellence.

2:30 P.M. The trail paralleled the road as we returned to the highway which we crossed and then stopped at Bridger Rocks (90 M.), a series of low, sharp rocks along which the Oregon Trail once passed.

Some members of our party left us here and continued north to Cokeville to see an Oregon Trail monument erected by Ezra Meeker. They then went on to Border from where the trail went to Fort Hall. The trail paralleled the highway all the way but no traces can be seen today.

Since the gate to the Springs was chained shut, the rest of the trekkers went north on the highway and turned off on the Pope Ranch road (97 M.). We passed Succor Spring (101 M.), a large pool of fresh, flowing water in which watercress grew profusely. We caught only a glimpse of the spring, as there was no place to park on the narrow road.

SUCCOR SPRING

By Charles Guild

Succor Spring lies along the bank of the Bear River and flows from the foot of a hill into the river. What a beautiful sight it must have been for the weary emigrants who named it for what it meant to them.

I have excerpts from several diaries which mention this spring and the surrounding country which I shall read.

James John Diary, 1841. August 2. This day went about 12 miles up the same branch that we encamped on last night (probably Black's Fork) here one of the waggons broke down and we were obliged to camp until morning and mend it. We are in a small valley this evening surrounded by high hills and in sight of mountains on the right and left or north and south that are covered with snow some of which are perhaps more than one hundred miles off. (They were likely on the Little Muddy just before crossing the Bear River Divide.)

August 3. We traveled about 20 miles today over high hills and rough places and arrived at Bear River and encamped on its bank. The river is about 50 yards wide here and has a sandy bottom and no timber on its banks, excepting small willow, Killed one antelope

today (The high hills were likely the Bear River Divide and the rough places would be North Bridger Creek.)

August 5. We traveled 21 miles today on the bank of Bear River. There is high hills and mountains on each side of the river. (This could be near Cokeville.)

Bartleson & Bidwell Diary, 1843. Sunday, July 25. Left the rendezvous this morning—I will not omit to state the prices of several kinds of mountain goods. Powder which is sold by the cupful is worth \$1 per cup. Lead \$1.50 per lb. good Mackanaw Blankets 8 to 15 dollars, sugar \$1 per cupful, Pepper \$1 also, Cotton and Calico shirts from 3 to 5 \$, Rifles from 30 to 60; in return, you will receive dressed deer skins at \$3. Pants made of deer skins \$10, Beaver skins \$10 Moccasins \$1; flour 50 cents per cupful, Tobacco at \$2 per lb.

Monday Aug. 2. Retraced about 2 miles of yesterdays travel, and went up another defile, in order to find a practicable route across, the divide Between the waters of Green and Bear Rivers, Plenty of grass, good spring water, Distance 11 miles.”
(This must have been Little Muddy.)

Saturday July 7. This morning we were obliged to make an inland circuit from the River, the Bluffs approaching so near the river as to render it impossible to continue along its banks. We however reached it again by a most beautiful defile, and beautifully watered by a small rivulet proceeding from a spring.” (Perhaps Succor Springs.)

William Thompson Newley Diary, 1843. Aug. 14. We reached Fort Bridger at noon in 8 miles—lay by rest of day Mr. Careys daughter Katherine died.

Aug. 15. We bury the little girl and travel 8 miles and camp on a salty branch—poor grass. (Big Muddy, near Bridger Station.)

Aug. 16. We reached Muddy at noon. (This would be Little Muddy.)

Aug. 18. We crossed the divide between Muddy and Bear River. The worst road we have had hilley and steep gullies and sidling—the hills opposite are red. We camp at a fine spring.” (Could be Grave Springs.)

P. B. Reading Diary, 1843. Aug. 14. Came 12 miles up stream and camped near Fort Bridger a small temporary Fort built by a Mr. Bridger and old trapper 12 miles W. SW.

Aug. 15. Left camp late and proceeded over a rough rocky country for about 12 miles when we camped on a small creek with salt water. (Probably Albert Creek at Bridger Gap.)

Aug. 16. Continued up the stream and camped near its source at

a good spring of cold water 17 miles 5° north of west. (Cold Spring on Little Muddy.)

Aug. 18. Down this creek about 8 miles to Bear River, a stream 20 yds wide, 3 to 5 feet deep, rapid running NW to a beautiful valley from 5 to 6 miles wide. Here a large and beautiful Spring from the bluffs on the east side of Bear River. (Succor Spring.) From this spring made 5 miles in the afternoon.

Rev. Edward Parrish Diary, 1844. Aug. 30, Friday. We had a fine frost last night. We are now in sight of mountains covered with snow. (Uintas). We camped last night with the Indians. Our stock all grazed together—the Indians well behaved. We got an early start and drove to half past 3 o'clock and camped near the Green River Fort Known as Bridger's Fort.

Sept. 1. Sunday clear and frosty—made a good start and drove long and hard and camped on a small creek with very high banks and plenty of watter. (Little Muddy.)

Sept. 5. We start down Bear River a very pretty little stream in some respects to that of the Green River. They say good grass along it. Some passed a large spring. (Succor Spring.) The road lies down the valley of this beautiful river—the best that we have traveled—made a great days drive and camped near the Indians.

Theodore Talbet Diary, 1844. Aug. 30. Came nearly west along Black's Fork passing the bluff on which Vasquizes and Bridger's houses are built. We found them deserted and dismantled. They are built of logs, plastered wood need.

John Boardman Diary, 1843. Aug. 14. Lying by at the Fort (Bridger)—All companies came up—don't know where to go.

Aug. 16. Lying by.

Aug. 17. Started for Bear River, Road bad.

Aug. 18. Camped at sunset on Bear River.

Aug. 20. Lay by—went hunting.

Aug. 25. Traded guns for horses with Indians—some talking of going to California via Fort Hall—no.

3:30 P.M. After leaving Succor Spring we returned to the highway which took us through Utah. Miles of dark green wire grass and remains of coal mines were seen along the way.

5:15 P.M. A stop was made at Almy (146 M.) where we all went in the little Mormon church to listen to the story of Almy.

ALMY, WYOMING

By Charles Guild

Told by Dorothea Guild

Almy, located about three and one-half miles north of Evanston,

was once a booming coal camp. The first coal was mined by the Bear River Coal Company in September, 1868, from the mine later known as No. 2.

The Bear River Company consolidated with the Rocky Mountain Coal Company in 1870 to be known as the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company. They built a "Y" from Almy to Evanston to furnish coal for the Union Pacific Railroad.

In 1875 the Union Pacific Railroad Company took over the Wyoming Coal and Mining Company, and went into the mining business itself. This made two big companies operating in Almy, which had a population of 5000 at that time. Each company had its own store and seven mines were operating.

The first miners were white men from England and Scotland, then came 700 Chinese, brought in by the Rocky Mountain Company. The Union Pacific Company followed suit by bringing in 1200 Chinese. However, after the Chinese Massacre at Rock Springs in 1885, only white men were employed at Almy.

In 1881 the No. 2 Mine exploded, killing nine white men and twenty Chinese. This explosion was followed by others with more deaths, and the mines became known as the most dangerous in the West because of firedamp and explosive dust. When the women heard the dreaded fire sirens they got out big boilers which they filled with grease and hurried to the mines.

No. 3 Mine, the last to shut down, operated until 1920, when mining at Almy stopped. All that is left of old Almy is the cemetery, a burning mine, slack dumps and memories.

5:45 P.M. We returned to Evanston (151 M.)

7:00 P.M. The Uinta County Chopter arranged a typical western style chuck wagon dinner for us. The food was excellent and the program appropriate. Chief Riddle of the Osage tribe wore the costume of a Medicine Man. He and two Indian maidens, Natalie Fresques and Diana Sather, repeated the Lord's Prayer in Indian sign language. After the program the visitors went down town to see many historical items displayed in store windows.

SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1968

Caravan: 17 cars, 58 participants

The Overland, California and Mormon Trail left Fort Bridger on a route south of Interstate 80. Today we followed the trail in reverse as we traveled back to Fort Bridger from Evanston. Guides: Charles Guild, A. B. Hopkinson, Jim Guild. Mileage begins at Evanston.

7:30 A.M. We met promptly at the Court House and by 7:45 were on our way on State Highway 2100 which follows the Bear

River. At 8 M. we passed an Overland Stage marker and at 9 M. saw the place on the left where Johnston's Army camped in 1857. The trail can still be seen there.

8:05 A.M. We stopped at Myers Crossing (10 M.) where members of the Meyers family have lived since 1857.

BEAR RIVER CROSSING

By J. Wesley Myers

(This is known as the Myers Crossing of the Bear River because my grandfather, John Myers, settled here in 1857 after having spent three years in the Salt Lake Valley. He came back here, no doubt, because of the opportunity to make a living from the "tourist trade" of that day. The enterprise probably began with repair work and blacksmith service and developed into furnishing food and other supplies, fresh horses and oxen, board and lodging.)

According to Ripley, the Bear is the longest river in the world which does not empty into an ocean. It meanders some 460 miles through Wyoming, Utah and Idaho before it reaches the Great Salt Lake which is only sixty miles from the head of the river in the first place. I do not know who named the Bear River.

(The emigrant trail came straight down the low gravel hill from Sulfur Creek just a little north of the present oiled road and passed north of the present ranch buildings. Since the Bear River bottom was very good quality mud during much of the year it was graded slightly even during the trail days and the grading can still be seen in places. It is hard to say just where the Myers Crossing was at that time since the river has changed its course. At any rate it was considerably east of where it is now, running in the old channel which can still be seen.)

(The westward travel with horses and oxen and on foot got under way in volume about 1847 and lasted until the advent of the railroad which reached here in 1868. As far as we know no one lived on this part of the trail until my grandfather came. He built an el-shaped, three-room log house, an adobe building for a bellows forge and a horse barn, all with dirt roofs. The travelers slept in their wagons, though meals were always available in the house. Later he added a pole corral for a horse pasture. His fence was different from the regular buck fence most ranchers built, probably because he was a carpenter. His method was to drill large holes opposite from each other in a pair of posts, then drive a length of pole between them, creating a sort of ladder effect.) These double posts were then set and pine poles placed from one to the next. These were used before barbed wire.

(A bridge was also built here at the crossing. As near as I can tell it was a log bridge with a rock-filled pier in the middle and a hewn log floor. This was a toll bridge, at least in high water time,

and the fee was \$1.50 per wagon. Some say John Myers manned it with a rifle.)

(When the railroad was completed, he built a hotel at the new town of Hilliard and ran it as a business until the Altamont tunnel cut Hilliard off the railroad and he was left without tourists. He moved the hotel, or at least enough of it to make a large, two-story frame house, back to the Bear River ranch and went into the cattle business in earnest. He did well enough at it to earn one of the first two selections from Wyoming in the Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma.)

John had had an exciting life before he settled on the Bear. Born in England, he was apprenticed to a blacksmith and a carpenter before he came to New Orleans. From there he went to St. Louis and on to Florence, Nebraska, which was the jumping-off place for the Saints on their Westward trek. He was proud to think he could furnish his own outfit of cattle and wagons without recourse to PEF—Perpetual Emigration Fund.

(Probably in June of 1854, he reached the crossing of the Bear River. As there were no homestead laws at the time, he established himself on the basis of "squatter's rights," which he successfully defended. His skill was very valuable to the trains coming through. The wagon traffic was continually increasing so the business prospered. He established a basis of trade whereby he traded one rested, fattened animal for two tired ones. The business was very lucrative.)

(There was no doubt but that he was a Mormon. It is reported that he had five women, but it is not quite clear just what their status was. Anyway, he eliminated three of them and the other two were maintained as wives. Sometime in 1860 he married my mother who was in residence at the establishment of Brigham Young as a seamstress. One of the wives had three children and my mother had five.)

John Myers was an active churchman during the early part of his life. He obtained quite a high rank in the Mormon Priesthood. I have a certificate of his appointment as a Seventy and there is a report that he was one of the Seven Presidents of the Seventy, which is part of the ruling Priesthood. During the period of my acquaintance with him he had nothing to do with the church, for what reason I do not know.

He died at his ranch home May 27, 1901, and is buried in the cemetery in Evanston.

(8:20 A.M. After listening to the paper everyone walked up a little hill to the grave of Mary Lewis who was born in Scotland in 1828 and died on a handcart expedition. A new headstone marks the spot but an older stone lies broken beside it. The relatives who placed the new stone have their names chisled on the back of it.)

8:45 A.M. We stopped at the site of old Bear River City (11 M.)

where we could see traces of the trail as it comes down the little hollow back of the old town site from Aspen Mountain.

BEAR RIVER CITY

By Margaret McAllister

(The little settlement of Gilmer which nestled in this valley was founded in 1867 by timber drivers, tree choppers and their families. Here they lived in peace for a year.)

(Upon the arrival of the railroad, General Champitt, special mail agent, was requested to have the name of the town changed to the more significant one of Bear River City, for the nearby river. This posed a problem as there was already Bear River North in Utah. However, the name was changed and the people were advised that they "no longer need thirteen-cent envelopes to enrich the swindlers but Uncle Sam's three-cent postage on letters and two cents on papers will grant ingress and egress to communications to or from Bear River City, Wyoming Territory.")

Bear River City soon became the liveliest, if not the wickedest town in America. (At least 2000 people were as busy as bees selling liquor, banking, trading and pursuing business generally in genuine frontier style. One hundred forty buildings quickly went up and the town was laid out along several streets.)

(The tracks of the Union Pacific were brought into Bear Town on the Sabbath morning of December 6, 1868. Editor Legh Freeman of *The Frontier Index* prophesied that the town would become a solid, permanent one, but this did not prove to be true. The railroad company, refusing to put in a switch at Bear River, ruined it from a business point of view.)

Ruffians and a riot put the finishing touch to the town. With the advent of the railroad came 500 men, roughs and gamblers, who had been driven from point to point westward and they were tired of this. They decided to make a stand so took to the hills to make their plans for a raid on the town.

(Some of the roughs remained in town, robbing the mails, attacking people on the streets in broad daylight and pillaging the stores. Three of these roughs were noted garroters who had added to their long list of crimes that of murder. The law-abiding citizens became angry and suggested hanging the trouble makers which they did. On Wednesday morning, November 11, three notorious robbers, Jack O'Neil, Jimmy Powers and Jimmy Reed, were found hanging to a beam in front of the unfinished jail on Sulphur Street.)

The Index applauded. It stated that the citizens were justified in administering sure and speedy retribution and warned that the ring leaders would be hanged if found in town by midnight of Friday, November 13.

This hastened the conflict and (on November 19 three hundred roughs attacked the town in force. The attack was repulsed by

the citizens but not until the Bear River Riot cost eleven or sixteen lives, including that of one citizen.) *The Frontier Index* was wiped out, but Freeman escaped with his life. By the time soldiers arrived from Fort Bridger the ruffians had abandoned the city and order was restored.

It is hard to believe that this peaceful little valley was once the scene of such horrible times. Today no sign of a town can be found.

9:10 A.M. We left on the highway but turned left in one-half mile on a gravel road. At 13 M. the old Hilliard railroad station was on our right. To our left were two charcoal kilns.

9:45 A.M. From Hilliard we traveled on the old U. P. roadbed up Bear River Divide to the summit once called Tapioca (21 M.). It was here that the helper engines were turned around after their hard steep climb from the east. Aspen Stage Station on the Overland Trail was located below the hill, and the trail which the Donner Party used is on the sky line ridge.

10:15 A.M. We departed on the roadbed for Piedmont (28 M.)

PIEDMONT—PROFILE OF A GHOST TOWN

Written by Clifford C. Stuart, Jr. Read by Nancy Wallace

Perhaps no other event in the history of the West had so great an influence on so many lives as that of the completion of the trans-continental railroad. All along the length of the tracks, towns sprang up, some permanent, others just end-of-track towns. Piedmont was one of the latter.

A couple of years before the coming of the railroad, logging operations had been set up south of the townsite to furnish ties for the roadbed. Logs and ties were hauled by teams to the site of Piedmont, then a town of some twenty tents. When the tracks were laid up the winding eight-mile stretch of Aspen Mountain it was readily apparent that the heavy trains were going to need helper engines to get to the summit of the mountain. Sidings, an engine shed and water tank were constructed and the tent town became a wood and water refueling station.

The first permanent residents were the families of Moses Byrne and Charles Guild. Since the sisters of the two families, Hattie Byrne and Mary Guild, had come from Piedmont, Italy, the town was named in its honor. Moses Byrne went into the charcoal business with his four large kilns and Charles Guild operated a mercantile business.

Piedmont achieved national fame when 300 graders and tie cutters, who had been discharged but not paid, piled ties on the tracks and halted the special train, carrying Dr. Durant, financial wizard and vice president of the Union Pacific Railroad, and other prominent officials on their way to the golden spike ceremony at

Promontory Point in Utah. Durant pleaded and argued but the angry men were adamant. The car would remain on the siding until the \$200,000 in back pay was paid in cash. Durant telegraphed east and west. Redfaced and highly perturbed, he sent a telegram to Promontory Point stating that his delegation could not possibly reach the Point before May 10. Finally the money arrived and Durant's car was coupled onto another train and proceeded on to Promontory Point, three days later. On May 10, 1869, the Golden Spike was driven, thus completing the nation's first trans-continental railroad.

In Piedmont as in many of the early railroad towns killings were frequent. One involved an engineer of one of the helper engines who killed a Chinaman in a card game. He is said to have carried the body over to his engine, stuffed it into the firebox and burned it on his way back to Leroy to pick up another train.

Old timers will tell also of two men getting off the train and dragging a man out of a saloon into the street. When the man wriggled loose, they shot him in the back, climbed on the train and left. This man, a complete stranger, was buried on the hill back of the hotel with other unfortunate victims. Joseph Canary, Calamity Jane's father, who was said to have been gunned down in a Piedmont saloon, lies in an unmarked grave nearby.

Indians also played a part in the history of Piedmont. A small hunting party of Sioux kidnapped Eddie Byrne while he was playing near his home. One summer day two years later, the noble Chief Washakie of the Shoshones, rode into town and handed the stunned Moses Byrne his now four-year-old son.

The Guild store did much credit business with the Shoshones and their ledgers show that every Indian account was paid in full. Washakie contended that a man's word was his law, and when a brave promised to pay for something he had received, he paid or was killed.

About 1900, the Union Pacific began digging the Aspen tunnel through Aspen Mountain. The railroad was rerouted from Leroy to the tunnel, missing Piedmont by several miles. Piedmont was stranded and its demise began. The population dropped from 200 to about thirty-five persons. The last resident of the town was William Taylor, a sheepherder who froze to death in the blizzard of 1949.

Piedmont, however, left its legacy. Seven thousand dollars from a Union Pacific train robbery was never recovered and is thought to be buried somewhere in the area. Also, part of Butch Cassidy's Montpelier bank robbery loot is supposedly buried around the town. Much of the area has been dug up and the remaining buildings have had their floors, walls and ceilings torn out. Ash dumps have been carefully sifted, and old foundations and holes of basements thoroughly probed. Parts of opium pipes and other Chinese relics, old bottles and newspapers of the 1900s have been found.

A man with a metal detector is supposed to have picked up three twenty dollar gold pieces, touching off another thorough probing of the townsite. What remnants are left will be reduced still further by man's lust for riches and his desire to find a link to the past. Piedmont is now occupied by her most faithful resident, the biting Wyoming wind.

10:50 A.M. In one-half mile we stopped to investigate huge stone cones, the charcoal ovens built in 1869 by Moses Byrne to furnish charcoal to the settlers.

11:00 A.M. We soon crossed the trail, saw a grave marker on the bank of Muddy Creek and turned right on the old Lincoln Highway at the Piedmont sign. The Uintas, the only mountain range in the United States to run east and west, formed a spectacular background for our last talk (39 M.).

HAYSTACK BUTTE

By Charles Guild

Haystack Butte is about six miles west of Fort Bridger to the south of the old California-Overland-Mormon pioneer trail. It can be seen by travelers today from Interstate 80 while crossing the Bridger Bench west of the Fort. From where we stand the Butte is that small round knoll about four miles directly south with the beautiful Uinta Mountains for a distant background.

In the spring of 1857 Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston's Army started its march from winter quarters at Fort Bridger to Salt Lake City. They traveled the old Pioneer Road near the foot of Haystack Butte. The winter before, Lot Smith had left twenty-two of his young Mormon Scouts in Grass Hollow about twenty miles west of the Fort to watch for developments and report any activity to the Saints.

As the Army was passing the Butte these young men rode their horses and mules around the Butte. Keeping a steady string of riders in sight of the Army at all times, they changed mounts, coats and hats before coming in sight of the Army again. Their formations also changed from columns of three or four abreast to one or two side by side. By this strategy they hoped to make Colonel Johnston believe they had more men than they did.

Several years ago when I was telling of this incident on this same spot, I said that I had often heard the story but did not have any proof of its validity. An elderly lady in the group spoke up, "Oh yes, that is true." At that moment a heavy rain fell, everyone ran for their cars and I did not get her name. I tried later but was unable to locate her.

When I was telling the story again to a group of eastern tourists, a young man in a ranger's uniform stepped up and said, "That

story is true. My great grandfather was one of those Mormon scouts." I then confirmed the story with L.D.S. Church records.

Some time ago while watching this Haystack Butte episode on a Salt Lake TV show I was amused. Another elderly lady told that her grandfather was with Johnston's Army. She ended her remarks with, "There were hundreds of those men. My grandfather saw them."

11:35 A.M. We returned to Interstate 80, turned right for Fort Bridger (4 M.) where we visited the museum, the old buildings and cemetery on the grounds. Our last picnic under the trees was enjoyed before we bade farewell to our Uinta County hosts and friends.

Many requests were made to travel the Oregon Trail again. Since Trek No. I was on the Oregon Trail in 1953 it was pointed out that a new generation of historically minded people could be interested.

As in the past, space limitations make it necessary to condense some of the papers which were read on the Trek. However, the complete original manuscripts are on file at the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne.

TREK PARTICIPANTS

CHEYENNE

Rosalind Bealey
Mr. and Mrs. James Boan and Kelley
R. H. Bray
Maurine Carley
Mary Carpenter
Bill Dubois
Dr. Ralph Gramlich
Jane Hunt Houston
Eleanor R. Thompson
Meda Walker

Mrs. Philip Myers
Mr. E. D. Nebeker
Lela Nubarger
Frances Painter
Mrs. James Robbins
O. Lloyd Sanderson
Nancy G. Wallace
Lt. Leonard E. Wold
Bertha Bulingos

GREEN RIVER

Eunice Hutton
William Hutton
Mary W. Melonek
Mr. and Mrs. Adrian Reynolds and
Helen
Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Wright

DOUGLAS

Lyle Hildebrand

EVANSTON

Mr. and Mrs. G. Hobart Chapman
Charles Guild
Dorothea Guild
Ralph Harvey
Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Hopkinson
Ethel Kelly
Mrs. Edison Lee and Cindy
Margaret McAllister
Rea Morrow
Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Myers

KEMMERER

James E. Hall
Mr. and Mrs. Carl Ulrich
Gail and Wallace Ulrich

POINT OF ROCKS

Mr. and Mrs. Ed Varley and children

RAWLINS

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Lambertsen

ROCK SPRINGS

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Chadey

Dorothy Harmon

Mr. and Mrs. Sam Leckie

SARATOGA

Deborah Chastain

Henry Tlohe

Lois Teter

OUT OF STATE

Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Black,
Colorado

Stuart Mitchell, California

B. Weller, California

Pierre LaBonte, Jr., Massachusetts

Mr. and Mrs. E. G. Larson, Ohio

Virginia Layton, Utah

Wyoming State Historical Society

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

By

CURTISS ROOT

The purpose of the Wyoming State Historical Society as set forth by Article II of its constitution is "to collect and preserve all possible data and materials including historical relics relating to the history of Wyoming and illustrative of the progress and development of the state; to promote the study and preservation of such data and materials and to encourage in every way possible interest in Wyoming History." The Wyoming Historical Foundation was created in order to serve as a gathering agency for private funds and historical items to be used to strengthen the activities of the State Society in its program of collecting, preserving and interpreting our historical heritage.

Each of us as an individual member working with his County Chapter can help promote the Historical Foundation by informing the public of its purposes and needs. The Foundation cannot begin to function properly until it has sufficient funds to enable it to undertake any worthwhile project. We can all help by informing individuals, businessmen, corporations or other foundations of the goals and urgent needs of the Historical Foundation. There are considerable sums of money which could be channeled into this worthwhile project and it is up to us who are interested in preserving Wyoming's heritage to uncover such funds.

The Foundation can accept gifts, donations, bequests, or be named as beneficiary of a policy of insurance, an annuity or trust fund. It is a non-profit organization and any contribution will be tax exempt. It has also been suggested that contributions may be made through memorial funds honoring pioneers, well-known persons or any individual. Contributions could also be made in honor of some person still living. A limited number of letters have been mailed to potential industrial company contributors by the Foundation Committee. Donations have resulted from a few of these letters and some replies indicated interest in further information on activities of the Foundation, especially specific projects for which the money will be used.

The membership of the Foundation consists of members in good standing of the Wyoming State Historical Society, each of whom has one vote in the election of a board of directors which control the internal affairs of the corporation. These directors serve without compensation in any form and have the authority to designate

where the money will be used, subject to the approval of the State Historical Society, and will also cooperate and collaborate with the Wyoming State Library, Archives and Historical Board and the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department.

There are a great many needs that could be handled if our Society had adequate funds with which to work. County and state organizations involved with projects, with no support from budgeted public funds, could be aided greatly in basic work of preserving material of historical significance. Funds would enable the Society to more effectively cooperate with educational facilities, underwrite informational brochures or booklets, and finance research in some selected cases. Funds would also enable the Society to set up more activities to stimulate interest of young people in Wyoming history through achievement awards and special educational programs. Historically-correct movies for schools and the general public, traveling historical museums, and acquisition of historical properties which otherwise might be drained off to outside museums are just a few of the other things that could be done if sufficient funds were available. Several collections of historical significance have left the state and old stage stations, other historical buildings, old landmarks, and remnants of the old trails have been destroyed or allowed to collapse into the dust from lack of interest or funds to preserve them.

It is hoped that the Foundation funds can be built up until the income will provide for the preservation of these historic sites and objects for which funds are not otherwise available. We have more going for us than just asking for contributions, as do many organizations. Aside from the educational and cultural aspects, there is certain promotional value in Wyoming history. True, many people need to be awakened to the true significance of preserving the great history of this state but investigations have shown that tourists traveling throughout our country place value on historical attractions second only to our magnificent scenery and parks.

Through the Wyoming Historical Foundation the machinery has been set up to enable us to help preserve our historical heritage for future generations and it is up to us to help put this machinery in operation.

Contributions may be deposited to the Wyoming Historical Foundation account at the Wyoming National Bank, P. O. Box 971, Casper, Wyoming 82601.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Jackson, Wyoming

September 7-8, 1968

Registration for the fifteenth annual meeting began at 7:30 P. M., Friday, September 6, in the lower level of the Jackson State Bank. The members then visited the Jackson Hole Museum, courtesy of the Teton County Historical Society.

The business meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society was called to order at 9:15 A. M. by Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, 2nd Vice President. President Adrian Reynolds, who had suddenly become ill, was in the Jackson hospital. When Curtiss Root, 1st Vice President, arrived, he took the chair. The meeting was held in the lower level of the Jackson State Bank with seventy-five persons present.

Miss Eunice Hutton moved that the reading of the minutes for the 1967 annual meeting be dispensed with as copies were available. The motion passed.

Mr. Root appointed Rolla Bray and Ralph Geddes to serve on the auditing committee. Mrs. Violet Hord and Miss Clarice Whittenburg were appointed to serve on the Resolutions Committee. The tellers appointed to count the ballots for the new officers were Miss Eunice Hutton, chairman, Dr. T. A. Larson and Mrs. George Graf.

The Treasurer gave the following report which was placed on file for audit:

TREASURER'S REPORT

September 9, 1967 - September 7, 1968

Cash and investments on hand September 7, 1967			\$17,626.51
Receipts			
Dues		\$ 4,066.50	
Sales			
Hunton Diaries	\$ 14.00		
Pinettes	6.10	20.10	
Interest		797.16	
Gift		25.00	4,908.76
Disbursements			
Annals of Wyoming		\$ 2,839.40	
Postage for Department	\$472.00		
Postage, phone for Society	53.66	525.66	
Printing, envelopes		103.06	
Historic Trek		179.24	
Officers' expenses		293.75	
Secretary allowance		120.00	
Committee expenses		5.00	
Annual meeting in Cheyenne		225.00	
Miscellaneous			
Bond \$5; Sec. of State \$1,			
Bank Checks		7.90	

Awards			
Scholarship: Glenn Burkes,			
Teton County	300.00		
Grant-in-Aid: Eugene Galloway,			
Dull Knife Site	100.00	400.00	
Junior Historians		66.13	
Refund to county, over-payment			
of dues		1.50	\$ 4,766.64
			<hr/>
			17,768.63
ASSETS			
Savings			
\$10,000 certificate		10,000.00	
Federal Building and Loan		883.06	
Capitol Savings - Life memberships		4,110.85	
Federal Buildings and Loan,			
Bishop Fund		351.57	
Cheyenne Federal		1,488.32	
		16,833.80	
Cash - First National checking			
account		934.83	
		17,768.63	
Cash and investments on hand			
Sept. 7, 1968			\$17,768.63
MEMBERSHIP			
	1967	1968	
Annual members	1049	1246	
Life members	52	54	

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

(Because of Mr. Reynold's illness, he did not give the following report at the Annual meeting, but it is published here as he prepared it.)

The success of this past year of the Wyoming State Historical Society must be measured in the reports of the committees and the chapters. Certainly our junior awards program has gained, for we have, I am told, eleven schools of the state competing, a record number. The society has gained one new chapter—Crook county.

You will note that this year, the verbal reports of chapters have been limited to three minutes, with the complete report to be filed. I believe this will make a more interesting report period and will allow all chapters to present reports on the floor of the annual meeting.

I want to especially commend Hattie Burnstad for the wonderful work in securing interest of school children of the state in historical research and recommend that the Society make every effort to continue her program. At Green River, Bill Thomson piloted historical writing in his high school Social Studies class, and this should be noted.

Partly through my own fault, the foundation drive has not fully

progressed but I do believe we should put our shoulders to the wheel to help it grow. Chairman Bille found it difficult to function, he reports, because of scattered executive committee membership, and because of his company's demands upon his time. It is to be noted that any person carrying on such work and at the same time earning his livelihood elsewhere is faced by difficulties.

During the year, the executive board decided to hold the society Foundation Fund until it reaches \$20,000 before any additional disbursement is made.

Because of rising cost of *Annals*, including postage increases, we should further investigate the dues structure in order to meet the obligation without digging into reserve funds.

During the year, I was able to visit only five chapters other than my own: Laramie, Albany, Washakie, Fremont and Uinta. For a person who is in business, the tremendous mileage and expense involved really calls for the president and officers to make district visitations rather than to individual chapters. We tried the district meeting in Big Horn basin, however, without very good cooperation. Distance, business and weather combined at times to keep me home when I intended to travel. One thing is obvious: The change in society officers occurs in the middle of the year of most chapters, so that it is hard to coordinate policies and activities. If chapter and state officers could be elected at about the same time, the new chapter officers could attend the state meeting and be able to start in the fall on new activities and to complete their year's work at the same time as does the state society. The present discrepancies in dates of terms of offices make it hard on state officials.

By invitation, I represented the state society at the dedication of the Trappers' National Landmark in Sublette county.

The president is now automatically a member of the governor's advisory committee on national historic sites, to act with the Recreation Commission in recommending landmarks and historical sites to the federal government. No meetings were held while I have served as president.

I served as chairman of the western meeting of the John Wesley Powell Centennial group, held in Green River. Delegates were in attendance from Washington, D. C., California, Utah and Wyoming, including U. S. Geological Survey, National Park Service, BLM, USBR, U. S. Wildlife, Utah and Wyoming state historical societies, Sierra Club and other groups, including Wyoming's state travel and recreation commissions. The latter have pledged their full cooperation. The national observance officially opens at Green River May 24, 1969. Dr. Cooley of Utah, R. W. Davis of Sierra Club and myself are co-chairmen. I respectfully ask that the Society allow me to represent it on this committee.

Only through the close cooperation of our secretary-treasurer and of our executive secretary have affairs of the society been kept

moving, for which I thank them. I believe the Society owes them a really sincere vote of thanks.

I have been honored by being able to serve you as president during the past year, and will continue to serve whenever needed, within my capabilities and availability.

OFFICER'S REPORTS

Executive Secretary Neal Miller explained the organization of the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department. He introduced the department personnel who were present.

Curtiss Root, chairman of Projects Committee, reported that he had given a news release to the press about the Historical Foundation Fund.

Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, chairman of the Awards Committee, said she had sent letters to the president of each county chapter suggesting that they look for qualified candidates for awards. She also sent letters to all Social Science English teachers in Wyoming suggesting they incorporate the historical program in their class work. There were twenty-three entries in the junior historical contest. She suggested that the date of August 1 for entries be changed to an earlier date.

Miss Carley explained the cost of the trek. Several expenses are necessary—such as mileage and time for exploratory trips (local people who know the area have to go out and locate the old trails), postage for the schedules which are sent to many people, phone, films and photographs.

CHAPTER REPORTS

Complete reports are filed in the Society executive headquarters. Only highlights are given here.

Weston County: (read by Lucille Dumbrill) The chapter handed in a beautifully typed report with pictures and newspaper clippings. This showed they have been very active discovering, gathering and preserving history. They are especially proud of their mobile museum van.

Uinta County: On July 12, 13, and 14, State Historical Society members were guests of the Uinta County chapter for a trek which followed the Oregon Trail through Uinta County and also part of the Mormon Trail and original railroad route of the Union Pacific in the southern end of the county. The trek ended with a visit to Fort Bridger. The county organization was happy to host this interesting trek.

Washakie County: Mrs. Burnstad announced that their new museum is entirely staffed by volunteer help. They hope to get the old post office building for the museum.

Teton County: Mr. Hayden told that the Teton County Historical Society had saved the Miller homestead cabin on the National Elk Refuge from being burned. A volunteer group cleaned the premises and a cyclone fence was placed around the building by the Refuge. They hope to have the place made an historic site.

Sweetwater County: (read by Eunice Hutton) The Sweetwater County chapter takes special pride in the fact that it spearheaded the drive for a museum. Four hundred guests were entertained at an open house for the museum located in the new courthouse. Their anniversary dinner was brought in potluck style by the women.

Sheridan County: (read by Mrs. Hila Gilbert) April 27, 1968, will be remembered as one of the most noteworthy dates in the history of the chapter for it marked the opening of the restored and remodeled saloon and lobby of the Sheridan Inn. On June 23, 1967, the Inn was purchased by Neltje Kings, wife of a local artist and rancher. As a registered National Historic Site, it will be developed and furnished in authentic style.

Park County: Lucille Patrick said that all programs given at their meetings are taped and copies are sent to the State Archives and Historical Department. Each program includes honoring an "Oldtimer of the Month". They enjoy two local treks every year.

Platte County: No report.

Natrona County: (read by Rose Mary Malone) Focus has been placed on assisting the Foundation Fund. Several memorials have been given to the Fund. For one program slides of Indian drawings in the area of Castle Gardens were shown by Henry Jensen.

Laramie County: (read by Bill Dubois) As usual one meeting of the year was held in one of the smaller towns in the county. This year the meeting was held in Carpenter where the members heard about homesteading in the area. They visited an old barn filled with antiques of every description.

Lincoln County: Although the county chapter is not yet organized, three interested prospective members attended the Jackson meeting.

Johnson County: Reverend Stuart Frazier announced that the chapter is looking for an authentic chuck wagon which has been used on round-ups. They hope to display this in Buffalo. Senior citizens are honored at their meetings.

Goshen County: Mrs. Dorothy Keenan announced that Goshen County has the doubtful distinction of going in the red about \$400. Through an unusual circumstance they now have everything for a

museum but no place to house it. They did enjoy a picnic at a ranch and a two-day trek to Saratoga in June even though in snow.

Fremont County: (read by Oscar Deal) The chapter enjoyed the official visit of the State President, Adrian Reynolds, who braved a very bad winter storm to meet with them. His talk was informative and instructive. The chapter welcomed his suggestions.

Crook County: (read by Maurine Carley) This chapter was organized in June 1968. Already they are making plans for a museum and the membership is enthusiastic.

Carbon County: (read by Mrs. Ralph Geddes) Regular meetings are preceded by carry-in dinners with the meat dish furnished by the host couples. The chapter took an active part in the Centennial activity in Rawlins. Mrs. Geddes, chapter president, has visited every 4th and 8th grade in Rawlins to speak on the history of Carbon County.

Campbell County: (read by Dorothy Van Buggenum) The Society has made several trips to study nearby petroglyphs, Scoria boulders and an unusual deposit of animal bones. They have decided that historians would do well to delve into some phase of prehistoric research.

Big Horn County: No report.

Albany County: Mr. Burton Marston reported that the event of the year was the formal opening of the Laramie Plains Museum on May 18, 1968. He amazed the group when he told that \$50,000 was obtained through wills, memorials and donations given for the museum.

Mr. Miller added that the growing interest in museums is probably due to the potential financial assistance from the Federal government. He advised the members to decide what they wanted to collect and said the Department would be glad to help with procedures, preservation processes and exhibit methods.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

Trek. Bill Dubois said that the treks were among the obviously worthwhile activities of the Society. People from all over the state as well as from other states enjoy them. He asked that treks on the Oregon, Mormon, Bozeman and other old trails be repeated as a new generation is now becoming interested in the history of our State and many have missed the former treks.

Scholarship Committee. Dr. T. A. Larson announced that anyone seeking a Grant-in-Aid or a Scholarship should write to the Society's Executive Secretary for the forms that need to be filled out. Grants-in-Aid amount to \$300 of which \$100 is paid at the

beginning of the project and \$200 at its satisfactory completion. Scholarships amount to \$500 of which \$200 is paid at the beginning and \$300 at the end. Two men at present are working under the Scholarship program—William Barnhart and Robert Murray. Two others, Gordon Chappell and Eugene Galloway, are receiving Grant-in-Aid funds.

Foundation Fund. (read by Mr. Miller for Ed Bille) Contributions amounting to \$1,000 to date have been deposited in the Wyoming National Bank in Casper. No withdrawals can be made until 1970, and then only upon action and approval of the Executive Committee of the Wyoming State Historical Society. Mr. Bille suggested that a small working committee be appointed immediately to set up a program for eventual use of the Foundation funds. If individual Society chapters will concentrate on making memorial collections, substantial amounts will result.

Mr. Bray announced that the treasurer's books were correct and in good order.

Mrs. Dumbrell, president of the Weston County Chapter, invited the Society to hold its annual meeting in Newcastle in 1969. Burton Marston moved that the invitation be accepted. Motion carried.

Interesting discussions followed. Dr. Larson advised the group to be aware that the Wyoming Historical Institute was not connected with the Wyoming State Historical Society. Mr. Miller advised that valuable material should be microfilmed to provide security copy if the original might be destroyed. A lively discussion took place over the use of the \$17,000 in the savings account of the Society. Some thought county chapters should borrow from it, others thought money might be given to chapters for projects. However, it was decided not to touch the savings until it at least reached \$20,000.

The meeting adjourned at noon.

The afternoon was spent on a scenic trip to Grand Teton Park, Jenny Lake and Coulter Bay. The weather was perfect. Everyone was happy to see Wyoming beauty spots as well as the museums along the way.

DINNER MEETING

After the Invocation by the Reverend Stuart Frazier, Mr. Miller introduced the people at the head table. He then read a note from Mr. Reynolds regretting that he could not be present.

During the dinner Nancy Miller, a folk singer, entertained the guests as she strolled from table to table. She wore an attractive brown costume which she had made from Wyoming sheepskin.

The speaker of the evening was the Honorable Harry Clissold, mayor of Jackson for twenty-eight years. He said, "he served well over 150 years in civic endeavor." He told of old times in

Jackson—homesteading, hunting and fishing and suggested that everyone try homesteading sometime.

The state was well represented and members were proud to stand for their county as the roll was called.

Mr. Root presented the following junior historian awards:

1st place (Senior High School) - Anne Marie Olson, Sheridan, \$25.

2nd place (Senior High School) - Toni Horton, Green River, \$10.

3rd place (Senior High School) - Bobby Gordon, Green River, Book.

1st place (Junior High School) - Susan Dillinger, Buffalo, \$25.

2nd place (Junior High School) - Lynn Wilkinson, Rock River, \$10.

3rd place (Junior High School) - Janet Anesi, Lander, Book.

Mothers, fathers, grandparents and teachers of the young historians were present.

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

Dr. T. A. Larson for compiling and publishing *Bill Nye's Western Humor*. (Laramie)

Burton Hill for his publication of a series of articles, *On the Platte and North*. (Buffalo)

Mabel Brown for a series of articles published in a Wyoming magazine. (Newcastle)

Clarice Whittenburg for the radio script, *Portrait of a Pioneer City*. (Laramie)

Robert Edgar for the establishment of a private museum of early ranch relics. (Cody)

Boy Scout Troop 62 of Casper for the preservation of historical sites.

First National Bank of Laramie for the use of historical material in advertising.

Department of Speech and Drama. University of Wyoming, for radio presentation of historical material. (Laramie)

Yvonne Sedgwick for her painting, "The Chuck Wagon." (Newcastle)

Alice Stevens for her work in preserving historical materials over a long period of time. (Laramie)

Honorable Mention awards were received by:

Newcastle Women's Club for their assistance in the preservation of historical materials.

Angeline Weller's 4th grade, Casper, for group presentation of historical material.

Lucille Dumbrell for her painting, "Homestead Relics."
(Newcastle)

Elizabeth J. Thorpe for her painting, "The Picket Line."
(Newcastle)

Mary Capps for the preservation of historical materials.
(Newcastle)

Mr. Miller announced the 1968-1969 officers as follows: President, Curtiss Root; First Vice President, Mrs. Hattie Burnstad; Second Vice President, Reuel Armstrong; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Maurine Carley; Executive Secretary, Neal E. Miller.

Mrs. Hord read the following resolution: Resolved that the members of the Wyoming State Historical Society wish to express their thanks to the Teton County Chapter for arranging this fine meeting. We appreciate the time and effort spent which has made these days so pleasant. Mr. Hayden, in particular, deserves our thanks. We are grateful for the fine dinner, the entertaining speaker, the trips to your museums and especially for the opportunity to see the beautiful scenery nearby and for the wonderful weather you have provided. Our thanks for everything.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

The Teton County Chapter was host at a breakfast at the Silver Spur Cafe which was appreciated by the Society members. Following the breakfast, many went to Teton Village to see the new ski development.

We all look forward to meeting again in Newcastle next year.

MAURINE CARLEY
Secretary-Treasurer

Contributors

DR. WILSON O. CLOUGH, professor emeritus at the University of Wyoming, has appeared previously in the *Annals of Wyoming* as the author of articles on a variety of subjects. He has published several books, including *History of the University of Wyoming*, *Our Long Heritage*, *Intellectual Origins of American Thought* and *The Rocky Mountain West in 1867*, which he translated and annotated for 1966 publication. Dr. Clough is a former professor of English at the University and more recently was William Robertson Coe professor of American studies.

JAMES C. MURPHY, presently teaching in Lillooet, British Columbia, is a former Cheyenne resident, having taught in the junior and senior high schools from 1938 to 1961. He also taught Arapahoe children when he lived on the Wind River Reservation during 1928 and 1929 and again from 1933 to 1935. He earned his B. A. at the University of Wyoming. The Arapahoe study published in this issue was written as his master's thesis at the University of British Columbia, where he received his M.A. in 1966.

DR. AUSTIN L. MOORE, who edited "The Last Eden," is a professor of humanities at Michigan State University, East Lansing. He has written a number of books, among them *Souls and Saddles*, the Wyoming experiences of his father, the Reverend Frank Moore, and *My Career as a Knight Errant*. Dr. Moore has traveled widely throughout the world and plans to return to Africa this summer to photograph wild animals in the game parks. In addition to travel, his hobbies include golf, gourmet cooking and photography.

ALICE MOORE SAWYER, who wrote the diary edited by her brother, now lives in San Pedro, California.

PEGGY DICKEY KIRCUS was born and raised in San Antonio, Texas, and received her B.A. and M.A. degrees at Texas Christian University, the latter in 1967. Her major was history. She is married to Air Force Chaplain Ernest E. Kircus, and is the mother of two children. The Kircuses were stationed at Francis E. Warren Air Force Base in 1962 and 1963. They have since spent two years in Turkey, have had a tour of duty in South Dakota and are now stationed at Hickam Air Force Base, Hawaii.

Book Reviews

Military Posts in the Powder River Country of Wyoming. By Robert A. Murray. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968) Index. Illus. 189 pp. \$5.50.

This book presents a unique approach to a study of the military forts on the Bozeman Road within the Powder River watershed. The author's background is in the National Park Service, and he works from the point of view of an architect, engineer and archaeologist intent upon restoration. He emphasizes the strategic qualities of each site, the merits of its physical plan, and the logistics involved in its construction and maintenance.

Excellent research in primary sources in the National Archives and Wyoming libraries have furnished materials heretofore not readily available. The numerous drawings, plans, maps, sketches and photographs of the forts give the book a high rank as a reference tool.

The book in its first division considers the early posts, 1865-1868, developing the "structural history" of Fort Reno (Fort Connor) and Fort Philip Kearny. In a second part, 1868-1876, the structural history of Cantonment Reno and Fort McKinney is recorded. Accompanying the description of each fort, brief but well chosen incidents illustrate the relations with the Indians, and daily life at the fort. A view of the strength of the military personnel is presented, as are the qualities of the commanding officers, the problems of transportation and communication are noted, as well as the usually neglected but important items of food, forage, arms and ammunition, clothing, fuel and civilian assistance.

Even at second glance the author appears to give only incidental attention to the history of the region. The reasoning behind the Bozeman and Bridger Roads is not mentioned, major migratory expeditions are not noted, the Montana-Idaho mines are ignored, the significance of the closing of the Road in 1868, the closing of the early posts, and the demands which led to the reopening are given only light treatment, although this governs the organization of the book. Attention is focused upon four posts erected in the isolation of the Powder River Country in one decade. The addition of at least Fort Fetterman to the south (since Fort Laramie fits into the Oregon Trail pattern, and its structural story has been told), and Fort C. F. Smith to the north, would have enabled the author to round out the story of protection for an avenue of migration of national importance, and thereby give greater significance to the Powder River posts.

The narrative does include, however, a discussion of changing military policy, and relates this by brief reference to the increasing

pressures upon the Indians, such as the expansion of the railroads, the discovery of gold in the Black Hills, and increased settlement leading eventually into the Johnson County War. Actually the major points of interpretation are included, but so tersely, and often segmented, that they are likely to be overlooked in this day of extensive philosophic palaver.

Other than the primary sources in military records, the bibliography is brief. Appendices listing the military contingents at the forts, and military commanders provide an excellent reference. Within the scope of its subject the book is fresh, direct, highly readable, and useful. The format and craftsmanship is admirably suited to display the valuable illustrations.

Montana State University

MERRILL G. BURLINGAME

Tales of the O-4 Ranch. By Harold J. Cook. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968) Illus. 221 pp. \$5.95.

Harold Cook's book of reminiscences is not only an enjoyable story of a ranch boyhood at Agate in northwestern Nebraska. To a student of the history of the early West, it is authenticity itself. It is real ranch life as one boy lived it.

But it is more. Outside of the Haystack Dome at nearby Jay Em, Wyoming, and a few others, there are no other ranches like the O-4. James H. Cook, father of the author, bred cattle and fine horses, he fought wild animals, brutality, floods and blizzards, much as did any other rancher. It is hardly a tale for one with a weak stomach, realistic as it is with accidents and ruthless nature. A gun stood behind every outside door of the ranch house, ready for an emergency. The plus factor here was the presence under the hills of a treasure in ancient fossils, of old rhino bones by the ton, of prehistory by the acre. This was the unique facet that set the O-4 off from most other western ranches.

Another angle that made the ranch distinctive was its nearness to the Oglala Sioux Indian reservation at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and the Cook family's friendly relations with that tribe. Red Cloud and other famed Indian chieftains walk affectionately across the pages, supporting Mari Sandoz' sympathy for those oft sinned-against first citizens.

Add in varied cowhands, desperadoes, a woman missionary, noted paleontologist, museum curators, Lalee Hunton, the cook—all in the human kingdom—and a boy's beloved pony, Ladybug, the magpie around the house, the evasive, well-nigh indestructible white wolf, and you have a *dramatis personae* like none other in literature.

James Henry Cook was not going to raise any sissy on his ranch.

Son Harold from young boyhood could handle a gun or a rope or a wild colt like a man. But his father did not try to prevent him from also becoming a gentleman, a platform lecturer and a museum curator, equally at home in the backshop of a museum, so long as he came home to run the ranch when his father retired. Which he did.

A dip into the vocabulary of the book sends the reader scurrying for his dictionary or science text, and on for a book of western lore. Antelope, sandhills, gatling, calcite crystals, Miocene, talons, water gap, soddy, peace pipe, moccasins, Pliocene, lumbar vertebrae, Sharps, ecologist, Carnegie museum, dehorn, plaster of Paris, Tombstone, mesquite, shellac. These could inspire a whole winter's reading.

This reviewer's interest is heightened because of a remembered summer evening about 1928 when the genial Harold Cook stopped to visit her father, Ernest Logan, in Cheyenne, and stayed to tell a roomful of visitors in true lecture fashion about deep-sea fishing in the Gulf of California. Especially fascinated was guest A. D. Faville, first Commissioner of Agriculture for Wyoming, and an avid fisherman in Wyoming waters, who conducted an informal interview with Cook. When Logan began to speak of his own remembrance of James H. Cook in Cheyenne in the early days, and again at Fort Laramie, Harold Cook was the one to ask questions and write down answers.

There is one little wish for an addition to a second printing, a wish for a few vital statistics to serve as pegs for the facts. When was James H. Cook born? When did he die? When did Harold Cook die? These dates would help other writers to place the father and son precisely with their contemporaries at times when the senior Cook's standard *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier* is not available for reference. A re-reading of James Cook's volume places his birthdate at 1857, his passing at 1942.

Much credit goes to Harold Cook's wife, Margaret Crozier Cook, who taped her husband's narrative and edited the manuscript, preserving for the reader his colorful idiom and authentic speech. The introduction by Agnes Wright Spring, top-flight western historical writer, gives the stamp of her approval to an able piece of writing, a sort of guarantee of its success.

The Sioux words with which Cook ends his *Tales of the O-4 Ranch* may well apply to the book itself. Was-te. Was-te. —Good. Good.

Cheyenne

GRACE LOGAN SCHAEDEL

This Was Pioneer Motoring. By Robert F. Karolevitz. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1968) Index. Illus. 192 pp. \$12.95.

This author of the "Old West" (*Newspapering in the Old West*, *This Was Trucking*, *Doctors of the Old West*) has again presented a book of nostalgia, this time "an automotive trip down memory lane" as he states in his foreword.

The early history of the development of the automobile including the name itself is well covered. The Seldon patent on engines and the circumventing of same by Ford and others is most interesting. Many pioneers in the field, names both known and unknown to most of us, are mentioned with their contributions. The transition from the horse to the self-propelled, the promotion of the car and the survival of the fittest is documented by word and picture.

Mr. Karolevitz's collection of pictures is the best I have seen on this subject. The reproduction is well done and the pictures are well grouped. All pictures are apparently original which is unusual for the number he shows. Of particular interest to Wyoming people is one of Laramie in 1905, and of the first four-wheel-drive-vehicle in 1911. Others show Pershing, Richenbacker, Oldfield, Buffalo Bill Cody and several presidents including Eisenhower, then a lieutenant colonel. Pictures of automobiles on the mud roads with chains "on all four" will emphasize the road building program.

Toll roads (the turning of the pike after payment of fee—hence turnpike) were developed by private enterprise and later by government. Bicyclists were first to try for paved and better roads. President Wilson in 1916 signed the first bill to establish a nationwide interstate road system. Gulf Oil Company had the first road maps in 1913 and Shell Oil Company had the first service station chain. Motels developed later, with about 600 by 1922.

The famous 999 Ford is shown as well as a steamer Rocket which set a speed record by going 127.6 mph in 1906. Manufacturing survival was dependent on racing and on dependability as a family vehicle, just as is advertised today. Installment buying was promoted in 1905 as was the two-car-family concept in 1909.

Reliability tests of city-to-city tours, the Glidden tours and cross-country ones were used to promote the product. Imagine driving an open car through a snowstorm in Wyoming in 1905 without antifreeze or snow tires and on cowpath roads. I wonder if our present-day cars would have made it—or was it the hearty human?

In short, this is an authentically illustrated and well presented book of interest to many and, I believe, a must to the antique car buff.

Cheyenne

DAN B. GREER, M.D.

Tetoniana. History of the Exploration of Grand Teton National Park. Number 1. The Grand Teton 1923. By Leigh N. Ortenburger. (Privately published, 1968) Illus. 41 pp. \$2.00.

The Grand Teton 1923, by Leigh N. Ortenburger, is a forty-one page booklet on two ascents of the Grand Teton in 1923, which set off a growing interest in scaling Teton Peaks. Mr. Ortenburger will yearly add other booklets on Teton climbing to form a series, which he has named *Tetoniana*, and subtitled History of the Exploration of Grand Teton National Park.

After the 1898 ascent of the Grand Teton by the Owen party, no further ascent was accomplished until 1923, when two parties made it to the top within two days of each other. It is with these two ascents that the Number 1 volume of *Tetoniana* is concerned. The best-known ascent, headed by Prof. Albert R. Ellingwood of Lake Forest, Illinois and made up of experienced mountaineers, was encouraged by the National Park Service, which was then interested in extending the southern boundary of Yellowstone Park to include the Jackson Hole area, and needed a spectacular ascent for publicity. The Ellingwood climb received prior publicity in the press, and Ellingwood's carefully written article on his party's successful achievement appeared shortly afterward in *Outdoor Life*.

The other ascent, which received almost no publicity, was achieved by three University of Montana students, Quin A. Blackburn, David F. DeLap and Amedius (Andy) De Pirro, on August 25, 1923, two days before the experienced and well-equipped Ellingwood party reached the top. There is no suggestion that the two parties were racing each other, as each gave the other much credit in a sportsmanlike way; but the Montana boys were in a hurry and planned to make the climb up and back in one day. They left their car at a ranch at the foot of the Grand Teton, went up Bradley (Garnet) Canyon and were on top by 5:55 P.M. In the dark they descended to timberline by 11:00 P.M.; and next morning at 9:00 were back at their car and on their way. They had had no ropes nor any equipment other than a geology hammer and a canteen; their food consisted of a few bacon sandwiches, chocolate bars and boxes of raisins and two loaves of bread.

Most interesting is the way Mr. Ortenburger tracked down these unsung heroes of a difficult and well-executed climb. It gives the narrative an OO7 flavor.

In 1956 the Sierra Club published Mr. Ortenburger's *A Climber's Guide to the Teton Range*, which has since been republished and expanded. Mr. Ortenburger is tireless in his mountaineering research and fair in his conclusions. He also knows how to write.

Jackson

ELIZABETH WIED HAYDEN

Almost Up Devils Tower. By Mae Urbanek. Boulder, Colo.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1968) 104 pp. \$3.00.

Almost Up Devils Tower, the author states, "is a novel for the tourist." We feel residents of Wyoming will find this book equally enjoyable, for Mae Urbanek speaks and writes in the language they will understand.

The happenings of this work of fiction center in and around a camping expedition of the main characters, one of which is Bumpas, a rabbit-chasing, trouble-finding Collie, twelve years old. The dog has been Donald McAllen's pet since Bumpas was a puppy.

The action of the story takes place against a backdrop of the Wyoming wonderlands, from a pack trip into the Great Wilderness area to a climb of Devils Tower.

The plot revolves around a young Wyoming native, Donald McAllen. Abandoned as an infant, Donald is the beloved, adopted son of Uncle Mac McAllen, an old-time rancher of Crook County.

As a son, Donald will inherit the McAllen spread. At twenty-two years of age, he wishes to go on to the big world outside of Wyoming. He has no desire to spend the rest of his days as a rancher.

At Uncle Mac's invitation two girls arrive from Chicago, to spend their vacation on the McAllen ranch. Glenna is Uncle Mac's niece. Cathy is Glenna's best friend.

Glenna attends college and wishes to become a field geologist. Cathy is a "high school dropout," who had to leave her studies to support her mother.

Her mother having passed on, Cathy finds herself alone in the world and still working at the same job in a factory she took when she left school.

As the story opens, Donald is loading the station wagon which is to be used in making the camping trip. Among the items packed, he stows away the equipment to climb Devils Tower. He also sees through Uncle Mac's reason for asking two girls to come to the ranch. He speaks of this openly before Uncle Mac and the girls.

"With a wife tied around my neck," he says, "I'd have to ranch or starve."

"Ya gotta try tamin' a wild hoss that knows it all, if ya want him broke to ride," Uncle Mac retorts.

With Uncle Mac wishing, Donald resenting, the journey is begun.

In *Almost Up Devils Tower* Mae Urbanek does description with a poetic flavor. For example, on the wilderness ride she writes, "Ahead were the mountains warming themselves under looseknit shawls of white clouds."

We find within the pages much factual material on the geological formations of the state.

How Donald McAllen solves his problem and the other charac-

ters solve theirs makes for an interesting novel every member of the family may read, be they tourists or citizens.

Wheatland

RACHEL ANN FISH

Ghost Town El Dorado. By Lambert Florin. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1968) Illus. 173 pp. \$12.95.

Whatever your definition of a ghost town, you'll find a town to fit it in Lambert Florin's *Ghost Town El Dorado*. From the attractive dust cover to the sketches on the end papers of this book, you will find pictures and legends of "towns that were."

You'll read about Oysterville, the town that oysters built; of Rosalyn, where coal was king and of Canyon City, Oregon, home of writer-poet Joaquin Miller, who during his tenure as judge in Canyon City dispensed justice with a six-shooter in each hand.

There's a tale about a man named Rasberry who was hunting jackrabbits near what became the town of Angels Camp, California. Rasberry shot several times before his gun developed ramrod trouble. He became angry and shot several times into a rock about twelve feet away. The ramrod came out and in doing so knocked a weathered crust off the rock revealing a yellow gleam of gold. Forgetting all about the rabbit hunting,, Rasberry picked up \$700 worth of gold before dark.

Hiram Hughes had been prospecting for some time, quite unsuccessfully. A ledge of rock with a greenish-rust color caught his eye, but didn't look like much. Hiram figured people would think he was a danged fool if he took a sample of that stuff to the assay office. He hunted longer—in the Sierras for gold and for silver in the Washoe area—all to no avail. He remembered the ledge of greenish rock and went back to it. The assayer's report made him "want to holler clear back to Kansas!" The sample was about one-third copper and worth \$120 per ton.

DeLamar, Idaho, provides pages of reading enjoyment, as do the towns of Gilmore, Custer and Bonanza.

Stories of Mormon immigrants and their problems are related. A Mormon mother gave birth to a son while crossing a flood-swollen stream. The child was named Marvelous Flood Teney.

Then there is the story of Amanda, a soiled angel of mercy with two major weaknesses—whiskey and men.

A teen-ager named Arango was known as a peacable lad until an officer raped his sister. Arango killed the officer, took a new name and entered on a career of banditry and revolution. The excitement brought an era of prosperity to the town of Lajitas, Texas, for the teen-ager was no other than the bandit Pancho Villa.

Yes, whether you like your ghost towns dustily dead or peopled with descendants of former residents, you'll enjoy Mr. Florin's *El Dorado*. The larger share of pictures are photos of the towns

as they now are but the captions take you back to the "days that used to be."

Ghost Town El Dorado is a book you will enjoy leafing through, then going back and reading and reading it again.

Newcastle

MABEL E. BROWN

The Phil Sheridan Album. By Lawrence A. Frost. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1968) Index. Illus. 173 pp. \$12.95.

The Superior Publishing Company has been issuing photographic albums on military posts, railroading and other western topics for some time. Some, like the two volumes of photographs of Indians by Samuel Curtis, are quite attractive and useful. Lawrence Frost, a leading Custer buff and editor of *The Court Martial of General George Armstrong Custer* has now added *The Phil Sheridan Album* to his earlier albums on Ulysses S. Grant and George Custer.

The book is divided into chronological sections, each introduced with a brief account of that aspect of Sheridan's career. Included are photographs, paintings and sketches of battle scenes and locations such as Fort Yamhill in Oregon, which Sheridan constructed in 1857, as well as numerous pictures of Sheridan and members of his family. There are also photographs of colleagues such as Custer, Grant, George Cooke, a West Point roommate, Wesley Merritt and opponents such as J. E. B. Stuart, Jubal Early, John S. Mosby and the Kiowa, Satanta. Some of the photographs and paintings have been reproduced quite often while others are less familiar.

While just a small section of the book is devoted to Sheridan's western career, it is a convenient collection of photographs which will undoubtedly appeal to Sheridan fans. The price, however, may be a deterrent for many.

University of New Mexico

RICHARD N. ELLIS

On the Cattle Ranges of the Oregon Country. By J. Orin Oliphant. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968) Index. Illus. 372 pp. \$8.95.

Professor Oliphant's book is concerned with the open range cattle industry of the Oregon Country from 1782 to 1890. Cattle in Oregon originally came from two directions: California, and overland from the states east of the Rockies. The Hudson's Bay Company was the first major promoter of cattle in the area. These were primarily Spanish Cattle and not well suited to the type of pastoral enterprise anticipated by Dr. McLoughlin. American missionaries brought in some eastern cattle but the great influx of cattle came over the Oregon Trail with the immigrants of the 1840s.

Throughout the decades of the 1850s and 1860s the cattle industry was limited to the coastal area where the mining communities were the major markets. The transcontinental railroad and the restricted grazing, moved the industry to "Transcascadia", that area in the Oregon Country between the Cascades and the Rockies. The market broadened, with Oregon cattle being shipped East to market, to feed lots, and especially to the high plains country where they accordingly stocked the cattle industry of that area. By 1890 the cattle industry of the open range had given way to one of beef production and, one more compatible with general agriculture.

The story of the cattle industry in "Transcascadia" is not unlike that of the Great Plains in most respects. It had its troubles with the Indians, who as usual, lost in their struggle to keep the reservations. The farmer and the sheepmen invaded the ranges in the 1880s creating tension and driving the cattlemen to less productive ranges or restricting their movements. The Oregon Country cattlemen organized "associations" to prevent importation of diseased cattle, bargain for better rail rates, press for favorable legislation, deal with rustlers, and in general give order to their business. However their associations never paralleled those of Montana or Wyoming. As in other areas of the open range country the weather was the one prime uncontrollable factor. The Chinook wind was expected to melt the snow and break up the ice, but it more often arrived too late, or not at all, than it did on time. Losses from the weather were heavy in most seasons.

There are two apparent differences in the cattle industry of the Oregon Country and that of the high plains. The Oregon industry does not appear to have been heavily financed by foreign capital, and much more attention was given to producing breed stock. Professor Oliphant admits that precise figures on the numbers of cattle shipped from the territory are unattainable but considering the figures offered and the rate of winter kill, the Oregon cattle must have been a prolific lot.

There is a deluge of factual information with multiple citations to support a point. Certain aspects of the study could have been more fully covered—financial structure, corporate enterprise absentee ownership, herd structure, and certain aspects of range management. These are perhaps some of the areas that Professor Oliphant states could not be adequately documented.

The book is an excellent guide to materials for this phase of the cattle industry. As such it fills in an otherwise obvious gap in the study of the cattle industry. Names, facts, figures and other data are prolific. A few illustrations and a map or two beyond those of the end papers would be of great assistance to the reader unfamiliar with the Oregon Country of the nineteenth century.

Introduction to Archaeology. By Robin Place. (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1968) Index. Illus. 146 pp. \$6.00.

The title is somewhat misleading, as the book is not about archaeology *per se*, nor about archaeology anywhere except Britain and Europe. To the great advantage of the British reader particularly, Place's discussion of archaeology as a way of studying prehistory is skillfully interwoven with a competent introduction to the prehistory of the British Isles, and to a lesser extent, to portions of the Continent.

The American professional can readily locate a few nits to persecute, especially with regard to the author's conception of what can and cannot be successfully studied by archaeological techniques. The author is aware, however, that this study method can and will become a great deal more sophisticated than it is as commonly practiced now. In any case, the book will seldom be of concern to the professional except in his capacity as a reviewer. The notable exception should be chapter nine, in which Mrs. Place gently dissects the over-digging and understudying syndrome common in the field today, especially within the amateur societies.

Introduction to Archaeology is particularly recommended as reading for the British citizen who has developed a beginning interest in the field, and who may have already read some of the standard works by Wheeler, Wooley or others. Because of the relative up-to-dateness of its content and concepts, *Introduction to Archaeology* should be on the reading list of all but the most advanced British amateur.

The American amateur will find the book pleasant fare and a profitable one to have read for at least three reasons, (a) for the sake of palatably expanding his concepts of theory and method in archaeology, (b) to help dispel the notion that an amateur archaeologist must participate in digging in order to contribute to research or to learn about the past, and (c) for having broadened his background in world prehistory.

The price is rather staggering and it seems likely that most amateurs will choose to do without a personal copy on this basis. The individual may do well, however, to recommend it for his society's library.

Cheyenne

GENE GALLOWAY

A Catalogue of the Everette D. Graff Collection of Western Americana. Compiled by Colton Storm. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 873 pp. \$37.50.

The Everett D. Graff Collection of Western Americana consists of some 10,000 books, manuscripts, maps, pamphlets,

broad-sides, broad-sheets and photographs, of which about half are described in this catalogue. The Graff Collection displays the remarkable breadth of interest, knowledge and taste of a great bibliophile and student of Western American history. From this rich collection, now in the Newberry Library, Chicago, its former curator, Colton Storm, has compiled a discriminating and representative catalogue of the rarer and more unusual material. Collectors, bibliographers, librarians, historians and book dealers specializing in Americana will find the *Graff Catalogue* an interesting and essential tool.

The Sociology of Colonial Virginia. By Morris Talpalar, LL.B. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1968) Index. 447 pp. \$8.75. Second revised edition.

The Days of My Years. The Autobiography of An Average American. By Earl R. Smith. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1968) [Paperback]

The Old Oregon Country. A History of Frontier Trade, Transportation, and Travel. By Oscar Osburn Winther. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969) \$2.95. [Paperback, Bison Book]

Law West of Fort Smith. By Glenn Shirley. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969) \$1.50. [Paperback, Bison Book]

A Bride Goes West. By Nannie T. Alderson and Helena Huntington Smith. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969) \$1.95. [Paperback, Bison Book]



Annals of Wyoming

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These five brass vessels for liquid measure were among a number of devices used in Territorial and early Statehood days of Wyoming for official verification of wet and dry volume, weight and linear measurement. The vessels, of turned brass, have capacities ranging from one-half pint to one gallon. The one-gallon container, shown here on the left, is marked as having been fabricated in 1844, and possibly was made at one of the government armories. The collection of measuring devices originally was sent from the Office of U. S. Weights and Measures in Washington, D. C., to the State Department of Agriculture, which recently presented the collection to the Wyoming State Museum.

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The map used as the background for the artifacts on the cover is a copy of one published by the Clason Map Co., Denver. Although the original bears no date imprint, the twenty-one-county map of Wyoming was published sometime between 1913 and 1922. In 1913 Goshen, Hot Springs, Lincoln, Niobrara and Platte Counties were organized. Teton County, organized in 1922, and Sublette County, organized in 1923, do not appear on this map. Other maps, of varying dates, will be used from time to time on the covers of the *Annals of Wyoming*.

Joseph Christopher O'Mahoney: A Brief Biography

By

CARL MOORE

Joseph Christopher O'Mahoney represented Wyoming in the United States Senate for twenty-six years. During that period he earned the reputation as an outstanding constitutional lawyer, a person devoted to the interests of Wyoming, natural resources and the West, an economic theorist without peer. Some fellow Senators considered him one of the outstanding Senators of all time.

Joseph Christopher O'Mahoney¹ was born at Chelsea, Massachusetts, on November 5, 1884,² one of eleven children of Dennis

1. The name, O'Mahoney, is tricky to pronounce. The *Boston Post*, January 20, 1913, suggested that, "... the O is accented and the a is flat and prolonged as for instance in baa, in accordance with the custom of the ancient Gaels." The heritage of the name was stressed in the *Boston Evening American*, February 24, 1933: "And don't call it O ma-HO-ney. It's O-MAH-oney, with the accent on the second syllable and the last one clipped short. That's not any snobbish accent, either. It's the real Gaelic, or the real McCoy as you might say. And Gaelic is Gaelic whether in Boston or Washington." A slight variation was the suggestion, according to the *Sioux City Sunday Tribune*, April 21, 1945, that, "... the 'a' sounded as in 'man' and drawn one [*sic*] as if there were two a's—O'Mahoney." A seemingly inconsistent suggestion in the *Literary Digest* of December 2, 1933, explained that one should be careful to pronounce "... the 'a' as in mayonnaise." In a letter to Anne I. O'Mahoney, Joe O'Mahoney personally related "... a family method of instruction in pronunciation," he heard his father recite: "O' the bleat of the lamb/And the fruit of the bee/Spell the name of the man/Who is talking to thee." A lengthy comment regarding the pronunciation of O'Mahoney can be found in Joe's reminiscences in his oral history interview: "Why is the name pronounced O'Mahoney instead of O'Mahoney? He [Joe's father] came here pronouncing his name O'Mahoney, because that was the Irish pronunciation, and he taught all his children to pronounce it that way. One of the stories he used to tell was that there never was a Mahoney in Ireland until the English came. The English, he said, couldn't get their tongues around the Gaelic pronunciation. Then he would add, 'The Mahoneys are fine people—they're intelligent, they're brave, they're all that one could expect. But,' he said, 'the O'Mahoneys never surrendered.' Now, to make it clear, the word 'honey,' is not pronounced hoeny, its pronounced hunny. The accent on most Irish names falls on the first syllable. In this name, forgetting the O, the first syllable is Ma, so that the accent should be on the Ma and the honey should follow. So the name is Mahoney, not Mahoney."

2. This, like much of the information about his early life, was taken from

and Elizabeth Shehan O'Mahoney. He arrived the day the Democrats celebrated the election victory of Grover Cleveland.

Joe's mother died in 1893 when he was eight years old. His recollections were limited: "... we lived on Chestnut Street, we had a very nice house which was convenient and I had no childish desires that weren't filled there."³

He recalled more detail about his father because he lived longer, had a greater influence on Joe and Joe had the benefit of contacting people later in life who had known him.

Dennis O'Mahoney was from County Cork, Ireland.⁴ Having

The Reminiscences of Joseph O'Mahoney (Oral History Research Office, Columbia University: New York, 1961), pp. 1-2. Future references to this source will be called *Rems*. Regarding his birth date he related the following, pp. 1-2 of *Rems*: "... it was during the election of 1948, when Mr. Truman was elected, after the *Chicago Tribune* had announced that Dewey was elected. The outlook in Cheyenne was very glum, because of the two hours' difference in time between the Eastern Time Zone and the Rocky Mountain Time Zone. We had assembled at the home of one of the big Democratic leaders of the state for dinner that night, to receive the returns, and as they came in the company became rather gloomy. But by and by, the returns seemed to brighten up a little. At this moment I was invited by the radio station to come down to the studio, in order to make some comment. Well, I never object to making comments on the radio, and was happy enough to do it. By the time I reached the studio, why, the Truman tide was running high, and the announcer said to me—I'll never forget this—'Well, Senator, this must be the most exciting election day you ever experienced!'

'No,' I said, 'it's not. It's a very exciting election day, but I've had two other experiences in my life.'

'Well, what were they?'

'Well, back in 1916,' I said, 'I was the editor of the *Cheyenne State Leader*. That was the year in which Woodrow Wilson and Charles Evans Hughes were candidates for President. Charles Evans Hughes went to bed in a hotel room in New York believing that he had been elected President. The Democrats in Cheyenne who were crowded around the *Leader* office had become utterly disgusted and had disbanded and deserted. Nobody was left but Mrs. O'Mahoney and an engineer, a man by the name of Jim True and myself, and the workers around the shop. But at that moment the evening paper, which was a Republican paper, published an extra claiming the election of Hughes. That made me a little bit mad. So I hauled in Jim True, who was a good mathematician, and I said, 'Let's count up these electoral votes again.' We counted them up, and we discovered that both Minnesota and California were out. Each had 15 votes, as I recall it now, and it was clear that if Wilson would carry either one of these states, he'd be elected. I said, 'Wilson has carried California. Let's put the paper to bed.' I put the paper to bed. It came out—the first paper in the U.S. to announce the re-election of Woodrow Wilson. That was a scoop, attached to my birthday.'

I stopped with the tale of Woodrow Wilson and the announcer said, "Well, Senator, you said two election days."

I said, "The first one was the day I was born."

3. *Rems.*, p. 3.

4. Senator McGee, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 8, p. 10675.

come to this country around the time of the Civil War, in 1861, as a youth of sixteen or seventeen, he enlisted from West Cambridge (now Arlington), Massachusetts, in the Irish Brigade and served throughout the war as a member of the 28th Massachusetts Volunteers.⁵

By profession Dennis O'Mahoney was a furrier, he cleaned and processed the raw furs which came to his shop. Most furs on the market were being sent to the garment industry which was developing in New York City. Dennis wanted to follow the industry to New York, but his wife did not want to have to build a new home. He was eventually forced to leave the fur business and become a clerk in the Boston post office.

Dennis O'Mahoney was socially conscious and, as such, had an influence on his son: "My father established a ten-hour day in Massachusetts. When he started, men worked twelve hours. He became the master of the shop, and he established the ten-hour day. So I inherit my inclination to support the masses of the people against the classes—or *rather* than the classes."⁶ Dennis tried to air his beliefs in the public forum. He ran for town officer in Arlington. In his reminiscences Joe reported: "Much to the surprise of the electorate, he came within six votes of winning it. It wasn't customary in those days for a person with an Irish name to be a victor at the polls."⁷ According to the *Arlington Advocate* of February 28, 1879, he was 109 votes from election.

Most of the O'Mahoney siblings died at childbirth. As second youngest, his recollections of the others were limited. He related the following about his eldest brother, Jerimiah, who died while

5. *Rems.*, p. 40. In 1870 he received a commendation from the Governor and Adjutant General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts honoring the faithful services of her sons who formed a part of the land and sea forces of the United States employed in suppressing rebellion and maintaining the integrity of the nation has by a RESOLVE of the GENERAL COURT of 1869 directed the undersigned to present to you this Testimonial of the people's gratitude for you patriotism." Given April 19, 1870.

6. *Rems.*, pp. 32-33.

7. *Rems.*, p. 6. Timothy O'Leary, a friend of Dennis O'Mahoney, wrote Joe about his father's political experience: "The number of registered voters of our people on the town register just 200 your father was sure to get every one. He was first nominated at the Knights and later at Town Hall caucus. At the Knights meeting everything looked all right, at the town caucus the Farmer members, 5 in committee of the nominating committee, 5 started to make trouble because your father was known to be a friend of labor. Mr. Bailey was their man. Your father was a good friend of labor always. At that time he was foreman of the fur factory and the conditions were the best in town. Shortest hours, highest pay, best living conditions, on the farms in summer at 4 in the morning and 8 at night; so after doing all he could as soldier and citizen in peace and war even at the peril of his life, they did not seem to appreciate his services as they should. That started a fight in the committee. Your father at a town meeting later had the floor and in

attending Boston College: "I was a member of the debating team at Cambridge Latin School. Along about 1902, I think, this happened. I received the greatest compliment that my father had ever given me. I took him to the debate as an auditor, and when we were walking back to the house in which we were living, he said to me, 'Well, Joe, your brother Jerry couldn't have done any better.' Knowing the place that Jerimiah had, as the first born, in his estimate, I felt that I had been given a pretty high compliment. Of course, we lost the debate, I might add. So there might have been a little family coloring in the reference."⁸ Three brothers survived childbirth, Dan who was twelve years older than Joe, Michael who was ten years older, and Frank who was the youngest. Dan and Michael fought in the Spanish American War, eventually dying of illnesses that developed there. Dan, a plumber by trade, became president of the Plumbers and Steamfitters Union in New York City. Later he severed his connections with the union in order to become an executive for Thompson-Stark building contractors.

After his mother's death the family moved to Daniels, Massachusetts, and Joe attended Thorndike School, a parochial school in Peabody. He graduated from Cambridge Grammar School. For the graduation exercise, "The principal gave me a choice of topics. So when I chose the subject it was: 'A letter from our Washington Correspondent.'"⁹

He claimed that the choice of a high school was his, and he chose Cambridge Latin School because he wanted to prepare to attend college. Raymond G. D'Arcy, current headmaster of The High and Latin School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, relates the following information, taken from the Cambridge Latin School record book. Joe entered the school on September 11, 1899, at the age of fourteen years, ten months. He lived at 189 Columbia Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and then moved to 2217 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge Massachusetts. In 1899-1900, he was in the fifth class, his subjects were English, Latin, algebra, and history, his average for the year was 92.1%, and he ranked second in his class. In 1900-1901, the fourth class, his subjects were Latin, French, geometry, and English, his average for the year was 88%, and he ranked fifth in his class. In 1901-1902, the third class, his subjects were English, Latin, French, geometry, and chemistry, his average for the year was 85%, and he ranked seventh in his class.

language of no uncertain meaning told what he knew about the war from Bull Run to Appomattox; those who volunteered and those made it necessary to call a draft; those who made money in safety while others bled. Well, he delited his friends, silenced his oponents, more later [sic]." Timothy O'Leary, letter, May 28, 1935.

8. *Rems.*, pp. 3-4.

9. *Rems.*, p. 7.

In 1902-1903, the second class, his subjects were English, Latin, French, German, and algebra, his average for the year was 81.3%, and he ranked thirteenth in his class.

Joe's reminiscences of high school were pleasurable. In his freshman year, he was surprised at being second in his class because he was involved with class football, class baseball, debating, and newspaper work. He wrote for the school magazine and was not concerned with marks.

He was president of the debate team. He reported his impressions in the following way: "We debated every issue of the day, as they still do. I can't begin to think of them now. True, there was an issue about whether or not we should be imperialistic; that was one of the issues. Massachusetts had a very liberal Republican senator by the name of George Brisley Hall. He was very popular with me, because he was an anti-imperialist, and that was an issue those days."¹⁰

Joe's early life was primarily influenced by his parents, his home life, and his work at Cambridge Latin School, especially his debating and newspaper work. He credited his interest in history and politics to his parents' interest in those subjects and his blood lineage: "... perhaps I would say that it was the heritage of a young man who was born into a family of Irish blood. The Irish people have always been interested in public life."¹¹ He claimed that his interest in debating was innate. His interest in public affairs was primarily attributed to his work on the Cambridge *Democrat*, for which he was both editor and delivery boy, and the atmosphere of free discussion which could be found in his home: "My house was a house of books, and a house of freedom of debate and frequent debate. Everybody who had any occasion to express a view had the opportunity to express it. Oh, yes, at the dinner table it would be usual to discuss politics—yes—anything that was current."¹²

The famous men who shaped his early life were J. C. Calhoun, Teddy Roosevelt, and William Randolph Hearst. He campaigned for Hearst because Hearst was against the trusts and for free enterprise. He was impressed with Teddy Roosevelt the first time he heard him speak and shaped his politics after him.¹³ His attachment to Calhoun was the most unusual of all. He claimed him as

10. *Boston Globe*, April 20, 1923, p. 1. *Rems.*, p. 6.

11. *Rems.*, p. 7.

12. *Rems.*, pp. 7-8.

13. Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Joe O'Mahoney to the Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission. In making the appointment he said, "Theodore Roosevelt was a man who dearly loved the great western stretches of our country. There is no man who has done more to develop the great West than Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney and I think his appointment would be a fitting recognition of his great services. It would also bring to the commission one of the Keenest minds in the Senate."

his first boyhood hero, "... because I combed my hair the same way he did. When I first saw his picture, I thought, well, now, by gosh, my hair comb isn't so bad. My hair was long."¹⁴

In 1903, Joe's father died of the grippe. Although Joe was in the class of 1904 at Cambridge Latin School, he had to pack and leave for New York to live with his brother Dan. He worked for a year with the J. J. Mitchell and Co., publishers of the *Ladies' Taylor*, the *Men's Taylor* and other tailoring publications, before entering Columbia University.

Joe claimed that on a trip to New York with his father he went by Columbia University, became impressed with the Seth Low Library and, from that time, wanted to attend that school. There is reluctant evidence which indicates that upon the death of his father Joe's wish to attend Harvard could not be realized so he took advantage of what was available to him, Columbia University.¹⁵

His remembrances of Columbia first turned to his professors. He had history under James Harvey Robinson. Max Eastman, his philosophy professor, became a close friend. Joe and Max attended school debates together. He also became friends with Charles Beard. Their friendship lasted for years and resulted in cooperation on certain legislative measures which Joe introduced on the floor of the United States Senate. He recalled Seligman, the economics professor, but never had an opportunity to study under him.

O'Mahoney's primary interests at Columbia were debating and literary work with the *Columbia Spectator*. He was president of the College Men's Municipal League and a member of Phi Kappa Sigma social fraternity.

He earned his way through Columbia by holding various odd jobs. One summer as a plumber's helper he worked on the then new Wanamaker Building. Frequently during the summer he worked for the Hudson River Day Lines as a ticket agent in the main office. During the school year he worked as a free lance writer. He wrote fillers, at two dollars a filler, which were usually around three lines, sometimes as many as ten, and consisted of anything, just so long as they filled spaces for the printers. He also wrote for the *Associated Sunday Magazine*. One of his articles, written October 21, 1906, and called "One Hundred Years

14. *Rems.*, p. 8.

15. Joe told the following story on himself: "One of the members of my staff was in the gallery of the Senate one day when I happened to be engaged in a colloquy with the late Bronson Cutting who was Senator from New Mexico, and who was a graduate of Harvard. There were 3 ladies in the gallery listening to us, and one of them (she seemed to be the hostess) said to the other two, 'Now, listen to those two Senators talking. One of them is Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming. The other is Senator Cutting of New Mexico. But you can tell from their language that they're Harvard men. That's how Harvard runs this government.'" *Rems.*, pp. 15-16.

Hence," predicted television, REA, nuclear science, and other more recent innovations.

Just as graduation from Cambridge Latin School was denied him, Joe had to leave Columbia before graduating with his class of 1908. He had just completed the three-year preparatory curriculum for law school when his younger brother Frank became ill with tuberculosis and doctors advised him to go west. Joe explained that he only stayed in New York long enough to vote for Taft because Roosevelt had recommended him. He and his brother traveled all night and all day via the New York Central before arriving in Chicago. It took them two nights and two days to get to Denver.

They arrived in Denver with fifteen dollars between the two of them. Joe had a letter from a fraternity brother at Columbia to his uncle who was a real estate man in Denver but nothing came of it. Needing work he answered an ad for a temporary two-week job at a Boulder, Colorado, newspaper.

When Joe arrived for the interview, the manager began by asking him if he could write an editorial. His response was that he could, and what did the manager want him to write. The explanation was, "The editor of the the other paper, the *Daily Camera*, has the county printing, and we don't like it. I want you to write a letter castigating him." The "free journalism" was not out of vogue with the times. Editors scolded one another and invective was in style. All Joe recalled about the editorial was the last line: "Lucius Cassius Paddock, you're as crooked as a bent stick."¹⁶ Joe was given the job.

The job must have been agreeable to both Joe and his employer for rather than staying the designated two weeks, he remained with the Boulder *Herald* for seven years. The pay was twenty-five dollars per week, a good wage then, and he had the opportunity to do free lance work. Besides working as an Associated Press correspondent, he wrote for the *Rocky Mountain News*, the *Denver Post*, and other area newspapers. Joe's involvement in politics was only as an editorial writer, and then for a Republican newspaper.

Joe O'Mahoney voted Republican one time in his life. It was in 1908 for Taft, but only because of Teddy Roosevelt's recommendation. The result of his early admiration for Roosevelt was that in 1912 he joined the Bull Moose campaign. He contended that his insistence, through editorials, that the names of Roosevelt and Taft be placed on the Republican primary ticket in Colorado resulted in the first presidential primary election. He was an active supporter of Colonel Roosevelt and led the delegate fight in Colorado for his election. So effective was his personal campaign for Roosevelt

16. *Rems.*, pp. 19, 22-23.

that he had an interesting political offer: "Mr. Tom Todd, leader of the Republican delegation to the Chicago convention, came to see me at the Boulder *Herald*, and urged me to run for the state senate on the Republican ticket. 'Well,' I said, 'Tom, I can write editorials for Teddy Roosevelt, but I can't run on the Republican ticket.'" ¹⁷

On June 11, 1913, Joe returned to Winchester, Massachusetts, and married Agnes Veronica O'Leary. Joe met Agnes before he went west. He claimed that his meeting with her, April 11, 1908, "... made a far greater impression on me than the six million dollar Chelsea fire which took place the next day and burned the house in which I was born to the ground."¹⁸ Upon returning to Boulder, Agnes enrolled in law school at the University of Colorado. The two of them spent their evenings reading cases. The next year, when Joe moved on to a new position, she stayed in Boulder in order to finish the year of law school.

According to their niece, Agnes was the only person who ever helped Joe with his Senate writing and research. "She read the *Congressional Record* each day from cover to cover and if Uncle Joe missed anything going on on the 'floor,' because of committee meetings, etc., she would keep him advised on everything."¹⁹ He discussed his speeches and bills with her before presenting them. Agnes wrote a column called "A Wyoming Woman in Washington" which was published in five Wyoming newspapers.

One of Joe's favorite stories about Agnes was that during the war she was secretary to Ambassador Balfour of Great Britain. She handled practically all of his American correspondence. Joe found it humorous that Agnes O'Leary O'Mahoney wrote the letters Balfour signed.²⁰

Joe expected that eventually he and Mr. H. Russell Thompson, the manager of the Boulder *Herald* and his close friend, would buy the paper. The owner, however, held out for twenty-five thousand dollars. The two of them did not have any money; they wanted to buy the paper on a note. A doctor came to Colorado and bought the paper for his tubercular son. Thus, in 1916, Joe O'Mahoney did not see a future for himself in Boulder and was prepared to leave. He explained: "I began to look around for another job. The first offer came from the Associated Press. It was an offer to go to Texas, to El Paso, to go to work as an editorial writer on a newspaper down there. I accepted the job, and then just as I was

17. *Rems.*, p. 18.

18. Robert McCracken, "Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney: In Washington, No Figure More Towering," *Wyoming State Tribune* (Aug. 13, 1952), p. 24.

19. Agnes Sullivan, Letter, Sept. 12, 1969. "Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney," *Cow Country*, Vol. 88, No. 6 (Dec. 15, 1960), p. 1.

20. *Rems.*, pp. 53-54.

about to start, I changed my mind, and notified them that I couldn't accept."²¹ Instead he accepted a job in Cheyenne, Wyoming, as city editor and editorial writer for the *State Leader*. The owner of the newspaper was Governor John B. Kendrick, a Wyoming stockman who was campaigning for the United States Senate.

John Kendrick was the third Wyomingite to be elected governor on the Democratic ticket. He was the first Wyoming Democrat to be elected senator. In 1916 he was running for his first term in the United States Senate against the then Senator Clark, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. After his election Kendrick invited Joe to come to Washington as his secretary. Kendrick originally wanted another man but was ultimately pleased with his second choice.

Joe accepted the position for essentially three reasons. First, he saw it as an opportunity for personal advancement. Second, he saw it as an opportunity to meet great and near-great men. He was soon to be disappointed.²² Finally, he found Kendrick's politics attractive and in later years was to profit greatly from the association.²³ Once, referring to Kendrick's picture, Joe said: "That's John B. Kendrick, who was at one time the president of the American National Livestock Association. He was really a great man, a man with the common touch. He was a gentleman, and had a great deal of human sympathy, great common sense, and he was a Democrat because he believed in the humanitarian principles of the Democratic party."²⁴ Not only did Kendrick provide Joe with a source of admiration, he taught him about the world of politics. For example, one of O'Mahoney's assistants claimed that it was Kendrick who inculcated in Joe the political importance of thoroughness, one of Joe's political virtues.²⁵

Joe commenced work at Georgetown University on his LL.B. degree on October 2, 1917. He went to school in the evening and worked in Kendrick's office during the day. Nonetheless, he completed his work in three years, graduating 8th in his class on June

21. *Rems.*, pp. 40-41.

22. Charles Lucey, "O'Mahoney Going Out Still Looking Ahead," *Knoxville News-Sentinel* (Dec. 28, 1952), p. 1.

23. An illustration of the political attraction Joe held for Kendrick can be found in Joe's description of a social ill which existed in Wyoming at the time: "I had plenty of opportunity to visit the coal mines, and I knew how the operators saw them. I knew how the miners were kept in debt to the company store. Their weekly pay was stamped on the top, and their accounts ran ahead of them. They didn't have economic freedom. The owners tried even to deprive them of political freedom, because they always tried to force their vote." Joe agreed with Kendrick when he opposed the operators who tried to force the votes of the miners.

24. *Rems.*, p. 12.

25. Jerry A. O'Callaghan and Mrs. R. F. Love, Interview, December 19, 1968.

8, 1920. *Ye Domesday Booke* of 1920, the yearbook for his senior year, reported: "His sterling character, his prominence in student activities and his all-round good fellowship have combined to make him one of the most popular and influential students in the Law School." He was ascribed the epithet, "He was the noblest Roman of them all," perhaps because of his outstanding record of accomplishments: president of his class, third year; prom committee, first and second year; senior debating society; junior debating society; winner, prize debate, second year; law journal staff, third year; smoker committee, first and second year.

After graduation from law school, Joe quit Kendrick to practice law and took over legal, contractual aspects of the Mineral Leasing Act. He practiced in Washington from 1920-1922, and then returned to Cheyenne, Wyoming, and the law offices of Haggard and O'Mahoney. He retained his law offices in Washington, however, which indicated that his return to Wyoming may have been politically motivated.

Joe's legal practice changed somewhat upon his return to Wyoming. He no longer concentrated on the Mineral Leasing Act, although his knowledge of the act helped him in his representation of certain clients. As he was personally and professionally more interested in the rank and file than in large interests, he primarily represented small businessmen.

In a speech given honoring Senator O'Mahoney upon his retirement from the United States Senate, Carl Hayden, United States senator from New Mexico, told of a previously undisclosed aspect of Joe's career: "Few may know that he had a great deal to do with arousing the interest of his own senator (Kendrick) and others in what was happening to our naval oil reserves. We all know where that interest led—to the Teapot Dome inquiry, and all that followed."²⁶ In his reminiscences, and in an article in the *Denver Post*, Joe related the incident in the following way:

I was trying a case in Wyoming involving some mineral applications, under a newly passed leasing act to which Kendrick had contributed a great deal, and on the preliminary work of which I had cooperated. One of the witnesses was testifying in behalf of my client, and told me that the Teapot Dome had been released, and he wanted me to come back to Washington and lease with him, because he had some lands in Salt Creek. I told him that I thought it was very unlikely that any lease would be granted on Teapot Dome, because it was Naval Reserve, but an advertisement would have to be made. He told me that I was wrong, that there was an inside deal. So I came to Washington and I called up Kendrick, He said, 'I suppose you want to lease on Teapot Dome.' 'No,' I said, 'Senator, that isn't what I want. I want to make a sug-

26. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 9, p. 11346.

gestion to you, because I've been hearing rumors that Secretary Fall is about to lease the Teapot Dome.'

I made this call from a railroad station, and we had lunch that day. I suggested to him that he let me draw a resolution calling for the investigation of the leasing of Teapot Dome and the Black Hills in California. I said, 'I'll draw up two resolutions, and you take one to Hiram Johnson, the senator from California. Let him introduce the one for California, and you introduce this for Wyoming, and there's no doubt whether or not the leases are to be granted secretly.'

After discussing the matter for about two weeks, Kendrick finally consented. He was reluctant because he didn't believe that Fall was going to do it, and secondly he and Fall had been associated as peers when Fall was in the Senate (from New Mexico). But I pointed out to him that he was coming up for election again in 1922, and this was in 1921, and I said, 'This will insure your election, in my judgment.'

So he finally consented. Hiram Johnson did not accept the suggestion. He wasn't interested. But Kendrick introduced the Teapot Dome Resolution, and it started the investigation which eventually sent Secretary Fall to the penitentiary.²⁷

A coincidence was that the newspaper job with the Associated Press in El Paso, which Joe almost accepted upon leaving the Boulder *Herald*, was with Fall's newspaper. Instead he accepted the job with Kendrick's paper, the man responsible for sending Fall to prison.

The 1922 senatorial election in Wyoming provided Joe with his first political "break." Besides being in charge of Kendrick's campaign for re-election, in May he became vice-chairman and secretary of the Democratic state committee.

Of most significance was the campaign he ran for Kendrick. When Kendrick's opponent, Congressman Frank W. Mondell, arrived from Washington to campaign in Wyoming, he found that Joe had a large "jump" on him. He seemed to follow Joe no matter where he went. Joe's political actions in behalf of Kendrick so angered Mondell he lashed out at Joe as well as Kendrick.²⁸ Thus, the 1922 election provided Joe with the opportunity to conduct a statewide campaign, involved him with the state political hierarchy, and advertised his name throughout the state.

27. *Rems.*, pp. 42-43. *Denver Post*, June 12, 1960, p. 1.

28. In *Rems.*, pp. 46-47, Joe related, "In 1922, when I was practicing law, Kendrick was running for reelection against Frank Mondell, who was the Republican Congressman from Wyoming, and had been in the House many years. By rule of seniority, and his ability—and he was a very able man—he had become the Republican floor leader. So he announced in 1922, without consulting Kendrick as to whether or not Kendrick was going to run, that he was to be a candidate for the Senate.

I was managing Kendrick's campaign, and I immediately seized upon this announcement, saying in public speeches that this was a very unusual thing that Frank Mondell was doing. He was the Republican floor leader, and if his party is going to win—as he thought it would, and as he thinks it ought to win—he would be the next Speaker of the House of Representatives, by the rule of seniority. 'But he's throwing that great honor, for Wyoming, out

Indicative of the role that she was to play in future years, Agnes helped the campaign by giving teas and receptions in her home at 502 East 22nd Street in Cheyenne.

As soon as his re-election was assured, Kendrick sent the following message to Joe: "My re-election is due more largely to your unfailing loyalty and devotion to my interests and to your tireless efforts in my behalf, not only during the past few months, but beginning the day we left Cheyenne for Washington and extending over a period of six eventful years. I appreciate it all more than I can express in words."²⁹ William B. Ross was elected Governor that year. Thus, while Joe was directly responsible for Kendrick's re-election, he was also partially responsible for the Democrat's success in electing, for the first time in the history of the state, two men to major offices.

An indirect result of the election was that Joe was offered, almost immediately after the election, a retainer from a large oil company operating out of Denver. Realizing that they were more concerned with his influence than his legal ability, especially since the offer came on the heels of the election, Joe refused it. He explained, "I declined to accept that retainer, because I didn't want to sell the influence I had gained by fighting a battle in the public interest—I didn't want to capitalize that in the law business."³⁰

the window, in order that he may go against Kendrick, and put Kendrick back on the ranch, instead of in the Senate where he has been serving our people so well.'

The result of that thing, of course, was that it caught on, and it made Mondell very mad. So he advertised all over the state of Wyoming, saying 'This man who calls himself O'Mahoney, and whose name is Mahoney, makes this outlandish suggestion.'

Incidentally, it gave me tremendous advertisement all over the state, and people who never otherwise would have heard of me learned of my existence through that incident."

29. *Boston Globe*, April 20, 1923, p. 1. After his re-election, Kendrick had the following statements to make about the man who served as his secretary from 1917 to 1920 (they appear in the *Boston Globe* article): "My boy, I can't tell you much about Joe O'Mahoney's early career back East, but I can say of him as a resident of the State of Wyoming, that he is a fine chap and one of the most loyal friends ever a man had. Nothing you say of him is too good. Joe is just one of the loveliest boys God almighty put on the face of this earth.

"Why, that tenderfoot took hold of things just as if he'd been born under the blue sky of the Rockies. He is an authority on our mining and land laws. He is one of our best stump speakers. He never makes a statement unless he's got the facts to back it up. That's one reason why we liked him and think so much of him.

"He's doing well out in our country and if he keeps up his interest in politics I'll be mistaken if our folks don't elect him to do something pretty good." Kendrick was proud of the fact that Joe had used his time in Washington judiciously, not only immersing himself in political concerns but using the opportunity to obtain his law degree.

30. *Rems.*, p. 55.

In 1924, besides being a delegate to the national convention, where he was a strong supporter of Al Smith, he ran a gubernatorial and a senatorial campaign.

Governor William Ross died shortly before the expiration of two years of his elected term. The state Democratic party nominated his widow, Nellie Tayloe Ross, to run for the vacant post. Joe managed the successful campaign of the first woman governor in the United States.³¹ She was elected in the same election as the better known Ma Ferguson of Texas but took office two months earlier.

The senatorial campaign he ran was his own. He ran on the platform of "A New Day and a New Deal:"

I STAND FOR farm relief; FOR justice to labor; FOR honesty and economy in government; FOR World Peace, through the League of Nations or the World Court; FOR the exercise of every governmental instrumentality primarily in the interest of ALL, rather than in the interest of the few. I stand FOR all the liberal as opposed to the reactionary of government.

AGAINST all grants of special privilege, in whatever form they may appear; AGAINST the growth of bureaucracy in government; AGAINST the control of our financial and tax systems by Big Business; AGAINST all forms of exploitation, whether of the farmer, the laborer, the public or the public resources.

I am a progressive Democrat. If nominated, I shall owe allegiance only to the people.³²

This program represented a combination of John B. Kendrick's political influence and a realization of what would appear significant to a predominantly Republican state such as Wyoming. Joe was a political realist. He wanted to be elected to office.

Joe was not realistic, however, in his selection of a political opponent. He ran against "... Senator Warren, one of the most

31. *Rems.*, p. 56; *Boston Globe*, Jan. 20, 1933, p. 1; "They Stand Out From the Crowd," *Literary Digest*, Vol. 116 (Dec. 2, 1933), p. 11.

32. "Joseph C. O'Mahoney for United States Senator," *My Platform*, Democratic Primaries, August 19, 1924. Joe's decision to run for the Senate in 1924 was based, at least in part, on the advice of John D. Clark, at the time vice president and assistant to the chairman of Standard Oil Company of Indiana. In a letter to Joe dated July 27, 1923, Clark suggested the following: "Your letter of July 25th is at hand, and I am sorry to note the omission of one well-developed candidacy and I hope that it is not due to any recent access of modesty that never before interfered with your progress. As an expert politician who is in training you do not need any advice from one who is entirely out of practice, but even so I want to remind you that Rule 3 on Page 5 is that it does no particular good to announce that you will be a candidate, but under no circumstances should you deny that you will be. This is the principle you and I had such a hard time to impress on Kendrick, and I don't want to see you violating it. Lots of things can happen between now and next June and most of those that seem likely to happen would inspire a democrat full of jazz and nerve to take a shot at the senatorship."

powerful figures for a generation in the Republican party in the Senate, last of the Civil War veterans and father-in-law of General Pershing."³³ Joe was defeated.

Two events which added to Joe's political experience were his membership on the Conference on Uniform State Laws, 1925-26, and his term as Democratic national committeeman for Wyoming, beginning in 1928.

After Joe O'Mahoney's death the comment was made that he "... launched his political career in 1932 as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention that first nominated Franklin Roosevelt."³⁴ This statement is historically accurate. It was Joe's work at the 1932 national Democratic convention which won him the attention of the national party. But this was not merely a matter of coincidence. Joe gained the attention of the party because he was willing to work and because he produced a quality product.

Joe went on the Democratic national convention as the Democratic national committeeman from Wyoming. He was one of the eleven members of the convention selected to draft the national platform.³⁵ Adopting the theory of a short platform, which met with Roosevelt's favor, he wrote the bulk of the platform along with Cordell Hull and David Walsh. His efforts on the platform committee drew the praise of party officials.

After the convention Joe, as a substitute for the official representative, went to New York to attend the general session of national committeemen. He became involved with the machinery of headquarters, especially with Jim Farley's work, and was asked by Farley to become vice-chairman of the national campaign committee. Joe was second in command, after Farley, at national headquarters, and in Farley's absence saw that orders were carried out. After the national organization was established Joe was placed in charge of the western end of the campaign, comprising fourteen western and Pacific coast states. He left New York to campaign for Roosevelt.³⁶

33. *Boston Post*, Jan. 20, 1933, p. 1.

34. McCracken

35. *Boston Evening American*, Feb. 24, 1933, p. 1; *Boston Post*, Jan. 20, 1933, p. 1; *Douglas Budget*, no date; Senator McGee, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 8, p. 10675; *Rems.*, pp. 15, 55; Julian Snow, "Joseph C. O'Mahoney: His Answer to the Enigma," *Public Men In and Out of Office*, John Thomas Salter ed. (Chapel Hill: 1946), p. 114.

36. Communications between Farley and Joe concern themselves with the 1932 election. After the nominating convention Joe received a telegram from Farley and Louis Howe, dated July 2, 1932: "We appreciate your fine work in assisting Franklin D. Roosevelt to secure the nomination the cooperation of his loyal friends made this possible we are counting on you to go forward in the campaign to make him the next president with assurances of my personal regards I am sincerely yours." Later that same month, July

Joe first received national attention at the expense of Herbert Hoover. In December of 1932, Hoover gave an order to transfer the general land office from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture. In the order O'Mahoney and others saw a blow to the public land states. Joe won national recognition as a result of his argument against the transfer which Senator Kendrick read into the *Congressional Record*. The reasons advanced by Joe and presented in the form of a letter addressed to Kendrick, contributed much to blocking the transfer.³⁷

Around the first of the year, 1933, and immediately previous to his inauguration, speculation over who Roosevelt would appoint Secretary of the Interior included the name of Joseph O'Mahoney. The *Salem News*, *Douglas Budget*, *Wind River Mountaineer*, and *Boston Post*, to name a few, all mentioned the serious consideration Joe was receiving for the cabinet post. The Wyoming legislature caught wind of the same news and decided to help it along. A resolution was introduced jointly by the Democratic and Republican leaders of the state senate and was unanimously passed January 23, 1933, by a Republican Senate and a Democratic House. It read:

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of Wyoming, the House of Representatives concurring:

Whereas, the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, President-elect of the United States, will in the near future appoint a Secretary of the Interior; and

Whereas, it is the sense of the Twenty Second Legislative Assembly of the State of Wyoming that Honorable Joseph C. O'Mahoney, by reason of his character, ability, knowledge and training is eminently qualified and fitted to discharge the duties of that office.

Now, Therefore, be it resolved that this Legislative Assembly recommends Joseph C. O'Mahoney to the President-elect and respectfully requests his appointment as Secretary of the Interior.

And be it further resolved, that the Secretary of State be authorized to transmit this resolution to the President-elect by telegraph.

Such a move was unprecedented, especially since it was the fruit of a Republican Senate.

Jim Farley responded in a letter dated January 28, 1933. He said he was for the action 100%. Joe's response to Farley, while guarded, indicated that he was interested in such an appointment: "I was glad to receive your note acknowledging receipt of the resolution adopted by the Wyoming legislature. Only yesterday I received a letter from the state chairman of Colorado advising me

27 to be exact, Joe received a lengthier letter from Farley thanking him for the effort he extended in Roosevelt's behalf and indicated that he, Farley, "shall ever be grateful." On November 11, after the election, Joe received another letter from Farley, once again thanking him and once again indicating that he would not forget the help Joe provided.

37. *Douglas Budget*, *Wind River Mountaineer*, and *Wyoming State Tribune*, December 22, 1932.

that he and Raymond Miller had joined in a letter to Governor Roosevelt. I want you to know that all of this has been without solicitation upon my part, and that to all persons who have approached me on the subject I have asserted my belief that a position in the cabinet is altogether too great a distinction to justify any persons 'legging' for it."³⁸ Nellie Tayloe Ross, a close friend of Joe's since he managed her campaign for governor, joined in by writing an enthusiastic letter to Louis Howe of the Democratic National Committee. After writing about Joe's liberal principles, creative ability, intelligence, and maturity, she closed by saying: "Assuming that press statements are true reporting the selection of eminent seasoned statesmen for some of the major posts, I entertain the earnest hope that Mr. O'Mahoney's sheer worth will also so commend itself to the president-elect that he will call him to administer the affairs of the Interior."³⁹ The analysis concerning the likelihood of Joe's appointment to Secretary of the Interior offered by the *Douglas Budget*, January 29, 1933, was astute. They explained that of all the men considered for cabinet posts by the President only Joe was without the prestige of national prominence. Therefore, he was most likely to be appointed a first assistant with the ever-present possibility that before Roosevelt's term was over he would be elevated to a more important post.

On January 31, 1933, Senator Kendrick announced that the post of first assistant postmaster general in the Roosevelt administration had been offered to Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democratic national committeeman from Wyoming.⁴⁰ Because of the publicity he received concerning his possible appointment as Secretary of the Interior, Joe received responses such as that in a letter dated February 23, 1933: "If the first assistant postmaster generalship is acceptable to you, I want to be one of the first to congratulate you, but I thought you would be in the cabinet, and that's where you belong. While I am elated in a way, yet I am disappointed." Joe's replies were good natured and did not express disappointment.

The appointment can best be understood if it is realized that the

38. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, letter to Jim Farley, Feb. 4, 1933.

39. Nellie Tayloe Ross, letter to Louis Howe, February 6, 1933. An interesting consideration was the way Nellie and Joe "scratched each other's backs." While Nellie Tayloe Ross tried to help Joe get the post of Secretary of Interior, Joe used his influence to get Governor Ross appointed as Director of the Mint. Governor Ross's respect for Joe was evident in a letter to him dated February 20, 1933 (two weeks after her letter to Louis Howe in Joe's behalf): "Joe, do you understand, I wonder, that whatever you agree to for me, with Mr. F. [Farley] and the others, is going to be satisfactory to me. Who knows me better than you do—my ability and lack of ability, my deserts and lack of deserts?—positively nobody. Who would handle my case more ably and faithfully than you—positively nobody—"

40. *Boston Post*, Jan. 31, 1933, p. 1.

postmaster general traditionally has been chief patronage dispenser of the government. Therefore, the campaign manager of the successful candidate has, historically, been appointed to the post of postmaster general. In keeping with the tradition Farley was so appointed. Immediately following the presidential election Farley was busy with party business. Therefore, it was necessary to have an assistant he could trust to carry on the duties of the office. Since Joe had been his chief aid during the election and was known for his faithful adherence to Farley's instructions, he seemed a logical choice for first assistant postmaster general.

Joe explained that after the election Farley called him back to Washington, the two met at the Biltmore Hotel:

Farley announced that Roosevelt had requested him to become postmaster general, and he wanted me to come in as first assistant postmaster general.

He explained that he was going to be very busy, and that eventually, too, with all the Democrats coming in from all over the United States to express their qualifications for vacancies that were bound to come up, he paid me the compliment of saying that he wanted me to be in the job so that I would be running the Postoffice Department while he would be taking care of these other affairs.⁴¹

Joe responded that the only other "job within the gift of the President" which he would prefer was solicitor general in the Department of Justice, because it was a professional position he would like to fill. Feeling that the President would not select a lawyer from Wyoming to fill that post, he was satisfied with the position offered him.

On March 6, 1933, Joseph C. O'Mahoney began his first and only administrative office for a salary of \$6,500. His acceptance of the position, and its low financial remuneration, indicated his political concern. He had to persuade Agnes that the job held political opportunity.

He quit his law practice. Besides wanting to devote his full time to government service, he did not want his position unduly influenced.

In November, 1933, John Benjamin Kendrick suffered a serious stroke. As the situation required immediate attention, Governor Leslie Miller of Wyoming called in his two closest political associates, Tracy McCracken and John D. Clark. The three men met with Senator Kendrick's secretary to assess the gravity of the situation. The next afternoon it was announced that Kendrick had died. The decision was made by Leslie Miller, in conjunction with John Clark and Tracy McCracken, that Joseph O'Mahoney was the logical choice to complete Kendrick's remaining year in office.⁴²

41. *Rems.*, pp. 13-14.

42. Leslie Miller, Interview, March 15, 1968.

Joe's appointment is not difficult to explain. First, he was very much responsible for Leslie Miller's election as governor of Wyoming. Not only because of the efforts he extended in behalf of Miller's campaign but because of more than fifteen years of social and political association. O'Mahoney and Les Miller had been friends ever since Joe first came to Cheyenne to work for the *State Leader* in 1916. Second, John D. Clark favored the appointment of Joe to the office. He exerted a financial and professional influence over Miller.⁴³ Third, Joe had worked more closely with Senator Kendrick than any other man in public life. He was even familiar with the senator's office organization, having helped him to establish it in 1916. Finally, Les Miller and Joe O'Mahoney were both close friends of the party in power in Washington.

Joe's appointment met an obstacle. The obstacle was not directed at Joe but at Governor Miller's power to appoint a replacement for Kendrick. Wyoming law required a special election if a Senate seat became vacant more than a year before the next general election" and Congress was not sitting. Therefore, it was argued that a special election was necessary. To guarantee that election a writ of mandamus was presented to the Supreme Court of the State of Wyoming on behalf of realtor Fred W. Wyckoff and charged respondent Leslie A. Miller. The state senate, supporting the governor, held a special session to rush through both houses an amendment to the election laws in order to allow for O'Mahoney's appointment.⁴⁴ This was the second time the Republican Senate came to Joe's support.

The appointment became official on December 18, 1933, when Leslie A. Miller, governor of the state of Wyoming, sent an official letter to Edwin A. Halsey, secretary of the senate, notifying him of the appointment.

43. The choice of O'Mahoney, rather than John Clark, was perplexing until answered in a letter from John Clark to President Roosevelt on November 11, 1933. Clark, wanting consideration for the appointment as ambassador to the newly recognized Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, was rather blunt: "Having given you every assistance in your nomination and election I have now made it possible for you to enjoy the loyal and intelligent support of Joe O'Mahoney in the United States Senate. There would be no Democratic governor in Wyoming to make the appointment if I had not completely financed the last campaign in the state through the ten thousand dollars I contributed to your national committee and I doubt if the governor would have denied me the appointment had I asked for it. Because as a professional economist, I do not belong to that school of economic thought which just now has your ear. I believed Mr. O'Mahoney would be able to support your entire domestic program far better than I could and accordingly I requested that he be appointed."

44. *Time*, Jan. 1, 1934, p. 7. The controversy is clarified in a series of letters between Joe, John Clark, Warwick Downing, and Julian Snow. The letters are available in Senator O'Mahoney's papers, archives, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

Joe was influential from the start of his tenure in the Senate because he inherited all of Kendrick's committees. While this was not the usual practice, Joe had worked closely with the senator during his four years as secretary, and the party decided to appoint him to the same committees. The committees were appropriations, public lands and surveys, irrigation and reclamation, Indian affairs, and post offices and post roads.

Even more unusual was that Joe was assigned the same offices as those held by Kendrick. The assignment of offices depended on seniority and Kendrick, having served seventeen years in the Senate, had excellent accommodations. By a special provision Joe was assigned to Suite 232, making him the only senator who occupied the same office where he had served as a senatorial secretary.⁴⁵

An indication of Roosevelt's pleasure with Joe's appointment was evident in a letter dated January 5, 1934, and made in response to Joe's letter of December 28, 1933, announcing his resignation from the cabinet assistantship: "Of course it is unnecessary for me to tell you how pleased I was with Governor Miller's appointment of you to fill the Senate vacancy caused by the death of Senator Kendrick. The one fly in the ointment is losing you in the Post Office Department, and I want to take this opportunity to express what you already know, my appreciation for the fine, loyal and constructive work you have done. I am looking forward to a continuation of our very pleasant relationships, now that you are wearing the toga."

Although in his first year of office, Joe was faced with an election, the campaign thrust of the opposition was that he was an administration "rubber stamp" and "yes man," that he had supported the administration on every issue, even voting to sustain the President's veto of the soldier's bonus bill. Although his Republican opposition was Congressman Vincent Carter, known as the "best vote getter in the state," he won by a majority of 12,987 votes.

Senator O'Mahoney's opposition to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's attempt to "pack" the Supreme Court of the United States was considered the legislative event which brought him into the national spotlight,⁴⁶ his greatest debate,⁴⁷ his most dramatic moment,⁴⁸ and the hardest and most important task in his career.⁴⁹ While the *Daily Worker* said that Joe was one of the "decoy liberals who are leading the forces of reaction in the crusade against Supreme Court

45. *Wyoming Eagle*, Jan. 16, 1959, p. 1; *Wyoming State Tribune*, October 14, 1958, p. 1.

46. "Joseph C. O'Mahoney," *Current Biography* (Oct. 1945), p. 436.

47. McCracken.

48. Lucey.

49. McCracken.

reform,"⁵⁰ other accounts of his effort commended him on the meaningful way in which he followed his personal beliefs rather than party loyalties.⁵¹

Franklin Delano Roosevelt sought to enlarge the membership of the Supreme Court so that he would be able to appoint justices sympathetic to his legislative proposals. One senator he was counting on for support was Joseph C. O'Mahoney. O'Mahoney's support was important because he was a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee which would conduct the hearings on Roosevelt's bill. Roosevelt assumed he could count on Joe's support because Joe had campaigned vigorously for him, Joe had always supported Roosevelt's legislation in the past, and Joe was still a close friend of Roosevelt and Jim Farley, Roosevelt's campaign manager. The day before Joe announced the course he would pursue, Harold Brauman, a Washington correspondent for the *Philadelphia Ledger* wrote, "He will desert the President about the time Jimmy Roosevelt does. Those who have jumped to the conclusion he will oppose the President fail to appreciate his background and inclinations. They forget that for the first year of the administration he served as a first assistant to Jim Farley. He and Farley became great friends and he would no more think of turning against the administration . . . than he would of jumping off a cliff."⁵²

The reason there were even "whisperings" that Joe would desert the administration on this issue was that he closely questioned certain administration spokesmen, such as Attorney General Homer Cummings, during the hearings before the judiciary committee.⁵³ This motivated Farley to warn Joe not "to get behind the eight ball," and Senator James F. Byrnes arranged a luncheon engagement where he was to meet the President. Joe told the President that the court bill would not pass, rather he should support a constitutional amendment providing for retirement of justices at a specified age. Joe returned to his office and drew up just such an amendment. Roosevelt replied, "Dear Joe. As you know, I am an optimist. I think you are a worse optimist than I am."⁵⁴ Roosevelt's response, indicating that he was not willing to seek an alternative solution, motivated Joe to come out in opposition to the bill. Not only did he speak in opposition to the bill in committee,

50. Snow, p. 117.

51. "Officials Mourn Death," *Wyoming State Tribune* (Dec. 2, 1962), p. 1. Senator Holland and Senator Dworshak, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 8, pp. 10682, 10689.

52. Snow, p. 117.

53. Snow, pp. 116-117.

54. Robert C. Albright, "A Great Old Dissenter Fades Away," *Washington Post* (June 12, 1960), p. 1.



WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES

Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department
O'MAHONEY IN 1952, THE YEAR IN WHICH HE LOST HIS SENATE SEAT
TO GOVERNOR FRANK A. BARRETT



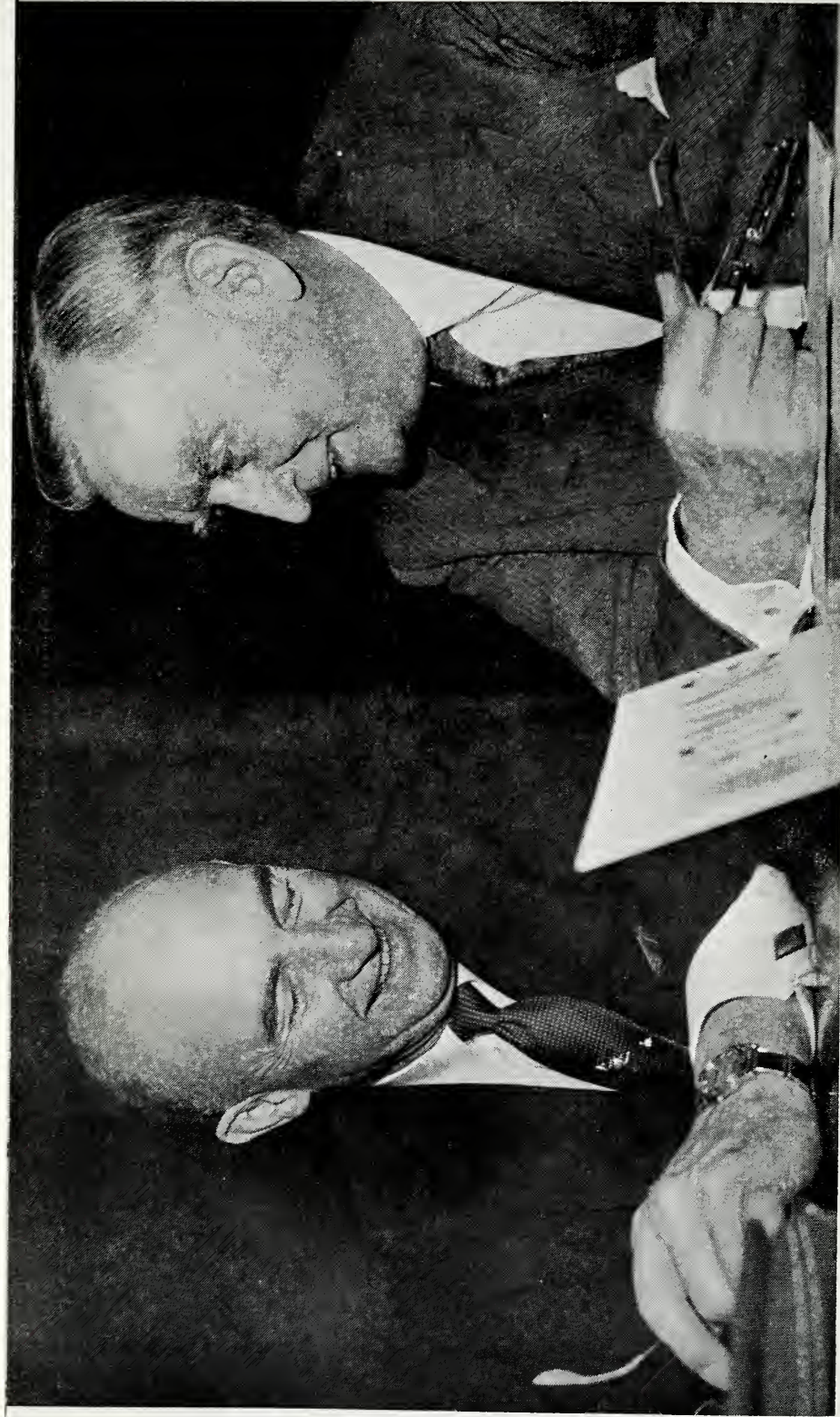
Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

SENATOR O'MAHONEY EXPLAINS GOVERNMENT PAYROLL CHARTS IN 1937



Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

O'MAHONEY RECEIVING A SILVER SERVICE UPON HIS RESIGNATION AS FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, DECEMBER 28, 1933. MAKING THE PRESENTATION TO O'MAHONEY WERE W. W. HOWES, SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, CENTER, AND POSTMASTER GENERAL JAMES A. FARLEY



Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

WYOMING REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR MILWARD L. SIMPSON, LEFT, CHATS WITH DEMOCRATIC U. S. SENATOR O'MAHONEY IN WASHINGTON DURING A 1957 CONFERENCE OF GOVERNORS AND OFFICIALS OF THE COLORADO RIVER STATES

he wrote a portion of the committee's adverse report and spoke against the bill on the floor of the United States Senate and over the radio. He recommended that the bill be defeated so decisively, "that its like would never be sent to Congress again."⁵⁵

The reasons for Joe's opposition were clear. First, he was a jealous defender of the Constitution and especially the separation of powers spelled out in that document. Second, he took pride in his independence. He did not want to be "bulleyed" into anything.⁵⁶ Finally, as explained earlier, Joe was a political realist. He received negative reactions because he adhered too closely to the Roosevelt programs. The court packing attempt provided him with an opportunity to rid himself of the damaging label of an administration "yes man." Thus, he was philosophically, emotionally, and politically opposed to the action.

The judiciary committee voted to prepare an adverse report to the court-packing bill. Various accounts disagreed as to Joe's role in the writing of the report. One source said he wrote the entire report,⁵⁷ another that he wrote much of the report,⁵⁸ and another that he wrote the bitter and more acrid part of the report.⁵⁹ Whatever his role, the report was a significant document. The *Chicago Tribune* called it "the second Declaration of Independence."⁶⁰

Senator O'Mahoney made at least two speeches in the Senate in opposition to the court packing bill.⁶¹ His major speech, comprising at least seventeen pages of *Congressional Record*, was, according to the *New York Times* of July 13, 1937, "... one of the outstanding Senate orations of recent years." Senator Vandenberg contended that it was one of the speeches responsible for changing votes.⁶² Senator Byrd and Senator Sparkman both suggested that Joe O'Mahoney's speech was one of the reasons for the failure of the court-packing plan. Senator Byrd considered the speech one of the greatest orations he ever heard.⁶³ Charles Brooks Smith, Washington correspondent for the *West Virginia Intelligencer*, wrote on July 13, 1937: "It matters not what the inscrutable future may hold for Senator O'Mahoney, good or ill, it will never dim July 12, 1937. By a great speech on the Court issue, in which he opposed the proposed change, he vaulted to the forefront of

55. Albright.

56. Senator Church, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 8, p. 9967.

57. Senator Case, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 8, p. 10679.

58. Snow, p. 117.

59. Hubert Corey, "O'Mahoney Wants Facts—Not Scalps," *Nations Business*, Vol. 10 (Sept. 1938), p. 15.

60. Snow, p. 117.

61. Lucey.

62. Arthur A. Vandenburg, "The Biography of an Undelivered Speech," *Saturday Evening Post* (Oct. 2, 1937), p. 32.

63. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 8, p. 10678.

Senate statesmanship, as it rates today. He lifted debate . . . from mediocrity to a high plane."⁶⁴

The effect achieved by Senator O'Mahoney's speech was not left to chance. Jerry A. O'Callaghan, his legislative aide for his last term in office, explained that the Senator knew when to speak, that he timed presentations, especially on legislation, for their impact. Senator O'Mahoney waited until late in the dispute over the court packing bill just so that his speech would have the effect which it had.⁶⁵

The immediate political effect of Joe's role in the court packing plan was that it cost him the President's favor. It was more than a year before the two men, previously very close, reconciled their differences. This "loss of favor" was politically beneficial to Joe as it proved to his constituents that he was not the President's pawn, and it established his independence on the floor of the United States Senate. His effectiveness as a senator was enhanced as a result of the fight over the court packing bill.

Senator O'Mahoney's work as chairman of the Temporary National Economic Committee was considered the most important contribution of his public service.⁶⁶ Joe took great pride in the work of the committee. In fact, of all the bills he signed as a senator the one he was proudest of was the resolution asking for the creation of a committee to make an exhaustive study of our economic system, the resolution calling for the creation of the Temporary National Economic Committee.⁶⁷ The source of his pride was twofold, the value of the findings of the committee and the way they were received by the general public. When the investigation began Joe predicted that the results would be "dull but important." He had no idea that the eighty-four volumes of hearings and monographs would become a Government Printing Office best seller, bringing more than \$82,000 into the treasury.⁶⁸ Besides its financial success, the report and its implications were highly regarded. Senator Murray of Montana called it, ". . . the first exhaustive, thorough and workmanlike evaluation of this nation's economy."⁶⁹ Carl Hayden called it the first full length portrait of America, the producer.⁷⁰ The study, the most comprehensive ever made in the field,⁷¹ would, according to Senator Church of Idaho, ". . . be remembered and applauded through many years to

64. *West Virginia Intelligencer*, July 13, 1937, p. 1.

65. O'Callaghan

66. Senator Humphrey, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 9, p. 12184.

67. Barnet Nover, "O'Mahoney Fights for Strong West," *Denver Post* (Dec. 12, 1948), p. 1. "Officials Mourn Death"

68. O'Callaghan; Lucey; *Current Biography*, p. 437; Snow, p. 119.

69. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 8, p. 10112.

70. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 9, p. 11346.

71. "Officials Mourn Death"

come."⁷² Even Senator O'Mahoney did not foresee its full impact as an authoritative source of congressional committees, government departments, universities, economic foundations, and even the United States Supreme Court and lesser tribunals.⁷³ Senator Gale McGee explained that the hearings and reports were "Bibles."⁷⁴

There were speculations offered as to why the TNEC was formed. One suggestion was that it was designed to guarantee that the O'Mahoney-Borah National Charters Bill would be passed.⁷⁵ Another suggestion was that O'Mahoney engineered the creation of the committee because it represented the logical extension of his grand plan to enhance the development of the West by preventing the growth of monopolies in government and business.⁷⁶ Joe described the formation of the TNEC in the following way:

Back in 1937, I introduced a bill to create the Temporary National Economic Committee to conduct an investigation of the concentration of economic power. Roosevelt had sent a message to the Congress recommending that the executive departments be authorized to conduct this investigation, and to have the authority to issue subpoenas and to get testimony. I had fallen out, to some extent, with the Roosevelt Administration, over the Court fight, but I was all for this investigation of the concentration of economic power.

So I went to Senator Borah. He and I were in agreement on this court fight. I asked him to join me in introducing a resolution to establish this economic committee, but to make Congress a part of it. Roosevelt was in a great hurry to go off on a week-end trip, so he sent this message up to Congress at the end of the week, without a bill. By Monday morning when he came back, I had introduced a bill which made Congress a part of the investigation. Of course they couldn't take that away from Congress, since they were asking Congress to pass the bill.

So the Temporary National Economic Committee was established being composed both of members of the House and members of the Senate and representatives from the executive department. Immediately after the bill was passed and the President had signed it, I was made chairman.⁷⁷

The generally accepted reason why Joe made the move was that he was interested in the study, and he did not want the executive branch usurping what he felt were congressional rights. The committee was purposefully designed to be temporary.

The formation of the TNEC stemmed from the President's message to Congress of April 29, 1938. The operating time stipulated in the resolution, passed June 16, 1938, was extended twice

72. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 8, p. 9967.

73. Snow, p. 119.

74. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 8, p. 10676.

75. Raymond Moley, "The Great Monopoly Mystery," *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. 212 (March 30, 1940), p. 10.

76. Phil J. Rodgers, *Rocky Mountain Empire Magazine* (Feb. 16, 1947), p. 5.

77. *Rems.*, pp. 36-37.

and the committee had its operating funds extended once. The resolution called for six Congressional representatives and six executive representatives. Dewey Anderson was staff director. The resolution calling for the establishment of the TNEC appropriated \$500,000 to the committee. Because only \$100,000 was to be controlled by the congressional representatives, and because of the six congressional representatives at least one, Congressman Eicher, was "... an Administration wheelhorse," the feeling was that the committee's policies would be dominated by the executive representatives.⁷⁸ The committee met for two years and nine months, 1938-1941, and examined patents, life insurance, petroleum, iron and steel, prices, investments, technology and concentration of economic power, cartels, "... everything under the economic sun."⁷⁹ The TNEC report stated a case against monopoly,⁸⁰ provided information leading to numerous postwar reorganization plans,⁸¹ and provided congressmen with information they needed to frame new legislation in the economic field.⁸² Examples were modifications in the patent laws,⁸³ O'Mahoney's bill for the development of petroleum reserves on public lands,⁸⁴ and sugar and wool legislation.

In 1940, a presidential election year, Joe received the largest vote ever given a candidate for the Senate in Wyoming. He also won by the largest majority ever obtained by a senatorial candidate, 19,340 votes.

In 1946, he was the only Democratic senator north of the Mason-Dixon line and west of the Mississippi to survive the Republican landslide. He won by a majority of 10,129 votes.

In 1948, he was considered a possible vice-presidential candidate. Some believed that he was "far and away" the most popular candidate. One explanation for his not running was that Truman's friends Ed Flynn and Howard McGrath, both Catholics, vetoed the possibility of O'Mahoney because he was a Catholic.⁸⁵ Another explanation was simply that Truman wanted Barkley for his running mate.

An editorial in the *Wyoming State Tribune* of November 10, 1950, entitled "Is he losing touch?" addressed itself to how closely Senator O'Mahoney was *not* keeping touch with the people. It was motivated by the fact that his predictions regarding the 1950 elec-

78. *Time*, Vol. 32 (July 4, 1938), p. 9.

79. Snow, p. 121.

80. Rodgers.

81. *Current Biography*, p. 437.

82. "Officials Mourn Death"

83. Snow, pp. 121-122.

84. Rodgers.

85. Drew Pearson, "O'Mahoney Ending Long Career," *Washington Post* (Aug. 29, 1960)

tions in Wyoming were totally erroneous; he was wrong on every count. Conjecturing that it was a dangerous sign when a man who was dependent on the people for his professional survival was unable to tell how they were thinking and reacting, the paper warned, "It's just two short years, you know, until he must stand again for re-election." An indication that the Senator was apprehensive about the upcoming election was the report in January of 1952, that he went on an extensive tour of the state in which he drove four-thousand miles in twenty-six days, visited every county and spoke at forty-seven public gatherings.⁸⁶ In October he must have been even more apprehensive. A straw-vote taken that month by the "Wyoming Tru-Poll Committee" showed he would only receive thirty-seven percent of the vote.

His Senate seat was in jeopardy because of the campaign run by Frank Barrett, his Republican opponent, and, most importantly, the Republican candidate for president, Dwight David Eisenhower. The Barrett campaign contended that Joe was not really the friend of Wyoming and the West that he pretended to be. Two motion pictures were circulated widely throughout the state. "The Fallbrook Story" claimed that O'Mahoney, as chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, bottled up the remedial Fallbrook legislation which had passed the House unanimously and refused to let it go to the Senate floor. In "Freedom's Shores" he played a conspicuous role in opposition to returning the tide-lands to the states. In October, full page advertisements were circulated throughout the state in order to demonstrate that he was not a friend of wool as he had so often claimed.

Although he received forty-eight percent of the vote, rather than the October projection of thirty-seven percent, he lost his seat in 1952 to Governor Frank Barrett. He polled eighteen percent of the vote more than the Democratic presidential candidate, Adlai Stevenson, and if the Eisenhower landslide had not exceeded twenty-five to thirty thousand votes in Wyoming, he would have emerged victorious.

In a letter addressed to Agnes, Tracy McCracken, one of Joe's closest political and social acquaintances from the time of his arrival in Cheyenne in 1916, reaffirmed that Joe's defeat was a product of the Eisenhower victory. He claimed, that "Joe . . . made the greatest race he has ever made. His showing this year, when one analyzes the returns, is far more impressive, the Eisenhower landslide considered, than were his victories that were Democratic."⁸⁷ Another variable was that a number of Republicans indicated they thought Joe would be elected and would there-

86. Frank Hewlett, "O'Mahoney Starts 19th Year," *Salt Lake Tribune* (Jan. 6, 1952), p. 1.

87. Tracy S. McCracken, letter, Dec. 3, 1952.

fore go ahead and vote their party ticket. Scores of letters, received by Joe from admirers all over the nation, especially Wyoming, expressed sorrow at the outcome of the election.

The analysis of why he was defeated did point to hope for a possible return to office in the next election—when Joe would not be a victim of political circumstances. Estes Kefauver, in a handwritten note to Joe dated December 31, 1952, was rather certain: "Joe, you are among the real great of our Senate. I shall always appreciate the time I spent with you here and you will be back."⁸⁸

Joe took the election better than some of those surrounding him. His philosophical acceptance was, "I've always known that holding public office is a hazardous occupation. I accept the verdict of Wyoming voters without regret and have only gratitude that they kept me in the Senate more than three full terms."⁸⁹

Joe stayed in Washington. He opened up law offices in the Southern Building, the same place he had his original law offices in 1920. He was a lobbyist for the Cuban sugar industry, registered with the government as foreign agent number 783,⁹⁰ the Upper Missouri Development Association,⁹¹ and North American Airlines.⁹² He was a registered lobbyist according to the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. This representation of special interests was considered by his critics to be inconsistent. The Temporary National Economic Committee, under his direction, had inves-

88. Found in personal correspondence files, archives, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

89. Lucey.

90. The fact that he was a "foreign agent" became a major issue in his campaign for re-election in 1954.

91. According to the *Congressional Quarterly*, Vol. IX, 1953, p. 604, Joe registered as an agent for the Upper Missouri Development Association, Williston, N.D., on May 13, 1953. He anticipated two months employment and explained his obligations as follows: Army Engineers were constructing a dam at Garrison, N.D., 200 miles below the city of Williston. He said Williston was surrounded by a number of established dams and that the engineers had been condemning land in the Williston area to build unplanned dikes in connection with the Garrison project. The Engineers had requested \$6 million in appropriations for the dikes. The organization, said O'Mahoney was opposing the appropriation. It wanted to see the dike construction plans before an estimated 23,000 acres of farmland were inundated." O'Mahoney explained that he was also "... supporting, on behalf of the organization, a bill (S1857) to amend certain statutes providing expeditious jurisdictional proceedings for condemnation of lands for public purposes." Remuneration was listed as: "taxi fares, meals compensation to be covered by lawyer's fees. Retainer paid, \$1,000."

92. According to the *Congressional Quarterly*, Vol. IX, 1953, p. 590, Joe registered as a representative of North American Airlines, Burbank, California, on July 16, 1953. He was a director of the North American Aircoach Systems, Inc., and said that his registration "... reflected an interest in legislation affecting air transportation generally." He was retained for \$5,000 and compensated on a merit basis.

tigated lobbying, and he had advocated strict control of such pressure groups.

The law firm of Arnold, Fortas, and Porter engaged Joe as the trial attorney for Owen Lattimore, accused by the McCarthy hearings as having communist leanings.⁹³ Joe won the case which was tried before the Supreme Court.

When Joe was defeated in 1952, he announced that he was through with politics forever. In 1954, however, he was paid, at the age of sixty-nine, "... one of the highest tributes ever paid to a former public official. They (the people) insisted, through a tremendous, statewide draft movement, that he give up his law practice and run for the United States Senate again."⁹⁴ When he consented to go along with their wish, he did so on the grounds that the principals which guided his actions would be clear: He would not be a candidate for re-election; he had never raised his voice in personal attack of an opponent and he would not in the upcoming campaign; he had no personal or partisan objective to serve and would therefore work only for those causes which, in his judgment, were for the public good.

The 1954 election was for both a short term, to fill the unexpired portion of Senator Lester C. Hunt's tenure, (Hunt had committed suicide in office) and for the next full six-year term. His opponent was Congressman-at-large William Henry Harrison, a proved vote getter who in 1952 had polled 76,161 votes, an all-time Wyoming record.⁹⁵ Joe emerged victorious. By virtue of the short term, he served in the only Congress he might have missed since 1933.

At the age of seventy, he returned to Washington as the junior senator from Wyoming. He was to once again attempt to rebuild the influence which he had gained as the result of his nineteen years in office and which he lost in his defeat of 1952. Joe was not treated as a newcomer. He was given important committee assignments and his advice and counsel were sought. He was even eventually returned to his old suite of offices. They had been occupied by Senator Watkins of Utah. Joe occupied 344, but upon Watkins' defeat in 1958, Joe was returned to the familiar 232.⁹⁶

Early in the morning of June 19, 1959, Joe was taken by ambulance from his apartment at the Sheraton-Park Hotel to the United States Naval Hospital at Bethesda, Maryland. The Senator suf-

93. United States of America, appellant, v. Owen Lattimore, appellee. Appeal from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. Brief for appellee. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Thurman Arnold, Abe Fortas, Paul A. Porter, attorneys for appellee. . . . Filed Oct. 2, 1953, Washington, B. S. Adams (1953) v. 55 p.

94. *Cheyenne Eagle*, May 11, 1960, p. 1.

95. *Time*, Vol. 64 (July 12, 1954), p. 22.

96. *Wyoming Eagle*, Jan. 16, 1959, p. 1.

ferred a stroke. The day before, he returned home at 12:35 a.m., after the Senate voted to refuse the confirmation of Lewis Strauss as secretary of commerce, an action which Joe had not only supported but took a key role. According to his wife, Agnes, he had gone to bed tired but well.

The stroke, which affected his left side, was not disabling. Joe responded well to treatment and his condition improved steadily. He was visited almost daily by his staff and wife, who had been victim of a stroke herself the previous year.⁹⁷ The stroke did not stop his activity. He continued his work from his hospital bed by telephone.⁹⁸

Joe returned to "active duty" on October 21, 1959,⁹⁹ but never did function at full capacity after the stroke. He kept his word and in a letter to Democrat state officials in Wyoming, convened for their state convention at Thermopolis in May of 1960, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney said that he would not file for re-election.

He died on December 2, 1962, at the age of seventy-eight. He had entered the United States Naval Hospital nineteen days previously for treatment of what was diagnosed as a heart ailment.

97. Louise Love, *Washingtonnews*, June 26, 1959.

98. Senator McGee, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 106, No. 14, p. 18112; *Rocky Mountain News*, May 11, 1960, p. 1.

99. Joe's return was greeted by the following poem, signed "The 232 Crew": "WELCOME HOME/ We have missed you, oh so much/ We're glad to have you back./ We've kept the office neat and clean/ And everything intact./ It's been a treat to talk to you/ Whenever you would call,/ But having you in the office/ Is the greatest treat of all!"

Wyoming's Pioneer Life Insurance Company

By

EDMOND L. ESCOLAS

Wyoming's first domestic life insurance carrier was appropriately, although rather unimaginatively, named the Wyoming Life Insurance Company.¹ Incorporated on March 23, 1911, as a stock company, Wyoming Life commenced business on April 15, 1912, in the fields of life and health insurance as well as annuities. The home office was located in The Citizens National Bank Building in Cheyenne with William R. Schnitger as legal agent. The board of directors consisted of twenty-one persons, all of whom were stockholders.²

The venturesomeness of launching such an enterprise may be revealed in part by indicating Wyoming's sparse population at the time. In 1910, state population stood at 145,965. Cheyenne, the largest city, had 11,320 persons; Sheridan, 8,408; Laramie, 8,237; Rock Springs, 5,778; Rawlins, 4,256; while Casper, still referred to as a town, had some 2,639.³

At this time, life insurance in America was truly in its embryonic stage. In 1915, total life insurance in force amounted to about \$21 billion. Ten years later there had been more than a threefold jump to \$69 billion. These figures, impressive as they must have been at the time, appear rather insignificant compared to the \$985 billion for 1966, and to the sales figure of \$122 billion for that year alone.⁴

The original capitalization of Wyoming Life amounted to \$300,000 or 3,000 shares of \$100 par value common stock⁵ of which approximately 2,000 shares were outstanding. In later years, as 1919 and 1923, the Company's paid-in capital was in-

1. Later companies, for example, called themselves; Yellowstone National Life (1924), Old Faithful (1953), Great Plains (1957), Pacific-Atlantic (1959), Teton National (1960), and Big Horn National (1962).

2. Wyoming, Office of the Secretary of State, *Index to Corporations*, Filings 12,616 and 13,291.

3. United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. Population*, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), pp. 1104 and 1110.

4. Institute of Life Insurance, *Life Insurance Fact Book* (New York: 1967), pp. 17 & 19.

5. Wyoming, *Index to Corporations*, Filing 12,616.

creased or decreased as the occasion warranted to bolster surplus or meet legal requirements. The incorporators were, as *The Wyoming Tribune* stated, ". . . all well-known citizens of Wyoming . . ." — a cattleman, a doctor, a lawyer, a marshal, and a merchant-banker.

Brief background sketches of these men confirm that they did indeed occupy prominent positions in the economic, political, and social affairs of Wyoming. LeRoy Grant, of Laramie, was a cattle-sheep man with extensive holdings in the Tie Siding area, as well as interests in a large general store and the Windsor Livery Feed and Sale Stable. He served in the territorial legislatures of 1884, 1886, and 1888, as well as the Wyoming House of Representatives in 1897-1899. He was mayor of Laramie in 1886 and later became state auditor for the years 1899 to 1911.⁷

Dr. George P. Johnston was a well-known Cheyenne physician, and served as the company's medical director.⁸

William E. Mullen had been mayor of Sheridan and was an established attorney who came to Cheyenne to serve as attorney-general from 1905-1911. He ran for governor in 1910 on the Republican ticket, but was defeated by Judge Joseph M. Carey.⁹

William R. Schnitger came to Wyoming in 1878, serving under his father as deputy United States marshal of the territory. He became city marshal of Cheyenne in 1883 and mayor in 1897. Mr. Schnitger was elected to Wyoming's first state legislature as a senator in 1890-1891, and was president of that body in the same year. He served in the Senate and the House, and as secretary of state from 1907-1911.¹⁰ Also active in business affairs, he was associated with Charles W. Riner and Company of Cheyenne, which was engaged in insurance and real estate.¹¹ Mr. Riner, although not an incorporator, later became connected with Wyoming Life as a director.¹²

Edward W. Stone, as well as the other incorporators, was prominent in business and civic affairs. He was a partner in the Cheyenne merchandising firm of Vreeland and Stone and also had extensive mining interests. He was treasurer of Laramie County in 1889. Beginning in 1899, he served several terms in the State

6. *Wyoming Tribune* [Cheyenne], March 9, 1911, p. 1.

7. Erwin, Marie H., *Wyoming Historical Blue Book — 1868-1943* (Denver: undated), p. 934; Coutant, probably, *Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming* (Chicago: 1903), p. 479; and Burns, R. H., Gillespie, A. S., and Richardson, W., *Wyoming's Pioneer Ranches* (Laramie: 1955), pp. 151, 276-277.

8. *Wyoming Tribune* [Cheyenne], March 9, 1911, p. 1.

9. Erwin, *op. cit.*, p. 972.

10. Erwin, *op. cit.*, p. 930.

11. *Wyoming Tribune* [Cheyenne], March 21, 1923, p. 3.

12. Wyoming, *Index to Corporations*, Filing 23,782.

senate and was president of that body in 1915. At the time of Wyoming Life's incorporation, he was cashier of the Citizens National Bank of Cheyenne.¹³

By the end of 1912, seven months after opening its doors, the young company had \$587,000 of insurance in force. Wyoming Life offered both participating and non-participating life insurance policies in the regular forms of ordinary, term, and endowment, as well as annuities. The company had no limit as to the amount it would write on one life but retained only \$5,000. Insurance on women was limited to \$5,000 but written at the same rates as men.¹⁴

In January, 1914, with William R. Schnitger as president and Frank J. Niswander as secretary, stockholders of Wyoming Life voted to reduce board membership to eleven because:

... experience in the administration and management of said company has shown that a board of twenty-one directors is impracticable, unnecessary, and cumbersome, in that where the directorate is chosen from among stockholders residing throughout the state, it is difficult to secure the attendance of a sufficient number of the board to comprise a quorum for the transaction of business, caused by the distance necessary to be travelled and the attendant expense, there being no provision for the payment of travelling expenses. . .¹⁵

In 1916, with some \$919,410 insurance in force, controlling interest in Wyoming Life was acquired by The Western Holding Company, headed by J. T. Kendall. In a management changeover, Mr. Kendall, who had been state agent for Colorado and Wyoming of the Bankers Life Company of Des Moines, became president of Wyoming Life.¹⁶

As a special meeting on April 3, 1917, held in the home office in Cheyenne, the stockholders voted to reduce the amount of authorized common stock from 3,000 shares to 2,050, which coincided with the amount paid up, and also to change the corporate name to Western National Life Insurance Company. Attention is also called to the fact that debts totaled \$250 and that considerable difficulty was encountered in selling stock.¹⁷

In commenting on the name change and company affairs, the *Tribune* stated:

... This change is made preparatory to expanding the company's business with a view of making it ultimately a national institution. Heretofore, the business of the company has been confined to the State of Wyoming and the local name, Wyoming Life Insurance Company, was suitable and desirable so long as the company was doing a local busi-

13. Coutant, probably, *Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming* (Chicago: 1903), p. 32.

14. Best's, *Life Insurance Reports* - 1926 (New York: 1925), p. 944.

15. Wyoming, *Index to Corporations*, Filing 16,380.

16. Best's, *op. cit.*, p. 944.

17. Wyoming, *Index to Corporations*, Filing 18,983.

ness, but now that the company is preparing to enter other states for business and will in time operate in all desirable territory, it was thought by the stockholders to be advisable to change the name so as to better indicate the scope of the company's business.

... The past four months have been devoted to a complete revision of the company's policy forms and rates, so as to make them the most attractive and up-to-date policies possible. The result is that the company has succeeded in enlisting, through its attractive policies, the services of a number of capable insurance men. The company now has three supervisors of agents devoting all of their time and attention to organizing for business the territory in which the company is now operating. Applications are coming in splendidly, and it is confidently predicted by the management that the company's business will be more than doubled during the current year.¹⁸

As to the financial position of the company, the *Tribune* quotes from Robert B. Forsyth, state auditor and Wyoming's first insurance commissioner:

... The detailed examination of the company from its organization [shows] the company's financial condition to be most excellent. I wish to congratulate the company upon the report in general and particularly upon the splendid condition of the company financially and the manner in which it has its funds invested. Mr. Paul L. Woolston's [actuary] comment, "in general, the company's loans are first class, the interest on nearly all being eight per cent, and the securities at least double the loan" is as strong a commendation as anything I might add.¹⁹

An advertisement on the same page solicited home support for the company in these words:

It is believed that Wyoming will in general, and Cheyenne in particular, give the company most loyal support and will aid the management in building for Wyoming one of the largest financial institutions in the West.²⁰

At a special meeting held on February 17, 1919, stockholders of Western National Life discussed the possibility of increasing the amount of authorized stock back to 3,000 shares, because some of the present owners hoped that Western National would be in a position to acquire other life companies through an exchange of shares.²¹

An excerpt of the minutes of this meeting reveals the thinking of this group at the time—as the proposal carried:

... it would be advantageous and in the interest of said company to increase its authorized capitalization from \$205,000.00 to \$300,000.00 for the following reasons:

By reason of excessive mortality recently experienced by life insurance companies, caused for the most part for what is known as a general epidemic of influenza that has prevailed during the past year throughout the country, there are existing opportunities for this company to

18. *Wyoming Tribune* [Cheyenne], April 5, 1917, p. 2. Also see Table I.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. Wyoming, *Index to Corporations*, Filing 23,782.

take over, consolidate and absorb the business and assets of other life insurance companies, and in that way greatly improve its condition by increased volume of insurance business in force. It is believed that this may be readily accomplished by offering for sale the increased number of shares of this company to the shareholders of such other companies, on a ratable basis of value which would be satisfactory to the directors of this company.²²

On June 25, 1919, the board of directors, made up of J. T. Kendall, president; H. G. Hewitt, secretary; and A. H. Marble, George P. Johnston, C. W. Riner, M. R. Johnston, and W. E. Mullen, resolved to sell an additional 200 shares of stock and to increase authorized capital from \$205,000 to \$300,000, of which \$225,000 was fully paid.²³

By the end of 1920, Western National had \$8,933,035 insurance in force and admitted assets of \$530,511. The amount of insurance increased in the next year to \$10,367,402. The major reason for this jump was the acquisition on February 21, 1921, of Colorado Life Insurance Company of Denver, Colorado, with its \$1,285,300 of insurance outstanding.²⁴

The rather slow growth and high lapse ratio of Western National can be seen in Table I for the years 1920-1923. With these problems in mind, a special stockholders meeting was held on March 27, 1923, with President Kendall and W. E. Mullen, vice-president, presiding. The owners agreed to reduce capital stock from \$300,000 to \$225,000. The reason for this action was that in some states authorized capital must be fully paid up if a foreign company desires to enter and transact business.²⁵ In view of its

TABLE I
ASSETS, NET RESERVE, CAPITAL
SURPLUS, INSURANCE WRITTEN, and
INSURANCE IN FORCE
WESTERN NATIONAL LIFE
1912-1925*

End of	Admitted Assets	Net Reserve	Capital Surplus	Insurance Written	Insurance in Force
1912	\$ 344,742	\$ 4,415	\$338,748	\$ 587,000	\$ 587,000
1920	530,511	230,285	243,059	4,888,035	8,933,035
1921	703,531	355,689	275,563	5,296,565	10,367,402
1922	831,673	469,811	275,636	5,124,053	12,005,345
1923	1,003,065	601,624	260,396	3,401,769	12,554,414
1924	1,082,117	733,023	243,975	3,683,930	13,605,827
1925	1,131,270	907,184	119,732	4,168,461	14,305,377

*Source: Best's, *Life Insurance Reports* - 1926 (New York: 1925), p. 944.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. Best's, *op. cit.*, p. 943.

25. Wyoming, *Index to Corporations*, Filing 29,022.

hope for expanding operations, executive offices were moved to the fifth floor of the Boston Building in Denver, and the company was licensed to do business in Kansas and Texas, as well as Wyoming and Colorado.²⁶

One of the last stockholders meetings of Western National Life was held on August 3, 1925, in the H. N. Boyd Building in Cheyenne. With President Kendall presiding, it was voted to reduce paid-in capital from \$225,000 to \$100,000, with the difference going to surplus, and to reduce the number of directors from thirteen to seven.²⁷

As a result of an examination by the Wyoming Insurance Department in August, 1925, Western National regained its independence by entirely disengaging itself from Western Holding Company for the sum of \$75,000 in settlement.²⁸

In the 1926 issue of *Best's Life Insurance Reports*, the following analysis and evaluation of Western National Life appeared:

The company has had a slow growth but suffers from lapses in common with some other western companies. The ratio of net resources to liabilities is only sufficient after the reduction in capital stock. The expenses of management are high and the cost of new business is fairly high. The mortality rate is favorable. Its investments are diversified and yield a good return, although low for a western company. The cash item is too large. The company's actuarial methods are sound. Death claims are promptly paid.²⁹

Decreasing sales, high lapses, high expense, low yields, and inadequate resources sum up the problems which continued to plague Western National Life. Consequently, in July, 1926, the company, without ever having paid a dividend, withdrew from business and reinsured with the Central States Life of St. Louis, Missouri. The reinsurance was for \$15,000,000 insurance in force and assets of \$1,000,000.³⁰

So the story of Wyoming's first domestic stock life insurance company came to an end, but this was far from the end for Wyoming's life insurance industry. In 1966, the state had six very much alive and vigorous domestic companies—Big Horn, Great Plains, Old Faithful, Pacific-Atlantic, Teton National, and Western Reserve Life—selling all types of life insurance and annuities. These companies, with over \$202 million of insurance in force and assets of over \$11.4 million, give every indication of additional growth in the years ahead.³¹

26. Best's, *op. cit.*, p. 945.

27. Wyoming, *Index to Corporations*, Filing 31,591.

28. Best's, *op. cit.*, p. 943.

29. Best's, *op. cit.*, pp. 943-44.

30. Personal letter dated March 20, 1968, to the author from Thomas J. Lewis, Customers Relations Manager, Alfred M. Best Company.

31. Wyoming, Insurance Department, *48th Annual Report - 1967*, p. 16.

Eyewitness Reports of the Wagon Box Fight

Compiled by

WALTER N. BATE

On driving across the middle-west plains today, no stretch of the imagination permits a realization of the numerous fierce battles and skirmishes that were required to change the vast territory from a savage-dominated area to civilized country. Many fierce and cruel engagements took place at various locations, and by no means did the paleface win them all. Details of many of these fights, not being immediately written, have become lost or confused as time marches on.

Many different stories have been written about the blazing frontier Indian battle known as the Wagon Box Fight which occurred at Fort Phil Kearny, near present-day Buffalo, Wyoming, on August 2, 1867. Various opinions have been expressed regarding the number of Indians engaged and their losses. The main controversy concerns the number of Indian casualties, with reports varying from five to 1500. No fight has ever been described by so many differing stories. Apparently circumstantial evidence from eyewitnesses should be used to establish a reasonable estimate.

Even though the palefaces always desired to heap all blame upon the redskin, the Indians, even with their savage way of life, did have some logic in upholding their ferocious defense of land which they considered their own. The *Annals of Wyoming*, April, 1964, states: "In 1851 at the Horse Creek Council, the U. S. 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 for the angry Sioux, and Red Cloud warned that he would kill every white man he found on it."¹

1. *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 36, No. 1, April, 1964, "Bozeman Trail Trek," p. 43

Shortly after the Bozeman Trail was laid out, the Government established three forts along it to protect the travel over it. Fort Reno was located farthest south, Fort Phil Kearny farther north and Fort C. F. Smith up in Montana Territory. The anger of the Indians knew no bounds, and they kept the trail and forts under constant harassment. In 1866, the Indian's success at the Fetterman Massacre greatly encouraged Sioux Chief Red Cloud and his allies, the Cheyennes and the Arapahos. In the summer of 1867, Red Cloud and his group advanced toward Fort Phil Kearny and attacked the Wagon Box Corral which was about five miles from the fort. There were 32 soldiers and civilians in the corral with new breechloading rifles and plenty of ammunition. They stood off a reported several thousand Indians and killed and wounded many of them. It was a fierce engagement lasting several hours.

Many strange estimates have been made concerning the number of Indians killed. Each of two noted frontier historians, Stanley Vestal and George Hyde² have reported six Indians killed. Some Sioux accounts say that five or six were killed and as many wounded. In 1904, chiefs White Bear and Whitewash, both of whom participated in this battle, agreed that the casualties were very few. An Indian by name of Red Feather was reported as stating that five Indians were killed and five wounded.

The progression and circumstances of the fight rule out such small estimates of casualties. A battle in which only six Indians were killed would not make news nor create controversy, and above all, would not affect the future of Chief Red Cloud, which the Wagon Box Fight certainly did. Casualty estimates by eyewitnesses may well be considered in establishing an approximation of casualties based on the circumstances of the fight, and the accounts of a number of eyewitnesses are available.

A good description of the battle has been told by Sergeant Samuel S. Gibson who was one of the participants of the fight.³

"We were detailed," stated Sergeant Gibson, "to relieve Company A, which had been on duty guarding the woodchoppers during the entire month of July.

"We pitched our tents around the outside of the corral, made by the beds of the wagons. All our stock was kept within the enclosure at night to prevent a stampede by the Indians.

"On the first of August, I was on the detail guarding the woodchoppers at the lower pinery and was on picket all day and several

2. *Jim Bridger, Mountain Man*, by Stanley Vestal (New York: W. Morrow & Co., 1946) p. 293; *Red Cloud's Folk*, by George E. Hyde (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), p. 159

3. "The Wagon Box Fight," by E. A. Brininstool, *The Teepee Book*, Vol. I, No. VIII, August, 1915, published by Herbert Coffeen, Sheridan, Wyoming

of us, when questioned by the sergeant in charge of the detail as to whether we had seen any Indians, replied that we had not.

"After breakfast on the morning of the 2nd, the wagon trains started for their different destinations. One started for the fort with a load of logs, and the other pulled for the lower pinery. I was with this command. Arriving there, I was ordered to relieve the private on picket on the banks of the Little Piney. I fixed up a sort of shade to keep off the hot sun and had laid under it perhaps fifteen minutes with Private Demming, when suddenly Private Garret jumped to his feet and shouted to Demming and me, 'Indians!'

"Demming and I jumped to our feet, and sure enough, away to the east of us we saw seven Indians mounted, coming across the divide from the north, on a dead run, riding toward the Little Piney. As none of us had fired a shot at an Indian since receiving the new breech-loading Springfield rifles with which we had been armed only three weeks. I sat down, adjusted my sights to 700 yards, and fired at the Indian in advance. My bullet struck the ground in front of the Indian, ricocheted off and wounded his pony. As the pony fell, the Indian rose and got astride the next warrior's horse behind.

"Immediately following my shot, we looked toward the main camp and over the Big Piney to the foothills to the north, and there we saw Indians in hordes swarming down the slopes. Hearing shots across the Little Piney, I sent Demming to the other camp to see what was doing there. Demming soon returned and reported that the Indians had run off the herd, and that all the men had started for the mountains to try to escape.

"We at once decided it was getting too warm there for us and started for the wagon box corral, but had gone only 75 or 100 yards when the Indians commenced to come up out of Little Piney creek by ones, twos and threes, at different places. The first one I saw was coming up the bank of the creek, and he carried an old Spencer carbine in his hand and was waving it at the others to come ahead. He saw me at once, and we both aimed at the same time. My bullet knocked him off his pony, and I heard his shot whiz past my head.

"All of us were now on the dead run, and the arrows and bullets began whistling around our ears, and it seemed as if hell had broken loose. The Indians whooped and yelled as they tried their best to surround us and cut us off from the main camp.

"We saw one of our men run out from the corral as we neared camp. He dropped to one knee and opened a rapid fire on the advancing hordes of savages, killing several and wounding others. This man proved to be a bright, blondeheaded German boy named Littman, who by his courage in coming out to meet us, and by the rapidity and accuracy of his fire, saved us from being surrounded and cut off.

"Upon our arrival at the corral, completely winded, I at once

reported to Capt. Powell as to why we had left the picket post without orders. He looked me in the eye and replied, 'You did nobly, my boy.' Then addressing us all he said, 'Men, find your places in the wagon beds. You'll have to fight for your lives today!'

"... The wagon boxes . . . were the ordinary government wagon boxes, simply made of thin wood, while some were from make-shift wagons belonging to the contractor's bull-train, the heaviest of them being only inch boards. There was not a particle of iron about them except the bolts, stay straps and nuts used in holding the rickety concerns together. . . .

"I soon found a place on the south side of the corral with Sergt. McQuiery and Private John Grady. . . . I was the youngest boy in the company, being but 18 years of age, . . . Leaning my rifle against the side of the wagon bed, I carried a hundred rounds of ammunition to my place. . . . I joined a group of five or six men who were watching Lieut. John Jenness as he surveyed the oncoming hordes through his field-glasses. There seemed to be thousands of Indians all mounted on their finest war ponies, riding here and there, chanting their war and death songs. I heard Jenness say to Capt. Powell, 'Captain, I believe that Red Cloud is on top of that hill' — pointing to the east. The captain made no reply, but hearing a commotion among the men to the south of us he saw the Indians beginning to form and exclaimed: 'Men, here they come! Take your places and shoot to kill!' . . . "We all quickly obeyed. . . . Resting my rifle across the top of the wagon box, I began firing with the rest. The whole plain was alive with Indians shooting at us, and the tops of the boxes were literally ripped and torn to slivers by their bullets. How we ever escaped with such slight loss I have never been able to understand, but we made every shot tell in return, and soon the whole plain in front of us was strewn with dead and dying Indians and ponies. It was a horrible sight! The Indians were amazed at the rapidity and continuity of our fire. They did not know we had been supplied with breech-loaders and supposed that after firing the first shot they could ride us down before we could reload.

"During a lull in the firing . . . we got a fresh supply of ammunition out of the seven 1000-rounds cases which had been opened and placed at convenient places around the corral.

"The fight had commenced about seven in the morning, and I did not hear any man ask about the time of day during the fight. Most of us were bareheaded, having used our caps to hold ammunition. The sun beat down with a pitiless glare. . . .

"The time between the charges dragged heavily, yet the savages kept us constantly alert. Along about 2 in the afternoon, as near as I can judge, we heard a loud humming sound which grew louder

and louder, and presently there was a loud cry from the west end of the corral. 'Here they come again!' We all looked to the west and saw a sight I never will forget to my dying day, and it chilled my blood at the time. We saw the naked bodies of hundreds upon hundreds of Indians swarming up a ravine about ninety yards to the west of the corral, all on foot, and in the shape of a letter V, led by Red Cloud's nephew. We opened a terrific fire on them and the leader fell, pierced by many balls. But the mass came on slowly and in great numbers, the places of those who fell being immediately taken by others.

"And now the great horde of savages were so close that the heavy bullets that we fired must have gone through the bodies of two or three Indians, and it seemed as if nothing could prevent their swarming over the tops of the wagon boxes, in spite of our withering fire. Some of the men, in their excitement, jumped to their feet and hurled sticks and stones in the faces of the enemy, forgetting to reload their guns for the moment, but nothing could stand before that galling fire we poured in upon them, and just as it seemed as if all hope had gone, the great mass of Sioux broke and fled. Not a member of our party was hit in that last charge. The several hundred Indians who were mounted, and who were on the plain to the south of us, intently watching the charge on foot, never offered to assist their comrades by making a mounted charge, but remained out of rifle range.

"Just then someone at the east end of the corral cried out, 'Hark! Did you hear that?' Everybody ceased firing, and another moment, we heard the boom of a big gun to the east of us. It was the relief from the fort, and the big gun was driving the Indians off the hill, and soon those on the plain to the south could be seen disappearing into the pinery to the west. Suddenly one of the men jumped to his feet and shouted, 'Here they come!' And as we looked toward the east we could see our comrades as they appeared in a long skirmish line.

.

"Major Smith was in command of the rescue party, and our post surgeon, Dr. Samuel Horton, was with him. Our rescuers told us they did not expect to find a single man of us alive.

"When we started back for the fort, we looked back up the Big Piney valley and saw a long train of Indian ponies, three and four deep, and fully a quarter of a mile long. They were carrying off their dead and wounded. . . .

"... Red Cloud [later] . . . acknowledged that he went into the fight with 3,000 of his best warriors, and that his loss in killed and wounded was 1,137. . ."

Sergeant Max Littman, another participant in the Wagon Box Fight under Captain Powell, and who was the soldier who ran out of the corral to help Gibson and his companions through the sur-

rounding Indians to the corral, wrote letters confirming the authenticity of the details of Sergeant Gibson's account. Littman's confirmation amounts to a public statement that a large number of Indians were killed and wounded in the fight.⁴

Frederick Claus, another soldier under Capt. Powell in the Wagon Box Fight, also wrote an account similar in battle description to that of Gibson's, but ending with: "I have read somewhere in some magazine about the number of Indians which are said to have been killed in this fight, and the figures given were between 1200 and 1300. This sounds to me pretty unreasonable and overdrawn, and I cannot believe their loss was so great as that."⁵

Mr. R. J. Smyth, civilian teamster at Fort Phil Kearny, and who fought in the corral, also wrote a letter concerning the Wagon Box Fight that largely resembles the account of Gibson. He stated to Cyrus T. Brady concerning the high estimate of 1,137 mentioned by Brady: "As to the Indian loss, I think you have overestimated it. We thought we had killed and wounded some more than four hundred. However, you may be right in your estimates. We had the opportunity to clean up that number, and we certainly did our best to do so."⁶

A report from another eyewitness comes from Captain James Powell, the officer in command at the corral. On August 4, two days after the battle, he stated in his official report: "... I was surrounded by about 800 mounted Indians, but owing to the very effective fire of my small party they were driven back with considerable loss. Finding they could not enter the corral they retired to a hill about 600 yards distant and there stripped for more determined fighting; then with additional reinforcements continued to charge us on foot for three consecutive hours, but were each time repulsed.

"The hills in the immediate vicinity were covered with Indians who merely acted as spectators, until they saw how fruitless were the efforts of their comrades near my corral when they also moved up, and seemed determined to carry my position at all hazards and massacre my command, which they would undoubtedly have done but that Bvt. Lieut. Col. Benjamin F. Smith, Major, 27th U.S. Inf. was seen approaching with reinforcements, when they retired, leaving some of their dead and wounded near the corral, thus closing the fight about half past twelve O'clock, p.m.

4. "The Wagon Box Fight," by E. A. Brininstool, *The Teepee Book*, Vol. 1, No. VIII, August, 1915, published by Herbert Coffeen, Sheridan, Wyoming, p. 24

5. Reprinted by permission of the publisher from *The Bozeman Trail*, by Hebard and Brininstool (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1922) p. 62 (Claus)

6. *Indian Fights and Fighters*, by C. T. Brady (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1928).

"In my opinion there were not less than sixty Indians killed on the spot, and one hundred and twenty severely wounded, although the citizens who took part in the action are of the opinion that my estimate is far below the actual figures."

Captain Powell's report of 60 killed appears to have been made with the intent to avoid being criticized for reporting an unbelievable estimate killed, and his modesty and honesty should be admired. Investigation through the War of the Rebellion records reveal that as a union soldier and officer Captain Powell made an excellent record in the Civil War, and his official report indicated that he meant to retain that good record. He was a good soldier, a good officer, and was wounded in battle.

The battle circumstances as reported by other eyewitness accounts indicate that his estimate could have been increased much for greater accuracy.

On August 27, 1867, Brevet Major General C. C. Augur, in command of Headquarters Department of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, issued general orders No. 39, in which he repeated the battle action much as Powell reported it, then added: "Major Powell modestly claims sixty Indians killed and one hundred and twenty wounded. It is but just, however, to state, that reliable citizens and others, well informed as to result and indications, assert their firm conviction that not less than three hundred Indians were killed or disabled. Major Powell, by his coolness and firmness in this most creditable affair, has shown what a few determined men can effect with good arms and strong hearts, even with such temporary defensive arrangements as are almost always at hand, and that it is always safer, leaving out the questions of duty and professional honor, to stand and fight Indians than to retreat from them. Had this party attempted to fall back, every one would have perished. As it was, it lost one officer and two enlisted men killed. . . ."

General Augur certainly made it definite that he had confidence in his informants regarding excess casualties over Powell's modest report.

Gibson, Littman, Claus and Smyth, all eyewitnesses, knew and respected Powell's low casualty estimate, yet maintained confidently their own higher estimates.

Another important eyewitness to the Wagon Box Fight was the crafty Chief Red Cloud, leader of the ferocious warriors that attacked the corral. In an interview with General Grenville M. Dodge about 1885, Red Cloud informed the General that the total

7. Captain Powell's Report. General Services, Washington, D. C.

8. General Augur's Report. General Services, Washington, D. C.

loss of the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapahos was more than 1,100 in killed and wounded.⁹

In 1904 Mr. W. R. E. Collins of New York wrote the author Cyrus T. Brady, . . . "I have just read your last article and it recalls a conversation with Red Cloud twenty years ago. He was with my dear old friend, "Adirondack Murrey" and, I think, J. Amory Knox and myself. He, Murrey, and Knox had been photographed in a group. In reminiscing in regard to the Piney Island Battle, he said he went in with over three thousand braves and lost over half. Murrey asked him if he meant over fifteen hundred had been killed then, and he said: "I lost them. They never fought again. . . ."¹⁰

When Red Cloud was stating this heavy estimate, he had been without a large following for several years, and he was no longer on the warpath. Could it be that he needed a large casualty count to explain his failure to wipe out the little Wagon Box Corral?

Still another eyewitness was a wounded Sioux chief who visited the post of Colonel Richard I. Dodge at North Platte late in the fall of 1867. He told the Colonel that over 3,000 Indians were in the fight, and that a prominent "Medicine Man" of the Sioux had told him that the total loss in killed and wounded of all tribes in that fight was 1,137.¹¹ This was the Indian casualty estimate being broadcast in the same year of the fight.

At the beginning of the fight, 7,000 rounds of rifle ammunition had been placed at various convenient places within the corral. At the end of the fight, Captain Powell reported that the ammunition supply was so low that he feared another charge of the Indians would have exhausted the total supply. Since the poor shots among the defenders had been ordered to load instead of to fire rifles, only the good shots were left to do the firing. Therefore, it is logical to assume that a high percentage of the expended ammunition must have found an intended mark, and this would necessarily make a high casualty count because those fellows did not miss too often. In fact, they shot well enough to stop all Indian charges during the hours-long fight. By all practical reasoning, the first fierce charge should have overrun the little corral. But it was stopped!

What was the one thing that would stop the charges of those brave, fanatic savages? Only the sight of falling dead and wounded brother warriors would stop them! Twenty-nine living paleface

9. *Fighting Indian Warriors*, by E. A. Brininstool, published by Stockpole Books, Harrisburg, Pa. 17105

10. *Indian Fights and Fighters*, by C. T. Brady, Ch. 3. Doubleday Page & Co. Pub. 1928.

11. *Our Wild Indians*, by Col. Richard I. Dodge, p. 178. Pub. by New York Archer House, N. Y. C.

fighters in the corral at the end of the fight is the evidence that the charges were stopped!

If the criterion of dead to wounded—that is, two wounded to one dead—were used, which criterion Captain Powell used in his estimate, then the estimate of Red Cloud and other high estimates may not be grossly exaggerated. This would mean that two-thirds of Red Cloud's estimate was wounded men leaving about 370 killed, and this estimate would not be a great difference between some of the other estimates by paleface eyewitnesses. His total count of over 1,100 casualties, as reported to Colonel Grenville M. Dodge, seems high, but there is one certain fact that must attend the battle situation. Many wounded warriors would ride or walk away from the battlefield to live for an hour, a day, or for weeks before dying. Any paleface estimate at the battlefield could not count these casualties, while Red Cloud would have to include them, thus making a high tally report from him.

These opinions of the eyewitness writers are convincing. They saw the battle action and avoided exaggeration. In their attempts to strive for something like accuracy, their intimated estimates were made lower than Red Cloud's estimate, but they had no way of knowing how many warriors rode away and died. Since the Indians were continually occupied in carrying away their dead and wounded, no accurate count could be made on the field. With both dead and wounded in the Indian camp, it is reasonable to assume that an accurate count could be made only in the Indian camp. It follows then, how accurately could the Indians count? However, most large Indian camps generally included some member or members that could count in paleface fashion.

Meetings were held at the site of the Wagon Box Fight in 1908 and 1919. Sergeant Gibson attended both meetings and located the site of the corral for the placement of a marker.¹³ At the 1919 meeting he gave a lecture on the Wagon Box Fight, and a member of the audience reported that he was very sincere and earnest in his description of the details of the fight.

In *The Teepee Book* of August, 1915, the same issue in which Sergeant Gibson's article appeared, the editor mentions affidavits from Sergeant Gibson and letters from Mr. Littman confirming the authenticity of Gibson's battle details.

At a recent All American Indian Days celebration at Sheridan, Wyoming, the Wagon Box Fight was partially re-enacted. The high casualty legend was a subject of discussion between some of the Indians present, and they were overheard to state that the Indian casualties amounted to 1,200 to 1,500.¹² No doubt they were

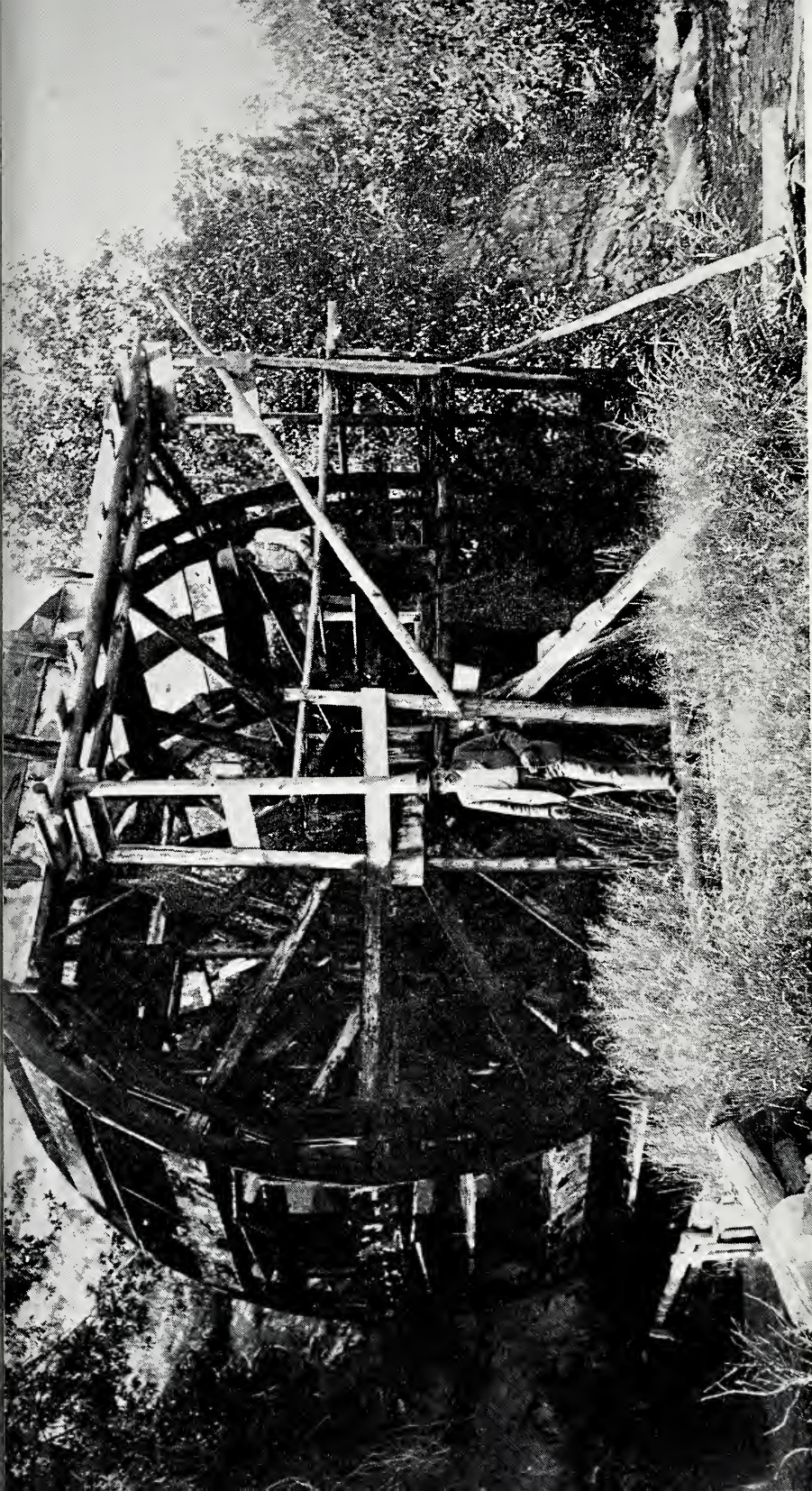
12. Miss Jennie Williams, Sheridan, Wyoming.

13. Mrs. Elsa Spear Byron, Sheridan, Wyoming.

repeating the legend that came down to them through tribal channels, but even a legend must have some basis for a source, and this high estimate indicates a high original count. To their credit, they were maintaining the tribal legend that had been handed down to them, even though it greatly depreciated their own Indian side of the fight.

No explanation is available to justify the low casualty estimates broadcast by the two historians and the several Indians previously mentioned herein.

* Reminiscent of early-day agricultural activities in Fremont County, this water wheel was probably used to provide irrigation for apple orchards. Ed Young developed an orchard in the late 1870s which was a showplace in central Wyoming. He was one of the earliest settlers at the mouth of the Little Popo Agie Canyon.



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"THE DAYS THAT ARE NO MORE . . ."

* (see footnote p. 202)

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**LEROY GRANT, LARAMIE STOCKMAN AND MERCHANT, AN
 INCORPORATOR OF THE WYOMING LIFE INSURANCE**



Courtesy of Miss Josephine Mullen
**W. E. MULLEN, CHEYENNE ATTORNEY, AND A FORMER WY-
 OMING ATTORNEY GENERAL, ONE OF THE INCORPORATORS**



Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

HOME OFFICES OF THE WYOMING LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY WERE ON THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE CITIZENS NATIONAL BANK BUILDING IN CHEYENNE. THIS PHOTOGRAPH OF THE BANK WAS TAKEN MARCH 10, 1915

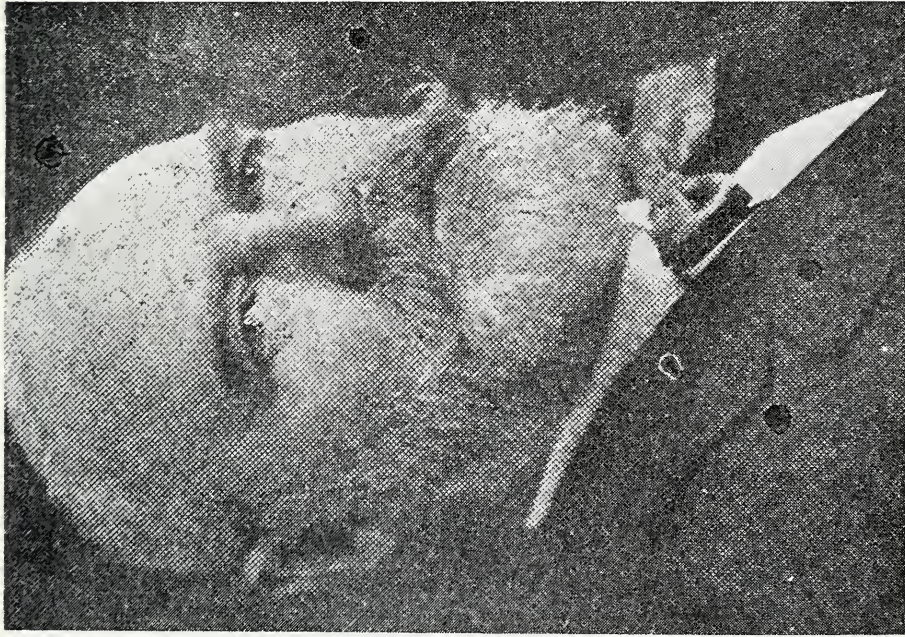


Photo from *The Teepee Book*, August, 1915,
provided by Walter N. Bate

MR. MAX LITTMAN



Photo from *The Teepee Book*, August, 1915,
provided by Walter N. Bate

SERGEANT SAMUEL L. GIBSON

The Place of the Northern Arapahoes

IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND THE INDIANS OF THE PLAINS
1851-1879

By

JAMES C. MURPHY

[Conclusion]

Disillusionment and Distrust Appear, 1851-1861

In spite of the fine spirit and high hopes of the Fort Laramie Conference of 1851, it was soon apparent that the treaty would not solve the Indian problem on the plains.¹ Disillusionment, disappointment and distrust made their appearance. The beauties and convenience of Washington, D. C., failed to create among the Indians the anticipated desire to adopt the white man's way of life. Amazement, if it appeared, soon was replaced by homesickness and a longing for their people, their lodges, and the unblemished sunshine of the plains. One member of the delegation, it will be recalled, committed suicide.²

In Washington, too, ratification of the Treaty of 1851 was long delayed. The United States Senate objected to the clause providing for the issuance of annuities over a fifty-year period, of \$50,000 worth of goods to be distributed annually to Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes for that length of time. Using its constitutional prerogative to modify the agreement, it reduced the period to ten years, with the proviso the President, if he deemed it advisable, could extend it to fifteen years. (This eventually was done.) The treaty, of course, was thereby invalidated until it could be returned to the scattered Indians in amended form for their final approval. To accomplish this, great obstacles had to be overcome; most authorities state it never was referred to the Indians in its amended

1. It will be recalled that D. D. Mitchell, one of the negotiators of the treaty, had said that nothing but bad management or perverse misfortune could ever mar the spirit of the Ft. Laramie Conference. (See Chapter 3, p. 51.)

2. See Chapter 1, p. 26.

form, but this is an unfounded assumption.³ Again responsibility fell upon Thomas Fitzpatrick, who, as his last official accomplishment before his death, returned the amended instrument to the Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes. In November 1853, more than two years after the initial agreement, he reported qualified success in gaining their consent. Of those who had approved the treaty in 1851, he wrote, some signed the amended document, one or two were absent and others dead.⁴ There is no mention of the Indians' feelings about the treaty made in the name of the United States Government which had to be modified two years after they had accepted it in good faith.

In the communication noted above, Fitzpatrick expressed his dismay at finding Arapahoes, Cheyennes and many of the Sioux in a "starving state".⁵ With bison in scant supply, their women were pinched with want and the children cried out with hunger. In 1854, Fitzpatrick's successor at the North Platte Agency cited similar conditions, warned that the Indians must change their ways or perish, and advised a policy of force to bring it about. Even though starving, they would not voluntarily abandon their mode of life; therefore he advocated a thorough drubbing for every band from Texas to Oregon.⁶ Only after that could they be expected to give up the chase and use the plow.

The new agent's vindictiveness may be better appreciated in the light of the tragic events preceding his remarks. About mid-August 1854, Lieutenant John L. Grattan, a young army officer totally lacking in diplomacy, moved soldiers and cannon in upon a Sioux encampment to take by force a brave who had captured and butchered a lame cow, astray from an emigrant train. When he callously opened fire upon their village, the frightened Sioux annihilated his entire command.⁷ Shortly thereafter the new agent met with Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes who had arrived at the agency for their annuities. The spokesman for a Cheyenne band, who had witnessed the Grattan massacre, demanded that emigrant travel on the Platte road should cease, and that for the ensuing year the Cheyennes should receive \$4000 in money, the balance of their annuities in guns and ammunition, and one thousand white women for wives.⁸ Not satisfied with the impression they had made upon the agent, the band returned after dark, galloped close to the

3. Lillian B. Shields, first to break with the traditional attitude, shows that the treaty was returned to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. (See Lillian B. Shields, "Relations with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes to 1861", *The Colorado Magazine*, 1927, v. 4, p. 149.)

4. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1853, p. 366.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 368. Fitzpatrick's italics.

6. *Ibid.* 1854, p. 303.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 301. This occurred near Fort Laramie, Wyoming.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

agency corral, and fired three guns. It is not surprising that the terrified agent, citing the Cheyennes as the "sauciest" Indians he had ever seen, failed to appreciate their grim sense of the ridiculous.⁹

The Sioux, who in the Grattan affair warred upon United States troops, had to be punished. Without regard to the logic of their actions, nor the fact that but one band of this mighty tribe was implicated, to the astonishment of several of the bands hostilities were declared against their entire nation.¹⁰ General Harney decisively defeated the Brulé Sioux in the Bluewater Battle of 1855, bringing the war to a close. In this final fight, the casualties among Indian women and children ran high, a feature which too often accompanied Indian warfare in the West.¹¹ The importance of whipping the Indians seems frequently to have outranked other considerations in military minds.

Although the Cheyennes previously were involved in hostilities with Indian enemies, no serious charges of raids or depredations on the whites were brought against them until 1856. In that year they had a brush with United States troops near Casper, Wyoming, after a dispute over stolen horses.¹² One brave was killed, a second arrested, and the band, doubtless aware of the Sioux debacle of the previous year, fled south to join their brethren on the Arkansas.¹³ Months later, when a group of Cheyennes prepared to raid the Pawnees, shots were exchanged between a frightened mail driver and two young warriors who had approached him to beg tobacco, the driver receiving an arrow wound.¹⁴ Too late the Cheyenne leader intervened, for although he saved the whites, government troops attacked his band next morning.¹⁵ Retaliations followed. Hostilities continued into the summer of 1857, when Colonel Sumner dismayed the Cheyennes with a saber charge, and ended the war against them.¹⁶ No further hostilities occurred upon the plains until 1860, when, with Kiowas and Comanches in disturbance in the south, military expeditions took the field against them.

Perhaps no single factor caused greater dislocation of the Fort

9. *Loc cit.*

10. *Ibid.*, 1856, p. 619.

11. Some of the more notorious battles in which many Indian women and children were killed were the Sand Creek, Colorado, massacre of Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes in 1864, Custer's attack upon the same groups on the Washita, Oklahoma, in 1868, and the Wounded Knee, South Dakota, battle with the Sioux in 1890.

12. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1856, p. 638.

13. *Op. cit.*, Grinnell, pp. 111-112. Three horses were recovered, but one Cheyenne stubbornly refused to yield the fourth stolen animal.

14. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1856, p. 650.

15. *Loc. cit.*

16. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, pp. 119-125.

Laramie Treaty than the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858. The invasion of 150,000 gold seekers into the territory molested the game and alarmed the Indians.¹⁷ The return to the East of more than half of them through Cheyenne and Arapahoe hunting grounds, with its untold damage to their food supply, increased the Indians' alarm. Denver, Colorado, and other townsites were selected and construction begun by prospectors on lands guaranteed to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes by the Treaty of 1851.¹⁸ Organized bands of horse thieves, preying indiscriminately on gold hunters and aborigines caused further tensions.¹⁹

In February 1859, Agent Twiss of the North Platte Agency, expressed his concern to J. W. Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, regarding the disruption in the gold lands, and proposed that the Cheyennes and Arapahoes cede them to the United States in exchange for annuities to be agreed upon.²⁰ Seven months later he met with Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes and some of the Sioux bands, and drafted a treaty, arranging for the cession of large blocks of Indian lands—including the gold fields—and their acceptance of annuities and reservations, the latter containing good agricultural lands.²¹ Chief Medicine Man of the Northern Arapahoes, as spokesman for all three groups, requested government aid in learning to farm the lands assigned for that purpose. The Arapaho reservation, specifically chosen for them, was to run along the Cache la Poudre in Colorado, from the mountains to its junction with the South Platte, an area which today includes some of the richest agricultural land in eastern Colorado—a fertile, irrigated district—embracing the city of Greeley and the State College of Education.²²

Agent Twiss' efforts went for naught; the treaty failed to receive Senate endorsement. But the gold lands were not forgotten. Less concerned than Twiss for the welfare of his wards, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, A. B. Greenwood, journeyed to Fort Wise on the Upper Arkansas in Colorado. There, he met with Southern Arapahoes and Cheyennes, with the expressed aim of persuading them to part with the unneeded areas of their reservation so they could settle down and farm, for the game was rapidly

17. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

18. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen (ed.), *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861*, Glendale, the Arthur H. Clark Co., 1959, p. 173.

19. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1860, pp. 239 and 317. The thieves infested the country between the Missouri River and Pike's Peak, Colorado.

20. *Op. cit.* Hafen and Hafen, *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861*, p. 175.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 179-182.

22. Hazel E. Johnson, Letter of Jan. 8, 1962. Miss Johnson, regional Vice President of the State Historical Society of Colorado, calls these lands "the cream of the crop". Over a period of some years the Northern Arapahoes tried to obtain a reservation there.

dwindling.²³ He succeeded in separating the Indians by a supposedly safe distance from the gold fields, the route of the Overland Stage Line, the proposed right-of-way for the first transcontinental railroad, and the more promising agricultural lands of the territory.

Without the aid of an interpreter to clarify the terms of the treaty to the Indians, with no evident effort to determine their desires nor provide for their welfare, the Commissioner assumed that they were willing to part with their lands. Although he expected all members of both tribes to be bound by the treaty, the assent of the absentees (all of the Northern bands and a few of the Southern) was considered to be of no importance.²⁴ Thus he pushed through one of the greatest territorial grabs of his day, the Fort Wise Treaty of 1861. Thereby Cheyennes and Arapahoes lost great tracts of the finest land in the area for the dubious privilege of gaining annuities and retaining an arid rangeland in southeastern Colorado.²⁵ When they found themselves barred from free use of their birthright lands, they vehemently protested the Fort Wise swindle of 1861.²⁶

Throughout the difficult ten-year period following the Treaty of Fort Laramie, the Northern Arapahoes remained at peace with the United States, although they pillaged livestock when driven by the fear of famine. Neither the pangs of hunger nor the appeals of their friends succeeded in embroiling them with the federal troops.

It will be recalled that Thomas Fitzpatrick in 1853 and his successor at the North Platte Agency in 1854 reported distress from hunger among the Indians they served. Likewise Agent Twiss found them suffering and starving in 1855.²⁷ Yet the Arapahoes remained apart from the Sioux troubles of 1854, and the war which followed. Later, when the Cheyennes were involved in hostilities (1856-1857), the Northern Arapahoes disregarded the pleas of these long-time friends and allies, and gave them no assistance in the fighting.

By the middle of the decade, emigrant inroads on the buffalo precipitated a crisis among the Arapahoes. Hardest hit were the old and the very young, who, weakened by the lack of food and protection from the weather, died in considerable numbers.²⁸ With smallpox adding to their troubles, they helped themselves to the easiest game at hand, the cattle and sheep of emigrant whites. Their agent had no difficulty in obtaining their consent to withhold their annuity payments until the owner of the livestock should be

23. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1860, pp. 452-454.

24. *Loc. cit.* Many of the absentees refused to be bound by the treaty.

25. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 33.

26. *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 130.

27. *Ibid.*, 1855, p. 398.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 403.

fully reimbursed, although it might take several years to do so.²⁹ In 1858 and 1859, they were commended for their efforts to observe all Fort Laramie treaty stipulations with other Indian tribes as well as with the whites, although the frictions arising from the occupation of the gold fields in Colorado made the latter especially difficult.³⁰

In welcome contrast to the frustration, fear and fighting in this period of Indian history are reports of friendly visits of Northern Arapahoes left by W. F. Reynolds and V. F. Hayden, respectively commander and naturalist of the U. S. Government expedition to explore the Yellowstone River. A small group of Arapahoes called upon the former in his camp near the present town of Glendo, Wyoming, in 1859, brought him word of mail awaiting him at Fort Laramie, exchanged fresh meat for bacon, and obviously enjoyed the fellowship.³¹ Hayden recorded a number of visits by Northern Arapahoes similar in their spirit of friendliness.

Both Reynolds and Hayden were highly impressed by Chief Friday, the latter describing him as the man of greatest influence among his people at this time.³² Since Friday alone, of all the tribe, had fluent command of the English language and frequently interpreted for his fellows, it is not surprising that white men have reached this conclusion, but the preponderance of evidence indicates that Chief Medicine Man probably was held in highest regard by the Northern Arapaho people. He, it will be recalled, was designated spokesman not only for the Arapahoes but for the Cheyennes and Sioux as well at the treaty conference of 1859 (which failed to gain Senate approval), a responsibility which would normally be assumed only by the most influential member of a tribe. Moreover, his followers constituted the largest band within the Northern Arapaho group, comprising half the tribe at least, and more than double the number of Friday's followers at their maximum.

Judging by the actions of Medicine Man and Friday during the ensuing years, it seems probable that both of them, through the period of disillusionment and distrust following the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, were instrumental in keeping the Northern Arapahoes at peace with the United States, an achievement of no mean

29. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

30. *Op. cit.* Hafen and Hafen, *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861*, p. 170 and 184-185. In his report of 1858 (p. 170) the agent admitted difficulty in holding his wards in check when enemy tribes raided them for horses. Actually, as shown in the first part of this paper (pp. 19-21), none of the tribes involved cared to abandon the practice.

31. W. F. Reynolds, *Report of the Exploration of the Yellowstone River*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1868, p. 64.

32. *Op. cit.* Hafen and Ghent, *Broken Hand*, p. 275.

distinction. Without more definite documentation, however, this must remain an unverified conjecture.

The Civil War Period, 1861-1865

During the Civil War period, 1861-1865, Indian relations deteriorated until they reached an unprecedented low point during the latter year. Cheyennes and Arapahoes rankled with the realization that the United States Government, under the Fort Wise Treaty of 1861, had alienated their inestimably valuable lands in Colorado (Chapter 4, pp. 50-51). Gold seekers and land-hungry emigrants continued to pour into the territory, giving little thought to the feelings or needs of the Indians whose lands they now possessed. The idea that red men neither could nor would utilize the soil and other resources to good advantage so colored their viewpoint that few desired even peaceable Indians as neighbors. The pioneers regarded them as one among many obstacles to be overcome in fulfilling the white man's destiny, the peopling and developing of the plains. As the settlers occupied more and more land for town-sites, ranches, farms and mines, the Indians made way reluctantly, unwilling to be pushed aside; and the feeling against them gradually intensified.

Loss of their land and the continuous destruction of their game by the whites left the Indians gravely unsettled, worried for their daily needs and fearful of the future. Small groups of braves, usually young men, sometimes ran off ranchers' or emigrants' livestock, thus compensating in some degree for the lack of game for food. Continuance of their age-old pastime of raiding enemy tribes for horses, scalps and prestige agitated the settlers, who feared that, through accident or intent, they might become embroiled with one Indian group or another. As mutual distrust deepened, the raiding custom easily led to clashes between reds and whites, mistaken identity and misunderstanding of intentions serving as contributory factors. Attempts by Indian agents and other officials to persuade the braves to abandon the practice availed little, chiefly because it meant so much to them as a part of their way of life. Furthermore, the white man's logic contained a serious flaw, for the federal government showed no inclination to make peace with its Indian enemies until it had first taught them a lesson by drubbing them. Thus the Indians did not feel obliged to keep the peace with their own traditional enemies, insisting that it was "a poor rule that will not work both ways."³³

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, many federal troops

33. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1869, p. 54. These words were spoken by Medicine Arrow, a Southern Cheyenne.

were withdrawn from Indian country and sent south.³⁴ This gave plains tribesmen an opportunity to strike a telling blow at the settlers, had they been so minded; but despite dissatisfaction with the Fort Wise Treaty and occasional forays by hungry braves, evidence is completely lacking that they planned to take advantage of the situation. Yet apprehension soon appeared that the Confederacy might attempt an alliance with them to encourage war upon the plains.³⁵ This fear increased as minor activities of Confederate sympathizers in the Denver area came to light. But in August, 1862, a feeling akin to terror of all Indians gripped the plains. When some seven hundred whites were slain during a single week of the Eastern Sioux uprising in Minnesota, the entire region was electrified, even to Denver, Colorado, a thousand miles from the disturbances. To the settlers of the area the word "Indian," became equivalent to treachery, and few discriminated in this regard. The effect of this feeling upon Indian relations throughout the period can scarcely be overestimated.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, considering white satisfaction of greater importance than Indian displeasure, initiated direct negotiations with those bands of Cheyennes and Arapahoes which had not approved the Fort Wise Treaty, but still occupied desirable lands in Colorado and Wyoming. To Governor Evans of Colorado Territory fell the unsavory task of convincing the Indians that by ceding their other lands and settling on the arid Upper Arkansas in southeastern Colorado with their southern kinsmen, they could be converted to farmers and become self-supporting.³⁶ With this end in view he contacted the northern bands of both tribes even to the Powder River region in northern Wyoming and southern Montana, where buffalo were comparatively plentiful, and requested them to report to the Upper or North Platte Agency near Fort Laramie.³⁷ There, a council would be held in the hope of persuading them to join their brethren on their barren reservation. The preposterous unreasonableness of the plan can be better appreciated in light of the report of Colley, agent to the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, that unregulated slaughter of buffalo had resulted in the extermination of every head of these animals within 200 miles of the reservation on the Upper Arkansas, and that other game also was scarce.³⁸

Since none of the Indians were willing to move to the reservation and attempt to live like white men, an indirect approach was used

34. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, p. 127.

35. LeRoy Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Reports from Colorado, the Wild-man Letters of 1859-1865 with Other Related Letters and Newspaper Reports 1859*, Glendale, the Arthur H. Clark Co. 1961, p. 301.

36. *Op. cit.* Annual Report, 1863, pp. 242-245.

37. *Loc. cit.*

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.

and a unique method of coercion devised. Although the government was treaty-bound to issue annuities until 1866, those for 1863 were to be withheld until the bands concerned should promise to sign either the Fort Wise Treaty, or a similar one, still to be drafted.³⁹ Many Cheyennes refused to be coerced, but the Northern Arapaho Chiefs, Medicine Man, Black Bear and Friday, attached their signatures to the promise, after which their rations were issued.⁴⁰ What went through the minds of the three chiefs remains a mystery, for none had put his name to the Fort Wise Treaty, nor to another of a similar nature, and Medicine Man shortly afterward made it plain to Governor Evans that they would not go to the Upper Arkansas. Perhaps they thought better of the matter, and exercised the prerogatives used by the U. S. Senate in rejecting treaties arranged by the executive branch of the government. At least it can scarcely be argued that they misunderstood the preliminary agreement they had made, for Friday not only spoke English well, but also could read and write.⁴¹

When John Evans became governor of Colorado Territory, and ex-officio regional superintendent of Indian affairs in 1862, the idea of an Indian war seems to have been foreign to his mind. But the eastern Sioux uprising of that summer, which shocked the settlers of the plains and made every Indian suspect, must have had a marked effect upon his thinking. Lacking knowledge of the Indian mind, he readily became suspicious, heeded the counsel of a man of doubtful character rather than that of friendly Indians or officials who knew them better than he, and unwittingly helped to set up a situation which culminated in large-scale hostilities.

By 1863 the talk of war among both settlers and aborigines caused Governor Evans grave concern. In November, about a month after Medicine Man had informed him that the Northern Arapahoes, though they opposed hostilities with the whites, would not settle on the Upper Arkansas, an illiterate and irresponsible white man who was married to an Arapaho and spoke the language, persuaded him that the Arapahoes, Sioux, Cheyennes, Kiowas and Comanches would unite in hostilities against the whites as soon as they could obtain sufficient ammunition in the spring.⁴²

The motives behind the story told by Robert North, as he was named, are enigmatic, but he convinced the Governor that he had gained the full confidence of the Arapahoes in rescuing a woman of

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

40. *Loc. cit.*

41. Friday's fluent command of English has been a subject of favorable comment among whites who knew him.

42. Robert North, elsewhere described as the demented, renegade leader of an outlaw band of Arapahoes, was later hanged by vigilantes or robbers. (See Joseph Henry Taylor, *Frontier and Indian Life and Kaleidoscopic Lives*, Valley City, 1889, pp. 148-154.)

that tribe from the Utes; therefore his warnings should be heeded. In gratitude for his rescue of the woman the Arapahoes had given him a big medicine dance (Sun Dance) near Fort Lyon (formerly Fort Wise), in Colorado. He said it was there he had seen Northern and Southern Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Sioux, Kiowas, and Comanches pledge themselves to war together on the whites.⁴³ Had no massacre of settlers occurred the year before in Minnesota, the Governor might have been less ruled by emotionalism, and sought other sources of information. But he accepted North's story at face value, and anticipated trouble in the spring.

Handicapped by his meager knowledge of Indians and their customs, Governor Evans did not, of course, realize that Northern and Southern Arapahoes, with friendly visitors from other tribes, had come together, not for warlike purposes, but to celebrate the ceremony of the Sun Dance, or the Offerings Lodge, as the Arapahoes called it, the most meaningful religious ritual of the plains Indians.⁴⁴ Also, he was not aware that the Arapaho Sun Dance could not have been given for North, since it always is the result of a sacred vow; in this case the vow of a Northern Arapaho woman who had escaped from the Utes, and through the aid of *Henry North*, not Robert (who claimed credit for it), returned safely to her people.⁴⁵ The story of this Sun Dance, in short, is an Arapaho epic, still commonly known among both Northern and Southern groups; but it was Henry North, not his brother Robert, who had an important part in it. A detailed account, "The Story of a Woman's Vow", is related by George A. Dorsey in "The Arapaho Sun Dance".⁴⁶ The Northern Arapahoes at this time were not preparing for war.

When Governor Evans first came to Colorado he sought to stop the practice of inter-tribal raiding which so often kept the settlers on edge. He rather easily convinced himself—but not the Indians—that they would abandon the custom. The hostilities which broke out in the spring of 1864 came as an indirect result of this practice, rather than the inter-tribal pledge of warfare erroneously reported by Robert North.

Due to depredations in the Platte Valley by hungry Sioux and Cheyennes, General Mitchell, hoping to preserve peace, met the Brulé Sioux in council near Fort Kearney, Nebraska. But all chances of success were spoiled when the encamped Indians, in the dark of night, mistook a party of whites for their Pawnee enemies

43. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1864, pp. 224-225.

44. For a brief explanation of the Sun Dance, see Chap. 1. pp. 18-19.

45. Jessie Rowlodge, Letter of June 21, 1961. This Southern Arapaho, who has a remarkable knowledge of his people's past, explains that Henry North had a brother Robert.

46. George A. Dorsey, "The Arapaho Sun Dance" *Anthropological Papers of the Field Columbian Museum*, v. 4, Chicago, 1903, pp. 5-8.

on a foray, attacked them, and killed several.⁴⁷ The troops responded in kind, and warfare began.⁴⁸

Intermittent fighting continued throughout the spring and summer until various bands of Apaches, Comanches, Kiowas and Southern Arapahoes and Cheyennes were drawn in, the last two groups, at least, reluctantly. Stating that unwanted war had been forced upon them, they approached Governor Evans in an effort to obtain peace, but met with discouragement, for he distrusted them and referred them to the military for negotiations.⁴⁹ But there, also, their efforts were repelled.

From Colorado to Montana feelings ran high against the Indians. In the north, Montana and South Dakota were the main field of combat, and the Sioux the principal belligerents. In late July General Sully's troops and artillery caught up with them, defeating them at Knife River, South Dakota.⁵⁰ Closer to the North Platte Agency and the routes of travel in Wyoming and Nebraska, even friendly Indians were treated as hostiles by emigrants, settlers and soldiers, who made little effort to differentiate between the guilty and the innocent.

With the danger of widening hostilities increasing, Governor Evans decided on an effort to separate the friendly Indians from the hostiles. In the early summer of 1864 he called upon all who intended to be friendly to report to designated stations in Colorado for protection and rations. From these points they would be able to go to the buffalo range or otherwise procure the major part of their food. To his disappointment, there was little immediate response.

About 175 Northern Arapahoes under Friday and White Wolf reported to Camp Collins on the Cache la Poudre, not far from the former's long-preferred camping grounds.⁵¹ Left Hand's small band of Southern Arapahoes came in to Fort Lyon on the Arkansas, the other designated station; but they soon departed again. This, in the Governor's estimation, confirmed their hostile intentions. But it is probable that fear of hunger played an important part in Left Hand's decision to leave, for the area was sadly depleted of game. Even at Camp Collins, which was far more favorably located, subsistence for Friday and White Wolf's bands proved to be a perplexing problem.⁵²

The governor had small success in assigning satisfactory hunting grounds, and the funds allocated for subsistence fell short of paying

47. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, p. 151.

48. *Loc. cit.*

49. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1865, pp. 23-24.

50. James McClellan Hamilton, *From Wilderness to State-Hood*, Portland, Binford and Mort, 1957, pp. 156-157.

51. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1864, p. 236.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

for the food they required. Beef, when procurable, was comparatively inexpensive, but speculators had cornered the wheat and flour market; their cost was prohibitive.⁵³

By August of 1864, Indian troubles in Colorado, considerably heightened by imagination, had produced a sad effect. With only one exception, every ranch along a 370 mile stretch of the Overland Stage Route in Colorado was reported to be deserted, the occupants having fled to the nearest forts.⁵⁴ In the popular mind Indians were pitiless savages, ready for unprovoked attacks upon the whites and their possessions. General panic prevailed between Camp Collins and Denver, a distance of nearly seventy miles; farmers improvised fortifications to repel anticipated forays. Three women reportedly went mad from fright.

Governor Evans, disappointed by the poor response to his invitation to friendly Indians, was convinced of general hostility on their part. Fearful of attack, he advised the settlers to hunt down all hostiles, and called for a regiment of one-hundred-day volunteers for the same purpose.⁵⁵ With all Indians regarded as enemies, a determination for vengeance against the red men replaced fear. A party of one hundred armed men headed for the Cache la Poudre with the intention of cleaning out Friday and his friendly band of Northern Arapahoes, but the report of actual hostilities near Fort Lupton, about forty miles closer to Denver, turned them in that direction, and modified their purpose.⁵⁶

During the frightening days of August, 1864, an incident occurred which further incensed the settlers against the Indians. This was the capture and alleged mistreatment of a white woman, Mrs. Eubanks, and her child, by Indians. Later when they surrendered the woman and child to military authorities at Fort Laramie, three Sioux were hanged for their complicity in the affair.⁵⁷ The Colorado settlers, who already held the Indians responsible for the disruption in their territory, grew more inflamed than ever against them, and demanded a general drubbing for all the savages (as they called the Indians) to drive home a much-needed lesson. Colonel Chivington of the Colorado Volunteers, who wished to make a name as an Indian fighter, utilized this demand in making an unprovoked attack upon an encampment of Southern Cheyennes

53. *Ibid.*, p. 236. The price of flour at La Porte, advanced from \$6 per Cwt. to \$28. La Porte was near Camp Collins.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 237. This is from the report of Superintendent G. K. Otis of the Overland Stage Line to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

57. Arapahoes were at first mistakenly blamed for the capture of Mrs. Eubanks. Grinnell, *op. cit.*, p. 155, states that Cheyennes and Sioux were responsible.

and Arapahoes who were treating for peace with the commandant at Fort Lyon.⁵⁸

In the advice of Governor Evans to make their peace with the military, these tribes had approached Major Wyncoop at Fort Lyon to negotiate with him. Encamped on their own reservation, close to the fort, they believed themselves to be under the protection of the federal troops, and awaited the outcome of their mission. There it was that Colonel Chivington and his volunteers fell upon them with merciless slaughter, the Colonel insisting that no Indian should be taken alive, not even a child, as nits would become lice. Two-thirds of those killed in this battle, known as the Sand Creek Massacre, were women and children.⁵⁹

This ended the chances for peace in Colorado. Most of the Cheyennes, who had suffered the greater number of casualties, felt themselves forced to fight against extermination; but one band even now refused to war upon the whites. The Sioux, however, were easily persuaded to join in such a venture, and eighty lodges of Northern Arapahoes on the Republican River in Kansas were induced to unite with the hostiles.⁶⁰ This band, evidently Black Bear's, had come from Powder River to visit the Southern Arapahoes, but failed to find them there, for after the Sand Creek affair they had fled farther south to avoid the troops.⁶¹

From December, 1864, until February, 1865, one thousand marauding warriors of the combined tribes terrorized the settlers between the North and South Platte Rivers, raiding Overland Stage Line stations and burning telegraph poles in the process.⁶² Julesburg Station in northeastern Colorado was struck and plundered twice within a few weeks, and, on the second occasion, was burned to the ground. The raiding finally over, the Indians lived well for awhile on the loot they had taken, but when that was gone the three tribes separated to return to their northern hunting grounds.⁶³

Most of the Northern Arapahoes, during this period of turbulence and ill-feeling from 1861 to 1865, remained at peace with the whites. With the exception of Black Bear's band, they could at no time be counted among the hostiles, and Black Bear's belliger-

58. *Op. cit.* *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, p. 5.

59. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, p. 173. Although reports of the number killed vary greatly, 100 to 800, there is little doubt of the proportion of women and children killed. For an idea of Indian resistance in this battle see p. 21 in Chapter 1.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

61. Black Bear is not named as the chief of this hostile band, but the location of the other Northern Arapaho bands of any size is otherwise known at this time. Likewise, the 80 lodges, about 450 people, is close to the figure of 400 given for his band in the *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), July 8, 1865.

62. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, pp. 182-194.

63. *Loc. cit.*

erency occurred only after the unwarranted attack on Southern Arapahoes and Cheyennes at Sand Creek in late November, 1864.

Among the many reports of intertribal raiding in the early 1860s, no definite involvements of Northern Arapahoes are cited. Yet it is unlikely that they had abandoned the practice, for a few years later they were known to raid Shoshones, Utes and Crows. Interestingly, when Northern Arapahoes, in 1862, found six stray mules bearing the Overland Stage Line's brand, they took them to the North Platte Agency, requesting their agent to return them to their owner. This elicited the commendation of the agent, who referred to them as the most honorable tribe within his jurisdiction.⁶⁴ Actions of this nature on the part of the Arapahoes probably reflected the influence of the older heads in the tribal hierarchy, who wished to avoid trouble with the whites.

Chief Friday, with his knowledge of English and understanding of the whites, was better able to convince Governor Evans and others in authority of his peaceful intentions than were other Indians. His stand became equally clear to his fellows. Within a year of the Eastern Sioux uprising, when the possibility of war on the plains was a topic of common conversation among both settlers and Indians, Friday, approached by emissaries on the Cache la Poudre in Colorado, refused to support the Sioux in a suggested war upon the whites. At approximately the same time, in the fall of 1863, Chief Medicine Man, through a white interpreter, informed Governor Evans that the matter of war had been discussed at an intertribal meeting on Horse Creek, Wyoming. Many favored a war to drive the whites off the land, but he and other Northern Arapahoes opposed such a course.⁶⁵ But Medicine Man's professions of friendship were far less convincing to the Governor than were those of Friday, perhaps because of the language barrier. Evans suspected him of double dealing, and reported that Smith, the interpreter, and Colley, agent to the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, shared his suspicions.⁶⁶ Such a conclusion evidently was unwarranted, for letters of Smith and Colley, though indicating distrust of Sioux, Cheyennes and Kiowas, express faith in the Arapahoes.⁶⁷

During the fighting in the north in 1864, when General Sully's forces pursued the Sioux, the greater part of the Northern Arapahoes and many of the Northern Cheyennes remained aloof from hostilities through their customary practice of hunting in the Pow-

64. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1862, p. 14.

65. *Ibid.*, 1863, pp. 240-241, and 511. Governor Evans usually referred to Medicine Man as Roman Nose, a name which the whites commonly used for him.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 541.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 542-543.

der River area, well over one hundred miles from the scene of military activity.⁶⁸ When, however, they left the comparative safety of their hunting grounds to report to the North Platte Agency, war was all but forced upon them by emigrants and Fort Laramie troops, who regarded them as belligerents and took action against them.⁶⁹ But the Indians did not retaliate, though they complained bitterly to their agent. The smaller bands of Friday and White Wolf remained at peace with the whites, although the settlers did not appreciate their presence on the Cache la Poudre in Colorado, a few miles west of Latham, near present-day Greeley. As has already been noted, these two responded to Governor Evans' call to friendly Indians to report to Camp Collins.

During these bitter days of 1864, with the stage line traffic nearly paralyzed because of the Indian scare, Friday struck up the acquaintance of the agents at the Overland Station in Latham, and occasionally had Sunday dinner with them. While they ate together or enjoyed after-dinner cigars, he regaled them with stories of his early life, his schooling in St. Louis, and of gold nuggets across the Rocky Mountains of Colorado.⁷⁰

In the meantime he pressed Governor Evans for his desire of many years, a reservation on the north side of the Cache la Poudre, land which with irrigation was soon to become wonderfully productive. It may be that Friday's youthful experiences in Missouri had equipped him to judge the fertility of soils. At any rate, he would not consider a reservation on the headwaters of the streams to the north of the Cache la Poudre, as the land there was too rocky for agriculture.⁷¹ But sixteen white families had settled on the land which Friday wished for his tribe, and where whites came in Indians usually were forced out.⁷² In disregard of Arapaho and Cheyenne title to the land, title which the northern bands of the two tribes had never surrendered, his request was refused.

Evidence is lacking that the Northern Arapahoes engaged in hostilities against the whites prior to the final weeks of 1864. But as already noted, Black Bear's band of eighty lodges, which had left the Big Horn-Powder River region of Wyoming to visit the Southern Arapahoes, joined the Cheyennes and Sioux in the Platte Valley raids after the Sand Creek massacre of late November.⁷³ When the three tribes separated, probably in March, 1865, Black Bear purportedly returned to the Powder River hunting grounds; but his stay in Wyoming must have been brief, for in April he

68. *Ibid.*, 1864, p. 223.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 387. This occurred a number of times.

70. *Op. cit.*, Root and Connelly, p. 347.

71. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1864, p. 235.

72. *Loc. cit.*

73. Black Bear must have had about 160 braves, as two warriors per lodge were usually figured.

brought his band to Colorado to join Friday on the Cache la Poudre.⁷⁴ Thus, *after* having taken an active part in the Platte Valley raids, Black Bear accepted Governor Evans' invitation of the preceding summer for friendly Indians to report for protection and rations!

The agent at Camp Collins assigned him hunting grounds so his band could procure subsistence, but since game was scarce and no rations were issued to them, it was only natural that he soon departed for his preferred hunting grounds in the Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming. By early July his entire band was gone, taking with them White Wolf (or Wolf Moccasin) and most of his following, leaving Friday with a group of only eighty-five in Colorado.⁷⁵

Through Friday's persistence, Governor Evans seems to have become convinced that Medicine Man might make a good peace risk, and in the summer of 1864, sent Robert North to southern Montana with his offer of protection and rations to Indians who intended to be friendly. North having failed to reach him, Friday, still hoping for a Northern Arapaho reservation on the Cache la Poudre, dispatched several of his own young men to persuade him to come south. In the spring of 1865, Medicine Man, who had remained apart from the hostilities of the winter months, responded to the Governor's call. As though to prove that Arapahoes were preponderantly peaceful people, with his following of 120 lodges, near seven hundred people, he traveled from the northern Powder River area to the Little Chug (Chugwater Creek) in southern Wyoming, about thirty-five miles north of Cheyenne.⁷⁶

Before replying to his request, the Governor contacted the Indian Office in Washington, D. C., informing Commissioner Dale that the Sand Creek massacre had spoiled the chance of peace with all of the Indians except Medicine Man's Northern Arapahoes; but if this counted for anything in Washington, it did not appear in the course which was followed. The reservation requested, it was said, was too close to the great routes of travel for the safety of the whites, and was therefore unsatisfactory.⁷⁷ It mattered not that the land on which Medicine Man had requested settlement was their own by treaty right.

The correspondence between Governor Evans and the Indian Office involved considerable delay. Before an interview could be arranged with Medicine Man, General Connor was reported on his way west to punish Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes for their

74. *Op. cit.* *Rocky Mountain News*, July 8, 1865.

75. *Loc. cit.* The Arapaho referred to as Wolf Moccasin by the *Rocky Mountain News* is called White Wolf in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1864, p. 387. The figure of 85 Indians remaining with Friday appears in the *Annual Report of 1868*, p. 181.

76. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1865, pp. 176-177.

77. *Loc. cit.*

depredations, and the matter was dropped. Their pilgrimage a failure, Medicine Man's band returned to the Powder River country, where the rewards of the chase, meat for food, and hides for clothing and lodges, were more readily obtainable than in the Chugwater valley.

Throughout the Civil War period, the independent action of the bands within a tribe, so characteristic of the plains Indians, was strikingly apparent among the Northern Arapahoes. Although none of them were stationary, Medicine Man's followers generally frequented the Big Horn-Powder River region; Friday's group spent much of their time on the Cache la Poudre in Colorado; White Wolf and Black Bear's bands followed a more transient pattern, the latter particularly, as it moved from the Big Horns to Kansas, to Colorado and Nebraska for raiding, to the Big Horns again, then to Colorado, and back to the Big Horns. Yet the bands apparently kept in touch with each other, and each seemingly knew where to find the others when it so desired.⁷⁸ Only Black Bear's band warred upon the whites. The others, about two-thirds of the entire tribe, kept the peace in spite of numerous provocations to belligerency.

The Powder River War, 1865-1868

With the end of the Civil War in 1865, the center of conflict between red men and white shifted into Wyoming, but the incompatibility of their interests remained. Colonel Collins, an experienced Indian fighter and retiring commander at Fort Laramie, probably spoke the mind of the West in recommending that the United States Government construct and garrison forts in the buffalo country of Wyoming, whip the Indians into submission, compel them to sue for peace, and remove them from the mineral-rich Big Horns, Black Hills and Yellowstone country.⁷⁹ When freed from the occupation of the Indians (savages, and an impediment to the white man's progress in Collins' opinion), the territory and its resources could be constructively developed by the superior race.

Although the government did not consciously follow the advice of the retiring colonel, its Indian policy during the course of the next three years developed a pattern in many respects similar to that which he had proposed. Gold, this time in southwestern Montana, played an important part. Prior to 1865, Virginia City, the center of the diggings, could be reached only by two circuitous

78. An example of this may be seen in the fact that Friday's young emissaries succeeded in reaching Medicine Man, well over 300 miles away in Montana, when Robert North, sent out by Governor Evans, was unable to find him.

79. *Op. cit.* Coutant, p. 430.

routes, but in that year construction began on the Bozeman Trail, a much more direct course from Fort Laramie in southeastern Wyoming to Virginia City. In violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, it cut through the headwaters of the Powder River and the Yellowstone, the famed Big Horn-Powder River area, which comprised the last reasonably good hunting grounds of the Sioux, Crows, and the Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes. [All authorities do not interpret the establishment of the Bozeman Road and the construction of the Powder River forts as a violation of the 1851 Treaty. Ed.] Since the antipathy of the Indians was evident at this invasion of the land which had hitherto been theirs alone, the Government constructed and garrisoned forts through the buffalo country to protect the trail and keep it open.

The Indians long had been dismayed as their game supply dwindled beneath the guns of emigrants and hide and tallow hunters, especially of the latter, who slaughtered the buffalo indiscriminately and left their flesh to rot. They were deeply concerned when the white man's livestock grazed off the nutritious prairie grasses on which the buffalo and their horses depended, for in a land in which one head of cattle required thirty acres or more for year-around pasture, large areas along the traveled routes were quickly depleted of their cover by emigrants' horses and cattle, and wind erosion set in. The grass and the buffalo were their natural resources from which came the bulk of their food, lodges and blankets, resources which they had used for generations, but never abused. Needless to say they did not relish the prospect of a horde of gold seekers trekking through the heart of their hunting lands, scaring away their game and depleting their resources still further.

Another factor which contributed to Indian tension and unrest was the cessation in 1865 of all government annuities resulting from the Fort Laramie Treaty.⁸⁰ Having received the payments of food, textiles and implements since 1851, Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes had learned to depend upon them. The abrupt termination of the issues made the Indians more keenly aware of white inroads upon their game, and of impending disaster if the supply continued to diminish.

Perhaps the times were ready for a leader who could weld the bands and tribes into a greater degree of common purpose than they formerly had shown in the face of white intrusion. Such a man appeared in the person of Red Cloud, the sagacious Ogallala Sioux, a chief of great cunning and iron determination. Backed by many of the powerful Sioux bands, the Cheyennes, and a part of the Arapahoes, he prepared to resist further encroachment upon the land of his people.

80. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1868, pp. 40-41

In June of 1865, fighting broke out in central Wyoming along the Sweetwater River, which rises near South Pass on the Oregon Trail, through which tens-of-thousands of emigrants passed on their way to the Pacific Coast. Several skirmishes occurred until, in late July, 1,000 warriors, Sioux, Cheyennes and Northern Arapahoes, defeated a small contingent of soldiers and killed their commander, Lieutenant Caspar Collins, at the Platte River Bridge, a strategic point on the Oregon Trail near the present town of Casper.⁸¹ Soon afterward the Indians moved north to their Big Horn hunting grounds.

How many of the one thousand warriors in the attack on Collins at the Platte River Bridge were Northern Arapahoes cannot be told. Friday's band was not among them, for it was still in Colorado. Medicine Man's band also was absent, since it had not returned from the Little Chug in southern Wyoming. It is probable that the Northern Arapahoes involved were members of Black Bear's and White Wolf's bands, as some members had left the Cache la Poudre in Colorado in the spring, purportedly headed for the Big Horns, perhaps to join the hostiles. By early July the last of them were on their way.

General Connor, sent to Wyoming to lead the western division of the Powder River expedition, left Fort Laramie on July 30, 1865, to strike the Indians in their hunting grounds, punish them for their depredations, and bring safety to the Bozeman Trail. He instructed his men to grant no quarter, but to kill all male Indians over twelve years of age.⁸²

Along the way to the Big Horns, where he hoped to strike a telling blow, General Connor took care lest news of his approach might precede him. Few Indians that crossed his path survived; a group of forty-two Sioux including two women, and various smaller parties were annihilated.⁸³ Finally in late August, close to the Tongue River in the northern part of Wyoming's Big Horns, the General spotted what he had hoped to find, a good-sized Indian village. It was Black Bear's band of Northern Arapahoes.

The troops surrounded the village in the dark, and when morning came and the Indians were taking down their lodges to move camp, the soldiers attacked.⁸⁴ In true Indian fashion, Connor's Pawnee

81. *Op. cit.* Hebard and Brininstool, *Bozeman Trail*, v. 1. pp. 160-163. The town of Casper, despite its spelling, was named for Caspar Collins.

82. Leroy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Powder River Campaigns and Sawyers Expedition of 1865*, Glendale, the Arthur H. Clark Co., 1961, p. 43. Connor's superior, General Pope, countermanded these orders when they came to his attention, saying they were atrocious.

83. F. G. Burnett, "History of the Western Division of the Powder River Expedition," *Annals of Wyoming*, v. 8, January, 1932, pp. 572-574.

84. Robert Beebe David, *Finn Burnett, Frontiersman*, Glendale, the Arthur H. Clark Co., 1937, p. 89.

scouts, far more interested in obtaining horses than in fighting, rounded up their enemies' ponies while the completely surprised Arapahoes, unhorsed, strove to protect their women and children. Although outnumbered by the soldiers they fought until midnight in the hope of regaining their lodges and supplies of robes and meat, all of which were burned by Connor's troops.⁸⁵ Women and children were counted among the dead, due, it was said, to the unfortunate fact that the soldiers did not have time to take careful aim at the braves.⁸⁶

Three days later an intriguing incident occurred which cast Black Bear's braves in a more amicable role. Near the present town of Dayton, in the Big Horns, they attacked a wagon train of Bozeman Trail roadbuilders commanded by Colonel Sawyers. His small party, greatly outnumbered by the Indians, found itself in grave danger until the Arapahoes, according to Sawyers' journal, finally realized that this was a party of workers, with no soldiers among them, and made them an offer of peace.⁸⁷ Sawyers wanted help to get his wagons through; the Arapahoes needed horses, having lost theirs in the battle with Connor. They proposed that three of them and three of Sawyers' men should go together to the general; if the whites would aid them in regaining their ponies they would guarantee safety to the roadbuilders. And so it was agreed. Several Arapahoes voluntarily remained with Sawyers as hostages, pending the return of the six couriers. The suspicious wagoners kept careful watch on the many Indians who came into camp to consult with the hostages, but since they were always friendly their fears proved groundless.

Next day the three Arapaho messengers returned alone, having encountered a party of armed white men who were on their way to the relief of the wagon train. Since they feared further trouble with the approach of soldiers, they returned to Sawyers' camp, reported

85. *Op. cit.* Hafen and Hafen, *Powder River Campaigns*, p. 46. Hafen and Hafen estimate a village of more than 500 souls, which is possible if White Wolf's band was combined with Black Bear's. (It is referred to as a village led by Black Bear and Old David, but as Old David is otherwise unknown this may have been the soldiers' name for White Wolf.) Connor had 800 troops. The 250 lodges which most authors reported burned is probably a gross exaggeration on the part of the original authority, which was a common failing in reporting Indian fights. It is unlikely that at this time the Arapahoes, reported by their agent to be poorly equipped, could have had so many extra lodges for the storage of furs. They averaged 5½ to 6 people per lodge, which should have meant not more than 100 lodges in the entire village. A few years later, when game was further depleted, they crowded two families, about 10 to 12 people, into each badly worn lodge.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

to him what had happened, and the entire group of Indians moved on.⁸⁸

General Connor continued his maneuvers until he discovered another Indian village in the Big Horns, which he also hoped to destroy. But disappointment was his lot, and he was sorely tried when word came from Washington ordering him to desist from hostilities and return to Fort Laramie.⁸⁹ Convinced that his show of force had taught Black Bear a much-needed lesson, he hated to leave the hunting lands without drubbing other Indians and ending their depredations.

In January, 1866, through the snows of a fearful winter, messengers were sent out from Fort Laramie to invite the Indians to a peace conference.⁹⁰ The Northern Arapahoes could not be reached, and Colonel Maynardier, Commander at Fort Laramie, feared that they might continue hostilities. In this event, he would seek Sioux aid in chastising them.⁹¹ But they caught wind of the move for peace, and in late June, when the snows were gone, sent six couriers to Fort Laramie to make sure that they could share in it.⁹²

Several bands of the great Sioux tribe approved the Treaty of 1866, but agreements with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were not concluded. The government had no intention of abandoning the Bozeman Trail forts nor removing the garrisons; but realizing that the Indians would bitterly oppose the depletion of their hunting grounds, it stressed the need of great tact in maintaining travel through their country.⁹³ Red Cloud's determination and tenacity, however, had not been fully considered. Neither he nor his Ogallala Sioux would accept tactful travel over the Bozeman Trail, nor retention of the forts, nor the treaty, nor peace, until the road was closed and the hated forts abandoned. They prepared for further war.

Red Cloud's feelings were brought home strongly to the nation on December 21, 1866. A large body of warriors, who had resolved to drive the soldiers from their Big Horn hunting grounds, slaughtered eighty troops under Colonel Fetterman. This inexperienced, boastful Indian fighter had claimed that a single com-

88. Holman, one of Sawyers' men, gave quite a different account of the Arapaho incident. The gist of it is that the Indians planned treachery, and were finally ordered out of camp. Holman's version is entirely reminiscent, related thirty years after the event, whereas Sawyers' journal was written at the time the events occurred. (See Hafen and Hafen, *Powder River Campaigns*, pp. 322-323.)

89. *Op. cit.* Burnett, p. 577.

90. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1866, p. 205.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

pany of soldiers could defeat one thousand Indians. Red Cloud's group of Sioux, Cheyennes, and a few Northern Arapahoes, with very little aid from firearms, proved him wrong.⁹⁴

With the help of the Crows, their erstwhile enemies, Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes defended their last important game area in northern Wyoming and southern Montana. Fighting continued into the summer of 1867. In early August, the Indians learned the deadly effectiveness of the new, breech-loading rifles which had replaced muzzle-loaders in the hands of the troops.⁹⁵ With these weapons the soldiers twice defeated them, inflicting heavy casualties.⁹⁶ But although Red Cloud lost the battles he was to win the war.

As a result of the annihilation of Fetterman's command in 1866, President Johnson ordered an investigation into the causes of Indian dissatisfaction and violence.⁹⁷ A commission of civilians and military officers met with the Indians, heard their grievances, and concluded that the establishment of forts and stationing of soldiers along the Bozeman Trail had precipitated the trouble. The Indians had never agreed to this, and felt that, with the consequent effect upon their game they must fight or die of starvation.

Again a council was called at Fort Laramie to end the Powder River War. In mid-September, 1867, about three hundred Indians came in, largely Crows and Arapahoes, who were very friendly, and a few Cheyennes.⁹⁸ General Harney, head of the peace commission, awaited the arrival of the Sioux before proceeding with the treaty, but Red Cloud, wary of the white man's promises, refused to report to Fort Laramie until he had seen the government troops depart from the posts along the Bozeman Trail.⁹⁹ He finally arrived in the spring of 1868. With the signing of the Harney-Sanborn Treaty in May the war was ended, and Red Cloud never fought again.

Whereas the Indian office in Washington praised the newly-inaugurated policy of conquering the Indians with kindness, the *Cheyenne Leader* (Wyoming) commented caustically on the "Quaker" influence which had instigated the surrender of the entire

94. Most authors indicate the presence of only a few Arapahoes, but Dunn, *op. cit.* p. 246, says one hundred lodges took part. Dunn is frequently inaccurate.

Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 339, state that Eagle Head and Black Coal led the Arapaho contingent, Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 151, credits the leadership to the white man, Robert North.

95. *Op. cit.* Hebard and Brininstool, v. 1, pp. 50 and 180.

96. *Ibid.*, v. 1, pp. 70 and 181. These were the Hayfield Fight in Montana and the Wagon Box Fight in Wyoming. In the latter a howitzer also inflicted heavy damage.

97. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, p. 244.

98. *Op. cit.* *Cheyenne Leader*, Sept. 19, 1867.

99. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1868.

Powder River area to the Indians, and pessimistically prophesied continued hostilities in Wyoming and South Dakota.¹⁰⁰ The final peace, the *Leader* editorialized, would be dictated by the invincible whites, whose destiny it was to civilize the plains.¹⁰¹ The treaty barred them from access to the Black Hills gold, as it was on Indian land; but, the *Leader* cynically stated, though the government proposes, the pioneer disposes.¹⁰² With such an attitude held commonly in the West, a stable, lasting peace could scarcely be expected. Only a temporary respite had been gained.

As criticism of the soft policy toward the Indians continued, proponents of a tougher course revived their demands to return the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the War Department. Commissioner N. G. Taylor opined in reply that the proposed transfer would be tantamount to continual war, whereas the true policy toward the Indians should be one of peace. Citing the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 as a mistake of the military, he estimated the cost of the resulting war, only recently brought to a close, at \$40,000,000.¹⁰³

Within the Indian Bureau, nonetheless, signs appeared of yielding to the pressure of land-hungry settlers. Preliminary plans were drawn for confining some 130,000 Indians on two reservations, thus freeing the remainder of their lands for the whites.¹⁰⁴ One reservation would comprise the greater part of Oklahoma, the other the western half of South Dakota. But if necessary to prevent another Indian war, the latter might be temporarily extended westward to the Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming, the unceded Indian land which they had fought so hard to retain for their own use!¹⁰⁵ A glowing future was depicted for the red men. Stocking the reservations with cattle, sheep and goats would instill in them a desire for individual ownership of land and goods, thus paving the way for the mastery of agriculture and the mechanical arts.¹⁰⁶ With the crowning work of teacher and missionary their rosy future would be perpetuated.

Further study indicates that this was mere glossing of a hopeless situation for the Indians, and rationalizing of the brutal fact that they must be moved out of the white man's way. The practical impossibility of preventing settlers from encroaching on Indian hunting grounds was admitted.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the two eastern

100. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1868. Wyoming and South Dakota were then included in Dakota Territory. With the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869, Wyoming became a separate territory.

101. *Ibid.*, April 3, 1868.

102. *Loc. cit.*

103. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1868, p. 8.

104. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

105. *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 8.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

107. *Loc. cit.*

divisions of the Pacific Railroad were rapidly approaching Denver, a fact which demanded the concentration of the Indians on reservations, far enough removed from the steel rails to preclude any danger to them.¹⁰⁸ Peace, perhaps, would last until the pressures again became too great.

The extent of Northern Arapahoe participation in the Powder River War is somewhat enigmatic. Some warriors, as already indicated, engaged in the Sweetwater and Platte Bridge skirmishes in June and July of 1865, probably members of Black Bear's and White Wolf's bands. During the same summer, General Connor attacked a village of five hundred or more, Black Bear's band and possibly White Wolf's. The same bands later had a brush with Sawyers' wagon train, followed by a unique armistice. No further record of Northern Arapaho hostilities appears until the time of the Fetterman fight, in December, 1866. A small contingent engaged in this affair. Thereafter the records are indefinite, excepting for the final days of fighting, such as the Hayfield and Wagon Box fights. The bands represented and the numbers engaged is nowhere indicated.

Friday's band was never numbered among the hostiles, for this group of eighty-five remained on the Cache la Poudre in Colorado throughout the period of fighting. Despite the fact that they were destitute—the governor of the Territory had been unable to provide them with rations—they did not depart from their encampment there until the summer of 1868.¹⁰⁹ They were the last of the Arapaho and Cheyenne bands, Northern or Southern, to quit Colorado Territory. They wished to remain in this land which by right belonged to them, and left only under pressure, because the white settlers did not want them there.¹¹⁰

Medicine Man's relationship to the Powder River War cannot be so positively stated. He and his band of 120 lodges, more than half the tribe, returned from southern Wyoming to the Powder River hunting lands during the summer of 1865. Whether he succeeded in keeping any of his followers out of the conflict can only be conjectured. Certain facts, however, indicate that Medicine Man may have stood for a peaceful course. Nowhere, for instance, is his name mentioned as a hostile during the war period. This is likewise true of Friday, who, as already shown, had no part in the war; but Chief Black Bear and three others of less importance are named as Arapaho leaders in the fighting.¹¹¹ As the Northern Arapahoes' most important chief, and one who had been

108. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

109. *Ibid.*, 1868, pp. 180-181.

110. *Loc. cit.* This news of Friday's band comes from the report of Governor Hunt of Colorado Territory.

111. These three were "Old David", Eagle Head, and Black Coal.

tribal spokesman on a number of occasions, the omission of his name from among the hostiles is very interesting. Again, like Friday, Medicine Man failed to sign the Harney-Sanborn Treaty of 1868, which ended the Powder River War, although Black Bear and more than twenty other Northern Arapahoes attached their signatures.¹¹² This may have special significance, for customarily a major chief who had engaged in hostilities against the United States would have endorsed the agreement which brought the conflict to a close. When the bulk of the tribe, 119 lodges, arrived at Fort Laramie for the treaty signing, Medicine Man and twenty-five lodges of his people stayed behind in the Big Horns.¹¹³ Whether the 140 to 150 people represented by these twenty-five lodges had remained aloof from the war still is unknown.

During the early months of the fighting (sometimes called the First Powder River War), less than half of the Northern Arapahoes were involved, but from December, 1866 until the end of hostilities (the Second Powder River War), a greater number may have taken part. Friday's band stayed completely out of it; but more than this cannot definitely be stated.

Land Pressure and Sporadic Warfare, 1868-1874

The Treaty of 1868 brought an uneasy peace. Whites were barred from the unceded lands which the red men retained as hunting grounds, and the government tried to confine the Indians as far as practicable to their reservations. The Interior Department regarded the treaty as an expedient only, and looked hopefully toward the day when the buffalo would be gone, each Indian would cultivate his individual allotment of land, and the broad prairies, emancipated from their hold, would be settled by the whites.

Determined efforts to dispossess the Indians of their remaining useful lands marked the period. With the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869, steel rails united the nation from coast to coast. Emigrants and household goods now could be moved across the plains in a few days time, in contrast to the former wagon trains which consumed weeks of travel through dust and mud under conditions of extreme privation. With the thousands of settlers which the railroad brought into the West came scores of buffalo hunters, many drawn to the prairies solely for the thrill of shooting the huge bovines, whose speedy extinction now was assured. During a single summer, a party of sixteen killed 28,000

112. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1868, pp. 253-254.

113. *Loc. cit.* The letter of Charles Geren, Sioux interpreter at Ft. Laramie (published in the *Annual Report*), states that 119 Arapahoes arrived at the fort; but it is evident from the rest of his letter that 119 lodges was intended. Both clothing and tents of the Northern Arapahoes were sadly worn.

buffalo.¹¹⁴ While such unregulated slaughter rapidly forced the Indians to depend upon government rations for their subsistence, no one has recorded their reaction at this wanton waste when the stench of millions of pounds of the decaying flesh of these animals reached their nostrils.

In Wyoming, such towns as Cheyenne, Laramie, Rawlins and others which had sprung up during the railroad's westward progress were assured of permanence. They also offered convenient jumping-off places for prospectors, miners and others interested in the natural resources of the region, whether they were on or off the Indian lands.

With the influx of population accompanying the opening of the railroad and its efficient service from the east, the federal government created Wyoming Territory, with its capitol in Cheyenne. This afforded a ready instrument through which miners, stock raisers and other pressure groups could work; and they were not slow to make their wishes known.¹¹⁵ A ready ally was at hand in the person of territorial Governor J. A. Campbell, regional ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs, for he championed the settlers' interests from the first. In his inaugural address to the legislature (1869) he argued that each Indian should be allotted sufficient land to support himself with proper cultivation, but no more. The remainder should go to the whites.¹¹⁶ The result, of course, was further pressure on the Indian lands, which seemed never to relax; and the Indians felt the relentless squeeze.

Although Red Cloud gained his ends in the Powder River Wars, his braves had learned to appreciate the deadly effects of howitzers and breech-loading rifles in the hands of trained soldiers, and probably would be loathe to face them again. With the transcontinental railroad running, capable of moving troops and munitions readily to convenient disembarking points, the prospect of armed resistance by the Indians seemed remote. To ensure astute behavior on their part, and to protect the settlers and their investments, five new forts were garrisoned in Wyoming, four of them close to the railroad. From these, troops could proceed handily into Indian territory if needed.

Although the Northern Arapahoes felt the pinch of the times on their lands and game, they endeavored to retain peaceful relations

114. *Congressional Record, Forty-third Congress*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1874, p. 2106.

115. *Op. cit.* Dale, pp. 100-102. Founded in 1873, the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association soon became the most powerful pressure group in the area, and influenced Wyoming's Legislature very strongly. Within a few years it extended its operations into Colorado, Nebraska, Montana and the Dakotas.

116. *Op. cit.* *Cheyenne Leader*, Oct. 13, 1869. The Governor suggested no restriction on the amount of land a white man might hold.

with the whites. In an attempt to further such an effort, they separated from their Sioux friends and made two trips to meet with their traditional enemies, the Shoshones, to arrange a peace and obtain the right to stay on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. The second of these trips was a journey of nearly seven hundred miles from a temporary encampment on the Musselshell in Montana. When their hopes for peace in their new home ended with a burst of violence against them, they refrained from the bloody vengeance which was within their power to wreak on a group of ruffian miners who were seeking to exterminate them.¹¹⁷ Leaving the Wind River region, they returned to Montana for a time, where the pressures of conflict were less obvious.

During this period, they had slight association with the Sioux malcontents, that is, with the followers of Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull. In 1873, when they finally spent most of the year at Red Cloud Agency, their agent complimented their good behavior.¹¹⁸ Although the pressures of the time and their reluctance to abandon traditional ways brought them into conflict with federal troops in 1874, few of the charges made against them during this period can be substantiated. Generally, they held to a path of peace in their relations with the whites.

Of the unceded Indian territory in the region, three sections were especially coveted, the gold tracts of Wyoming's Sweetwater district, the Black Hills of South Dakota and northeastern Wyoming, and the Big Horn-Powder River country west of them, purportedly rich in soil and minerals. In 1872, after two years of dickering, the federal government purchased the Sweetwater gold lands from the Shoshones, finally legalizing the presence of mines, stamp mills for crushing ore, homes and the entire town of Miner's Delight on land guaranteed to the Eastern Shoshones in 1868. This foothold gained, the pioneers demanded the opening of the Wind River and Popo Agie Valleys to settlement, arguing that fresh vegetables for the miners should be produced on the arable land.¹¹⁹ But the Shoshones would not surrender these rights.

Eastward in the territory, stockmen south of the North Platte looked covetously across the river, as though straining at the leash to enter the cattlemen's paradise from which the Treaty of 1868 excluded them. Stung by the apparent unreasonableness of a decree which elevated Indian hunting rights above their grazing

117. *Op. cit.* Nickerson, p. 3. They set out, says Nickerson, to annihilate the Arapahoes.

118. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 612.

119. The Popo Agie (pronounced Poposia), near Lander, Wyoming, is a tributary of the Wind River. The latter becomes the Big Horn between Shoshone and Thermopolis, flowing north to discharge into the Yellowstone in Montana.

privileges, they pressed the territorial legislature and Congress for a change.

Representing a variety of interests, in 1870 the newly-formed Big Horn Association determined to explore the soil and mineral resources of northern Wyoming, despite the treaty and government red tape which excluded them from the land they longed to use.¹²⁰ Eventually, with the permission, if not the blessing, of Washington, an expedition left Cheyenne in May, explored the Big Horns, met with no open opposition from the Indians, and though it found no gold, returned in August with optimistic reports.¹²¹

In 1872 Governor Campbell hopefully reported that Wyoming's Indians, or "non-producing savages", would be removed to a reservation in Dakota, thus freeing 20,000 square miles of incalculably valuable land for the stockmen, farmers and miners of Wyoming Territory.¹²² A year later he confidently predicted the early expulsion of all Indians except the peaceful Shoshones (friends of the whites) from the territory.¹²³ Shortly after, a government commission met with Sioux, Northern Arapahoes and Northern Cheyennes at Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska, but failed in an effort to persuade them to relinquish their treaty rights in the Big Horns.¹²⁴

In direct violation of the Treaty of 1868, and over the protests of the Indians, General Custer in 1874 led a military party to the Black Hills to make a rough survey of their resources. Lack of open hostilities from the Indians during this and the earlier Big Horn expedition led to the premature conclusion that Indian dependency on the coffee, bacon and beans issued at the agencies had broken their will to resist, and that large-scale hostilities were a thing of the past. Francis A. Walker, commissioner of Indian affairs, endorsed the widely credited opinion that the alternative of war for the Indians had run its course, and added that any hostile "savages" would be readily crushed by troops moving north and south respectively from the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads.¹²⁵

In 1872, federal troops moved into five forts in Wyoming, ostensibly to protect the Union Pacific Railroad, but especially to prevent the Indians north of it from taking unauthorized leave of their reservations.¹²⁶ The attempt to thus curtail their roaming

120. *Op. cit.* *Cheyenne Leader*, March 3, 1870.

121. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1870.

122. *House Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming*, Cheyenne, *Daily Leader Office*, 1872, p. 16.

123. *Ibid.*, 1873, pp. 25-26.

124. *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1873, p. 157.

125. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1872, p. 397.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

habits, it was hoped, would render them more amenable to civilization, and give the settlers greater safety from their depredations.¹²⁷ Advocating a somewhat sterner policy, the Wyoming press suggested that the red men be warned to remain on limited reservations or be shot on sight.¹²⁸ The whites, it added candidly, needed their immense, unceded tract of land in the Big Horn-Powder River area.

Once the buffalo were exterminated, the Indians would be forced to depend upon the government rations issued at the agencies. With only lesser game to hunt, there would be little need of roaming in the Big Horns, still less in the valley of the far-off Smoky Hill River in Kansas, where the Sioux and Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes retained the right to roam and hunt as long as there were enough buffalo to justify the chase.

The tribesmen then could be confined to smaller reservations, and the frontiers of settlement extended even further. These were the main criteria by which Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano judged the success of Indian policy.¹²⁹ Under his direction, the Interior Department winked at the terrible slaughter of buffalo for hides, tallow, tongues, and the joy of killing. Thousands of tons of buffalo meat rotted on the plains. Justifying the prospect of their total disappearance, Delano pointed out in 1872 that only total elimination of the buffalo could force the Indians to cultivate the land. To Delano, this was a highly desirable goal.¹³⁰ Due largely to his opposition, a bill designed to halt the useless slaughter of buffalo (H. R. 921) met defeat in the House of Representatives in 1874.¹³¹ The Indians, it was argued, could not be confined to restricted reservations until the last buffalo had vanished from the prairie.

From 1870 to 1875, a large number of delegations from the various plains tribes visited Washington and other eastern cities at government expense. Advocating this cheap means of convincing its wards that war on the whites was futile, the Indian Bureau expressed its pleasure with the apparent results.¹³² To impress the Indians with the desirability of the white man's way of life, they attired them in the style of the day, complete with silk hats,

127. *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1875, pp. 5-6.

128. *Op. cit.* *Cheyenne Leader*, Jan. 27, 1874.

129. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1872, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1873, p. 3. The extension of western railways was another criterion which pleased him.

130. *Ibid.*, p. vi.

131. *Op. cit.* *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1872, pp. 123-131.

132. *Op. cit.* *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1872, pp. 123-131.

black suits and paper collars.¹³³ Though they visited the zoo in New York, the Academy of Music in Philadelphia, and other places of note, they invariably looked forward to the end of their trip.¹³⁴ They yearned for their own societies and their homes in the West.

A somewhat sinister facet of the trips to Washington was the pressure applied on chiefs and headmen to give up additional land and accept restricted reservations for their bands. A group of Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes was subjected to such pressure in 1873. The Indian Bureau wished them to remove to Indian territory, to join their southern brethren. Although the Indians strongly opposed the plan, the bureaucrats insisted, and eventually several chiefs yielded to the pressure and gave their consent.¹³⁵ Washington officialdom had begun to realize that agreement more readily could be obtained from the Indians in small groups than in a tribal assembly. Once this lesson was learned it was not forgotten.

The technique of congregating many thousands of Indians within a limited territory was foreshadowed by the treaties of 1866 with the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory, the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles.¹³⁶ Yielding unwillingly to government demands, these tribes were forced to break up their tribally-owned lands, accept individual allotments for themselves, and allow other Indians to settle within their reservations. Five years later, the Indian Bureau recognized the situation as a golden opportunity to start the wild Indians of the plains definitely and painlessly upon the road to civilization. Settled on the land, owning individual plots of ground, the Arapaho and the Apache would learn from the agriculturally successful Cherokee and Choctaw, for example, the advantages of farming over the nomadic mode of life.¹³⁷ Thus, the plains Indian problem finally would be solved, and the lands over which they roamed would be released to the whites.¹³⁸

By 1871, Americans had gained little understanding or appreciation of the Indian way of life. Few indeed knew of its finer side, and the phases which caught the public eye were difficult to comprehend. The red men's attitude toward enemies of his own race was of this kind. Although Custer's slaughter of Southern Arapahoes and Cheyennes on the Washita (Oklahoma) in 1868

133. *Loc. cit.*

134. *Loc. cit.*

135. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 46.

136. *Ibid.*, 1871, p. 466.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 467.

138. John Collier, *Indians of the Americas*, New York, the New American Library, 1947, pp. 125-129. Collier shows that of nearly 4½ million acres of Cherokee tribal lands, individually allotted against their will, nine tenths was lost to whites within 20 years.

made little stir, the whites were plainly shocked at the massacre of Pawnee buffalo hunters by Sioux who were similarly engaged in 1873. The Indian commissioner asked Congress to revoke the latter's right to hunt off their reservation, while on his own authority it was temporarily suspended.¹³⁹ Moreover, he requested military commanders to prevent Indians from passing without a permit from one reservation to another.¹⁴⁰

Although increasing pressure on their lands forced the Indians into a greater realization of tribal unity than they formerly had known, bands of diverse sizes occasionally reverted to independent action. Shortly after the Treaty of 1868, for example, a few Northern Arapahoes and two Sioux villages joined Southern Cheyennes in battling federal troops in Colorado, while nearby kinsmen abstained from hostilities, and others, in their Wyoming hunting grounds, were far away from the fighting.¹⁴¹

The doctrine of individual land allotments, so dear to those who wished to raise the Indians from a "barbarian herd" to the status of civilization, made little headway with the red men, who clung tenaciously to their traditional customs.¹⁴² Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes on the Red Cloud Reservation in Nebraska, who accepted individual allotments in 1874, found themselves stuck with barren soil, worthless for farming.¹⁴³ The climate was too dry, and irrigation was impracticable.¹⁴⁴ Their fellows, unfavorably impressed with this example, were loathe to follow the white man's path.

Due to their numerical strength and their power to war, the Sioux were the Indians most dreaded by the whites. Red Cloud, the uncompromising leader of the warring tribesmen from 1866 to 1868, by the 1870s exerted a restraining influence among his people. But the names of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse ranked high among the malcontents. Depredations by and dangers from the Sioux made front page news. Numerous items, both true and false, published in the western press, testify to the importance of their impact upon the frontiersman's mind. And well they might. Custer, in 1873, fought Sioux along the Yellowstone River in Montana.¹⁴⁵ A group of wild ones, so-called, new to the Red Cloud Agency and its ways, arrested its agent, surrounded and immobilized a contingent of soldiers summoned to his aid, and precipitated a serious situation. Some seven hundred regular agency Indians,

139. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 376.

140. *Loc. cit.*

141. *Op. cit.* *Grinnell*, pp. 279-281.

142. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 372.

143. *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 415.

144. *Ibid.*, p. 459.

145. *Op. cit.* *Cheyenne Leader*, Feb. 18, 1873.

probably Sioux, Cheyennes and Northern Arapahoes, rescued both agent and troops, thus averting possible tragedy.¹⁴⁶

Unidentified Indians often were called Sioux, and when depredations occurred this tribe most frequently received the blame. Their unexpected appearance near the settlements produced among the whites forebodings of trouble. In 1874, the erroneous report of a band of Sioux on Horse Creek, north of Cheyenne, sent shivers of apprehension through the town.¹⁴⁷ But relief ensued when the Indians were identified as Cheyennes and Arapahoes, only forty strong, heavily laden with dried meat after a successful buffalo hunt in the Republican Valley.¹⁴⁸

A news report of February, 1874, attributed most of the plunderings of the past six or seven years to the northern bands of Sioux.¹⁴⁹ Before the end of that year Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse had recruited from these and other bands a considerable following of braves who, like themselves, mistrusted the white man's intentions. Resenting his constant pressure to part them from their lands, they regarded him as a prime usurper. Determined as they were to resist further encroachment, it was, perhaps, more accident than planned intent which postponed their great outbreak until 1876.

Some historians insist that the Northern Arapahoes also engaged in sporadic warfare against the whites in the bitter years from 1868-1874, except for Friday who vainly counseled peace.¹⁵⁰ Although this evaluation generally is accepted, it is not the entire truth. There is reason to believe, indeed, that the Northern Arapahoes as a whole were less responsive to the belligerency of their Sioux and Cheyenne friends than at any time since the Civil War period, when two-thirds of the tribe abstained from hostilities against the whites.

After signing of the Treaty of 1868, 119 lodges of Northern Arapahoes—some seven hundred souls—went south with Black Bear to visit their kinsmen. Finding their Cheyenne friends embroiled with United States troops, a few Arapahoes and two Sioux villages joined them for a while, the Arapahoes desisting after the defeat of General Forsythe in the Beecher Island fight (eastern Colorado).¹⁵¹ I is not recorded whether Black Bear was implicated in the fighting, but the bulk of those who had come south with him remained at peace, as did those who had stayed in the north with Medicine Man and Friday.

146. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 45.

147. *Op. cit.* *Cheyenne Leader*, Feb. 18, 1874.

148. *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1874.

149. *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1874.

150. *Op. cit.*, Hafen and Ghent, *Broken Hand*, p. 278.

151. *Op. cit.*, Grinnell, pp. 279-281.

Black Coal, though frequently portrayed as anti-white, in 1869 assisted federal troops from Fort Fetterman in picking up the trail of marauding Indians who had killed two whites on La Prele Creek, near the present town of Douglas, Wyoming.¹⁵² Coincidentally Medicine Man, Friday and a number of other Arapahoes were en route to Fort Bridger (southwestern Wyoming) to make peace with Chief Washakie of the Shoshones and gain the chance of staying on the Wind River (or Shoshone) Reservation. But as the Shoshones were in the Big Horns on their autumn buffalo hunt, the Arapahoes returned to Fort Fetterman.¹⁵³ They left word at Fort Bridger that they would return in three months' time.¹⁵⁴ Suspicious when he learned their object, Washakie wondered why the Arapahoes now wished to dissociate themselves from their Sioux and Cheyenne allies; but he thought better of the plan when he learned of Friday's connection with it.¹⁵⁵

True to their word, the Arapahoes returned in February, 1870, and concluded terms for a temporary stay on the Shoshone Reservation. They agreed to maintain friendly relations with the Shoshones and the whites, and to notify them of the coming of northern hostiles. Thus began their stay on the reservation, a stay which endured less than two months, and ended in an outburst of violence in which eleven Arapahoes were killed.

Historians generally accept the thesis that the Arapahoes were insincere, that they intended neither to keep the friendly relations they promised, nor to notify Shoshones and whites of impending hostile raids. The resulting ill feeling and blood-letting was attributed to Arapaho treachery. The examination of a number of facts, however, casts grave doubt upon this conclusion.

A possible explanation of why the Arapahoes sought harbor on the Shoshone Reservation may be found in the report of Agent Daniels that they did not like to remain at Red Cloud Agency because the Sioux were apt to cause them trouble.¹⁵⁶ He had, he added, found them well disposed and quiet.

When they failed to find Chief Washakie at Fort Bridger in the fall of 1869, Medicine Man, Friday and the greater part of the tribe set out for the Milk River Reservation in Montana, where their Gros Ventre relatives and Crow enemies were domiciled. They left behind the Sioux and Cheyennes, who had been more deeply embroiled in hostilities than they. One hundred and sixty lodges, upwards of 900 Arapahoes, were reported on the way; ten lodges

152. *Op. cit.*, *Cheyenne Leader*, Nov. 8, 1869. The marauders were said to be Sioux.

153. *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1869.

154. *Loc. cit.*

155. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1869, p. 274.

156. *Ibid.*, 1872, p. 651.

reached the agency. But when smallpox struck, wiping out most of the advance guard, the main camp moved back to the Musselshell in alarm.¹⁵⁷

February saw them in Wyoming again, still determined on peace. They found and negotiated with Washakie, and hopefully encamped on the Shoshone Reservation. Depredations occurred, and though these were by no means new to the Sweetwater settlements, the Arapahoes were suspected. Stolen horses reported in their camp afforded an indication of guilt accepted by the settlers as proof, despite the fact that similar identification of stolen stock had proved faulty on various occasions. When on the 31st of March a raid resulted in the loss of more horses and three hunter's lives, the miners acted quickly. Nearby army officers from Fort Stambaugh blamed Cheyennes and Sioux, but the settlers held the Arapahoes accountable, though the latter denied all knowledge of the affair.¹⁵⁸ Convinced that they had "undisputable" evidence of Arapaho guilt, 250 armed civilians headed for their camp.¹⁵⁹

Of what the evidence consisted there is great confusion. Bancroft indicates that H. G. Nickerson, who spied on the Arapaho camp, found enough in it to verify a verdict of guilt, but gives no clue to what he saw.¹⁶⁰ *The South Pass News* cited the presence in Friday's camp of harness taken from St. Mary's Station on the Sweetwater, where the three hunters were murdered.¹⁶¹ But Nickerson's own version of his spying trip readily leads to the conclusion that the Arapahoes were judged guilty by conjecture only.

Since Friday was indebted to him for a former act of kindness, Nickerson went directly to his camp, set somewhat apart from the main group headed by Medicine Man. This assured him of protection from the other Arapahoes who correctly surmised that he had come to spy.¹⁶² Fearing for his own life, he seems not to have realized that they may have been equally fearful. He saw no stolen horses, no harness from St. Mary's Station nor other manifestations of guilt; but he learned that many young braves had gone over on the Sweetwater—for a buffalo hunt they said. Not until his return home did Nickerson learn of the St. Mary's killings, which occurred on that day. Thereupon, he and others, putting the coincidences together, convinced themselves of Arapaho guilt.¹⁶³ On such flimsy evidence the Arapahoes were condemned, and vengeance

157. *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 201.

158. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

159. *Loc. cit.* This is quoted from the report of Governor Campbell of Wyoming Territory.

160. *Op. cit.* Bancroft, p. 767.

161. *Op. cit.* *Cheyenne Leader*, April 21, 1870. *The South Pass News* of April 11 is quoted by the *Leader*.

162. *Op. cit.* Nickerson, "The Early History of Fremont County".

163. *Loc. cit.*

planned against them. The idea that hungry Indians would leave camp for such a sensible purpose as hunting buffalo evidently seemed preposterous.

On their way to clean out the Arapaho camp, the armed band of vigilantes raised for the purpose met Chief Black Bear and an unarmed group of mixed sex and age, on their way to Camp Augur to trade. Firing upon them, they killed Black Bear and ten others, and continued on their way toward the main body of the tribe.¹⁶⁴

When dusk fell the vigilantes halted for the night, building great campfires for their light and heat. Thus exposed they were easy marks for Indian vengeance; yet only a few Arapahoes came near, and shot into the blazing fires, which then were extinguished.¹⁶⁵ The Indians did no more.

In their grief and burning anger only a powerful influence for peace could have withheld the young braves, as it did, from violent retaliation. Records did not indicate whether this was exerted by Medicine Man, Friday, the elders of the hierarchy, or all of them. Convinced they were the victims of white treachery and Shoshone duplicity, the Arapahoes left the region, most of them heading for Montana and the Milk River Agency.¹⁶⁶

It should be borne in mind the Arapahoes legally were on the Shoshone Reservation at this time, having approached Governor Campbell of Wyoming Territory and Chief Washakie of the Eastern Shoshones, making a treaty with the latter which granted them the right of temporary residence on Shoshone land. But the vigilantes were trespassers living illegally on Indian soil and extracting gold to which they had no right. The town of Miner's Delight itself had been built about a mile and a half within the southern boundary of the reservation.¹⁶⁷

Although he felt the effect of the vigilantes' lesson to the Indians had been salutary, Governor Campbell of Wyoming Territory showed doubt of Arapahoe complicity in the St. Mary's slaying when he said there was "no means of ascertaining" it.¹⁶⁸ Lieutenant G. M. Fleming, Shoshone agent, went far beyond this and bitterly assailed the vigilantes' actions in firing upon Black Bear's

164. A young boy from Black Bear's party was adopted by an army officer and educated in the east. Under the name of Sherman Coolidge he returned to Wyoming in 1884 as a missionary to his people.

165. *Op. cit.* Nickerson, "The Early History of Fremont County," p. 4.

166. *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office 1873. p. 83. Friday told Commissioner Brunet that the Shoshones had aided the whites in the Black Bear episode. Of what this aid consisted is not indicated.

167. *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1872, p. 51.

168. *House Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming*, Cheyenne, N. A. Baker, 1870, p. 15.

party, depicting them as thieves and cutthroats.¹⁶⁹ The commander at nearby Camp Augur, he alleged, readily could have prevented their murderous action. But instead, Fleming charged, he condoned their deed with tacit approval.¹⁷⁰

Though used to violence in the mining towns, Sweetwater residents were quick to hold the Indians accountable for outrages which could not be traced to the residents' own brawls.¹⁷¹ Results of this attitude sometimes were tragic, sometimes ludicrous. Distrust and fear of Indians were ever-present factors, accented by the common practice of prejudging the aborigines. How many of the purported Indian atrocities may have been precipitated by miners in pursuit of summary justice is an open question. When a hunter remained too long afieled, a punitive expedition against the red men was in the wind. If he turned up unmolested before Indians were located, the vigilantes disbanded, and tragedy was averted.¹⁷² But it did not always work out this way.

In 1872, Michael Henan's murder in the Popo Agie Valley put the settlers' nerves on edge. Blamed at first upon Arapahoes, it was probably the work of white horse thieves; but the effect was just the same.¹⁷³ The next day, while the search for the murderers was under way, two hunters disappeared, and their horses supposedly were identified in Indian hands. Here, it seemed, was conclusive evidence the Indians had murdered them. A hail of bullets spattered about the "guilty" braves, but they escaped unharmed, with the horses. Two parties, independently organized, set out in pursuit; and one, mistaking the other for the hostile Indians, fired upon it, continuing to shoot for a considerable length of time before discovering the error.¹⁷⁴ Terrorized South Pass residents who heard the firing sent word to nearby Fort Stambaugh of 300 rampaging Arapaho and Cheyenne warriors, requesting all available troops and a howitzer to repel them.¹⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the two "murdered" hunters rode safely into town on their own horses, having

169. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1870, p. 176.

170. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

171. Street fights were common. The leader of the vigilantes who murdered Black Bear was later killed in one. Coutant (*op. cit.* p. 666) lists five fatal brawls in one year.

172. Such an incident is related by James Chisholm in *South Pass* 1868, Lincoln, Univ. of Nebraska, 1960, pp. 148-149.

173. *Op. cit.* *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1872, pp. 112-113. The murderers left imprints of high heeled boots, indicating that they were whites or Mexicans, possibly accompanied by a few Indians.

174. *Op. cit.* Nickerson, "The Early History of Fremont County", pp. 4-5.

175. *Op. cit.* *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, pp. 112-113.

seen no Indians! Miraculously, no one, neither white nor Indian, was killed or wounded.

Such incidents in the Sweetwater region cast much doubt on the validity of the charges against the Arapahoes.

One hundred miles away at Rawlins Springs, near the town of Rawlins and the Union Pacific Railroad, four young Arapahoes lost their lives in a brush with a sheriff's posse in 1873. The Indians, allegedly out to raid the Utes, were charged with shooting a white boy and stealing his horses. Denying both accusations, they claimed they were attacked by the posse and their horses taken without reason. An investigating committee headed by territorial Governor Campbell, after hearing both sides, exonerated the whites and declared the Indians guilty.¹⁷⁶ A study of the governor's report, however, indicates the decision may have been reached before the hearings. The commission, he reported, accepted the sworn testimony of the whites rather than the story told by the Indians, as their "proverbial disregard for truth" made it "of little worth".¹⁷⁷

Other sources, to which little attention has been paid, also cast doubt upon the verdict of Arapaho guilt. Colonel John E. Smith, commandant at Fort Laramie, said he dissuaded all but twenty of a large group of Arapahoes from going to Rawlins Springs to bury the four young men, because he feared they would avenge themselves on an equal number of whites.¹⁷⁸ The possible punishment of those who perpetrated the outrage against the Indians caused him no worry, but he feared Indian vengeance might be wreaked on innocent people.¹⁷⁹ In like vein, the Board of Indian Commissioners, after a visit to Red Cloud Agency, wrote tersely of the "unjustifiable murder" of peaceable Indians near Rawlins.¹⁸⁰ Despite the official condemnation by Governor Campbell's investigating committee, Arapaho guilt at Rawlins Springs was not a proven fact.

While seeking to avoid collisions with the whites, the Arapahoes vented their rage for Black Bear's death upon the Shoshones, whom they accused of complicity in his murder. In an 1871 raid they killed a Shoshone boy, leaving coup sticks behind as evidence of their revenge.¹⁸¹ This was an example of traditional Indian warfare, a game of risk in which a man's prestige was based upon his

176. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 251.

177. *Loc. cit.* The Arapahoes were also accused of violating the Treaty of 1868 by their presence south of the Platte. But as the river flows nearly due north at this point, the Indians were west of it rather than south.

178. "Indian Troubles", *Annals of Wyoming*, January, 1933, p. 757. This is from Smith's letter to his superior officer in Omaha, Nebraska.

179. *Loc. cit.*

180. *Op. cit.* *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1873, p. 26.

181. *Ibid.*, p. 83. The facts of the raid were reported by Friday; and the coup sticks were found where it had occurred.

skill at counting coup (touching an enemy with a coup stick), taking scalps or stealing horses, and getting away unharmed. It was a game the white never could understand. Charged with another raid in 1873, in which two white women in the Popo Agie valley lost their lives, the Arapahoes denied the accusation. Friday contended they had been in the vicinity only once since Black Bear's death, the time the Shoshone boy was killed. It seems unlikely that he withheld the truth, for on the same occasion he volunteered information that a small party of Arapahoes, Cheyennes and Sioux, out to steal horses from the Crows, killed a white man in western Montana.¹⁸² Evidently unconvinced in the Popo Agie valley case, Brunot of the Board of Indian Commissioners attributed the women's slaying to friends of the young Arapahoes killed at Rawlins Springs.¹⁸³ But the Wyoming press and the Bureau of Indian Affairs blamed it on the Sioux, naming Red Cloud's son-in-law as one of the principals.¹⁸⁴

Neither Arapaho innocence nor guilt definitely can be established in the Popo Agie valley murders, yet two significant facts should be noted. First, the raiders on this occasion left no coup sticks behind, unlike the traditional Arapahoes in their incursion against the Shoshones. Second, Nickerson, who was in the vicinity when the murders occurred, did not implicate the Arapahoes in his description of the case, even though he had little use for this tribe of Indians. These facts support the claim of Arapaho innocence made by Friday, who enjoyed a reputation of veracity.

With the death of Chief Medicine Man in the winter of 1871-1872, the Arapahoes lost one of their strongest influences for peace. Black Coal, as his successor, was loathe to embroil himself in difficulties with the whites, but felt no such compunctions about the Shoshones. By 1873 his raids against them were a common occurrence. Discomfiting and counting coup upon them may have been Black Coal's objectives. Although he broke down the banks of their newly-constructed irrigation ditches, and threatened the workers in the field, the government farmer who worked with the Shoshones reported no casualties. The troops, under orders to shoot only in self defense, found no need to resort to fire-arms.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, the field workers feared the ever-present rattlesnakes as a greater menace than the Arapahoes.¹⁸⁶

In 1874, Captain Alfred E. Bates of the United States Army set out to end Black Coal's depredations. With a small command of

182. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

183. *Loc. cit.*

184. *Op. cit.* *Cheyenne Leader*, August 15, 1873, and *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 612.

185. *Op. cit.* David, p. 257.

186. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

soldiers and Shoshones, he met the Arapahoes about forty miles east of Thermopolis, Wyoming, and forty to fifty Arapaho braves were killed. Although the Arapahoes made a courageous stand, they did not attempt to follow when the soldiers withdrew.¹⁸⁷ With 1,100 people or less in the Northern Arapaho tribe at the time, the loss would be cruelly felt, sufficient reason, probably, for not pressing the battle further. Also, it may be, the Indians had as little understanding or stomach for the white man's manner of warfare as he did for theirs. Whatever the reason, Black Coal's raids were over. With the exception of seven individuals, the Northern Arapahoes did not fight United States troops again until the Custer debacle in 1876.

Pressure on the Indian lands characterized the period from 1868 to 1874 to a greater extent than in earlier years. As more natural resources came to public attention in the West, growing numbers of settlers looked upon the Indians as an impediment to progress, which must somehow be removed. Suspecting the red men frequently of thievery and treachery, the whites often judged and acted too hastily, thus laying themselves open to similar charges. Sometimes stolen horses allegedly identified in Indian hands, merely *resembled* horses known to belong to whites. Though settlers occasionally attacked Indians to forestall suspected duplicity, the latter often had equally valid reasons for fearing them.

The biased reports of Indian activities in Wyoming's press indicate a perspective shared by many rough frontiersmen of the area. More than mere grim humor prompted a journalist writing of a skirmish near South Pass to say that no whites "fortunately" nor Indians "unfortunately" were killed.¹⁸⁸ And only a careful perusal of a column captioned "The Indian Murders at Ft. Laramie" would reveal that two of the three principals in the killing were white men.¹⁸⁹ Such reporting of Indian news typified the times, and makes it extremely difficult to ferret out the facts from a morass of sensational journalism.

Despite some lapses, the peace force among the Northern Arapahoes still was in evidence from 1868 to 1874. Small groups aided their Cheyenne friends against federal troops in 1868, but most of the tribe refrained from warlike actions. With the shock of Black Bear's killing in 1870, the force was badly strained, but did not break, for the vigilantes responsible for his death were not wiped out, though it was within the Arapahoes' power to do so.

187. *Op. cit.*, *Cheyenne Leader*, August 5, 1874. This was the Bates Battle of July 4, 1874. Various sources report from 400 to 3,000 Indians engaged, although the entire Northern Arapaho tribe could muster less than 400 fighting men at this time.

188. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1869.

189. *Ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1873.

Even after death removed Medicine Man's strong influence for peace, they were unwilling to war against the whites. They must have realized that settlers were the real source of many Arapaho sorrows, yet under Black Coal's leadership they vented their spite upon their Shoshone enemies. They could share, at least, an understanding of the Indian mode of warfare, which the whites could not.

Yet it was the forays against the Shoshones which led to their final clash with the United States troops, in the Bates Battle mentioned above (page 72). Earlier in the period, only individuals and small groups participated in hostilities against the whites, but it is likely that a large proportion of the tribe, with perhaps the exception of Friday's band, engaged the soldiers at this time, in the battle which permanently ended Black Coal's belligerent role.¹⁹⁰

The Second Sioux War and the Loss of Tribal Lands, 1874-1878

When would the magnificent unceded Indian lands, especially the mineral-rich Black Hills and Big Horns, fall into the waiting hands of the whites? That was the great question in the minds of western settlers from 1874 to 1876. They were certain despite impeding treaty provisions and definite Indian opposition, they would obtain them. Barred from both areas by the Treaty of 1868, they violated its restrictive clauses with few important repercussions. In the autumn of 1874, after General Custer's reconnaissance party returned from its illegal incursion into the Black Hills, a group of miners went in, sank twenty-five prospect holes, and reported pay-gold in all of them.¹⁹¹ Others flocked in, until President Grant, perhaps better aware of Indian agitation than the man in the street, ordered General Crook to the region to drive the prospectors out, and forestall possible dire consequences.¹⁹² Nonetheless, interested people formed mining companies, and hundreds more headed for the Black Hills. Cheyenne, Wyoming, with the advantages of a jumping-off point, tingled with excitement as outfitters prepared to share the wealth others might gain.¹⁹³

Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes, approached by a special commission in 1874, adamantly refused to relinquish their rights in the Big Horn-Powder River region.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, the Indians' unfavorable response to the proposal convinced the commission that more

190. There is no documentary evidence that Friday ever fought the whites. Yet, if he was with Black Coal when Captain Bates attacked, he may have had no other choice.

191. *Op. cit.* Bancroft, p. 774.

192. Martin F. Schmitt (ed.), *General Crook, His Autobiography*, Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1946 (new edition, 1960), pp. 188-189.

193. *Op. cit.* Bancroft, p. 775.

194. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 87.

would be lost than gained by pressing the matter, except for Chris C. Cox, who insisted the Big Horns were of little value to the Indians, and recommended abrogating the "obstructive" provisions of the treaty (those barring whites from the desired Indian lands), thus opening the Big Horn area to settlement.¹⁹⁵ Citing the agricultural and mineralogical potential of the unceded territory, he contended that in fairness to the people of Wyoming it should be settled by a "white, enterprising population"—not by Indians.¹⁹⁶

Cox was not alone in this opinion. Upon his inauguration in 1875, Governor Thayer of Wyoming Territory decried the occupation of the Big Horns and Black Hills by "wild Indians" who would neither cultivate the soil nor develop its mineral wealth.¹⁹⁷ Upon his urging, the legislative assembly adopted a resolution requesting Congress to remove the unwanted Indians from the territory, reviling them in the bitter terms of uncompromising racists (*Annals of Wyoming*, 41:1:42). Across the border in Nebraska, Agent Saville of the Red Cloud Reservation, which serviced Sioux, Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes, urged the speedy destruction of game in Wyoming's hunting lands, freeing them for white settlement. If this could not be arranged by treaty it should be accomplished by force.¹⁹⁸ Only in this way could hostile Indian bands be sufficiently pauperized to bring them permanently to the agencies.

The Black Hills of western South Dakota and northeastern Wyoming were peculiarly fitted to the needs of Indians in transition from a hunting to a herding and agricultural economy.¹⁹⁹ With grasslands, forests, soil and water resources, the area left little to be desired. The Indian Bureau frankly admitted the probability that no other land available to the government for the use of the Indians was at all comparable in this respect.²⁰⁰ Nothing seemed more logical than retaining these lands for Indian usage and development, and expending every reasonable effort to start them on their way to self-support in an area which Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes already held in common, as they had for many generations. But the land was rich in gold, so some means must be found to dispossess the aborigines and obtain it for the whites. The mineral rights were not enough. Since miners had to eat, the agricultural potential of the adjacent countryside also must be controlled and developed by the whites.²⁰¹ If the Indians were to become herds-

195. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

196. *Loc. cit.*

197. *Op. cit.* *House Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming*, 1875, pp. 35-36.

198. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1875, p. 753.

199. *Ibid.* p. 8.

200. *Loc. cit.*

201. *Loc. cit.*

men and farmers as the bureaucrats insisted, they would have to go elsewhere to do so.

In 1875 another special commission met at Red Cloud Reservation with the representatives of the Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and the various bands of Sioux, who comprised a tribe of many thousands, with single bands sometimes much larger than the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes combined. The commission made an offer of \$6,000,000 to procure the Black Hills for the Government of the United States, but the Indians turned it down because they valued the land at a much higher figure.²⁰² Countering with a request for \$60 to \$70 million, they asked that the money be put away at interest, on which they would live well.²⁰³ Although the Indian Bureau for years had stressed the desirability of winning their wards to the ways of the whites, this indication of business acuity was poorly received by the commissioners, however admirable it might have appeared in an eastern financier. They disgustingly reported that no worthwhile agreement could be successfully concluded in Indian country by means of a grand council of chiefs in the presence of a large body of Indians.²⁰⁴ The deal was dropped; but Indian agitation over the recurring attempts to part them from their choicest possessions did not disappear.

Officials of the Indian Bureau noted with apparent satisfaction the impunity with which soldiers, prospectors and others violated various provisions of the Treaty of 1868, and voiced the opinion that another general Indian war never could occur. Conflicting tribal interests, they reasoned, rendered unified action impossible, and the advancing settlements rapidly filled up the country between the tribes, thus further dividing them.²⁰⁵ Custer's penetration of the Black Hills had brought no violent repercussions from the Indians; and the military camps near the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies, surrounded by Indians outnumbering the troops ten or twenty-to-one, remained, to all appearances, in perfect safety.²⁰⁶ The peace policy, originated in 1868, seemed fully justified. Results indicated the wisdom of feeding and parleying with the "unreasoning savage", and convincing him that the government wished only for his welfare, but could also compel him to submit to law.²⁰⁷ Seeming success bred smug assurance.

Few realized the extent to which the success of the peace policy depended upon the tolerance of the Indian population, nor that a breaking point might soon be reached. But for those who cared to

202. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

203. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

204. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

205. *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 4.

206. *Ibid.*, p. 5. The two agencies were only 40 miles apart.

207. *Loc. cit.*

look, the signs were there. Minneconjous, Sans Arc, Uncpapas, and other so-called wild bands of Sioux new to Red Cloud Agency, resisted attempts to count them in 1874 for the issuing of rations, arrested the agent, and surrounded the contingent of soldiers called to his aid, holding them helpless until some seven-hundred regular agency Indians interceded, and freed the captives.²⁰⁸ Although not obstreperous at this time, the regulars, who had been reporting to the agency for years, were far less content to sit down to the enjoyment of their issues of coffee, sugar and beef than the Washington bureaucrats could realize.²⁰⁹ In 1875, an investigation of corruption and inefficiency at Red Cloud Agency disclosed shocking conditions and real distress among the Indians.²¹⁰

Sioux, Northern Arapahoes and Northern Cheyennes who were called upon to testify brought these to light. The Ogallala Chief Red Cloud, demanding the agent's removal, made serious charges, many of which were substantiated by the investigating commission. The testimony of the Arapaho Chief Black Coal, and the Cheyenne Chief Little Wolf—largely verified by others—while somewhat milder than that of Red Cloud, still portrayed a scandalous picture.

When Black Coal and his Northern Arapahoes arrived at Red Cloud Agency from their Wyoming hunting grounds, they were very low on food, clothing and tent materials. Although it was winter, many lacked covering for their lodge poles because the hides had worn out and could not be replaced since game was scarce.²¹¹ Due to the transportation difficulties from Cheyenne, and the deep snows of a hard winter, the badly needed agency rations were in short supply. Nor were the rations satisfactory when available. Spoiled pork and mildewed coffee were not unusual; tobacco so strong it caused headaches and blankets too short for a tall man to use were regular issues.²¹² Agent Seville could not have been responsible for all of these conditions; few, if any, were unique to his agency. But serious charges had been made against him, and the commissioners were there to investigate. His Indian census seemed markedly high, a tempting and lucrative practice at various agencies, for an overshipment of goods and rations (assigned to the agencies on a population basis) could be

208. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

209. Indian Commissioner E. P. Smith had optimistically prophesied that the Indians would not risk the loss of such agency comforts for a campaign against the whites. (*Op. cit. Annual Report*, 1874, p. 5.)

210. Red Cloud complained bitterly to Yale geologist O. C. Marsh, who had come west to collect fossils. Marsh contacted President Grant, who ordered an investigation.

211. *Op. cit. Report of the Special Commission to Investigate the Affairs of the Red Cloud Agency*, p. 449.

212. *Ibid.*, p. 375. This was a part of Black Coal's testimony, translated by Friday. Little Wolf spoke in a similar vein.

profitably disposed of by an agent and his friends. Saville, for example, recorded 1,535 Northern Arapahoes, a perfectly ridiculous figure when it is realized that there were less than two-thirds of that number to move to the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming from 1878 to 1880.²¹³ Although they did not prove him guilty of corrupt practices, the commissioners concurred in a verdict of inefficiency, and Saville was removed from office.²¹⁴

The Indian Bureau soon was to realize the prematurity of its conclusions that agency Indians were too content with their dependency on Government rations to give serious thought to the warpath as a means of improving their lot. Many of the regulars, acquainted with agency ways for years past, despite the sugar, mildewed coffee, spoiled pork and strong tobacco issued to them, responded to Sitting Bull's challenge and prepared to resist the whites. Hundreds of Sioux from various bands, and scores of Cheyennes, both Northern and Southern, deserted the agencies to cast their lot with the hostiles.²¹⁵ Shortly before the assault on Custer in the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876, a tiny contingent of Northern Arapahoes, seven braves, according to Grinnell, offered their services to the Sioux.²¹⁶ The latter, suspecting them of spying for the soldiers, insisted that they camp apart until they could make sure of them.²¹⁷

The Sioux Chiefs Red Cloud and Spotted Tail stood for peace, apparently realizing the power of the whites and the futility of making a stand against them. Spotted Tail worked particularly to end the belligerencies. Visiting camp after camp he urged the hostiles to surrender, until the last large band gave up in August, 1877.²¹⁸

Custer's debacle on the Little Big Horn in 1876 stimulated to even greater efforts the advocates of the policy of concentrating the western Indians on a few large reservations. As usual when ulterior motives are important, they offered ample justification for the proposal. Secretary of the Interior Chandler estimated a saving to the government of \$100,000 annually in transportation costs alone on Indian supplies; moreover, he was sure that the control and

213. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1875, p. 752.

214. Repercussions in Washington led to the resignation of Columbus Delano as Secretary of the Interior.

215. *Op. cit.* Vestal, p. 143. Vestal states that a fair number of Arapahoes answered the call, but in this he evidently is misinformed, for authorities who had wider acquaintance with the Indians participating differ markedly with him in this respect. See Grinnell, *op. cit.* p. 347, James McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1910, p. 130, and E. S. Godfrey, *The Field Diary of Edward Settle Godfrey*, Portland, Chamberpeeg Press, 1957, p. 347.

216. *Op. cit.* Grinnell, p. 347.

217. *Op. cit.* Godfrey, p. 69.

218. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1877, pp. 412-413.

teaching of the aborigines would thereby be greatly enhanced.²¹⁹ Further rationalization depicted the replacement of tribal custom by United States' law and court jurisdiction, and affording the Indians greater protection through the power of government in life, liberty and character, thus identifying them legally with the white citizenry.²²⁰ Yet with such good reasons readily available, the actual purpose behind the policy occasionally found its way into print. A recommendation to Congress in 1878 requested that body to reduce the number of reservations not only for the benefit of the Indians, through the resultant civilizing influences, but also as a means of freeing the bulk of their lands for white occupancy.²²¹

Under the constant prodding of miners, stockmen, and agriculturists who longed for the red men's lands, the Indian office for a number of years had brought pressure to bear upon the Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes to join their southern relatives in Indian Territory. It mattered not that both groups opposed the plan.²²² The Northern Arapaho Chief Black Coal epitomized their feelings in stating that God had given them the land in the north; they had all been born there; they liked it and had no desire to go south.²²³ To compel agreement to the move in 1874, their agent at Red Cloud was instructed to withhold their annual issue of food and goods until their transfer south.²²⁴ Because the Indians remained adamant, the use of troops was planned to ensure their removal.²²⁵

In 1876, similar coercive measures were applied to those peaceable Sioux who remained at Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies. A special commission at this time persuaded them to consider transfer to Indian Territory, and an act of Congress forbade any appropriation for their subsistence until they agreed to relinquish all lands outside their permanent reservations, including, of course, the invaluable Black Hills which they jointly held with the Northern Cheyennes and the Northern Arapahoes.²²⁶ Disarmed as the Indians were, under the surveillance of troops, with scant opportunity for subsistence in their hunting grounds, it required no stroke of genius for a commission, avoiding a grand council of chiefs in the presence of their people, and other mistakes of the previous year, to travel from agency to agency—seven in all—and obtain the assent of the headmen of each group to the cession of their beloved

219. *Op. cit.* *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1876, pp. v and vi.

220. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1876, p. 388.

221. *Ibid.*, 1878, pp. 440-442.

222. *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 46.

223. *Op. cit.* *Report of the Special Commission to Investigate the Affairs of Red Cloud Agency*, p. 376.

224. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 11.

225. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

226. *Ibid.*, 1876, p. 333.

lands.²²⁷ The government in return agreed to furnish subsistence to the Indians until they could become self-supporting. Although twelve bands of Sioux and the Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes were included in the compact, the many hundreds still counted as hostiles had no voice whatever in the matter.

The Second Sioux War caused postponement of the transfer of Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes to the south. Now with belligerencies ended, the Indian Office revived its efforts to remove them and the Sioux to Indian Territory, where, it was planned, the three tribes, so long together, would at last be separated. Although they were loath to leave the north, the Ogallala and Brulé bands of Sioux yielded to bureaucratic pressure, and sent delegates to Indian Territory to examine potential locations for their bands. But a cry of protest arose in the House and Senate of the United States, where the lawmakers expressed their dread of the powerful Sioux in an interesting way. Fearing the presence of this mighty tribe might ruin the chance for peace among both reds and whites within the general vicinity, they forbade by an act of Congress the removal of any portion of the Sioux to Indian Territory.²²⁸ Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies were transferred instead to South Dakota, where most of the Sioux reside today on six reservations.

Much against their will, the Northern Cheyennes were forced to go to Indian Territory, where many of them sickened, as was "always the case" with northern Indians.²²⁹ In 1878, Dull Knife's band of about 300, disheartened by their situation, broke away from the unwanted surroundings and headed north.²³⁰ After weeks of eluding United States troops, about half the band were captured and taken to Fort Robinson, Nebraska, as prisoners of war. In a vain effort to force their return to Indian Territory, food, water and fuel were withheld from them in the dead of winter, until, in a desperate break for freedom, all were killed. The other half of the band, somewhat more fortunate, succeeded in reaching their Sioux friends. Ultimately they were given a reservation on the Tongue River in southern Montana; and there they remain.

The Arapahoes, in a final recognition of their loyalty, were permitted to remain in Wyoming. During the period from 1874 to 1878, characterized by the alienation of Indian lands and the spilling of blood, their peaceful relation with the United States Government was practically unimpeachable, and stands in sharp contrast

227. *Ibid.*, p. 336. The unsuccessful Commission of 1875, it may be recalled, blamed their failure on the fact that they had met with an assembly of chiefs in the presence of a large body of their fellows.

228. *Op. cit.* *Congressional Record*, Forty-fourth Congress, Second Session, 1877, pp. 1617 and 1736.

229. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1879, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1880, p. 84.

230. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1878, p. 445.

to the belligerency of hundreds of their Sioux and Cheyenne friends. Great numbers of the former cast their lot with Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, while many of the Cheyennes quietly slipped away from the Red Cloud Agency in small groups for the same purpose. But when General Reynolds started in pursuit of Sitting Bull's braves in the late winter of 1876, the Northern Arapahoes, determined to stay out of trouble, moved from the vicinity of Fort Fetterman (near Douglas, Wyoming), into Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska.²³¹ Overbalancing the seven Arapahoes who fought Custer's men in the Battle of the Little Big Horn, twenty-five accompanied General Crook as scouts in his campaign against the Sioux and Cheyennes.²³² After Custer's defeat they probably were instrumental in disarming their own brethren and other non-hostiles, as the rounds of four agencies were made by the troops for this purpose — a precautionary measure — and Red Cloud, where the Arapaho tribe remained, fell to the lot of General Crook.

When Crook left Fort Fetterman in November, 1876, in pursuit of Crazy Horse's braves, the Arapaho and other Indian scouts were assigned to General McKenzie to assist him in tracking down Chief Dull Knife's band of Northern Cheyennes. Indeed, the presence of many Sioux and Cheyennes, in addition to the Arapahoes in McKenzie's forces, caused grave concern in a mission such as this.²³³ But the misgivings proved unfounded; the service of the Indian scouts, and particularly that of the Arapaho Chief Sharp Nose, proved invaluable to McKenzie in his surprise attack on Dull Knife's Cheyenne village during a bitter winter night in Wyoming's Big Horns.²³⁴ This debacle set the stage for their surrender later in the spring.

Through their final years of association with the Sioux and Cheyennes at Red Cloud Agency, and despite unsatisfactory treaty issues of food and goods, the usurpation of their lands, and the last desperate effort of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse to change the course of plains Indian history, the Northern Arapahoes kept peace with the Government of the United States. Although many hundreds of Sioux and Cheyennes were drawn into the conflict, the Arapahoes, as their agent stated, remained loyal, almost to the man.²³⁵

The peaceable disposition of the Northern Arapahoes finally gained official recognition. Fearful of their projected move to the

231. *Op. cit.* *Cheyenne Leader*, Mar. 2, 1876.

232. *Loc. cit.*

233. *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1877.

234. *Loc. cit.* Sharp Nose was at this time second in importance to Black Coal among the Northern Arapahoes.

235. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1877, p. 415.

south now that peace had returned to the plains, a delegation journeyed to Washington with the earnest plea that they be permitted to reside on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, rather than making the dreaded transfer to Indian Territory, and in cognizance of their abstinence from hostilities against the United States, the President granted their request.²³⁶ The Shoshones, who occupied the Wind River Reservation, also consented, and in August, 1878, 900 Northern Arapahoes arrived for permanent residence.²³⁷

The End of the Trail, 1879

Conceived by President Fillmore in 1849, the Indian peace policy produced the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, with the hopeful promise of a new era. Based upon the supposition that kindness and fair-dealing would win the faith of the Indians for the United States Government, its advocates expected them to abandon their nomadic life and rapidly replace it with the white man's civilization, whose advantages, they felt, would be speedily recognized and accepted. As the red men became dependent upon annual issues of food, clothing and other necessities, they would be amenable to the will of the government. Three main obstacles, unforeseen at the time, prevented the fruition of this hope, and brought the plains Indians to the end of the trail of their old, free life without equipping them for a successful adaptation to the challenges of an alien culture. These were the Indian policy of the federal government, public hostility toward the red men, and the love of the latter for their own institutions and traditions.

With little understanding of the people with whom they dealt, the federal government followed a policy which was consistent in only one respect—the obliteration of Indianhood, the destruction of a culture. Beginning with the sincere intention of guiding the Indians through a transition period to self-support by agriculture, the best interests of the aborigines soon were lost to view as the clamor of settlers for their land and resources resulted in pressure which the federal government could not withstand. As the more arable lands came under white control, the Indian Office made feeble attempts to teach its wards to farm, but under such unfavorable conditions of climate and soil that the efforts usually were foredoomed. Although the Indian Bureau recognized the Black Hills region as one of unusual excellence in which to develop a grazing industry among the aborigines, it spared no efforts to

236. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

237. *Ibid.*, 1879, pp. 166 and 224. The *Annual Report* of 1877 gave the Northern Arapaho census as 1100 souls, perhaps a little high. Two or three small bands may have been hunting or visiting elsewhere at the time of the transfer to Wyoming, and moved later to the Reservation, for it is known that somewhat more than 900 eventually arrived.

transfer its soil and invaluable resources to the settlers of the West. As with so many of their most useful lands, the Indians could not retain this area to help them on their way to self-support.

From 1868 to 1876, peace policy advocates claimed success in dealing with the Indians, but almost inevitably the whites, rather than the native bison hunters, enjoyed the benefits of this success. While bureaucrats spoke platitudes of the advantages accruing to the Indians from placement upon limited reservations, they pushed plans to transfer large tracts of their tribal holdings to the more enterprising race. Solemn treaty pledges often failed to materialize; schools promised to the Northern Arapahoes by the Treaty of 1868 appeared only after ten long years and another Indian war. A teacher arrived in the fall of 1878, followed finally by the opening of classes in January, 1879.²³⁸

Of the irritants which fostered insecurity among the Indians and kept their nerves on edge, the role of the military in government policy ranks high. Acknowledging its inefficacy in 1849, Congress transferred the Indian Bureau from the War Department to that of the Interior, yet this, unfortunately, did not sufficiently minimize its importance as an instrument of policy, a situation which the Indians understood and deeply resented.

In 1853, Thomas Fitzpatrick, a man respected for his fairness to the Indians, warned of their agitation over the presence of troops in their vicinity. Convinced that they destroyed timber, scared off game, excited hostile feelings, and afforded a rendezvous for worthless and trifling characters, the Indians felt uneasy in their proximity.²³⁹ Twenty years later, on the basis of discussion with various tribal groups, Powell and Ingalls of the Board of Indian Commissioners reported that opposition to reservation life was based primarily upon Indian dread of the soldiers, whose very name synonymized evil. Social demoralization and venereal diseases followed in their wake. "We do not wish to give our women to the embrace of the soldiers," the Indians declared.²⁴⁰

As commander of United States forces in the West, General Phil Sheridan only added to their fears when, in June, 1869, he officially ordered that the Indians off the limits of their reservations should be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the military, and usually would be considered hostile.²⁴¹ This he directed in spite of the rights, guaranteed to them by treaty, to hunt and roam in various places off their reservations.

Whether in ignorance or disregard of Indian bitterness toward the military, when peace was restored in 1878 the House of Repre-

238. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1879, pp. 166-167.

239. *Ibid.*, 1853, p. 362.

240. *Ibid.*, 1873, p. 443.

241. *Ibid.*, 1876, p. 340.

sentatives approved a bill to return the Indian Bureau to the War Department. Indian reaction, as might well have been expected, was one of agitated and unqualified opposition.²⁴² Fortunately, the Senate held up the bill, pending study and investigation. It never became law.

In testifying before an investigating commission in 1875, Chief Black Coal of the Northern Arapahoes tersely expressed the feelings of the red men toward the military. He spoke as follows:

We used to live first rate before the soldiers came to this country; when they came the first thing they did was to try to raise a war. We used to travel with the old mountaineers, but since the soldiers came to this country they have spoiled everything and want war.

* * *

I have heard something about changing the agent we have now. We don't want a military officer for an agent. We want a citizen, the same as we have now.²⁴³

As settlers and fortune-seekers flocked into the West, encroaching upon the Indian domain, public hostility toward the aborigines engendered constant pressure upon Congress and the Indian Bureau to alienate more lands from their nomadic owners. They greatly resented the legal bars which kept them from developing the resources which, they believed, the Indians never would put to proper use. Thus Indian treaties, in effect, were made only to be broken. Though often called finalities, they were frequently mere expediencies; white civilization found them as barriers in the way, so they could not stand. As frequent and rapid changes occurred, the Indians were the victims of great injustices.²⁴⁴

With the end of the Indian war in 1877, the settlers rejoiced at the unfettering of the frontier, for, as the red men were shunted onto reservations, the uncaded lands north of the Platte, where they had hunted and roamed, were thrown open to the stockmen. Freed at last from the legal restraints which had bound them, they drove cattle and sheep across the river to graze on land which for years they eyed wistfully.²⁴⁵ At this time, the white population of Wyoming Territory had increased to 20,000 or more.²⁴⁶ The figure compares roughly to the number of friendly Indians reportedly

^{242.} *Ibid.*, 1878, pp. 9-10.

^{243.} *Op. cit.* *Report of the Special Commission to Investigate the Affairs of Red Cloud Agency*, July, 1875, pp. 376-377. Friday interpreted for Black Coal.

^{244.} *Op. cit.* *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1877, p. ix. This observation was made by Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz.

^{245.} R. E. Strayhorn, *The Handbook of Wyoming and Guide to the Black Hills and Big Horn Regions*, Chicago, Knight and Leonard, 1877, pp. 20-21.

^{246.} *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1878, p. 1182.

served by the agencies of the region in 1876, who were now stripped of the bulk of their tribal lands by a more aggressive people.²⁴⁷

From the time of their final placement on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming in the fall of 1878, rumors of a planned uprising among the Northern Arapahoes abounded. Characterizing the stories as spurious, their agent added that many frontiersmen would be glad to see such an insurrection.²⁴⁸ It would, of course, have afforded the desired excuse to force the Indians finally out of Wyoming, and turn over their reservation lands, with ranges for livestock and irrigation for agriculture, to the covetous whites.

Finally, the Indian way of life, coupled with the two obstacles already reviewed, comprised an almost insurmountable barrier to a smooth transition from the hunting to a grazing, agricultural, or industrial livelihood. With little appreciation for the Indian point of view, thousands of Americans, officials and laymen alike, expected him to abandon a culture that satisfied his social and emotional needs, and surrender the major part of his lands as well. Obviously, the period anticipated for the adaptation proved too short; and even now, 115 years after the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, the transformation is incomplete. Justly proud of the faith of their fathers—their own hereditary culture—many Indians are not content to exist merely as dark-skinned white men.

Gone, of course, is the free hunting and roaming life of the older times, to which the Indians clung until their game supply had shrunk dangerously, and they were penned up on reservations so the whites could settle on their lands.²⁴⁹ But their lodges or sodalities, and the hierarchical structure of their society remained for many years. As recently as 1939 it had not entirely disappeared.²⁵⁰ Even today, the Northern Arapahoes hold their Offerings Lodge or Sun Dance—a religious ceremony of tribal significance—with annual regularity on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. Although the pre-reservation Arapahoes have passed away, and some changes necessarily have occurred, it remains Indian in all essentials, with its stress upon the necessities of life—food, water, earth and sun. Those who enter it still do so by cere-

247. *Op. cit.* *Eight Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1876, p. 11.

248. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1881, p. 183.

249. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1878, p. 1184. In October, 1878, Governor John W. Hoyt of Wyoming Territory, regional Superintendent of Indian Affairs, gave this as the real reason for assigning Indians to reservations.

250. *Op. cit.* Murphy, personal notes.

251. The 1930s and early 1940s saw the passing of the remnant of pre-reservation Arapahoes. Nakash (Sage), over 90 years of age, was among the last of these to go.

monial vow, prepared for the ordeal of three and one-half days of rituals with neither food nor drink, under the hot July sun.²⁵¹

Despite the optimism for a comparatively painless transition period, anticipated in 1851, the Northern Arapahoes, Northern Cheyennes and the great Sioux group found themselves confined on reservations in 1879, their nomadic mode of life essentially a thing of the past, but with little of a constructive nature to take its place, or to inspire confidence for the future. Largely dependent upon the government for the necessities of life, they were little more than started on the long, weary road which they must follow before the desired adaptations could be made.

During the period of dispossession between the first Fort Laramie treaty and their eventual confinement, the Northern Arapahoes generally displayed an attitude of peaceful intentions toward the United States Government. They remained aloof from the Sioux campaign of 1855 and the Cheyenne hostilities of 1857. Even after Chivington's treacherous attack on Southern Arapahoes and Cheyennes at Sand Creek, Colorado, in 1864, an action which shattered the faith of most Indians in the white man's purposes, only Black Bear's band of Northern Arapahoes joined Sioux and Cheyennes in their retaliatory depredations. Chiefs Friday and Medicine Man amply demonstrated their preference for peace. The former was first to respond to Governor Evans' offer of protection to friendly Indians who would report to designated points, and the latter moved the tribe's largest band from their hunting grounds to southern Wyoming in acceptance of the invitation, after the Sand Creek affair had sent more than a thousand braves upon the warpath.

When government troops carried the war into their hunting grounds in 1865, more Arapahoes than merely Black Bear's band probably became involved, as they felt themselves forced to fight. Unfortunately, no records indicate whether Medicine Man's moderating influence prevailed upon 140 to 150 followers to keep the peace, although this many remained in the Big Horns with him when the known belligerents reported to Fort Laramie to sign the treaty of 1868, which ended the war. Friday's band stayed throughout this time in the Cache la Poudre in Colorado, many miles from the scene of battle.

In the distressing days of 1870, after the unjustified slaying of Black Bear and his unarmed party, the Northern Arapahoes refrained from violent retaliation against the whites, but left the Wind River region of Wyoming for the Milk River Agency in Montana.

Following the death of Medicine Man in the winter of 1871-1872, Black Coal, his successor as the major chief of the tribe, raided the Shoshones recurrently on their Wyoming reservation, until stopped by United States troops in the Bates' Battle of

1874.²⁵² This marked the end of armed conflict between the Northern Arapaho tribe and government soldiers. Only seven individuals joined the hostiles against Custer on the Little Big Horn, whereas twenty-five served as scouts under Generals Crook and McKenzie in the Second Sioux War.

After the Arapahoes were assigned to a reservation in Wyoming in 1878, Territorial Governor Hoyt visited them to investigate insidious rumors of insurrection which were common talk throughout the region. Consultations with members of their tribe, as well as the Shoshones, who shared the same reservation, convinced him that the fears were groundless,²⁵³ as he found evidence of only peaceful intentions among them. Their agent also was satisfied with their quiet, peaceable conduct.²⁵⁴ This characteristic was noted again in 1881, the year that Friday died, when they were described as friendly and peaceable "toward all mankind."²⁵⁵

An incident which occurred about 1879 further substantiates this picture of the Northern Arapahoes as friendly and peaceable toward all. A small band of Shoshones, having traveled all day through snow and wind in the Standing Rock region of the Dakotas, came at evening upon many tipis, where meat hung drying upon poles. Not knowing whether the Indians encamped there were friends or enemies, they took the chance that they might be given food. A hunting party of Arapahoes—long their enemies—made them welcome, divided them among their various tipis, filled their hungry stomachs with boiled buffalo meat, and lodged them for the night.²⁵⁶ Before the Shoshones moved on in the morning, the Arapahoes who had fed and lodged these traditional enemies, warned them in sign language to use great care in leaving, as many Sioux were camped to the northwest of them, and there they might be far less welcome.²⁵⁷

252. The Arapahoes had charged the Shoshones with duplicity in Black Bear's death in 1870.

253. *Op. cit.* *Annual Report*, 1878, pp. 1182-1183.

254. *Ibid.*, p. 651.

255. *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 183.

256. D. B. Shimkin, "Childhood and Development among the Wind River Shoshone," *Anthropological Records*, v. 5, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1943, p. 314. This incident was related by Pivo Brown, a Shoshone who lived until 1938.

257. *Loc. cit.*

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Mr. Q. A. Myers who is down from the saw mill today reports a fine band of mountain sheep loafing around the vicinity. It is, of course, contrary to law to kill these animals now, but if they show any symptoms of wanting to "bite" anyone, the boys will shoot in self defense.

Casper Weekly Mail, February 8, 1889

An old lawyer used to say a man's requirements for going to law were ten in number, and he summed them up as follows: Firstly, plenty of money; secondly, plenty of patience; thirdly, a good case; fourthly, a good lawyer; fifthly, plenty of money; sixthly, a good counsel; seventhly, a good witness; eighthly, a good jury; ninthly, a good judge; tenthly, plenty of money. *Bill Barlow's Budget, February 19, 1890.*

Cheyenne was lively yesterday, great ado being made over the distinguished delegates from the northern country. Red Cloud and Spotted Tail put on heaps of airs, while the other seventeen Sioux seemed quite conscious of their importance. They left on the afternoon train for Washington.

Laramie Daily Sun, May 12, 1875

"He who would thrive must rise at five." So says the old proverb, though there is more rhyme than reason for it; for if "He who would thrive must rise at five," it must naturally follow, that,

He who'd thrive more must rise at four;

And it will insure as a consequence, that,

He who'd still more thriving be

Must leave his bed at turn of three;

And who this latter would out do,

Will rouse him at the strike of two.

And by way of climax to it all, it should be held good, that

He who'd never be out done

Must ever rise as soon as one.

But the best illustration would be

He who'd flourish best of all

Should never go to bed at all.

—*Laramie Daily Sentinel, June 13, 1872*

Historic Sites Interpretation

By

ROBERT A. MURRAY*

Historic sites are today of prime concern to many park managers at the State and local level. This is true for several reasons: first, their numerical preponderance as compared to other recreation lands; second, their frequent complexity of interpretive story; and far from least, because of the variety of possible management and interpretive solutions that may be applied to them.

Most numerous as a class of sites are the many small sites presently unmarked or else featuring a single sign or marker. Many of these sites are destined for fiscal reasons, if no other, to remain as essentially uncomplicated, unmanned sites. Such sites range in the hundreds for virtually every state here represented. They deserve quality interpretation, and certain of the generalizations presented here today will apply to them, but I prefer not to dwell upon them, since much that will be presented in another paper at this conference will bear on such low-budget sites.

At the focus of public attention today are the many manned historic sites, historical parks, and historic buildings in what is basically a park setting. Most states represented here today place such sites and buildings under the jurisdiction of their prime park management agency. This to me seems wise. In most cases these areas are very different in their complex of management problems from the museum in a metropolitan setting, and also quite different from the isolated "historic house" in a basically urban setting.

At the same time, it must be said that they have their own complex of interpretive and related management problems, and it is to these problems that I now wish to turn your attention.

Running throughout all these problems are certain questions of staffing of these manned areas. Initial development at one of these sites may be based upon several different staffing concepts, and the management choice between these concepts at the outset of operations will have much to do with the course of subsequent development, and with the kind of public service the site will provide through its early development years.

* Mr. Murray presented this article during proceedings of the Third Annual Rocky Mountain-High Plains Parks and Recreation Conference held in February, 1968, at Fort Collins, Colorado. The article was first published in the *Rocky Mountain-High Plains Parks and Recreation Journal* (Fort Collins: Colorado State University, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1968).

The classic and almost traditional mode of staffing might be termed "custodial staffing." Usually this means that in selecting an on-site manager for such an area, the responsible agency looks first at the preservation and maintenance aspects of management and chooses a park manager accordingly. Occasionally the agency is lucky enough to find a man with a custodian background who also has an uncommon knowledge of history and an interest in communicating the park story to visitors. Usually it does not work out this way, and communication of the park story takes second or lower priority to a welter of maintenance work, such as grass cutting, painting, road work, picnic ground clean up, and the like. The problem can be further compounded when the managing agency selects its custodian from among near-retirement age veterans of other fields within the organization. Often the performance of persons so selected is marginal in all fields. Chances are strong that political selections for such positions will be even less satisfactory. Many a historic site has been for years saddled with a succession of men who got their position because someone, whether supervisor or politician, just had to "make a job for good old Joe." No one can deny the need for custodial services at a manned historical site, but it seems short sighted indeed to build the areas operations around the custodial requirements of the site. In essence, the custodial services are supportive to the site's prime function of public service. For this reason, many areas have moved toward interpretive staffing.

I would define interpretive staffing as the selection of key staff members with a view to their playing a basic role in communicating the park story effectively to the visitor. For the small, isolated "one man" development, the adoption of the interpretive mode of staffing may well mean that the interpreter must also be young enough, energetic enough, and realistic enough to handle at least some of the custodial chores himself, before or after the hours of heavy visitation, or even sandwiched between groups of visitors in the lighter travel season. Usually careful selection will make it easier to find an interpreter who will handle basic routine maintenance work than it is to find a custodian who possesses the requisite public contact skills to also handle interpretation. I would venture at this point that if one must make a choice, then get the interpreter. If necessary, the maintenance chores can be contracted out or otherwise handled with less than full-time personnel. Obviously I regard the interpreter as the key man and interpretation as the primary business at any manned historic site. Until such time as the site may develop so large a staff as to require specialized management personnel to coordinate a broad range of staff activities.

Once committed to an interpretive development at a historic site, the managing agency must engage in an appropriate amount of research while the project is still in the planning stages. The expenditure of sufficient funds for adequate and meaningful research for a

historical development appears to be a rarity even at this date. Few other phases of development are so hard to sell to managers and to legislative committees. This should not be so! If we accept the end product of the historical park as effective interpretive service, and if we accept the idea that a public body engaged in interpretation has a moral obligation for accuracy and objectivity in its presentations, then research is a must. To do less is to engage in pure showmanship or in propaganda. It should be evident on reflection, that virtually any interpretive effect is an act of generalization. No generalization nor set of generalizations can be more accurate nor more meaningful than the sum of the data upon which they are based. Hence the heavy responsibility for competent research as a component of interpretive planning. Research must be done in sufficient depth not only to detail the events which the park commemorates, but to set them effectively in their historic context. This has not always been done in the past. I would observe that a majority of the historical signs and markers in the high plains and Rockies are deficient in their interpretive depth and accuracy because of this failure to expend sufficient time on the research that preceded their composition. Once cast in bronze or aluminum or chisled in granite, these errors become on the one hand, continuously embarrassing in the face of an increasingly sophisticated public, and on the other hand damnably expensive to replace when the facts are really known. Really thorough preliminary research as a prelude to any interpretive planning is in reality a low-cost item, viewed over the life of a development.

Who should perform the research for a historic site development? Since it seems wise for much really basic research to precede intensive planning and development, it is clear that the managing agency must assume the responsibility for seeing that effective research is done at this stage. Ideally, the agency should have at least some personnel sufficiently competent in history of the region to be able to manage and supervise research work throughout the jurisdiction involved. As a practical matter it may be desirable for the real detail work on a given project to be assigned to specialized researchers in the agency or put out on contract to competent scholars. Most agencies find it difficult to secure sufficient positions to allow for a full staff of research specialists. This situation is so widespread as to indicate that in the future a major portion of this basic research will be done on contract. So long as competent scholars are selected, and really adequate funds for research provided, the results should be gratifying. Planners who make use of this contract research must, however, have sufficient research know-how themselves to enable them to effectively make use of data gathered and presented in a professional manner. Research of a continuing nature seems desirable, too. This research should supplement the basic research documents prepared as a pre-

liminary to planning of a development. It may include archeological projects, architectural research as a prelude to restoration or reconstruction of a historic building, research for details needed to answer the growing volume of visitor questions, research on which to base segments of a broad interpretive publications program. I am convinced that it is desirable to have much of this continuing research program carried on by the area interpreters. Such projects can often be completed in light travel seasons, and make efficient use of the interpreter's time. Certain intrinsic merits of the continuing research program, however, would seem to warrant such assignments for the interpreter, even if it means keeping his workload of administrative detail and red tape to a minimum by separating administrative and interpretive assignments. First, there is no better way for the interpreter to gain a knowledge in depth of his subject and his area, than by being in continual touch with the original source materials involved. Second, this detailed knowledge will give him the fund of data readily on tap to answer the inquiries of visitors, which seem year by year to increase in their scope and depth.

It has been said all too often in recent years that the interpreter should be primarily a communicator rather than a researcher. I think we should set our recruiting sights higher than either of these goals. We should seek interpreters who are possessed of both public contact skills and research skills in adequate quantity for the job at hand. No researcher can be truly effective in history unless he can communicate well, for so much historical research depends on effective communication between researchers. Certainly a communicator without research skills is little more than a slightly more sophisticated audio-visual device! There are many young people today who possess a nicely balanced combination of scholarship and public contact skills, and it is these people we should seek out for our interpretive work. Neither the medieval cloistered scholar nor the wheeling-and-dealing ad-man will do the job.

Young people with the requisite experience, education and maturity for career park-interpretive work will typically be in their mid-twenties and possessed of two college degrees at the beginning of their career. If we are to recruit them successfully, then we must offer interesting, challenging, meaningful work. We must offer a maximum of constructive opportunity, and a minimum of bureaucratic routine. We must be able to keep them in touch with both their subject field and with the public. We must offer living conditions well above the poverty level that long passed for park quarters. We must offer salaries that start in the professional range, for they will have a comparable investment in education to the lawyer, the architect, the veterinarian, the dentist, and the CPA. It seems obvious that many agencies will have to revise their posi-

tion qualifications and their salary scales to secure the kind of personnel they really need.

Over the years a number of tools and techniques have been developed for use of the park interpreter. Some of these have been developed in the park experience. More of them have been borrowed or adapted from the field of education, or from the various media of mass communications. Included are signs and markers, museum exhibits, publications, automatic or semi-automatic audio devices, and full-scale audio-visual presentations. It seems important to attempt to define the respective roles of these media. It is perhaps equally important at the outset, to point out that they are all only tools for the interpreter, and that no single tool nor combination of tools can at this point be termed a panacea for interpretive problems. This reality seems an essential one for good interpretation, since each generation of interpreters seems faced with a handful of energetic and well-meaning devotees and prophets of specialized media, and these savants are usually each convinced that he has the solution, be it publications, exhibits, or sound-and-light programs. Interpreters and managers alike may be well served by a healthy skepticism of such charlatans. Ideally, the interpreter must be prepared to experiment, and skilled at identifying the useful elements of some new media or technique and integrating it successfully with proven approaches to achieve an efficient and economical interpretive package at any given area.

Oldest of the interpretive media for historic sites are without doubt the historic signs and markers. At the time these basically simple interpretive devices are open to more improvement than any other presently available media. Until a quarter century ago, historic signs and markers over most of the U.S. were only removed in time and scale from the monuments of antiquity. The high plains and rockies are still liberally dotted with the markers of this period, a school more monumental than interpretive. The granite tablet, the marble shaft, the stone obelisk and the cast metal plaque abound. They have a look of history about them, deriving from their traditional forms. They are expensive, perhaps to the point of being a symbol of conspicuous consumption in an affluent society. That they possess some basic disadvantages is abundantly clear. Their very solidity of late seems a challenge to urban barbarism of our age. Worse yet, they do not lend themselves to presenting a written message of any depth, nor illustrative material of any really intelligible kind.

The monumental approach to interpretive signs and markers seems outdated at this point. What should be the characteristics of good signs and markers? What functions can they effectively fulfill?

The role of the sign or marker or outdoor exhibit seems to be that of supplementing the work of the human interpreter. It does this by being out there at various locations, when the interpreter in

an understaffed area can be in only one place at a time, while the visitors can be well scattered over the park. The sign or marker can provide a written message at a level that will reach the visitor of average literacy. In modern materials it can also offer many other things, such as maps, geological sections, sequence pictures, or actual photographs of "how it looked here in the old days." It will both supplement the information an interpreter has time to provide and will stimulate further intelligent questions on the part of visitors.

Good signs and markers should have a reasonable life span but be easy to replace when damaged, worn, or outdated by continuing research. They should be made of materials or combinations of materials that will fulfill these requirements and help to tell the story effectively. Routed aluminum plate, metalphoto, safety glass, plastics, stainless steel, printer material, actual photographic prints, plant samples, artifacts, models all seem to have their place in various situations.

Museum exhibits have proven themselves an effective adjunct to interpretation in many historic site developments. Only museum exhibits can successfully and efficiently relate the hardware of the past to the historic experience. In many instances this hardware is a product of a particular historic experience, as with the "long rifle" and the trade musket. In many instances the hardware itself has been a determining factor in the success or failure of an historic enterprise. The railroad and the telegraph offer many items of this kind. Graphic materials and modest amounts of interpretive text all have their place in museum exhibits so long as they are utilized to set the stage for the artifacts that form the heart of the display. The breaking plow and a turned furrow of real sod are much more meaningful against a background of endless prairie or of an illustration of the sod house. The art work of an exhibit or of an exhibit sequence should serve primarily to point out salient features and to tie the exhibit elements into a coherent whole. It should not dominate either the artifacts or the graphic materials used.

What is the useful life span of a museum exhibit at a historic site? This will depend upon many factors. In general, though a really good exhibit can serve until it needs refinishing or until a really more meaningful exhibit to tell a specific story can be designed. Repeat visitation moves on a slower cycle to the historic site than to the metropolitan museum, and there may not be the need of constantly changing exhibits at such a site. On the other hand the twenty-year replacement cycle for exhibits used by one federal agency for a number of years seems unrealistic if only in that it does not permit exhibits to have a fresh and live look. The well done exhibit does have its place, and it has several unique advantages over other interpretive media. The visitor can see the

exhibits at his own pace. He can absorb much or little as he chooses. A good exhibit can serve both the kindergartner and the graduate student, the general visitor and the buff. It goes on doing its job when personnel shortages, power failures, mechanical "bugs" and electronic idiosyncrasies may put other interpretive media out of action.

Publications are an important part of an overall interpretive program. They can serve two really basic on-site functions: that of providing basic orientation data that the visitor can carry around with him for reference, and that of providing special guidance for interpretive trails and tours. Publications which go beyond these aims must be regarded as supplemental, the sort of thing that a visitor will take home with him to read, or will hand to a friend or relative. To serve these ends, basic publications should be up-to-date in content, based on sound information and professional research, written for the site's average audience, and printed at moderate cost so as to achieve maximum distribution.

Steady increases in the cost of interpretive manpower over the past quarter century have led more than anything else to the use of recorded messages of various types in many different kinds of audio-installations. Managers have most often turned to such devices for orientation or for supplemental interpretation when forced to do so by the rising cost of manpower. Extensive field experience has shown, however, that such devices have special utility at a historic site. These message repeating machines are most useful in dispensing basic, repetitive information that most visitors will need. By this, relieving the live interpreter from the deadly, dull routine of presenting essentially canned information, the machine frees him for the role for which he is best suited, that of providing supplemental information suited to a particular visitor or group of visitors. It also frees him to answer visitor questions with a depth, flexibility and sophistication impossible at this point in the most advanced machines.

Capturing the movement, the color, the drama of a particular historic event, or setting the stage of context effectively for an understanding of the material presented by some or all of the above media can often be done best with a well prepared audio-visual presentation. Sound motion pictures and synchronized tape slide presentations are both highly useful. The motion picture gives the most true-to-life presentation for relatively brief historic events, but is the most expensive media available, with production costs for documentary type films running above \$2,000 per minute of screen time, and replacement cost (around \$10.00) per minute of screen time running for each standby or replacement film. Slide tape presentations are more easily altered, better adapted to use of documentary materials, photos, and art objects, and cost about 1/10 as much over all. They cannot, of course, capture motion and present it so effectively. Other sophisticated a-v media are

either so clearly experimental or so costly at this time that they may be out of reach of the historic site developer, but they will bear watching in the future. Videotape and the closed circuit television system seem to be the runners to watch in this field.

All of the audio-visual media seem to function best when well-integrated in use with other interpretive media. All of the audio and audio-visual media are limited to some degree in their usefulness of the individual park by frequent breakdowns and the high cost of competent maintenance service, in remote locations.

Most manned historic site developments will include a combination of some or many of the above mentioned media. No two historic site developments really ever present the same precise combination of management realities. We should not expect two such sites to be well served by the same precise package of interpretive media. The planner and the manager and the site's own interpreters have the obligation to work together to evolve the combination of media that will provide the maximum of service and of effective interpretation for the dollars invested in the site. Sometimes the effectiveness of a device can best be determined by on-site experiment. Changing volume or character of visitation can alter the relative efficiency of various devices in a given setting. For these reasons the site's interpreters and their supervisors in higher offices must be alert to changing conditions and ready to modify interpretive offerings accordingly.

Several basic levels of development have such a basic impact on the visiting public that changes between them seem to form irrevocable commitments on the part of the managing agency. Usually public reception of improvements is such that on passing to a new level of development the managing agency has a further choice of refining and stabilizing development at the level, or of going on to another level. Seldom will the public accept a retreat.

As an example: Suppose a site, unmarked and unidentified for years, is marked with some sort of monument or interpretive sign. Generally it is going to have to stay marked, and the manager involved has his choice of simply maintaining the existing sign or of installing a more accurate or a more attractive one.

The line between the non-manned and the manned site seems to be a similar one, though the public will accept a broad range of variation year to year in the precise nature and utilization of the interpretive manpower available.

Sites with historic buildings face another critical decision line in today's park operating context. The support for preservation and even restoration of historic buildings comes fairly easily nowadays. So easily in many cases that agencies are under frequent pressure to preserve structures that really have no intrinsic nor associated historic significance. Some persons have a basically antiquarian approach to buildings, and seek to preserve a structure *simply because it is old*, rather than for reasons of historic significance.

The old buildings business is expensive, and for most agencies a really hard and professional evaluation of a given structure is worthwhile. The preserved or restored structure can be interpreted in some depth as is, or the critical decision line can be crossed with a commitments to refurnish the building to some particularly significant period of occupancy. To cross this line takes the managing agency into a whole new dimension of interpretive opportunity, but also into a whole new complex of management realities.

For certain buildings at particular sites, refurnishing can capture for the visitor the physical setting of a historic event, or the material context of a way of life as little else can. This is not to say that every room of every structure at every site should be refurnished. Some selectivity is in order, to avoid the trite, the repetitious and the plainly fatiguing in the visitor's experience.

The manager will see in a refurnished structure new costs, new maintenance problems, a wholly different protection situation, and the need for more and perhaps different interpretive personnel.

For the visitor the refurnished structure will lure him to the site more easily and more often, and will generally make him stay appreciably longer. He will likely want "to see the houses" in all kinds of weather and at any time of year. He will not be content to look at the old fort or village from the picture window of a museum. He will be a better salesman for your project than ever before, he will question your interpreters more often and in greater depth, but he is most of all going to "want to see those houses."

Refurnishing projects seem capable of attracting sizeable blocks of privately donated funds. The manager faced with such opportunity after years of dealing with a tight-fisted legislative body should approach a possible furnishing project with both enthusiasm and a cautious realism. Funding for a furnishing project should take into account not only the cost of specimens, but the cost of research, planning, procurement and installation. The completed project must be viewed not as a goal, but as a beginning, and must be realistically funded in terms of interpretation, maintenance, protection and administrative overhead. Unless all these considerations are kept in mind, your angel's sugar lump may prove disturbing, if not indigestible.

At an earlier point I talked about the kind of interpreters one needs at a historic site. What is true of the career interpreter is also true of the seasonal employee. There are some additional considerations. The seasonal interpreter must possess maturity, but he must have, if anything, more enthusiasm than the career man! He will be working longer hours in direct contact with the public, for lower pay, and in less varied assignments, with less scholarly and career motivations. Enthusiasm, morale and good training are the only things that will keep him at it, doing a good job for even one season.

It is in utilization of seasonal personnel that our present and last irrevocable decision line seems to lie. Private historical groups have experimented for many years in their own operating context with the employment of period costumed interpreters and with period costumed specialists demonstrating weapons, tools, and techniques of the past. Publicly managed historic sites have expanded their experiments in this field in recent years with such favorable public response that I think in every case they intend to continue and to expand this type of seasonal staffing. Here too lies a new dimension of interpretive opportunity and a new range of management reality!

The mere sight of the period costumed interpreter at a historic site or building tends to attract the visitor more strongly and to hold his attention longer (even if he is only attracted by the opportunity for more life in the snapshots and slides he takes.) Our own experience in this field leads to several observations. First, that neither the interpreter nor the manager nor the seasonal employee so costumed should get the impression that his role is that of an actor. The costumed interpreter is much more than this. He does have to be able to act well enough to learn to handle the costume and the weapons, tools and equipment with proficiency. He is, however, in direct contact with his audience. They will expect an effective orientation. They will ask questions in such scope and depth that the interpreter must be well informed, quick thinking and gifted at ad lib explanations. We find that the audience will expect much more in depth of knowledge and in skills from the period costumed interpreter. They apparently make some allowances for the uniformed civil-servant, but not for the costumed individual.

Assuming the commitment, the funds, and the capability for training exist, and competent personnel are available, then they must be costumed and equipped. It seems essential that this costume and equipment must be of the same level of quality, authenticity as our other interpretive presentations. Every audience will have a few persons who can spot the makeshift, the inappropriate, and the anachronistic, and who will take considerable pleasure in so doing. If you can do it right from the outset, this will not be a matter of concern. It costs no more to costume correctly than to do so incorrectly.

We believe that it will pay to put only part of your seasonal employees in costume even if abundant funds are available. My reason for saying this, is that there are many jobs at a park that seem more effectively done by men or women in your regular service uniform. Particularly I refer to traffic control, law enforcement, first aid, and the manning of information and sales counters. Staffing levels at many parks are low enough so that some persons may have to spend part of the day in costume and part of the day in conventional uniform, according to the balance of activities in

the changing daily cycle of visitation. Your own particular situation will require experiment on this problem.

The planning of interpretive developments and the management of interpretive services is never static and always challenging. I can offer here no panaceas for your interpretive problems. One can only say that there is broad variety available in a wide range of complex media, and that telling the park story effectively and efficiently will require the ability to plan carefully, to select and adapt the best combination of media and techniques for your park, and to do so with your eyes open to the realities involved in both specific choices and their interactions in your situation.

The Hat Sitting Bull Wears

Told by Andrew Fox¹

Edited by Patricia K. Ourada

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about the life of Sitting Bull. His exploits, deeds, adventures, wars, travels with William F. Cody, and other incidents of his life have been popularized and widely publicized. Whatever turn his life story takes, and whatever interpretation is given to his actions, Sitting Bull remains a prominent figure in American history. Here is an account of personal drama to add color to the stories of those western favorites, Chief Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill. The little story reproduced in this study was found in the Walter S. Campbell Collection, in the Division of Manuscripts at the University of Oklahoma Library.²

The Campbell Collection, consisting of 321 boxes, many oversized pieces, and 3,000 photographs represents the private papers of the late Walter S. Campbell, professor of creative writing at the University of Oklahoma for forty years, 1912-1914, and 1919-1957. Throughout his lifetime, Walter Campbell was a devoted student of Plains Indian history, and today he lies buried at the Custer Battlefield National Monument and Cemetery "... among the Sioux warriors he respected and loved, and their white soldier foes who provided him with the grist of the history he best wrote."³

In some of the pictures I had seen of Chief Sitting Bull one shows him wearing a felt hat. The old chief hardly wears a hat and this seemed to account for his scalp immune from baldheadedness.⁴ But he did wear a felt hat—the only one I have known him to wear.⁵

People have asked where he had obtained this hat. To me, such questions are simply absurd. Where did he get it? Did the gov-

1. Andrew Fox is identified by Walter Campbell as Sitting Bull's educated son-in-law. See Stanley Vestal [Walter S. Campbell], *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), p. 282.

2. Andrew Fox, "The Hat Sitting Bull Wears," Campbell Collection, Box 104, Manuscript Division, University of Oklahoma Library.

3. Donald J. Berthrong, "Walter Stanley Campbell: Plainsman," *Arizona and the West*, VII: 2 (Summer, 1965), 194.

4. Sitting Bull's hair was described frequently by men who met and interviewed him. The following description appeared in the *Detroit Evening Journal*, September 5, 1885, (Campbell Collection, Box 73), when Sitting Bull performed in that city with the Wild West: "His glossy black hair reaches to his waist. He divides it in the middle and braids it on each side very tightly. After this has been done the rawhide cords were bound tightly about the braids, the ends suspending down each side of the warrior's chest."

5. This statement can be used to confirm the authenticity of the hat in the accompanying photograph.

ernment issue him the hat?⁶ Such questions! In the first place, the government never issued a hat to any Indian, not even half as good in quality as the hat Sitting Bull wears and, in value, I don't think he would sell or dispose of this hat for anything.

When Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill became acquainted and friendship formed, among other presents Buffalo Bill had bestowed upon Sitting Bull, this particular hat was placed on the chief's head by his white friend.⁷ This was done when the chief was traveling with Buffalo Bill's circus in 1887.⁸

The old Chief valued this article of clothing very highly—not so much for the hat itself but on account of the friend that had favored him with this gift.

The old Chief at one time was asked about this hat replied as follows: "My white friend, Buffalo Bill gave me this hat and I have valued it very highly, for the hand that had placed this hat on my head, had a friendly feeling toward me."⁹

He always wore this hat on all special occasions.

Walter Campbell, in his famous biography of Sitting Bull, tells the following story for which he offers no documentation.

At the end of the season, Buffalo Bill gave him a gray circus horse to which he had become attached,¹⁰ and a big white som-

6. At the Standing Rock Agency at Fort Yates, North Dakota where Sitting Bull lived from July, 1881 until his death December 15, 1890, there was a bi-weekly ration day for the distribution of beef, foodstuffs, and clothing. See "Report on Standing Rock Agency," by James McLaughlin, Indian Agent, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), p. 332.

7. No other primary source of information could be located on the hat. A telephone conversation with Mr. John Strickland, of the Buffalo Bill Museum in Cody, Wyoming, December 13, 1968, revealed that the Museum has no information on this hat. Mr. Strickland extolled the generosity of Buffalo Bill, and said that the Museum would like to have the hat.

8. This date of 1887 is incorrect. Sitting Bull with ten of his tribesmen worked with the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show for four months during the summer and early fall of 1885. Usher L. Burdick of North Dakota possesses the original contract, but he permitted it to be reproduced in the *Middle Border Bulletin*, III:2 (Autumn, 1943, pp. 1-2. Campbell Collection, Box 73. An excellent account of the Wild West Show is that by Henry Blackman Sell and Victor Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 278 pp.

9. See the Campbell version of this story which accompanies this work, and which is quoted by Don Russell in *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 317.

10. See verification for the gray horse. McLaughlin in the Standing Rock Agency Report already cited states that Sitting Bull planned to escape the soldiers on his "favorite horse." Vestal makes a similar report, but identifies the horse as the gray circus horse. See Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, pp. 294-95.

brero,¹¹ size 8,¹² and sent him home with a warm feeling of friendship for the Colonel. . . . Sitting Bull's horse attracted much attention at Standing Rock; it could do tricks, such as sitting down and then raising one hoof. The hat the Chief wore only on state occasions. In one of his photographs it is shown with a tiny American Flag attached to the band¹³—a sign that he had fought against the United States troops. One day one of his relatives wore this hat.¹⁴ Sitting Bull lost his temper, and said, "My friend Long Hair gave me this hat. I value it very highly, for the hand that placed it upon my head had a friendly feeling for me." After that nobody ventured to touch it.¹⁵

11. Buffalo Bill wore a white Texan sombrero when hunting, and adopted this hat for his Wild West appearances. *Outing, Sport-Adventure-Travel-Fiction*, LXIX (October, 1916-March, 1917), 705. Campbell Collection, Box 73.

12. "The Wild West," *Boston Daily Globe*, August 24, 1885, describes Sitting Bull's appearance, and states that he had a large head, size 8. Campbell Collection, Box 73.

The accompanying photograph is the only one in the Campbell Collection of Sitting Bull in a hat. Note that there is no flag.

13. This version is not mentioned in the Andrew Fox account.

14. The Fox account says "My white friend, Buffalo Bill . . ."

15. Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, p. 251.

An Analysis of Scottish Population

By

PAUL M. EDWARDS

In 1869 Wyoming's Governor John A. Campbell needed to make some initial appointments required by the organic act. This was necessary prior to the regular Territorial election scheduled for September of 1869. The base for these political appointments was established by a census, the first of its kind, taken late in the year. This census was conducted by U. S. Marshal Church Howe and sixteen assistants and disclosed that Wyoming's total population was 8,014 and was divided between Carbon, Laramie, Albany and Carter Counties, with the citizens of the unorganized areas being listed with Carter County.¹ This 1869 figure was less than half that suggested in previous years.

In 1870 the first official Wyoming census was taken under the Federal decennial system and showed a population of 9,118.² The 1880 census indicated a population of twice that, with a total citizen count of 20,789.³ The amount of information that is available from these early records is limited compared to what is available now, but the records themselves do indicate trends and show some very human facts. In searching the 1870 and 1880 census for materials on the influence of the Scots in Wyoming I have collected some interesting data concerning persons of immediate Scottish descent.

There were more first generation Scots than might be expected. The 1870 records showed a Scottish population of 137, about 1.5% of the total population. By 1880, however, this figure had risen to 434, which is something over 2% and is an increase of about 320% as against a total population increase of about 220%. Of these 137 in 1870 the sexes were fairly equally divided with fifty-nine females and seventy-eight males registered. By 1880, the male population had increased by about 390%, to 305 with the female increase only about 220%, to the figure 129. The oldest Scot in 1870 was a man listed as sixty years of age. Ten years

1. Larson, T. A. *History of Wyoming*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1965, p. 71.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

later, however, the oldest Scot was seventy-eight, female, with a large number over the age of 65. The youngest listed was four years old in the 1870 census, and three years of age in 1880. The average age was a somewhat old thirty-one in 1870, and this jumped to thirty-four by 1880.

The 1870 census lists Wyoming's Scottish residents as being employed in forty-five different occupations including housekeepers, jewelers, machinists, carpenters, miners, laborers, cooks and clerks. One young man who was obviously not optimistic enough to call himself a miner settled on the term "gold seeker." The largest number of these 137 Scots were employed as miners, with nearly 40% of them, some sixty-eight, in this position. Surprisingly enough only a few were listed as laborers, only eleven which is less than 9% most, were engaged in some semiskilled occupation.

In 1880 the picture had changed a great deal. Among the 434 Scots, eighty different occupations were listed. These ran from miners (reduced to fifty now, less than 19%), laborers (increased to forty-six but still less than 9%), herders (an increase of from one to twenty-seven), to such interesting frontier occupations as prisoner (local jail), freighter, stenographer, actor, domestic servant, two who listed their occupation as gentleman, a nurse, a salt manufacturer, one officer and sixteen enlisted men and one young Cheyenne resident, named Puss Newport, who listed her occupation as prostitute. The "gold seeker" is not to be found in the 1880 census under any listing and must be presumed to have moved on to better "diggin's." One older lady, well aware of her station in life, lists her occupation as "mother-in-law." Of those listed in 1880 only one, a miner, is recorded as being unable to either read or write; even Archibald McYue, whose occupation is listed as vagrant, is reportedly literate.

There seems to have been a great deal of movement among the Scots. It is very hard to read the hand-written 1870 census, but as far as the names can be checked only 35 of those listed among the 137 Scots on the 1870 census are reported on the 1880 census. This would seem to indicate that while there were only 434 Scots in the territory in 1880 that this was an increase of 332 new emigrants rather than the 297 suggested by first reading of the figures. Where the others have gone, we can only guess.

Contributors

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PAUL M. EDWARDS spent the last academic year teaching and researching at St. Andrews College, St. Andrews, Scotland. Edwards received his B.A. degree from Washburn University and an M.A. from the University of South Dakota. Following his work in Scotland, he returned to Graceland College, Iowa, where he is assistant professor of history and philosophy. He is former chief of the Museum Division of the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, and has served as a museum assistant with the Kansas Historical Society.

Book Reviews

High Road to Promontory: Building the Central Pacific Across the High Sierra. By George Kraus. (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1969) Index. Illus. 317 pp. \$7.95.

This is a centennial history. That is, it was occasioned by the enthusiasm and interest of the Centennial. The book would undoubtedly have appeared without the Centennial, however, as the author has spent more than ten years gathering material and writing.

It is written for the general reader, the Centennial market, rather than for the expert. For this audience it gives an adequate account of the Central Pacific and its activities. It deals in passing with the financial problems of the promoters and developers and the effect that they had on the progress of the road, and construction plans. The major personalities, the Big Four of Huntington, Hopkins, Stanford and Crocker and the original engineer Judah are given considerable space. In addition the appendix contains data on these five and another five leaders in building the railroad. The strength of the book, and its major space, is devoted to the construction of the railroad and overcoming the problems of construction.

To make the story much more effective the author and publisher have lavishly illustrated the book with contemporary photographs, mostly taken by Alfred A. Hart, who was hired by the Central Pacific in 1864 and followed it through the construction phase to Promontory. There are about 150 illustrations. Some are reproductions of advertisements, formal photographs of prominent individuals and other general material, but well over 100 are pictures of railroad construction, both of constructed features as trestles and bridges and of work in progress.

Unfortunately, while the photographs make the book much more interesting, the reproduction of photographs and the quality of bookmaking in general is not of a quality to give the kind of artistic production that makes a truly satisfactory memento of the Centennial. The placement of pictures, the legends connected with them, the effect of type faces used, leading, paper and other factors make a reasonably good, but not an outstanding book.

The author has gathered interesting and much original material and the illustrations add greatly to the book. But overall its effect is disappointing. In part this is because the author is openly and unashamedly a partisan of the company. Also, while construction is well handled, other elements of road building are less surely

treated. It is a useful addition to material on the Central Pacific but it is not the definitive book one hopes a centennial history might be.

University of Cincinnati

W. D. AESCHBACHER

The Gunfighter: Man or Myth. By Joseph G. Rosa. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969) Index. Illus. 211 pp. \$5.95.

The English writer, Joseph G. Rosa, has followed up his widely-praised biography of Wild Bill Hickok with a study of the gunfighter in legend and reality. He rightly assumes his subject to be perennially fascinating. The actual importance of the gunfighter may have become inflated down the years, but there is more general interest in him than in other great symbolic figures of the West like the cowboy and the Plains Indian.

Mr. Rosa skillfully demolishes the myth of the gunfighter, but neither debunks nor hero-worships the men behind the myth. His summing up of the lethal breed is masterly.

"The qualities they shared—pride, arrogance, and indifference to human life—and the destructive emotions that drove them—fear, anger, resentment, and jealousy—place them well and truly among men and not immortals."

Unfortunately, and in view of its title, the book is too Kansas-orientated, and there is far too much about guns in it. As well as expertly commenting on the technique of gunfighting, Mr. Rosa self-indulgently explores backwaters of gun history and gun lore. His admittedly first-rate picture of the Kansas cowtowns leads him to neglect the Southwest. The O.K. Corral is featured, but the importance of Reconstruction Texas in breeding the gunfighter is not brought out fully enough. Even Bill Longley only just scrapes in and Cullen Baker is not mentioned at all.

Mr. Rosa claims that only two famous gunfighters, Hickok and Masterson, lived lives resembling their legends. It depends what one means by famous. The great Texas Ranger captains often matched their legends, and how the author, who rightly scorns the myth of the classic confrontation between Hero and Villain, could leave out Commodore Perry Owens' epic battle with the Blevans family and the Homeric fight at Blazer's Mill is a mystery.

The book is well-documented, but the author sometimes relies on outdated secondary sources. He cites Cunningham's grand *Triggernometry* for his account of the Short-Courtright fight when there is more recent scholarship available. The statement that six to seven million Texas longhorns arrived in south-central Kansas in the summer of 1871 is so incredible that one can only assume it got into print by some appalling mischance.

The book remains a thoughtful, enjoyable and valuable study, however, and most readers will probably forgive it for not quite living up to its title.

Wimbledon, England.

ROBIN MAY

Some Pathways in Twentieth Century History: Essays in Honor of Reginald Charles McGrane. Ed. by Daniel R. Beaver. (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1969) Index. 313 pp. \$11.95.

This collection of nine essays and a biographical sketch, all by Ph.D.s and former students of Dr. McGrane, is actually a readable and enlightening glimpse of U.S. history between 1898 and 1945. The link with Wyoming is slender, consisting simply of the fact that Dr. McGrane, a one-time fellow student at the University of Chicago with Dr. Laura A. White, long head of History at the University of Wyoming, was a visiting professor on Wyoming's campus in 1918, and here taught his first course in American History, his life-time preoccupation.

Dr. McGrane, long professor of history at the University of Cincinnati, produced a number of books in his field, including the standard edition of "The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle," plus many papers and some thirty-five biographical articles for the *Dictionary of American Biography*. His students paid high tribute to his passion for integrity and accuracy in the writing of history.

Though these papers are in part for the specialist, they will interest any student of our more recent past. The first two papers precede World War I, in that the first deals with our 1898-1900 "open door" policy in China, still a topic of great concern; and the second with the part played by Theodore Roosevelt in the election of William Howard Taft. A third regards the contribution of General George Goethals to the task of directing military supplies in World War I as equal in importance to that in the construction of the Panama Canal.

The next two papers touch on British history. The first studies the influence of the British Labour Party upon the peace terms that followed World War I, and that party's demands for disarmament and a League of Nations, both aims defeated by the ruthless logic of political realities. Equally significant, and equally doomed to failure, was the work of Leopold Emery, now all but forgotten, who devoted his efforts to forging a massive economic empire to unite Great Britain and the Dominions in a productive race to challenge the United States. His scheme was defeated by Dominion demands for autonomy, labor's defense of free trade, and a pacifist opposition to imperial ambitions.

The collection concludes with three papers dealing with America

in World War I. The first reviews Franklin Roosevelt's secret efforts to stave off that war, though hampered by American isolationism and his unwillingness to disrupt his domestic program, plus Great Britain's embarrassment at Italy's African campaign and her knowledge that she was not prepared to risk a war. Thus Roosevelt's congratulatory telegram to Chamberlain, "Good man." The second surveys the American "Arsenal of Democracy," a Rooseveltian phrase, its limited aid to the anti-Axis powers before Pearl Harbor, and its phenomenal productive capacity thereafter. The last paper turns to the Tehran Conference of 1943, to demonstrate that much that the Yalta Conference of two years later is known for was actually discussed at Tehran.

Even so sketchy a glance at the contents, then, of this book will indicate that good history, as someone said, "unlearns" the more popular assumptions, and, in the hands of competent writers, as these men all are, may provide valuable evidence for the guidance of present and future.

University of Wyoming

WILSON O. CLOUGH

The Cousin Jacks: The Cornish in America. By A. L. Rowse. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969) 451 pages, \$8.95.

Few Americans are aware of the role that Cornish people have played in American history. Perhaps this is because they have been miners or workers with their hands rather than writers or publicizers of their deeds. They deserve more notice, and it is their importance in our history that Professor A. L. Rowse, a most literate Oxford don and Cornishman, has set out to depict.

Who were these Cousin Jacks, as they have been called, who immigrated from the small, most southwestern area of England? In the first two chapters, the author outlines their Celtic backgrounds, the origins of their names, and their most apparent characteristics. The remainder of the volume tracks down the whereabouts and doings of many Cornish families and individuals in the varied areas of America. The treatment is chronological—beginning with the earliest settlements in Virginia and New England and terminating with the taming of the Far West.

Because the greatest number of Cornish people who came to America were miners, the largest communities were in Pennsylvania, Minnesota, California, Colorado, and Nevada. Though individualistic, the Cornish were gregarious and community minded once settled in the New World. They brought with them some of their cultural baggage: the Methodist Church, their political conservatism (most would vote Republican), and their love of folk lore and hymns. Few Cornish men were strikers; labor radicalism

they left to their Irish cousins. For the most part they were (and are) a contented lot and have been patriotic Americans who never wished to forget "from whence they were digged."

This is an entertaining book. It is well written, witty, and easy to read. The author corrals all sorts of stories, yarns, and hearsay to add to his lively narrative. Along the way, his friendly enemies—the Irish, the politicians, and the imperialists—take a beating. And the Puritans, Quakers, and Mormons fare none too well, but Professor Rowse, as a good Cornishman, is much more gentle with the Methodists.

Unfortunately, not all the author's views are convincing. He overstates the importance of Hugh Peter among the Puritans, and his views on the realism of Bret Harte's mining stories would not be accepted by many students of Western literature. More important, he overplays the identity consciousness of the Cornish people. Other immigrant groups—the Irish, the Italians, the Spanish, and the Basques—have been just as conscious of their heritage and have been just as tenacious in trying to hold on to it in new surroundings. One wishes, too, that the author had refrained from listing so many Cornish names throughout his book. Some pages are merely lists of Cornish family names. If every family mentioned in the book purchases it, the author will make money.

But a major purpose of the volume is carried out successfully: to show how one group of immigrants has acclimated itself to the American scene and how it has managed, at the same time, to keep hold of the "old ways." This achievement alone makes this book a worthwhile one. The footnotes evidence wide and varied research, and research needs are listed for those who wish to pursue further the ideas and men that Professor Rowse introduces.

Dartmouth College
Hanover, N. H.

RICHARD W. ETULAIN

Pumpkin Seed Point. By Frank Waters. (Chicago: Sage Books, Swallow Press, 1969) 175 pp. \$6.00.

The author spent three years among the Hopi Indians of northern Arizona recording much of their religious beliefs and philosophy. The results of this research were published as *Book of the Hopi* (New York: Viking Press, 1963). In the Foreword to *Pumpkin Seed Point*, Waters states that "The present book is a personal narrative of my inner and outer experiences in this subterranean world of Indian America." The result is a curious mixture of historical interpretation, ethnology, religion, mysticism, and personal narrative.

The Hopis have long been known as the most secretive, withdrawn, and least "progressive" of the many tribes of American

Indians. Living on, or near, three bleak mesas in the forbidding land of the Colorado plateau, they have stubbornly resisted the efforts of the white man, both Spanish and Anglo, to bring them into the contemporary world. The author says (p. xii) this was out of a "sense of inferiority as an impoverished minority." While some have been baptized into the Christian Church, the Christianity of most converts seems to be but a veneer over a dark, mysterious form of animism. Like many other religious groups, the Hopis are convinced that they have the only true religion and way of life. They are waiting the coming of Pahna—the lost white brother—which will signal the destruction of the white man and all that he stands for, leaving only the pure, true Hopis to repopulate the world.

Basically the book tells the interesting story of the author's difficulties in dealing with these highly suspicious people. He had trouble getting the older people to talk of their beliefs so that they might be tape recorded and then transcribed by typewriter. It was a long time before he was allowed to witness the secret ceremonies and get an explanation of the symbolism of the ceremonies and the paraphernalia. The author also limns the conflict, both external and internal, of those Hopis who have accepted greater or lesser amounts of the white man's ways and culture. He tells of two Hopi children "sharp and avid to learn" that were forbidden to go to school because their father, a Traditionalist, had been in trouble with the white man's law and the bureaucracy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and thus they "faced the prospect of growing up uneducated."

Scattered throughout the book are long, introspective passages in which the author analyzes his own dreams and impressions. He also does the same for others. For example (p. 67) he says that the decimation of the buffalo herds came about "Not for sport or profit alone, but to indulge a wanton lust for killing. . ." If there had been no market for buffalo hides, the farmers on the Great Plains might still be having trouble raising their crops. Other long passages are devoted to comparison and correlation of the Hopi beliefs with those of the Toltec and Aztec civilizations and even to the Spanish-Portuguese legend of the seven cities of the Lost Atlantis. As fundamentally a fiction writer, Waters tends to overstate cases for the sake of impact, as when he says that "radioactive fallout . . . is laying waste wide swaths around the whole planet." He also talks about dinosaur tracks "imprinted in the smooth volcanic rock floor of the canyon. This must have been the first 'hot foot.'"

It is as a historian that Waters is at his weakest. Out of sympathy for the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere, he completely distorts the story of the conquest of Mexico by Cortez. The story of the reception given by the Hopis to Pedro Tovar in 1540, presumably based on Hopi legend, is greatly at variance with the writ-

ten record left by the Spaniards. Although admitting that the Aztec "barbarians" overran the great Toltec empire and converted their religion to a bloody saturnalia of human sacrifice he says that Aztec civilization was the "greatest civilization in pre-Columbian America."

In the end he says that after the white man has mended his ways in some undisclosed manner, the Indians "will understand that universal truths cannot be preserved as the exclusive property of any one tribe or race." Some Christian churches might take note of this statement.

While the name Frank Waters may sell this book, a historian must classify it as a curio.

Tucson, Arizona

HENRY P. WALKER

Tomboy Bride. By Harriet Fish Backus. (Boulder: Pruett Press, 1969) Illus. 273 pp. \$6.50.

As the young bride of a Colorado miner in the early 1900s, Harriet Fish Backus confronted situations of severe weather, primitive living conditions and other colorful episodes for which her San Francisco home had not prepared her.

However, in her autobiography, *Tomboy Bride*, one realizes that she met all situations with high good humor and a willingness to hurdle the obstacles. She loved the early-day life in the mining towns of Telluride, Leadville and other Western Slope mining meccas.

Mrs. Backus has written an interesting book that records the hardships, tragedies and triumphs of a young woman in the colorful era of the mining boom. She has not neglected to describe, with charm and graphic talent, the beauties of the rugged Rockies and the people who made the West so fascinating.

Historically prominent names and incidents dot the text—they seem more incidental, however, with her own story the main concern of the book. She has given a warm account of her confrontations with high altitude cooking, incredible weather and the robust mining characters that became a part of her life.

The book is an enjoyable, easy-reading story—one that does not tax the mind. It records incidents of living in Colorado, British Columbia and the copper mines at Britannia Beach, Idaho and back to Leadville.

Female readers will be delighted with her description of "silk feather-stitching of my long flannel petticoat—white corset covers with eyelet embroidery and white drawers with ruffles—black lisle stockings—shiny patent leather shoes accented by pearl grey buttons—white felt hat with turned-up brim faced with black velvet and topped with a curving white ostrich plume—"

Reading her experiences as a bride living near the Tomboy Mine above Telluride throughout the following years, readers will chuckle at the amusing situations and silently applaud the writer's eventual mastery of disconcerting difficulties.

Her story revolves around her husband, George Backus, who died in July of 1964. He is credited with helping develop a process for milling molybdenum said to be still in use. Several old photographs add to the charm and historical richness of the book.

"Tomboy Bride" should be a valuable addition to the libraries of those who savor Western history.

University of Wyoming

PATRICIA S. QUEAL

Boss Cowman: The Recollections of Ed Lemmon, 1857-1946.

Ed. by Nellie Snyder Yost. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969) Index. 321 pp. \$6.95.

Ed Lemmon's life spanned a wide spectrum of American history, from the pre-Civil War to the post-World War II years. His was a life fully lived, through such occupations as staging, farming, freighting and mail carrying through Indian country, but especially through ranching. Well-known in the cattle business, he worked as a cowboy and range manager and eventually owned his own ranch. His home range was in western South Dakota, but he knew those of Wyoming, Montana, and Nebraska and recounts his adventures in these and other states of the cattle kingdom as well. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Lemmon had little aversion to sheep and turned to raising the once-despised woolies. In the end Ed retired to the South Dakota town named after him and spent his remaining years writing his reminiscences.

Lemmon wrote voluminously in his twilight years, and out of the material Nellie Yost has produced this volume. Two men before her tried to organize the story but failed because Lemmon was still alive and writing additional material which swamped them. The present editor finally decided to go back to the articles Lemmon originally produced for various local newspapers, and from these came *Boss Cowman*.

The reader will find this book both rewarding and discouraging—rewarding because of the first-hand glimpse of an era now gone. Lemmon knew the cattle frontier inside and out, from the work of each day to its relaxations. The best chapters are those dealing particularly with his range experiences. The scholar and general reader alike can gather a host of insights into the life and times of a cattleman from the 1870s until past the turn of the century. Lemmon further met the well-known and now-forgotten men and women who helped tame the frontier. His recollections of them add depth to his story. He does not ignore the women in

what was basically a masculine world and presents a fascinating chapter on "Scarlet Poppies."

The reader will find this discouraging reading because in parts it lacks continuity, and Ed presupposes the reader's knowledge of people and places. Further, Lemmon was writing from memory, reminiscing, and he tends to drift easily from subject to subject, dragging his reader along. This latter fact also contributes to misinformation, especially in the first three chapters which amount to a potpourri of events recalled after seventy years and not too accurately.

Lemmon's West, as he remembered it, was full of the "gunsmoke and gallop," with killings recalled in detail, although Ed himself was not involved. Either he was extremely unfortunate in his acquaintances or he tends to magnify a few events he saw and recall many he heard about. Realizing that the image of the frontier was not all it should have been, struggling here with some of his own stories, he wrote an article, "The West That Wasn't," which concludes this book.

There is much of significance to be found in *Boss Cowman* and it represents another important contribution in the University of Nebraska's Pioneer Heritage Series.

Fort Lewis College
Durango, Colorado

DUANE A. SMITH

Montana, An Illustrated History. By Myrtle Mockle. (Chicago: Sage Books, Swallow Press, 1969) Illus. 102 pp. \$5.00.

The majority of the general studies dealing with Montana's complex and colorful past tend to run to extremes. They are intended either for a well-informed and frequently argumentative group of scholarly specialists or for students at the elementary and secondary levels. This work is a welcome exception, striking a happy medium between the above mentioned extremes. The resulting study is one that can be read with profit by the general reader and the beginner seeking a broad frame of reference for the future perusal of specialized volumes.

The format is attractive, and the illustrations are copious and well chosen. The price for a slim volume totaling only 102 pages might appear to be exorbitant, but the market for such studies is such that this should prove no serious drawback.

Mrs. Mockel's work is predominantly derivative, as the contents and bibliography indicate, and owes much to the work of scholars such as Merrill G. Burlingame, Joseph Kinsey Howard, and K. Ross Toole. It is at its best in dealing with traditional themes which have already been thoroughly researched—exploration, the Indian, the missionary era, the fur trade, mining, cattle raising,

territorial politics, and the early stages of political and economic development following the achievement of statehood.

As any such study abundantly reveals, the urgent need at present in Montana historiography is for pioneering research of the kind that will get the state's historic record into the twentieth century, an epoch now nearly three-fourths complete.

In any event, the author is to be congratulated for the research and writing of a brief and thoughtful introduction to the field.

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Ezra Meeker-Pioneer, A Bibliographical Guide, by Frank L. Green
(Tacoma: The Washington State Historical Society, 1969)

42 pp., illustrated. \$1.00.

This booklet is a guide to the Ezra Meeker papers in the library of the Washington State Historical Society. The volume includes detailed descriptions of the material available in the papers, which include genealogical information, legal papers, photographs, correspondence, manuscripts and other documents. Ezra Meeker's family, in 1852, began a trek across the plains from Iowa to Oregon. In Oregon, Meeker made and lost a fortune in the hop business. When the town Puyallup, which Meeker platted in 1877, was incorporated in 1890, Meeker became its first mayor. It is at this point the Meeker story can be picked up in the papers in this collection.

Case of Marcus A. Reno, by Barry C. Johnson (London: The English Westerners' Society, 1969) 92 pp., \$5.50.

This paperbound volume deals, in four parts, with the two courtmartial of the 7th Cavalry's Major Marcus A. Reno; Reno's struggle for reinstatement; the 1967 Correction Board hearing; and the untried charges of the 1877 court-martial. The highly detailed, documented volume presents the first publication in full of the 1967 hearing of the Board of Correction of Military Records when it was ordered that the records be changed to show that Major Reno was honorably discharged from the United States Army. Seventy additional notes and a critical assessment of the Board's competence in dealing with the case also are included. The section on the courtmartial in 1877 and 1879 includes hitherto unpublished reviews by the Bureau of Military Justice. The book is far from a droll presentation of official documents and correspondence cramped within the formal framework of legal and military terminology. Mr. Johnson's text adds greatly to

produce a comprehensive survey of the demise of the highly controversial Major Reno. Surely the book is a "must" for students of the Custer fight, the frontier army, and, of course, the Reno controversy.

Caspar Collins: The Life and Exploits of an Indian Fighter of the Sixties. By Agnes Wright Spring. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969) Illustrated. 187 pp. \$1.80. [Paperback, Bison Book].

America's Great Frontiers and Sections: Frederick Jackson Turner's Unpublished Essays. Edited by Wilbur R. Jacobs. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969) Illustrated. Index. 217 pp. \$1.95. [Paperback, Bison Book]

Buckskin and Blanket Days: ..Memoirs of a Friend of the Indians. By Thomas Henry Tibbles. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969) 336 pp. \$1.95. [Paperback, Bison Book].

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