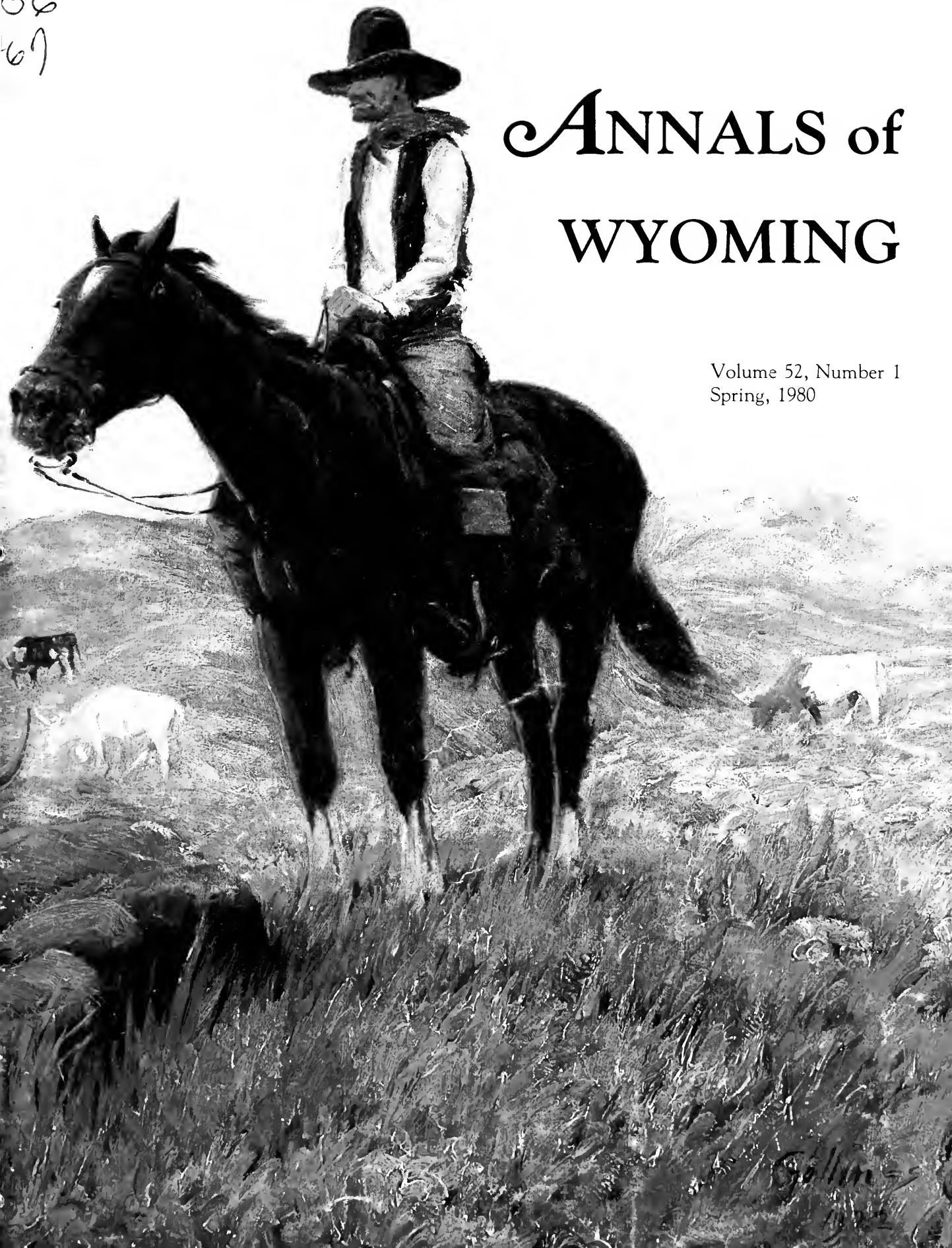

ANNALS of WYOMING

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THE WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

The function of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department is to collect and preserve materials which tell the story of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the State Art Gallery and the State Archives. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and artifacts suitable for museum display. Records of early businesses and organizations are particularly sought.

ABOUT THE COVER—The cover painting, entitled "The Night Hawk," was done by "the cowboy artist," E. W. Gollings in 1922. Born in Idaho in 1878, he and his family moved to Chicago when he was ten years old. He studied drawing in school there and after a series of odd jobs, he returned west in 1896. For over five years he rode the range as a cowhand for Montana and Wyoming outfits. He continued his drawing in his spare time and just after the turn of the century, he returned to Chicago and attended the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1909 he built a studio in Sheridan. He worked on Sheridan area ranches while he painted commercially. Gradually, his works gained favor with critics and collectors. He died on April 16, 1932, in Sheridan. The painting is in the permanent collection of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department's State Art Gallery.

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Wyoming's Contribution to the Regional and National Women's Rights Movement

The first government in the world to give women full rights to vote and hold office was that of Wyoming Territory in 1869. The Republican governor, John A. Campbell, on December 10, 1869, signed the bill which had been passed by a small, all-Democratic legislature.

By T. A. Larson

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There was no woman suffrage organization in the territory. No petitions, demonstrations, or other manifestations of public interest preceded adoption of the suffrage act, although a visiting suffragist, Redelia Bates of St. Louis, had recently lectured in Cheyenne. Wyoming's 1000 women of voting age were as much surprised as people in the East.

Thus, Wyoming with only 9000 people, and with six men for each of the women of voting age, won national publicity. The young territory's first legislature had established a "First", recognition of which would increase with each passing year.

Two weeks after the suffrage act became law, an eighteen-year-old man in South Pass City wrote "it is a fact that all great reforms take place, not where they are most needed, but in places where opposition is weakest; and they spread until they take up *all* in one great principle of right and become universal; just so it will be with Woman Suffrage."[1]

The unfriendly *New York Observer* proposed a new colonization society to transfer eastern suffragists to Wyoming. The woman who would become the nation's greatest suffragist, Susan B. Anthony, suggested that eastern women should emigrate to Wyoming and make it a model state. She said that were it not for her unfinished business in the east, she would go herself.[2] Cheyenne's Joseph M. Carey, who would later become the territory's Delegate to Congress and the state's U.S. Senator and governor, recalled fifty years after the event that Susan B. Anthony, on a visit to Cheyenne in 1871, had met and greeted Governor Campbell on Pioneer Avenue with the declaration: "If it was not so public here I would hug and kiss you until I killed you."[3] There are other less drastic versions of what Anthony said on that occasion, but no doubt she was delighted by the Governor's approval of the suffrage bill.

After the first wave of publicity subsided, a second "First" came in February, 1870, when three women were appointed justices of the peace, and one of them, the fifty-six-year-old housewife Esther Morris, qualified and served in the fading gold-rush town of South Pass City. Morris opened her court on St. Patrick's Day wearing green ribbons in her hair and a green necktie. Soon friends acclaimed her the world's first woman judge. During the next eight months she handled twenty-six cases, half civil and half criminal, without noticeable difficulty. Her son Robert was her clerk. Her term ended all too soon, in November, 1870. She had been appointed to fill a vacancy resulting from a resignation. Thereafter, neither political party nominated her, which made election and continuation impossible.

Wyoming's third "First" came in March, 1870, when six women served on a jury in Laramie. They hesitated initially but were persuaded by the presiding judge to put aside their inhibitions.

The *Cheyenne Leader* commented that "the feminine mind is too susceptible to the influence of emotions" and "many women cannot easily comprehend an abstraction."[4] The *New York Tribune* thought women should be home "managing their households and caring for their children."[5] The *New York Times* likewise expressed reservations: "The experiment of feminine juries, at least, is to be regarded with interest. There is much to be said in favor of it, and much against."[6]

The first woman jury, which consisted of six women and six men, found a man guilty of murder. Three of the six men voted for acquittal, and three for conviction of manslaughter. The women preferred conviction of first or second degree murder, but finally compromised on manslaughter. Apparently the women were swayed less than the men by the self-defense plea. The presiding judge, Chief Justice John H. Howe of the Supreme Court, praised the female jurors, declaring that "these women acquitted themselves with such dignity, decorum, propriety of conduct, and intelligence as to win the admiration of every fair-minded citizen of Wyoming."[7] Other women served creditably on both petit and grand juries in Laramie and Cheyenne later in 1870 and 1871.

The first woman jury attracted much attention. Editor James H. Hayford of the *Laramie Sentinel* recalled thirteen years later: "It would be impossible to describe at this remote period the excitement which this event created, and the fact was telegraphed, not only throughout the country, but over the whole civilized world."[8]

Although they had not asked for suffrage, the women of Wyoming turned out about as faithfully as the men when they had their first chance to vote in September, 1870. Among 776 voters in Cheyenne, 171 were women. It was not another "First" because some property-owning women had voted in colonial New Jersey, beginning in 1776.

Eastern suffrage leaders rejoiced, yet some of them had reservations. Thomas W. Higginson recalled five years later: "Many of us heard with fear and trembling, that Woman Suffrage was to be first tried in Wyoming. A political step which confessedly belonged to an advanced stage of civilization was to be tried under the rather rare conditions of a new community."[9] Higginson thought it was a dangerous experiment because if it succeeded it would not gain much credit, and if it failed much unfavorable publicity would result. Both favorable and unfavorable publicity resulted, with the favorable prevailing. Most objective, non-partisan observers rated the early phases of the experiment very successful.

Yet enemies soon surfaced. Leaders of the Democratic party, to which all members of the first legislature belonged, changed their minds. They disliked the decision of women on a grand jury in Laramie to enforce a law requiring closing of saloons on Sunday. The female jurors' determination to enforce the laws and to mete

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Chief Justice John H. Howe

out just punishments led one minister of a Laramie church to call their activities "The Reign of Terror for Evil Doers." Also, most of the female voters in September, 1870, cast their votes for a Republican, making it possible for him to unseat the incumbent Democratic Delegate to Congress. With the Australian ballot still twenty years in the future, poll watchers could see the choices made by voters.

Jury service by women was soon abandoned. A new judge who replaced Justice Howe held that jury service was "not a necessary adjunct of suffrage" and the women of the territory generally accepted the ruling without complaint.

The major rights to vote and hold office came very close to being lost in 1871. As in 1869, Democrats controlled the legislature, although a few Republicans had joined them. Both houses voted to repeal the suffrage act. Governor Campbell, however, vetoed the repeal measure, and legislative opponents failed by one vote to muster the two-thirds majority required to override the veto. Governor Campbell, who had approved suffrage with misgivings in 1869, had become an advocate in the next two years.

Among the four members of the nine-member upper house who stood firm against repeal was Laramie lawyer Stephen W. Downey. He promised in the legislative debate that the efforts to suppress equal rights "will be as vain and futile as were those of the old Danish King Canute, who endeavored to make the ocean waves obey his mandate, and although this great reform may today, so far as actual results are concerned, appear as insignificant as a flake of snow, fresh driven from the frosty clouds on high, it will speedily roll and revolve itself into an avalanche that will annihilate and sweep away all opposition."[10]

Although the most effective argument used by William H. Bright, who introduced the suffrage bill in 1869, and Edward M. Lee, Secretary of the Territory, who encouraged Bright and helped him advance the bill, was that woman suffrage would advertise the territory and attract people, this argument was found to be false. Advertise the territory it did, without any expense, but attract people it did not. People went where there were economic opportunity and jobs, and Wyoming was not such a place in the early 1870s. Other justifications for women suffrage took the place of the free-publicity argument in the minds of suffrage advocates and brought new converts.

While Bright and Lee left the territory, and most of the men who had supported them in 1869 did the same or turned against woman suffrage, enough defenders turned up to keep the experiment alive. After repeal was averted by the narrow margin of one vote in the upper house in 1871, the defenders picked up more recruits. As the friends of suffrage increased, they expressed their approval in a variety of ways, and won still more converts. No longer needing to worry about repeal, they began to promote extension beyond the territory's borders.

Extension followed logically from conversion to the cause but was not inevitable because it would take time and money, both of which were scarce in the territory. One way to spread the good word about Wyoming's success was to welcome and inform investigative reporters and itinerant eastern suffrage leaders. Both kinds of visitors were quite numerous, especially in Cheyenne. For example, Abby G. Woolson, *Boston Journal* correspondent, enroute to California in September, 1870, stopped over in Cheyenne and interviewed Governor Campbell. The *Woman's Journal* copied parts of Woolson's *Boston Journal* article.[11] Governor Campbell testified to the success of woman suffrage. He said that he had overcome his early prejudices against suffrage and had been "forced by the results" to become an advocate. He emphasized the absence of bad more than the presence of good consequences. The people, he said, had accepted woman suffrage, the women had changed their "manners and employments" very little, and women were not seeking office. The Governor's testimony helped dispel eastern notions that woman suffrage would "unsex" women and disrupt family life.

Woolson heard no mention in Cheyenne of any "female orator." She reported quite accurately that it

was the votes of women that had brought more strength to the Republican party and accounted for the recent election of Judge William T. Jones, a Republican, as Delegate to Congress.

H. M. Tracy Cutler also visited Cheyenne on her way to California in September, 1870. She stopped over to gather material for a lecture which she planned to deliver in the east "wherever suitable arrangements can be made."[12] Cutler reported that at the polls in the recent election, bad women had been much outnumbered by good women, in consequence of which there was "a great preponderance of principle." The female voters suffered no discourtesy or rudeness at the polls. Voting independently, they had swung the balance to William T. Jones, who would represent the women and was "thoroughly pledged to our interests."

In June, 1871, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the great pioneer partners in suffrage promotion, lectured in Cheyenne and interviewed friends of the suffrage experiment.[13] They also spoke briefly in Laramie from the rear platform of their California-bound train. They left Wyoming with favorable impressions. In a letter to friends in the East, Anthony described Wyoming as "the land of the free and the home of the brave."[14] Thereafter the two famous suffragists consistently praised Wyoming. In 1897, for example, Anthony wrote that "for a quarter of a century Wyoming has stood as a conspicuous object lesson in woman suffrage."[15]

The West's greatest suffrage leader, Abigail Scott Duniway, editor of the *New Northwest* (Portland), reported on her visit to Laramie in 1872: "I stopped in Laramie City, Wyoming, on June 28, and lectured before the only women citizens of the United States who are altogether such in reality . . . I have been stopping at the residence of Dr. Hayford . . . who with his pretty, bright, young wife, has entertained me like a queen. From him I have learned a detailed history of Woman Suffrage and its effects in Wyoming. . . ."[16] Dr. Hayford was, of course, the local editor.

It is remarkable that so little opposition surfaced in Wyoming after 1871, considering that woman suffrage proposals and experiments were confronted by strong opposition and vociferous critics just about everywhere else in the U.S. in the 19th century. Denigration of the Wyoming experiment came almost entirely from outside the territory. Editor James H. Hayford of the *Laramie Sentinel* repeatedly challenged critics to name two Wyoming residents who were willing to state over their own signatures and addresses that woman suffrage had had any bad effects in the territory. If anyone ever accepted the challenge, there seems to be no record of it.

While undoubtedly there were skeptics and scoffers in the territory, they seem to have been intimidated by the prominence of staunch defenders. After John A. Campbell's early doubts, every governor of the territory was pro-suffrage. Campbell's veto message, which saved the experiment in 1871, set an example of vigorous defense for other governors to follow. Democrats who may have wanted repeal in 1873 and 1875 legislative sessions made no attempts, perhaps because Republicans controlled one house in each session, and the governors were on record as favoring suffrage. In 1877 when Democrats once again controlled both houses, they did not bring up the subject. Thereafter, both parties endorsed woman suffrage.

The three Republican Delegates to Congress, W. W. Corlett (1877-1879), Stephen W. Downey (1879-1881), and Joseph M. Carey (1885-1890), and Democratic Delegate M. E. Post (1881-1885), were all enthusiastic suffragists. Among the territorial judges, the most outspoken advocates were Chief Justice John H. Howe (1869-1871) and Associate Justice John W. Kingman (1869-1873). Justice Howe resigned and left the territory in 1871, while Kingman remained to practice law in Laramie and Cheyenne for several years after he was not reappointed in 1873. He continued his strong advocacy of woman's rights.

Among the many persons who were identified with the Wyoming experiment before 1885, Edward M. Lee, John W. Kingman, James H. Hayford, and Governor John W. Hoyt were the most outspoken suffragists. They

William H. Bright

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went out of their way to publicize the Wyoming experiment and to boast of the splendid results.

Wyoming's female suffragists usually remained in the background. Lillie Devereux Blake, an eastern suffragist, after a visit to Wyoming in 1888, explained: "The women of Wyoming . . . all exercise the right of suffrage. They do not serve on jury, nor do they seek office. The men outnumber the women . . . and for this reason, perhaps, they have been a little timid in taking any prominent part in politics. . . ."[17] The men were largely to blame. Except for Justice Howe, Justice Kingman, and Secretary Lee, Wyoming men gave very little encouragement to women who wanted to go beyond voting in their political activity.

Edward M. Lee's promotional activity passed through three phases. As Secretary of the Territory, 1869-1870, he was instrumental in getting suffrage adopted and tried to get women into office. He vigorously supported suffrage in the columns of his Cheyenne newspaper, the *Wyoming Tribune.* Excerpts from his newspaper and some of his enthusiastic letters appeared in the eastern press.

After he left Wyoming in 1871 to practice law in New York City, he published journal articles and lectured in several eastern states. In one of his *Tribune* editorials he asserted that "Wyoming has given the woman movement an impetus, ten thousand times greater than that received by its theoretical discussion during a decade of years before the Eastern lyceums."[18] In an Indianapolis address he extended an invitation: "Wyoming from her rocky eyrie in the mountains . . . calls upon all the communities and States of the earth to come up and stand with her in the broad sunlight of equal rights on the skirmish line of civilization."[19]

Justice Kingman was just as devoted to the cause. He had helped persuade Governor Campbell to sign the suffrage act in 1869, and had helped Lee in his efforts to place women in office in 1870. Thereafter he often answered eastern inquiries with favorable reports. He addressed the Massachusetts legislature in support of the cause in 1876.

Judge Kingman and Governor Hoyt joined eastern suffragists in an unsuccessful Nebraska suffrage campaign in 1882, devoting two weeks to lecturing. In the same year Hoyt lectured in Philadelphia. Both Kingman and Hoyt were gifted, popular speakers.

There was little editorial criticism of woman suffrage in Wyoming after Nathan A. Baker sold his *Cheyenne Leader* in April, 1872, and moved to Denver. Among the supportive editors, Hayford of the *Laramie Sentinel* became the greatest champion after Lee left the territory in 1871. Hayford regularly extolled the advantages of having women on juries both before and after their jury service terminated in 1871. Hayford insisted that women always voted for the more upright candidates and took the side of stable homemakers against transients. His editorials were often quoted in the eastern press, particularly in the *Woman's Journal.*

Faithful followers of the suffrage crusade kept up with its aspirations and activities by reading the *Woman's Journal,* Elizabeth Boynton Harbert's "Woman's Kingdom" column in the *Daily Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), and Clara B. Colby's *Woman's Tribune* (Beatrice, Nebraska). The American Woman Suffrage Association before 1890, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association thereafter, paid for leaflets published by the *Woman's Journal.* Tens of thousands of the leaflets were distributed in every state campaign. Testimony from Wyoming friends of suffrage made up most of the contents of these leaflets, as these titles indicate: "Nine Years' Experience of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming" (1879); "Thirteen Years' Experience of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming" (1882); "Woman Suffrage in Wyoming" (1887); "More Facts About Wyoming" (1890); "The First Free State" (1893); "Wyoming Speaks for Herself" (1893); and "Falsehoods About Wyoming" (1897).

Woman's Journal editors solicited testimony and prepared the copy for the leaflets. The leaflets' testimonials subsequently were often quoted by journalists and public speakers.

Some of the leaflets were assembled in response to false press reports. For example, the twelve-page pamphlet "Nine Years' Experience of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming" was designed to counteract the widely circulated statement of Capt. S. H. Winsor of Indianapolis, who said in part: "I regard Woman Suffrage in Wyoming as an utter failure, and I think it is so regarded by the best men and women of the Territory." Capt. Winsor, who had been stationed in Wyoming for several years, said that the better class of women no longer voted. Many prominent Wyoming citizens were ready to contradict such statements.

In 1883 an anonymous correspondent published an article in the *New York Times,* describing the gambling, drunkenness, prostitution, corruption and election frauds prevalent in Wyoming when he had lived there. He blamed the women for the conditions discussed because they did not seek office, and did nothing to eliminate the evils. The correspondent was soon identified as a former city editor of the *Cheyenne Leader.* The rebuttals generally conceded that women did not seek office, denied that women could be blamed for conditions in Cheyenne, and insisted that women tended to lessen Cheyenne's vices. Typically, the *Cheyenne Leader* called the *Times* article, which was copied in Chicago, Omaha, and Denver papers, "a tissue of falsehoods and exaggerations."

Among the rare resident critics was Mrs. M. W. Coggswell, wife of a Rawlins tailor. In 1884, she expressed unflattering opinions of the experiment in a letter to a friend in Massachusetts. It seems that the letter

was not intended for publication but it was published in the *Boston Gazette* and was quoted in the Massachusetts legislature.

Coggswell wrote that women in Wyoming did not know enough about government to vote intelligently, did not participate in the selection of candidates and voted as directed by their husbands or fathers. Several prominent Rawlins citizens provided rebuttals, although they had to concede that women did not attend the conventions in which candidates were chosen.

Also, Laramie's Editor Hayford commented at length, displaying the independence which often distinguished him. Probably to the consternation of eastern suffragists he conceded that Wyoming women nearly always voted as their husbands did. He went on to say that the best argument for woman suffrage was that it "doubles the power and influence of the home element (always the best element) in the government of the country." Then, becoming even more heretical, Hayford suggested that single men and women should not be allowed to vote. He explained that women "are weaker, they are not so self-reliant as men . . . but they do not need the ballot half as much as the State needs their power and influence in government. Their power and influence are just as much needed in the government of the State as in the government of the family."[21]

It should be explained that Hayford battled, year in and year out with small success, against gambling, prostitution and drunkenness. In the circumstances he was more interested in "good government" than in justice for women. He looked on women voters as means to an end. His attitude is reminiscent of that of Brigham Young who said at the dedication of a cooperative store in Salt Lake City in 1869: "We wish to develop the powers of the ladies to the fullest extent, and to control them for the building of the Kingdom of God."[22]

Hayford consistently emphasized the importance of woman suffrage in strengthening the home element, although he evaluated the results variously. At times he admitted that there were not enough women to complete the task expected of them. In 1889 he wrote: "Women have constituted so small a per cent of the population that their political power and influence did not count for very much." He added that: "While few people charge it with any evil results, a great many don't credit it with any beneficial influence, and quite a large portion regard it with indifference."[23]

Governor Francis E. Warren (1885-1886, 1889-1890) received many questions requiring only a "Yes" or "No" answer. A Kansan asked "Does the fact that women vote in opposition to their husbands frequently cause family troubles and destroy harmony?" "No," replied Warren. Then he answered "Yes" to five questions from the same man: "Do the majority of the women of Wyoming exercise their rights at the polls?" "Are the women treated respectfully at the polls?" "Does

J. W. Kingman

Edward M. Lee

John W. Hoyt

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the presence of women exercise a refining influence on the public?" "Is it not a fact that women generally support the most moral candidates regardless of party?" "Is it not a fact that most women support all questions of moral advancement?"

Warren answered other questions from Missouri and Illinois as follows:

> [Women's] influence is to purify. Voting for men and morals rather than politics.
>
> Their presence affects favorably the conduct of men at the polls.
>
> Women have served on juries and very satisfactorily, but they have not been summoned to do jury duty for some years past on account of the hardships of such service. When women served on jury, connecting rooms were given in order that ladies could occupy one in a sort of semi-privacy.
>
> Our best people and in fact all classes are almost universally in favor of woman suffrage.
>
> Their influence and votes are almost invariably cast on the side of sobriety and morality. Of course there are bad women as well as bad men, but the proportion is very much smaller.

To offset the bad publicity resulting from the Johnson County Invasion of 1892, improve the Wyoming image, and attract much-needed capital in a depression year, the Wyoming House of Representatives in 1893 unanimously passed this resolution:

> Resolved that the possession and exercise of suffrage by the women of Wyoming . . . has wrought no harm and has done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism, and vice from this State . . . that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government and a remarkable degree of civilization and public order . . . not one county in Wyoming has a poorhouse . . . our jails are almost empty, and crime, except that committed by strangers in the State, almost unknown . . . we urge every civilized community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay.
>
> Resolved that . . . we request the press throughout the civilized world to call attention of their readers to these resolutions.[25]

The legislators taxed the credulity of press and public when they claimed that crimes by other than strangers were "almost unknown," and that woman suffrage had "largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism, and vice." The absence of poorhouses was true according to the 1890 census, but this meant simply that the population was so small that the county commissioners assisted indigents outside of poorhouses.

Mrs. W. Winslow Crannell, in a pamphlet published by the Albany (New York) Anti-Suffrage Association in 1895 answered the resolutions by declaring that: "Aged and decrepit people are not taken to a new country." She quoted the *Colorado Springs Gazette,* March 12, 1893: "To any one who knows anything of recent Wyoming politics, the statement about 'peaceful and orderly elections, good government and a remarkable degree of civilization and public order' is simply grotesque. . . ." She offered evidence from other sources to show that Wyoming had its share of corruption, immorality, crime, vice and lynchings, if not legal hangings.[26]

Such debates continued. Secretary of State Fenimore Chatterton commented negatively in an 1899 letter to the *Portland Oregonian*: "suffrage does not elevate the sex nor increase the moral power of the community; the best women do not vote, while those who do interest themselves in politics do not tend to elevate the occupation of the politician. . . ."[27]

On the other hand, Mrs. Harriet L. Sheik of Wheatland, president of the Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs, reported that she had seen only good results from woman suffrage. She suggested that "we can do more good with our votes when we keep rather quiet. . . . It does not do to let men think that we are aggressive."[28]

Joseph M. Carey during his term as governor, 1911-1915, often used what amounted to a form letter in replying to suffrage queries. His secretary copied the basic letter with occasional modifications.[29] Once when his form letter was inadequate, Carey personally answered questions from California as follows:

> Do "objectional" women vote? Answer: Yes, about the same ratio as objectionable men.
>
> Do voting women come in contact with "objectionable" men while voting? Answer: Men and women vote at same polls without any disorder whatever.
>
> Has woman suffrage decreased marriage in your state? Answer: No, certainly not. Old maids are scarce.
>
> Has woman suffrage increased divorce in your state? Answer: No, I have never heard of a dispute between man and wife bearing upon suffrage.
>
> Has crime increased . . .? Answer: No, I cannot see why you asked the question.
>
> Do the voting women show an inclination to inform themselves politically? Answer: A high degree of intelligence prevails in this state; women read as much as men do.
>
> General opinion? Answer: I believe it to be right . . . good; I should like to see it adopted in every state.

In the half century, 1869-1920, when Wyoming enjoyed woman suffrage and two thirds of the states did not, very few Wyoming citizens found it possible to attend national suffrage conventions. They could not afford the long, expensive train trips to the cities where most of the conventions were held. In most of those years the conventions heard second-hand reports of Wyoming's progress, or reports from suffragists from outside of Wyoming who had visited the territory or state.

Governor John A. Campbell was in Washington, D.C. during the January, 1870, convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association. He found time to attend some of the convention activities but declined an invitation to speak. Susan B. Anthony's *Revolution* reported that "Like Gen. Grant, he is not given to speech-making, and begged to be excused."[30] Had he gone on stage, Governor Campbell would have received

a tremendous ovation because it was just a month after he had signed the woman suffrage act. His decision not to speak suggests that his misgivings about signing the act persisted. He had not yet become an advocate.

In 1871 Amalia Post of Cheyenne, who had helped persuade Campbell to sign the act in 1869, represented Wyoming at the national convention. Hayford's *Sentinel* reported that "Our Washington Correspondent says . . . Mrs. Post of Wyoming attracted considerable attention on the stage, more on account of her long journey, and remarkable presence and being from Wyoming, than from any great oratorical display."[31] Post's brief remarks were supplemented by the following letter which was read at the convention: (It had been received from the famous "first woman judge," Esther Morris, who had left the bench two months before the convention).

> So far as woman suffrage has progressed in this Territory we are entirely indebted to men. To William H. Bright belongs the honor of presenting the woman suffrage bill; and it was our district judge, Hon. John W. Kingman, who proposed my appointment as a justice of the peace and the trial of woman jurors.
>
> Circumstances have transpired to make my position as justice of the peace a test of woman's ability to hold public office, and I feel that my work has been satisfactory, although I have often regretted that I was not better qualified. . . . While we enjoy the franchise we have not been sufficiently educated up to it. . . . I now think that we shall be able to sustain the position granted to us.[32]

Esther Morris *did* attend the American Woman Suffrage Association's convention in San Francisco in February 1872. For the third time in a row, Wyoming's representative at the national convention "made no attempt at an address."

The California Central Woman Suffrage Committee gave Morris an informal reception after the convention. The San Francisco *Call's* reporter who attended the reception wrote:

> Mrs. Morris, Ex-Justice of the Peace . . . is a matronly-looking woman, past middle life, yet much younger looking than her actual years. Her face and head indicate the possession of strong individuality of character and great firmness. Her manners are those of a courtly, self-possessed woman, full of natural dignity and ease, while her conservation clearly shows that she is possessed of more than an ordinary share of shrewdness and correct appreciation of human nature. Her manner of speaking is off-hand, ready, and at times brilliant. . . .
>
> With reference to her own appointment and success, . . . she never felt that the office was above her capacity, . . . She had never studied law, except in transacting her own affairs, but had found little difficulty in comprehending the cases coming before her.[33]

Apparently, not until four years later (1876) did another Wyoming representative turn up at a national suffrage convention. Then Esther Morris attended her second and last national gathering of suffragists, this time in Philadelphia, where it was reported that "Judge Esther Morris, of Wyoming, said a few words in regard to suffrage in that territory."[34]

Edward M. Lee seems to have been the only speaker with a Wyoming connection at the 1881 convention of the national suffrage convention in Boston. In the following year, one of the two national woman suffrage associations made it easier for western people to participate by holding its convention in Omaha. This was to lend support to Nebraska's 1882 suffrage campaign, which did not succeed. Two of Wyoming's most effective advocates, John W. Hoyt and John W. Kingman, gave major addresses at the Omaha convention.

Again in 1885 the American Woman Suffrage Association's convention met in the midwest—at Minneapolis in October. The *Woman's Journal* reported that "Women voters were there from Wyoming also, but, unfortunately, they did not report themselves until the close of the meeting."[35] A woman, Kate Kelsey, M.D., who formerly had lived in South Pass City, mailed a report, which said in part:

> I do not think you will find happier homes or those which have a firmer foundation in the world. The women seem to have become stronger in their judgments, broader in their views, and more patriotic, and thus are better qualified to train their children and make good citizens of them . . . the idea of equality seems to extend to all relations, I will not say that Wyoming is a political paradise, but . . . men and women . . . are all improved by the co-operation in political affairs."[36]

The next convention for which the attendance of a Wyoming representative has been recorded was the one of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, D.C. in 1891. Wyoming was very much in the limelight, having become the first woman suffrage state on July 10, 1890. The *Washington Post* reported that at the 1891 convention Wyoming's U.S. Senator Joseph M. Carey "made a brilliant speech . . . gave the history of the adoption of the woman's suffrage law."

State Superintendent of Instruction Estelle Reel addressed the National American Woman Suffrage Association's 1898 convention in Washington, D.C. She represented another Wyoming "First." When elected in 1894 she became the first woman elected to state office in the United States. Interviewed by a *Chicago Tribune* reporter in 1895, she discussed her 1894 campaign, and related how she had traveled over most of the state in stagecoaches and wagons. She said that she had avoided oratorical flourishes and political issues, preferring to talk simply about the state superintendent's duties and her qualifications for the job.[37]

It is apparent that Wyoming's participation in national woman suffrage conventions was limited, sporadic, and by only a small number of individuals acting independently. There was never a territorial or state organization for Wyoming. The territory had a vice president in the American Woman Suffrage Association during the years 1876-1890, and the state had one thereafter in the National American Woman Suffrage Association, (NAWSA) which was a combination of the

American and National associations, effected in 1890. Each territory or state was entitled to one vice president who was named by the national executive board. Esther Morris was the vice president in 1876. Thereafter, Amalia Post held the office for many years, and John W. Hoyt for a few.

Other states organized state woman suffrage associations to work for suffrage and cooperate with national organizations. The usual explanation for Wyoming's lack of an organization has been that the action of the legislature in 1869 made one unnecessary as far as the women of Wyoming were concerned. Women in other states, however, sometimes thought that Wyoming women should help them.

One woman, Therese A. Jenkins of Cheyenne, said that she lectured in fourteen states. She did not say what states these were, except for Colorado, where she helped in the successful campaign of 1893, when Colorado became the second suffrage state. Jenkins was named national Superintendent of Franchise for the W.C.T.U. in 1911. Her work in that office involved the promotion of franchise (political activity) outside of Wyoming in the interests of temperance. To be sure, many suffragists who were not members of the W.C.T.U. did not appreciate assistance from temperance people because they were afraid that men who used liquor would not support the suffrage movement if they thought that women voters would cast their ballots for prohibition.

Julia Bright (Mrs. William H. Bright) was active in the unsuccessful Colorado suffrage campaign of 1877, as was her husband. The Brights had moved from South Pass City to Colorado in the early 1870s, later moving to Washington, D.C.

There is no evidence to indicate that any Wyoming suffragists, male or female, participated in the successful woman suffrage campaigns in Utah and Idaho in 1896. The national association distributed leaflets telling how well woman suffrage was working in Wyoming, but Wyoming suffragists did not send money to Utah and Idaho or go there in person.

Easterners sometimes exaggerated Wyoming's influence in the development of woman suffrage in neighboring territories and states. Because Colorado in 1893, Utah in 1896, and Idaho in 1896 followed Wyoming (1890) as the second, third and fourth suffrage states, it was plausible to give Wyoming credit for stimulating its neighbors. In fact, however, Wyoming's neighbors were not disposed to acknowledge leadership from the Cowboy State. They fancied that they were more sophisticated and advanced than the Wyoming people, whom they greatly outnumbered. Had there been a Wyoming Woman Suffrage Association, with some money in its treasury, the situation might have been different.

Wyoming suffragists had very little money to contribute to suffrage campaigns and very few public speakers who were willing to go to other states at their own expense to help with suffrage promotion. No one took up the torch which Therese Jenkins had carried in the 1890s, and would carry again when she became superintendent of franchise for the W.C.T.U. in 1911.

The failure of Wyoming women to assume important roles in the suffrage movement distressed NAWSA leaders. To Emma Smith DeVoe, who was seeking help for the campaign which she led in the state of Washington in 1910, Carrie Chapman Catt wrote: "I do not believe you could get a woman from Wyoming who would do you any good. Those women do not know any more about Woman's Suffrage than the men know about Men's Suffrage. They have no sense of the fact that an experiment is being tried in Wyoming, everybody is for it and nobody talks about it."[38]

Later, Grace Raymond Hebard, librarian and professor of political economy at the University of Wyoming, established a reputation as a public speaker. Her travel funds, however, were so limited that she rarely spoke outside of Wyoming. According to her own statement in her files in the Western Heritage Center, Laramie, she made her first suffrage address in 1920. She had spoken often on other topics, and certainly had favored woman suffrage since the 1880s. But there was no call for suffrage speeches in the Equality State. Hebard, for at least a dozen years before 1920, had cultivated acquaintance with nationally known suffragists through hospitality in Laramie, attendance at a few meetings outside the state, her publications and correspondence.

Once accepted, woman suffrage received quite consistent support from the Congressional delegation. The first Delegate to Congress, Stephen F. Nuckolls, opposed suffrage, and the third Delegate, William R. Steele, (1873-1877), did so for a time but became a convert. The other five Delegates were all suffragists, but they had little opportunity to advance the cause in Congress.

Delegate Joseph M. Carey (1885-1890) did give "emphatic testimony" in favor of equal rights in March, 1886, when the House Committee on Territories held hearings on the subject. He explained that he had watched the Wyoming experiment closely ever since 1869. He rejected the suggestion that giving women the vote caused domestic discord. In his own case, he said, his wife had voted for him several times and against him once, and his mother-in-law had voted for him consistently.[39]

It was Delegate Carey who pressed hardest for Wyoming statehood in 1890. Fortunately, no one was better equipped to defend the inclusion of woman suffrage in the Constitution which the Wyoming electors had approved in November, 1889. Carey told the U.S. House of Representatives that the suffrage clause of the Constitution was "the provision most to be commended." He added that "the people of Wyoming after a practice and

experience during their entire Territorial life hesitated not one moment on this subject. They were substantially of one mind."[40]

Carey must have been the only one in the House who was familiar with the proceedings of the Wyoming constitutional convention, because no one objected to his "hesitated not one moment" statement. In fact, some citizens and several members of the convention wanted a separate vote of the Territory's electors on woman suffrage. After considerable debate, they lost, 20-8. There was genuine fear that the Constitution would not be accepted by Congress with a woman suffrage clause in it. The same fear had been voiced effectively by suffrage opponents in the constitutional conventions of North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington in 1889.

After statehood (1890) the U.S. Senators who represented Wyoming during the years 1890-1923, Joseph M. Carey, Francis E. Warren, Clarence D. Clark, and John B. Kendrick, and the U.S. Representatives who served in those years, Clarence D. Clark, Henry A. Coffeen, John E. Osborne, and Frank W. Mondell, could always be counted on to defend and promote woman's rights. They stopped short of supporting the militant "suffragettes" (discussed below) and were not enthusiastic about women in elective office.

Susan B. Anthony told the NAWSA convention in 1895 that "No state ever sent to Washington finer types of manhood and womanly grace than Senator Warren of Wyoming and his wife."[41] Mrs. Warren read a paper on equal suffrage in a House Judiciary Committee hearing in 1898.[42] Ironically, it was a paper which had been written by ex-Senator Joseph M. Carey, whom Francis E. Warren had defeated in 1895.

Senator Warren, as he had done when he was territorial governor, answered many questions about equal rights. In 1910 he labeled "ridiculous" the assertion that no one should have the ballot "who can't force their way to the polls by muscular strength," a variation of the oft-used argument that persons who can't fight, should not be allowed to vote. Warren in 1910 focused attention on two "important" questions: do the women want the vote? and will they exercise the privilege if the extension is granted? He would not force suffrage on women if only a small portion of them desired it.[43] Wyoming women had exercised the franchise since 1870; so there was no problem about them, but there were doubts elsewhere.

After watching the Wyoming experience for forty years, Warren concluded that:

> The giving of suffrage to women is not a panacea for all the ills of society, — at the most its influence but tends in the right direction. It courts a body of voters who are more independent in their action than men. . . . Consequently it forces the political parties to carefully consider . . . who will best appeal to . . . this more independent vote. To that extent it forces the raising of the standard in the candidate for office.[44]

Mary G. Bellamy

Therese A. Jenkins

Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard

WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPT PHOTOGRAPHS

In 1918 Wyoming's first Democratic U.S. Senator, John B. Kendrick, who had unseated Clarence D. Clark, Republican, in 1916, atoned for his party's attempt to repeal woman suffrage in 1871 and other lapses in support since that time. Speaking in the U.S. Senate, September 30, 1918, in support of a constitutional amendment extending suffrage to all women in the United States, Kendrick recalled the Equality State's record with embellishments. He gave new life to a sturdy myth that can not be eradicated.

So vigorous, he said, was opposition in 1890 to admission of a state with a constitutional provision for woman suffrage that Delegate to Congress Joseph M. Carey sent a telegram to the Wyoming legislature expressing his fear that statehood would be denied unless the suffrage clause was "abandoned." According to Kendrick in 1918, "To its lasting credit, the legislature, without equivocation or delay, telegraphed in reply, 'We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than go in without woman suffrage.' " There is no evidence to suggest that Kendrick was in Cheyenne when this is supposed to have happened.

In fact, the last territorial legislature had adjourned on March 14, 1890, twelve days before the U.S. House of Representatives on March 26 debated the issue, and voted for statehood, 139-127. The journals of the last territorial legislature mention no suffrage discussion or vote on the subject.

In the Constitutional Convention in August 1889 two members had declared that they would prefer to stay out of the Union rather than give up woman suffrage, but the other members of the convention did not join them in that statement and neither did the legislature in 1890.

Senator Kendrick in his address to the U.S. Senate on September 30, 1918, went on to give women voters credit for Wyoming laws against gambling, limiting the hours of labor of women and children, limiting the liquor traffic, credit for a mothers' pension law, a pure-food law and a law for protection of girls to age eighteen. However, connecting any of these laws directly to woman suffrage is very difficult, if not impossible. Certainly these laws were not introduced by women. Up to the time of Kendrick's address only four women had served in the Wyoming Legislature, each for only one term in the House of Representatives, one in 1911, two in 1913, and one in 1915. These four one-term legislators influenced legislation no more than the average freshman legislator does.

Nonetheless, Senator Kendrick made a strong plea for extension of suffrage to women. He understood, he said, the point of view of men who thought woman's place is in the home, but what, he asked, of the single woman? He who would protect the single woman by denying suffrage "is depriving her of her most effective means of protection." It is in the suffrage states, he argued, that "the greatest progress had been made toward the equalization of opportunity for all."

Senator Kendrick in his 1918 speech said nothing about one set of suffragists, members of the Congressional Union and Woman's Party, who had tried to defeat him in 1916. The militant wing of the National American Woman Suffrage Association had organized the Congressional Union in 1913 and the National Woman's Party in 1916. They borrowed some of their ideas and tactics from "suffragettes" who had been active in England for a decade. The name suffragettes came to be used for the militants in the United States as well as in England. Led by Alice Paul, they blamed the party in power (Democrats under Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1921) for the slow progress of the suffrage movement. Their demonstrations and picketing of the White House gave them great notoriety during World War I. They decided to punish all Democratic candidates, including some of the most ardent advocates of woman suffrage. Thus, they opposed their friends Woodrow Wilson and John B. Kendrick, and caused great annoyance to most members of the NAWSA who believed in working with President Wilson rather than against him.

The Wilson Administration's inability to secure woman suffrage nationally was due mainly to the "Solid South." The majority of northern and western Democrats in Congress favored woman suffrage. The Congressional Union's plans to oppose all Democrats were ineffective in the West, and specifically so in Wyoming, where Wilson and Kendrick were preferred by the voters in November, 1916.

Wyoming suffragists did not participate significantly in the anti-Democrat campaign of the Congressional Union and National Woman's Party. Inez Milholland, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Doris Stevens, and Maud Younger were among the prominent CU women who spoke in Cheyenne. Maud Younger, president of the waitresses union in San Francisco, also spoke in Laramie and Hanna in September, 1916. Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, librarian and political economy professor at the University of Wyoming, accompanied Younger to Hanna where the latter addressed an audience of sixty men and two women.

Although the CU visitors were able to organize a small branch of the CU in Cheyenne, they and their converts did no noticeable damage to the Wilson and Kendrick candidacies. Mrs. P. Emerson Glafcke was state chairman of the National Woman's Party for a while. Mrs. M. C. Brown was hostess for the Maud Younger reception in Laramie.

Governor Kendrick, who was campaigning for the U.S. Senate in 1916, invited a member of the CU, Margery Ross of Pittsburgh, to work for him. Apparently she had decided to do so until the Woman's Party, successor to the CU, announced its opposition to all

Democrats in August, 1916.[45] No evidence can be found of any visits of Wyoming women to other states in behalf of the CU or the Woman's Party, and little evidence of in-state activity.

During the years when a few Wyoming suffragists got caught up in Congressional Union-Woman's Party affairs, a few, with some overlap, became involved in the National Council of Woman Voters, a little-known forerunner of the modern League of Women Voters. The National Council was active in a small way during the decade which preceded the league's organization in 1919.

Emma Smith DeVoe led the council throughout its history. As soon as she had completed her task as chairman of the Washington State Woman Suffrage Association, and had celebrated that state's November 8, 1910, victory, she tried to organize the women of the five suffrage states (Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Washington). She called a meeting in Tacoma, in which the council was formed January 14, 1911. DeVoe was elected president and remained such throughout the council's history. She was probably responsible for the following description of the council's purpose which appeared in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 18, 1911: "The plan was to form a free suffrage association of the five 'free states' . . . which shall wage the fight for suffrage in the remaining Western states and shall assume greater importance than the national suffrage association because made up of thousands of women who are actually voters in their own states."

The first leaflet issued by the council explained its purpose and methods:

> [It will lend] encouragement and assistance to other states as desired.
>
> Its work will be, primarily, constructive and educational, by the dissemination, through a well-equipped publicity bureau, of authoritative statements concerning the effect of equal suffrage in the states represented.
>
> [In the member states it will] assist in the education of women, through existing civic clubs and kindred organizations, by stimulating their interest and active responsibilities devolving upon them as voters.[46]

About 125 persons attended the organization meeting of the council in Tacoma. Twenty-six, who were from Oregon, a non-suffrage state until 1912, were only observers, and all but three of the others were from Washington. Two representatives attended from Idaho, and one from Colorado.

The three official delegates designated by the governors of Washington, Idaho, and Colorado conducted the business of the organic meeting under DeVoe's supervision. The two official delegates from Wyoming and Utah sent their proxies. It was reported in the press that they were snowbound. This may have been true for the Utah delegate, but Wyoming's delegate, Mary G. Bellamy, was busy in the Wyoming Legislature, which had convened in its biennial forty-day session on January 10, 1911. Bellamy, a freshman in the minority Democratic Party and the first woman ever elected to the Wyoming Legislature, was honored by selection as chairman of the credentials committee on the 10th; on the 11th she received the assignment of drawing the county names to determine the seating of delegations.[47] Obviously she was not snowbound.

At the Council of Women Voters meeting in Tacoma the three delegates from Washington, Idaho, and Colorado on January 14 adopted a short constitution which provided for a board of managers consisting of president, vice president at large, one vice president for each enfranchised state, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, treasurer and auditor.

The council's letterhead thereafter listed three objects: "To educate women voters in the exercise of citizenship. To secure legislation in Equal Suffrage States in the interests of men and women, of children and the home. To aid in the further extension of Woman Suffrage in the United States."

Unfortunately, the council never had enough money to accomplish much. No dues system was ever instituted. Thirty-one business firms and individuals subscribed $410 to cover the cost of the organic meeting and the opening of council headquarters in Tacoma. Money was harder to find thereafter. The cupboard was usually bare, making it impossible to realize most of DeVoe's dreams.

During the nine years of the council's existence only two conventions were held after the organic session at Tacoma. Several hundred people attended the convention in the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco, July 8-10, 1915. By that time there were twelve suffrage states, all of which were represented at the convention, as was the Territory of Alaska. The convention had been scheduled to coincide with an Exposition or Fair with the thought that the Exposition would attract suffragists who might want to attend both convention and Exposition. Mary G. Bellamy, Wyoming's first woman legislator (1911-1913), reported for Wyoming.

The most newsworthy event of the convention was a confrontation between a guest speaker, William Jennings Bryan, and Sara Bard Field of the Congressional Union. When Bard asked Bryan to speak to a CU gathering, he replied that he "would not move an inch to speak for a body of women who opposed the Democratic party."[48] In his address to the council, Bryan developed the theme that woman suffrage would bring peace to the world. The council accepted Bellamy's invitation to convene in Cheyenne in 1916 during the Frontier Days celebration.

Apparently Cheyenne and the Frontier Days rodeo had less appeal than San Francisco and its exposition. Council members came from only six of the twelve suffrage states. There were only sixteen members present from outside of Wyoming. On the morning of July 26

the out-of-state delegates enjoyed an automobile tour of Cheyenne. That afternoon they attended the opening show of Frontier Days, and some of them went to the Frontier Days carnival that night. Frontier Days lasted four days and nights in 1916 (July 26-29).

On Thursday morning, July 27, Governor John B. Kendrick and Mary G. Bellamy welcomed the delegates who were assembled in the woman's club room of the Carnegie Library. Twenty or twenty-five Wyoming women joined the delegates from other states. State reports were made by three delegates, Bellamy of Wyoming, Mary C. C. Bradford of Colorado, and Margaret Roberts of Idaho. From other states came telegraphic reports and greetings. Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard addressed the gathering, taking as her topic the history of the woman suffrage movement in Wyoming. A short session that afternoon was followed by a reception in the evening at the governor's mansion.

Friday, July 28, Emma Smith DeVoe was re-elected president. The council decided to affiliate with the NAWSA. Council members felt that they could cooperate with Carrie Chapman Catt, new head of NAWSA, who had replaced Anna Howard Shaw, whom they disliked.

The six Wyoming women who were most prominent in the convention were Mary G. Bellamy, Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Mrs. R. A. Morton, Mrs. G. A. Fox, Mrs. Charles Bristol and Mrs. J. D. Clark. Bellamy was in charge of arrangements. Agnes Wright wrote by-lined stories which were carried in full, with good headlines, in the *Wyoming Tribune*. Nonetheless, the convention was overshadowed by Frontier Days which crowded the city.

In one news report Agnes Wright explained that the "Council is in no way affiliated with the National Woman's Party, but is merely an organization of the women voters of the 12 suffrage states."[49] In her last convention report Agnes Wright announced that Cheyenne was "practically assured of a $50,000 equal suffrage monument."[50]

In previous years DeVoe had talked about the desirability of raising money for a national monument to "the woman citizen." At Cheyenne, Dr. Hebard, Mary Bellamy, Frances Clark, and Katherine Morton introduced a resolution which proposed that the monument be placed in Cheyenne, where the first government in the world gave women the right to vote and hold office. The Cheyenne convention approved the resolution without dissent.

As usual, money was not forthcoming. Bellamy in a 1919 letter to Hebard recalled,

> It was Mrs. DeVoe's idea to have a monument to the woman citizen. It was my idea to get the Council meeting in Cheyenne and give them a *big boost* and get the monument. Well, you helped and Mrs. Morton helped, Mrs. Gibson Clark attended the meetings, and I was fairly done sick at the lack of interest shown by the Cheyenne ladies. The *big noise* of Frontier was more than a *really* worth while affair . . . I had attended all the meetings in S.F. when I would have enjoyed the Fair much more to get the Council to meet in Wyoming.[51]

Her $50,000 dream of a woman citizen monument in Cheyenne having come to naught, Bellamy had a larger dream in 1919. She suggested that Hebard join her in proposing to DeVoe that instead of the monument in Cheyenne there should be a $500,000 "historic library building . . . surmounted by a beautiful figure of Portia etc., in Laramie, where the first woman voted . . . and the first woman lawyer in the state [Hebard] lived, first woman on jury etc."[52] Bellamy's amended dream, like the original, was never realized.

The Council of Women Voters terminated in 1919 when the NAWSA agreed to organize the League of Women Voters, as proposed by Carrie Chapman Catt, to undertake the work of educating the new voters for government and politics as soon as the 19th Amendment (1920) was adopted. Thus, the NAWSA chose to begin the league instead of throwing its support behind the old Council of Women Voters.

Recognizing that the council could not compete successfully with the league, the few Wyoming women who had been involved in the affairs of the council and most other council members transferred their support to the League of Women Voters. Four Wyoming delegates (Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Mrs. T. S. Taliaferro, Mrs. P. J. Quealy, and Miss Eunice G. Anderson) participated in the First Congress of the League which met in Chicago with the annual convention of the NAWSA, February 12-18, 1920.

In the last few months of the long crusade for the 19th Amendment Wyoming suffragists participated in the NAWSA's drive. It was a foregone conclusion that Wyoming's legislature would ratify the Amendment which Congress had finally approved on June 4, 1919. However, the Wyoming Legislature, which had met in January and February 1919, would not meet in regular session before January 1921. Meanwhile, suffragists everywhere felt that the first suffrage state must be among the first to ratify. On the other hand, Governor Robert Carey and many legislators opposed calling a special session because of the expense and because it would be difficult to limit legislators to the one item of business. Three states ratified the Amendment on June 10, 1919, but thereafter ratifications came slowly, as many governors refused to call special sessions.

In Wyoming, a Ratification Committee of twenty-six, headed by Dr. Hebard, was formed.[53] The NAWSA's president Carrie Chapman Catt went from state to state urging action. She met with Wyoming's Ratification Committee in Laramie, November 11, 1919, with the result that a petition was submitted to Governor Carey urging him to expedite ratification by summoning a special session.[54] After delaying several

weeks, Carey called the first special session in the state's history to meet January 27, 1920. Both houses approved ratification by the unanimous vote of members present, and Governor Carey signed the resolution the following day.

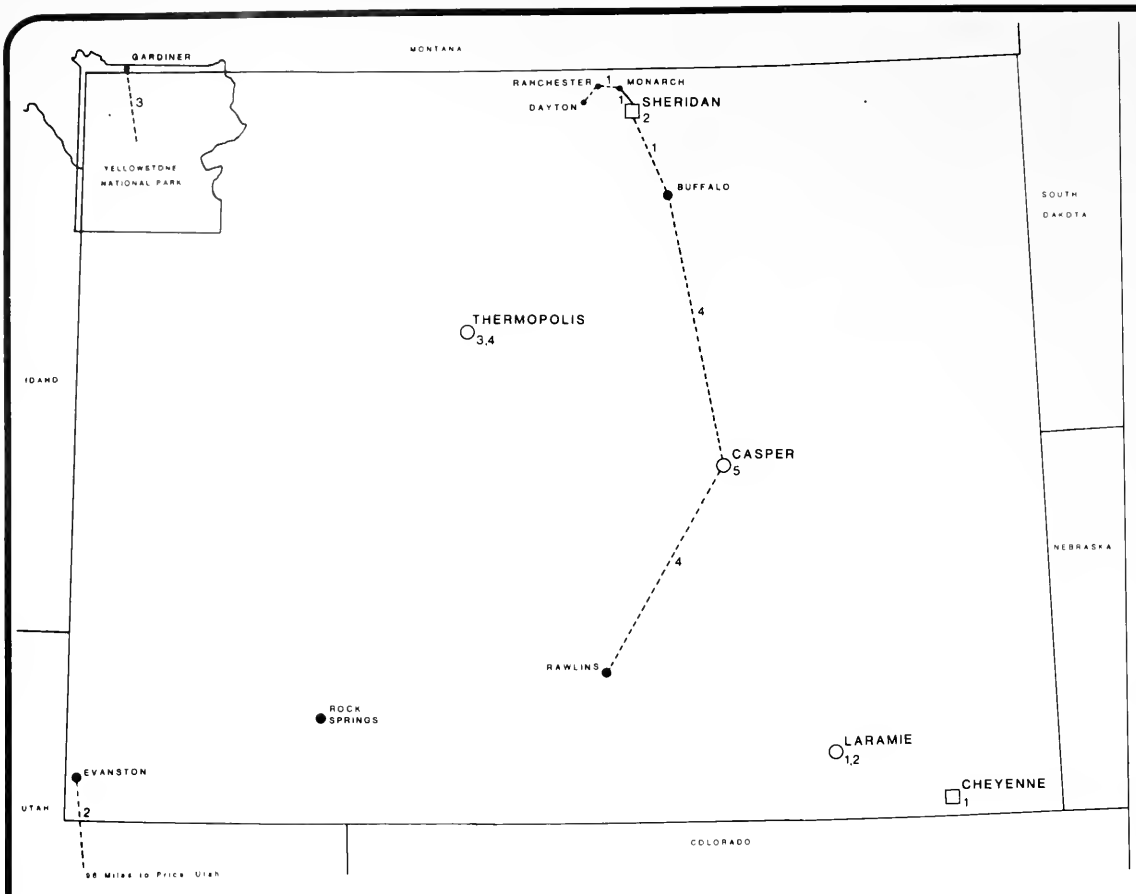
Later, when only one more vote was needed to make the required thirty-six, the NAWSA concentrated on Connecticut, one of the thirteen laggards. Carrie Chapman Catt designated women, one from each state, to converge on Connecticut in May, 1920. Dr. Hebard represented Wyoming in the "Emergency Corps" which toured Connecticut, in several groups, pleading for a special session of the legislature. The Governor remained adamant. Finally on August 26, 1920, Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify.

Looking back over Wyoming's efforts, it appears that the state's contribution to the regional and national woman's rights movement was diversified, minimal, and inexpensive. One would be hard put to name fifty Wyoming men and women who exerted themselves significantly in behalf of woman suffrage during the half century, 1869-1920. Wyoming women in general enjoyed suffrage without feeling any compelling urge to extend their blessings to others. They lacked time, money, and, with a few exceptions, missionary zeal. Most of them found voting congenial and when asked, were ready to recommend it to others, but their promotion went little further.

Wyoming men spoke and wrote more freely in behalf of woman suffrage than the women did. The conclusion must be, however, that Wyoming's greatest contribution was the exhibit it provided of women enjoying suffrage for half a century without ever giving good citizens elsewhere any real cause for alarm.

*The author thanks the Wyoming Council for the Humanities for financial assistance in preparing this essay.

1. Letter by Robert C. Morris, son of Esther Morris, published in *The Revolution* (New York), January 13, 1870.
2. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1870.
3. *Wyoming State Tribune,* January 29, 1870.
4. March 1, 1870.
5. Quoted in the *Woman's Journal,* April 9, 1870.
6. March 17, 1871.
7. The *Woman's Journal,* May 5, 1870.
8. *Laramie Weekly Sentinel,* May 5, 1883.
9. *Woman's Journal,* September 18, 1875.
10. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1871.
11. *Ibid.*, September 30, 1870.
12. She sent a summary of her findings to the *Woman's Journal,* Oct. 8, 1870.
13. *Cheyenne Leader,* June 22 and 26, 1871.
14. Ida M. Harper, *The Life and Works of Susan B. Anthony,* (Indianapolis and Kansas City: Bowen-Merrill Co., 1898-1908, 3 volumes), 1, p.388.
15. *The Arena,* May, 1897.
16. *Woman's Journal,* August 3, 1872.
17. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1888.
18. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1871.
19. *Ibid.*, December 2, 1871, quoting from the *Indianapolis Sentinel* of November 16, 1871.
20. *Woman's Journal,* April 5, May 10 and 31, 1884.
21. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1884, quoting Hayford's letter of March 3, 1884.
22. *Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City), August 7, 1869.
23. *Woman's Journal,* XX, No. 28, p.220.
24. The Warren material which follows is taken from the article by W. T. Jackson, "Governor Francis E. Warren, A Champion of Woman Suffrage," *Annals of Wyoming,* April, 1943, pp.141-149.
25. The full text of the resolution appears in a leaflet, "Wyoming Speaks for Herself," Boston, May, 1893, and in the *Woman's Journal,* August 18, 1894. The resolution does not appear in the *House Journal* but other evidence confirms that the resolution was passed.
26. Woman's Rights Collection, Radcliffe College Library, file folder 649.
27. Quoted in *The Oregonian,* June 2, 1900, from a letter published in the same paper, December 9, 1899.
28. *Woman's Journal,* February 2, 1907.
29. Governor J. M. Carey's Incoming and Outgoing Correspondence, 1911-1914, Archives Division, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department.
30. January 27, 1870.
31. January 21, 1871.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Woman's Journal,* March 9, 1872. The *Journal's* account came from the *San Jose Mercury,* which in turn had come from the San Francisco *Call.*
34. E. C. Stanton, S. B. Anthony, and others, *History of Woman Suffrage* (Rochester and New York: privately published, 1887), III, p.35. A similar report appears in Ida H. Harper, *The Life and Works of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis and Kansas City: Bowen-Merrill Co., 1898-1908, 3 volumes), 1, p.479.
35. *Woman's Journal,* October 24, 1885.
36. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1885.
37. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1895 and March 12, 1898. Reel became national Superintendent of Indian Schools. Her papers are at Gonzaga University, Spokane.
38. Emma Smith DeVoe Papers, Box 1, file folder "Catt 4" in Washington Room, Washington State Historical Society, Olympia, Washington.
39. *Laramie Weekly Sentinel,* March 27, 1886.
40. Marie H. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book* (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1946), p.687.
41. *Woman's Journal,* February 9, 1895.
42. *Ibid.*, February 26, 1898.
43. Warren Letter Book No. 56, pp.684-685, Western Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Wyoming Tribune* (Cheyenne), August 1 and 12, 1916. For other aspects of the CU-Woman's Party story, see the Woman Suffrage file folders 2 and 3 in the Western Heritage Center, University of Wyoming; boxes 2, 4 and 5 in the Anne Martin Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; Inez Haynes Irwin, *The Story of the Woman's Party* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1921); David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); and Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920).
46. DeVoe Papers, Box 4, Washington State Historical Society, Olympia.
47. *Wyoming Tribune* (Cheyenne), January 10, 11, and 12, 1911. Colorado, Utah, and Idaho all elected women to their legislatures before Wyoming did, so Bellamy's election in 1910 was not the first in the U.S.
48. *San Francisco Chronicle,* July 9, 1915, p.4.
49. *Wyoming Tribune,* July 25, 1916.
50. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1916.
51. May 10, 1919, letter in Hebard files, Western Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Woman Suffrage Collection, Western Heritage Center, file folder 1.
54. Hebard Papers, Box 6 and Woman Suffrage Collection, file folder 2, Western Heritage Center.



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WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPT.

Cheyenne's electric street railway opened August 19, 1908.

Wyoming's Electric Railway Projects

By H. Roger Grant

In the closing years of the 19th century Americans began a two-decade love affair with electric railways. This novel form of intra-city and inter-city travel resulted from major technological developments in the 1880s. The principal breakthrough occurred in 1887 when Frank Julian Sprague, a young Naval Academy graduate, succeeded in electrifying the small Richmond Union Passenger Railway in Virginia. Sprague's Richmond triumph set a pattern for a transportation revolution and by the early 1890s additional research demonstrated the commercial feasibility of the electric railway.[1]

Almost overnight American cities abandoned horse, horse-car and mule-car operations and the cumbersome cable cars for the street trolley. The advantages of electricity were overwhelming. Animal power represented a high, risky investment. Good draft horses in the 1890s cost about $200 each, and were susceptible to disease, especially respiratory ailments. Moreover, animals were dirty and slow, and could pull only limited loads. On the other hand, electric cars were clean and powerful; they could handle much larger passenger volumes with greater speed. By 1900 few animal-car lines remained and cable-car routes were doomed, except for the most difficult grades like those found in San Francisco.[2]

Entrepreneurs likewise applied electricity to intercity rail operations. Rather than convincing the steam carriers to install trolley overheads, these promoters almost universally built their own lines, often utilizing recently electrified street car routes as entries into urban centers. Inter-city traction mileage increased dramatically after the return of prosperity following the catastrophic depression of 1893 to 1897. While less than 1000 miles existed in 1897, ten years later the total soared to more than 10,000. The country's interurban network peaked at slightly over 15,000 miles in 1915.

Electric lines laced large sections of the country, especially New England and the Old Northwest. In fact, Ohio and Indiana became the heartland of "compressed air." With roads radiating out of all of the large and medium-sized cities, their state traction maps resembled plates of wet spaghetti. Yet routes appeared in more remote sections of the country. For example, interurbans connected such isolated communites as Warren and Bisbee, Arizona, and Cripple Creek and Victor, Colorado. Even thinly-populated Wyoming boasted an electric intercity railway, the seventeen-mile Sheridan Railway & Light Company.[3]

The popularity of interurbans—whether in Wyoming or elsewhere—is easily explained. If a community or region lacked adequate steam service, an electric carrier could solve the problem. Traction routes allowed farmers, ranchers, miners, and others convenient access to the economic and cultural opportunities offered by the cities and towns, and permitted these communities to tap a wider trading area. When in operation, electric lines commonly provided hourly or semi-hourly service, rather than running one or two times a day as did the steam roads. Moreover, interurbans, unlike steamcars, would stop at farmsteads, village crossings, or virtually anywhere. Like trolleys, interurbans were clean; they produced "no cinders, no dirt, no dust, no smoke." And they were potentially fast. If the roadbed and operating conditions allowed, an electric car could accelerate within seconds to sixty or more miles per hour.

The traveling and shipping public also appreciated the less expensive rates usually charged for passenger, express, and freight service. This was particularly enjoyed after years of widespread and often bitter complaints about high and arbitrary steam railroad and express company charges. Of course, this new mode of transportation, with all of its advantages, was especially popular since the horse-drawn buggy and wagon had limited range. Even with the debut of the automobile and truck, highway travel remained primitive. It would be years before the good-roads movement lifted the nation out of the mud and dust.[4]

Less obvious to most citizens, yet readily apparent to traction promoters, were the ways to profit from the trolley and interurban phenomenon. Surely, electric railway stock would advance rapidly in price and presumably pay regular and handsome dividends. There also existed financial windfalls from the sale of electricity to commercial and residential customers along the routes. After all, electric power had to be generated and transmission lines and substations built. Furthermore, the opening of a traction road caused land prices to increase, even soar, usually to the personal

The Cheyenne system was one of only three successful electric railway projects in Wyoming.

WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPT

benefit of the backers. The possibilities of easy access to commercial centers made housing along these arteries desirable.[5]

Wyoming residents saw various proposals for electric intracity trolleys. Only a single proposal became reality, the Cheyenne Electric Railway Company. Differing from the interurban, the trolley operated a majority of its trackage within a community, although it might serve a nearby suburb, amusement park, or cemetery. Even though the most profitable street railway systems nationally were found in the largest cities, smaller communities, with populations of 1500 to 15,000, might also expect to enjoy the advantages of "compressed air." At the turn of the century Wyoming claimed several towns that were large enough to warrant serious consideration for trolley lines, including Cheyenne (14,087) and Laramie (8207), and by 1910 two other communities, Casper (2639) and Thermopolis (1524), gained sufficient populations.[6]

Cheyenne saw the first trolley promotion. As early as 1890, published rumors spoke of electrifying the town's horse car line and extending it to nearby Fort D. A. Russell, a federal military post established in 1867. Electricity finally came, but not until the early years of the 20th century. Chartered on June 24, 1908, by local interests, the Cheyenne Electric Railway Company soon boasted a five-mile network with service to the fort. Trolleys later ran to the company-owned Frontier Park on the shores of Lake Absaraca.[7]

A year after the initial proposal for the Cheyenne electric lines, the Laramie Tramway Company, brainchild of Denver promoters, sought to build an eight-mile system. But that firm's cars never came to the Albany County seat. More than a score of years later, the local power supplier, The Laramie Electric Company, announced its intention to construct a trolley line. This plan likewise fizzled.[8]

Thermopolis, too, experienced street car agitation. In 1908 the city council gave the newly formed Hot Springs Street Railway a twenty-five year franchise to build an electric line from the town's business section "to the hot springs in the State reserve." Local backers pushed hard for their objective. Their goals were hardly grandiose: two miles of standard gauge track, the corresponding distance of overhead trolley wire and poles, and three small electric cars. Plans were made to buy power from the Hot Springs Electric Light & Power Company rather than to establish a railway-owned generating plant. Yet, this puny project stalled, probably for lack of a community subscription to the $50,000 of authorized stock, and the threat posed from "outside" traction promoters. This rival group from Denver, calling itself the East Thermopolis Power Company, flopped as well.[9]

Casper also had hopes for an electric transit system. Late in 1913 local enthusiast E. Richard Shipp asked town fathers for their permission to construct a street railway from the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy (Burlington Route) depot to the community's southern boundary. Unlike other Wyoming trolley schemes, the Casper road planned to acquire electric "storage-battery" equipment, thus eliminating the use of unsightly over-

head wire and trolley poles. Although the council granted the franchise and the project was officially incorporated as the Casper Street Railway Company, the firm remained only on paper.[10]

While Wyoming claimed only one bona fide interurban—that is an electric line with more than half of its mileage outside a municipality—others were proposed. These "hot air" roads represent an important dimension of the "interurban fever" that once infected America. The Wyoming projects appeared in widely scattered locations, and all date from the period immediately following the Panic of 1907. While most traction promotion activities in the East clustered between 1901 and 1907, those in the trans-Mississippi West coincide with Wyoming's interurban era. As the *Electric Railway Journal,* the principal industry trade publication, noted in its New Year's day 1910 editorial, "The West is large, and only a small part of the opportunity awaiting the investor has been grasped."[11] This then was the place for the traction investment dollar and where several sizable networks emerged by World War I.[12]

The first widely publicized interurban proposal for the "Equality State" occurred in 1909 when Evanston and Salt Lake City, Utah, promoters suggested construction of an electric passenger and heavy-duty freight line between the Uinta County seat and Price, Utah. Known as the Castle Valley Railroad, this company planned to bridge two steam roads: the Union Pacific at Evanston and the Denver & Rio Grande at Price. It would thus enter a remote and transportation-starved region. While this scheme collapsed before any legal or fund-raising activities began, plans for the state's lone interurban triumph started a year later.[13]

In January, 1910, an announcement appeared for a forty-mile electric line to link the two small county seat communities of Sheridan and Buffalo, with populations of 8408 and 1368 respectively. Although since 1892 Sheridan enjoyed the services of the CB&Q's line from Alliance, Nebraska, to Billings, Montana, Buffalo at this time was miles from a railhead. Promoted by the Albert Emanuel syndicate of Dayton, Ohio, efforts to make the idea tangible were launched on December 29, 1913, when two interurban cars began operations on the Sheridan Railway & Light Company (later Sheridan Railway Company). Instead of connecting Sheridan with rail-hungry Buffalo, the new line, which paralleled the Burlington Route, ran in a northwesterly direction to the coal-mining camp of Monarch. Clearly, these outside capitalists perceived the transportation of hundreds of miners and their families as a better risk than the longer and probably less patronized original route.[14]

The Sheridan Railway & Light Company had another plan. Shortly before cars travelled the seventeen miles from Sheridan through Fort Mackenzie, Dietz, and Carneyville, on their way to Monarch, the company announced that an additional ten miles of track and trolley overhead would be installed between Monarch and Ranchester and Dayton. That proposal, like the initially conceived stem to Buffalo, never materialized.[15]

Coinciding with the Sheridan area schemes was one in the Yellowstone region. Although technically not an electric railroad, the *Electric Railway Journal* men-

The Sheridan interurban began operations to the coal camp of Monarch on December 29, 1913.

ELSA SPEAR BYRON COLLECTION

tioned in 1911 formation of an interurban-like tourist road designed to serve the remote Yellowstone National Park. A Denver promoter hoped to construct a "gasoline motor line" through the area and to make a possible connection in Montana with the Northern Pacific's Livingston to Gardiner branch. Supposedly the company would employ a gasoline-mechanical car, perhaps one built by either Omaha's McKeen Car Company or the General Electric Company. This type of equipment was then widely used by shortlines and some trunk carriers, usually for branch-line operations.[16]

Also in 1911, Wyoming's largest single electric intercity project was publicized. The Rawlins-based Nebraska Coal Company prepared cost estimates and surveys for a two-hundred mile electric railway designed to tap the vast lignite fields of the state's mid-section. The line would serve various mines in Carbon, Natrona, and Johnson counties. For unknown reasons, the Nebraska Coal Company never pursued its plans for an interurban subsidiary.[17]

DRIEAR COLLECTION

Joe Driear, conductor on the Sheridan interurban.

A third successful electric project was neither a trolley nor interurban. Wyoming was the site of one of the nation's earliest electric-powered mine railways. Early in 1893, only six years after Frank Sprague's famed Richmond experiment, the Rock Springs Coal Company installed a 6000-foot railway at one of its Sweetwater County operations. Using a lone General Electric locomotive, the line shuttled cars over the light (and portable) thirty-five pound "T" rails. An apparent success, an electric railway trade paper remarked that on one occasion "the locomotive drew after it thirty loaded cars, and pushed ahead sixteen others from end to end of the road without difficulty."[18]

Wyoming's failure to participate more extensively in the electric railway era is an easily solved mystery. The answers center largely on population, time period, and topography. These factors were readily apparent to the most skilled and financially capable investors, and, for that reason they generally ignored the state. As previously noted, most Wyoming proposals attracted either regional or local capitalists.

The "Equality State" lacked attractive population densities. At the time of statehood Wyoming claimed a mere 62,555 inhabitants. By 1920 total population had risen dramatically, but reached only 194,402. Never during this period did any one community exceed 15,000. Simply put, electric railroads hauled people, for urban transit systems, principally interurbans. Admittedly, an electric road that was a coal-carrier, for example, and hence not dependent on population concentrations, might have thrived.

Furthermore, Wyoming's traction proposals fell primarily into the twilight of construction activities. With the coming of the age of internal combustion, alternative transportation forms, namely the automobile, truck, and bus, became tough competitors. Even in Wyoming the "latest traction devices" were considered, either storage-battery cars for Casper's streets or gasoline-mechanical equipment for the Yellowstone Park road. This rolling stock marked the transition from electric railroads to motorized vehicles.

Finally, unlike most areas of the East and Midwest, the physical configuration of Wyoming was not ideally suited for intercity railroad construction, either steam or electricity. The mountainous sections posed obvious problems, and the high plains, too, offered major obstacles. Cuts and fills through rolling hills were always costly. Naturally, the greater distances between communities also hiked construction charges.[19]

While both electric trolleys and interurbans would have filled a transportation void in Wyoming, the likelihood of their being long-lasting and presumably profitable is doubtful. After 1920 streetcar companies nationally either quit or changed to buses, and interurban mileage shrank rapidly when scores of carriers went bankrupt. What had once been thought "the latest harbingers of a higher state of civilization" had passed forever.[20] Yet, an electric intercity operation that developed substantial carload-freight traffic, like the Bamberger Electric Railroad in Utah or the Sacramento Northern Railway in California might have succeeded, although these roads were exceptions.

While the Cheyenne trolley was a reasonable venture, the Sheridan to Monarch interurban probably should not have been constructed. It never experienced good health financially, even during its formative years. Generally speaking, Wyoming residents were fortunate that they failed to have more traction proposals and more importantly, that they did not turn the vast majority of their electric dreams into reality.

1. George W. Hilton and John F. Due, *The Electric Interurban Railways in America,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 4-15; *Street Railway Journal,* July, 1899, pp. 471-472; *Dictionary of American Biography,* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), pp. 669-670.
2. Hilton and Due, pp. 4-5.
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 186, 381, 383, 389; Henry H. Norris, "The Interurban Electric Railway," *The World To-Day,* June 1905, pp. 608-612; Alexander Hume Ford, "The Advance of the Trolley," *The Independent,* pp. 846-854.
4. H. Roger Grant, "Electric Traction Promotion in Oklahoma," in Donovan L. Hofsommer, ed., *Railroads in Oklahoma,* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977), p. 97; Guy Morrison Walker, *The Why and How of Interurban Railways,* (Chicago: Kenfield Publishing Company, 1904), pp. 3-4.
5. Hilton and Due, pp. 7-8; *Street Railway Journal,* April 13, 1907, pp. 637-639.
6. *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Vol. III, Population,* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 1111. Evanston (2110) and Rock Springs (4363) had large enough populations, but both lacked trolley promotion efforts.
7. *Street Railway Journal,* March, 1890, May, 1890, p. 237; *Electric Railway Journal,* July 25, 1909, p. 365; January 2, 1909, p. 19; *Poor's Manual of Public Utilities,* (New York: Poor's Railroad Manual Company, 1913), p. 534.
8. *Street Railway Journal,* September, 1891, p. 492; January, 1892, p. 50; *Electric Railway Journal,* March 29, 1913, p. 611.
9. *Electric Railway Journal,* July 25, 1908, p. 363; August 15, 1908, p. 494; December 19, 1908, p. 1632; April 2, 1910, p. 644; June 10, 1911, p. 1042.
10. *Ibid.,* November 29, 1913, p. 1161; January 16, 1915, p. 163.
11. *Ibid.,* January 1, 1910, p. 1.
12. Utah is an example. By the time of World War I the state boasted one of the longest interurban routes in the Rocky Mountain West. A traveler could ride electric cars for nearly 200 miles from Preston, Idaho, through Ogden, Salt Lake City and Provo to Payson, on the southeastern edge of Utah Lake.
13. *Electric Railway Journal,* September 25, 1909, p. 487.
14. Hilton and Due, p. 383; *Electric Railway Journal,* January 22, 1910, p. 171; May 21, 1910, p. 926; November 18, 1911, p. 1085; *Thirteenth Census,* p. 1111. The Sheridan Railway & Light Company also provided city street car service for the Sheridan County seat.
15. *Electric Railway Journal,* January 27, 1912, p. 185; *McGraw Electric Railway List, August, 1918,* (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1918), p. 193.
16. *Electric Railway Journal,* September 23, 1911, p. 517.
17. *Ibid.,* November 4, 1911, p. 1014.
18. *Street Railway Journal,* May, 1893, p. 323.
19. *Thirteenth Census,* pp. 1111, 1115; *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920, Vol. III, Population,* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), p. 1144.
20. *Street Railway Journal,* January, 1903, p. 88.

A TUDOR CANNON AT WARREN AIR FORCE BASE

By William E. Woodbridge, Jr.

Until last August a silver-painted, plain and unpretentious looking cannon mounted on a stand made of angle irons stood in front of the flagpole at Francis E. Warren Air Force Base. I had heard that the cannon was from the Civil War, but no one seemed to know for sure.

On an April day in 1979 I wandered down to the cannon to see if I could find any foundry marks or other proof of its origin. The first thing I noticed was a rose between the letters M and R carved in high relief on the barrel. These marks indicated that the cannon had been cast during the reign of Mary Tudor, queen of England from 1553 to 1558. This bit of information started me on a search through 420 years of history.

In addition to the rose and royal monogram, there was an inscription on the cannon. I made a rubbing and took it back to the office to decipher the writing. What finally appeared was "ROBERT OWYNE MADE THYS FAVCON ANNO DNI 1557." Now the problem was to find out what a 'favcon' was and who Robert Owyne was.

A little research on artillery and some comparisons of measurements finally revealed that the cannon was a 'falcon'. This was a multi-purpose gun, good for use on ships or as a field gun. The average falcon was 7 feet long, had a bore diameter of 2½ to 2¾ inches, weighed between 700 and 800 pounds, and was cast of bronze.[1] The cannon on base was 6 feet 11 inches long and had a bore diameter of 2¾ inches. A little more research in the base archives produced a memo, dated 16 February, 1926, stating that the cannon was cast of bronze and was captured by the 11th Infantry on the Island of Samar during the Philippine Insurrection.[2] So now I knew what kind of cannon we had and what it was made of; but who was Robert Owyne and how did the cannon get to the Philippine Islands?

I decided to write a letter to the West Point Museum to see if they had any records of war trophies. I received the answer that there were no records of war trophies, but I got confirmation of the cannon being what I had surmised. I also received information on Robert Owyne (or Owen) who was one of three brothers who were gun-founders from 1529 to 1571.

The brothers worked at the foundries in Houndsditch, London and in Calais, France. They were appointed gun-founders to Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth I. The records showed that Robert's name stopped appearing on cannons and documents around 1540, and it was thought that he had died. The Tower of London, however, did some research and found evidence that Robert Owyne didn't die until 1571.[3]

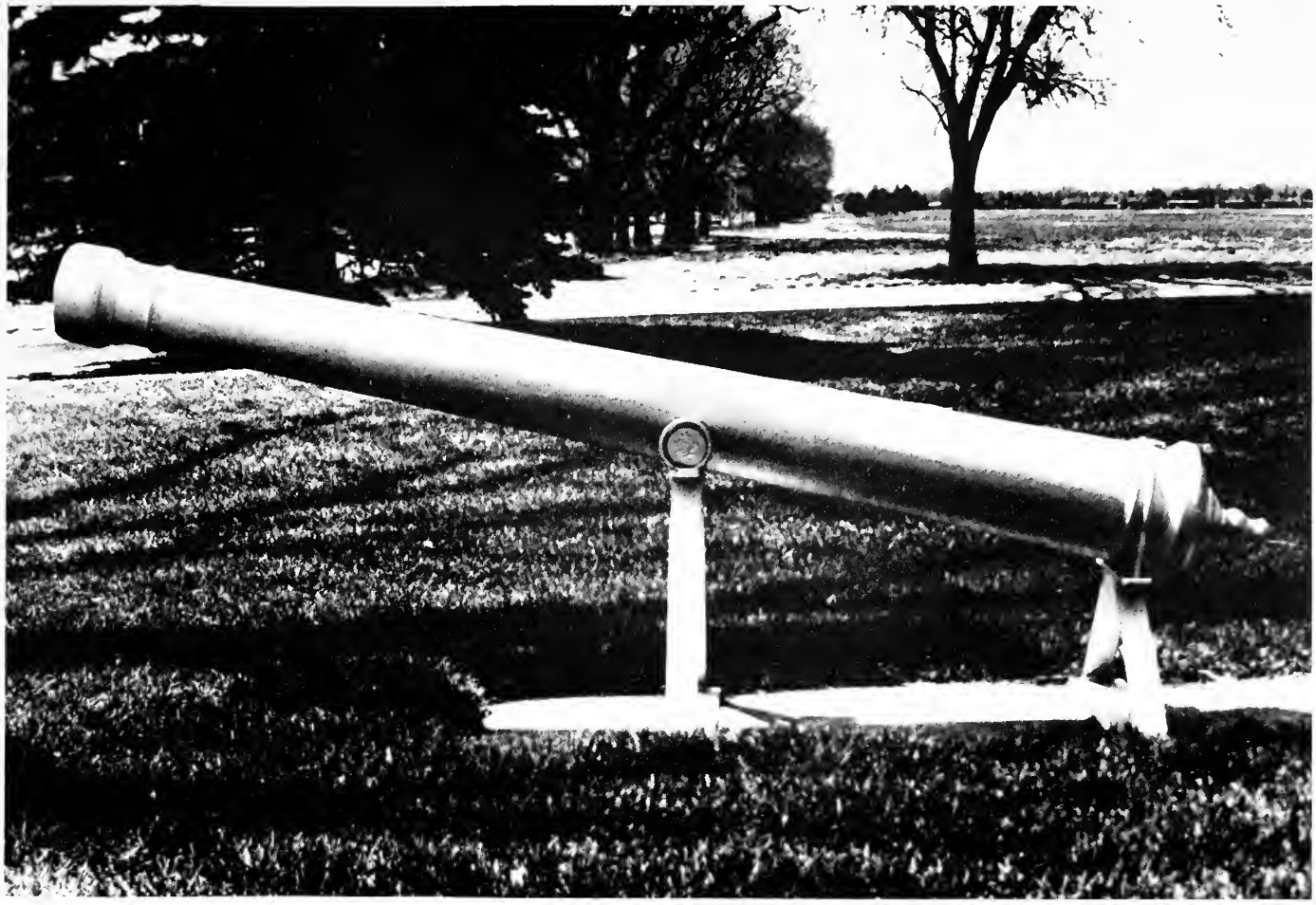
That settled the question of who Robert Owyne was, but no one seemed to know how the cannon got from England to the Philippines. Left to my own devices, I started thinking of all the ways the cannon could have changed hands. I considered an arms deal between Mary Tudor and Philip II of Spain; pirates; or an English warship running aground in the Philippines. I finally found a clue in *English Artillery* by Brigadier O.F.G. Hogg, and proceeded to build a fairly logical hypothesis of the movements of the cannon.

My theory starts with two Roman numeral sevens (VII) chiseled in the breech ring. Supposing that those sevens indicate that this was the seventh gun produced in the seventh month, July, then the cannon may have been cast for the English forces participating in the last Hapsburg-Valois War. On June 7, 1557, Mary of England, wife of Philip II of Spain, declared war on France and promised to send men and equipment to help the Spanish army. The English contingent of 7000 men and twelve pieces of artillery were under the command of William, 1st Earl of Pembroke. The English forces joined the Spanish forces in the Netherlands sometime in late July, and the combined armies started the campaign through northern France.[4]

The combined armies were under the command of Duke Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, who led the army toward Paris. The army stopped to besiege the city of Saint Quentin in early August, and the city fell on August 27, 1557. Savoy wanted to march on to Paris, but Philip II ordered the army back to the Netherlands. This withdrawal enabled the French to organize a force of 26,000 men, and to begin raids along the frontier between France and the Netherlands.

In January of 1558, Francis, Duke of Guise, set siege on Calais, last of the English holdings in France. On January 7, 1558, after a siege of five days, Calais fell, and 1041 pieces of English artillery fell into French control. The French forces went on to capture Dunkirk, but were routed by the Spanish army and the English navy at Gravelines in July and August of 1558. The war ended with the signing of the Peace of Catteau-Cambresis on April 3, 1559.[5]

Further pursuing my hypothesis, the cannon could have fallen into Spanish control as spoils of war taken from the French after the fall of Calais; or by the simple



The Tudor cannon at Warren Air Force Base WING HISTORIAN'S OFFICE, WARREN A F B.

act of the Spanish keeping the English artillery train when the English forces disbanded. Probably, the Spanish took ownership of the cannon sometime between 1557 and 1559. Most likely the Spanish sent the cannon to Seville, which was the national storehouse for armament at that time. It was from Seville that ships and expeditions headed for the colonies in the Americas and the Pacific were fitted out.[6] It was likely that the cannon headed for the Philippine Islands from Seville.

The Spanish started to settle the Philippines in 1565, when Miguel Lopez de Legazpi led the first successful expedition to settle the Philippines. Legazpi landed on the island of Samar on February 13, 1565, and went on to the island of Cebu, where the first Spanish settlement in the Philippines was established on April 27, 1565.

Manila came under Spanish control in May and June of 1571, and by 1600 the entire archipelago was under Spanish control.

The cannon would have arrived in the Philippines at either Cebu or Manila in the years between 1566-1575. The natives of Samar were troublesome in the 1580s and 1590s, so it would be highly probable that the cannon was taken to Samar during that time period.[7]

The movements of the cannon came to a standstill until the beginning of the 20th century. With the advent of the Spanish-American War, the United States Army entered the picture. During the Philippine Insurrection (1899-1902) the United States Army and the United States Marine Corps were on Samar to root out the Filipino insurrectionists.

The island was a largely unmapped jungle, and there were no roads into the interior, where the insurrectionists maintained their bases of operations. The military operations on Samar were marked by atrocities committed by both sides, but the Filipinos were the most vicious. On April 15, 1900, a thirty-one man Army detachment was ambushed at Catubig, Samar. Only eighteen men escaped death by the whirling, razor-sharp bolo knives, the principal weapon of the insurrectionists. This attack resulted in General Arthur MacArthur stepping up the intensity and ferocity of fighting on Samar.[8]

The worst attack by the insurrectionists came on September 28, 1901. On that day Company C, Ninth Infantry Regiment, garrisoned at Balangiga, was attacked. The attack left forty-five Americans dead and twenty-six seriously wounded. This attack was followed by others at various Army posts on Samar.

WING HISTORIAN'S OFFICE, WARREN A F B

Foundry marks on the cannon indicate it was made during the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558).

Retaliation came in the form of increased Army garrisons and two companies of Marines.[9] It was during this increased action that the cannon was captured from an insurrectionist stronghold by Company I, 4th Battalion, 11th Infantry Regiment. The 11th Infantry also took the church bells that were used to signal the attack at Balangiga.[10]

In March of 1904 the 11th Infantry was stationed at Fort D.A. Russell (now Warren Air Force Base) near Cheyenne. The 11th brought the trophies of their campaign on Samar with them; the bells of Balangiga, the cannon, and two small swivel cannon. The bells and the cannon were placed in front of the base flagpole for all to see. The 11th Infantry left Fort Russell in 1906, but returned in 1909 for another four years. In 1913 the 11th Infantry left Fort Russell for good, leaving behind their hard-won trophies.[11]

The trophies sat out by the parade ground, unnoticed until 1926, when Brigadier General John M. Jenkins, the post commander, directed that tablets detailing the stories of the trophies be made and placed with the trophies. All that remains of that order is a memo.[12] The bells and cannon both remained beside the flagpole until recently. The bells are still there and are marked by a plaque that tells their story.

This, in essence, is the story of the cannon at F. E. Warren Air Force Base. There are still some unanswered questions, though. Was the cannon used in the last Hapsburg-Valois War? Only research of the records at the Tower of London can tell. Was the cannon kept by the Spanish, taken to Seville, and shipped to the Philippines? Only research in the National Archives of Spain would reveal the answer. When and where on the island of Samar did the 11th Infantry capture the cannon? A search of combat reports in the National Archives might reveal the particulars.

Last but not least, what should be done with the cannon? It was moved indoors in August, 1979, for protection against theft and vandalism, and to prevent further deterioration. The Office of Air Force History investigated the possibilities of loaning the cannon to the Smithsonian Institution or the Tower of London, but the tentative decision was to leave the cannon at the Base. It is hoped that within the year it will be on display at the Base museum.

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2. Memo, Capt. G. M. Peabody, Jr., Adjutant, Fort D. A. Russell, to Post Quartermaster, "Trophies at the Base of the Flagpole," February 16, 1926.
3. Letter, Walter J. Nock, West Point Museum, to Historian, 90th Strategic Missile Wing, "Cannon at F. E. Warren AFB," April 20, 1979; Letter, H. L. Blackmore, The Armouries, H. M. Tower of London, to Historian, 90th Strategic Missile Wing, "Cannon at F. E. Warren AFB," July 2, 1979; Charles Foulkes, *The Gun-Founders of England,* (Cambridge, England: Macmillan, 1937), pp. 45-49, 109-112, 123.
4. Hogg, pp. 219-220; Dupuy and Dupuy, pp. 477-478.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain, 1516-1659,* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), pp. 135, 183-185; David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines,* (New York: World Book Co., 1925), pp. 50-51.
7. Barrows, pp. 102-113, 135-137.
8. Jules Archer, *The Philippines Fight for Freedom,* (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 86.
9. Archer, pp. 121-126; Joseph L. Schott, *The Ordeal of Samar,* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), pp. 27-55, 65-73.
10. Memo, Capt. G. M. Peabody, Jr., Adjutant, Fort D. A. Russell, to Post Quartermaster, "Trophies at the Base of the Flagpole," February 16, 1926.
11. Jane R. Kendall, "History of Fort Francis E. Warren," *Annals of Wyoming,* Vol 18, No. 1 (Jan. 1946), pp. 57-59.
12. *Ibid.;* Memo, Capt. G. M. Peabody, Jr., Adjutant, Fort D. A. Russell, to Post Quartermaster, "Trophies at the Base of the Flagpole," February 16, 1926.

WYOMING AND THE O.P.A.

The Postwar Politics of Decontrol

By Peter M. Wright

The guns of World War II fell silent on September 2, 1945, when the final surrender scene was enacted on board the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay. With the end of the war, Americans faced a new challenge: the reconversion of the economy from a war footing to peacetime production without either deflation and depression or inflation and a never-ending spiral of increasing wages and prices. Reconversion planning fell to President Harry S. Truman who had exercised executive leadership for only five months, but he presented a program within a week of the end of the war.

Truman sent a message to Congress in which he outlined his plans for reconversion on September 6, 1945. The armed forces would be demobilized as rapidly as possible while all war contracts would be cancelled or settled. Of prime importance, according to Truman, was the maintenance of wages and purchasing power while reasonable control would be maintained over prices and rents until production of consumer items could be increased to meet demand. During reconversion, Truman stressed the need for cooperation between labor and industry, and he requested that Congress extend the provisions of the second War Powers Act without delay so that businessmen would know that the government intended to keep a firm hand on the economy for at least a year after June, 1946.[1]

The President's economic stabilization program was predicated upon cooperation among the citizens of the United States, Congress, and labor and business leaders. Strong executive leadership was required to keep labor and business in line once the war had ended since there would be immediate demands from labor leaders for wage increases that had been delayed by the war and which would result in demands by businessmen for price advances to offset wage costs. Consumer products would be in great demand and command high prices since supply initially would be limited and people had spendable savings from the war. Consumers had to be persuaded to forego an orgy of spending. Truman, an average man of moderate abilities, had problems that transcended his limited vision, and his own actions began the destruction of his program.[2]

As soon as it was apparent that the collapse of Japan was complete, Truman ended wage controls by a presidential order and urged labor to return to collective bargaining. Labor leaders concluded, in the face of lay-offs in late 1945, that a breakdown in the economy could be avoided only if the government supported wage increases and full employment to maintain purchasing power and an expanding market for industrial goods. Organized labor asked for wage increases, and Truman believed business could grant them without corresponding price advances. Management declined to grant a rise in wages without offsetting price increases, and, as 1945 closed, large scale strikes began which crippled the chances for increased production and an orderly transition to a peacetime economy.[3]

By the close of 1945, 3,470,000 workers were involved in work stoppages, representing 12.2 percent of employed wage earners. This number advanced to 14.5 percent of employed wage earners in 1946 or 4,600,000 people.

Of all the strikes, that in the steel industry involving 750,000 men held the spotlight. In a compromise settlement underwritten by the Administration, steel workers received an increase of 18.5 cents in straight-line hourly rates, but steel producers were permitted to boost the price per ton of their product.

Even as this strike ended, new strikes began when John L. Lewis led his coal miners out on April 1, 1946. By April 2, 3000 miners in the Rock Springs, Wyoming, area were idled, bringing hardships to their families in a walkout that would last intermittently for the rest of the year. In the steel settlement the Administration had suffered its first major loss in the fight against inflation, and Chester A. Bowles lamented that other interest groups would demand price increases and wreck the program of the Office of Price Administration.[4]

The Emergency Price Control Act of 1942 had established the Office of Price Administration (O.P.A.) which replaced the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply created in 1941. The O.P.A. was designed to prevent inflationary pressures during the war and controlled rents, fixed maximum prices, paid subsidies to producers if it was necessary to hold prices down, and established rationing of goods in short supply.

After 1943, Chester A. Bowles, a young, retired, wealthy advertising executive, had become the O.P.A. director. By tightening administration and reforming policies, Bowles made the O.P.A. effective, if unpopular. The O.P.A. did an adequate job during the war emergency, and the Consumer Price Index increased only 28.3 percent during the period from 1940 to 1945. The continuation of the O.P.A. after June, 1946, was a key to Truman's hopes to stabilize the

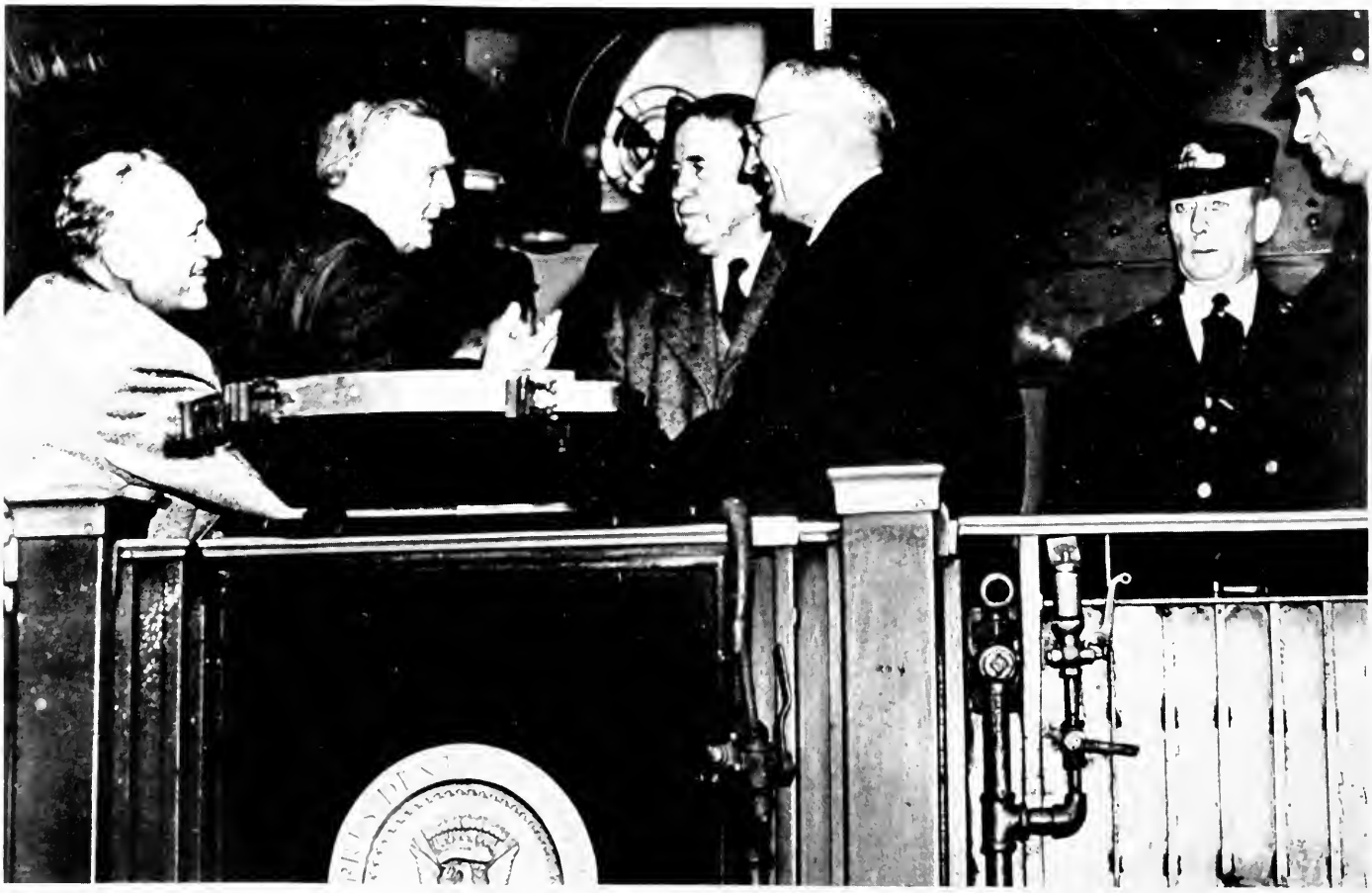
economy and prevent inflation. With pressure for decontrol increasing in the postwar period, Bowles and the Administration faced their most severe test.[5]

A conservative coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats opposed the Administration's plans to retain effective price controls. The opposition was led by the Republican whip in the Senate, Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, and Senator Robert A. Taft, a Republican from Ohio. Taft, especially, was a problem since legislation to extend the functions of the O.P.A. had to go through the Senate Banking and Currency Committee of which he was a member. A latter day conservative, Taft espoused a free-enterprise philosophy, and men of both parties said that Taft's first reaction on any issue involving government activity was "no." Truman could depend on the assistance of the Democratic leadership in both houses, and Senator Alben W. Barkley, the majority floor leader, would guide the O.P.A. extension bill through the Senate with the assistance of other regular Democrats such as Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming.[6]

Blue-eyed, bushy-browed Joseph Christopher O'Mahoney was born at Chelsea, Massachusetts, on November 5, 1884, one of eleven children of Irish immigrant parents. O'Mahoney attended Columbia University but before obtaining a degree he went west with an ailing brother. O'Mahoney settled in Boulder, Colorado, and became a reporter on the *Boulder Herald*. Later, he moved to Cheyenne, and became city editor of the *State Leader* and a protege of its publisher, John B. Kendrick. Kendrick went to Washington as a senator from Wyoming, and O'Mahoney went with him as his secretary. Earning a law degree at Georgetown University, O'Mahoney began a long career in law and politics, gaining a reputation as a liberal Democrat. When Kendrick died in 1933, Governor Leslie A. Miller appointed O'Mahoney to fill the vacancy, and O'Mahoney was elected to a full term in 1934.

In Washington, Senator O'Mahoney supported Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal," breaking only once with him over the plan to "pack" the Supreme Court in 1937, an event which brought O'Mahoney into the national spotlight, but which may have cost him an appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States.

O'Mahoney became a foe of big business and insisted that business management, like government, must be responsible to the people since "the national economy, like the national government, belongs to all of us and not to any part or group or class among us." O'Mahoney was a promoter of special interests and a spokesman in the Senate for the livestock industry, petroleum producers, and western agriculture, including sugar beet growers. Dynamic, eloquent, and persuasive, he was an excellent senator and a "devoted and dedicated public ser-



WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPT

President Harry S. Truman is welcomed to Wyoming by Lester C. Hunt and Joseph C. O'Mahoney.

vant . . . ever mindful of his obligation to his country and his great state."[7]

As the date for the expiration of the O.P.A. approached in 1946, O'Mahoney received a large correspondence from his constituents on the extension of the controversial federal agency and the economy. The attitudes expressed by the citizens of Wyoming were either to end the O.P.A. and price controls immediately; to extend the O.P.A. for a period, but with changes; or to preserve the O.P.A. intact with all its wartime powers.

Supporters of renewal of the O.P.A. with its full powers intact were veterans of the war, wage earners living on fixed incomes, and citizens who were fearful of ruinous inflation.[8] Claud A. Walker of Torrington, Wyoming, warned O'Mahoney that the lobbyists were at work to end controls so they could "make millions," and if the O.P.A. was terminated, prices would double "over night," setting off "a spree of inflation that would bust everyone in the end . . ."[9] A Laramie, Wyoming, veteran of over four years of military service who was pursuing graduate studies at Princeton University on the "G.I. Bill of Rights" wrote that if O.P.A. were not continued and the cost of living rose, he would have to quit his studies to support his wife and child.[10]

Another attitude on the O.P.A. was expressed by small businessmen operating in communities throughout Wyoming who were disgusted with the administrative tactics of the O.P.A. and Chester Bowles. They saw the need for limited controls of some kind and would support them for a short period of six months to a year if the red tape, multiplication tables, pamphlets, and bureaucracy were cut down and streamlined.[11] James C. Reynolds mirrored this view when he wrote, "It is the firm belief of the D and D Hardware Co. of Sheridan, Wyoming, that the future interests of the United States and of the small business interests, which make up the great bulk of the merchandising establishments of the country and who employ the greater number of men and women would be best served by a curtailment of O.P.A. in everything except the retail ceilings."[12]

The outright demand for an end to the O.P.A. came from Wyomingites who were philosophically opposed to government intervention in the economy or who stood to gain by its end. A resident of Lusk, Wyoming, urged an end to the O.P.A. since, if it wasn't abolished, the O.P.A. would soon liquidate all private business and result in "complete dictatorship and the end of liberty for all Americans," adding that "The strength of this country lies in private enterprise."[13] Dairy and petroleum interests called for the end of the O.P.A., and the Kirk Oil Company of Frannie, Wyoming, pointed out that "the supply of crude oil and its products . . . [are] now in balance with demand," therefore, controls were no longer justified.[14]

The livestock growers and meat producers were by far the most vocal opposition to the O.P.A. They still experienced problems that reached back into the war period. The government had gradually extended its control over all food sources, including livestock, and began rationing meat in March, 1943, to provide equitable distribution at home while providing for overseas war needs. Meat became a scarce item, producers were dissatisfied with government regulation since it tended to reduce their profits by interfering with normal supply-and-demand relationships. To escape regulation and maximize profits, some producers sent their product into the black market. Wyoming cattlemen objected to controls on meat for this reason and worked without success through the war to end them. When the war concluded, meat controls continued, and this commodity disappeared into illegal channels of trade.[15]

A cattleman reported that range beef went to the commercial feeders when they weighed 600 to 700 pounds, and, normally, feeders doubled their weight before releasing them for slaughter. Under the O.P.A. controls, profits were uncertain and protein feeds could not be obtained, so feed lots were unwilling to accept cattle. R.O. Whitaker of Cheyenne said, "The man who usually buys our cattle couldn't pay the quoted [O.P.A.] prices because he said he would have to buy on the black market, and sell all the cattle on the black market to make a profit."[16] In Wyoming, according to Clifford P. Hansen, "most of our meat is . . . going to the consumer through black market channels" with the result that the "valuable by-products of the meat packing industry are . . . wasted. . . ." Hansen maintained that controls had failed, and that the government should end the O.P.A. and permit supply and demand to "bring order out of the present confusion and waste."[17]

Hansen's position was reinforced by both the Wyoming Stock Growers Association and the National Live Stock Producers Association, as well as other local Wyoming cattlemen. Russell Thorp, Secretary-Chief Inspector of the Wyoming organization "respectfully . . . [recommended] that the Congress not extend . . . [the O.P.A.] beyond June 30, 1946."[18]

Even consumers urged termination of controls on meat to end the black market since, as Lizabeth Wiley of Greybull, Wyoming, said, "We have no beef or mutton in our stores (in this stock land) and very little pork." The local O.P.A. representative at Cheyenne even admitted the markets in the state capitol had only meager stocks made up of cold lunch meats, poultry, and fish.[19]

By June, O'Mahoney had formulated a position on the O.P.A. and expressed it in correspondence to his constituents in Wyoming. In a letter dated April 20, 1946, and duplicated for mailing, the Senator stated that he believed "the abolition of O.P.A. would bring results far worse than the admitted evils which are now resulting from some O.P.A. policies." O'Mahoney pointed out that, as long as shortages existed, price controls could not be removed since prices would rise and

with them the cost of living "and the vast majority of the people would suffer." Calling for increased production as the only means of preventing inflation, O'Mahoney stated he would oppose any O.P.A. policies that might tend to restrict production as well as any policies that compelled businesses to operate at a loss.[20]

In a similar letter dated May 23, 1946, O'Mahoney reported to the citizens of Wyoming that the original O.P.A. would be modified. Undoubtedly, subsidies would be ended, and the entire program dissolved by mid-1947. Wyomingites could look forward to decontrol of thirty percent of all commodities by the end of 1946, predicted O'Mahoney, and the creation of a board to decontrol other commodities as soon as supply caught up with demand.[21]

The House of Representatives and Senate worked through the month of June to write new legislation to amend and extend the expiring O.P.A., and O'Mahoney received last minute appeals to influence the structure of the bill. Robert E. Wilson, chairman of the board of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, urged that petroleum controls be dropped. Russell Thorp again appealed for O'Mahoney to block administration attempts to retain price controls on livestock, meat, dairy products, and poultry. A compromise bill, amended in the Senate by both Senators Taft and Wherry in such a way as to emasculate the effectiveness of the O.P.A. finally cleared the House on Tuesday, June 25, 1946, and the Senate three days later. O'Mahoney cast his vote for the compromise measure, supporting the Administration's congressional leaders.[22]

On the night the Senate passed the amended O.P.A. extension bill, President Truman met with his economic advisors and the Cabinet. The group advising Truman was divided over whether he should sign the bill, even though the Democratic leadership of both houses urged acceptance. Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, Civilian Production Administrator John Small, and Secretary of the Interior Julius C. Krag urged the President to accept the legislation as the best possible in view of the opposition. Attorney General Tom C. Clark agreed since he did not want to see a break with the Democratic leaders on the Hill, Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas and Senator Barkley. Paul A. Porter and Chester Bowles of the O.P.A. urged a veto since, in their opinion, the bill was unworkable and would only legalize inflation. One of Truman's closest advisors on economic affairs, John Steelman, along with Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace and Housing Administrator Wilson Wyatt, backed the negative position.

Truman reportedly said the country's welfare came first and this bill wouldn't work. If it was the new bill or nothing, Truman concluded it would have to be nothing. To sharpen the issue, the controversial Chester Bowles handed the President his resignation. Truman reluctantly accepted Bowles' resignation and returned the O.P.A. extension bill to Congress with a veto.[23]

The veto message sent to Capitol Hill mentioned Senator Taft twenty-two times and placed responsibility for the veto on the Taft and Wherry amendments. Truman pointed out that the Taft Amendment would require the O.P.A. to set manufacturers' and producers' prices at their highest level in the base period of October 1 to 15, 1941, plus all industry wide increases in cost since then, and that the Wherry Amendment freed retailers, wholesalers, and service establishments from having to absorb price increases. Before price increases for the manufacturers reached the consumer, they would be pyramided by generous wholesaler's and retailer's mark-ups. Then, as things that farmers and landlords bought went up, so would rent and food prices due to parity provisions. Truman added that the Taft Amendment would wholly destroy the program of wage stabilization since wage increases would have to be recognized as a basis for price increases and would start the inflationary spiral. "In the end," concluded the President, "this bill would lead to disaster."[24]

On Saturday evening, June 29, 1946, President Truman carried the issue directly to the people over the radio reiterating the reasons for his veto and centering his criticism squarely on Senator Taft. The President pointed out that rather than let all controls expire, he had requested Congress to extend the existing O.P.A. by joint resolution. Truman called "upon every businessman, every producer, and every landlord to adhere to existing regulations, even though for a short period they . . . [might] not have the effect of law," and urged all employees of the O.P.A. to stay at their "battle stations." He closed his appeal for support by saying to the people "that we as a Nation have it within our hands to make this post war period an era of the greatest opportunity and prosperity in our Nation's history. But if short-sightedness and impatience, if partisanship and greed are allowed to triumph over the efforts to maintain economic stability, the grand opportunity will have been sacrificed."[25]

Taft, in a broadcast over the Mutual system the next day, charged that Truman had made a partisan political attack, and that the attack was written in the Office of Price Administration. He implied that Truman was under the control of the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.) which "aimed to create a totalitarian state," and that Truman never intended to surrender controls.

Taft argued the only way to increase production was to end controls, not retain them. "The President," Taft told the nation, "had a choice between a reasonable transition from price control back to the free enterprise system, on the one hand, and the ending of all O.P.A. powers by veto, on the other." Taft said Truman chose chaos, repudiated his own leaders on the Hill, and

assumed to write a law for Congress, although the Constitution of the United States gave Congress the power to state the conditions on which price control would be continued.[26]

Since an attempt by the House to override the President's veto failed, and Representative Jesse Wolcott, a Michigan Republican, and Senator W. Lee O'Daniel, a conservative Texas Democrat, blocked extension by resolution, all price controls ended at midnight, June 30, 1946. On July 2, a group of the American Youth for Democracy hanged Senator Taft in effigy in the public square of Cleveland, Ohio, Taft's home town, for causing the veto of the O.P.A. bill. The next day, President Truman left Washington for Shangri-La, the presidential hideaway in Maryland, leaving the problem in the hands of Senator Barkley.

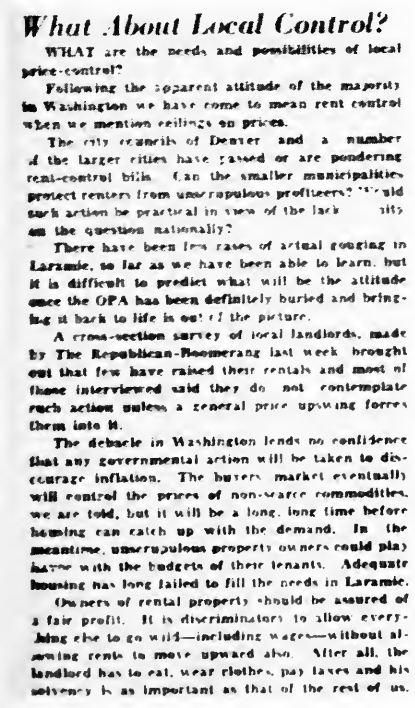
Senator O'Mahoney attempted to reassure his constituents in Wyoming about inflation, and the editor of the *Wyoming Eagle* vindicated Truman's actions as a victory for the people, and a challenge to "the forces of reaction in a situation where the issue is sharply drawn between those policies . . . intended to add to the profits of business and those policies . . . intended to protect the people . . . and to improve their condition." The immediate question was how the end of controls would effect the economy, and through the economy, the consumer.[27]

Businessmen in Cheyenne pledged themselves to hold the line on prices. The Plains Hotel Company promised to continue the same prices as had existed under the O.P.A. in its restaurants as long as food produce prices and wages remained the same. Case's Fine Foods, a grocery store, reported prices had not been raised, that all kinds of meats were available, and that their meat was "Double A," an indication that cattle had begun to flow back to legitimate channels.[28]

On July 15, 1946, *Newsweek* reported that with prices free, the cattle and hogs, held on the farms for weeks pending the demise of the O.P.A., flooded the market. On Monday, July 8, the Chicago stockyards had the biggest run on cattle since February 12, 1945. Over 22,000 head passed through, representing an increase of 14,000 over the preceding week.[29] The same thing happened at the stockyards at Omaha and Denver. In the first week of July, 14,000 cattle and 9500 hogs were handled at Omaha in a single day, an increase of 4500 cattle and 4000 hogs over a similar period in the first week of April. In Denver, between July 4 and July 9, 1946, there was an increase of 200 percent in the number of cattle and 300 percent in the number of hogs handled.

Although the meat famine was momentarily broken, President Truman later complained unfatted animals were slaughtered to take advantage of uncontrolled prices, causing a shortage in September and October. Prices rose to new heights. Cattle advanced from $18 to $22.50 per hundred weight which broke the all time high in 1919. Hog prices jumped from $14.85 to $18.50 per hundred weight. This glut later brought charges from the Administration that livestock producers had purposely withheld stock in June to create an artificial shortage and to arouse the public against the O.P.A.[30]

The rise in livestock prices reflected the start of real inflation in the postwar period. Chester Bowles pre-



What About Local Control?

WHAT are the needs and possibilities of local price-control?

Following the apparent attitude of the majority in Washington we have come to mean rent control when we mention ceilings on prices.

The city councils of Denver and a number of the larger cities have passed or are pondering rent-control bills. Can the smaller municipalities protect renters from unscrupulous profiteers? Would such action be practical in view of the lack of ... ity on the question nationally?

There have been few cases of actual gouging in Laramie, so far as we have been able to learn, but it is difficult to predict what will be the attitude once the OPA has been definitely buried and bringing it back to life is out of the picture.

A cross-section survey of local landlords, made by The Republican-Boomerang last week, brought out that few have raised their rentals and most of those interviewed said they do not contemplate such action unless a general price upswing forces them into it.

The debacle in Washington lends no confidence that any governmental action will be taken to discourage inflation. The buyers' market eventually will control the prices of non-scarce commodities, we are told, but it will be a long, long time before housing can catch up with the demand. In the meantime, unscrupulous property owners could play havoc with the budgets of their tenants. Adequate housing has long failed to fill the needs in Laramie.

Owners of rental property should be assured of a fair profit. It is discriminatory to allow everything else to go wild—including wages—without allowing rents to move upward also. After all, the landlord has to eat, wear clothes, pay taxes and his solvency is as important as that of the rest of us.

AMERICA ON TRIAL

Independence Day, 1946, finds America on trial for the right to exercise one of the cherished democratic privileges, free enterprise.

OPA, though temporarily killed, is certain of revival if Congress and the president are not convinced that prices and rent controls are not necessary to stabilize the American economy. It now rests with the public to decide the next turn of events.

Few men in Washington wish to continue government control of prices, but none are willing to accept the responsibilities for an inflationary period. Now, with inflation threatening, congress is certain to make a determined move to restore OPA. It is up to the American people to prove to their government that they can regulate prices without the aid of a bureau.

The American way of life is on trial. The sentence, if convicted, is a return to bureaucratic control.

A Laramie newspaper voiced concern over the rising rent charges in the university town. The Cody Enterprise, however, expressed the more popular view that the OPA should be kept "killed." The Rock Springs Miner opposed the elimination of controls.

dicted living costs might double in twenty days. Inflation was not that rapid, but rents and retail meat prices began advancing, even in Wyoming.

Nationally, prices were reported by July 22, 1946, to have advanced on sirloin steak from the O.P.A. price of 40 cents to 45 cents a pound to 53 cents and 75 cents a pound, and on pork loin from 33 cents to 36 cents a pound to 45 cents and 54 cents. In Cheyenne, food prices continued to rise. On July 20, 1946, Safeway announced increases of 6 cents a pound on beef, 5 cents a pound on lamb, and 2 cents a pound on veal, pork, and mutton. Sirloin steak advanced to 45 cents a pound in August and reached 62 cents and 65 cents by early 1947. Coffee advanced from 35 cents a pound in July to 45 cents and 48 cents a pound in February, 1947. Large eggs sold for 51 cents a dozen in July, 1946, and reached 60 cents a year later. Dun and Bradstreet's Wholesale Price Index of thirty-one foodstuffs in general use showed an increase of 15.4 percent in the month of July, 1946, compared with a small decrease in the same period of 1945 when the O.P.A. was in operation.[31]

Rents followed food prices in the general escalation of the cost of living. Nationally, the average rent increase was reported as 15 percent for July. In Cheyenne, rents on two apartments were advanced from $35 to $55 a month, and war veterans led a major public outcry over a housing incident. A landlord, Joseph Dazzo, raised the rent of Mrs. Eva Carey from $30 to $35 a month on her small frame house. Mrs. Carey, living on a government pension of $133 a month, was raising two small sons, ages five and seven years. She was the widow of Sergeant Charles F. Carey, Jr., who had been killed in France on January 1, 1945. (He was the only Wyoming recipient of the nation's highest military award, the Congressional Medal of Honor, during World War II.) The Carey case was symptomatic of people caught in inflation, and protests and appeals for protection flowed to the Washington office of Senator O'Mahoney.[32]

"The lapsing of O.P.A. at this time is fraught with many dangers," wrote Ralph E. Conwell, the Chairman of the Department of Economics and Sociology at the University of Wyoming. A Sheridan, Wyoming, resident called on O'Mahoney to get behind his "fighting President and fight for O.P.A." Many Wyoming residents urged continuation of at least rent control if not the whole O.P.A.

Organized labor in Wyoming, part of a national movement to save the O.P.A., exerted pressure for new price control legislation. The Cheyenne Central Labor Union, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Cement Workers of Local 355, and Local 269 of the C.I.O., demanded a new, strong bill.[33]

In July, Senator O'Mahoney prepared several mimeographed letters to respond to the avalanche of correspondence he received as a result of the Truman-Taft imbroglio over price control. Borrowing his phraseology from an article in the Catholic review *America,* written by Dr. T. A. Mogilnitsky, an economist at Loyola University, Chicago, O'Mahoney wrote he still believed price control was of great importance, but like all government powers should be sparingly used.

O'Mahoney wrote that he wanted to avoid the teaching "that wars have been followed by inflation which has destroyed the value of property." Such problems could be avoided since the President still had the power to distribute commodities in short supply, and an equitable distribution of goods would help alleviate shortages causing price rises due to excessive demands. O'Mahoney also urged that merchants and manufacturers exercise discretion and restraint in pricing their goods and that consumers refrain from excessive buying and refuse to be victimized by high prices. Later, O'Mahoney prophesied Congress would pass a new bill, and, by the second week in July, even Senator Taft agreed legislation was necessary.[34]

The senior senator from Kentucky, sixty-eight-year-old Alben Barkley, led the fight for a new administration bill from his Capitol office. On July 4, Paul Porter of the O.P.A. spent six hours with the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. By a vote of 12 to 5 the committee finally approved a bill extending the O.P.A. until June 30, 1947, and rolling back prices to June 30, 1946, ceilings.

Once the bill was on the Senate floor, as Truman recognized and later pointed out, the lobbyists of special interests went to work. The result was that the handling of the O.P.A. bill was reminiscent of tariff "log-rolling" of days past. On Tuesday, July 9, 1946, meat, poultry, and eggs were exempted from control. The next day in a lengthy session, the Senate exempted milk, butter, and cheese, cotton seed, soybeans, butter and lard substitutes, and petroleum and petroleum products. On Thursday, rent control was turned over to the states, and on Friday, July 12, grain and grain feeds for livestock and poultry as well as tobacco were exempted. Truman described the developing legislation as "terrible," but the Senate proceeded to send it on to conference with the House.[35]

During the "log-rolling" session in the Senate, O'Mahoney voted with the Administration seventy percent of the time. Earlier, when he was chairman of the Special Senate Committee on Petroleum he said that petroleum controls should be lifted. He voted against the Administration on this issue. Under pressure from national and Wyoming cattle interests, Senator O'Mahoney voted against the Administration on continuation of meat, grain, and milk controls. He voted with Barkley and the Administration to prevent the inclusion of the Taft and Wherry Amendments of an earlier date.

On July 9, O'Mahoney telegraphed his constituents at Evanston, Cheyenne, Kaycee, and Douglas, Wyo-

CODY ENTERPRISE, JULY 3, 1946

ming, about the victory regarding livestock, poultry, eggs, food and food products. He said later he had voted as he did on meat and petroleum because "both of these commodities seem to be in sufficient supply to meet the domestic demand."[36]

During mid-July, House members insisted on keeping price ceilings in the O.P.A. bill, and the legislation stalled in the conference committee as various factions failed to work out a compromise. Senate majority leader Barkley reported, "We're getting nowhere the fastest you ever saw. Everybody has his own ideas of a compromise. Everything on earth has been discussed."

Senator Taft continued his attack on the O.P.A. by supporting a move to halve its appropriation. He stipulated that none of the appropriation could be used for "propaganda" since he felt the O.P.A. had used federal funds to promote itself through pamphlets, publications, and publicity releases. Finally, on July 20, after an eight-hour showdown conference, the committee of seven senators and seven representatives approved a compromise.[37]

The modified bill represented an administration victory over the original measure, *Newsweek* reported. The compromise provided for decontrol of livestock, milk, grain, soybeans, cotton seed, and their edible products only until August 20, 1946, when ceilings would be automatically restored unless an independent decontrol board decided to keep them off. Poultry, eggs, petroleum, tobacco, and their products were decontrolled indefinitely but the board could vote to recontrol them. Federal control of rents was restored. The O.P.A. would have considerable discretion to refuse price increases if reasonable profits were being made.

Barkley maintained the compromise measure was workable and believed both Congress and the President would approve.[38] On July 23, 1946, the House of Representatives considered the compromise measure. A roll call vote was ordered, and the measure passed by a vote of 210 to 142. Most of the "Yea" votes came from the Democratic side of the House, and most of the "Nay" votes from the Republicans. The bill then went to the Senate which debated it at length and finally passed the O.P.A. extension by a vote of 53 to 26 with seventeen senators not voting.

O'Mahoney was absent from the Senate during the crucial vote, but the *Record* shows he was paired with Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa and would have supported the Administration by voting "Aye." Congress sent the bill to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, and, on July 25, "with reluctance" and a sweep of his pen, President Truman made the measure law, breathing life into the O.P.A. until June 30, 1947. Truman accepted the measure as the best Congress would pass, but far short of what he wanted. He warned that if it did not work, he would call Congress back into a special session and ask for tax increases and more effective legislation.[39]

Two days after signing the measure, the President named the three-man decontrol board. The chairman was Mississippi-born Roy L. Thompson, president of the Federal Land Bank of New Orleans and former head of the department of economics at Louisiana State University. Thompson's two colleagues were George H. Mead, a pulp and paper industrialist from Ohio, and Daniel W. Bell, a former Undersecretary of the Treasury.

The emphasis of the O.P.A. program was designed by the name of the board—decontrol, not control. The board was designed to liquidate by degrees the wartime system as the economy made a free adjustment, and it would spread price rises over a period of months. O.P.A. officials admitted a "hold the line" policy could not be carried out, and the best that could be hoped for was to slow down prices until production caught demand and before another price-strike wave developed. Paul Porter optimistically predicted it could be done.[40]

O'Mahoney wrote to John Byrns, the brother of the former speaker of the House of Representatives, that the price control problem had been one of great complexity. He hoped the law as finally passed would work out satisfactorily as the decontrol board lifted ceilings on commodities when they came into "substantial supply, while at the same time prevent[ing] shortages from causing the cost of living to rise."

Meat was recontrolled in August, resulting in meat again becoming scarce as producers withheld it from the

market. Many people suggested the government should seize the packing houses and go out on the farms and ranches and take the cattle for slaughter. Defeated by the cattle interests, Truman rejected this use of extreme wartime emergency power. He decided simply to withdraw the government from the situation by directing the Secretary of Agriculture and the Price Administration to remove all controls on livestock effective October 15, 1946. Supply and demand would take their natural course resulting in higher prices.[41]

Price control was an important political issue through 1946. Both Truman and Taft recognized this. The President's position was extremely delicate. If Truman accepted the first price control extension bill and inflation ensued, the Administration would be blamed. If the President vetoed the measure, and the cost of living advanced, the voters would hold the Administration responsible. The Republicans could take solace in the fact that if the Administration accepted the final bill in the midst of an accelerating inflation, the "ins" would be blamed. Judgment on this issue and others in the reconversion period came in November, 1946. In the mid-term election, the people voted Republican and repudiated the Democrats and their policies. The Eightieth Congress of the United States had Republican majorities in both houses for the first time since 1930.

Senator O'Mahoney, who protected the interests of Wyoming, avoided the turnover in his own state. He was reelected for another six-year term in the Senate, suggesting his constituents approved his actions. Following the election, President Truman announced the end of all wage and most price controls. The Administration's battle for immediate post-war stabilization was over.[42]

For fourteen months, the Truman Administration attempted to formulate a workable program to promote economic stabilization and a return to peace time production. Truman, however, opened the first crack in the program when he granted wage increases and steel price advances. Immediately, other interest groups raised the prices of their products.

The rate of inflation was spectacular. Between 1945 and 1948, the Wholesale Price Index advanced fifty-six percent on all commodities and sixty-eight percent on food.[43] Wages advanced between 1945 and 1948, but not nearly at the impressive rate of commodities and food. The average annual earnings of full-time employees in all industries advanced 27 percent; in agriculture, forestry, and fishing, 20 percent; and in mining, 29 percent.[44] Inflation did not halt until 1949 and only then with almost 3,500,000 unemployed, or 5.5 percent of the civilian labor force.[45] Inflation began again with the Korean conflict and became a fact of life in the 1970s as the government again tried to give some direction to the economy by finding an "acceptable" inflation rate while achieving "full" employment.

Joseph C. O'Mahoney took a moderate position on the inflation issue. He saw the need for price control until production could make supply equal demand. He supported price control, however, only so long as it did not interfere with the special interests of Wyoming. He was returned to the Senate in 1946 so a majority of his constituency must have approved his actions. Despite their approval, O'Mahoney could hardly have expected to prevent inflation and the demands of other special interests if he supported the desires of those of his own state. It was price control for all, or price control for none, and, in the final analysis, he helped give the nation and Wyoming inflation.

Perhaps no president, senator, or administration could have effectively dealt with the problem. The American people had foregone spending for consumer goods for four years, and that pent-up desire, coupled with the materialistic character of Americans and the fact they had savings, may have made restraint impossible. They chose material possessions and inflation rather than abstinence from consumption and stability. They lived with the consequences.

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38. *Ibid.*
39. *Congressional Record*, 79 Cong., 2 Sess., July 23, 1946, pp. 9777-9778; July 24, 1946, 9875-9876; July 25, 1946, 10107-10108; *Wyoming Eagle*, July 24, 1946, p. 1; July 25, 1946, p. 1; *Newsweek*, July 29, 1946, p. 17; Statutes at Large, vol. 60, pp. 664-678.
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44. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
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CROSSING WYOMING

NEW YORK TO

Wyoming had a very small population in 1908 and the Union Pacific was the main artery of transportation across the state. The automobile was developing as a vehicle of transportation in the towns throughout the state, but a long journey was difficult because there were no well-defined roadways that led through ranches and up mountains.

Nonetheless, Wyoming was selected as the route to be used by the drivers of the New York to Paris Race. In addition to the lack of roads, the crews would be subjected to the snows and winds of a Wyoming winter.

The 1908 New York to Paris Automobile Race was inspired by the Peking to Paris race a year earlier. The Peking to Paris Race, sponsored by the French journal, *Le Matin,* covered some 6900 miles and involved crossing the Gobi Desert and Siberia. The automobiles made use of the rails and bridges of the Trans-Siberian Railway in order to cross Siberia.[1]

The winner of the race was Prince Borghese who drove an Italian car. With an escort of cars, he made a triumphal entry into Paris after a trip of some sixty-one days. Following him were one Dutch and two French entries.[2]

Times Square in New York was the starting point for the New York to Paris race. A crowd of some 50,000 flag-waving persons lined both sides of Times Square above Broadway. The day was February 13 and the cars started the race at the sound of a shot fired from a silver pistol. The Americans were represented by the Thomas car; the Zust represented the Italians; the Protus, the Germans; and the DeDion, Naudin and Motobloc, the French.[3]

The American car was furnished by Edwin Ross Thomas, builder of the Thomas Flyer. It was a sixty-horsepower, four-cylinder model, and Montague Roberts was employed to drive it. George Schuster, an employee of the Thomas Automobile Factory of Buffalo, would serve as a mechanic and driver. An extra seat in the car was occupied by T. Walter Williams, a reporter for *The New York Times.*[4]

The German contender was a large four-cylinder, shaft-driven Protus, built in Berlin in 1908 by the Protus-Motorenbau Company. The chassis weighed some 4000 pounds and when loaded it was capable of speeds of fifty miles per hour. It was driven by First Lieutenant Hans Koeppen, and riding with Lieutenant Koeppen were two factory engineers, Hans Knape and Ernst Mase.[5]

Italy was represented by a forty-horsepower, four-cylinder Zust. The car was driven by Giulo Sirtori and Antonio Searfoglio. Henri Haaga was the mechanic. The car, representing Italian and British newspapers, had two metal chests containing 100 gallons of gasoline and the rear seat was loaded with tools, rope and tires, leaving room for one person in the seat.[6]

The French car, the DeDion, was built by the Marquis de Dion. It was equipped with steel-studded Michelin tires, which were unique at the time. The car used steel flanged wheels to run on railways when necessary. The DeDion was powered by a thirty-horsepower, four-cylinder engine, with the power unit driving the car by means of a four-speed transmission. The crew consisted of M. Bourcier se St. Chaffray, driver, and M. l' Autran, who served as mechanic.[7]

The Motobloc, another French-designed car, featured a four-cylinder motor that produced forty-five horsepower, and the car could travel at a speed of forty-two miles per hour. Baron Charles Godard was the

BY CAR IN 1908—

PARIS AUTOMOBILE RACE

By Emmett D. Chisum

driver. Other members of the crew were Authur Hue and Maurice Livier.[8]

The third French entry, the Sizaire-Naudin, was only fifteen horsepower. The car could travel at a top speed of fifty miles per hour. M. Paul Pons was the driver of the automobile. He also had started in the Peking-Paris race on a motor tricycle, but had become lost in the Gobi Desert. Maurice Berthe and Lucien Deschamps were crew members in the New York to Paris race.[9]

The Thomas, DeDion and Zust cars took the lead at the start, running together as far as Buffalo, while the Protus and Motobloc fell behind. The Thomas car outran the DeDion after leaving Buffalo, New York, and led the way across the United States.[10]

The Thomas car, after struggling through the snowdrifts of Indiana and Illinois, arrived in Cheyenne on the afternoon of March 8, where it was accorded an enthusiastic reception by the citizens. The shop and light company whistles announced that the American car had reached Archer and in a short time, 17th Street was crowded with people waiting to see it.[11]

The Thomas car, with a big American flag flying from it, dashed down 17th Street followed by a long line of Denver and Cheyenne cars. The driver, Montague Roberts, took it to the Wright and Lawson Garage on Capitol Avenue where it was overhauled. Two tires were replaced with new ones. The crew went to the Union Pacific Hotel to rest before the evening reception.[12]

Eighty-five guests attended a huge banquet at the Industrial Club. The Thomas crew was seated in a special section. Former Senator J. M. Carey made the principal address of the evening. He warned the crew of the obstacles they would encounter west of Cheyenne, but assured them that in spite of all of the difficulties, the men could get through if they followed the spirit of the early explorers.[13]

The Thomas car and the accompanying automobiles did not leave for Laramie until the morning of March 9. A new driver, E. L. Mathewson of Denver, was employed to take the Thomas as far as Ogden, Utah. Elmer Lovejoy's Reo was the pilot car on the road to Laramie.[14]

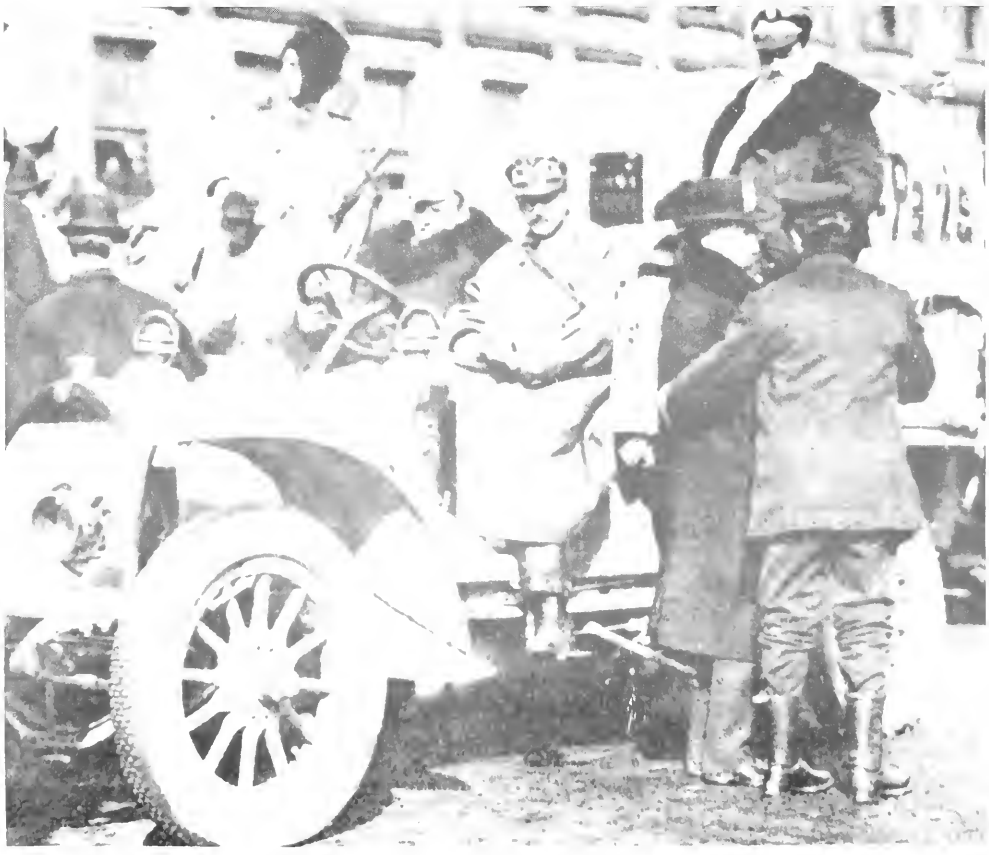
Miss Katherine Mackenzie, holder of the Denver Post cup for the "most beautiful girl in Wyoming," climbed aboard the Thomas for the trip to Laramie. She reported that she was frightened when the car made a sharp turn onto a small bridge and almost went into a ravine. She was the only woman to have been in "the car that defends America to the world."[15]

The Americans stopped briefly at the Ames Monument on the way to Laramie. At Red Buttes, some of the automobile owners of Laramie drove out to greet the crew. Dr. H. E. McCollum, H. M. Symons, Sayer Hansen and J. E. Winslow were waiting at Red Buttes to escort the Thomas into town. When the Americans arrived on Second Street, it was jammed with cheering crowds, and the crew acknowledged the cheers by wearing their "sheepherder coats."[16]

The Thomas was driven down the street to Lovejoy's Garage, where any damaged parts could be repaired. Crowds gathered outside the garage to see and take photographs of the famous car. City schools and the University of Wyoming had been dismissed and students attached a University banner to the Thomas car.[17]

The Thomas crew was given a banquet at the Union Pacific Hotel. G. L. Patchel representing the newspaper men; Jesse Converse from the Commerican Club, and


NEW-YORK
PARIS



The Thomas Flyer crosses the North Platte River at Fort Steele on the ice (top, left).

The Flyer rolls through the snows of Wyoming bound for Paris from New York (left).

The Zust, the Italian entry, finished second in the race (above).

The Protus, the German car, was commanded by Lt. Hans Koppen (right).

(AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING PHOTOGRAPHS)

Sayer Hansen of the Automobile Club made up the reception committee. The three crew members, E. L. Mathewson, Captain Hans Hanson and George Schuster, gave short speeches of appreciation to the Laramie citizens. Captain Hanson of the Norwegian Navy had been made a member of the crew because he spoke Russian and would be helpful to the Americans when they crossed Siberia.[18]

The Thomas car left Laramie for Rawlins on March 10, with Elmer Lovejoy's Reo again serving as one pilot car. A Maxwell furnished by *The Laramie Boomerang* and driven by Will Goodale was the second pilot car. The speed of the cars from Laramie to Rock River was terrific. They made the fifty-two miles in two hours and ten minutes. The citizens of Rock River were disappointed when the cars stayed in their town only three minutes.[19]

From Rock River the cars passed through the small station at Ridge at the same time that Train No. 4 was going by the place. The engineer, J. W. Costin of Laramie, blew the locomotive whistle as a greeting, and all members of the automobile parties fired their pistols in the air as a salute to the train.[20]

On the road from Ridge, the cars encountered some snow. The Thomas arrived with the pilot cars in Medicine Bow about noon, and lunch was served to the crews at the Cedar Street Hotel. The citizens of the town extended a hearty welcome to the racer, and the ladies of Medicine Bow decorated the car with ribbons and autographed handkerchiefs for the crew to carry on the victory drive to Paris.[21]

The cars had considerable difficulty with huge snowdrifts on the road after they left Medicine Bow. Elmer Lovejoy's Reo, and Will Goodale's Maxwell broke a road through the snow for the Thomas car. The men spent the night at Walcott and the next morning crossed the North Platte River on the ice at Fort Steele. When the cars arrived in Rawlins, the racers attended a two-hour luncheon as the Rawlins Brass Band played a special concert of patriotic music. That afternoon the cars left Rawlins and started on the snowy trail toward Bitter Creek.[22]

For four hours the automobiles fought the snowdrifts and picked their way through the Red Desert. The roadway improved as the cars reached Bitter Creek, the legendary home of outlaws.[23]

Leaving Bitter Creek, the automobiles headed toward Carter. There the crews learned that the wagon road to Evanston was impassable. Union Pacific Railroad officials, however, granted permission for the Thomas car to use the railroad right of way between Carter and Evanston, a distance of forty miles. The Thomas arrived in Evanston at 10:45 a.m., March 13 after traveling as a train. A Mr. Brown was on board as a conductor. Lovejoy's Reo had broken an axle and was left at Carter.[24]

After spending the night at Evanston, the Thomas crew continued to use the Union Pacific Railway as far as Wasatch, Utah. As the automobile neared Ogden, a holiday was declared in the city. The Thomas reached Ogden on March 14, some 2556 miles from the New York City starting point. An escort of cars accompanied the Americans out of town and a new driver was secured for the Thomas. Han Brinker [sic] was employed to drive the car to California.[25]

The Italian car, the Zust, arrived in Cheyenne on March 13 in pursuit of the Thomas. The Italian citizens of Cheyenne joined the city officials with a banquet in their honor at the Industrial Club. Again, former Senator Carey gave the principal speech. His address, dealing with the virtues of Rome in classical times, brought a favorable reaction from the Italian crowd.[26]

The Zust had the same type of chain drive as the Thomas although it was a much larger car. While the car was being repaired, people came to the garage to see and touch it.

The Italian car arrived in Rawlins on Sunday, March 15, and left for Ogden the next morning. When the Zust arrived in Green River, Wyoming, the crew was advised that they could not use the railroad between Green River and Evanston, Wyoming.[27]

On the road to Evanston, near Spring Valley, the Zust was surrounded by a pack of fifty wolves. The crew opened fire on the attacking animals and killed twenty of the pack. Before the Zust arrived in Evanston they reported that they were near death due to the cold weather and the terrible roads.[28]

The two French cars arrived in Cheyenne at the same time on March 21. The Motobloc attracted little attention as it passed through the city in a freight train. Upon entering the city, the other French car, the De-Dion, was met by the usual escort of automobiles. The French crew was given a banquet with the theme of the party being "May The Best Car Win." Another French car, the Sizaire-Naudin, had long since dropped out of the race because of mechanical difficulties.[29]

The DeDion arrived in Laramie on the afternoon of March 21, stopped briefly at the Lovejoy Garage, and then headed for Rawlins. The French crew became lost on the road between Green River and Evanston, and spent the night at Bryan, a town of two houses. On the way from Carter to Evanston, the articles in the back of the car caught fire. Since there was no water available, the crew used sand to put out the fire. The DeDion arrived in Granger, Wyoming, on March 25, and secured a pilot for the trip to Ogden, Utah.[30]

After the usual ceremonies in Cheyenne honoring the crews of the race cars, the last car arrived in Laramie on the night of March 22. It was the big heavy German Protus, and it had made the trip from Cheyenne to Laramie in six hours. The Germans were met at Red Buttes by Elmer Lovejoy and a large party of automo-

biles which escorted the Protus into the city. On the way into Laramie, the German car had a tire blowout, so it was late when it arrived at Lovejoy's Garage. Three hundred people were gathered at the garage to examine the big German car. Some of the crowd remarked that it looked like an "army wagon;" others termed the machine the "Kraut wagon." Over foaming steins of beer, Lt. Von Koeppen and his crew members expressed their thanks.[31]

The Protus left Laramie on March 24 and spent the night in Rock River. When the automobile became stuck in Misner Creek, the crew signed in at the Rock River Hotel for the night. The Germans secured a new pilot to show them the roads to the west.[32]

The German car left Rock River at 7 a.m. and encountered driving snow. It did not arrive in Rawlins until 6:35 p.m. that evening. The crew had dinner at a Rawlins hotel and left the next morning for Evanston.[33]

The German car, after running over some of the roughest roads in the country, did not leave Evanston until April 1. Lt. Von Koeppen expressed relief that another day would take him out of Wyoming and on to Ogden, Utah. The Germans arrived in Ogden on April 2 and made repairs before continuing the trip to California.[34]

The French car, the DeDion, dropped out of the race at Vladivostok, leaving the Thomas, the Protus and the Zust as contenders. In the race across the vast land of Siberia, the lead alternated between the German and American cars. The German car was the first to reach Chita and won the trophy offered by the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

It also beat the Thomas car into Berlin by two days, and reached Paris the day that the American car reached Berlin. The Thomas car took four days for the final run from Berlin to Paris. In order to win the race, however, the German car had to beat the American car to Paris by thirty days.[36] The special allowance was given because the American car had followed the official route to Alaska, but the roads were impassable and it could not find passage across the Bering Strait. The German car, however, was shipped from Pocatello, Idaho, to Seattle in order to sail with the Thomas car for Siberia.

In spite of the brilliant passage across Siberia in sixty-five days, the race committee of LeMatin disqualified the German car. The complaint against the Germans was that they had shipped their car over part of the Rocky Mountains. The Zust was awarded second place in the race.[37]

The Thomas and its crew returned to New York during the second week of August to a rousing reception by the citizens. The car was driven up Wall Street, and the crew were guests at a luncheon given by the Automobile Club. The American car had driven some 12,000 miles in 108 days.

The driver and the mechanic were each given a $1000 bonus by the Thomas Company. George Schuster, the driver, was to get an award of $1000 from the Automobile Club as the winner, but the club was defunct by the time the race was concluded.[38] In 1968 the New York Times made good on the promise of the defunct Automobile Club and paid Schuster $1000. By this time, he had reached the age of ninety-five. (He died in July, 1972, at the age of ninety-nine.)[39]

The victory of the Thomas in the 1908 New York to Paris race was a tribute to the developing automobile industry. It also pointed out the need for a good system of roads in the United States. A modern interstate highway now follows most of the route taken by the cars across Wyoming in the New York to Paris Automobile Race of 1908.

1. *The New York Times*, June 9, 1907, pt. 5, p. 11.
2. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1907, p. 3.
3. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1908.
4. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1908, pt. 4, p. 2.
5. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1908, pt. 5, p. 8.
6. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1908, p. 1.
7. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1908, p. 1.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1908, pt. 2, p. 3.
11. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 9, 1908, p. 1-2.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2.
13. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 9, 1908, pp. 1, 5.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 5.
15. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 11, 1908, p. 3.
16. *Laramie Boomerang*, March 9, 1908, p. 1.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Laramie Republican*, March 10, 1908, p. 1.
19. *Laramie Boomerang*, March 10, 1908, p. 1.
20. *Laramie Republican*, March 10, 1908, p. 1.
21. *Laramie Boomerang*, March 11, 1908, p. 1.
22. *The New York Times*, March 14, 1908, p. 1.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1908, p. 1.
25. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1908, p. 1.
26. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 14, 1908, p. 1.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *The New York Times*, March 12, 1908, p. 1.
29. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 21, 1908, p. 1.
30. *The New York Times*, March 26, 1908, p. 1.
31. *Laramie Republican*, March 23, 1908, p. 1.
32. *Laramie Boomerang*, March 24, 1909, p. 1.
33. *Wyoming Tribune*, April 2, 1908, p. 2.
34. *The New York Times*, May 2, 1908, p. 1.
35. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1908, pt. 2, p. 1.
36. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1908, p. 1.
37. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1908, p. 1.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1972, pt. 2, p. 36.

Political units, whether states or entire nations, are in varying degrees shaped and influenced by the complex of values, norms, and mores of the region. Often the give and take between a people's heritage and their government is a continual, fluid process. Sometimes the link is subtle, often times it is more clearcut and obvious, but in any event, the political jurisdictions in America are typically shaped by the dominant values of the culture.

While it is an endless historical task to identify the myriad elements of a region's social profile, an overview of Wyoming's politics in a cultural context can still be fruitful and revealing.

There are social as well as political expressions of an ideology. While Wyoming has been consistently conservative politically, also apparent is the fine layering of a pervasive social conservatism that has filtered across the state throughout its history.

Wyoming has an equilibrium and consistent balance in its culture. The state has a social conservatism that parallels the state's strong political conservatism.

A state's character becomes set early in its history, and Wyoming is an example of a state whose physical and occupational limitations encouraged it to settle into an enduring and protective cultural and political conservatism.

Considering the state's history, it is understandable that with very few exceptions Wyoming has habitually been a conservative state, both politically and culturally. The area was discovered, settled, and developed by pioneers with a shared pride in individual achievement and strength. Because of similar backgrounds and experiences this enduring conservatism has been a dominant value in Wyoming and the surrounding area since the 1870s.

An important element of this conservatism is the state's ambivalence if not hostility toward the federal government. While many of the regions of the nation are disenchanted with the federal government at the outset of the 1980s, the attitude has been present in this state throughout its history.

During the 1978 elections, for example, nearly all of the candidates for major offices in Wyoming tried to monopolize the one issue they agreed on—fighting the federal government. All candidates for the Republican senatorial nomination repeated the same theme. Alan Simpson, the eventual winner, talked about the growth of the federal government, saying, "And we've got to stop it!" Gordon Barrows stared squarely at the camera, with a stern look, made a fist and repeated the theme, "And I'm going to fight it!" Hugh "Bigfoot" Binford told the voters not to vote for Simpson because he was a big-spending liberal who would betray Wyoming to the bureaucrats. Instead, Binford promised, "Common sense actions to get Washington off our backs, and an end to the nonsense of the federal government trying to be all things to all people."

Other examples of conservative sentiment, antagonistic to the federal government, are plentiful in Wyoming politics. When in 1976, Republican State Senator Malcolm Wallop defeated the three-term Democratic United States Senator Gale McGee, Wyoming was reaffirming its traditional commitment to its own native conservatism. Wallop was a home-grown product with stockgrower's background. McGee was an early import from out of state with an urban, intellectual background — he had been a university history professor.

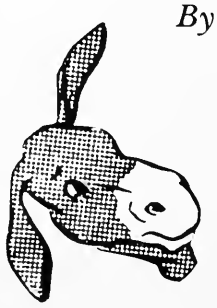
In the context of Wyoming politics, McGee was a refreshing peculiarity. He was a Democrat and largely in favor of wider use of government. In fact, that is largely the reason for his defeat. He was carried away in the midst of a display of anti-government sentiment. Much of the campaign that year as well as those before and after were waged with the rhetoric of "stopping the bureaucrats" and stopping "federal intrusion" into the Wyoming way of life. The fact that McGee had brought more federal money into the state than anyone else had ever done before did not in the end help him.[1] Actually, he probably aided his own defeat. He was pictured as representing a larger governmental presence in a state which thought it wanted a smaller one, and as being more concerned with national and international problems than with those of Wyoming.

Wallop's TV ads in the 1976 campaign drove the point home. One showed a cowboy dragging an outhouse bumping and tugging along over Wyoming's sagebrush and ravines. This was designed to show people that the federal government, which McGee repre-

THE POLITIC OF

By Roy A. Jordan

and



sented, had foolishly decreed that restrooms should be provided in every workplace, even on the open plains of Wyoming. Another TV ad showed a letter travelling from post office to post office, being cancelled many times, purporting to show federal inefficiency while making it clear that McGee was then chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Another sure reason for the resentment toward the federal government stems from the fact that it owns so much Wyoming land. The political implications of a huge federal presence within the state boundaries are apparent. When federalism, the "balance" of authority between the national and state governments, is such a close relationship, literally as close as one's backyard, a certain amount of tension is bound to be present. And, as the noted Wyoming historian T. A. Larson concludes, "Throughout its history, Wyoming had suffered more tension in its federal relations than any other state outside the South."[2]

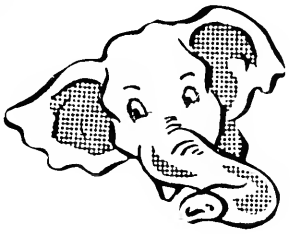
Another reason for the anger directed toward the federal government seems to be the widely held belief in Wyoming that the government is no longer to be trusted. In a statewide survey before the 1978 election, for example, 1084 Wyoming people were asked how much of the time they "trust the government in Washington to do what is right." Less than 3% said, "just about always;" 23.9% said, "most of the time;" 65.6% said, "some of the time;" 5.4% responded, "none of the time." Assuming the survey is typical of the state's general public, only one-quarter of Wyoming people believe the federal government can always or usually be counted on to do the right thing. While previous surveys show that people have more confidence in their state legislators, the confidence level is low for government in general and particularly low for federal officials.[3]

Why is there so little confidence in the federal government? There are undoubtedly several reasons, but the 1978 survey shows two of the more significant concerns. First, residents of Wyoming believe that the federal government wastes too many of their tax dollars. When asked how much of their tax money is wasted by the federal government, 76% said "a lot;" 22.4% responded, "some;" and only .7% indicated that the feds "don't waste much." Thus, one reason for the anti-Washington sentiment is the general belief that the government is extravagant.

A second reason may be of even more concern. Political scientists use the term "political efficacy" to describe the degree to which people believe they control the government. When people believe their public officials care what they think, that their vote makes a difference, that government isn't too complicated, and that they can understand what is going on, then the link between the people and what the government does is intact. The people are then thought to be in control, working through their government officials.

In Wyoming, however, there is an alarming counter-trend. In the recent survey, nearly half of the respondents said that public officials don't care much what they think, and that outside of voting they have no say in what the government does. Also, three-quarters indicated that politics and government are so complicated that they can't really understand what is going on, and 35% agreed that they "don't have any say in what the government does." Clearly, a huge segment of Wyoming's population is inefficacious, or feel as though they have little or no say about what the government does. This is a vital concern because our system of government is based upon the premise that the people are in control. When so many people think that they have lost control, as is the case in Wyoming, it is only natural to be distrustful of government.

Even though Wyoming's suspicion of the federal government is strong today and has been present for nearly all of the state's history, an important inconsistency exists, because of a contradictory love-hate relationship. Again, the state's history must be considered. To a pioneer state like Wyoming, the money and the power of the federal government has been absolutely essential. The U.S. Army was vital to early Wyoming in terms of security for the state as well as the money spent for the forts and by the troops. The Union Pacific railroad was given over four and one-half million acres of land in Wyoming by the federal government as a way to populate the state and to give the state a firm economic base. Irrigation and reclamation projects which were absolutely necessary to make parts of the state livable were funded by the federal government. This state, as well as others, was given essential economic aid



4

COWBOY CULTURE

Tim R. Miller

during the Depression in the 1930s. Wyoming received more federal money per capita than any other state except Nevada and Montana.

Put simply, the federal government has been a welcome and essential element of the Wyoming economy. The federal government made its contribution to building the state's own economy and in helping to establish that group of businessmen, the cattlemen, who were to have such long-lasting cultural and political influence in the state.

When Wyoming's cattlemen, the state's first successful businessmen, became established they depended on free use of government land. Even when they were given the opportunity to buy at five cents an acre, the land that they were using, they refused to do so. Of course, by not owning the land outright they did not need to pay taxes on it. When the cattlemen did become convinced finally, in the 1920s and 1930s, that they should *lease* public lands, they began to use leased land from the government as an essential part of their operation. However, cattlemen still wanted the federal government to cede that land to the state if not to them individually. They still do; they still haven't got it. Cattlemen may graze their herds on federally-owned land at little cost, but they do not own it.

"By not owning the land outright they did not need to pay taxes on it."

Despite the fact that Wyoming has consistently received more money from the federal government than it has paid in taxes,[4] Wyoming just as faithfully has decried so-called "government meddling and interference." That contradiction might be partially explained by the fact of the romantic language of rugged, individualistic, free-enterprising westerners having become part of the Wyoming value structure.

A March 18, 1978, *Billings Gazette* article sounded the refrain when it held that Wyoming and the federal government were "at war."[5] That article quoted Democratic Governor Ed Herschler as telling a House Committee, "I have been frustrated, annoyed, infuriated, exasperated, bewildered, appalled, alarmed, and disgusted," in his attempts to deal with the federal government in Wyoming. The anti-federal government tone hasn't changed much since statehood in 1890 and it does not matter whether it is a Democratic or Republican voice.

Wyoming is a conservative state for a variety of reasons. Many reasons are historical, some are economic, others involve the degree of confidence in government. Although the conservative values outlined in these pages were born in the state's past, they are "alive and well" today. The 1978 statewide survey showed that Wyoming residents consider themselves to be conservative or extremely conservative rather than liberal or extremely liberal by a three-to-one margin.

A minority of the Wyoming electorate has sometimes lamented a political and cultural framework which they have found heavy with this deep-rooted social conservatism. However, a strong tradition of one dominant ideology in the state has indeed led to a high degree of political stability which, after all, is one of the prime virtues of any political system.

It has been said at times that there isn't much difference nationally between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum (Democrats and Republicans). The same might be said at times in Wyoming. In this state the political differences between Democrat and Republican, liberal and conservative, often blur and are sometimes indistinct. That is true even though historically Wyoming has nearly always been a Republican state.

It is not surprising that Wyoming is Republican. While the Democrats were strong during the early territorial period after 1869, their decline was well under way by statehood in 1890. Embarrassed by their lack of strong leadership, dragging their feet on statehood, and generally languishing in disorganization, the Democrats at the end of the 19th century began their long-term minority status.[6]

This tradition has continued throughout Wyoming's history. While the state's electorate has voted for Democratic presidential candidates in nine of twenty-two elections, and for Democratic gubernatorial candidates twelve of twenty-seven times, throughout the state's history, however, Democratic candidates have won only one race for state treasurer, three for state auditor, five for secretary of state, and five for superintendent of public instruction. Coupled with the seemingly permanent Republican control of the state legislature (Democrats have controlled both houses for only four years of the state's history), this illustrates the degree of Republican dominance.[7]

"The Wyoming political culture is not ethnically or racially complex."

Another important aspect of a political culture is the factor of ethnic politics, how a culture adapts to different races or nationalities. Except for a mixture of the mining and railroad history of Rock Springs which has contributed to its unusually cosmopolitan atmosphere, Wyoming has rarely, if ever, had to respond to ethnic politics. Over ninety percent of the people in Wyoming are white.[8] That factor alone shows once more that the Wyoming profile is more uniform and less fractured than the American pluralistic society as a whole. The Wyoming political culture is not ethnically or racially complex. A candidate seeking office here, for instance, does not have to concern himself with appealing to dif-

ferent racial or ethnic needs that might change from district to district.

It is not unusual for a Wyoming child to go through most of his schooling without encountering anyone very different from himself in terms of race or even social class. He is not often exposed to experiences and traditions other than his own. It is not surprising that a young Wyomingite might well have little conception of the politics of race and the problems of trying to accommodate racial or ethnic differences into a broad consensus.

The recent population impact on parts of Wyoming due to energy production has increased the population, but it does not seem to have significantly altered the degree of ethnic diversity. Since it does appear that such energy extraction in the state will only intensify, the interesting question is how a persistently stable cultural atmosphere, protective of a "Wyoming way of life," will meet the challenge of a new cultural framework.

Wyoming people are reluctant to see themselves as having a "station in life" that is different from other people. This state, which has never been a rich land, has generally not seen large economic class differences. The idea of a classless society yielding some sort of "middle class" culture has been an American dream for generations. In reality, of course, there often were gaps between classes, and times when most people were indeed not middle class. There have always been social and economic classes in America but we have not always wanted to admit it.

This idea of classlessness is a national self-delusion which Wyoming has also shared. Wyoming, however, comes closer to that ideal than does the nation. There has been a similarity of status and outlook that does mark most aspects of Wyoming culture and does tend to construct a more nearly homogeneous culture.

A good example of that national self-delusion which has implications for Wyoming has been the American South. Cultural patterns were largely set by the rich planter class, the first successful businessmen, who were and still are a numerical minority. Through their own brand of cultural gymnastics many members of the nearly permanent lower class convinced themselves that the planters should actually be given deference in most aspects of life. Translated into politics this meant that the planter class virtually ruled Southern politics for centuries and has a large influence today.

In a similar fashion, Wyoming has been influenced by those men who first "made it," the cattlemen. As a group they were among the earliest people on the high plains to speak of self reliance, free enterprise, "rugged individualism," distrust of federal government "intervention." These, of course, are conservative values. Much like the Southern planter aristocracy, Wyoming stockmen, personified by the always influential Wyoming Stock Growers Association, were *the* early political power in the state, and the bulk of Wyoming society was content with that influence.

Wyoming's frontier heritage contributed to a broad reluctance for its people to see themselves as "less than somebody else." This high plains democracy was expressed years ago by a cowboy talking to a haughty British nobleman, "You may be a son of a lord back in England, but that ain't what you are out here."[9]

Western history has long witnessed a resentment against even being made to appear inferior. The terms "waiter," "servant," and "master" of the house for example, all took on different meanings in the West. In early Wyoming cattle country a traveler who asked, "Is your master home?" was informed "I have no master, the son of Baliel ain't been born yet."[10] When another Englishman in early Wyoming tried to make his hired hand fill a bathtub for him, the helper sprinkled the tub with bullet holes and shouted, "You ain't quite the top shelfer you think you is, you ain't even got a shower-bath for cooling your swelled head but I'll make you a present of one, boss."[11]

"You may be the son of a lord back in England, but that ain't what you are out here."

This faith in the equality of all men was another way in which the West "roughed up" democracy. It was, in fact, the outstanding characteristic of American culture to Europeans. It is no accident that in Europe the West has been the primary symbol of America.

Wyoming, as part of the cattle frontier, was a male domain for some time. A lasting result of that ranching and cowboy world has been the creation of a powerful masculine image. A legacy of "manly virtues" has been a part of western cultural values.

To accompany that picture has been a corresponding feminine model. The untouchable "Madonna of the Plains" concept resulted from the scarcity of women in the early West and the celibacy it caused. There is a sense in which the West maintained a paradoxical "cult" of womanhood. This was particularly a reflection and extension of a curious American cultural tendency. It was also because of Wyoming's particular geography and occupations. Not only in Wyoming, but throughout the West, a societal role emerged which was complimentary as well as restrictive. Women came to be viewed as unique "civilizers," keepers of hearth and home, interested in education, church and the arts, while men conceded their own coarseness and assumed the "obligations" of work, business, politics, and leadership.[12]

This cultural chivalry has meant little in Wyoming when translated into political terms. This is despite the fact the state granted to women the democratic right to vote in its state constitution in 1890, the first state to do so. Wyoming is proud to call itself the "Equality State,"

even though one may sometimes wonder whether the term is deserved.

Actually, Wyoming first granted this political right as a territory in 1869. But that political action wasn't all romantic. In large measure it was a promotional gimmick designed to attract more population and improve Wyoming economically and politically. It didn't fully accomplish that aim and was nearly repealed in 1871. It was supported again in 1890, almost out of habit and with little male concern, because there weren't many women anyway and those who were married tended to vote the same way their husbands did. While women back East were demonstrating and making heated speeches, women in Wyoming were given that right with relative ease—a right given to them by men for their own male reasons. Interpretation of the original woman suffrage act permitted women to serve on juries. That "right" ended in 1871. Wyoming men didn't want to go too far in this radical experiment. Women didn't serve on juries again (except in a few cases with women on trial) until 1950.[13]

The Wyoming legislature ratified the Equal Rights Amendment in 1973, but in the state senate, the vote was close, 17-21. There have been attempts since then to repeal ERA, but apparently the cultural habit of being the "Equality State" is too strong. T. A. Larson, Wyoming's historian, has an apt phrase, "Politics in Wyoming is a game played seriously by a few hundred people, most of them men,"[14] which makes a comment on the relative status of women in Wyoming politics.

The historic influence of the cattlemen and the cattle country legacy in this state, both in terms of economics and conservative western values, has been discussed. Another piece of cultural luggage acquired from this unique cattle tradition is the figure of the cowboy. That image has special social and political meanings for people in this state as well as broad implications for the nation as a whole. The West has generally symbolized those things bold and good, a symbol of refreshing hope, and the cowboy has come to personalize that western experience for us all.

"Wyoming provided an uncluttered arena for the creation of the cowboy . . ."

Americans have always been proud of "their" West and its unique past. This pride has given Americans something to nurture, share, and even exaggerate. We attach virtues to those experiences which we hope will continue to make our culture different if not better than someone else's. This is a major purpose of having a set of cultural values—to adopt, even create those ideals which we think are needed by the society and then to hold to them. The West, in truth as well as legend, has answered many of those needs, and Wyoming rightfully enough is closely linked with the image of the cowboy.

Wyoming helped make the cowboy into an ideal. He was and is seen as a hard, lean, self-reliant, courageous, patriotic, and honorable man. These are glamorous, "manly" standards and they tend to be regarded as primary Wyoming virtues. The Westerner was someone who had few if any self-doubts and could make clear distinctions between right and wrong. He was someone who, for instance, could go outside the law, if necessary, to save the law and secure society and civilization. In short, America created John Wayne. Besides his being Wyoming's leading western movie character, it is no mere romantic curiosity that we often see red, white and blue bumper stickers in Wyoming underlining the proud sentiment—"God Bless John Wayne."

John Wayne has become a symbol for the man, so highly valued in the West, who doesn't question his fight for right and is not ambivalent about American virtues. Wayne regarded his movie, *The Alamo,* as an adequate statement of the needs and desired traits of America: "There was Mexicans and there was us, there was black, there was white. They tell me everything isn't black white. Well, I say why the hell not?"[15]

Wyoming provided an uncluttered arena for the creation of the cowboy and his image. Here he found few other values to stand in his way. The ones that might have competed with him, such as "free enterprise" or "individualism," became western and cowboy characteristics themselves.

It took some time to transform the cowboy into a hero. The first big boost was Wyoming's own Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show. Even though some Wyomingites in this slightly more sophisticated age are now a little reluctant to claim Buffalo Bill, it was, in fact, his immensely popular show glamorizing cowboys and rodeos that helped to shape a new culture.

The next step was in popular literature. Again, many of the earliest western novels were about Buffalo Bill. Perhaps the most important cowboy novel ever written, Owen Wister's *The Virginian,* published in 1902, is a story about a Wyoming cattle ranch, Wyoming vigilante justice, and the Wyoming landscape. It established the cowboy as a full-blown moral hero, one who had the virtues from which all America supposedly could benefit.

Truly, Wyoming *is* the cowboy state. The radio disc jockey says, "It's 64 degrees in the Cowboy State." The cowboy is on our license plates and on bumper stickers, and the University athletic teams are "Cowboys."

Certainly the state's history is the best example of a true cowboy state. That is Wyoming's heritage. The free-wheeling cowboy period of the unfenced, gunfighting cattle frontier actually didn't last much longer than the "Gunsmoke" series that relived that period, but long enough to create a lasting and useful American character and tradition.

The major thrust of this study of Wyoming politics has been the recognition that a state's politics is always given shape and direction by its culture; the two are completely intertwined. Wyoming developed certain lifestyles and ideologies accommodated to the state's history and physical geography.

The overriding and persistent political and cultural sentiment running throughout Wyoming's string of cultural values is the state's almost instinctive urge to adopt conservative characteristics. This overcoating of tradi-

"A state's politics is always given shape and direction by its culture."

tional conservatism is illustrated by the relatively homogenous population. Much of the state's population has traditions based upon similar personal and family experiences; it follows then that they would have similar political views. Except for the spice provided by an occasional Democratic party surge, this has been a state comfortable in its conservative Republicanism.

Reflecting the long national heritage of male chauvinism, Wyoming and the West acquired a cult of masculinity. Wyoming's early, apparently liberal, commitment to woman suffrage was not deep, and was surely carried out with other political designs in mind, as well as with only the passive enthusiasm of Wyoming women themselves.

A good deal of Wyoming politics has been taken up with a measure of suspicion if not antagonism directed toward the federal government. This annoyance with the federal governmental framework and its bureaucracy, however, is not fundamental criticism of American government. Wyoming, along with other western states generally, prides itself on its loyal patriotism. Whether because of a large federal ownership of Wyoming land, or because the state has been defensive about maintaining a "Wyoming way of life," the workings of federalism have sometimes been strained. But this very kind of distrust of government and the tension between a state and the central government is literally one of the essentials of American democracy as it is practiced and is, in fact, one of the healthy characteristics which make our American democracy unique even among democratic nations.

The modern concept of the "Cowboy Culture" and its assumed virtues of a hardy independence and courageous conviction of "doing the right thing" has served to reinforce the traditional layer of contented conservatism in Wyoming.

1. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 573.
2. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 558.
3. In a statewide survey by the Government Research Bureau, 2.2% rated the Wyoming legislature excellent overall; 35.5% good; 44.7% fair; and 8.5% poor.
4. Larson has given a sensitive account of the irony of state-federal relations; Larson, *History of Wyoming*, especially p. 173 and p. 536.
5. John Heibers, *Billings Gazette*, Sunday, March 18, 1978, "Wyoming, U.S. at 'War'." (Reprinted from the *New York Times*).
6. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 236-261; Lewis L. Gould, *Wyoming: A Political History 1868-1896*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 1-22 and pp. 108-137.
7. *Wyoming Blue Book*, Virginia Cole Trenholm, ed., Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, (Cheyenne, Vol. 3, 1974), pp. 1-33.
8. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 585; 1974 Bureau of Census Report.
9. Quoted in Ray A. Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), p. 151.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
12. This concept is treated more completely in Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *The American Quarterly*, Summer, 1966, pp. 151-170; Glenda Riley, "Women on the American Frontier," (St. Louis, Missouri: Forum Press, 1977).
13. T. A. Larson, *Wyoming, A History*, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1977), p. 86.
14. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 542.
15. "John Wayne as the Last Hero," *Time*, August 8, 1969, p. 67.

Boat-pusher or Bird Woman?

"Forerunner of civilization, great leader of men. . . ."

These stirring words in praise of Sacagawea were spoken by Eva Emery Dye at the 1905 dedication of the Portland, Oregon, statue portraying the young Shoshoni who was the lone female member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Though unfounded in fact, Dye's extravagant phrases summarizing the romantic sentiments put forth in her 1902 book, *The Conquest,* unbarred the gate to a dangerous path.[1] Built on unlimited historical license, wild imaginings, and by-passing of available evidence, this path was to be followed for a half century by most of those who wrote about Sacagawea.

Grace Hebard, while a University of Wyoming librarian, not only early joined the Dye procession, but added a dimension of her own, a personal premise based on her heartfelt wish to enshrine Sacagawea in a Wind River, Wyoming, burial plot. But the author faced a problem in writing her book *Sacajawea.*[2] Several smoothly interlocking records following Sacagawea's movements after she left the Expedition establish that she died on December 20, 1812, at Fort Manuel Lisa in north-central South Dakota.[3]

Hebard promptly disposed of these archival proofs by advancing another theory. She declared that although the ailing Snake woman traveling up the Missouri with her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, was identified by Henry Brackenridge, in his log book, as being the woman who had "accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific," he was simply mistaken in his reference.[4] One wonders why Hebard did not consider that these people enroute from St. Louis to the Mandan were confined on the same boat for five months and had ample opportunity to learn each other's identity.

After verbally disinterring Sacagawea from her home burial place on the Upper Missouri, Hebard transferred her into the body of Porivo, an Indian woman who had died at Wind River, Wyoming, in 1884, after reaching an advanced age. Porivo was as acceptable a candidate for the mythical Sacagawea role as any.

Briefly, Porivo's chronology, insofar as can be determined, is that while very young, at some unknown river camp, she married a Frenchman with whom she had two children, Bazil and Baptiste. At one time the four lived near present White Rocks, Utah. Porivo eventually left this family to join the Comanches, marrying Jerk Meat and producing five children. After Jerk Meat's death, taking one of her children with her, she left the Comanche band to wander in various places, marrying a Mexican and having his child. She severed these connections upon learning that her first two children had moved the short distance from the Ute settlement in northeastern Utah to Washakie's Shoshone country in southwestern Wyoming. The French father had long ago died. Porivo found Bazil living on Henry's Fork in the Shoshone compound of fabled Jack Robinson. In the late summer of 1871, after the Shoshone Reservation was established and following the Great Treaty of 1868, Porivo, Bazil, and Baptiste moved to the Wind River Agency.[5]

Porivo's son Baptiste, Hebard's nominee for the "Corps of Discovery" infant, had—according to his contemporaries—no outstanding qualities unless they were his capacity for drink and ill-temper. The only thing he held in common with the real expedition papoose was his ubiquitous French name, which he never learned to write. At his death in 1885, his body was dropped into Dry Creek Canyon and covered with rocks.

The Annals of Wyoming *editorial staff is aware of the differing opinions among historians and others about the life and death, burial site, and even the name of the Indian girl who accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition. We do not endorse the views of Mrs. Schroer in this article, nor do we endorse the views of writers not in agreement with her. We feel that this article will be of interest to readers, and we present it as one documented interpretation of the life of a prominent personality in Wyoming history.—Editor.*

Sacagawea or Sacajawea?

By Blanche Schroer

In sharp contrast, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, the real expedition papoose, under the sponsorship of Captain Clark, became a well-liked, educated adult who, despite his European-acquired polish, retained a love for the wilderness. He spoke English, Spanish, French, and German as well as several Indian languages, and wrote a graceful script. During his varied life he served as guide for the Mormon Battalion, and as magistrate for the San Luis Rey Mission in California where he was regarded by Father Engelhardt as something of a humanitarian.

It was said J. B. Charbonneau was the kind of man who, wearing moccasins, could track a wild animal all day then return to his cabin and mix a mint julep for sophisticated guests. The urbane frontiersman interrupted his later years of semi-retirement in California by sporadic engagements in hotel clerking, trapping, and prospecting for gold. Indeed, it was while enroute to the Montana Territory gold fields that he became ill and died on May 16, 1866, at Inskip Station, Danner, Oregon.[6]

The mystery of how Hebard could confuse Porivo's Baptiste (Bat-tez on the Agency rolls) with Sacagawea's son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, remains unsolved. But perhaps she really didn't confuse them. Possibly the whole theory was unknowingly based on an ancient territorial wish for a status symbol.

By the late forties, Lewis and Clark students were beginning to think differently. The Porivo-as-Sacagawea theory that Hebard had given thirty years of her life trying to prove was giving way to doubt. Hebard herself may have had doubts. Shortly before her death in 1936 she wrote to Agnes Wright Spring, ". . . if I can live a bit longer we may be able to establish what I have been working on for half a century."[7]

Not one word written during Porivo's lifetime or for two decades following her death, attempting to identify her with Sacagawea, has ever been found, although there is evidence to the contrary. E. A. Carter, who served as clerk and post trader on the Wind River Reservation during Porivo's life there, wrote excellent short biographies of those local Indians he considered to be important or interesting. After retiring to California, however, he admitted he had not even known Porivo, but he added, "I am very sorry the search for her (Sacagawea) did not occur when I was living there."[8]

There is a touch of sadness in tireless researcher Hebard's failure to climb above the first rung on the steep ladder of proof. The closest she could come to written documentation was hearsay testimony that Sarah Irwin, wife of Dr. James Irwin, first Wind River Agent, had taken down the Porivo stories.[9] The Irwin manuscript was supposed to have burned in an office fire. If so, it must have been well-charred; over the years Lander newspapers have named three different locations of the holocaust. However, because it is the only document even rumored to have existed, it should be discussed further.

In the *Journal of American History,* 1907, Hebard wrote: "The statements presented by Dr. Irwin who knew Sacajawea on the reservation in the sixties and at that time believed the two Sacajaweas to be the same is strong testimony . . ." Surprisingly, after such a positive declaration, the historian fails to cite any primary testimony. Erring further, she names her time reference as "in the sixties" although Dr. Irwin did not enter the government service until May, 1871, nor did Porivo appear on the Wind River Reservation until some months later.[10]

In the testimony taken during the 1920s about 1804-1806 events, one oft-repeated story, that of Sacagawea seeing a dead whale on the Pacific beach, left little room for error in repetition. Obviously that story most impressed Porivo when she heard the tales of the expedition either from her French husband or—if Porivo were one of the Shoshoni girls on the Mandan—directly from Sacagawea herself.

But in some of the tales, glaring differences appear between what Porivo was reported to have said about specific expedition events and what Sacagawea actually experienced, as recorded by the journalists. One is brought out on page 195 of Hebard's *Sacajawea.* "He [F. G. Burnett] recalled especially her [Porivo's] description

of the difficulties she experienced in approaching close enough to the Shoshones, when the expedition reached their territory, to convince them that the white men were their friends . . ."

She could not have experienced those difficulties because, during the first half of August, she was miles away laboring up the Beaverhead with Clark's main water party while Lewis, with three picked men, was scouting the Horse Creek Prairie country for the Northern Shoshonis. They finally found a party of them, established friendly relations through sign language, and led them, with their Chief Cameahwait, back to meet the Clark contingent and Sacagawea at the Jefferson Forks.[11]

A check between what the givers of testimony were told and the actual journal-recorded events reveals other discrepancies. This suggests a possibility that, if Sarah Irwin did write up the Porivo stories, she may have later compared them with journal accounts and, finding they did not tally with facts, discarded them, knowing they could not have come from Sacagawea.

It would be very rewarding to find extant a Sarah Irwin transcript of Porivo's observations about the expedition. It would answer this question: did Porivo, in her extreme old age, falsely tell the stories as having happened to her, or did she honestly intend them to be taken as having been experienced by another—the real Sacagawea?

Howard Ranney, great-grandson of Dr. Irwin, recalled that when he was a boy of twelve he heard a heated discussion between his father, William Van Wie Ranney, and his grandmother, Monetta Irwin Chalmers, the daughter of Dr. Irwin. The news in 1925 of Hebard's pronouncement that Porivo was Sacagawea had set his grandmother's memory back to the late summer of 1871.

In Howard's presence, Monetta said that as a girl of ten or eleven, she had been upset at having to turn her room over to the two officers in charge of the contingent which escorted a twelve-wagon train of older Shoshonis and their supplies from Fort Bridger to Fort Washakie. Monetta also remembered that Porivo, a member of this party, was given a nearby cabin where she and her mother, Sarah Irwin, later visited and heard the old Shoshoni talk of the expedition.

Howard Ranney wrote these concluding words: "I think when Porivo came to Fort Washakie no one at the Fort had ever heard of Sacagawea, including Doctor Irwin. Lewis and Clark were famous people and any Indian women that knew first hand about the Expedition was interesting in herself, but nowhere did she claim to be Sacagawea."[12]

The man most quoted during any Porivo discussion is the Reverend John Roberts, early Wind River missionary. His part in the identity argument should be clarified. It was almost a quarter of a century after he

Dr. James Irwin and his wife Sarah.

BLANCHE SCHROER COLLECTION

noted the death of "Bazil's mother" in his burial record,[13] but very soon after Hebard visited the reservation, seeking his backing, that he first referred to Porivo as Sacagawea. After this, for all the years of his life, he was the subject of many articles, interviews, appearances, and photographs—often in company with famous people—as having been the minister who officiated at the burial of Sacagawea.

Because of this, it has been intimated that he was seeking publicity. That evaluation in no way fits the character and personality of this truly humble and Godly man. Similarly, it is unfair to place the burden of wrong identification on the Reverend Roberts. For some time he not only showed a clear reluctance to commit himself, he never did so on the basis of his own direct knowledge. He, at no time, said that either Porivo or her son Baptiste had identified themselves to him as Lewis and Clark Expedition members.

Doubtless, some misinformation came from Judge Fourt's article "Reverend John Roberts honored in Washington" in the February 22, 1934, issue of the *Wyoming State Journal*. The Judge wrote, "Doctor Roberts visited her (Porivo) and found that she could speak a little French, and in his conversation determined that she was Sacajawea." This bothered the missionary more than a little and on several occasions he took the trouble to state that Judge Fourt had unintentionally made an inaccurate statement.

Apparently, the missionary's first answer to historian Hebard's questions about a possible Wind River Sacagawea came as a result of his recommendation of a typical Shoshoni girl to be used as a model for the 1904 St. Louis Fair statue of the heroine. In her *Journal of American History* article, Hebard says that this involvement "freshened his (Reverend Roberts') memory to the extent that he remembered burying a very old Indian woman during the first year of his field of labor in Wyoming." It will shock many to learn that Roberts did not say he remembered burying Sacagawea, but said instead that he remembered burying a "very old Indian woman!"[14]

Equally elusive is Roberts' statement based on Dr. Irwin's taking him in 1883 to see Porivo because of her extreme old age. Sixty-two years later, the missionary wrote, "Dr. Erwin (sic) alluded to her connection with the Lewis and Clark Expedition and he seemed to be keenly interested in that fact. I was interested in the old lady because of her great age, for at that time I knew very little about the Lewis and Clark Expedition."[15] Note the words *alluded* and *connection*. The Reverend Roberts, supremely honest, did not say that Dr. Irwin told him Porivo was Sacagawea, the Shoshone who traveled with Lewis and Clark, but rather said he "alluded to a connection."

A graduate of an Oxford-affiliated college, Roberts spoke "the King's English" and understood the nuances of words. He knew that "alluded" means "to refer indirectly or vaguely" or in older dictionaries "to make sport of." He also knew that having a "connection" with a group does not necessarily mean one is a member of it.

As smoothly as a well-sinewed moccasin do these words fit the thought that Porivo was one of the Shoshoni girls living on the Mandan. She not only had a "connection" with the Lewis and Clark Expedition during the winter of 1804-1805, but upon the explorers' return from the Pacific would have heard the exciting stories her friend Sacagawea had to tell.

Without question, Roberts did eventually become Hebard's good friend, accept her dictum, and go over to the Porivo camp. He could not have known of his friend's tendency, as a zealous "Porivan," to mold history to her own desires, perhaps—in her eagerness for proof—often unknowingly. It is often said, "But Reverend Roberts said he buried Sacagawea." Yes, he did later say that, but with an implied qualification which he seldom uttered. On this page it is stated that, when pressed, he would add, as he did to Joseph Moore and the author when asked for specific information, "I buried an old Shoshoni who, the historians and some old Indians said, was Sacagawea." There is a vast difference, and truth lies between the lines.

The aged missionary was present when, on October 2, 1941, with much fanfare, the Wyoming Landmark Commission's ill-advised marker on Highway 287, directing traffic to the Wind River Cemetery, two miles west, was unveiled and dedicated. Among a crowd of prominent political figures including governors, mayors, state officials and leading Shoshonis who had known Porivo, Roberts was the most honored man present.

The bronze tablet then on the cement marker over Porivo's grave, to which travelers were directed, carried the legend: "Sacajawea, guide for the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Died April 9, 1884, aged 100 years. Identified by the Reverend John Roberts who officiated at her burial." In reference to this inscription, Roberts in his dedicatory speech, included some strange words—words that seemed to have a deep significance, possibly suggesting his reluctance to go on permanent record. "I wish to say that I had nothing to do with the preparation of the inscription. It was prepared by Dr. Hebard, a noted Wyoming historian." Then he repeated, "I had nothing to do with its preparation but what is written is written."

"What is written is written" portrays history inaccurately, as does the D.A.R. monument which replaced it. But one thing about the Landmark marker is accurate. Through a fluke of casting, the bronze arrow points not west to Porivo's grave, but east to Sacagawea's burial site in Dakota.

For many years, newspapers and magazines published such titles as "New Proof of Wyoming Sacagawea." The articles so heralded turned out to be,

without exception, no more than echoes of the old Porivo myth. On the other hand, the already clearly documented early death of Sacagawea was continually being strengthened. By the early fifties, William Bragg, Jr., in his University of Wyoming master's thesis, added extremely pertinent information.

In addition, the author's own recordings of old Shoshonis who had known Porivo revealed some surprising data.[16] Most telling are the disc-recorded words of ninety-two-year-old Jennie Hereford Martinez who lived with her family in a log cabin on Henry's Fork in the Bridger country, next door to Bazil and Porivo's tipi. Later, of course, both families moved to the Wind River Reservation. It is surprising when Jennie matter-of-factly volunteers that neither she nor her mother, though visiting almost daily with Porivo, had ever heard anything at all about Sacagawea or Lewis and Clark until Hebard came to Fort Washakie. Yet in Hebard's *Sacajawea,* testimony that conflicts with this information appears above Grandma Hereford's name.

Most of the confusion caused by testimony of old Shoshonis came about through Hebard's use of the name Sacajawea for Porivo in the interpreted letters. In fairness to Hebard, it should be mentioned that, having convinced herself Porivo was Sacajawea, she simply substituted that name. Nevertheless, this did give false substance to testimony. It is one thing to say, "I knew Sacajawea and heard her talk about the Lewis and Clark Expedition." It is quite another to say, "I knew Porivo and heard her talk about the Lewis and Clark Expedition." Old Shoshonis questioned have said that Porivo had never been called Sacajawea until so dubbed by Hebard.

Hebard's argument is toppled by evidence coming directly from Captain Clark in his famous 1825-1828 Cash Book Cover entry. It designates Sacagawea as dead. Just below the entry establishing Sacagawea's early death, Clark confirms her son's presence in Germany. Clark was, of course, the legally appointed guardian who directed the education of the young expedition member, Jean Baptiste, sometimes called "Toussaint" after his father.

Contrastingly, Roberts declared many times to many people that Porivo's Baptiste was uneducated and had never been to Europe.[17] So it is that Roberts and Clark, two men whose life spans ended almost one hundred years apart, really settled between them any remaining doubt of the expedition papoose's identity, and in so doing, forged the final link in the already unassailable chain of evidence establishing Sacagawea's early death.

All of the brief information that Clark gives about other members of the corps, at the time of his listing, stands scrutiny except the Patrick Gass notation. That Gass was erroneously listed as dead in no way weakens the Sacagawea entry. Gass had gone to Virginia and put himself out of touch with Missourians for a long while, hence, the false news was accepted.

On the other hand, after the expedition, and following the Charbonneau family's journey to St. Louis and back home to the Mandan, Clark remained in constant touch with Sacagawea. This was through Interpreter Charbonneau, Fur Trader Manuel Lisa, Clerk John Luttig and others mutually involved with Clark in the Missouri Fur Company and the Department of Indian Affairs headed by Clark. Their boats went up and down the Missouri, between Fort Manuel Lisa, where Sacagawea lived, and St. Louis where Clark had fur company offices. Information of Sacagawea's death, so derived, would be accurate.

It seems reasonable to say that, by the 1960s, only two groups remained unmoved by the strength of the Missouri River-Sacagawea documents and the weakness of the Wind River-Sacagawea oral myths. One group might be termed the "Territorial Status Society" who knew the facts but were less concerned with accurate history than with claiming a heroine for their state. The other group was composed of those who had neither the time nor the tendency to acquaint themselves with the many facets of the case necessary to a responsible evaluation, so joined the "Sensationalists" who favored a rediscovered heroine.

One noted historian who had the moral courage to change horses in turbulent waters was John Bakeless. In his book *Lewis and Clark, Partners in Discovery,* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1947) he said, ". . . there is not much doubt of her (Sacagawea's) identity with the squaw who died at Wind River in 1884." However, after acquiring further information and viewing the Clark Cash Book entry, he said some years later that Sacagawea's Fort Manuel Lisa death was a settled fact.

Another with the clear-eyed view of a true historian, T. A. Larson, professor emeritus of history, University of Wyoming, and past president of the Western History Association, although yearning to claim Sacagawea for his state, said he had to accept the preponderance of evidence favoring a Dakota-expiring Sacagawea.

Recently entered into the National Register of Historic Places are Fort Manuel Lisa, burial place of Sacagawea, and Inskip Station, burial place of Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, expedition papoose. It would seem that by now, historians had managed to clear the Lewis and Clark path of most of the debris of misinformation so that others might more easily learn the true and thrilling story of the exciting years following the Louisiana Purchase. But suddenly another unforeseen obstacle obstructs the path.

Anna Lee Waldo, a new author, embodies in her book *Sacajawea* (New York, Avon, 1979) confusing departures from historical evidence which outshine her predecessors. In the *New York Times Review of Books,*

August 26, 1979, a staggering statement is attributed to Waldo. She says: "There was a four-year delay after Avon bought it, while they took the manuscript apart chapter by chapter and sent it to historians and anthropologists to check its accuracy. But I knew they wouldn't find any mistakes."

Guided by Waldo's bibliographical listing of over two hundred works, lengthy references introducing each chapter, and publicity touting the volume's historical accuracy, one must conclude *Sacajawea* is meant to be read as history or, at least, as a historical novel, meticulously documented.

If it is intended as history, it is a total failure. The book does not adhere to events as journalized during the Lewis and Clark Expedition, or to later happenings chronicled in letters, official diaries, and legal papers. If it is intended as an historical novel, a supposedly inviolable rule has been flouted, that the story, no matter how bizarre, keep within the generous bounds of possibility as dictated by extant available primary historical evidence.

In running the red light of literary and historical responsibility, Waldo did a disservice to first-time readers about Sacagawea. Initial information on a subject is difficult to change later. Some readers may never learn that the author's aggressive centenarian little resembles the short-lived, self-effacing Sacagawea whose adventurous life haunts history's pages to the time of her last breath on a high bank of the Upper Missouri. They may never learn that the gentle girl's recorded services during the great expedition chiseled her fame far more permanently than contrived happenings ever could.

Sacajawea was not the heroine's true name. Because an error compounded will cling like a parasite to its host, many are guilty of ignoring Clark's journal entry clearly establishing her appellation to be the Hidatsa word for Bird Woman, properly pronounced with hard-sounding "c" and "g." The woman's name being Hidatsa, it is pertinent only as added information that there is actually no such Shoshoni word as Sacajawea. However, according to Shoshoni Wallace St. Clair, government employee, and the Reverend Wesley Kosin, Shoshoni linguist, both residing on the Wind River Reservation, there is a seldom-used word for "boat-pusher." A phonetical rendering would be close to Say ki jaw ee. In the second syllable the "i" fades to a breathy sound in the roof of the mouth that only a Shoshoni can properly enunciate.

The dedication of the Sacajawea Grave Monument by the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming.

WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPT. AND BLANCHE SCHROER COLLECTION

Following are random samples drawn from Waldo's many errors, which suggest disregard for recorded history:[18]

Waldo casts Ben York, Clark's black servant, in the unlikely role of compassionate obstetrician at the birth of Sacagawea's son, Jean Baptiste. The journals name only Charbonneau's friend, Interpreter Jessaume, and Lewis, expedition medic, as offering aid.

When a sudden river storm sweeps goods from their moorings in the white piroque, Waldo's Sacagawea dives into the raging Missouri, babe on back, and paddles to shore loaded with a violin, sextant, and other retrieved flotsam. Actually, while seated in the boat, Sacagawea grabbed valued items as they floated past her. The captains honored her for this resourcefulness by giving a fork of the Shell River her name. On maps of the area Clark wrote clearly "Sar kah gah we a (Bird Woman)."

As Clark and the three Charbonneaus walk along the river bank portaging some of their goods past the Great Falls, a violent wind, rain, and hail storm suddenly arises. Seeking temporary shelter, they drop into a deep ravine. As Waldo tells it, when Sacagawea points to a torrent of water rushing down the dry river bed toward them, the alerted party frantically scrambles up the steep cliff. When Waldo's Sacagawea saves Clark's life by pulling him to safety, he cries out, "Oh my God! Thanks! Janey, thanks! I'll do something fine for you sometime! I thought I was a goner."

In Lewis' Journal, June 29, 1805, the day of the storm, we read that:

> . . . soon after a torrent of rain and hail fell more violent than ever I saw before, the rain fell like one voley of water falling from the heavens and gave us time only to get out of the way of a torrent of water which was Poreing down the hill in[to] the River with emence force tareing every thing before it takeing with it large rocks & mud, I took my gun & shot pouch in my left hand, and with the right scrambled up the hill pushing the Interpreters wife (who had her child in her arms) before me, the Interpreter himself makeing attempts to pull up his wife by the hand much scared and nearly without motion, we at length reached the top of the hill safe where I found my servent in serch of us greatly agitated, for our wellfar.

At a crucial time of decision as to which branch of the river was the true Missouri leading to the Great Falls, Waldo's Sacagawea locates the Falls, forty miles distant, by hearkening and sniffing. In reality, the captains resorted to reconnoitering parties to certify their belief—contrary to that of all other corps members—that the South Fork was the real Missouri. These incredible topographers were right. Had Sacagawea ever traveled the Missouri beyond the mouth of the Yellowstone and been able to direct them, nine precious days would have been saved.[19]

A gargantuan misconception is that Sacagawea stepped in and took over the guiding of the best-planned, best-directed, and best-piloted exploration in early frontier history. In a journey of over 8000 miles, it defies belief that one incident on the return trip—Sacagawea pointing out a pass used by her people—should be the nucleus for some of the wildest romanticizing in this so-called history. Helpful though she was in many ways, she didn't point the way west because she didn't know the route. Even in her Lemhi-Shoshoni country, old Toby and his sons had to be hired to lead the expedition west through the passes of the Bitterroots.

Dr. Hebard and Irtense Large, purported to be Sacajawea's granddaughter.

WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPT

When on their return, with a choice of three passes, the captains decided on the one recommended by Sacagawea. Although it possibly was not the best route, they gave her full credit in the journals. Also, her reassurance that they were in the home country of her people was greatly appreciated and duly recorded. Fortunately, before leaving the Mandan, the captains were forearmed with considerable knowledge of the country by the widely traveled, raiding Hidatsas.

Waldo confers on her mythical Sacagawea the ability to speak English and French quite well. For example, on the journey west, she was the Shoshoni woman to deliver to Lewis an uninterrupted, philosophical speech of well over one hundred words—some of them polysyllabic. In reality, Sacagawea spoke almost no English or French. She could only translate her brother Cameahwait's Shoshoni words into Hidatsa for her husband to

relay in French to a riverman who also spoke English. By such a labored route, the captains finally got needed information.

Waldo's wand endows Sacagawea with such charm and beauty of face and figure that she becomes a *femme fatale* who unwittingly entices the deeply-dedicated disciplinarian, Clark, into a wild infatuation. Then the author invents an accusation from Charbonneau to his wife, "You are with another *enfant*. You let yourself be mauled by one of these men. Now I know—it is *le captaine*." Ignoring her denials, Charbonneau attempts to force a brutal, savage abortion upon her.

As the journalists were quick to mention physical attractiveness in briefly-encountered Indians, the very fact that they did not describe Sacagawea, their constant companion for almost two years, as having even a pleasing appearance, almost certainly precludes her having been especially comely in face or figure. Although Clark was a loyal friend to the Charbonneau family, the nearest to sentimental words he ever wrote about Sacagawea were, when she was seriously ill, to express concern for "the poor object herself" as well as for the possible loss of the woman as a Shoshoni interpreter who would be needed when the time came to barter with her people for horses. The fabricated passion Clark is made to feel for Sacagawea has already elicited protest from historians.

Just before Sacagawea, ill and longing for her Upper Missouri home, leaves St. Louis for the Mandan, to die within fifteen months after her arrival there, Waldo makes the "big switch." She sends a different woman upriver thereby freeing Sacagawea to live another seventy-five years in the body of Porivo.

Waldo's bungling attempt to nullify Clark's famous Cash Book entry which clearly establishes the early death of Sacagawea will distress historians. This maneuver has an invented stepson of Waldo's Sacagawea tell her he had misinformed Clark that she was dead.

It is difficult to read passively the thoughts of Waldo's Sacagawea about Dr. James Irwin, first agent-physician of the Wind River Reservation. "This man does not really care about the People (Shoshonis)." In truth, Dr. Irwin cared beyond easy understanding as extant records reveal. After his only son was approached by Indians under the pretense of friendship, then brutally murdered and tortured, Dr. Irwin did not end his lone fight for Indian rights. Instead, the sorrowing father forgave the assailants, saying he knew the death of his son was in misguided retaliation for great injustices heaped on the Indians by the whites.[20]

Waldo's Sacagawea is a rebellious, aggressive personality, forerunning women's emancipation. Her influence, according to Waldo, grows with advanced age until she becomes a bold leader, with Chief Washakie of the Eastern Shoshonis seeking her advice. This is especially incongruous because the old warrior dipped his chief's headdress to no woman. Actually, mild Sacagawea's most forward journalized statement was to suggest that the expedition winter where there were plenty of wild potatoes.

But surprisingly, there is one area in which Waldo keeps, at least partially, within the truth-structured frame of the known past. Her book mirrors considerable research into the many cultural aspects of the Plains and Basin tribes.

Because little is known about Sacagawea before she joined the Lewis and Clark party, speculation about her may be limited only by the known mores of the people with whom she associated at a certain time and place. It is therefore within possibility that, as Waldo says, she was passed from one male to another, was raped, while still a child, by an old Indian; suffered intense hunger and physical abuse, saw human excrement in the stew, and experienced innumerable indignities albeit enjoying the kindness of an adoptive mother and the deep friendship of co-wives.

An important question should now be asked. Ignoring the aggrandizements of Sacagawea votaries, do the journals reveal that the storied Shoshoni earned her honored place in history?

She fulfilled the trust put in her. That the captains dared fly in the face of reason to take a young woman and baby on an extended journey so fraught with unknown dangers, strongly suggests that they had observed and evaulated Sacagawea sufficiently to believe she would be a worthy addition to the corps. Very early, they realized that her blood relationship with the Northern Shoshonis would help promote rapport between her tribe and the captains, and they rightly foresaw that she would be invaluable as an interpreter when the time came to barter for horses before crossing the divide. Her ability to translate Shoshoni to Hidatsa was easily her greatest contribution to the expedition's success.

The explorers would have been in very serious trouble had not Sacagawea learned that Chief Cameahwait planned to ignore his promise to them to furnish horses and guides for the mountain crossing. The scheme was to take off on a buffalo hunt and leave the white men stranded in the mountains. Sacagawea interpreted this news to her husband who finally got it through to Lewis in time for him to shame the chiefs into keeping their promises.

Burdened with a young child and granted but few concessions because of her sex, the young woman kept pace with the men and remained cool in emergencies. She gathered wild plants and berries to supplement the diet of the game-eating soldiers. Within the area circumscribed by the Northern Shoshoni boundaries, she identified landmarks and, on the return trip, pointed out a pass her people used.

In a charming gesture of friendship and generosity, she sacrificed her bluebeaded belt to a coastal Indian as a bonus to swing the trade for a magnificent otter robe the captains coveted; and when Clark lay ill, she gave him her hoarded piece of bread. Young Mrs. Charbonneau also played a passive role. Her presence suggested to wary tribes the explorers' peaceful intent. In the evenings her son Baptiste's appealing antics boosted camp morale.

Strangely, however, the Shoshoni woman's helpfulness during the great journey lay not in the fact that it was unique but because it was typical. The kindly nature and staying qualities inherent in her were integral to most young Indian women of her time and place. She has been celebrated in literature and song, in statues and paintings. By honoring her, we honor her race—particularly the Shoshonis—and this is fitting.

Paul Cutright points out in his *History of the Lewis and Clark Journals:*

> It goes without saying that no author is incapable of erring. However, the mistakes of the true scholar are generally so trivial as to do no real violence to history. Unfortunately, an occasional writer, pretending a knowledge he does not possess, produces a book about Lewis and Clark. . . . there is no more reason why readers should be exposed to false Lewis and Clark history than to false physical geography, false medical practice, or false anything else.[21]

Irving W. Anderson, first vice president and secretary of the Lewis and Clark Foundation, eminent scholar and author of carefully researched articles about Sacagawea,[22] warns readers in his review of the Waldo book for July, 1979, *We Proceeded On:* ". . . this book actually so distorts documented facts concerning persons, places and events of the Expedition, that it poses a serious negative intrusion upon the integrity of U. S. History."

1. Eva Emery Dye, *The Conquest, The True Story of Lewis and Clark,* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1902).
2. Grace Raymond Hebard, *Sacajawea, Guide of the Lewis and Clark Expedition:* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1932, 1957).
3. John C. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813,* Stella M. Drumm, ed., (Columbia: Missouri Historical Society, 1920), entry of December 20, 1812: ". . . this Evening the Wife of Charbonneau, a Snake Squaw, died of a putrid fever she was a good and the best Women in the fort, aged abt 25 years she left a fine infant girl." Original document in St. Louis court records shows that Clark became guardian of her two children, Jean Baptiste (Toussaint) and baby Lizette.
4. Henry M. Brackenridge, *1811 Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri:* Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* Vol. VI. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), entry of April 2, 1811: "We had on board a Frenchman named Charboneau, with his wife, an Indian woman of the Snake nation, both of whom had accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific, and were of great service. The woman, a good creature, of a mild and gentle disposition, was greatly attached to the whites, whose manners and dress she tries to imitate; but she had become sickly and longed to revisit her native country; her husband also, who had spent many years amongst the Indians had become weary of civilized life."
5. Much of the information of Porivo's wanderings appeared in Hebard's *Sacajawea* and was substantiated, qualified, and added to by so many old Shoshonis, early reservation employees, and various publications that it would be impossible to list them.
6. Irvin W. Anderson, "J. B. Charbonneau, Son of Sacajawea," *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 71, No. 3.
7. Agnes Wright Spring, "Recognition that Sacajawea Died in Wyoming is Sought," *Wyoming-Stockman Farmer,* Cheyenne, Dec., 1936.
8. E. A. Carter, "Early Days Among the Indians and Soldiers," *Wyoming State Journal,* June 20, 1935.
9. Hebard, *Sacajawea,* Testimony of F. G. Burnett, Sept. 5, 1926, p. 232.
10. Grace Hebard, "Pilot of First White Men to Cross the American Continent," *Journal of American History,* Vol. I, No. 111, (1907) p. 483.
11. A good account of finding the Mountain Shoshonis is in *The Journals of Lewis and Clark,* Bernard DeVoto, ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1953).
12. Letters from Howard Ranney to Blanche Schroer, 1979.
13. Episcopal Parish Record, Wind River, Wyoming, April 9, 1884: (Name) Bazil's mother, (Age) One hundred (Residence) Shoshone Agency (Cause of Death) Old age, (Place of Burial) Shoshone Agency (Signature of Clergyman) J. Roberts. In a letter to Gladys Graham, dated Sept. 29, 1940, the Reverend Roberts gives the date of burial as "the fourth of April." He also makes clear in this letter that his information about Porivo was not firsthand.
14. Hebard, *Journal of American History,* p. 473.
15. Reverend John Roberts, "The Death of Sacajawea," *Indians at Work,* John Collier, ed., Washington, D. C., April 1, 1935.
16. Blanche Schroer, "Sacajawea, The Legend and the Truth," *In Wyoming,* December-January, 1978.
17. Letter from Gwen Roberts to Blanche Schroer, Jan. 30, 1976. Gwen, youngest child of the Reverend Roberts, unselfishly passed by opportunities for a more personal life to stay at her father's side and aid him in the management of the Episcopal Mission. She wrote, "I remember hearing my father say a number of times that Baptiste (Porivo's son) had never been to Europe. Some writers even had him receiving an education there which was far from true."
18. The misstatements concerning Sacagawea are from Anna Lee Waldo's *Sacagawea:* (New York: Avon Books, 1979). The corrected versions are from the combined Lewis and Clark Journals.
19. Bob Saindon, "The Abduction of Sacagawea," *We Proceeded On,* (Vol. 2, No. 2, Spring, 1976). Saindon is president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.
20. Information about Dr. James Irwin and family is derived from the original, early Irwin papers copied for the author by his descendants.
21. Paul Cutright, *History of the Lewis and Clark Journals,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).
22. Irving W. Anderson, "Probing the Riddle of the Bird Woman," *Montana Magazine of Western History,* Vol. 23, No. 4.

Prohibiting Interracial Marriage:

Miscegenation Laws in Wyoming

By Roger D. Hardaway

Miscegenation is the act of marriage or of sex outside of marriage between people of different races.[1] It has generally been considered socially unacceptable conduct in the United States, and most states have at one time prohibited interracial sex and/or marriage.[2] Many of these miscegenation laws resulted from the desire of white legislators to "maintain the purity" of the white race. However, this rationalization was more often used when the white partner in the interracial couple was a woman. White men have often believed that miscegenation involving a white woman was repugnant but that the opposite situation was not necessarily so. Consequently, when white men have been placed in situations where sexual liaisons with women of other races was possible, they have readily participated.[3]

In 1931, thirty states in the United States prohibited miscegenation by statute.[4] Six of these states also had constitutional clauses banning miscegenation in addition to their statutes.[5] All thirty states prohibited miscegenation between whites and Negroes; fourteen states prohibited miscegenation between whites and "Mongolians"[6]; and a few states prohibited Indian-white and Indian-Negro miscegenation.[7] Other statutes prohibited whites from marrying or having sexual intercourse with mestizos, mulattoes, Hindus, and other nonwhite peoples.[8]

During its history Wyoming has had two laws prohibiting interracial marriages. The first was passed during the first Wyoming Territorial Legislature, elected September 2, 1869 and convened in Cheyenne on October 12.[9] The thirteen members of the House of Representatives and the nine members of the upper house, the Council, were all Democrats.[10]

On November 20, Councilman William S. Rockwell of South Pass City in Carter County[11] introduced Council Bill No. 45 which was designed to prohibit white people from marrying those whose biological make-up was as much as one-eighth Negro or Mongolian.[12] The bill passed the Council on November 25 by the vote of 9-0,[13] and the House two days later by the vote of 7-3.[14]

The bill drew opposition from outside the government even before it was introduced. Rockwell had notified his Council colleagues on November 18 that he would introduce his bill in the near future.[15] Two days later a letter to the editor appeared in the *Wyoming Tribune*, a Republican newspaper,[16] denouncing the Rockwell bill. The letter bore a dateline of: "Cheyenne, Nov. 19, 1869," and was signed: "A Modern Democrat."[17] The letter was obviously written by a legislative insider – possibly even a legislator – who had seen an advance copy of the bill and did not wish to be identified. As quoted in the letter, the bill as originally written would have provided:

> that if any white person marries another person of one-eighth negro, or Asiatic blood, such marriage shall be null and void; [and]

that the childen born in such wedlock, shall be illegitimate.

The letter writer declared that: "Such a law would be impolitic, unwise and unjust. . . . Such a law would be a direct thrust at the negro and Chinaman." He further noted that it would often be difficult or impossible to tell whether or not a marriage was legal because of the problem of determining how much "Negro blood" or "Asiatic blood" a person might have. Furthermore, the law would be "pernicious in its effects" because it would unjustly penalize the innocent offspring of the prohibited marriage by causing them to "be stigmatized by the disgrace of bastardy." The "Modern Democrat" concluded by noting that the United States claimed to be a land of equality and that Wyoming had encouraged the immigration of people from all parts of the world. "Let the laws of our growing Territory make no discrimination in classes and races of men," the writer urged.

Either the letter writer had some influence over Rockwell, or several legislators partially agreed with his views, because the bill that Rockwell eventually introduced on November 20 made no mention of the children born of miscegenous marriages. Another change in the bill was the addition of the word "Mongolian" to the list of those who were prohibited from marrying whites. The legislators probably considered "Mongolian" to mean the same thing as "Asiatic," but added it in order to prevent any Oriental from finding a way to circumvent the law. However, the only residents of Wyoming who fit either description were the 143 Chinese reported in the 1870 census.[18] This type of legislative overkill and poor drafting is not uncommon in miscegenation statutes.

The *Wyoming Tribune* editorially opposed the Rockwell bill, noting sarcastically that if the bill became a law "its author will be preserved from the calamity of marrying a woman only seven-eighths white."[19] In the same issue, which appeared on the day the House voted on the bill, the ghosts of Jefferson and Lincoln were evoked to conclude that the proposed law was un-American. If all men were created equal, and if the United States operated under a government of, by, and for the people, then no law should be passed restricting social relations.[20]

After the Rockwell bill passed the legislature, it was sent to the governor, John A. Campbell, a young bachelor Republican from Ohio who had been appointed Wyoming's first territorial governor by President Ulysses S. Grant in April 1869.[21] On December 6, however, Campbell vetoed the miscegenation bill and returned it to the legislature.[22] Campbell's veto message said the bill was unacceptable because it did not prohibit Indians from marrying those of other races. The bill, he said, singled out "particular classes" – Negroes and Mongolians – and, thus, "in its present shape," the bill could not be approved.[23] Campbell said:

> How far it may be expedient or well to attempt to govern social life and taste by legislative prohibitions and restrictions is not easily answered; but there can be no doubt that any bill of this character should be formed so as to bear equally upon all races of men. If it be a wise policy to prohibit intermarriage between persons of different races, on account of the supposed or real moral and physical deterioration of the issue of such marriages, I can see no reason for excepting any race from the operations of the law. In this bill there is nothing to restrict the intermingling of the white or any other race, with the American [Indian] race, and it is well known that there have been and probably will be, more marriages in this territory between Indians and Whites, than between persons of all other races combined.

The tradition of Indian-white marriages was, of course, a probable reason that the legislators refused to prohibit them in the future.

The Wyoming census figures for 1870 reveal another possible reason. A severe shortage of women plagued territorial Wyoming. Of the 8726 whites in Wyoming in 1870, only 1803 were women while white men numbered 6923. Among blacks, there were 138 men and only forty-five women. The Chinese men in Wyoming equalled the number of black men, 138, but only five Chinese women lived in the territory. However, of the sixty-six Indians who were not confined to reservations, forty-six were women while only twenty were men.[24]

"any bill . . . should be formed so as to bear equally upon all races."

By prohibiting Negroes and Chinese from marrying whites, competition among Wyoming men for the few available white women was reduced. A surplus of Indian women existed, so the law did not prohibit Indian-white marriages. If among non-reservation Indians, the men had greatly outnumbered the women, the legislature would possibly have prohibited Indian-white marriages. And if the Chinese in Wyoming had numbered 138 women and five men, instead of the reverse, it is debatable that a law would have been enacted forbidding white men from marrying them.

Campbell's veto of the miscegenation bill had only slight effect on the legislators. On the day that the governor returned the bill to the legislature, the Council easily overrode his veto by the vote of 8-1.[25] The override attempt in the House ran into temporary trouble later the same day when the veto was sustained by the vote of 6-6.[26] However, on the following day, December 7, the House reconsidered its tie vote and decided to override the veto by the margin of 8-3.[27] The miscegenation bill became law without the benefit of gubernatorial approval.

The law contained four major sections.[28] Section 1 provided:

> That any person belonging to the caucasian or white race, who shall hereafter knowingly intermarry with a per-

son of one-eighth, or more negro, asiatic, or mongolian blood, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary not less than three, nor more than seven years.

A key word in Section 1 is "knowingly." The white person arrested for violating the law would have a good defense if he (or she) could prove that he did not know that his spouse was of mixed blood.

Interestingly, the legislature designated a lesser penalty for the non-white person than for the white. This was not, however, an unusual feature of miscegenation laws. Some states, in fact, did not penalize the non-white member of the interracial couple at all.

Section 2 of the law stipulated that the non-white person involved in the illegal marriage would also be deemed guilty of a felony but would only be subject to a penalty of one to five years in prison. The legislators who wrote and enacted the law apparently believed that it was more reprehensible for a white person to marry a non-white than vice versa. The primary purpose of the law was to maintain the "purity" of the white race.[29] For a white person to "corrupt" his race would be a greater social and moral transgression than it would be for a non-white to "corrupt" the white race.

Section 3 of the law penalized the person solemnizing an interracial marriage, and Section 4 prescribed a penalty for the person issuing a marriage license to an interracial couple. Both of these people would be guilty of a misdemeanor if they knew that the couple was interracial. Both would be subject to a prison sentence of three months to one year, or to a fine of $100 to $500, or, "in the discretion of the court," to both fine and imprisonment.

The 1869 miscegenation law remained in force for twelve years and three months. During that time, the Wyoming Supreme Court did not have the opportunity to rule on the constitutionality of the law. If anyone was ever found guilty of violating the law, he did not appeal his conviction and, thus, no record exists of it.

Considering the severity of the penalties for marrying and the fact that sex outside of marriage was not prohibited,[30] it is doubtful that the law was ever broken. If an interracial couple was willing to defy the law and could find a minister or a justice of the peace to perform the wedding, it is nevertheless highly unlikely that a county clerk, who would be fully aware of the law, would issue them a license and subject himself to fine and imprisonment.

Possibly, some people did marry in violation of the law because the mixed racial make-up of one of the partners was undetectable. Likewise, it is just as possible that they were never arrested for the same reason.

In March 1882, the Territorial Legislature repealed the 1869 miscegenation law. The repeal bill was introduced by Representative I. S. Bartlett, a Republican from Laramie County, on February 9.[31]

Again, as in 1869, a major territorial newspaper editorially denounced the miscegenation law. The *Cheyenne Daily Leader* printed a long editorial on February 12 urging the legislature to repeal the law, which was seen as tarnishing the image of Wyoming as a land of equality. A law prohibiting interracial marriages, the newspaper said, "should have no . . . place among the laws of the youngest and most progressive territory." The miscegenation law was an "insult" to all citizens of Wyoming. Social matters should not be regulated by laws; rather, the "choice of a husband or wife should be left to the consciences and tastes of those desiring to marry." If a law could prohibit whites from marrying blacks, then a law could prohibit blondes from marrying brunettes, and cross-eyed people could be made to marry only those who were also cross-eyed, the editorial argued.[32]

The majority of the members of the legislature agreed with the sentiments expressed in the *Cheyenne Daily Leader*. On February 20, the repeal bill passed the House of Representatives by the vote of 16-3,[33] and on March 3 it was approved by the Council by the margin of 11-1.[34] On March 7, 1882, Governor John W. Hoyt signed the bill,[35] and for the next thirty-one years, interracial marriages were legal in Wyoming.

"The law was an insult to all citizens of Wyoming."

The 1913 session of the State Legislature enacted Wyoming's second miscegenation law which was patterned after the first. Its passage and repeal were not nearly as dramatic nor as controversial as were the passage and repeal of the 1869 law. No editorials were written blasting the law, no gubernatorial veto was issued in an attempt to block its passage, and no letters to the editor were written either in support of or in opposition to the law. The 1913 law was born without fanfare, lived a quite and uneventful life, and, when it died in 1965, few mourned its passing.

The twelfth State Legislature, which met in 1913, was one of the most divisive and unstatesmanlike sessions in Wyoming history. This was especially true in the House of Representatives where political hostilities erupted into a physical free-for-all on January 21.

The fight began when the speaker pro tem, W. J. Wood, who was presiding, refused to yield the chair back to the speaker, Martin L. Pratt. Pratt grabbed Wood "by the shoulders and threw him off the platform on his face." A scuffle ensued between the two men, and a third representative who attempted to separate them "was soundly kicked in the stomach by Pratt."[36] At the end of the session, a composite picture of the members of the House was to be made for the sake of posterity. The Democrats and the Republicans each refused to

have their pictures framed with the others, so two composites were made.[37]

Divisiveness, however, was not evident in the legislature on the issue of a new miscegenation law for Wyoming. On February 4, Representative Jacob Sherman, a Republican representing Laramie, Platte, and Goshen counties, introduced House Bill Number 153 to prohibit, once again, whites from marrying Negroes and Orientals in Wyoming.[38] The bill passed both houses unanimously—the House of Representatives on February 13 by the vote of 49-0,[39] and the Senate on February 21 by the vote of 23-0.[40] The bill was signed into law by Governor Joseph M. Carey on February 22, 1913.[41]

During the decade preceding World War I, the United States experienced a rising feeling of nationalism, triggered by the military successes and territorial acquisitions of the United States during the 1890s. A feeling of white supremacy spread across the country. This was the impetus for the passage of anti-immigration laws and other laws which were aimed at Catholics, Jews, and racial minorities.

Negroes and Orientals in the United States were the targets of much racial prejudice during this time. Fear of the "Yellow Peril" began to move from California eastward, and the anti-Negro attitudes of the South began to be espoused by white Americans in other parts of the United States. This white supremacy movement gained momentum until it reached its peak just prior to the beginning of World War I, at which time it began to decline in intensity. However, Wyoming, like the rest of the nation, had gotten caught up in this white, nationalistic movement, and the 1913 miscegenation law was one result of the anti-Oriental and anti-Negro feeling present in Wyoming at that time.[42]

Section 1 of the 1913 law[43] stated that: "All marriages of white persons with Negroes, Mulattoes, Mongolians or Malays hereafter contracted in the State of Wyoming are and shall be illegal and void."

The corresponding section of the 1869 law had specified just how much "Negro blood" or "Mongolian blood" a person could have before being prohibited from marrying a white person. However, no such demarcations were written into the 1913 law. No definition of "Mongolians" or "Mulattoes" was given. Technically, a mulatto is the off-spring of a "pure white" and a "pure black," but the word is often used to refer to anyone of mixed Caucasian and Negro ancestry.[44] The statute did not specify which meaning the legislature attached to the word. Likewise, the legislature did not explain if a person of mixed white-Oriental heritage was considered to be a Mongolian for purposes of the law.[45] Finally, Malays are those Oriental people native to the Malay Peninsula of southeast Asia, and none lived in Wyoming in 1913. The only Orientals in Wyoming were Chinese and Japanese, who were within the definition of "Mongolians."

Regardless of the inadequate wording of Section 1, the 1913 law, like its 1869 predecessor, was aimed at prohibiting whites from marrying the few blacks and Orientals in the state. A special census conducted by the State of Wyoming in 1915 revealed that among the state's population were 609 Negroes, 184 Chinese, and 752 Japanese.

As in the 1870 census, the men of these groups greatly outnumbered the women. Of the Negroes who lived in Wyoming in 1915, 380 were men and 229 were women. Chinese men numbered 180 compared to only four Chinese women. Among Japanese, there were 651 men and 101 women. However, the acute shortage of white women that had existed in Wyoming in 1869 had been somewhat alleviated. The four to one men/women ratio that had existed among whites in Wyoming in 1870 was reduced to less than three to two by 1915. In the latter year, Wyoming had 79,968 white men and 58,363 white women.[46] This represents a tremendous increase in the number and percentage of white women from the figures of 1870. Also, the small number of minority men in Wyoming in 1915 could have hardly been considered a threat to white men in the competition for marriage partners. Racial prejudice rather than a shortage of women appears to be the logical explanation for the enactment of the 1913 miscegenation law.

The penalties for violating the statute were contained in Section 2 of the law. In addition to the interracial couple, the minister or other person solemnizing the marriage would be in violation of the law. All accused persons must have known that the couple was interracial in order to have been found guilty, indicating that the law was designed to prohibit whites from marrying those with even small amounts of "Negro blood" or "Mongolian blood." The two illegally married people and the minister would all be subject to a prison sentence of one to five years, a fine of $100 to $1000, or both fine and imprisonment. This represents a lesser penalty for the white person than that specified in the 1869 law, a slightly larger penalty for the non-white spouse, and a much more severe penalty for the minister.

The person issuing the marriage license was not guilty of a crime under the 1913 law. Section 2 further stated that violation of the statute was a misdemeanor, but the penalties prescribed were those for a felony. Felonies are generally crimes which provide maximum penalties of more than one year in prison,[47] so, in reality, the 1913 law made interracial marriage a felony just as in the 1869 law.

The 1913 law remained on the Wyoming statute books for fifty-two years. Like the 1869 law, its constitutionality was never challenged. However, at least one

authority states that it was enforced at least once "in the lower courts" of the state.[48] Because of the reasons noted previously, it is highly unlikely that it was violated often. A search of available Wyoming penitentiary records covering the years 1913-1932 and 1958-1964 reveals that not a single prisoner was incarcerated in the men's state prison during those years for violation of the miscegenation law.[49]

Up until 1948 every court in the United States that had ruled on the constitutionality of miscegenation statutes had upheld the right of states to regulate marriage, including the right to prohibit interracial marriages.[50] The United States Supreme Court, in the 1882 case of *Pace v. Alabama*[51] had upheld the validity of a miscegenation law concerned only with sex outside of marriage. However, in 1948 the California Supreme Court ruled that that state's miscegenation law was unconstitutional, and that decision prompted several states to repeal their statutes.[52]

In 1964 the United States Supreme Court stated in the case of *McLaughlin v. Florida*[53] that statutes prohibiting members of certain races from doing acts that are generally legal will be constitutional only if there is an "overriding" reason for the law. In that case a miscegenation statute dealing only with sex outside of marriage was found to be unconstitutional.

Many legislators realized that the time was not far off when the United States Supreme Court would rule that all miscegenation statutes were unconstitutional.[54] Consequently, in the 1965 session of the Wyoming State Legislature, several members introduced a bill to repeal Wyoming's miscegenation law because they believed it to be unconstitutional.[55] The repeal measure faced some opposition but passed the House of Representatives on January 19 by the vote of 51-8,[56] and the Senate on January 25 by the vote of 21-3.[57] Governor Clifford Hansen signed the bill on January 27, 1965, bringing the legal history of miscegenation in Wyoming to an abrupt end.[58]

1. *Ballentine's Law Dictionary,* (Rochester: Lawyer's Co-operative Publishing Co., 1969), p. 305, defines "miscegenation" as: "The intermarrying, cohabiting, or interbreeding of persons of different races."
2. Andrew D. Weinberger, "A Reappraisal of the Constitutionality of Miscegenation Statutes," *Cornell Law Quarterly,* Vol. 42, No. 2 (Winter 1957), p. 208. Weinberger says that at one time or another thirty-nine states (or territories that later became states) had laws prohibiting miscegenation.
3. Three examples will suffice: (1) In the ante-bellum South much interracial sex (but not marriage) took place between white men and black women; (2) white fur traders often married or lived with Indian women when there were no white women around; and (3) white servicemen stationed in the Orient have often had sexual contacts with Oriental women, and many have brought Oriental wives home with them.
4. Homer H. Clark, Jr., *The Law of Domestic Relations in the United States,* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1968), p. 91; Lloyd H. Riley, "Miscegenation Statutes – A Re-Evaluation of their Constitutionality in Light of Changing Social and Political Conditions," *Southern California Law Review,* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Fall, 1958), p. 29.
5. Edward Byron Reuter, *Race Mixture: Studies in Intermarriage and Miscegenation,* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1931), p. 82; Riley, "Miscegenation Statutes," p. 29. The six states with both a statutory and constitutional ban were Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.
6. The word "Mongolian" is used in these statutes in its broadest sense, referring to all yellow-skinned people rather than just natives of Mongolia. The word is defined in *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (Nashville: Southwestern Co., 1965), on p. 484, as: "designating or of one of the three principal races of mankind, including most of the peoples of Asia, the Eskimos, etc., who are generally characterized by yellowish skin, slanting eyes, etc."
7. Chester G. Vernier, *American Family Laws,* (Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 1931), pp. 204-209.
8. *Ibid.;* Clark, *The Law of Domestic Relations,* p. 91; Weinberger, "A Reappraisal of the Constitutionality of Miscegenation Statutes," pp. 208-209; Theophile J. Weber, "Statutory Prohibitions Against Interracial Marriages," *Wyoming Law Journal,* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Spring, 1949), pp. 159-164.
9. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), pp. 71-72; Peter Kooi Simpson, "History of the First Wyoming Legislature," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1962, pp. 32, 37.
10. Lewis L. Gould, *Wyoming: A Political History, 1868-1896,* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 26; Frances Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming: From Territorial Days to the Present,* (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, Inc., 1933), p. 207; I. S. Bartlett, ed., *History of Wyoming,* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1918), p. 173; Larson, pp. 71-72; Simpson, pp. 37-38. One man elected to the House of Representatives, J. M. Freeman, never attended the 1869 session of the legislature. Therefore, only twelve members were seated in the House. Larson, p. 73; Simpson, p. 43.
11. The name of Carter County was changed to Sweetwater County during the 1869 session of the legislature. Larson, p. 76.
12. *Council Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming,* p. 82; *Cheyenne Leader,* November 27, 1869, p. 1.
13. *Council Journal, 1869,* p. 103.
14. *House Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming, 1869,* p. 143.
15. *Council Journal, 1869,* p. 79.
16. The November 20, 1869, issue of the *Wyoming Tribune,* the newspaper's first, stated in an editorial on page 2 that it was "Republican in politics."
17. *Ibid.,* p. 4.
18. *The Statistics of the Population of the United States Compiled from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census,* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 3, 4, 5, 8, 606-609.
19. *Wyoming Tribune,* November 27, 1869, p. 1.
20. *Ibid.,* p. 2.
21. Larson, pp. 69-70. Campbell was 33 years old when he became governor of Wyoming.
22. *House Journal, 1869,* pp. 209-210; John A. Campbell, "Diary: John A. Campbell: 1869," *Wyoming Annals,* Vol. 10, No. 2 (April 1938), p. 69. Campbell wrote in his diary for December 6: "Sent in veto to Mongolean [sic] bill."
23. *House Journal, 1869,* p. 210. Campbell's veto message is printed there in its entirety.
24. *The Statistics of the Ninth Census,* pp. 3, 4, 5, 8, 606-609. The terms "men" and "women" as used in this article, refer to all males and females regardless of age.
25. *House Journal, 1869,* pp. 209-210. The Council override vote

was not recorded in *Council Journal, 1869,* but the information is contained in a letter from Edward Orpen, Secretary of the Council, to the House of Representatives, dated December 6, and reproduced in *House Journal, 1869.*

26. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 212. Section 6 of the Organic Act of Wyoming, the law which established Wyoming's territorial government, provided that a two-thirds vote of each house of the legislature was necessary to override a gubernatorial veto. It was construed to mean that nine votes would be necessary to override a veto in the thirteen-member House of Representatives, but the Wyoming Supreme Court, in the case of *Brown v. Nash, 1 Wyoming Reports,* 85 (1872), interpreted Section 6 to mean two-thirds of those present when the override veto was taken. With eleven members of the House of Representatives present, eight votes were necessry to override Campbell's veto of the miscegenation bill. The Organic Act of Wyoming is reproduced in Marie H. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book: A Legal and Political History of Wyoming, 1868-1943,* (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1946), pp. 151-156.
28. The law is found in *General Laws, Memorials and Resolutions of the Territory of Wyoming, Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly, 1869,* chapter 83, pp. 706-707. In 1876 the fourth Territorial Legislature decided to compile in one volume all of the laws of the territory then in force. This first compilation of Wyoming laws, *The Compiled Laws of Wyoming,* contains the miscegenation law in chapter 64, p. 376.
29. *Wyoming Tribune,* November 27, 1869, p. 1, states that the law would "preserve the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race, and provide against miscegenation."
30. Casual sexual relations were not unlawful, but living "together in an open state of adultery or fornication, or adultery and fornication" was a crime, even for two people of the same race. The maximum penalty for the first offense was six months in jail and a $200 fine. *General Laws, 1869,* chapter 3, title IX, section 110, pp. 131-132; *The Compiled Laws of Wyoming,* chapter 35, title IX, section 110, pp. 269-270.
31. *House Journal of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming, 1882,* p. 71.
32. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* February 12, 1882, p. 4.
33. *House Journal, 1882,* p. 93. The number of members in the House during the 1882 session was twenty-four. Erwin, p. 238. One of the representatives favoring repeal of the miscegenation law was W. J. Hardin, Republican of Laramie County, and the only Black to serve in the Wyoming Legislature. See *Wyoming Eagle,* January 28, 1965, p. 20, and Erwin, p. 236.
34. *Council Journal of the Seventh Legislative Assembly,* p. 162. The number of members in the Council during the 1882 session was twelve. Erwin, p. 237.
35. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* March 11, 1882, p. 1. The repeal bill is found in *Session Laws of Wyoming Territory, Passed by the Seventh Legislative Assembly, 1882,* chapter 54, p. 134.
36. *Sheridan Post,* January 21, 1913, p. 1. Larson, pp. 328-330, 334.
37. *Cheyenne State Leader,* February 22, 1913, p. 8.
38. *House Journal of the Twelfth State Legislature of Wyoming, 1913,* p. 155.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 307. The number of members in the House during the 1913 session was fifty-seven. Erwin, p. 769.
40. *Senate Journal of the Twelfth State Legislature of Wyoming, 1913,* pp. 405-406. The number of members in the Senate during the 1913 session was twenty-seven. Erwin, p. 765.
41. *Session Laws of the State of Wyoming Passed by the Twelfth State Legislature, 1913,* p. 49.
42. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925,* (New York: Atheneum, 1975), pp. 158-93.
43. The law is found in *Session Laws, 1913,* chapter 57, pp. 48-49. It has also been codified at: *Wyoming Compiled Statutes Annotated: 1920,* chapter 318, sections 4972 and 4973, p. 909; *Wyoming Revised Statutes: 1931,* chapter 68, sections 68-118 and 68-119, p. 1102; *Wyoming Compiled Statutes: 1945,* chapter 50, sections 50-108 and 50-109, p. 713; and *Wyoming Statutes: 1957,* title 20, sections 20-18 and 20-19, p. 256.
44. *Webster's New World Dictionary,* p. 491, and Henry Campbell Black, *Black's Law Dictionary,* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1968), p. 1166.
45. Several shortcomings of the 1913 law have been noted in William E. Foster, "A Study of the Wyoming Miscegenation Statutes," *Wyoming Law Journal,* Vol. 10, No. 2 (Winter 1956), pp. 131-138.
46. *The Census of the State of Wyoming: 1915* (Cheyenne: Wyoming Labor Journal Publishing Co., 1915).
47. *Black's Law Dictionary,* pp. 744, 1150. Under the United States Criminal Code "offenses punishable by death or imprisonment for a term exceeding one year are felonies." A misdemeanor is defined as: "Offenses lower than felonies."
48. Weinberger, p. 209. However, he gives no facts or details of the conviction or convictions, nor does he say where he obtained his information.
49. State Board of Charities and Reform, *Biennial Report* (Cheyenne: State of Wyoming, 1913-1914, 1915-1916, 1917-1918, 1919-1920, 1921-1922, 1923-1924, 1924-1926, 1926-1928, 1928-1930, 1930-1932, 1958-1960, 1960-1962, 1962-1964).
50. Clark, p. 91.
51. *Pace v. Alabama,* 106 U.S. 583 (1882).
52. Clark, pp. 91-93. The California case is *Perez v. Lippold,* 198 P.2d 17 (1948).
53. *McLaughlin v. Florida,* 379 U.S. 184 (1964).
54. The United States Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Loving v. Virginia,* 388 U.S. 1 (1967), that all miscegenation laws are unconstitutional.
55. *Digest of Senate and House Journals of the Thirty-Eighth State Legislature of Wyoming,* p. 313, and *Wyoming Eagle,* January 20, 1965, p. 3.
56. *Digest of the Thirty-Eighth State Legislature,* p. 313. The number of members in the House during the 1965 session was sixty-one. Erwin, pp. 239-240.
57. Erwin, p. 314. The number of members in the Senate during the 1965 session was twenty-five. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
58. *Wyoming Eagle,* January 28, 1965, p. 31. The law is found in *Session Laws of the State of Wyoming Passed by the Thirty-Eighth State Legislature, 1965,* chapter 4, p. 3.

WSHS Annual Meeting

September 7-9, 1979
Laramie, Wyoming

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

Registration for the twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society began at 7 p.m. at the Holiday Inn. A reception was held with a slide show by Jack Corbett and Bill Petersen on the Ivinson Mansion.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

The meeting was called to order at 8:45 a.m. by President Mabel Brown. She introduced the officers of the Society and the staff members of the Archives, Museums and Historical Department.

She appointed Dr. T. A. Larson, Parliamentarian. Ellen Mueller, Secretary-Treasurer, was asked to read the minutes of the last meeting. Dr. Larson corrected typographical errors: the author was Geoffrey Hunt; in reference to Independence Rock, the Rockefeller Foundation was not involved as it was Mr. Dupont. Minutes were approved as corrected.

Ellen Mueller presented the treasurer's report which was accepted and approved as read.

President Brown called on Vincent P. Foley, Executive Secretary, to report on the Sharon Field project. He stated that members are aware of the project since it is the "presidential project" for the year. It involves a contract from the Society with Sharon Lass Field to head a survey of all locatable cemeteries and isolated graves in the state, the result to be a compilation of these graves. It was voted at the last Executive Committee Meeting in Casper to approve the contract and provide $1,500 to Mrs. Field for the work that she had already done, especially on the Fort Fetterman area. In addition to the money to be paid annually, some additional expense money can be made available on approval of the Executive Committee. The project will be reviewed by the Society in five years, with the option of publication. Foley asked that all the Chapters cooperate in the project. He said that a form will be sent to the local chapters to record the graves information. The completed forms will be sent to the office for compilation. President Brown stated that this was one of her favorite projects and that grave locations and identifications are important to genealogists and historians.

Projects Committee

Jim June reported that about the only thing to get off the ground was the project that was just discussed on the Grave Registrations. He said forms would be sent out if they had not received them. He recommended that each chapter upon receipt of these forms, keep a copy for their own records, so that each county chapter would have records in case the forms were lost. Another planned and discussed project concerns the marking of historical areas; he has not gotten far in this area yet. He stated that Bill Bragg had referred to some unmarked sites and that there were areas throughout the state that ought to be considered. He feels the local chapters should take the initiative to find these sites and call the Society's attention to them.

Legislative Committee

Dr. Larson reported that the Committee consisting of Adrian Reynolds, Edness Kimball Wilkins and himself succeeded in getting the name of the State Archives and Historical Department changed to "Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department". They also supported the requested appropriations for the Department and will continue to do so.

Trek Committee

Bill Bragg reported that the Trek was held July 14, 1979, from Kaycee to the Dull Knife Battle Field and the Hole-in-the-Wall. Following a picnic and talks at Dull Knife, the trek visited the outlaw cave, local ranches and the "Hole-in-the-Wall."

Bill Bragg presented the following resolution: "BE IT RESOLVED: that the Wyoming State Historical Society, the Johnson County Chapter and the Natrona County Chapter join together in commending the true western hospitality of the Norris Graves family, Nona Kimball and Shirley Fraker, for helping make the 1979 Hole-in-the-Wall and visit to Dull Knife Battle Field a solid success during which over 600 people from all 23 counties of Wyoming and 11 other states were in attendance." Bragg also reported that only one local resident was unhappy because a gate was left open and 500 sheep got scattered. The resolution was seconded and adopted. Bragg asked that copies be delivered to Kimball at Casper College who in turn would deliver them to Fraker and Graves.

Society Awards Revision Report

Henry Jensen thanked the members of the committee appointed by President Mabel Brown, for helping with the project: Ray Pendergraft, Don Hodgson, Hattie Burnstad, Roberta Brazelton, Mary Ann Shannon, Bill Bragg and Mabel Brown.

They presented Awards Revisions to the membership. An amended version was approved. After discussion it was decided to retain the L. C. Bishop Award.

A motion was made and passed that members of the Awards Committee not be eligible to receive awards. If their work is nominated and they do not withdraw the entry, they should resign from the Awards Committee. The president would name a replacement.

Wyoming Council for the Humanities

Council director Suzanne Forrest explained the various programs that the Wyoming Council for the Humanities can fund for adult participation and how the Society or other groups can apply for this funding. She explained the fellowship program which provides for annual grants for individuals.

Scholarships and Grant-in-Aid Report

Dr. Larson reported that he, Robert Roripaugh, of the Department of English at the University of Wyoming and the Society's Executive Secretary make up this committee. He reported the two awards offered by this committee are the scholarships to write county histories and the Grants-in-Aid for historical projects. He reported that there are six scholarships outstanding: for Converse, Hot Springs, Johnson, Niobrara, Sweetwater and Park counties. In the last year, Lucille Hicks was awarded a scholarship for a history of Park County. If the committee recommends that a scholarship be granted and the Executive committee approves, the applicant is given $200. When he completes the project to the satisfaction of the Executive and Scholarship Committees, he receives the final payment of $300.

Two Grant-in-Aid projects are outstanding: "The Alliance of US Army and the Union Pacific in Southern Wyoming," by Gordon Chappell and "The Social Life in South Pass City 1867-1870," by Marion Huseas. The latter grant was awarded this year. Initial Grant-in-Aid payment is $100 with a final payment of $200 upon completion of the project.

National History Day

Phil Roberts reported on a steering committee meeting in Casper regarding National History Day. The program is designed to promote interest in history for students in grades 6 through 12. Students in two divisions, grades 6-9 and 10-12, compete in five categories: individual historical essay; individual performance based on historical information; group performance based on historical subjects; individual project; group project.

Began in 1974, History Day was funded through the National Council of Humanities. This is the first year the national contest has been held. It is scheduled for late May in Washington, D.C. State winners from around the country will be sent to Washington for national competition. The steering committee is made up of people from the 20 chapters of the Society, members of the history departments of community colleges, representatives of the Wyoming Council for the Social Studies and R. L. Ferguson of the Department of Education. Roberts asked for the support of the State Society for this program and permission to make this committee a working committee of the state historical society. Bill Bragg moved that an amendment be adopted that the Society, on a 12-month trial basis support the National History Day and then review the program at that time as to whether or not it be made into a permanent *ad hoc* committee. Seconded and carried.

Constitution/By-Laws Revisions Committee

Henry Chadey reported that the committee's recommendations could not be voted on at this meeting because the entire membership had not yet been advised of the proposed changes. The members voted to send copies of the original constitution and by-laws along with copies of the revisions to the entire membership for suggestions. Comments are to be returned to Society headquarters by January 1, 1980.

Dave Wasden requested and was granted a few minutes to speak about the John Colter Society. He said the purpose of the organization was to honor the contribution that John Colter made to the American West. He said the organization was erecting a monument to memorialize John Colter. Its location is at the historic site known as Colter's Hell west of Cody. The project will be funded through private foundation sources and individual contributions. If anyone contributes $15 or more, they will receive a copy of Burton Harris' book on John Colter, Wasden said.

Following Mr. Wasden's comments, the meeting was recessed.

Historical Foundation

Present were: Jack Mueller, president of the Foundation; George Shelton, Ed Bille, Dave Wolff, Henry Jensen and Ray Pendergraft, board members; the President and the Executive Secretary of the Wyoming State Historical Society.

Mueller pointed out the importance of small donations and noted that the late Violet Hord and the Natrona County Chapter had done an outstanding job on small memorials.

He said the Foundation now has two memorial cards. One is sent to donors and the other to the family of the deceased. Also a memorial envelope was printed and distributed to funeral homes for the use of family members and friends. Memorial envelopes were given to chapter representatives at the meeting. Mueller also reported that several chapters had donated money to the Foundation. The L. C. Bishop Memorial Fund will be transferred to the Foundation from the Society, bringing the fund to about $2,500. The Society paid $500 for the printing of the envelopes and cards.

He reported that the Foundation has received three film proposals. The board will meet soon to decide whether a film should be the Foundation's project, and if so, which proposal is the best. He expressed apprecia-

tion to the staff of the Historical Research and Publications Division for their help.

Following a luncheon address by Dr. Peter Ivinson of the University of Wyoming, on "Wyoming. Still the Cowboy State?," Mrs. Brown re-convened the meeting.

The Society was invited by the Fremont County Chapter to hold the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting in Lander next September.

Trek Committee

Bill Bragg said the committee plans to begin the 1980 bus trek at Worland. The itinerary will include Ten Sleep, the Blue Bank road, the Ten Sleep Raid site, the Nowood Country and the Bates Battlefield. A motion was made to accept the proposal for the trek, seconded and carried.

Bragg said he would like to hold a weekend seminar at Casper College on the history of freighting in Wyoming. He also would like to have the Society preserve a few hundred yards of the old highway from Casper north to the oil fields. The north-bound side of the road was concrete so that the heavily loaded freight wagons, pulled by six-horse teams, would not sink in the soft mud. Lighter wagons returning to Casper did not have this problem. Bragg said the road is unique because portions of it still exist.

Bill Dubois reported that Michael Cimino, winner of the Academy Award last year for "Deer Hunter," is making a new movie on the Johnson County War. Mrs. Brown reported that a documentary movie in the planning stages will compare the boom town of Wright with old Cambria.

Phil Roberts reported that Edness Kimball Wilkins was unable to attend the annual meeting because she was participating in a PBS production at South Pass City.

Mrs. Brown asked Ellen Mueller to give the membership report. The 26th Annual Meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society was adjourned at 3:40 p.m.

Ellen Mueller
Secretary-Treasurer

BOOK REVIEWS

The Fur Trade of the American West 1807-1840. By David J. Wishart. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). Index. Bib. Illus. Charts. Maps. 237 pp. $15.00.

This compact study of the American fur trade of the early 19th century has several objectives. According to the author, historical studies of the fur trade have tended to focus on colorful incidents and personalities rather than concentrating on the trade as a system. Therefore, his objective is to do what the historians have overlooked. As a geographer, Wishart proposes to supply a "new synthesis which adopts an interdisciplinary approach." To do this he wants to focus on the relationships between the biological, the physical, and the cultural environments of the fur trade. This is a worthy goal, but one which the author is not always successful in achieving.

Focusing on the region from Nebraska north to Canada and west to the Pacific Ocean, the book considers the geographical setting and the exploitation of sub-regions within that general area. It sets forth two major trapping and trading areas and systems, the first being the upper Missouri Fur Trade. This consisted chiefly of Indian hunters and trappers who killed buffalo and other smaller fur-bearing animals. Most of these items were exchanged at established trading posts in the upper Missouri Valley or on the northern Plains for manufactured goods. The buffalo robes and other pelts were then shipped down the Missouri River to St. Louis. The second system was the Rocky Mountain trapping system. In this white trappers killed beaver and other fur-bearing animals in the streams and lakes of the central and northern Rocky Mountains and beyond the Continental Divide as far west as the fringes of the basin and range country. The trappers brought their pelts to the annual rendezvous where they exchanged them for equipment, food and horses for the next year. The traders then took the furs overland along the Platte River back to St. Louis. There the products from both systems joined as merchants shipped them east to New York or to Europe.

After describing both systems, the author notes exceptions and instances where they overlapped. He then considers the differences and similarities of each. Annual cycles of operation, problems of supply and transportation, management policies, growing competition, and the dwindling resource base all receive attention. The familiar names of the fur trade, from Manuel Lisa to William Ashley, from Captain Bonneville to Joseph Walker, appear in the discussion. Likewise, trading posts such as Fort William, Fort Hall, Fort Vancouver, and Bent's Fort all dot the pages of maps and prose. Throughout the author focuses on depleting the resource base and on fur company competition and combinations.

Although certainly a scholarly book, the prose is clear and readable. It anticipates that the reader has considerable knowledge of the fur trade, of Indian-white relations, and of the physical geography of the western United States. Usually, the frequent maps are clear and helpful, although in a few cases words and symbols are obscured by the dark shading of some areas. The charts showing the organization and functioning of both the Rocky Mountain and upper Missouri systems are somewhat helpful, but reveal little that is new or all that startling. In sum, persons knowledgeable about the fur trade will find little here that they do not already know. Persons seeking a clearly-written, brief, overview of the trade can turn to this volume with confidence.

ROGER L. NICHOLS

Dr. Nichols is a professor of history at the University of Arizona, Tucson. He has written extensively on the American west.

The Horse Soldier, 1776-1943. The United States Cavalryman: His Uniforms, Arms, Accoutrements and Equipments. Volume IV; World War I, The Peacetime Army, World War II, 1917-1943. By Randy Steffen. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979). Index. Illus. 136 pp. $25.00.

Volume IV of Randy Steffen's magnificient portrayal of the uniforms, arms, accoutrements, and equipments of the horse soldier in this country covers the years of 1917-1943, the period from the beginning of World War I through the era of peacetime into World War II, concluding in 1943 with the disappearance of the horse soldier from the Army.

In this book all uniforms, service, fatigue and dress, for enlisted men, warrant officers and officers are minutely described and pictured. Detailed descriptions are given of insignia, medals, wound and service stripes, marksmanship badges, belts and aiguillettes. There is even a discussion of whether enlisted men were authorized strings or chin straps with the service hat. Actually this is a welcome respite from the rather stiff and official tone of most of the text.

This last volume of the four-part work can stand alone. However, there are frequent references to the previous volume as the 1911 pattern of uniform and insignia, except for minor changes, were regulation for the Cavalry until well after World War I. Steffen covers these changes in detail. Generally in the text there is a brief description of what is being referred to in the previous volume so that the reader can understand without having Volume III in hand. There are several references to color plates in Volume I.

The detail in this book is encyclopedic, there are many verbatim quotations from Army regulations on uniform specifications and on insignia, stripes and medals that sometimes seem redundant, but this adds to the authenticity of the presentation and sometimes clears confusing points in the more general text or in the captions for the illustrations. The beauty of the book is in the many detailed pen and ink sketches which the author has made of uniforms, equipment and horses. These sketches greatly augment and clarify the written text. There is one color plate beautifully illustrating the regimental insignia of the seventeen cavalry regiments.

For a book of this type the volume seems remarkably error free in this day and age. I noted only two errors in captions for illustrations. In one case the caption for Fig. 428 indicates that the letters MG below the crossed sabers on the gilt button collar insignia of enlisted men designates members of the regimental band. In the text it says that this designated a member of a machine gun squadron. In the illustration the correct button for the band was the one to the right with the musicians stand or lyre beneath the crossed sabers. The caption for Fig. 436 states that the trousers with the 1938 officer's dress uniform were dark blue; the text correctly states that they were sky blue. Only general officers were authorized wear of the dark blue trousers.

The introduction to each of the two chapters in this volume gives the role of the Cavalry in the particular period being covered. An epilogue describes the decline in importance of the role of the horse cavalry through the 1930s which led to the full mechanization of the Cavalry in 1943.

It should be pointed out that while the material presented by Steffen is specifically directed to the Cavalry, at least in this volume, much of the material concerning uniforms and insignia applies to the Army in general for all branches of the service.

While this volume can be read and understood without reference to the previous ones, I think few will be content to forego the pleasure of delving into the earlier books in this series.

JAMES A. WIER

Brig. Gen. Wier, U.S.A., Ret., is a former commander of Fitzsimmons Hospital, and was one of the founders of the Rocky Mountain Department of C.A.M.P.

Water for the West. The Bureau of Reclamation, 1902-1927. By Michael C. Robinson. (Chicago: Public Works Historical Association, 1979). Index. Bib. Ilus. 117 pp. $6.00 paper.

Ever since Frederick Jackson Turner first proposed his "frontier thesis" in 1890, many historians have taken a regional approach to the United States past, studying the central themes around which people in different parts of the country have organized their lives. New England history, for example, can hardly be separated from the history of colonial Puritanism, nor can southern history be understood without carefully considering the dual problems of race and slavery. The settlement of the Great Basin is inextricably linked to the history of the Mormon Church. As for the history of the "Great American Desert," no issue has been more important to economic and political affairs than the supply and control of water. And no agency has been more influential in the development of water resources than the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation.

In *Water for the West. The Bureau of Reclamation, 1902-1977,* Michael C. Robinson has provided a brief administrative survey of the history of the Bureau of Reclamation. After discussing the background of irrigation and water use in the nineteenth century, Robinson goes on to describe the establishment of the Bureau and its early interest in agricultural water storage and irrigation projects, such as the Roosevelt Dam, completed in 1911 on the Salt River in southern Arizona; the

Elephant Butte Dam (1916) on the Rio Grande in New Mexico; the Arrowrock Dam (1915) on the Boise River in Idaho; and the Gunnison Tunnel in the Uncompaghre Valley of western Colorado.

During the 1930s and 1940s, the Bureau began a transition away from exclusively agricultural concerns to multi-purpose development of water resources, including water storage, irrigation, fish and wildlife preservation, hydroelectric power, flood control, soil conservation, and municipal water supplies. During this era, the Bureau constructed the Hoover Dam on the Colorado River; the Colorado River Aqueduct to Los Angeles; the Grand Coulee Dam and the Columbia River Basin Project; the Colorado-Big Thompson Project to divert Colorado River water through the mountains to the Big Thompson and South Platte Rivers in eastern Colorado; and the Central Valley Project in California. In his last chapter, which covers the years between 1953 and 1977, Robinson discusses the maturing of the multi-purpose concept, the Bureau's difficulties with environmentalists, the Missouri River Basin Project, and the Colorado River Storage Project.

It is important to describe here what Michael Robinson's book does not accomplish. In recent years, the question of "water in the west" has received the attention of such prominent historians as Leonard Arrington, J. Leonard Bates, Mary Glass, Samuel Hays, Norris Hundley, Beverly Moeller, and Elmo Richardson, and they have produced a number of sophisticated monographs based on primary research. Mr. Robinson's book is a survey rather than an exhaustive monograph, descriptive rather than analytical.

Water for the West is a good introduction to the development of water resources, but for a revealing analysis of administrative infighting, the conflict between local and national governments, the controversy over preservation, conservation, or development, and the debate over private or public prerogatives, scholars will have to go elsewhere.

JAMES S. OLSON

The reviewer is an associate professor in the Department of History at Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

The Great Platte River Road. By Merrill J. Mattes. Reprint. (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1979). Index. Illus. 539 pp. $8.95, paper.

Writers, researchers and others drawn into America's dramatic western exodus now have little reason to be without what is probably the best source book ever compiled on the subject. *The Great Platte River Road* by Merrill Mattes is now available in an inexpensive paperback edition.

Specifically, the book covers the popular emigration trails from their emanating points along the Missouri River to where they converged east of Kearney, Nebraska, then along both sides of the historic Platte River to Fort Laramie. It is a fascinating compilation of facts from more than 700 original journals which reveals what trail travel was like from 1841 through 1866—the advent of the Union Pacific Railroad.

The story of this pioneer freeway across the plains is a tremendous effort which represents thirty years of work by Mattes, a National Park Service retiree and historian who spent many of his career years in the area he describes. His book has earned at least three prestigious awards from western historical and writers' organizations.

Mattes' credentials for this type of work are excellent. Along with a lengthy list of western history publications to his credit, he has been responsible for much of the National Park Service's historical features on the West.

Making the book more interesting, Mattes skillfully plays down what famous writers have already told us. Instead, he calls on hundreds of rare diaries or never-published manuscripts found all over the U.S. to illustrate the story of westward migration over the Oregon-California-Mormon trails. Of course, names such as Francis Parkman and Horace Greeley are included, but the message is conveyed by the hundreds of dusty hikers who made that great trek—and by those who turned back or perished before they could.

The book is a detailed description of the people, what they took with them or discarded along the way, soldiers and their forts, Indians they met (peacefully or otherwise), Pony Express and stage stations, famous landmarks and, of course, human characteristics such as morals, crime, accidents and diseases, burials, and trail law, such as it was.

Instead of just hitting the highlights of major river crossings, Mattes tells us exactly how the wagons, their loads, animals and the people had to be prepared and what all they had to know. He describes techniques, how up and down river currents were used to advantage, and about the problems faced during the ordeals.

Publisher of the book is the Nebraska State Historical Society. This reviewer would like to see similar organizations follow this lead and sponsor extensions of this book so the complete story will continue all the way to the western terminals. For example, a Wyoming-Idaho outfit could publish a book from Fort Laramie to, say, Boise. Then the Oregon Historical Society could pick it up from there and take it to Oregon City. A Nevada-California group could have a book on the part of the trail from Fort Hall, Idaho, to Sacramento. With these volumes, historians of all degrees would have easy access to the best original research available. It could be

as valuable as R. G. Thwaite's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.*

Settling the West, punctuated with the greatest gold rush in the world, is certainly equal to the greatest epic in U.S. history. *The Great Platte River Road* so far appears to be the largest library of facts about how at least part of this was accomplished. And now that it has wisely been reprinted by the Nebraskans in paperback, it should be on the bookshelves of every serious student of Western U.S. history.

CONNIE F. JOHNSON

The reviewer, a retired newspaperman, is a scientific investigator for the Gresham, Oregon, police department.

Chronological List of Actions Etc., With Indians from January 15, 1837 to January, 1891. By Dale E. Floyd. (Fort Collins, Colo.: Old Army Press, 1979). 79 pp. $12.50.

In 1891, the United States Adjutant General's Office published a *Chronological List of Actions with Indians from January 1, 1866 to January, 1891.* Unfortunately, the list, printed in limited quantity, never received general distribution. The Old Army Press has made this list and another, *Indian Engagements in the Period from January, 1837 to January, 1866,* available together for the first time at a reasonable cost.

Following a brief three-page introduction by Dale E. Floyd, every recorded military engagement between the Regular Army and Indians in this fifty-four year span is catalogued. The book includes the name or place of each encounter, the specific troops engaged and their commanding officers, as well as the number of soldier, civilian, and Indian casualties. In addition, the list provides the names of officers killed or wounded.

The casualty figures for United States troops in *Chronological List of Actions* can be trusted as reasonably accurate. These statistics were taken from official regimental returns or from the testimony of actual battle participants. The authenticity and reliability of the Indians figures, however, must be questioned. Since each military engagement was the subject of an official report by the commanding officer, enemy casualty figures were often inflated to place the troops in the best possible official light. While some scholars believe that frontier military officers attempted to honestly and accurately measure enemy casualties, there was, in actuality, seldom an official count. Indians generally made every effort to remove their dead and wounded from the battlefield as quickly as possible. As a result, huge disparities often surround Indian casualty figures for many encounters.

A controversial example of casualty figure variance surrounds Wyoming's renowned Wagon Box Fight near Fort Phil Kearny, August 2, 1867. The *Chronological List of Actions* reports that sixty Indians died that day with another 120 wounded. Other sources indicate radically different figures. Stanley Vestal's studies among the Sioux point out that only six Indians were wounded or killed. Richard I. Dodge's estimate, solicited from Oglala Sioux Chief Red Cloud, placed the total Indian casualties at 1137. While admittedly the casualty discrepancies surrounding the Wagon Box Fight are unusually large, this example illustrates a serious limitation in the use of official military sources in Indian studies.

By compiling these lists in one handsome volume, Old Army Press has provided a service aimed specifically toward Indian war buffs. Yet several shortcomings undermine the compilation's effectiveness. For some unexplained reason, no military engagements are listed for 1863 and 1864. Certainly the Regular Army had some hostilities with Indians during these years. While Floyd's introduction places the lists in perspective, a longer, more detailed introduction explaining the publication's usefulness and limitations would have been welcome. The inclusion of an index of the military encounters would have also rendered the book more readily useful to the laymen.

STEVEN C. SCHULTE

The reviewer is in the Ph. D. program at the University of Wyoming. His field of study is the American West.

A Journey to California: The Letters of Thaddeus Dean 1852. Edited with a preface by Katharine Dean Wheeler. (Tampa, Florida: American Studies Press, 1979.) Illus. 26 pp. $3.00.

The title of the twenty-six page collection is modestly misleading since only one of the eight letters included was written when the author was traveling between the Missouri River and California. The first four were mailed in Iowa; the fifth, "near the Missouri River"; the sixth, at Fort Laramie; and the last two, at the "Sacramento R" and San Francisco, respectively. Despite the general absence of descriptive treatment of the trail itself, Thaddeus Dean's letters do contain a number of interesting, amusing and useful observations.

He was very impressed with the beauty of California cities and the climate, although he loyally added that "the enterprise of our people is far ahead. . . ." Dean was not, however, one of those eternal optimists who has a good word about everyone and every place. The people and terrain of Scotch Grove, Iowa, were dismissed thusly: "The land is good for nothing but it is too fine for the people that occupy it, who are a miserable shiftless, shirtless set of fools, who know nothing but to lie & steal

horses." Near the Missouri River, Dean disapprovingly described the girls of the area as "a set of squizzles (who) all wear pants and short dresses . . . — no dress comes below the knees."

The prices at Kanesville were shockingly high (flour at $12 a pound) and the trail to Fort Laramie marked with frightening frequency by cholera-caused fatalities. Dean was properly grateful, upon camping some four miles from the fort, in noting that cholera had now nearly disappeared. Although he complained of a lack of sleep and the difficulty of "wading some of these sloughs in the mud to my armpits with my packs on my back," the greatest personal hazard was encountered on the Humboldt River. Here Dean became quite ill, a situation which he blamed on the water.

In addition to the letters, information included in the preface about missing stamps may be of interest to collectors. In a like manner, reproductions of several samples of the handwritten letters as well as of the document through the issuance of which Dean was appointed a Commissioner for the State of California by the Governor of Wisconsin will no doubt appeal to manuscript enthusiasts.

The map on page five is, unfortunately, of dubious accuracy. The editor suggests that Dean roughly followed the Mormon Trail. It is doubtful his trail was *that* rough since the route marked out swings north in central Nebraska almost to the Niobrara River, there is no north fork of the Platte indicated at all, and Fort Laramie is located at a point much closer to the eventual site of Fort Steele on the Union Pacific route than to the confluence of the Laramie and North Platte Rivers.

Though useful, this compilation will be of interest primarily to those already knowledgeable about the westward migration of the mid-19th century who wish to add to their own collections of primary sources.

ROBERT L. MUNKRES

The reviewer is an associate professor, Department of Political Science, Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio.

Primitive Indian Dress. By Susan Fecteau. Edited by Vickie Zimmer Kuntz. (Cheyenne: Frontier Printing, Inc., 1979) paper, $8.95.

Susan Fecteau is a New Yorker caught up in the romance and enchantment of the Mountain Man era in the west. That interest led her to attend various Mountain Man gatherings and on those occasions, she saw the need of appropriate attire for female participants. Since Plains Indian women were for all intents and purposes the main source of feminine companionship for the original fur trappers, she elected to find out all she could about what those women wore. The end result of Ms. Fecteau's research is a 106-page paperback on the wearing apparel of trans-Mississippi Indian women.

She has been thorough in her work, visiting nine museums ranging from the Museum of Natural History in New York City to the Buffalo Bill Museum in Cody. As well, she has used thirty-five written sources including Virginia Trenholm's *The Arapahoes, Our People* and the beautifully illustrated *People of the First Man* by Thomas and Ronfeldt. In short, the breadth of her sources is commendable.

Her book is divided into sections that cover the styles of dress, the decorations, accessories, construction, and even cleaning. She has handled the subject from head to toe. Of historical note to both scholars and amateur history buffs is that she has traced the evolution of female Indian attire from its most primitive stage, to the more elaborate and ornate dresses that resulted from trade with the white man. She explains how the women graduated from one skin to two-skin and three-skin dresses over the years, and how each "fashion" change brought more and different ornamentation to the dresses.

Indian women used both natural materials, such as badger skin and porcupine quills, and man-made items like beads and metals with remarkable results. The clothing that remains is attractive, graceful, and anything but primitive. The work of women who sought to adorn themselves is surprisingly sophisticated both in its technical and aesthetic qualities. The dresses of the Indian women are perhaps some of the finest examples of Indian art, and as a form of self expression, they provide some of the most honest comments.

The little book is profusely and nicely illustrated by the author who shows fair skill as an artist. The sketches are clean, clear and very much to the point. They show the technical and artistic aspects of the dresses and their decoration probably better than black and white photographs would. They will be particularly useful to anyone wanting to construct an Indian dress for whatever purpose. Also, the drawings can assist in the identification of Indian attire.

Of particular interest to students of the American Indian is the sources of hides used by the women. Fecteau points out that old tipi hides were highly desired because the fire smoke made them soft and pliable. Not only were they much easier to work with than freshly tanned or green hides, but they probably "hung" better. It goes without saying that a soft supple skin was probably a lot easier on the skin that wore it than a stiff non-resilient hide.

Many people might erroneously conclude that because much of the clothing worn by Plains Indians was of animal skin that they were not regularly cleaned in a conventional twentieth century context. Not true—Ms. Fecteau's research has shown that chalk, porous bone, clays and rock were rubbed onto and into the hides to remove stains, oils and soil.

The book can be easily used by scholars for professional research or by individuals interested in costuming a community pageant or theatrical endeavor. If recreating authentic female Indian attire is the desired goal, Fecteau's book is an invaluable aid.

However, for individuals who are not professional historians or anthropologists, a glossary of terms would have been most helpful. One is not included, and this reviewer found himself wishing there had been one for reference. Moreover, a list or suggested list of substitute materials would be useful. Some people wishing to construct an Indian dress may not have the inclination or the funds to obtain from one to three tanned deer or elk hides. For that matter, shells and elk teeth are not readily available in every shopping mall boutique across the land. Ideas on how to duplicate the authenticity of an Indian dress, without having to duplicate the actual materials used by Cree, Assiniboin, and Sioux maidens would be appreciated by those with an Indian dress project on the horizon.

All in all, the *Primitive Indian Dresses* book constitutes a fine, handy, easy-to-understand reference work and is an asset to any library fortunate enough to have one.

WILLIAM H. BARTON

The reviewer is senior historian and curator of manuscripts in the Historical Division of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department.

The End of the Long Horn Trail. By A. P. (Ott) Black. Re-edited by Larry Sprunk (BHG, Inc., 1979.) 97 pp.

I strongly suspect *The End of the Long Horn Trail,* by A. P. (Ott) Black and "re-edited" by Larry Sprunk of the Turkey Track Bill Show is a hoax. It is certainly not as it purports to be, a true memoir of a hell-raising cowboy who "lived as full a life as a man can live." Whether the hoax was perpetrated by Black, the narrator, the somewhat mysterious William T. McNamee to whom Black was supposed to have dictated his story, or Sprunk, the "re-editor" is of little importance. Certainly, we shall never know for sure. The roundabout process which led to its publication by BHG, Inc., in 1979 insures that its origins will remain shrouded in mystery. This reviewer is reminded of the similar process by which *Gulliver's Travels* found its way into print some centuries earlier. Anyone who needs to have their minds refreshed on that process should look into Hugh Kenner's *The Counterfeiters,* which, by the way, will do a great deal more to shed light on this work than anything I might say.

Nonetheless, it might be justified to continue this examination by attempting to evaluate the literary merit of *The End of the Long Horn Trail* or by measuring its value as a historical source.

As a literary work *The End of the Long Horn Trail* leaves much to be desired. There are both better novels about cowboys and better memoirs by cowboys. The style adopted by the writer is reminiscent of Gabby Hayes, or Festus of the now defunct Gunsmoke television series. This is unfortunate because it does a great disservice to the memory of the people who actually lived in the nineteenth-century West and who built a great country. The people who made the West were not rubes, hicks, or hayseeds. Even when illiterate they possessed a nobility which is counter to the picture presented by the figure of A. P. Black. Unfortunately, some people have sought to perpetuate the image of the Westerner as a crude rube to justify their own boorish behavior. The story line of *The End of the Long Horn Trail* is that of a simple picturesque novel. The picturesque novel is a literary form which, when handled properly, can be quite effective. In this case it is not.

As a contribution to the historical record of the nineteenth-century West, *The End of the Long Horn Trail* falls even further short of the mark (if possible) than it did as a piece of literature. Chapter One was so full of historical errors it was almost impossible to find anything which was correct. The account of the Miers Expedition is just one example. The Miers Expedition is a well-known and documented incident in the history of Texas. A visit to any reasonably well equipped library would have provided the writer or editor with the information that: one, the spelling used in the book is incorrect, and two, Black's father was not a participant in the expedition. I will not burden the reader of this review with the other inaccuracies but rather refer them to the article on the Miers Expedition by Milton Nance in the *Handbook of Texas* which will then take them on to more detailed sources. The bottom line is this: *The End of the Long Horn Trail* is so inaccurate, to say nothing of its dubious origins, that it should under no circumstances be relied upon as a source of historical information.

If this book is what it purports to be, a memoir of a cowboy, there are numerous others which are better written, more accurate, and less suspect. If it is as I suspect, a literary hoax, then it is a poorly written one. Thomas Berger's *Little Big Man,* for one, is much better and, needless to say, more accurate in terms of historical data.

ROBERT T. SMITH

The reviewer is a professor of history at Eastern Montana College, Billings.

Ghost Trails of Wyoming. By Mae Urbanek (Boulder, Colo., 1978). Index. Illus. 236 pp. $8.75 paper.

Students of Wyoming history, of which I am one, will welcome eagerly the latest historical book by Mae Urbanek of Lusk who has so skillfully assembled under one cover information about the early romantic paths crisscrossing the state and has called her book, *Ghost Trails of Wyoming.* Anyone who has spent hours leafing through this source and that for information about the numerous trails across Wyoming will certainly give this volume top priority on the research book shelf.

Information about the trails is supplemented with colorful accounts of John Colter, Wilson Price Hunt, Robert Stuart, William H. Ashley, Antonio Mateo (who built the first trading post and first substantial buildings in Wyoming, the Portuguese Houses), Capt. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, the Reverend Samuel Parker, Marcus Whitman, Father DeSmet and Lt. John C. Fremont.

Besides being profusely illustrated with photographs and drawings, the stories about the trails are accompanied by stories of explorers and events. Map drawings in the book make it possible for tourists to follow for themselves the routes of the historic trails in our state.

I was excited to read on page 97 of *Ghost Trails of Wyoming* a quote from a story I wrote about Freda Siemsen of Pine Bluffs who lived northeast of Pine Bluffs when the Texas Trail cowboys made their watering stop: "Pine Bluffs was a good watering stop; after a long dry drive when the cowboys got here, they went to the store and bought soap and new long-handled underwear. Then they bathed in the creek and left their old underwear for the homesteaders." Mrs. Siemsen, who wore the old underwear scrubbed and cut down by her mother, still lives in Pine Bluffs and can still recount stories of the old Texas Trail drivers. How new is the history of Wyoming.

The bibliography itself is a valuable adjunct of "Ghost Trails of Wyoming," and can suggest to history buffs many hours of pleasant reading. I appreciated the inclusion of my book, *Pioneer Parade,* about the historical figures who settled the southeastern corner of Wyoming and established the first extensive dry farming venture in the state at Salem, now Lindbergh, north of Pine Bluffs.

The chapter on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy brings to mind a very old trail in which I am particularly interested—the Cheyenne and Burlington Railroad Company connected with the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad, later the CB&Q which filed incorporation in the secretary of state's office on April 6, 1887, and built a spur from Cheyenne to Sterling, Colorado, with a capital stock of $600,000. By November 9, 1887, the track was finished to the Baxter Ranch, twenty miles southeast of Cheyenne. The ranch was owned by George Baxter, territorial governor of Wyoming.

MARTHA THOMPSON

The reviewer and her husband operate a ranch near Carpenter, Wyoming. She is a free lance writer and a member of Wyoming Press Women.

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CONTRIBUTORS

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WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Wyoming State Historical Society was organized in October, 1953. Membership is open to anyone interested in history. County chapters of the society have been chartered in most of the twenty-three counties of Wyoming. Past presidents of the society include: Frank Bowron, Casper, 1953-55; William L. Marion, Lander, 1955-56; Dr. DeWitt Dominick, Cody, 1956-57; Dr. T. A. Larson, Laramie, 1957-58; A. H. MacDougall, Rawlins, 1958-59; Mrs. Thelma G. Condit, Buffalo, 1959-60; E. A. Littleton, Gillette, 1960-61; Edness Kimball Wilkins, Casper, 1961-62; Charles Ritter, Cheyenne, 1962-63; Neal E. Miller, Rawlins, 1963-65; Mrs. Charles Hord, Casper, 1965-66; Glenn Sweem, Sheridan, 1966-67; Adrian Reynolds, Green River, 1967-68; Curtiss Root, Torrington, 1968-69; Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Worland, 1969-70; J. Reuel Armstrong, Rawlins, 1970-71; William R. Dubois, Cheyenne, 1971-72; Henry F. Chadey, Rock Springs, 1972-73; Richard S. Dumbrill, Newcastle, 1973-74; Henry Jensen, Casper, 1974-75; Jay Brazelton, Jackson, 1975-76; Ray Pendergraft, Worland, 1976-77; David J. Wasden, Cody, 1977-78; Mabel Brown, Newcastle, 1978-79.

Membership information may be obtained from the Executive Headquarters, Wyoming State Historical Society, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. Dues in the state society are:

Life Membership	$100
Joint Life Membership (husband and wife)	$150
Annual Membership	$5
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ANNALS of WYOMING

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THE WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

The function of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department is to collect and preserve materials which tell the story of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the State Art Gallery and the State Archives. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and art and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artifacts for museum display. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts. Department facilities are designed to preserve these materials from loss and deterioration.

ABOUT THE COVER—The cover painting is in a collection of forty-one water color drawings by Alfred Jacob Miller in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. The smoke drifting out of the tops of two tepees distinguishes this picture from other copies of a scene Miller presumably sketched at the trading post in 1837 and titled "Fort Laramie or Sublette's Fort, Near the Nebraska or Platte River." Alfred Jacob Miller, young Baltimore artist, was commissioned by Scottish nobleman William Drummond Stewart to accompany him in 1837 on a six-month tour of the American West. This shared adventure resulted in one of the world's fine collections of documentary art. Permission to reproduce the painting for Annals of Wyoming *was granted by Robert Combs Warner, author of the recently published book,* The West of Alfred Jacob Miller. *(The book is reviewed on page 56). Warner is assistant professor of journalism at the University of Wyoming.*

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ANNALS OF WYOMING is published biannually in the Spring and Fall. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Copies of previous and current issues may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. Published articles represent the views of the author and are not necessarily those of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department or the Wyoming State Historical Society. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts. America: History and Life.

BROADWAY IN COW COUNTRY

The History of Cheyenne Little Theatre

Part One

By Lou Burton

The six individuals who came together on that long forgotten night in late January or early February, 1930, had no preconceived intention to organize the Cheyenne Little Theatre Players (CLTP), nor did they suspect the group they set in motion would survive most of them to become one of the oldest and best known community theatres in the United States.

Even further from their minds, in that first year of the Great Depression, was the idea that the organization they so spontaneously conceived would eventually build a 290-seat playhouse of its own, and later purchase, and restore to its original turn-of-the-century decor, the historic Atlas Theatre in downtown Cheyenne. Indeed, those six who assembled at 502 E. 22nd Street, ostensibly to while away a long winter's evening at cards, had no clearly defined long-term goals, certainly not to acquire properties that would be valued in 1979 at something in excess of a half million dollars.[1]

Immediate objectives were more clearly perceived. The hostess undoubtedly lent her enthusiastic support to the proposal because she saw a need for quality theatre in Cheyenne. The popularity of motion pictures had eclipsed legitimate theatre in the years after World War I. Others in the group who spoke most eloquently in favor of the idea were moved by an unabashed and barely concealed desire to show off. Consequently, the only valid conclusion is that the little theatre idea took its first steps toward becoming a reality because of instantly recognizable considerations, some lofty and some prosaic, and not because anyone present anticipated the birth of a local institution.

The guests were invited to play auction bridge, but the hostess knew that theatre talk was inevitable.

The hostess, an attractive woman in her middle forties, was known for her wit, charm, and brilliant conversation. Born in the East, she subscribed to the idea that small gatherings of close friends were more enjoyable and stimulating than large gatherings; therefore, her parties seldom attracted the attention of the local society columnists.

While others made a point of notifying the newspapers whenever they entertained at cards, she and her husband, an attorney deeply involved in politics, preferred to do without publicity. Since the guests on this particular evening were, without exception, more interested in the dramatic arts than in party politics, and because the hostess herself frequently demonstrated a devotion to all things theatrical, it becomes obvious that the party had been assembled at her initiative rather than her husband's. It can be assumed, however, that he anticipated the arrival of his wife's guests with as much pleasure as she, primarily because they were known to approach all things as partners, to value each other's advice, and to fully support each other's endeavors. Childless after nearly seventeen years of marriage, they were especially devoted to each other.[2] He may also have welcomed an evening's diversion for another reason: he was beginning to fear that his political career was over,

that success would forever elude him in the arena he loved best.[3]

If the politician's fortunes were at a low, the fortunes of one of the invited guests, a widow in her early fifties, were improving. Having been left nearly destitute by the untimely death of her husband less than three years before, she had only recently, with the help and encouragement of friends, regained financial stability and reentered society. A lovely woman, not hesitant to use paint and padding to enhance her natural endowments, this former *Redbook* cover girl was well known as a devotee of the theatre, having, in earlier years, written, directed, and played in a number of amateur plays and other theatricals produced for the Cheyenne Women's Club.

These talents had come quite naturally to a young woman who had won elocution contests as a schoolgirl, and who had seen her brother and a female cousin perform on Broadway prior to World War I. It was during one of those treasured visits to New York that her brother introduced her to another actor and vaudevillian who subsequently brought his family to Cheyenne to make a permanent home.[4]

The vaudevillian's background was well known to the hostess when she invited him and his wife to her card party. Although he had abandoned the world of theatre and entered the more settled world of business, he had never forgotten Hamlet's observation: he saw the world as a stage especially prepared for him and gave himself unselfishly to the roles the gods created for him, never once failing to show his love and concern for the other mortals with whom he shared the stage. An uncommon man, yet common as Kipling could wish, he was always ready to share his art and his craft with those who wished to discover the mysteries of fine theatre.

His wife, a steady, less flamboyant individual, shared and supported his interests in theatre. Imagine their delight, then, when they discovered the sixth member of the party was to be another actor, a scrawny young man originally from Chugwater, who was struggling to break into the movies.

The young man had returned to Cheyenne because he was out of work, broke, and hungry; but he had managed to keep in training by starring—at no charge, of course—in a musical comedy staged by the local Francis E. Self American Legion Post No. 6. Since the vaudevillian was also assisting with the production, the two men had already met and discussed the woeful state of live theatre in Cheyenne.

No one recalls how many times the cards were dealt or how conscientiously they were played, but the widow has remembered with amazing clarity that the cards were soon forgotten as the young actor told of his experiences with the Pasadena Playhouse, one of the very first community theatres to blaze a trail for what had become known as the Little Theatre movement. The movement had originally come into being shortly after the turn of the century as a protest against commercial control of theatre in the larger cities.

Inspired by the free theatres of Europe, innovative thespians in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Pasadena, and other cities, had introduced the new stagecraft and presented their artistic and non-traditional productions in intimate theatres for small audiences. By 1930, however, the movement was undergoing a major transition; these groups had become more concerned with filling the void left by the disappearance of the road companies that had previously brought the best shows from New York to the hinterlands.

Cheyenne, once a major stopping point for these shows between Denver and Salt Lake, was starved for quality theatre. One can well imagine, then, the envy with which the listeners heard about how the Pasadena Playhouse had evolved to fill a similar need in the young actor's adopted home. A sophisticated and well-traveled group, they were able to draw upon their own experiences and provide examples of how Little Theatres were succeeding in other places. More importantly, everyone realized what had to be done in Cheyenne. It only remained for the young man to ask the obvious question.

"Wouldn't it be nice," said Barrie O'Daniels, "if you had one in Cheyenne?" And then he added, "There isn't any reason why you shouldn't."

In that moment everything crystalized. A project that had certainly been discussed by others on many occasions, and then dismissed as either impractical or premature, was once again suggested, but this time the idea was presented to precisely the right group, a group that possessed the talents and the desire to make it a reality. Instead of producing all of the rational reasons why such an effort could not be expected to succeed, the card players asked themselves how best to generate the broad community support the project would need.

The widow, Mrs. Daze Bristol, provided the answer: "Oh, that's easy," she offered. "All the men's societies and all the women's societies should get a notice that we're going to have a Little Theatre, asking them to come to our meeting."[5]

Once this basic approach had been agreed upon, it remained only for the others to refine it. While everyone realized the wisdom of securing the support of the major men's and women's organizations, they also knew that the initial invitation would be more readily responded to if it were extended by an individual who could operate from within the framework of a prestigious, socially prominent, and long established club. The hostess, Mrs. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, as first vice-president of the Cheyenne Women's Club and chairman of that club's Dramatic Department, was ideally situated to provide the needed platform.

Furthermore, since each of the three departments of the club—Art, Drama, and Travel—was nearly auton-

omous and the endorsement of any department was tantamount to endorsement by the general membership, Mrs. O'Mahoney would be able to hasten the entire process by arranging for the question to be discussed at the next meeting of the Dramatic Department. The vaudevillian, William DeVere, an active clubman himself, agreed with the others that this would be the best approach, and both he and O'Daniels offered to address the ladies at the forthcoming meeting.

The date of that meeting, Thursday, February 6, 1930, fixes the date of the card party as being some evening subsequent to January 22, because the regular meeting of the Dramatic Department on the morning of the twenty-third was devoted to a review of *Berkeley Square.*[6] Less than two weeks after the card party, on Friday, February 7, the following item appeared on the society page of the *Wyoming Eagle:*

> The Dramatics Department of the Women's Club met on Thursday morning. The morning was spent discussing the Little Theatre Movement which was presented by Mrs. [sic] Barrie O'Daniels and Mr. William DeVere. The Department decided to take the initiative in calling a meeting with representatives from the Business and Professional Women's Club, the Y.W.C.A., the Lions, the Kiwanians, the Rotarians, and the Music Study Club. The meeting is called for Saturday afternoon at four o'clock, at the Women's Club room in the Carnegie Library.[7]

Although no record of precisely what transpired at this first informal meeting exists, it must be assumed that the organizers were encouraged by those who attended because they immediately scheduled a second meeting for the following Wednesday evening. A brief announcement of the second meeting was placed in the *Wyoming State Tribune and Cheyenne State Leader (Tribune-Leader)* on Monday, February 10, noting that the Saturday meeting had been attended by "a few enthusiastic supporters" and inviting "others interested in the organization of a 'Little Theatre' project" to attend.[8] A longer item, spelling out the intentions of the organizers in more detail, appeared in the *Tribune-Leader* on the afternoon before the meeting.

> LITTLE THEATRE MOVEMENT
> TO BE DISCUSSED HERE
>
> Are there in Cheyenne a sufficient number of people interested in dramatics and the theatre to support a little theatre movement?
>
> That is the question a number of interested persons hope to have answered Wednesday evening when an open meeting of the dramatic department of the Cheyenne Women's club will be held in the assembly room at Carnegie Library. The meeting is called for eight o'clock and everyone who finds pleasure in the spoken drama and things of the legitimate stage is urged to attend.
>
> In recent months the absence of legitimate stage attractions in Cheyenne has brought the desirability of good drama to the attention of a number of local people who are interested in this form of entertainment. People who, being more than ordinarily interested, have acutely felt its absence from the current season. Discussion of and the possibilities of a Little Theatre naturally resulted and Wednesday evening's meeting has been planned to ascertain if local interest is sufficient to justify definite action toward the organization of such a movement here.[9]

Mrs. Joseph C. O'Mahoney

CHEYENNE LITTLE THEATRE PLAYERS COLLECTION

In this connection, it must be noted that the general membership of the Cheyenne Women's Club met for a colonial tea in honor of Lincoln's birthday on the same day, Wednesday, February 12, 1930; however, no mention was made, in the club's official minutes, of the meeting being sponsored by the Dramatic Department that same evening. Indeed, no reference whatsoever is made to plans to organize the little theatre group in the minutes of the Women's Club or of the club's executive board during the autumn or winter of 1929-30. Even after the Cheyenne Little Theatre Players (CLTP) had been organized, the Women's Club secretary, in preparing her "Report for the Club Year 1929-30" did not acknowledge that the club had in any way been instrumental in bringing the CLTP into existence, nor is any other reference made to the CLTP in that report.

The report does, however, specifically mention that the "club was divided into three departments: Art, Travel, and Dramatics, which met on various days of the week;" and it mentions each of the programs presented by the departments at the meetings of the general membership. These included a review of *"Showboat"* presented by two ladies who had attended a performance in New York; a presentation of *"For Distinguished Service,"* a play performed by members of the Dramatic Department; and a reading of *"The Royal Family,"* also presented by the Dramatics Department. Special mention is made of the colonial tea the ladies served on February 12.[10]

Although the Women's Club was not, at the time, inclined to give any more attention to its function as midwife at the birth of the CLTP than that small service merited, the possibility exists that the birth might have been delayed indefinitely if the executive board of the club had not, on July 26, 1929, voted to establish the Dramatic Department for their forthcoming season. Mrs. Rudolph J. Hofmann, then the president-elect of the club and destined to become an especially dynamic president of the CLTP in 1949, probably introduced the idea, certainly supported it, and then entrusted the new department to her good friend, Agnes O'Mahoney. The choice was fortuitious, as the events of the meeting on February 12 were to prove.

The flavor of that meeting can best be savored by recalling the minutes recorded by Miss Edith K. O. Clark, a woman whose prior accomplishments included having been elected Wyoming's Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1914:

> Wednesday, February 12th
> 1930
>
> At 8 p.m. approximately twenty-five persons met in the Women's Club Room of the Carnegie Library to discuss the possibilities of the forming of a Little Theatre organization in Cheyenne.
>
> Mr. William DeVere nominated Mrs. J. C. O'Mahoney to act as temporary chairman. Mrs. Rudolph Hofmann proposed the name of Edith K. O. Clark for temporary secretary. These two officers were unanimously elected.
>
> The Chairman then called upon a number of persons present to express their views upon the Little Theatre Movement.
>
> Mr. DeVere outlined the activity as it is functioning in various other communities similar in size to Cheyenne.
>
> Mr. Barrie O'Daniel told of his association with similar organizations elsewhere, notably the Pasadena Players, and offered his services gratuitously, to the project if launched in Cheyenne at this time.
>
> Mr. Harold Vaughn, Mr. Remo Cortesi, Mr. Don H. Wageman, Mr. George Bloomquist, Mr. Arthur Bachman were called upon and spoke briefly and enthusiastically, emphasizing the fine opportunity for a Little Theatre in Cheyenne.
>
> Mrs. Fred Boice spoke for the movement, as did Mrs. Rudolph Hofmann, President of the Women's Club.
>
> Miss Madelyn Seabright told in a most interesting way of the success of a similar organization with which she had been identified in Casper, Wyoming.
>
> Mr. DeVere then outlined the basic structure necessary for the formal organization of a Little Theatre group, and proposed the following names of persons to constitute the first board of managers, each nominee to represent one of the civic clubs which should encourage the movement:
>
> For the Women's Club—Mrs. J. C. O'Mahoney
> " " Rotary " —Harold L. Vaughn
> " " Lions " —Frederic H. Porter
> " " American Legion Luncheon Club—Craig Lewis
> " " Elks Club —D. B. Simpson
> " " Music Study Club—Mrs. Dave M. Thompson
> " " Business and Professional Women's Club—Miss Madelyn Seabright
> " " Cheyenne Teachers Ass'n—Miss Martha Dudley
> " " Y. W. C.A. Membership—Edith K. O. Clark

After some discussion, William DeVere's name was added to the list, and at the meeting the following week Mrs. Daze Bristol and Mrs. John L. Pierce were added to make a total of twelve. These three directors represented the Kiwanis Club, the Altrusa Club, and the Fort Warren Study Club, respectively.

The first ten directors were elected by acclamation, and what had been advertised as a gathering to determine the feasibility of a venture turned into a complete victory for those who had engineered it. Although Miss Clark's notes report only the general sense of what was said, it is obvious that Agnes O'Mahoney, William DeVere, and Barrie O'Daniels had rehearsed the parts they played. DeVere put O'Mahoney in the chair, and she then called upon the two most articulate men at the meeting—DeVere and O'Daniels—because she knew they would set the positive tone the three of them hoped would prevail. Others, some already favorably disposed and some warmed to the idea by the eloquence of the first speakers, added their support. Then, without waiting to give anyone an opportunity to change his mind, DeVere nominated nearly an entire slate of directors, knowing quite well that someone else would nominate him. Mrs. Boice then made a motion that a unanimous ballot be cast for the nominees. O'Daniels seconded the motion; when it was carried, the CLTP took the final giant step from dream to reality.

The remainder of that first meeting was devoted to what Miss Clark called "informal discussion of tentative plans for the future." The *Tribune-Leader's* report of the meeting, published on Friday the 14th, reveals much of what transpired during that discussion:

> The Little Theatre will be run, never for commercial purposes, but always with the special subject of encouraging better plays, and to stimulate interest in them it was agreed.
>
> Plays of the best sort are to be studied. All branches of the theatrical business are to be delved into exhaustively. This will include the art of makeup, scenery and properties; costuming, directing and other phases of the theatrical enterprise. The movement is broad in scope, and all people in the city, who are interested in any way, are being invited to become members of the Little Theatre club. Not only are Cheyenneites being urged to join, but all officers and ladies of Fort Francis E. Warren are included in the invitation.

This basic philosophy has prevailed throughout the nearly fifty-year history of the CLTP insofar as the selection, casting, preparation, and performance of regular season plays has been concerned. Although directors and other specialists have occasionally been paid for their services, the vast majority of the thousands who have participated have been volunteers who have come from all segments of the city and the adjacent military installation.

CHEYENNE LITTLE THEATRE PLAYERS COLLECTION

Elizabeth Hofmann

William F. "Bill" DeVere in the April, 1949, production, "The Winslow Boy."

LOUISE STIMSON HALLOWELL COLLECTION

In the thirties, socially prominent people, both men and women, considered it their civic duty to participate in CLTP activities; it became the thing to do. More than one budding socialite was heartbroken to discover her talents were too meager to earn her a part in a CLTP production. More often than not, however, something was found for everyone, if not on stage, then backstage or in the box office. In truth, most of the jobs were filled by the well-to-do or the well educated in the early years, not because anyone was excluded, but because these were the people who wanted to participate. As late as 1942 the program for the CLTP production of Clare Booth Luce's "The Women" read like the local social register.

The attractiveness of the little theatre idea in early 1930 is more easily understood when the alternatives that were available are considered. Most of the organizers of the CLTP were able to vividly recall the road shows that had, only a few years before, made regular stops in Cheyenne, and some of these same people had grown up or attended college in eastern cities where they had been accustomed to even more live theatre.

Throughout the entire autumn of 1929, these people had been virtually starved, and it was not until the arrival of Sir Harry Lauder, a Scottish comedian, for a one night stand on December 14 that they were offered any relief. Sir Harry was accompanied by Kharum, a Persian pianist; Don Julian, a caricaturist; the Arnaut Brothers in "Two Loving Birds;" and Elmira Lane, a coloratura soprano. For those who insisted on live entertainment, there was nothing else.

Of course there were plenty of movies, especially the new talkies. Will Rogers appeared at the Lincoln in his talking debut, "They Had to See Paris," on October 17, Joan Crawford's first talker, "Untamed," opened at the same theatre just before Christmas; and George Jessel starred in "Love, Live and Laugh" at the Princess beginning on January 7. Other movies played at the Atlas until the first of the year when it was closed for remodeling by its new managers, a group that also had gained control of the Capitol Avenue Theatre; representatives of the company assured interviewers from the *Tribune-Leader* on January 2 that both theatres would be reopened on February 14 after installation of the latest talking equipment. As the entertainment pages from that season are reviewed, one realizes why the offerings failed to interest the more enlightened and sophisticated segments of Cheyenne society.

These were the ones who so readily supported the little theatre movement in Cheyenne. A week later they and others gathered once again at the Carnegie Library to begin work. At 7:30 p.m. the Board of Directors met and set a precedent that is still followed today. They elected from among themselves a president, Agnes O'Mahoney; a vice-president, Frederic H. Porter; a

secretary, Edith K. O. Clark; and a treasurer, David B. Simpson. At 8:00 p.m. the meeting of the general membership was called to order, and Mrs. O'Mahoney announced the results of the election.

Then DeVere presented a tentative draft of the by-laws proposed for adoption. The entire membership participated in the discussion as these were read a section at a time. Finally, after agreed-upon changes had been incorporated, the by-laws were adopted. These by-laws, among other things, provided for the appointment of a producing director who might or might not be salaried, and for the nomination and election of directors by the general membership. A member was defined as anyone who had paid his annual dues, later fixed at $3 per fiscal year, with each member entitled to two seats for each production. In 1932 the price was reduced to $2 per year, but the member was then entitled to only one seat for each production.

Having progressed so far as to adopt a set of by-laws, the members were in need of a name for their club. This became the next order of business when Craig Lewis proposed the organization be known as the Cheyenne Little Theatre Players. After being seconded by O'Daniels, the motion carried without discussion.

The next significant policy decision, probably the most important decision made during the first years of the CLTP's life, evolved almost unnoticed out of a discussion soon after the general agreement about a name:

> A very lively discussion followed relative to the manner of financing the early efforts of the C.L.T.P. Decided differences of opinion were freely expressed, some advocating the asking of contributions from the various organizations represented upon the Board of Directors, or from individuals interested in the Little Theatre Movement. Others decried this policy and urged that a nominal membership fee be asked of all enrolling.
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> It was finally moved by Mr. Porter, seconded by Mrs. Bristol that the matter of finances be left to the Board of Directors. Motion carried.

This policy—that financial decisions be left to the Board of Directors—still prevails, even though it was not incorporated into the by-laws that had been adopted earlier on that same evening. It was perhaps this policy, more than any other, that enabled the CLTP to survive the hard times they were to confront in the middle thirties, and to embark on their building programs subsequent to World War II.

Had the Board not been empowered to act vigorously and with dispatch, risks that were taken by strong and imaginative leaders might have been overruled or too long delayed by more reluctant members of the organization. The policy has tended to develop a paternalistic Board of Directors, but it is with this kind of board that the CLTP has survived while other community theatre organizations, perhaps more democratic, have ceased to exist.

Another policy, not nearly as apparent, grew out of the same basic decision. Once the Board of Directors was empowered to decide how the first activities and productions were to be financed, they decided to establish membership dues rather than solicit donations from other organizations or wealthy individuals; thus, the idea became fixed that donations would never be solicited to support theatrical productions. After World War II fund drives were used to raise money for specific building projects, but this was after the CLTP had established its reputation as an efficient and productive member of the community. In more recent years, the organization has accepted occasional unsolicited gifts from individuals, usually long-time friends, to enhance CLTP properties.

When the Executive Board met for the second time, on February 26, DeVere proposed that annual membership dues be established. The motion carried, and the earlier suggestion that funds be solicited from sponsors was dropped. A few minutes later their action was reported to the general membership, and the membership endorsed the action of the board. The remainder of the business meeting was devoted to an announcement by Mrs. O'Mahoney that a play reading committee had been appointed and a discussion of its duties.

The committee was to select plays suitable for readings with an eye to the possibility of future production. Readers would be drawn from among the membership, and dramatic readings would be given during the weekly workshops that were scheduled to follow the business meetings. Since Mrs. O'Mahoney had obviously instructed the new committee members well in advance of the twenty-sixth, they were prepared to read three plays that same evening. One of these, *"Meet the Missus,"* was later selected to be one of the three one-act plays presented by the CLTP in their first public performance on May 7, 1930.

The players had found an evening format that would be followed throughout the thirties—an Executive Board meeting at 7:30, a business meeting of the general membership at 8:00, and a workshop, to frequently include readings, after necessary business was concluded. The purpose of these workshops was twofold, to entertain and to instruct. The leaders realized their organization was blessed with some very talented people, but they also knew it would have to achieve greater depth if it was to survive its infancy. New talent would have to be developed.

Within the first several weeks a number of star performers emerged, performers whose lectures were entertaining and whose entertainments were instructional. Not surprisingly, this group included those individuals who would, throughout the thirties and beyond, make the most significant contributions to the CLTP.

One of these personalities, Barrie O'Daniels, who went on to other theatrical endeavors after World War

II, was contacted by letter at his retirement home on the Island of Cozumel, off Yucatan in the Gulf of Mexico, and asked if he would provide a recording of his memories of the thirties. His response on February 3, 1979 as he approached his seventy-fifth birthday is especially enlightening and to the point:

> I well recall that Mrs. O'Mahoney was the sparkplug in those days. And when we had that meeting in Cheyenne's Carnegie Library, the representatives of the various service groups and the Women's Club were there. I well recall the enthusiasm – particularly Mrs. O'Mahoney was so for it. Now you ask was it because of a need for cultural improvement in Cheyenne? Well, I can tell you this: Cheyenne had been a cultural sahara for a number of years; occasionally a road company would come in and play a one-night stand or some third-rate concert artist would make an appearance in the high school auditorium. That was about it. No, it was not any desire on my part to improve the culture of Cheyenne; I was a very selfish bastard; it was a desire on my part to show off. You see, Lou, I'd had some five or six years in the theatre by this time and I was home because I was broke, and I wanted some place to eat.
>
> I'd just finished a show – after I finished my shows I didn't save any money – I'd usually come home for awhile until I got another one – and they were few and far between in those days. So it was vanity on my part as it was on William DeVere's – Bill's. He was as big a ham as I was. And when we discussed this project it was with the hopes we could show off.
>
> Now Mrs. O'Mahoney viewed it from purely a cultural viewpoint for Cheyenne – I must say that. She was a wonderful woman and was the sparkplug at the beginning of the creation of Little Theatre. You know, I think, when this thing started we were the luckiest people in the world – to have a group of sponsors and people interested in it who would help, who just didn't talk – they did things! You take Bunk Porter, Frederic Hutchinson Porter, the fine architect and his assistant, Walt Bradley. The sets they did were magnificent. I don't think any Little Theatre in the country came up with better sets than they did on spit and strength.
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> . . . Oh, those were great days. I think they started off with a couple of one-act plays, I believe. Fortunately I had a job in California; when I came back about a half year later, Little Theatre was under its full swing.
>
> Now Frances Mentzer, who is now Mrs. Paul Reiser, . . . was head of the Carnegie Library and gave us the upstairs to rehearse in, and Bill DeVere being very close to the Masonic order, being a good Mason, acquired the use of a stage at the Masonic Temple. Very adequate, very good one. And his wife, Louise – God bless her – she did the make-up for the Little Theatre group for a number of years, and she was very talented in that particular line.
>
> Oh, I tell you, some of those sets! I remember one set for a play called *Death Takes a Holiday* [1932] that Bunk Porter did that compared to the New York one in every respect. Bunk made columns out of tar paper and lit them properly, and they absolutely looked like black marble. And then the other parts of his sets were so exquisite, so well done. . . . He made the Little Theatre as far as I was concerned.
>
> I must tell you that the talent we got in Cheyenne was exceptional. And Ft. Warren – the officers and their wives out there – contributed a great deal of talent to the success of the Little Theatre over a period of years. They were just wonderful. . . . The things they did were remarkable.
>
> I want to go back, mentioning Bill DeVere again; Bill was an excellent actor, and a very brilliant director, and at the beginning of the Little Theatre, first ten, twelve, fourteen years, he was the backbone. Of course he wanted to see himself – to have himself – in many of his shows. . . . Why not? He had the talent; people loved him. But his contribution is, to me, one of the most significant ones of all in the beginning of the Little Theatre.
>
> . . . Before World War II, I think Little Theatre was very active because the people of Cheyenne loved it. They existed for the benefit of the public as well as themselves. . . . [The CLTP] seems to have the knack of acquiring an individual who will get in there and really do something for the plays – a good director or a good actor or good management. I'm very proud of the fact that, in my youth, I had something to do with that great organization.

CHEYENNE LITTLE THEATRE PLAYERS COLLECTION

Barrie O'Daniels

Of all those recalled by Barrie O'Daniels, he quite naturally chose to speak first of Agnes O'Mahoney, the single individual almost universally remembered by those immediately involved as the principal founder of the Cheyenne Little Theatre Players. But Barrie and those others who so vividly remember the first months and years of effort, and the woman who fired their enthusiasm, are an aging and a diminishing minority. Indeed, if those presently involved with the CLTP are familiar with the name O'Mahoney, it is most probably because they remember Agnes' husband, Joseph C. O'Mahoney, the fellow whose political future looked so bleak in those early months of 1930.

Joe O'Mahoney was active in Wyoming and national politics for over forty years, and he served the people of Wyoming in the United States Senate almost continuously from 1933 to 1960. His story has, of course, been told elsewhere, but it is significant to note that he was a native of Massachusetts, the son of an Irish immigrant. In spite of numerous difficulties he had nearly completed the requirements for a pre-law degree at Columbia University when he was compelled to leave school and travel with a tubercular brother to the healing fresh air of the Rockies.

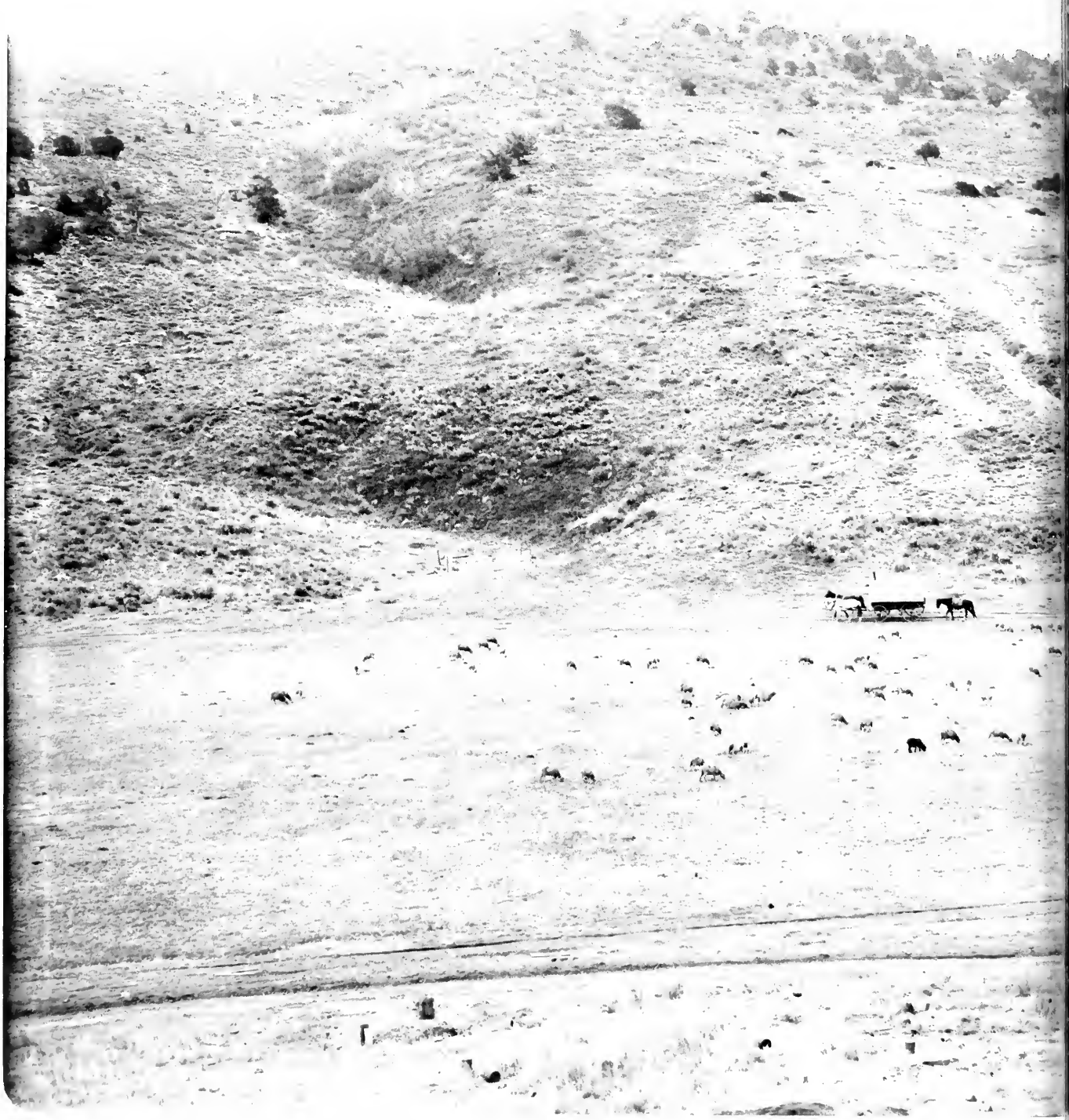
Scant weeks prior to this forced departure, he had met and been smitten by Agnes. Five years later, after establishing himself as a journalist with the Boulder *Herald,* he returned to Massachusetts, married Agnes and brought her to Boulder where she immediately entered the University of Colorado Law School. Three years later, in 1916, Joe accepted a position as city editor on Governor John Kendrick's *Cheyenne State Leader.* Thus it was that Agnes Veronica O'Leary O'Mahoney, a self-assured young woman of thirty, arrived in Cheyenne.

Ruth Harrington Loomis, a Cheyenne native who was also active in the CLTP in the thirties, was still in high school when the O'Mahoneys arrived, but she remembers with remarkable clarity how they were received by the socially prominent and well-educated people of the city, and how they soon found their closest friends among a group of articulate Democrats who included the John B. Kendricks, the William B. Rosses, the Tracy McCrakens, and others who enjoyed spirited and wide-ranging conversation. Although the O'Mahoneys were just starting out in Cheyenne, they were considered a welcome addition to any gathering.

"Broadway in Cow Country" will be concluded in the next issue of Annals.

1. The properties include the Little Theatre Playhouse at 2706 Pershing Blvd. and the Atlas Theatre at 211 W. 16th St. An appraisal was accomplished during March, 1979, while the Atlas was being renovated. Now that the work has been completed, the total value of properties has almost certainly increased.
2. All of the character sketches included in this history are based upon information developed in interviews with the individuals concerned or with people who were close friends or associates of the individuals. Between October, 1978, and July, 1979, I interviewed Grace Porter, Marian (Cally) Milstead, Bard Ferrall, George and Lucille Guy, Daze Bristol, May McInerney, Katherine Halverson, Meda Carley Walker, Maurine Carley, Elizabeth Hofmann, Bill and Alice Fairchild, Mrs. Tracy McCraken, Ruth Loomis, William DeVere, Jr., Chuck Anderson and Barrie O'Daniels.
3. Thomas R. Ninneman, "Wyoming's Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney," *Annals of Wyoming,* Fall, 1977, pp.199-201 and fn 31, p.200.
4. I interviewed Daze Bristol, a woman who has become a Cheyenne institution and whose achievements include having conceived seven historic floats for the Cheyenne Frontier Days parade, on January 6, 1979, as she approached her 101st birthday. The dancers who appear on one of these floats regularly rehearse under her supervision. Mrs. Bristol recalls being introduced to William DeVere when he was a chorus man in "Pink Lady," a New York production he was working in with her brother, John McCabe.
5. I am especially indebted to Mrs. Bristol for her account of the card party, an event that has escaped the attention of other historians. The historical oversight was probably intended by the other participants, since none of them made any effort to publicize the strategies formulated that evening.
6. The *Tribune-Leader* society pages included many items that support my historical interpretation. Regular notices of the fortnightly activities of the Dramatic Department appeared throughout the fall, winter, and spring of 1929-1930. Once the Little Theatre movement was launched, the Department, with Mrs. O'Mahoney still in the chair, continued to enjoy programs separate and distinct from what was being done by the CLTP. On January 22, 1930, a lead item reported that Daze Bristol had returned on the 20th from a month-long trip to New York and other eastern cities, thus substantiating her recollection that the party had taken place in the latter weeks of January.
7. A similar but less detailed notice appeared on the society page of the *Tribune-Leader* on February 8, 1930.
8. The "few enthusiastic supporters" quite possibly included Miss Madelyn Seabright, Edith K. O. Clark, Frederic (Bunk) Porter, Harold Vaughn, and William DeVere, since they were later listed as representatives of the Business and Professional Women's Club, the YWCA, the Lions, the Rotary Club and the Kiwanis Club, respectively, on the first Board of Directors of the CLTP, and since these clubs were invited to send representatives to the Saturday afternoon meeting. It is also probable that Mrs. O'Mahoney, Mrs. Hofmann, O'Daniels and Mrs. Bristol attended this meeting.
9. *Tribune-Leader,* February 12, 1930. Many individuals who are presently active in the CLTP, including a few who actually attended this meeting, believe it occurred in late 1929 or January, 1930.
10. My search of the records of the Women's Club, presently held by the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, and of local papers published in late 1929 and early 1930 was prompted by remarks made by Frances Mentzer Reiser in a brief history of the CLTP that was included in the Silver Anniversary souvenir program on the occasion of a presentation of "The Torch Bearers," on September 28, 1955: "Away back in the fall of 1929, Mr. William DeVere and Mr. Barrie O'Daniels met with the officers of the Cheyenne's Woman's Club to discuss the formation of a Little Theatre in Cheyenne. The resulting plans were presented to the members of the Woman's Club by Mrs. R. J. Hofmann, President, and Mrs. J. C. O'Mahoney, Vice-President. The Club voted to sponsor such an organization, as they felt there was a need in this city for such a cultural and entertaining project." I was, therefore, quite surprised to discover no references to the formation or existence of a Little Theatre group in any newspaper prior to the publication of the item in the *Wyoming Eagle* on February 7, 1930, or in any records of the Women's Club prior to April 2, 1930. On the latter date, the Women's Club executive board voted to give the $20 remaining in the Dramatic Department's allotment for the 1929-1930 season to the Cheyenne Little Theatre Players. Since the recording secretary, Ruth Benton, meticulously recorded all significant business transacted by the executive board and at meetings of the general membership, I believe it highly unlikely that either of these assemblies ever formally voted to sponsor the CLTP.

A WINTER HERDING SHEE



STIMSON COLLECTION, WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

ON THE RED DESERT

By Ralph Greenstreet

It was the most fascinating white cloud I had ever seen, like a white sheet about a mile wide, just peeping over a distant ridge to the south. As I watched, spellbound, the cloud slowly climbed higher into the clear blue sky. Had I recognized it for what it really was, I'd have gotten out of there.

I had ridden a freight into Lander, Wyoming, looking for work, and went into Oswald and Reeds store that day to ask about ranch work.

"How would you like a job herding sheep?" a friendly clerk asked me. "I've never herded sheep," I replied, startled. "But I'm sure willing to give it a try." "Stick around," he said. "I think I can fix you up."

Presently a man about thirty years old and built like a heavyweight wrestler approached me. He was a pleasant fellow whom I instantly liked.

"I hear ye are looking fer a job herding sheep?" he said with a smile. "Well, I'm sure needing a job," I replied, "but I've never herded sheep." "There ain't much to it this time of year," he said. "I can stay with ye a spell till ye get the hang of it." He put out his hand as we exchanged introductions.

We were soon seated in his car and driving away from the town with the slogan, "Where Rails End, And Trails Begin."

Needless to say I was overjoyed and a bit excited, too, with my new job. I suddenly realized that I had always wanted to be out there. Crowded cities, unemployment, and small wages were for the birds.

Bill's voice startled me. "Can ye cook?" "Yes," I replied. "I've batched a little. I can get by."

"Good," he said, "did ye ever bake sourdough bread in a Dutch oven?" "No," I laughed. "But I hope you won't mind teaching me." "There ain't much to it," he replied. "Jim, my older brother and I both had it all to learn, when we came to this country from Scotland."

The miles passed and presently we turned off on a side road and began climbing. "Is your camp in the timber, Bill?" I asked. "No, it's in sagebrush country such as this. We're camped near the Continental Divide; we'll soon be there."

We kept climbing and then suddenly I spied the sheep camp in a beautiful grove of green-leafed, white-trunk aspens. I was startled to note that it was a covered wagon rather than a tent. Smoke was rolling peacefully from the stove pipe.

A man appeared in the door as we drove up and parked. It was Jim, Bill's older brother. As we climbed out of the car Jim stepped down from the wagon with outstretched hand and a welcome grin on his face as Bill introduced us. Jim, I noticed, was slender and wiry. And then I was introduced to "Shep," the big, friendly yellow-coated sheep dog.

It was at the noon hour and we all climbed into the wagon to take on a feed. As we entered, I noticed the big cook stove just inside and to the right of the door. Across from it was a bench and folding table. At the far end was a comfortable appearing wide bed, about two feet above the floor. Beneath the bed at each end were boxes of groceries. In the space between was a big fluffy sheep pelt, Shep's bed. Above the bed was a shelf and small window.

On that twenty-second day of July, 1922, I took on my first job herding sheep. I was twenty years old.

After we had finished our meal, Jim shook hands with me and, climbing into the car, he headed for the ranch near Lander. He had been doing the herding while Bill looked for a herder in town. Their steady herder had quit.

About five o'clock that evening Bill and I, and Shep, strolled down the creek to where Jim had left the sheep. They were just beginning to leave the shade alongside the creek. It looked to me like there must have been a million of them, but Bill said there were only a little over two thousand, counting the lambs. The buffalo grass was plentiful, and the sheep were soon spread out in a big half-moon shape, their bells tinkling musically as they took on their evening feed.

Bill and I were startled at a strange hissing sound from overhead. As we looked up, we spied an eagle in a powerdive with folded wings. We watched spellbound as it crashed into a clump of sagebrush at full speed about a hundred yards away.

"What in hell caused him to do that, Bill? I cried out. "I don't know," he replied excitedly. "Let's have a look." As we drew near, the eagle suddenly shot up and went into a slow spiral overhead. We hurried on to the clump of sagebrush not knowing what to expect. Upon arrival we stared, horrified. There before us on a nest of eggs was a sagehen. She had a hole in her back as though she'd been shot with a 30-30 rifle.

"Well, I guess this is what's known as life in the raw," I grimly commented. "Yes, or survival of the fittest," said Bill.

Bill told me I could swing the sheep around and bed them at camp that night. He then headed back to the wagon. Bill hadn't been gone long when I became excited at the sight of a coyote. Shep didn't see it, however, and I pointed my finger and yelled "Sic 'em!"

PHOTO COURTESY OF AUTHOR

The author, Ralph Greenstreet, at the time he was herding sheep in the Red Desert country.

When Shep sighted the coyote he rushed for it at full speed, and for a moment I thought he would catch it. But, just then to my horror, two more coyotes suddenly materialized behind Shep and gave chase. "Oh no," I moaned, and ran as fast as I could go, but the big yellow dog and the one coyote disappeared over a low ridge, with the other two behind Shep in hot pursuit.

I ran on to the top of the ridge where I had to stop and catch my wind. There was nothing in sight, and I listened for Shep's death cry. "They've already killed him," I thought. I finally turned back to my sheep, dejected and sad. I dreaded the thought of facing Bill.

I kept glancing hopefully towards the ridge, but there was no sign of Shep. An hour went by and I was about to start around my sheep when a flash caught my eye. It was Shep, and letting out a shout of joy I ran to meet him. Gathering him up in my arms, I vowed I'd never again yell "Sic 'em."

Jim returned a few days later and the two friendly Scotsmen rode away. I was left alone out there. Well, not exactly alone. I had Shep, and a band of sheep.

It was Bill's practice to return every week or so to move my camp onto fresh feed. As the warm summer months slowly passed, I became better and better experienced as a *summertime* herder. I felt carefree and confident. Little did I dream that I was to be caught in a terrifying ordeal.

It was about the first of September when Bill moved me down off of the slopes of the Continental Divide and out onto the Red Desert. He used a team of horses to move my covered wagon with a box wagon, known as the supply wagon, trailing behind.

About the middle of September, Jim returned to camp. We corraled the sheep and separated the lambs from the ewes for the lamb buyer. Bill then moved me farther out on the Red Desert.

"This is where ye will winter," he said. "There will be thousands of sheep wintering on the Red Desert. But there's lots of room."

Bill then headed for the ranch in the supply wagon, and I patted old Shep on the head and hiked after the sheep.

According to my time keeping, it was on October 24 that my sheep had to be prodded all the way into the bedground back of the covered wagon. They acted strangely and I didn't know why. Usually they lined out for the bedground when within a quarter of a mile of it, but this time it was nearly dark before I finally arrived at camp. I had feared to leave them to come on in by themselves. I was afraid the coyotes would be into them and do some killing. After supper that night, I stepped down out of the wagon before going to bed and the stars claimed my attention. They were so hazy and dim I could barely see them.

I awoke as usual next morning, and crawling out of bed, I started the fire in the big cookstove. I crawled back into bed to wait for the wagon to warm up to where it was comfortable. Then I got up and dressed. As I opened the door to let Shep out, I went rigid at the sight before me. The snow appeared to be at least a foot deep and was still coming down in big flakes. The strange behavior of my sheep the evening before and the hazy appearance of the stars suddenly became meaningful.

I closed the door and climbed onto my bed in the rear of the wagon. I peered out through the small window and was thankful to note that my sheep were in the bedground. They were all on their feet, but appeared calm and content.

I turned back to the stove and fixed my breakfast with a worried mind. When it was over, I opened the door and was pleasantly surprised to note it had stopped snowing and the sun was coming up.

I hurried out to the woodpile, and digging some juniper limbs out of the knee-deep snow I soon made the chips fly. By the time I had carried a few armloads into the wagon, I saw that the sheep were leaving the bedground. I trudged after them, wishing I could head them for a haystack. With the feed all covered with snow I was afraid they'd starve. But my fears soon vanished for all of the sheep in the band had stopped and were busy pawing the snow back, ramming their heads down deep in the snow and coming up with their mouths full of buffalo grass. They'd been in snow before.

The snow began to melt, and by noon it was less than a foot deep, but slushy underfoot. It was a miserable day, but a poor sheepherder knows not the meaning of Sundays or holidays. If ever there was a man who has earned the title of "unsung hero" it's the sheepherder of the Red Desert.

Bill came a few days later and moved my camp still farther out on the desert, where the feed was plentiful. He explained that it was about seventy-five miles to the ranch, and that it took two days to get there with a team and wagon. He stayed overnight at his homestead cabin the first night out.

It snowed more in November and the temperature dropped. I knew winter had set in. What I didn't know was how deep the snow would get. A glance at the calendar told me it was the first of December the morning I left camp in a snow storm with my sheep. It snowed all day. My sheep could barely wallow through it that evening on the way back to camp, it was so deep.

I climbed wearily into the wagon and started the fire in the cookstove. I prepared a hearty supper for myself and Shep. When the meal was over I stepped outside and went in above my knees, and the snow was still falling. I was worried as I thought about the next day, I knew I might be snowed in and my sheep might starve to death on the bedground. But what could I do? I was alone and far from help. I climbed back into the wagon and poked more wood into the stove. Then I stretched out on top of the bed.

Suddenly I shot bolt upright at the sound of human voices just outside the door. I leaped off the bed just as Shep shot from beneath it, wagging his tail. That could mean only one thing. It had to be Bill. Rushing forth, I excitedly opened the door, just as Bill was climbing up on the wagon tongue and double trees. Jim was hard on his heels. They were covered with snow but laughing merrily. "Can ye make room fer a couple pilgrims?" cried Bill. "We'll pay ye well," said Jim with his captivating laugh. "We lost our way in the storm."

"You fellows will never know how welcome you are," I said. "This kid was worried, I kid you not. My sheep could barely plow through it coming home. I'm afraid we're snowed in but good." "It's never so bad but what it could be worse," said Jim, the philosopher.

I shook hands with them as they climbed into the wagon. "I didn't hear you drive up," I said. "And when you get thawed out I'll help you tend to your team." "We've already done it," said Bill. "They're unharnessed and we've hung the nosebags on 'em, as well as their warm blankets."

"We stayed at Bill's homestead cabin last night," said Jim. "It's about half way to town."

We sat up late that night visiting. Occasionally we'd peer out, hoping it had stopped snowing. About midnight we blew out the lantern and all three of us climbed into the one bed. It was crowded, but there was no complaint.

I hit the floor early the next morning, and after lighting the lantern, I opened the door and peered out.

"How's the weather?" asked Jim. "Looks bad," I grimly replied. "It's just about stopped snowing, but it looks like it's been coming down all night."

"Home on the range," said Jim in an attempt to bolster my sagging spirits. "It's never so bad but what it could be worse. Bill and me fetched a load of shelled corn last night. It'll keep them alive 'til the snow settles down, I hope."

"Yes, and we sacked up some coal at a mining claim also," added Bill. "And we fetched a load of groceries fer our own bellies, too," chuckled Jim. "And I brought ye a couple letters. I forgot to give them to ye last night."

"You fellows are to be praised," I sighed. After lighting the lantern, I started the fire in the big cookstove, and then crawled back into bed as usual to wait for the wagon to warm up.

It was daylight by the time we'd finished our breakfast. Donning our warm sheepskin coats, and opening the door, we peered out. We were thankful to note it had stopped snowing.

"Here goes," I laughed, and stepping out, I sank down waist deep in the soft snow. I broke trail around to the back of the wagon and noticed that the sheep were all on their feet.

"I can see why they're not snowed under," I said. "Yes," said Bill. "They stay on their feet when it's snowing, or raining either, for that matter."

We broke trail to the supply wagon parked close by and peeled the canvas cover back, exposing the contents within. This brought whinnies from the horses as they begged for their oats. Shouldering a sack of coal I headed back for the wagon, leaving Bill and Jim the chore of feeding the horses.

It was the middle of the morning before the sheep began to stir, but about all they could do was mill around, as the snow was far too deep for them to wade out. I was glad that Bill and Jim were there. I admitted that it takes a little more than three or four months to be a sheepherder, but I was learning.

Jim and Bill decided we should feed the sheep some corn. "It'll be wasted for the most part," said Jim, "but they'll get some of it." Whereupon we each shouldered a sack of shelled corn and waded in among the hungry sheep, each going in an opposite direction. We were hard put staying on our feet, and I learned to walk with my feet close together, lest the sheep get between my legs and upset me. That evening we fed them more corn, or perhaps I should say we wasted a few more sacks.

The stars were all out bright and clear at bedtime. Jim peered out and gave me a chuckle by quoting a Scottish phrase which sounded something like " 'twa a braw bricht moonlicht nicht."

Next day the sheep made no attempt to wade out of their prison. The snow in the bedground was well packed, and about the middle of the morning we fed them more corn. They found most of it this time and it gave me new hope. But when they still couldn't wade out on the third day, I sighed in despair. Their sides were so shrunken by this time that they appeared to have been gutted.

"We're bound to get a break, sooner or later," predicted Bill. He was worried. "What we need is a chinook," said Jim. His good natured laughter was missing.

Next morning I rolled out as usual, and after lighting the lantern and starting the fire, I opened the door to let Shep out and I followed him. As I stepped down into our trail I was startled to find it full of water, and slushy. When I climbed back into the wagon Jim asked me how it looked. "It's too dark to see very good," I replied, "but the snow is sure melting. There's water everywhere, and the wind is blowing."

"Yippie!" yelled Jim. "It's the chinook I've been praying for." Leaping out of bed, the two Scotsmen hurriedly dressed, and rushed to the door to peer out. "Yer sheep can get a bellyfull today," beamed Jim. "It's high time," I replied. "I was worried." "Ye wasn't the only one," laughed Bill. We enjoyed our breakfast that morning in our crowded quarters, well aware that we had weathered a crisis.

Shortly after sunup, the sheep were wading the wet slushy snow in search of food. They looked like drowned rats, but my heart went out to them. They were busy as beavers as they filled their empty bellies. All they needed was a fighting chance. Their undaunted will to survive gave me new confidence. It was my belief that cattle would have perished, but not sheep.

I guided them to higher ground, and as I topped a low ridge I glanced back and spied Jim and Bill heading back to the ranch in the supply wagon. I knew they were jubilant. When they had disappeared from view, I turned and gazed out across a vast panorama of white.

By nightfall small patches of bare ground were showing at the foot of the sagebrush. But the gullies were full of water, which caused me to swing around to higher ground to reach camp. I didn't mind. It was much better than being snowed in.

If the heavy snowfall and the warm chinook wind were sudden, so was the below zero weather that followed. Next morning I found the snow frozen so hard I didn't break through with a sack of shelled corn on my shoulder when I went to feed the sheep.

I was proud of Shep, in the way he held the sheep back while I scattered the corn on top of the frozen snow. After they had gobbled it up and sunned themselves for an hour or so, they began moving in search of buffalo grass.

I trudged after them but it was so cold I could hardly breathe. I feared my lungs would become frost-bitten, so I turned back to the wagon with Jim's philosophy running through my mind: "Necessity is the mother of invention. Idleness, the factor of crime."

Grabbing a dishtowel, I cut eye holes in it, then tied it around my face and headed back after the sheep. For a moment I was proud of my invention, but only for a moment. I soon became aware that my moist breath was causing the towel to freeze solid as a board, and I could no longer breathe through it. I therefore had to discard it and be careful how I breathed. The cold spell lasted several days and the end of my nose froze and the skin peeled off.

Bill came and said it dropped to forty-eight below at the ranch. "Keep yer eye peeled fer blizzards," he warned, "and don't get caught on the wrong side of

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camp. But should ye get caught out in one, don't lay down and go to sleep or ye'll freeze to death. It's best ye keep moving."

Bill stayed with me a couple of days for which I was thankful. And I learned that he and Jim had come from a small village in Scotland by the name of Ruthy Norman. He also mentioned Davy Town and Acterless.

When Bill headed back to the ranch I patted Shep on the head and hiked after my sheep with a confident stride. I felt I could take anything the Red Desert had to offer. I had endured a snow blockade, and fifty below zero temperature. But what I hadn't endured was the terror that's created by a raging blizzard.

By the middle of January the ground was covered with dry powdery snow. My sheep were spread out, grazing peacefully, with the sun shining brightly overhead. There was no wind; not a twig astir. I was seated comfortably upon a sagebrush. Everything was under control.

Suddenly I was startled at the sight of the most fascinating white cloud I had ever seen. It was just peeping over a distant high ridge, and was about a mile wide. As I watched, it slowly climbed higher and higher into the clear blue sky. Shep whined, and looked up at me imploringly. "What's the matter, pal?" I asked him. "Are you wanting to go home?"

Had I understood what Shep was trying to tell me, I'd have rounded up my sheep and hit for the wagon. And I'd have had plenty of time, too.

I resumed reading my magazine, completely unaware that I was sitting there in the path of a raging blizzard that was bearing down upon me with hurricane force; and little did I dream that I was to become lost, and not be able to find my campwagon, not even a shelter, throughout the long blizzard-swept night.

I was in the act of turning another page in my magazine when Shep thrust his paw in my lap and whined. I lifted my eyes from my magazine and was ter-

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The "mobile home" of the sheepherder.

rified at what I saw. Leaping to my feet and thrusting my fingers into my mouth, I whistled at my sheep. Shep was like a yellow streak as he raced at full speed to the far corner, and we had the sheep rounded up in record time and headed for the wagon on the run. The wagon was between me and the oncoming blizzard. I was caught on the wrong side of camp, and knew I had recognized that blizzard too late.

There was a depression in back of the wagon where I'd been bedding the sheep but I knew I'd never make it. I remembered what Bill had once said about how a band of sheep had been known to drift as far as twenty miles in one night when caught in a blizzard.

I was within about a mile of camp when I met that blizzard head on. I was all but swept off my feet, so powerful was its blast. My sheep were hurled back like tumbleweeds and couldn't be stopped. I fell in behind them, hard put to keep them in sight.

We were racing back across that bleak tableland when we crossed a small mound. I sent well-trained Shep racing up to the lead and managed to bend them in behind the mound and got them stopped.

Shep and I were both winded. I dropped down on my knees in the scant windbreak behind the mound and Shep and I caught our breath. But the driving wind was piling the snow all over and around me, and I knew I'd soon have to move.

"It'll soon blow itself out," I told myself hopefully, but I doubted my own predictions. I remained crouched down about an hour, but began to chill, and knew I'd have to move around or freeze. Lunging to my feet I lined out in a small circle, around and around the little mound and my sheep, beating my arms around my body at each step.

It was now well after dark and I knew my sheep would stay put till morning. I lined out for the wagon and a hot meal. I'd hurry back to the sheep in the morning.

I walked and walked while keeping the driving blizzard slightly to my left, with the wind striking me on the left cheek. That should guide me to the wagon. It shouldn't be much farther. I was wishing I knew how to tell Shep to lead me to it.

I finally stopped to ponder my predicament. Should I turn back? And if I did, could I find the sheep? I decided to keep going and soon became aware of a change in the storm, when it began striking me in the back. I tried to convince myself that it was dying down, even though I was carried along at a fast pace.

I wondered how many miles I had drifted, when I became aware of yet another change in the storm, and suddenly I stopped dead in my tracks, not wanting to believe the shocking truth, that the storm hadn't been changing at all and that I'd been walking in circles on the bleak table land. I was lost. For a moment I was filled with despair. At my wits end as I stood there leaning into the storm like a white ghost. That blizzard appeared to be watching me, hoping I'd fall, so it could add me to its snow-bound graveyard of the missing, I cried out in helpless rage.

"Pour it on, damn ya! Do your worst! I ain't dead yet!" Turning, I began drifting with the storm in long purposeful strides. I was going to get out of its deadly clutches if I had to drift all the way to the Pacific Ocean. I hadn't gone far in my reckless pace, however, when I stumbled over a sheep and fell headlong across others. I was overjoyed, and leaping excitedly to my feet, I patted Shep, and told him we'd found the sheep.

I crouched down, elated, even though I might freeze to death before morning. But I at least wasn't lost, and didn't believe I was too far from the wagon. My body would be found.

I came erect and was nearly swept off my feet by the raging force of the storm, but I began walking around and around the little knoll, beating my arms around my body, with faithful Shep at my heels; but I was becoming exhausted. Either the storm must blow itself out or I was finished.

Suddenly I fell forward on my face and was filled with panic. Lunging to my feet, I began beating my arms again, with Bill's warning ringing in my subconscious mind. "Don't go to sleep. It's best ye keep moving."

Nodding drowsily in spite of all that I could do, I was in a stupor, the like of which I'd never before known. I forced myself to keep walking, but I was out on my feet. Then I fell again, more asleep than awake. I wanted to just lie there and go sound asleep. But a spark of sanity in a small recess of my brain kept silently crying out, "Don't go to sleep!"

I forced myself drowsily to my feet, the will to survive at a low ebb. But I happened to glance skyward and a surge of power shot through my body with electrifying effect. Up there, high above me, was the most beautiful sight I'd ever seen. It was a star. As if by magic, the sky cleared, exposing twinkling sapphires by the millions. I was overjoyed. Grabbing old Shep up in my arms, I told him we'd won!

The sky was beginning to pale in the east, and shortly after daylight I stirred up my sheep and headed for the wagon which I could see in the distance.

Jim and Bill had arrived in camp that night, and told me they had 'holed up' at the homestead during the blizzard. Did I tell them I was quitting? Not me! I was a sheepherder!

The once numerous sheepcamps are few and far between today. Their campfires have grown dim; but the striking image of the sheepcamp will never grow dim; and the sheepherder will long be remembered as a proud and carefree nomad.

'Way 'round em, Shep!

THE AIR AGE COMES TO WYOMING

By Gerald M. Adams

The period following World War I was a time of great expectations for Wyoming. The potential for aviation's growth was a part of that hopeful mood. Everyone believed there would be a great demand for air transportation in the western states where few highway and railroad lines existed. Mountainous country and isolated areas seemed to offer a natural market for air transportation, even though mountains made for dangerous flying conditions. Where roads and railroads did exist, they still offered a slow means of travel. The airplane promised greater speed and a faster means of delivery for passengers and cargo.

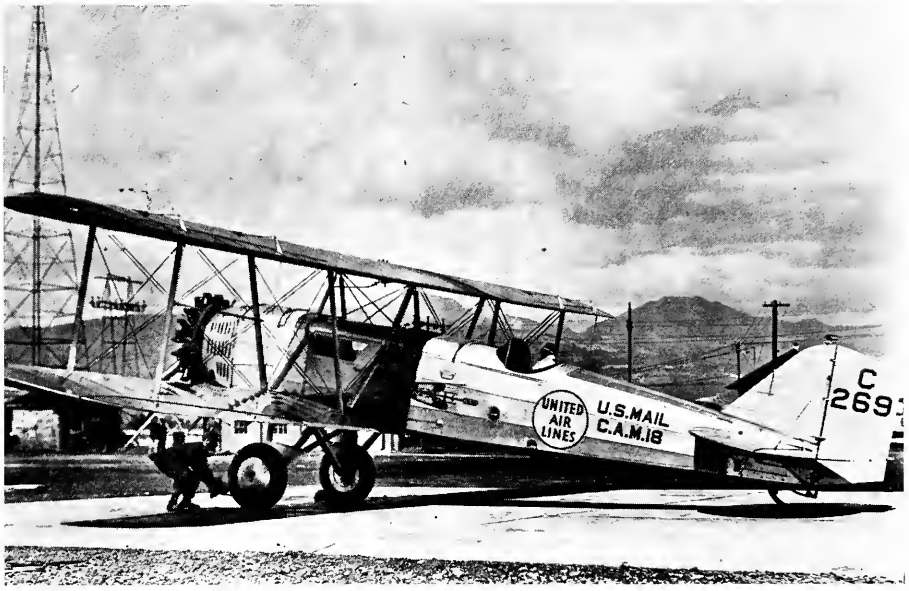
Cheyenne seemed a natural selection for early and permanent development as a major aviation center. Its assets included its designation as the state capital, good level terrain suitable for airplanes to land close to the city, a location midway between Omaha and Salt Lake City, and the east-west Union Pacific Railroad and the transcontinental Lincoln Highway (U.S. 30) both running through town.

The decade of the 1920s provided the pattern for aviation's growth. This significant era saw Cheyenne expand into an important air transportation center that continued to grow during the 1930s. The feeling of promise for Cheyenne as a major air center turned into one of frustration immediately after World War II when the city's aviation activities began to decline.

Cheyenne saw little aviation activity before 1920. There were occasional planes that flew in, but only for short periods to make exhibition flights and take paying passengers for rides. These planes operated from convenient pastures and were known as barnstormers. They visited county fairs and other such activities, usually during the summer. At times the community paid the barnstormer for the exhibition flights, but more often the barnstormer did it free to attract paying passengers. Few communities in the country were located at an altitude as high as Cheyenne's 6,300 feet. The rarified air at that altitude caused a shortness of breath in men and engines. Consequently most barnstormers bypassed Cheyenne. Early airplane engines did not perform well, if at all, at that high altitude, and it was not until the next generation of engines had been developed that planes could operate safely at Cheyenne's altitude.

The earliest aviation event in Wyoming occurred in 1911 when a Denver-built plane, flown by Colorado aviator George W. Thompson, appeared at Gillette's Fourth of July Celebration.[1] Cheyenne's first airplane flight occurred the next month on August 1 in Frontier Park when visiting pilot Charles Walsh flew his Curtiss-Farmann biplane to a height of one hundred feet in an exhibition flight that was reported to be a disappointment for the paying spectators. Pilot Walsh was scheduled to fly at 2 p.m. and made several attempts to get his plane into the air at that time. About 6 p.m., when the air was cooler and more dense, he finally got his plane off the ground and up to the one-hundred-foot altitude required for him to collect his fee.[2] A local Cheyenne man, Harold Brinker, was also scheduled to fly his homemade plane for the first time in the Frontier Park exhibition, but his plane was not ready and did not fly that day.[3]

The Evolution of Air Mail Transport



In 1920 the converted wartime DeHaviland (top) took 78½ hours to deliver 400 pounds of air mail coast to coast through the "plane-rail" system. Because night flying was so hazardous the mail would be shipped overnight by train to awaiting DeHavilands that would carry it on the daytime leg. The aircraft was powered by a 400 horsepower Liberty engine, capable of speeds of up to 100 miles per hour. No passengers were taken on the one-pilot craft. The Boeing Aircraft Company of Seattle built twenty-five B-40 planes (middle) in 1926 and 1927 for the Boeing Air Transport Company to fulfill their Chicago to San Francisco airmail contract. The B-40 was capable of carrying up to four passengers in the forward enclosed compartment. In 1929 the Boeing B-80 Trimotor replaced the B-40 on the Chicago to San Francisco airmail route. The B-80 (bottom) could carry fourteen passengers plus the airmail and cargo. The plane provided a significant advancement in passenger comfort and safety over the older and smaller B-40s. (Photos courtesy of Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming)

Also in August, W. S. Adams of Riverton flew his new Benoist biplane for the first time on the occasion of the city's fifth anniversary celebration on August 15, 1911. Adams had gone to St. Louis a few weeks before, bought the plane, taken a flying lesson, shipped the plane to Riverton, and got it unpacked just in time to participate in the celebration. People of Riverton were not surprised when businessman Adams brought the plane to town as he had also introduced the first automobile some seven years earlier. The flight thrilled the anniversary crowd, but unfortunately Adams crashed when trying to land in a pasture on the edge of town. He was not injured, nor was his plane badly damaged. He flew it the next day.[4]

Even though eight years had passed since the first airplane flight, the utility of the airplane was very limited in 1911. Short exhibition and one-passenger sight-seeing flights were about the extent of their capability. Yet American aviation had come a long way since 1903 when the Wright brothers had been forced to build their own engine in order to get one light enough for an airplane. Automobile engines were much too heavy for airplanes. The engine that Orville and Wilbur Wright built weighed only 200 pounds and developed a questionable twelve horsepower. Crude as it was, it sustained the world's first powered man-carrying flight by Orville on December 17, 1903, and made the Wrights famous.[5]

By 1911, Orville and Wilbur Wright, and pioneer aviator Glenn Curtiss, were building planes and sending exhibition teams around the country to generate interest in aviation. Both the Wright and Curtiss teams visited Montana and Colorado during this early period, but it is not known if they visited the Cheyenne area. Airplane engines had improved since 1903 but were still not very effective at Cheyenne's high elevation. It would be natural for exhibition teams to avoid Cheyenne.

To encourage aviation, many institutions and civic-minded individuals offered cash prizes for various achievements that extended aviation. The French aviator Louis Blériot won the £1000 prize offered in 1909 by the *Daily Mail* of London for being the first to fly the English Channel, Calais to Dover. He flew the distance of twenty-two miles in thirty-seven minutes which amounts to a ground speed of thirty-six miles per hour. Blériot was spared an engine failure enroute when a rain shower cooled the twenty-five horsepower Anzani engine and permitted him to reach Dover, completing his flight.[6]

The American aviator Cal Rodgers completed the first transcontinental flight, New York to Pasadena, in November, 1911. It took Rodgers forty-nine days, nineteen more than allowed by the terms of the $50,000 prize offered by William Randolph Hearst.

Pilot Rodgers had some twelve major crashes enroute and he finished with his leg in a cast. He had christened his specially-built Wright biplane the Vin Fizz, after a soft drink made by his Chicago sponsors. The plane had been almost completely rebuilt when he reached Pasadena.[7] Rodger's flight received a good deal of national publicity and a variety of airplanes tried to get airborne in the period that followed, many of them homemade. The casualty rate was high in pilots and planes, yet they were proving that it could be done.

World War I generated a rapid growth in aviation technology. It gave direction and purpose to airplane design, and a professional basis to a flying career. By the end of the war, airplanes were being employed in the fighter, bomber, and observation/reconnaissance roles. England, France, and Germany developed the best combat airplanes, while the United States concentrated on training planes. The military had not encouraged aviation before the war. The first plane was not accepted by the Army until August, 1910, and then only after the Wrights had completely fulfilled all aspects of the very severe terms in their contract.[8]

During the war the Curtiss JN-4 (Jenny), powered by an OX-5 engine, was the best known trainer made in this country. The Jenny was used extensively by the military. The United States also built in great number (4346) the British-designed DeHaviland DH-4 all-purpose single-engine plane.[9]

The American built DH-4 came equipped with the best engine then available. It was the Liberty engine and it had twelve liquid-cooled cylinders that could develop 400 horsepower and operate at an altitude of 10,000 feet. Built in a variety of models, the DH-4 normally had two open cockpits with the pilot flying from the rear cockpit and the front cockpit equipped to hold a gunner/observer or two passengers. Few of the American-made DH-4s reached France before the war ended.[10] Most American units in France flew French or British planes. America's leading ace, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, and his famous 94th (Hat in the Ring) Aero Squadron, flew French-made fighters in combat.[11]

After World War I, surplus planes were dumped on the market at a fraction of their cost. DH-4s and Curtiss Jennies were the most numerous. In addition to barnstorming, the DH-4 served many purposes that included flying the airmail for several years. Many DH-4s were still in service in the mid-1930s.

The DH-4 appealed to the barnstormers because they were cheap and the government had a surplus of parts for them. The barnstormer's stock in trade included exhibition stunt flying, wing walking, parachute jumping, and almost anything that would attract a crowd. They hoped a few brave souls would go for a plane ride at prices that averaged about fifty cents a minute. Many famous pilots gained their early experience this way. Charles Lindbergh barnstormed in Montana during the summer of 1922, alternating as wing walker, parachute jumper, and pilot.[12] Barnstorm-

ing could be exciting, but hardly profitable as a commercial experience.

Commercial aviation was born when, in January, 1920, the Post Office Department announced plans to extend the airmail route from Chicago to San Francisco. The route was to follow the Union Pacific railroad line through southern Wyoming. That route offered the best access through the mountains for airplanes limited to altitudes of nine thousand to ten thousand feet.

Cheyenne recognized an opportunity to become a stopping point and all the civic agencies organized their efforts toward that end. One condition imposed by the Air Mail Service was that sites picked had to agree to provide an acceptable airfield with hangars and other facilities. Cheyenne had no airfield and not much money to spend to acquire one. Congress was reluctant to appropriate money for the undertaking until they were more certain that aviation was capable of carrying mail. A Cheyenne editorial in January exhorted the city fathers to find an airfield quickly or else the mail planes would be roaring over while the people watched them pass by. According to the editorial writer, Cheyenne's golden opportunity had turned Denver green with envy.[13]

There existed a flat area of prairie on the eastern edge of Fort D. A. Russell that had been used by army and civilian planes. Its exact location is uncertain but long-time resident George Guy remembered planes landing in the early 1920s in an area between the fort and the city, about where the Wherry Housing complex now stands.[14] The landing area was first referred to in the press as O'Neil Field[15] and then Wales Field.[16] Fort Russell, in cooperation with the city, offered to enlarge and improve the landing area to meet Air Mail Service standards and insure Cheyenne's place on the route. It was also proposed that the field be designated a Cheyenne/Army municipal airfield for common usage.[17]

The request for such an authority was forwarded to the War Department with the full support of the Wyoming Congressional delegation and there was a feeling of optimism throughout the community that Cheyenne had been designated to become an important air center. It also appeared that the city would have an airfield by the September deadline and without spending any money.

The Army enlarged the field at Fort Russell by removing a fence that ran along the eastern boundary of the military reservation and closing a road, now Hynds Boulevard, to the Country Club.[18] The problem of providing an acceptable airfield for the Air Mail Service seemed to be settled. Plans were underway for constructing a hangar, and the grading of rocks and holes in the field had started. Then in late July a telegram from Secretary of War Newton Baker to Wyoming Senator Francis E. Warren halted all activity.[19]

The War Department would not agree to make the army field a municipal field; it felt that the land might be needed for other purposes. Time was now short. The transcontinental airmail service would begin operation between Chicago and San Francisco on September 8, 1920. Cheyenne had only four weeks to find another location and prepare it as an airfield.

Fortunately, the city owned a 200-acre plot of flat prairie land located a little more than a mile north of downtown Cheyenne. Immediately after the War Department telegram became known, work began on the newly-sited airfield.[20] The work was financed initially by the city, county, and Chamber of Commerce, with reimbursement promised by the Post Office Department when money became available from Congress. The debt was paid by Congress in due time.

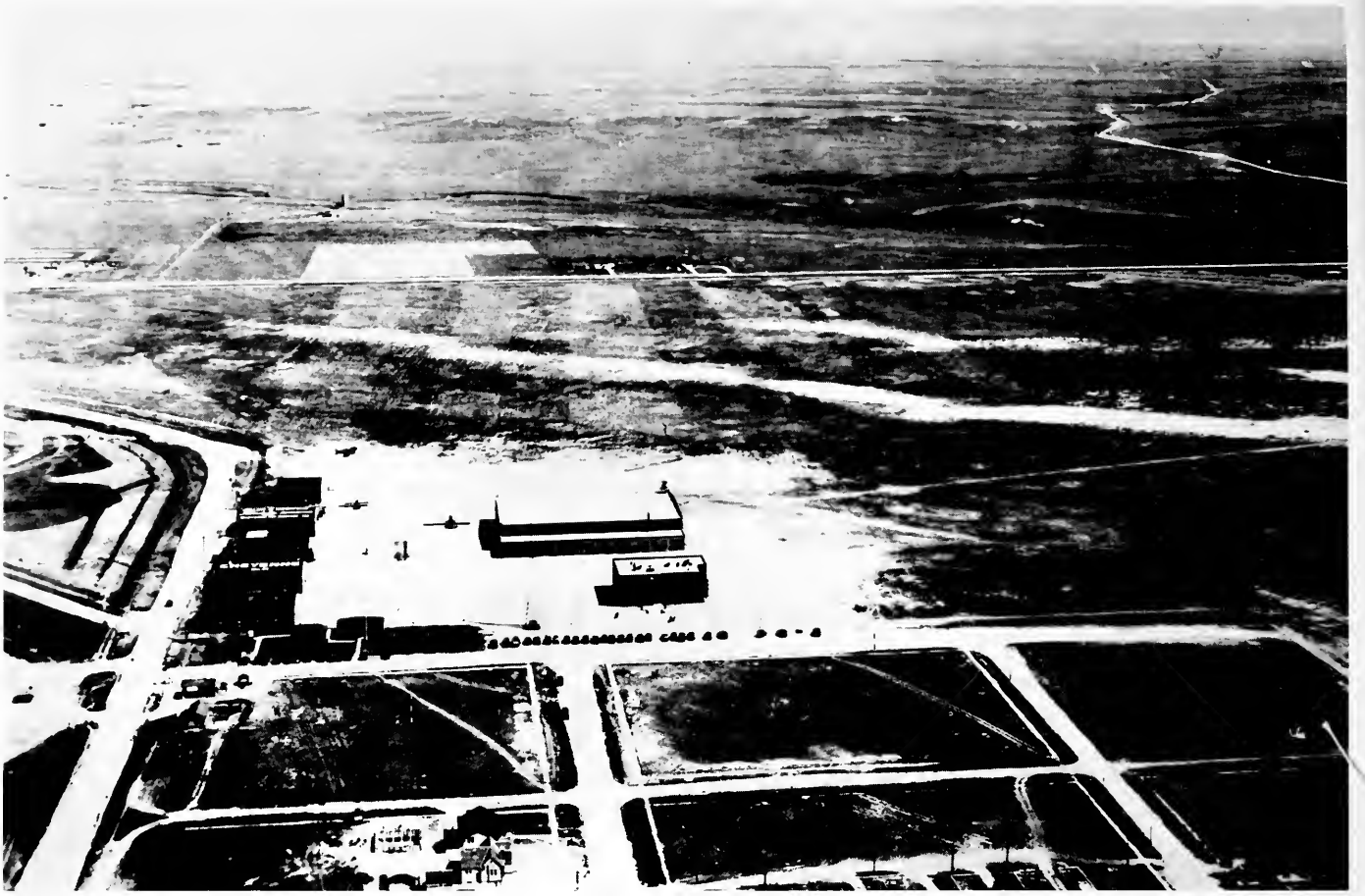
In late July, 1920, the Air Mail Service started a two-plane "pathfinder" team over the proposed route to report on the acceptability of the transcontinental route and selected stations. Cheyenne and Rock Springs were two of the fifteen stations nationwide. Cheyenne had been named the division point between Omaha and Salt Lake City, with six planes and pilots assigned, plus nine employees for maintenance and administration. Two planes were to be in service between Cheyenne and Salt Lake City, two planes between Cheyenne and Omaha, and two planes to be held in reserve.[21]

The "pathfinder" planes landed at Fort D. A. Russell, inspected Cheyenne's new airfield still being prepared, and declared it acceptable. The visiting team included Bert Acosta, later a famous race pilot, and Captain Eddie Rickenbacker who was doing some scouting work for the Air Mail Service.[22] In early September most of the holes and ditches had been filled on the field and work was started on the hangar. The airfield could be considered ready for the first airmail planes scheduled to start operating on September 8.

In a modest way, general aviation had also arrived in Cheyenne. A single engine Curtiss Oriole biplane arrived in June, the property of local motorcycle dealer Reed Hollister.[23] Hollister was not a pilot so he hired British war ace, Captain C. A. McKenzie, who came from the East Coast, to fly the Oriole for Hollister.

The arrival of this plane, in Cheyenne's view, put the city even more prominently on the flying map. The Oriole could carry two passengers in the front open cockpit and the pilot in the rear cockpit. Hollister named his one-plane operation the Southern Wyoming Aircraft Company. He planned to use the plane for exhibition flights and short sight-seeing trips.

A long list of passengers had signed up when news of the plane's pending arrival became known, all of them eager to take their first airplane ride. The honor of being the first paying passenger was determined by a lottery. A lady barber, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown, won the drawing and reported that she had a very enjoyable



Cheyenne Airport in 1930. U. S. ARMY AIR SERVICE PHOTOGRAPH

flight. The plane and Captain McKenzie were kept busy in the Cheyenne area for several weeks hauling passengers, but eventually the demand for rides slowed down. Captain McKenzie and the Oriole then began a barnstorming tour of other cities in the state.[24]

While the barnstorming business slowed down in the community, the other long-awaited aviation activity came into being. On September 8, 1920, the Chicago-to-San Francisco leg of the Columbia Transcontinental Airmail Route was inaugurated with two planes taking off from the Cheyenne airfield in the early morning carrying 400 pounds of airmail each. Buck Heffron piloted the DH-4 that headed west for Salt Lake City. At the same time, airmail planes were taking off from Salt Lake City and Omaha heading for Cheyenne. The planes were scheduled to reach their destination airfields during daylight hours, transfer the mail to trains for night travel, and back to an airmail plane in the morning. Normal train travel from New York to San Francisco took about five days, or 120 hours. The plane-to-train system was expected to improve the coast-to-coast time by at least two days in the first weeks of operation. As soon as night flying could be initiated on the route, total time could be reduced to less than thirty-six hours.[25]

The airmail route from Omaha to San Francisco generally followed along the Union Pacific railroad line, and for very good reasons. The builders of the Union Pacific had chosen the shortest route to San Francisco and at the lowest elevation possible through the Rocky Mountains. A low elevation route was important in 1920 because few airplanes could climb above even the lowest mountain ranges; they had to fly through the mountain passes. Choosing landing fields and division points along the Union Pacific line would facilitate the plane-to-train mail exchange. Railroad tracks were also very useful navigation landmarks and were referred to by pilots as the "iron compass."

Cheyenne had already become an important east-west and north-south railroad, highway, and bus transportation center. The capital city provided a very logical choice as the division point for the Air Mail Service. The people were delighted that their town had been selected. Denver would now receive its airmail from Cheyenne.[26]

The DeHaviland DH-4 became the airmail carrier between Chicago and San Francisco because there were large numbers of the surplus planes readily available and they cost the Post Office Department practically nothing to obtain. Liberty engines were also readily available. The DH-4 had a speed of 110 miles per hour, a ceiling of 10,000 feet (barely enough to navigate the western mountain passes), and could carry up to 500 pounds of mail a distance of 300 miles. The DH-4 was

considered a very sturdy plane and probably the best that could be obtained at the time.[27] It would be several years before American plane builders developed new models with significant improvements.

Pilot James P. Murray was the first to reach Cheyenne from Omaha with the mail, arriving on September 9, 1920.[28] Engine trouble enroute had caused an overnight delay. The following weeks saw an ever-increasing volume of airmail, but not without incident. Late in September, division manager Hartung of Cheyenne announced that the shortage of in-commission mail planes had caused a cancellation of flights to the west until replacement planes were received.[29] A rash of airplane accidents had caused this situation.

Engine failure caused most accidents, but bad weather along the route or high winds when landing also took their toll. Pilots rarely knew what kind of weather they would encounter enroute or at their destination. The DH-4 did not have instruments for flying in bad weather and when a pilot found himself forced into clouds because of high terrain or low cloud ceiling, he could only hope for the best. The service ceiling of the DH-4 was much lower than many Wyoming mountain peaks, requiring that pilots fly below and around them.[30]

The route between Cheyenne and Laramie, over the Laramie Range, was considered the worst part of the entire coast-to-coast route because of the high rugged terrain, high winds, and frequent storms. The first fatal accident of the Cheyenne division occurred on this leg of the route on November 6 when pilot John P. Woodward crashed his DH-4 into Red Buttes near Tie Siding in heavy fog. He crashed three miles from the Union Pacific tracks and had probably been trying to follow the railroad line.[31] In October James Murray crashed into a mountain west of Laramie near Arlington in a snow storm. Murray and the mail survived but the plane was destroyed.[32]

In May 1921, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker returned to Cheyenne on a west-to-east flight aimed at setting a new coast-to-coast speed record. Arriving after dark with lighted oil drums to mark the landing area, Rickenbacker landed downfield, hit the old Deadwood stage road on the east side of the airfield during the landing

RED KELSO COLLECTION

Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker (center) crashed at the Cheyenne Air Mail Field while attempting a night landing. The crash on May 26, 1921, ended his try for a west to east flight record. C. V. Pickup (left) was an Air Mail Service Pilot stationed at Cheyenne. R. A. Dunphy (right) was Division Superintendent for the Omaha to Salt Lake leg of the transcontinental airmail route.

Rickenbacker's plane, May 26, 1921. RED KELSO COLLECTION

roll, and flipped upside down. "Captain Eddie" escaped unhurt but damage to his plane was severe. His ambition to set a new coast-to-coast speed record ended in Cheyenne. He left early the next day, an unhappy rider on the mail plane heading east.[33]

Anxious to reduce the coast-to-coast airmail time, the Air Mail Service made a trial run at flying day and night in 1921, with huge bonfires for navigation lighted at night by farmers. This system did not prove feasible. Not until 1924 could night flying become a scheduled program, at which time the plane-to-train mail transfer system was discontinued. Lighted rotating beacons on fifty-foot towers had been installed by the Post Office Department in 1923 for navigation on the Columbia route coast to coast.[34]

The beacons were located every twenty-five to thirty miles on forty-acre emergency landing fields, and on the regular landing fields such as at Cheyenne. Each beacon and emergency field had a caretaker to insure that the gasoline generator for the beacon worked during the night. The caretakers also relayed information to the division points when a mail plane passed overhead or was forced to land. Needless to say, the emergency fields were used frequently.

Pine Bluffs, Burns, and Laramie all had emergency fields with rotating beacons and caretakers. The terrain and weather associated with the route between Cheyenne and Laramie discouraged the establishment of an emergency landing field there. However, a rotating beacon graced the peak at Sherman Hill at an elevation of 8600 feet. The beacon could be seen from either side of the mountain range.[35]

Between 1921 and 1923, the continuation of air mail service often seemed uncertain. In 1922, Wyoming Congressman F. W. Mondell told the Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce that airmail service still continued to be in an experimental phase as far as Congress was concerned. It had not yet been specifically authorized by law.[36]

However, by 1925 Congress had decided that the potential of aviation justified a stronger commitment and airmail was here to stay. Congress and the Post Office Department also concluded that the time had come when commercial contractors should take over the task of flying the mail, and thus encourage the struggling commercial aviation industry.

The Airmail (Kelly) Act of 1925 provided for the transfer of all airmail routes to private carriers and, by mid-1927, all Air Mail Service operations were discontinued.[37] The city received the Air Mail Service buildings on the airfield, plus all the improvements that had been added to the airfield during the seven years of operation. Cheyenne residents hated to see this pioneering group of airmail people leave, but they looked forward to hosting the commercial contractors.[38]

Most of the Cheyenne airmail people moved on to aviation jobs in other parts of the country, but some stayed. Two members of the pioneer group still living in Cheyenne are Lawrence Murray and Vern Gersmehl.

A seventeen-year-old Lawrence Murray had come to Cheyenne in 1921 from Norwich, Connecticut, fresh out of the Norwich Free Academy, to join his brothers, James and Ed Murray. James Murray and Lawrence's brother-in-law, H. T. "Slim" Lewis, were pilots with the Air Mail Service in Cheyenne. Both James and Ed Murray, and Slim Lewis, were veteran pilots of World War I, as were almost all of the pilots flying for the Air Mail Service.

Too young to be a pilot, Lawrence got his first job in Cheyenne as an apprentice mechanic. He says that all the airmail people at the airport did whatever had to be done. When a plane landed everybody helped out. He later installed navigation lights along the airway west from Cheyenne for night navigation. These lights were located every mile or two and were in addition to the rotating beacons located every twenty five miles. They operated from an attached acetylene gas tank and had sun valves that turned them on and off.

By 1927, Lawrence had decided that Cheyenne was where he wanted to stay and he says that he has never been sorry. "Cheyenne has always been a good town and although I have been all over, I would not want to live anywhere else." Both James Murray and Slim Lewis moved to important executive positions in aviation in other parts of the country in 1927, but returned often to visit friends and family. James Murray became a vice president of Boeing Aircraft Company and Lewis joined the Canadian Pacific Airline. Lewis later owned and operated the CY Ranch north of Cheyenne.[39]

A further stimulant to aviation investment, after the Kelly Act of 1925, was the Air Commerce Act passed by Congress in 1926. This act provided subsidies for developmental costs and for a portion of commercial aviation's operating costs. The two acts of Congress fathered the airlines and encouraged private capital to invest in airlines. The newly emerging airlines now looked to the potential of passenger service to augment their revenues. They reasoned that, since they would be making the trip anyway with the mail, and the new planes they were buying had some passenger space, passenger revenue would be pure profit.[40]

Prior to 1927, commercial air travel was practically non-existent. The Air Mail Service had not carried paying passengers because the DH-4 could not carry a passenger and a load of mail. Also, there were few people willing to experience the risk and discomfort of traveling in a DH-4. The well known humorist, Will Rogers, was an exception. Rogers had a special permit to ride the mail planes and he used it frequently. He was an outstanding booster for aviation and air travel.[41]

The Boeing Airplane Company of Seattle submitted their bid for the Chicago-to-San Francisco airmail contract in 1926. They were awarded the contract and began operation in July, 1927, under the name of the Boeing Air Transport Company. In July, 1929, the name changed to United Aircraft and Transport Company. The main overhaul base was established at Cheyenne at the same time. Seventy-five men were initially employed in the shops, and that number grew to over 500 in a few years.

The Boeing plant in Seattle built twenty-five B-40 planes for the Boeing Air Transport airmail and passenger service to begin operation in 1927. The B-40 was a single engine biplane with a new and highly reliable Wasp air-cooled engine, a speed of 110 miles-per-hour, and a 1600 pound load capacity. While the rear pilot's cockpit was open, the forward compartment for mail and passengers had the luxury of being enclosed and passengers could fly with this airline without the danger of freezing. Moreover, engine failure with the B-40 became quite uncommon. The $25,000 airplane set a coast-to-coast speed record of thirty-two hours in 1927, quite an improvement over the forty-nine days Cal Rodgers and the Vin Fizz had required for the trip in 1911.[42]

The Post Office Department had also decided in 1925 that it was time for a contract feeder line to be established to carry airmail south from Cheyenne to Denver and Pueblo. The advertisement for bids on this contract specified that the winning contractor would be required to provide his own landing fields, hangars, beacon lights, and could carry passengers and express if so desired.[43] Western Air Express (now Western Air Lines) received the contract and inaugurated service in December, 1927, with Douglas M-2 and Stearman single-engine biplanes.[44]

Charles France, a veteran World War I pilot who had been a member of the first American squadron to arrive in France, was one of the early Western Air Express pilots flying the Cheyenne-to-Pueblo route. France flew the mail and passengers for about seven years and then moved on to a distinguished career in corporate aviation, first as a vice president in charge of operations for Eastern Airlines in New York and then as executive vice president for the Curtiss-Wright Aircraft Company in St. Louis.

In 1979, he recalled that when in 1927 there happened to be too much mail, ticket-holding passengers would be left behind. Profitable though the passengers were, the mail had first priority. Passengers often had to sit on mail sacks or carry them in their laps.[45] Despite the passengers' low priority, in 1928—Western's first full year of operation in Cheyenne—the airline carried some 430 passengers in and out of the city.[46] Commercial air travel had started to come of age.

The years 1927 and 1928 marked a great boom in

commercial aviation, locally and nationally. Charles Lindbergh's solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean on May 21-22, 1927, in thirty-three hours and thirty minutes, captured America's enthusiasm for flying as nothing else had done.[47] Lindbergh won the $25,000 prize offered by New York hotel owner Raymond Orteig for that outstanding aviation accomplishment. Lindbergh's tour of the country after his famous flight urged cities and civic organizations to establish airports for their communities.

Lindbergh and his plane, "The Spirit of St. Louis," made a two-day visit to Cheyenne in September, 1927, on his tour west and received a warm welcome.[48]

Airports soon sprang up all over the country. The Post Office Department was flooded with petitions requesting airmail service for communities not served.[49] As late as 1938, the Wyoming Aeronautics Commission urged every town in Wyoming regardless of size to build an airport. Not many established airports existed in Wyoming then, other than those lucky few that had established air carrier service.[50] Cheyenne seemed to be well ahead of most other cities in the West.

With the formation of airlines to carry mail and passengers, airplane builders began developing bigger and better airplanes with equipment that made air travel safer, more comfortable, and more profitable. A Texas airplane builder, Ben O. Howard, later recalled how difficult it had been in the early 1920s to sell new airplanes because of the limited market. "The thing that really held up aviation's pants for quite a few years was bootlegging. Other than the barnstormers," maintained Howard, "only the bootleggers put money into the thing. An airplane was measured not by how fast it would go or how safe it was but by how many cases it would carry."[51]

Lawrence Murray, however, believes very little liquor arrived in Cheyenne by airplane. Rumors often had Air Mail Service pilots hauling liquor as well as mail, but Murray does not believe it. It also was rumored that pilots shot wild game along their routes from their mail planes. Murray says that the pilots were too dedicated a group to even think of breaking the law in that manner. He also says that Cheyenne had several "moonshiners" in the 1920s that provided an adequate quantity, if not quality, of their product to the local community.[52] However, some other western states seem to have enjoyed a thriving liquor traffic by air from Canada.[53]

The B-40 proved to be a profitable airmail carrier for the Boeing Air Transport Company in the late 1920s, and at the same time there was a steadily increasing passenger acceptance of air travel. In 1929, the company, now United Aircraft and Transport Company, introduced the new Boeing B-80 tri-motor plane on the Chicago-to-San Francisco route. The B-80 could carry the mail and fourteen passengers in more comfort than the B-40. The B-80 also boasted a new 525-horsepower Hornet radial engine, two pilots that sat side by side, a speed of 120 miles-per-hour, and a payload capacity of 3800 pounds.[54]

United was committed to the passenger carrying business. That same year airline stewardesses were introduced by United to serve meals to passengers aloft and attend to their comfort. They proved to be so popular with the passengers that soon all airlines were hiring stewardesses. A stewardess training school was later established in Cheyenne.[55]

Boeing and United were also instrumental in having better passenger and maintenance facilities constructed at the Cheyenne airport. A modern two-story passenger terminal building arose at the airport (8th Avenue and Warren) and four brick plane hangars were built just west of the terminal building. The single wooden hangar built in 1920 for the Air Mail Service had burned in 1925, and been replaced that same year with four brick hangars. Now the additional Boeing hangars represented a significant increase in capability for the airport. The first paved surface appeared in 1930 in a plane parking ramp in front of the terminal. Otherwise the field landing and taxi areas remained prairie sod, which was satisfactory most of the time.

Airplane technology continued to improve as the 1930s approached, to the point that air travel became attractive as well as fast. The B-80 had set a new coast-to-coast speed record of twenty-seven hours in 1929.[56] The cost of the plane was a reasonable $65,000 and new flight instruments enabled the pilot to fly safely in clouds. Two-way radio communications also allowed the pilot to talk to ground stations and learn about the weather and airfield conditions ahead.

Weather forecasting had also greatly improved so that pilots usually knew before take-off what weather conditions to expect enroute, allowing them to avoid severe weather. In recognition that aviation had come to stay, the Weather Service moved from their downtown Cheyenne building, where they had been located since 1870, to the Cheyenne airport.[57]

One of the important new developments proved to be the radio range stations that were installed across the nation on the airways. Over 400 such stations were situated fifty to 150 miles apart along the airways for airplane navigation. Each radio range station had four legs or beams emitting a signal that gave the pilot a solid tone when flying on a leg of the station. The open areas between the beams transmitted an A or N Morse code signal, depending on which quadrant of the station the pilot was receiving the signal. Each radio range station broadcast an identification signal so that pilots would know which station they were receiving. Pilots could thus fly a pre-determined route without visible reference to the ground.

The radio range station at Cheyenne proved to be

particularly helpful to pilots flying west around Sherman Hill and Elk Mountain because in 1930 planes were still flying through the mountain passes. Planes were capable of flying higher but the passenger compartments were not pressurized. The lack of oxygen at altitudes above 10,000 feet made it hard on passengers and pilots.[58]

However, pilots were getting help in other areas. Introduction of the radio range stations reduced the pilot's navigation problems in such critical areas as locating his destination airfield at the end of his flight. The pilot could let-down on a range leg through cloud or darkness with some certainty that he knew his location and would not hit a mountain. The radio range station also proved to be helpful in landing when low ceiling and poor visibility existed at the airfield.

The Cheyenne radio range station, installed in the late 1920s one mile west of the airport at Fort D. A. Russell, provided a fix for the east-west runway. This system made a tremendous contribution to the safety and reliability of all-weather flying. The system remained the principal means for air navigation in this country for the next twenty-five years, and only started being replaced in the 1950s when the higher frequency OMNI stations were developed.[59]

Despite the nationwide Great Depression that stifled most industry expansion in the early 1930s, United Air Lines continued to grow. On February 1, 1929, United Aircraft and Transport Company was formed as a holding company for Boeing Airplane Company, Boeing Air Transport, Pacific Air Transport, and the Pratt and Whitney Company. In 1931 it became United Air Lines.[60] By 1933 they had consolidated all their major maintenance and overhaul activities from other parts of the country and moved them to Cheyenne. Having United's maintenance and overhaul facility provided not only a boost to the economy but added stature to the city's image as an air center.[61]

According to Cheyenneite Ralph S. Johnson, who joined United as a captain in Chicago in 1934 and came to Cheyenne in 1935 as Chief Test Pilot and Research Engineer, the city was then the largest aircraft overhaul maintenance base in the world. During his years with United, Johnson flew more than 7,000 test flights from the Cheyenne airport. He also developed and patented several innovations that made great improvements to airplane safety and performance. Two of these new devices were propeller and wing deicing systems that permitted planes to fly safely through ice forming clouds, and the pressure carburetor that enabled engines to continue to operate in unusual positions. Johnson left United in 1947 to become an aviation enterpreneur, but he stayed in Cheyenne. He organized and operated several successful aviation companies while serving as an airline consultant and director of several Wyoming companies. He also served two terms in the Wyoming State Legislature. However, aviation and particularly piloting his own airplane, remained near and dear to Ralph Johnson's heart.[62]

Throughout the depression period of the 1930s when other airlines were struggling to survive with the equipment they had, United continued to buy the latest technology offered in airplanes. They introduced the new twin-engine Boeing 247 in 1933 and the Douglas DC-3 three years later. While the Boeing 247 and the DC-3 were far better planes than the B-80s they replaced, they were still limited in range and altitude. But they brought new standards of safety and passenger comfort, as well as speed. Although the mail continued to be the mainstay, the growing desirability of air travel enhanced the airline's profits and their ability to expand.[63]

The airlines received a temporary setback in 1934 when the charge of fraud and collusion was made against the airmail contractors. President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered all airmail contracts cancelled in February, 1934, and directed the Army Air Service to fly the airmail. The Army flew the mail for seventy-five fateful days and with disastrous results, before the President and Congress agreed to let the airlines resume carrying the airmail. The Army had not received sufficient advance notice to prepare for such a mission and did not have adequate planes or equipment to carry out this assignment in a successful fashion. The large number of accidents provided the President enough reason for giving the airmail contracts back to the commercial airlines. However, there were safeguards instituted to prevent a repetition of the conditions that caused the cancellation.[64] There were twelve Army pilots killed in mail plane crashes during the less than three months they flew the mail—two of them (Lt. A. R. Kerwin and Lt. F. L. Howard) at Cheyenne.[65]

The growing acceptance of air travel by the public enabled United to increase their flight schedule. By 1935 they had twelve arrivals and departures every twenty-four hours, east and west, at Cheyenne. In addition, Wyoming Air Service (later Inland Airlines, which was, in turn, incorporated into Western Air Lines in 1944), had started a north-south route through Cheyenne in 1930 with four scheduled arrivals and four departures daily. Including Western Air Lines, Cheyenne had the service of three scheduled and growing airlines with frequent arrivals and departures in all four directions.[66]

In July, 1937, United bought the Cheyenne-to-Denver route from Wyoming Air Service. Denver had long been frustrated because they were not served by a major airline on the east-west route, but as a stop for a feeder airline from Cheyenne. Now Denver would be served by United, a major airline, though not yet as a part of the main east-west route. That would come later when passenger planes could fly above the mountain

range west of Denver on their way to and from California.[67]

Even though Cheyenne continued to grow as an aviation center through the early 1940s, the arrival of a new airplane—the four engine DC-4—at the airport in May, 1939, presaged the fate of Cheyenne. The DC-4 had come to Cheyenne for a four-day series of flight tests, and it passed all tests with favorable results. Newly acquired by United from the Douglas factory, this aircraft could fly non-stop from California to Chicago at a speed of 210 miles per hour and at an altitude of 18,000 feet. It carried forty-two passengers comfortably above the highest Rocky Mountain peaks and let them look down with wonder on the old transcontinental air route through the mountain passes.[68] The old Columbia transcontinental air route would now slowly disappear as had the Oregon Trail seventy years before. The bigger, longer-range, higher-flying airliners would begin to dominate the air lanes. World War II delayed the inevitable for Cheyenne, but not for long.

United continued to operate their overhaul base in Cheyenne during the war, and in 1942 transferred its flight training division to Cheyenne from California. This division trained United pilots for crew duty and had about 100 students in training all the time.[69] Also in 1942, the Army Corps of Engineers built a concrete runway and taxiway system that extended the airport's east-west runway to 8000 feet.[70] (Another extension in 1953 brought it to the present 9,300 foot length).

United also operated a modification center for the Army on the north side of the airport that installed the latest technology to production model B-17 and B-24 bombers before they were flown to the combat units. There were often more than 100 bombers on the field undergoing modification.[71] At the end of the war, United employed about 1,500 workers in Cheyenne, some traveling from as far away as Greeley and Fort Collins.[72]

The many aviation activities at the Cheyenne airport made it a busy place, but soon after the war ended, the scene began to change. First came the closure of the modification center, then United moved their flight training division to Denver and their overhaul base to San Francisco. As a partial replacement for the loss, they did move the Stewardess Training School to Cheyenne in 1947, and it stayed for fourteen years. The school had only a limited number in training at any one time, but more than 83,000 young women came to Cheyenne for the five-week course of training during those fourteen years. By 1961, when the school moved to Chicago, Cheyenne had ceased to be a major aviation center.

United pulled out of Cheyenne altogether in the 1960s and no other east-west airline service remained.[73] Cheyenne passengers desiring to board a plane going east or west now had to go to Denver, which had grown as an aviation center as Cheyenne had declined. Western Air Lines continued to serve Cheyenne on their north-south route, along with Frontier Airlines, until October 1979, when Western discontinued service. They cited low passenger emplanings and the economic loss as the reason.[74]

As the major commercial air activities moved away, there were other setbacks to Cheyenne's image as an air center. The Federal Aviation Administration's Flight Service Station at Cheyenne moved to Casper along with the district office, and the control tower reduced its operating hours so that it was no longer a twenty-four hour operation.[75] The Wyoming Air National Guard and two fixed-base general aviation operators remain as the airport's main aviation tenants. From many locations, it looks like an abandoned World War II airfield. The city has allocated several plane hangars to the street and sanitation departments for their equipment. Some observers including R. R. Kelso, a veteran military and civilian pilot, say that the airfield still has excellent facilities and navigational aids, "but the place looks like the city dump."[76] Frontier Airlines continues to serve Cheyenne with the short-haul turbo-prop Convair 580, but whether they will continue after their scheduled conversion to an all jet fleet remains to be seen.

United Air Lines' airplanes have been returning to Cheyenne but not for passenger service. The Training Division in Denver has used the Cheyenne airport on a contract basis with the city to train pilots in low approaches and touch-and-go landings. There have been many complaints from Cheyenne residents about the continuing high noise level created by United's training flights, but to no avail until recently. The problem culminated on June 9, 1980, when the mayor's office received an anonymous phone call that purportedly represented a group of irate citizens. The caller said that the group was going to shoot down a United training flight plane as a way of solving the noise problem caused by United. United quickly announced that there would be no more training flights to Cheyenne for the remainder of the week, and that the airport at Pueblo, Colorado, would be used more extensively for training in the future.[77]

The normally small amount of air traffic at Cheyenne's airport in the late 1970s that caused United's Training Division to want to use it for training is a far cry from earlier days. The deterioration of Cheyenne's aviation status after World War II constituted a fairly rapid reversal from the trend of expanding activity in the 1920s and 1930s. The reasons for this change can be seen in the fact that the importance of Cheyenne's geographic location to commercial aviation continued up to 1940, and then decreased as new airplanes came along that could bypass Cheyenne enroute to the large population centers. Cheyenne was no longer important as an enroute service station, and the city's area popula-

tion of 57,000 people[78] could not generate the high volume of passenger traffic required to make a jet liner stop profitable.

Cheyenne faced the experience of Denver in the 1930s, namely, a feeder airline stop, or worse, no airline stop at all. Cheyenne probably did all a city could do to retain the activities that made it an early aviation center, but time and technology determined otherwise. These innovations made its location on the Union Pacific, astride the intercontinental air route, and midway between Omaha and Salt Lake City, no longer important to commercial air transportation.

Cheyenne had been a little surprised in 1920 at its good fortune in being chosen as one of the fifteen stations on the coast-to-coast airmail route. Sixty years later the feeling has changed to one of chagrin for having fallen to the level of a lesser entity in aviation.

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THE NEW DEAL CULTURAL PROJECTS IN WYOMING

A Survey and Appraisal

By Herbert R. Dieterich

In March, 1938, supervisor E. E. Lowry of Wyoming's Federal Art Project submitted to his superiors in Washington a seven-page memorandum describing the work of his organization.[1] The project, wrote Lowry, centered on the operation of four community art galleries (in Laramie, Rock Springs, Riverton, and Torrington), each of which had elicited a gratifying public response.

Citing attendance figures to support this, Lowry went on to note that his program had been modified and simplified to meet local circumstances. It did not, for example, offer much in the way of "technical work" (the production of paintings, etc.) because it lacked the skilled personnel necessary to develop this side of the Federal Art Project. In further explanation, Lowry offered some personal observations on the Wyoming art scene.

The state was "relatively new and undeveloped," he wrote. Its people were not far removed from the pioneer experience, in which the problems of "making a living and battling the elements" were of primary concern. In this setting art was taken to be relatively unimportant and the public had few opportunities to expand its artistic horizons. "Wyoming was not art minded nor is it yet," he stated, but he saw signs of improvement. The Federal Art Project had broken new ground "in timely fashion." The community galleries encouraged and displayed the work of Wyoming artists and with the traveling exhibits that were part of the gallery program, Wyoming residents now had the chance to experience directly a broad spectrum of superior art. The traditional idea that the fine arts were "only for the privileged few" was crumbling, according to Lowry and he looked optimistically to the future when Wyomingites would have learned to "stand on both feet in practice and defense of the art of today and tomorrow."

"Pony Express" by Ernest E. Stevens, Van Tassell, Wyoming, artist. It is one of four murals painted under the Federal Art Project placed in Torrington High School. ➸

Lowry's commentary carried a natural bias as he set a baseline against which the accomplishments of his organization would be obvious. Moreover, shifts in public taste and cultural values are not easily pinned down, especially in the short run, and his project was but one segment of the federal cultural effort in Wyoming. But his memorandum suggests a number of questions explored in this essay. How were the depression-inspired New Deal art patronage programs shaped to the peculiarities of Lowry's "new and undeveloped" state? Did they differ in aim and philosophy, and if so, how was this evident in what they tried to do in Wyoming? How did Wyomingites respond to the programs? And what remained as the programs ended with the coming of World War II?

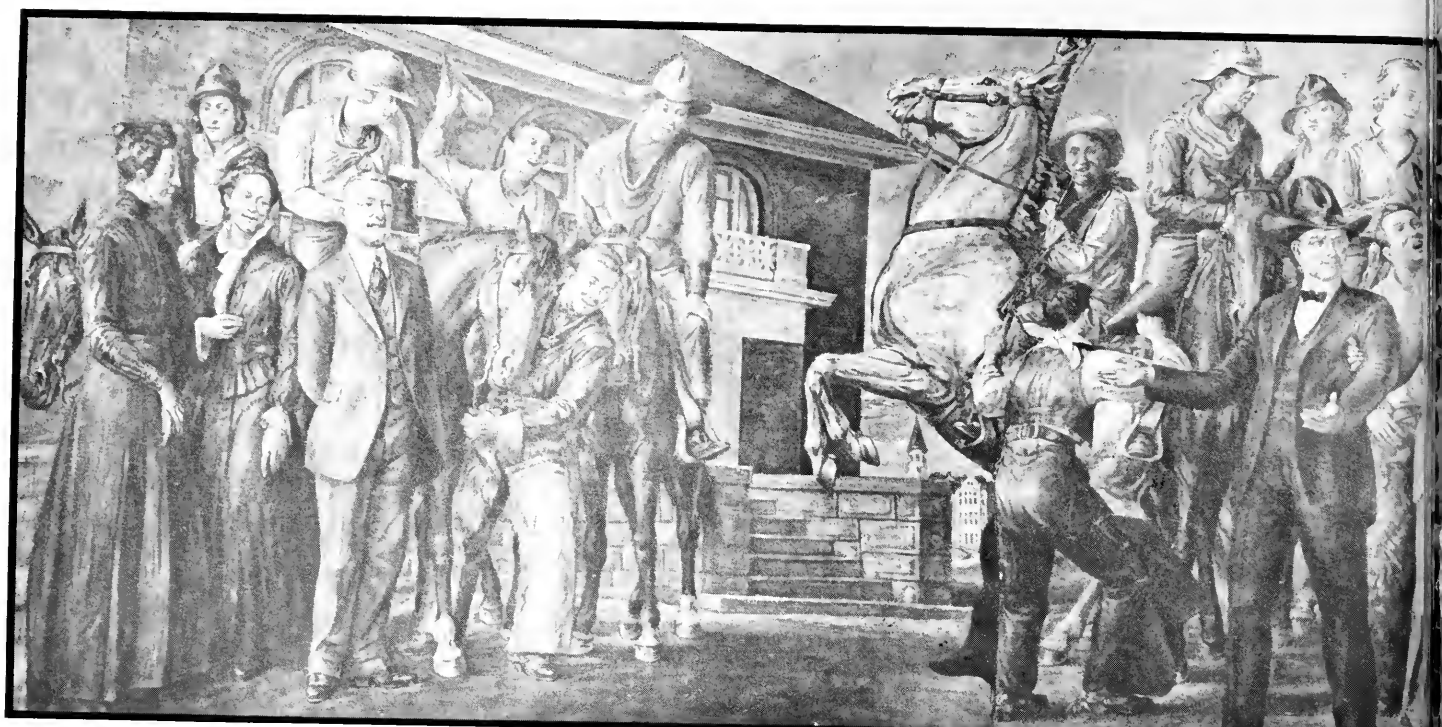
In broader terms, this paper offers an integrated account of the various New Deal measures which worked to enrich the cultural scene in Wyoming during the 1930s. The programs were federally inspired, drafted in Washington, and financed by Congress and by now there is a reasonably complete picture of their national dimensions and significance.[2] Yet their immediate impact came at the state and local levels.

State administrators ran most of the programs, utilizing local unemployed talent and usually the resulting work clearly reflected the specifics of community and state. It is unnecessary to argue that the Wyoming experience with the cultural programs was typical, or for that matter, unique. The rationale for this essay is simply that the "grassroots" dimension of the massive cultural experiment remains largely unexplored though it is as much a part of the story as the legislative and administrative outlines established in Washington.

A brief look at the context in which Wyoming's federal patronage programs necessarily functioned is followed by a resumé of the programs as they were designed in Washington, and for those whose work in Wyoming was non-existent, marginal, or not well organized, there are suggestions how and why this was so. Next, the Wyoming Art Project and the Wyoming Writers Project, the two most important federal patronage efforts in the state, are examined. The paper concludes with some observations which put the Wyoming experience with the cultural programs in historical perspective.

Returning for a moment to Lowry's commentary on Wyoming in the 1930s, his point that the state offered a special challenge to the federal patronage efforts can be amplified. Far more so than today, the cultural centers of America were isolated from the hinterlands. Profes-

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE PHOTO BY WALTER SEDOVIC



Student Union mural seen by hundreds of University of Wyoming students over the years.

sional writers, painters, actors, and musicians were concentrated disproportionately in places like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. So were the organs and institutions of culture; the art journals, publishing houses, symphony associations, galleries and museums, for example. Away from the population centers, creative talent was likely to be scarce, undeveloped, and not highly valued. As an item of public consumption and interest, the fine arts remained, as Lowry said, largely outside of the consciousness of most Wyomingites.

Not only was Wyoming remote from the cultural nuclei of the nation; it was, as Lowry noted, a state retaining much of the frontier heritage. Its population in 1930 was about 225,000. Only Nevada had fewer people. Most Wyoming residents lived in a distinctly rural setting; a third on farms and ranches, another third in communities of less than 2500, and the remaining third in towns larger than 2500. The state's two largest cities were Cheyenne (17,000) and Casper (16,000). In general, Wyomingites found the depression less traumatic than did their fellow citizens in more heavily industrialized portions of the country. They were, as historian T. A. Larson has put it, accustomed to "frugal living" and to solving their own social and economic problems.[3] Imbued with the frontier tradition of individual enterprise and local responsibility, the state's political leaders looked upon much of the New Deal relief effort with skepticism if not hostility. The attitude was apparently widely shared, for the director of Wyoming's Federal Writers Project recalled that as she traveled through the state gathering data, a cold reception often followed when she introduced herself as part of the WPA.[4]

However reluctant to see their state go on the federal dole, Cheyenne officials accepted, in June, 1933, Wyoming's first New Deal relief allotment. By December some 8000 Wyomingites were at work on jobs financed by the Civil Works Administration. A handful of these people—perhaps a half dozen—were part of the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP), working in Cheyenne. This federal agency lasted only about six months and its work in Wyoming was minimal; a mural in McCormick Junior High in Cheyenne, and some decorative work in the State Capitol Building, but the tasks were the first example of federal arts patronage in Wyoming.

The problem of mass unemployment and its attendant critical drop in the purchasing power of family units triggered an array of New Deal measures aimed at the creation of jobs and the promotion of economic recovery. Since professional people, including teachers, artists, musicians, and writers were frequently among the ranks of the jobless, the federal programs sought to include these and other white collar groups. And beyond the obvious economic imperative for the creation of jobs, there circulated among some New Deal thinkers the admirable if somewhat revolutionary idea that a more abundant life for Americans implied some quality nourishment for the spirit. As administrators in Washington elaborated this vision of an enhanced "cultural democracy," they looked for programs that would make the fine arts more accessible to the general public and that would bring the creative artist into the mainstream of American life.[5]

Jobs for the unemployed and culture for the masses—when the two aims came together in the New Deal cultural programs there were obvious problems.

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING NEWS SERVICE PHOTO

painted by Lynn Fausett and depicts the welcome given to UW President Crane in 1922.

Yearly appropriations for the programs fluctuated with Congressional assessment of unemployment statistics and with alternative demands on the federal dollar. Inevitably, the cultural efforts were fragmented and episodic. They were frankly experimental; like much other New Deal legislation, these measures were hastily devised and done so with little precedent to build on. Never before had the federal government, as a matter of policy, sought to finance and promote the creative arts. Within the programs, administrators sometimes had difficulty adjusting the twin aims of jobs and arts. The projects often demanded—or at least presupposed—creative and technical skills of a high order, but the administrator was expected to staff his operation with people who were certifiably unemployed. This was a constant problem in states like Wyoming where there were few artistic professionals to begin with.

By far the largest and best known of the New Deal cultural programs, though it was not the earliest, was "Federal Project Number One," as it was known in New Deal parlance. Officially titled the Works Progress Administration Federal Art Project (WPA/FAP), this was, in fact, four national programs built on both the money and the employment objectives of the parent WPA. Each of the four divisions (music, theater, writers, and art) had a national director who reported to Harry Hopkins, head of the WPA. Funds for the "Federal One" projects flowed into the state programs through the state's WPA administrator, who simply disbursed the checks and handled the personnel paperwork. Both Lowry's art project and the writer's project headed by Agnes Wright Spring in Cheyenne were creatures of "Federal One." Between August, 1935, and June, 1942, "Federal One" spent some $35 million, a direct subsidy of unprecedented magnitude to American culture. But the amount was only a small fraction of the $11 billion pumped into the economy by the WPA *en toto*.

In addition, three other New Deal programs, all much smaller than "Federal One" projects, put artists to work with federal funds.[6] Mainly concerned with providing decorative art for public buildings, these programs were administered through the Treasury Department. The earliest of them, operating for about six months in 1933-1934, was the Public Works of Art Project whose work in Cheyenne has already been noted. PWAP was funded through the Civil Works Administration and expired with it in the spring of 1934. Nationwide, PWAP employed some 3700 artists and spent about $1.3 million.

Two later programs were the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP) and the Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture. TRAP was linked to the WPA in two ways. Funds for TRAP came from the WPA and its artists had to qualify under WPA relief rules. TRAP's mission was to use first-rate artists in the decoration of federal buildings but the level of skill demanded by project officials was not often to be found among the ranks of the certifiably unemployed. Essentially duplicating some aspects of "Federal One," TRAP lasted from 1935 to 1939. It employed a total of some 400 artists and spent about $830,000. TRAP sought artists in Wyoming but finding none that met its qualifications, it executed no work in the state.

The Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture, on the other hand, sponsored substantial work in Wyoming. This agency was the single federal patronage ef-

fort that had no direct links with the work relief programs. It awarded federal commissions for art work through a system of competitions. For these commissions, officials in Washington sought proven talent and paid for it by lump sums rather than by a weekly or monthly wage. During its life (1934-43), the Section commissioned about 1400 works—mostly murals in federal buildings—for which it spent about $2.5 million. Six commissions were completed in Wyoming; these were post office murals in Kemmerer, Worland, Powell, Greybull, and Riverton, and a sculpture for the Mammoth Hot Springs post office in Yellowstone. The murals were done between 1938 and 1942, and paid the artists involved from $570 (Worland) to $850 (Riverton). The sculpture (a pair of stonework bears) was commissioned for $2000. Of the six artists commissioned only one was a resident of Wyoming; all were chosen on the basis of sketches they had submitted in federal competition.[7]

The Treasury Department programs and those of "Federal One" shared the idea that art and artists were a kind of national resource, valuable in its own right. The notion gave theoretical support to the whole idea of governmental promotion of arts, especially where they could be put to useful public purpose. Moved by a strong sense of cultural mission and often armed with some expertise in the arts, administrators in these programs sought to make their projects as rigorously professional as possible.

Elsewhere in the federal relief efforts, art as a cultural commodity was a matter of little importance. In the WPA and its predecessor, the FERA, the first priority was jobs for the unemployed and large scale work relief programs that would pump needed purchasing power back into the sagging economy. Yet within the general relief projects of the New Deal, quite apart from the patronage efforts of "Federal One," there emerged some rudimentary support for the arts, a fact that has not been widely recognized.

In Wyoming, for example, the state WPA organization included divisions for "Adult Education and Recreation" and "Women's and Professional Projects." Both sections housed various non-manual work projects: instructional programs in music, arts, and crafts; naturalization classes; weaving, sewing, and home-making centers; nursery schools and programs in avocational and leisure time activities.

It is virtually impossible to retrieve the particulars of these essentially local projects. No state records for their sponsoring divisions remain and only fragmentary evidence survives in the National Archives. Devised at the outermost reaches of the New Deal bureaucracy, these projects often involved only one or several people who were sustained in their professional roles by WPA money. Obviously, most of this activity was unrelated to the arts. Some was, however, as for example the lady music teacher in Thermopolis giving piano and harmony lessons to the neighborhood children; the Cheyenne musician, driving out to "Pine Bluff, Whitecrest, Goggin School, Egbert, and Golden Prairie," to give music lessons; the young eastern-trained artist in Cody, painting a pair of murals for the local library, his assignment a part of the district WPA recreation program.[8]

Compared to the "Federal One" programs, such efforts lacked professional supervision, organizational coherence, and sophistication. It is perhaps remarkable that they existed at all. "Most of the counties are a little reluctant to carry on professional programs such as dramatics, tap-dancing, piano instruction, physical instruction," reported a Wyoming relief administrator. "The great criticism from the counties is, why pay additional money for those projects, when we have people in the counties not receiving their full budget. [For lack of enough conventional relief jobs.]"[9]

None the less, this kind of activity came under state WPA supervision and it served a cultural end, though in what degree it is hard to determine. Consider the plight of this resident of Baggs, writing to the WPA office in Washington in 1938:

> I signed up with local county WPA as a "Pipe Organist". Said WPA officials did not know anything about the Federal Music Project, but, put me to work with pick and shovel; after some months of disheartening labor I contacted the Wyoming State WPA, convinced them I was a Musician, and they started this Better Music Program and made me its Musician.
>
> For over two years I have been teaching organ, piano, and violin in this river valley in SW Wyoming. Some of my students now play 5th grade music. I would like to know regarding Organist work in your Music Project. I can play and teach any type or Organ, reed, Vocalion, Orgatron, Pipe, or Hammond Electric. Local singers call me the "perfect accompanist."
>
> My present State superiors seem to be unaware of your Federal Music Project, Hence this letter.[10]

Certain it is that Wyoming officials knew of the Federal Music Project but neither it nor the Federal Theater Project established programs in this state. The "Better Music Project" in Baggs—and wherever else it functioned in Wyoming—remained a ward of the state WPA supervisor for "Adult Education and Recreation."

The Federal Music and Theater Projects concentrated their resources in states of maximum population density. Here were most of the unemployed musicians and actors, and in fact the two programs were financed at much lower levels than the Writers and Artists Projects. The two smaller programs had no real inclination to enter Wyoming; witness the report of a Music Project official who met with WPA officials in Cheyenne in 1938. The visitor came as a goodwill ambassador, interested simply in Wyoming's music situation. It was already understood that his project had no allocation for the state and planned none. He found that music teachers and the community music directors on the state's recreation program were left almost completely on their

own. No one seems to know, he wrote, "what kind of music is being used for teaching or group activity, nor in what sequence or with what particular aim in mind with a progressively educational viewpoint." No one technically qualified was in charge. Perhaps, he allowed, field personnel did a good job, but there were no checks on this and he concluded on a sympathetic but skeptical note. You know, he wrote, "that music teachers in small rural communities having gone through hard times, have not always kept up their proper professional standards." On all counts, he considered the state well excluded from the Federal music program.[11]

While the Theater and Music Projects stayed out of Wyoming, the Federal Art Project and the Federal Writers Project established in the state, programs that functioned well within the expectations of Washington officials.

These two segments of "Federal One" made a conscious effort to design programs that allowed large and small states alike to participate. The Art Project for example promoted the idea of community art centers. These institutions called for only a minimum of professional talent and combined the objectives of community education with those of technical work and professional training. In the states of the south and west, away from the heavy concentrations of unemployed artists, the art center was often the most obvious aspect of the federal program. To support centers, the national office of the FAP organized an Exhibits Section whose job it was to organize and package art shows. These traveling collections, put together by experts, were by no means limited to American (and WPA) art work. To participate in this program a state had only to arrange a circuit of suitable showing places ("galleries"), provide nominal transportation charges, and work out a schedule with Washington.

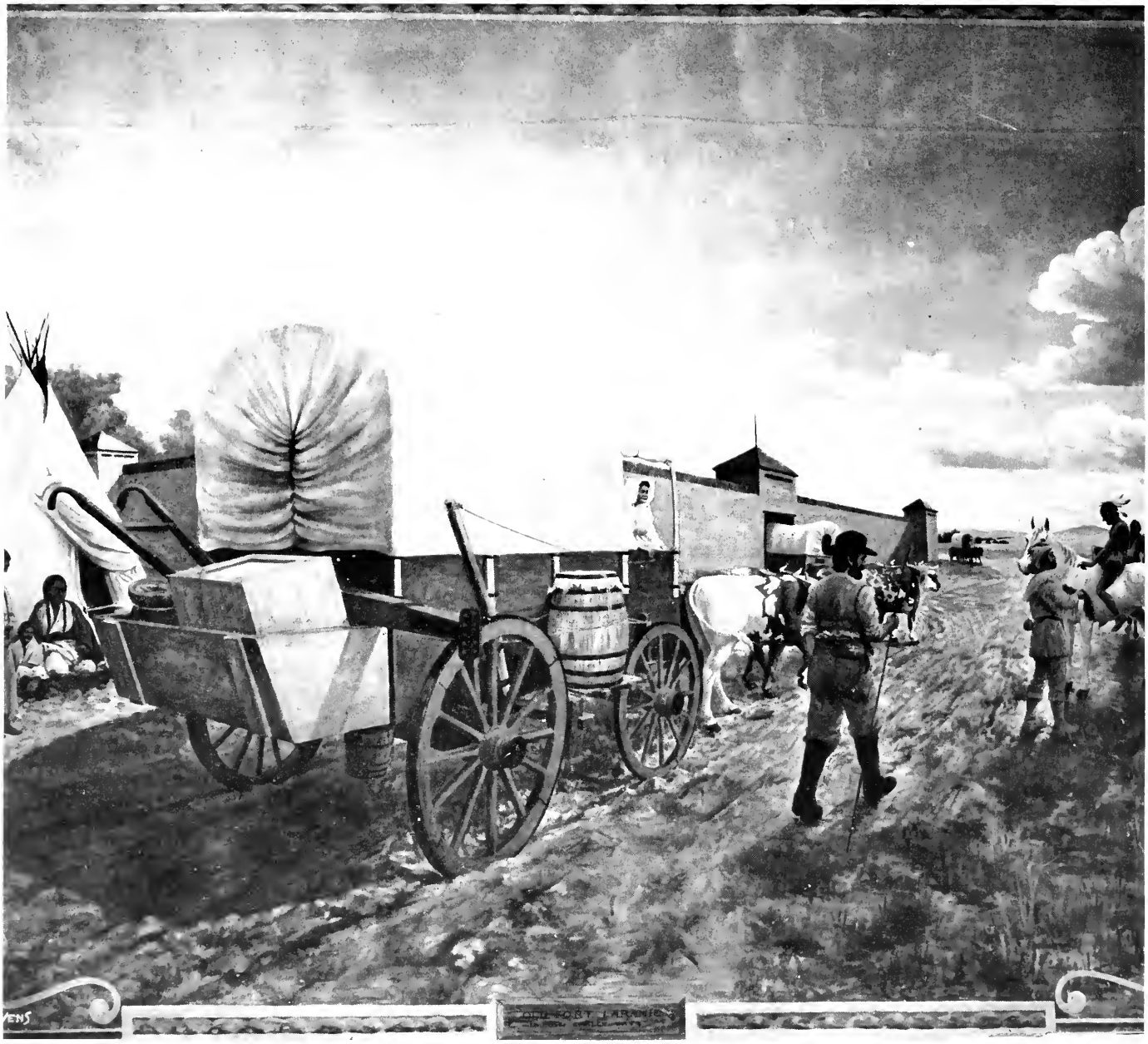
From its inception, the Writers Project concentrated on a program which, by definition, included all the states. This was the state guide-book series, a set of volumes of common format, conceived by Washington officials, as a sort of national self-statement prepared by grassroots America. The assumption here was that any state could muster enough writers and editors for this job, especially since it implied no particular deadline. If a state had the unemployed talent to go beyond the guide book project, it might pursue a host of other projects endorsed by Washington; folklore studies, city and state recreation guides, anthologies of local creative material, place-name studies, radio scripts, and local histories. But the guide book had the greatest popular appeal. Here was a chance to extol the singular virtues of one's home state, celebrate its history, boost its tourism potential—and to do so with federal financing.

Finally, both Holger Cahill, head of the Art Project, and Henry Alsberg, his counterpart at the Writers Project, allowed their programs to take shape as local situations dictated. State operating units enjoyed considerable autonomy, for the programs, if they were to exist at all, had to be constructed with local materials. Mainly through the use of regional supervisors, Washington monitored the projects and hoped for the best. Federal officials picked the state supervisors for their projects but these appointments were cleared through the state WPA Administrator. Both the Art and Writers Projects applied their regulations and procedural guidelines with a good deal of flexibility. All of this amounted to a general atmosphere of "laissez faire," a situation which certainly eased the way for Wyoming's projects.

At an early point, Wyoming state officials got dispensation to use a 25/75 ratio of non-relief to relief personnel in "Federal One" programs. Washington commonly expected a 10/90 ratio but given a very small program and a state with few unemployed professionals, this was unrealistic. And in the organization of its art project, Wyoming obtained another exemption from standard practice. Ordinarily, each type of activity—easel painting, graphics, mural work, the art centers—called for a separate project designation within a relief district. With so few people involved and these so widely scattered, Wyoming officials suggested a single, all-inclusive project and Washington agreed to this idea. The Writers Project, centered in Cheyenne but with field workers through the state, operated in similar fashion.[12]

In August and September, 1935, the Federal Art Project took form in Washington; in late October, Cheyenne officials received word that a monthly allocation of $1700 had been earmarked for Wyoming's Art Project. With no further instructions about what was expected, the state WPA office began the program as simply as possible. It was given a paper identity for bookkeeping purposes, a supervisor (Ellis Dagley, a photographer from Riverton), and a staff of six artists and teachers, transferred from the state's white-collar relief projects to the new organization by the stroke of a pen. Dagley's pay was $150 per month and his workers drew a relief wage of from sixty-three to sixty-nine dollars per month. The supervisor worked out of his home in Riverton; his people worked in their communities across the state, teaching weaving, woodcarving, arts and crafts, with several actually doing easel and mural work. Not until the spring of 1936 did the project grow to the point where it spent most of its allocation. By June it had expanded to include nineteen people, most of whom were teachers. The project was at least launched but it lacked focus and it had attained neither the public identity nor that quality of "professionalism" sought by the Washington officials.[13]

At this point, and with some greater direction from Washington than had been the case earlier, the project assumed a different look. As requested by Federal Direc-



STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE PHOTO BY WALTER SEDOVIC

"Old Fort Laramie" by Ernest E. Stevens, mural in Torrington High School.

tor Cahill, the FAP's Regional Supervisor in Denver moved to tighten up the Wyoming operation. Visiting Cheyenne, he asked state WPA officials to move the teaching element on the project back into the recreation/education programs, an arrangement that was readily approved. This left the Art Project with perhaps a half-dozen people, and implied a monthly budget of about $600. The Denver official liked the idea of the smaller, more art-oriented project, and he spoke favorably of what he had seen of the painting so far done. But the project still needed a knowledgeable professional at its head and he suggested that E. E. Lowry of the University's Art Department might be willing to take the job on a part-time basis.[14]

On September 1, 1936, Lowry replaced Dagley as project supervisor. Mr. Dagley returned to the state WPA organization as its chief photographer. Lowry's appointment was part-time and he continued to teach a full schedule at the University so long as he was connected with the project. The federal job paid him $100 per month and allowed $4 per diem as he traveled through the state on project business. An artist himself, Lowry was thirty-two years old as he took the post. Through his contacts in the Wyoming Artists Association, he knew the art resources of the state, and as a teacher he had strong ideas about how art might be given wider general appeal.[15]

Moreover, he had unusual energy, an endless supply of optimism, and considerable administrative talent. When he left Wyoming in August, 1939, for a job at Cortland State in New York, Lowry got high marks from the man who succeeded him on the project. He [Lowry]

had done more to promote art and art appreciation during his five-year stay in the state than "any other person or group of persons," wrote Wilbur R. Brown. He had built the project "up from nothing" and now "thousands of people" were benefiting.[16]

Brown's reference here was to the system of community art centers operated by Wyoming's Federal Art Project. The local galleries had been Lowry's early and primary concern and they remained the dominant element in his program. In his first few weeks as director, he toured the state, talking to school and civic officials about his project. In Cheyenne, Casper, Riverton, Rock Springs, Cody, and Laramie he got tentative commitments for appropriate space and a contribution of $100 to cover incidental gallery expenses. Plans called for each gallery to have a supervisor and clerical help paid for by the project. Art exhibitions would circulate through the system on a regular basis and, in addition, the local centers would offer free instruction in art and art appreciation.

In the fall of 1936, Lowry completed the necessary groundwork for his project, scheduling exhibits out of FAP headquarters in Washington, arranging a half-dozen shows by Wyoming artists, and setting up the Laramie gallery. The entire operation budgeted approximately $1700 per month in federal funds and Washington officials were more than satisfied with the new direction taken by Wyoming's project.[17]

The Laramie Art Center was Lowry's showpiece. The project rented a garage building at 415 Garfield near the downtown area and with WPA labor, paint, and a good deal of imagination, transformed it into an attractive and serviceable art center. It opened with appropriate fanfare on December 20, 1936; on exhibition was a collection of oils from the Denver Art Museum and a larger collection of WPA art works out of Washington. The nature of the show was distinctly "middle of the road" at Lowry's request. "We can't afford to shock our public on initial showing," he wrote, when making arrangements for the WPA exhibit. "Nothing drastically modern and by all means, exclude any nudes." The opening attracted over 200 people, including the FAP regional supervisor from Denver who spoke briefly on the occasion. A publicity flyer listed the various clubs, university organizations and private citizens that had contributed to the project, and termed the center a six-month experiment, the future of which rested in the hands of the community.[18]

The Laramie gallery remained the nerve center of the art project, though it changed location in the fall of 1937. Somewhat to Lowry's dismay, the community failed to raise funds necessary to keep the Garfield Street center open beyond the first of September. The University came to the rescue, and in November the gallery was reopened in the second floor lobby of the Arts and Science Building. Here it featured student and faculty art shows along with the traveling exhibits, becoming somewhat an adjunct to the University's Art Department.[19] This was not entirely inappropriate, for the University provided Lowry's office facilities, storage space for the project, and technical advice to the community galleries. When "Federal One" ended in August 1939, the University was designated as the official sponsor for the art project, still operating on WPA funds, but now administratively part of the state WPA organization rather than the FAP in Washington.

The extension galleries demanded most of Lowry's time on the project. There were the problems of getting local directors, finding proper space, getting community organizations to underwrite the modest (usually about $100 per year) housekeeping expenses necessary, and then arranging the exhibit schedules. In 1936 and 1937 the project operated extension galleries in four communities: Riverton, Rock Springs, Casper, and Cheyenne. Lowry's hopes for one in Cody never materialized. By early 1938, Cheyenne and Casper had disappeared from his program, replaced by Torrington. In 1938-1939, the project included local galleries in seven towns besides Laramie, and Casper had returned to the list. With their gallery directors, most of whom were themselves artists, these were Newcastle, (Mrs. Mary E. Wrede); Riverton, (Mrs. Charles Ervin); Sheridan, (Mr. Orman Pratt); Lander, (Mrs. Christine Eilman); Casper, (Mrs. Stella Stanton); Rock Springs, (Mr. Elgin Meachem); and Torrington, (Mrs. Maud R. Stevens).[20] Most of the galleries were housed in public school buildings but there were exceptions. The Casper gallery was for a time in the American Legion building, then later in the club room of the Natrona County Library. Surveying the galleries in 1941, J. B. Smith, of the University of Wyoming Art Department, noted six located in school buildings, two in public libraries, one in a city hall and one in a post office.[21]

At this time the project reached its highest number of local art centers. The ten were located in Laramie, Torrington, Rock Springs, Newcastle, Sheridan, Casper, Riverton, Lander, Rawlins, and Evanston. In Smith's description of the project, he emphasized its importance as an educational force in the state, upgrading the level of public taste and valuable as a teaching aid in the schools. He barely mentioned the relief origins of the program which, at least in Wyoming, had been eclipsed by educational and cultural concerns.

The extension gallery in Rock Springs was particularly successful. It operated without interruption and established a tradition (as well as an art collection) carried on today by the Rock Springs Fine Arts Center. Elgin "Bud" Meachem, a local artist, supervised the gallery and for a time in 1938-1939 he had the assistance of a young artist from New York, under a WPA interstate loan arrangement.

A handful of letters in the National Archives docu-

ment Vince Campanella's nine-month assignment to the Rock Springs gallery. The young easterner arrived in Wyoming minus his painting gear; it had fallen off the rack of his car *en route* and was lost. The incident proved symbolic as he found very little time for his own creative work in the new job. Instead, he was soon involved in a heavy schedule of teaching art and art appreciation classes at the gallery, working with civic groups, and giving lectures and demonstrations for schools and clubs. He began to see what the FAP slogan, "Art For the Masses," could mean in practice. He found the experience deeply satisfying and he was impressed by the warmth and enthusiasm of the townspeople. Still technically a part of the New York City Art Project, he returned to it with mixed feelings of regret and accomplishment. Rock Springs citizens responded in kind. Campanella's enthusiasm for art and the art center was contagious, wrote the President of the Rock Springs Art Association; the young teacher had "discovered much talent which had hitherto lain dormant. Through his patience and skill in teaching, this talent was given opportunity for expression." Another writer thanked Washington officials for bringing art to "our small city," and commended Campanella's "splendid" work. Through him, she said, the community had become aware of the "possibilities of coloring, literally, otherwise very ordinary lives."[22]

Though we have only fragmentary evidence to go on, apparently the galleries in Wyoming generated substantial popular interest. In a four-month period (late 1937 and 1938), they registered a total of 9511 visitors. At the time, the project included centers in Laramie, Torrington, Riverton, and Rock Springs. Supervisor Lowry, averaging the monthly attendance for each, arrived at figures of 1261, 702, 876, and 633 respectively. In 1940, and with eight galleries operating, the average monthly registration in each was 732. A year earlier, in 1939, Newcastle's gallery supervisor wrote that the project had "almost one hundred percent support" in her community, noting a registration total of some five thousand over a period of about seven months.[23]

The galleries afforded Wyoming artists, whether or not they were on the WPA project, the important opportunity to show their work in a regular and systematic way. Lowry often organized for the gallery circuit, one-man shows featuring the work of local painters, photographers, and handicraft artisans. In 1938 he solicited work from the members of the Wyoming Art Association for a "Wyoming Artists Show" that toured the extension galleries. He saw in the fifty-eight entries (up by twenty-three over the previous year, in a similar competition) clear evidence that in quality and quantity, Wyoming art was making healthy progress.[24]

During its peak years from 1938 to 1942, Wyoming's Art Project employed from twenty-two to twenty-six people, though its work obviously reached a far greater number. In its support, the Federal Government allocated from $1600 to $1700 per month, a figure that was among the very lowest of all the states. The average "man-month" cost on the project was estimated to be about $70.

It is easier to delineate the organizational side of the Wyoming project than to document the art work it produced. Lowry's correspondence and reports centered on the galleries, rarely alluding to the "creative" side of his project. "As I have said so often," he wrote in 1939, "our project work is confined to gallery operations and not production—it takes artists to produce."[25] This was not literally true, and he might have added that Wyoming's project turned artists into gallery supervisors more often than not. But it is true that the project's goal of community involvement minimized the production of professional easel and mural work by project personnel.

Yet the project turned out a respectable amount of creative work. A cumulative report prepared by Lowry in February, 1939, gives some evidence of this.[26] Project personnel had completed the following individual pieces: prints (9); sketches (50); oils (14); murals (8) and water colors (15). "The works produced are on the racks here; some pieces of merit and perhaps acceptable for allocation; others only fair," Lowry commented. The tally covered output under his tenure; allowing for work done in 1935 and 1936 and that done after the February, 1939, report, a fair estimate of the total work done (all media) on the project would be perhaps 150 items. A more precise figure is impossible.

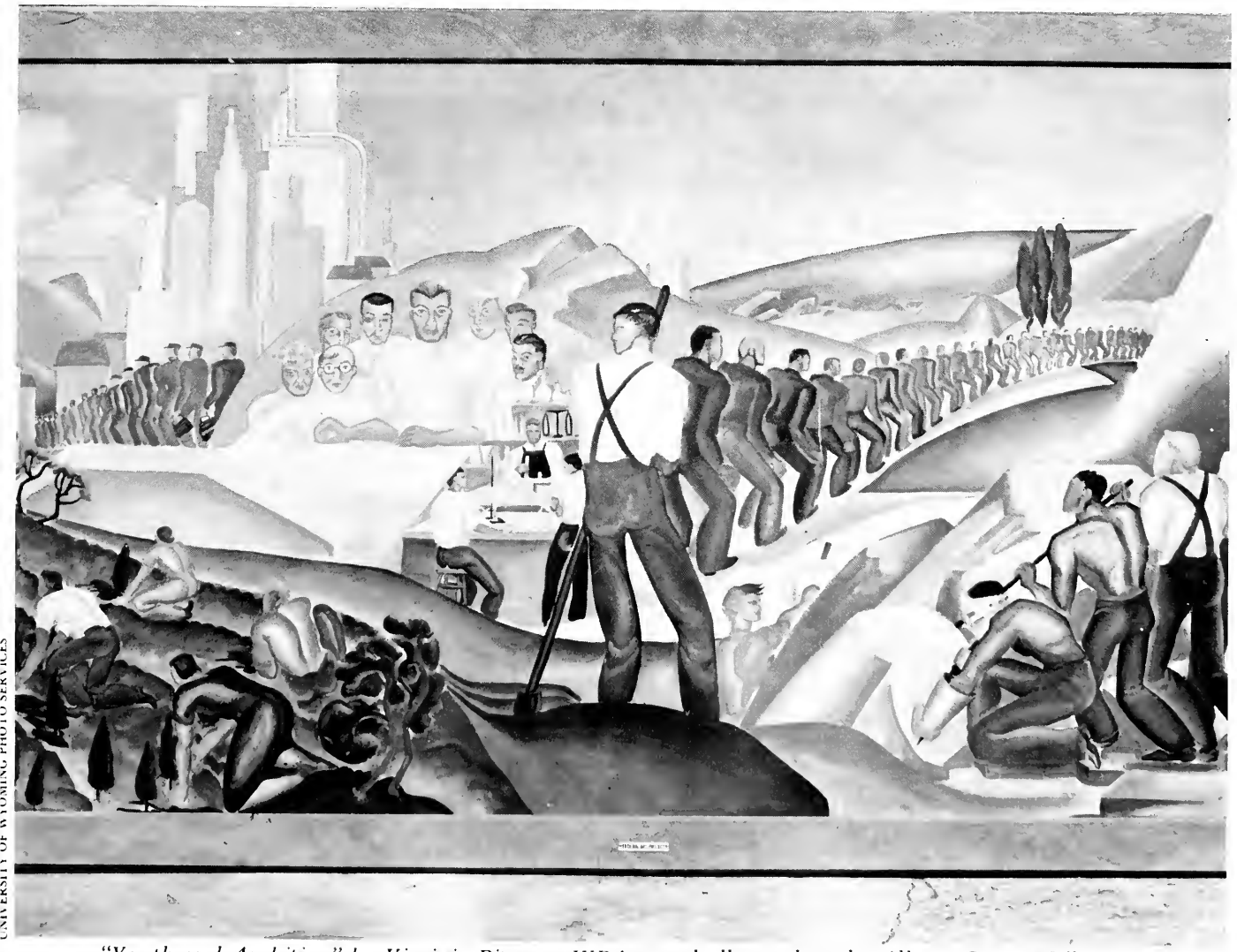
When Lowry spoke of works "acceptable for allocation," he touched on an important part of the Federal Art Project, especially for Wyoming. Art produced by the project artists, who received simply a monthly wage, belonged to the Federal Government, not the artist. But work from the project, or from one of the WPA traveling exhibits, could be "allocated" to a public agency, a school district, a library, a city or county building, for example, on the payment of a fee covering costs of material. Typically, the charge for an oil painting was from ten to twenty dollars; for a water color, perhaps half that; and for a print, between one and two dollars. FAP officials in Washington handled allocation transactions and it is apparent from these records that perhaps as many as two hundred separate pieces of work found permanent home in Wyoming. Some of the items were produced by Lowry's project but most came from the touring WPA art collections. Acquisitions by the University of Wyoming and its Student Union, opened in 1939, accounted for well over half of the allocations. Modestly priced, original, and often technically excellent, these art works were a collective addition of considerable importance to the cultural resources of Wyoming at the time. Some representative examples of this work survive today in the permanent collections of the University Art Museum and of the Rock Springs Fine

Arts Center.

The mural work done under WPA sponsorship in Wyoming presents a somewhat different set of problems. As schools and libraries have been redecorated and replaced through the years, few of these paintings remain to be seen. Nor, apparently, were all these works fixed permanently to the walls of those buildings they decorated. In 1939, Lowry listed eight "murals" done by project artists and allocated to public agencies in Laramie.[27] These paintings he classified as "removable" and none exceeded a size of four feet by eight feet; most were a good deal smaller. The works, their artists and their allocations are: "Prehistoric Animals" by Charles Ulrich (city schools); "Horse and Colt" by Charles Ulrich (University School); "Four Phases of Labor" by Virginia Pitman (city schools); "Youth and Ambition" by Virginia Pitman (county library); "Evolution of Law" by Virginia Pitman (University Law College); "Overland Trail" by Minerva Teichert (University Art Department); and "Winkin', Blinkin', and Nod" by Jean Balenseifer (University School).

Before Lowry came to the project at least a half-dozen murals were done under WPA auspices in Wyoming. Included here were a set of four panels done for the Torrington High School auditorium by Ernest Stevens of Van Tassell, Wyoming; a set of nine large panels decorating the Laramie High School auditorium by Florence Ware; a mural for the University Engineering Building and two mural panels for the County Library in Cody by John Walley; a set of four panels decorating the Rock Springs High School library, done by Minerva Teichert of Cokeville; a set of murals for the Cheyenne High School library, by Robert True; and seven panels done for the Fort Washakie dining room, by Willie Spoonhunter.[28] This listing of this early work is probably incomplete for it is gleaned from miscellaneous correspondence and reports; no formal accounting of individual works done in 1935 and early 1936 apparently survives. Some of the murals noted antedated the Art Project and were done as part of the state's WPA recreation and education projects.

Among the last of the WPA murals done in Wyo-



"Youth and Ambition" by Virginia Pitman, WPA mural allocated to the Albany County Library.

ming, and one that is still in place, is the seven by twenty-eight foot panel on the east wall of the University Student Union in Laramie. It depicts the "western welcome" arranged by students and faculty for incoming University President A. G. Crane in 1922. In a mock hold-up and kidnapping, students in cowboy regalia intercepted Crane's automobile outside Laramie, ushered the dignitary and his family into an old stage coach, and escorted the entourage to the campus. The artist included in his painting full-length portraits of prominent faculty members as well as those of Crane and his family. In the background are various campus buildings added to the campus during Crane's administration. The painting documents in a realistic way both an occasion and an epoch in the school's history and thus spoke directly to its audience. Crane was still chief executive as the mural was unveiled in March, 1940. The artist was Lynn Fausett of Price, Utah. Lowry had worked out the details by which Fausett was temporarily assigned to the Laramie task from the Utah Art Project. The painting was allocated to the University for a cost of about $600.[29]

The use of imported talent for this major assignment might seem an ironic commentary on the Wyoming Art Project. But Lowry never expected "artistic production" to be the strength of his organization and in concentrating on the community galleries, his project served the cause of art in Wyoming remarkably well. As late as June, 1941, the project was circulating a slate of fifteen exhibitions through ten galleries, but within the year it ended. By this time, the federal office of the Art Project was systematically dissolving its traveling shows, the end of the entire venture in national patronage close at hand. In a few states the program survived for another six months, doing war-related projects—the production of posters, training aids, charts, and the like. In mid-1943, what remained of the WPA organization itself was dismantled.

Wyoming's other "Federal One" agency, the writers project, evolved along lines similar to the Art Project. In the fall of 1935, it too was spliced together out of state WPA white-collar work relief efforts. Its first director, Mart Christensen, got the project off to a shaky start. His successor, Agnes Wright Spring, stabilized things and eventually produced results more in keeping with the expectations of Washington administrators. Salary scales and personnel allocations approximated those on the art project. The director drew pay of $175 per month and the average "man-month" cost of the project was about $63. Christensen launched his organization with a staff of ten people, and, by 1939, it employed about twenty-seven workers, most of whom were in their home communities collecting data for the state guide book project. As with the art project, the passage of time brought a de-emphasis of relief objectives and a greater concern for substantitive "professional" results. The writers project, however, never achieved a public visibility comparable to the art galleries, and its final report acknowledged that "little was known of this project by the community in general."[30]

Gordon Hendrickson's essay, "The WPA Writer's Project in Wyoming: History and Collections," *Annals of Wyoming,* Fall, 1977, pp.175-192, provides a detailed account of how the organization worked and what its remaining records in Cheyenne contain. While Hendrickson wrote without the use of material in the National Archives, the Washington sources do not contradict his essential findings. They do, however, fill in some gaps and allow us to see the state effort in a broader context.

For instance, it seems clear that the writers project ran somewhat less smoothly than did the art project, at least in Wyoming. The correspondence between FWP officials in Washington and Cheyenne often carried more than a hint of tension. Perhaps this was inevitable, given the nature of the guide book enterprise. In the first place, Director Alsberg and his staff in Washington visualized the guide book series in a certain way. Yet each of the state volumes had to be written and assembled by local people who themselves had ideas about the book's proper content. Washington hoped for a product that would be creatively literary and analytical; sometimes, and Wyoming is an example, local personnel saw the book as something like an elaborate promotional brochure.[31] Moreover the process that produced guide book copy was slow and cumbersome. Inexperienced field workers gathered notes and raw data and sent this to Cheyenne. There, some three or four editors and writers verified and turned the material into a series of essays, the topics for which were assigned by Washington. Federal directives and project manuals did little to speed up this task. Finally, sections of the guide went forward to Washington for a rigorous editing of both style and content and often the copy came back discouragingly cut up. Not surprisingly, the enterprise absorbed virtually all the energy of the Wyoming project.

Nor was the guide the only item on the agenda. During the first eighteen months of its life, the Wyoming project included two collateral efforts that were historical in nature. One of these, the Statewide Historical Project, involved the collection, transcription, and indexing of manuscripts for the State Library. This work disappeared from the writers project in 1937, when federal officials ruled that it was part of the usual function of the library and therefore could not qualify for federal subsidy.[32] The second was the Historical Records Survey, part of the writers project in Wyoming for about a year in late 1935 and 1936. The HRS had a federal director of its own and its mission was to inventory and index state and local public records. Connected to the writers project as an administrative expedient, it shortly had its own organization in Cheyenne. The HRS and its

accomplishments are detailed in James Hanson's essay, "The Historical Records Survey in Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming,* Spring, 1973, pp. 69-91.

A strong historical orientation marked the writers project in Wyoming. In other states, with a greater density of creative literary talent, it produced considerable poetry, fiction, and cultural commentary. Some fragments of this sort of work turn up in the files of the Wyoming project, but not much, and none were published at the time.[33] Mostly the Cheyenne staff worked as historian-journalists, writing and editing for the guide book. The material that came to them from field workers was uneven at best; however diligent and well-meaning, these people were not usually trained researchers and writers. Still, as Hendrickson points out in his article, their interviews with early settlers, biographical sketches, anecdotes, and vignettes, are an important legacy of the project. Organized and indexed, this is now part of the WPA collection in the State Archives, Museums and Historical Department in Cheyenne.

Transmuting the raw material into acceptable guide book copy was no small task. As published, the volume ran to almost five hundred pages. Following a prescribed format, it included a group of topical essays on the state and its history, a section on "cities," and finally a state tour guide including distances, landmarks and points of interest. In the Wyoming volume, some topical essays were "farmed out"; for example, the specialized sections on flora, fauna, and geology were done by Wyoming University Professors Aven Nelson, John Scott and S. H. Knight who assumed the chores without compensation.[34] Most of the writing however fell to the director and a small staff, working in an office in the State Capitol Building.

Although he had some experience in journalism as publisher of the *Snake River Herald* in Carbon County, Director Mart Christensen's skills were mostly administrative and political. Earlier he had been registrar for the Federal Land Office in Cheyenne and in 1938 he left the writers project to run successfully as the Republican candidate for state treasurer. During his directorship of the project, very little guide book copy got the needed stamp of approval from Washington, and at one point Christensen suggested a novel alternative. Might not the guide book, he asked, be simply turned over to a private party in Cheyenne who would prepare the copy and publish the volume as a private venture? Director Alsberg firmly set aside the idea, pointing out the national dimensions of the guide series and the need for a rigorous quality control in its publication.[35]

FWP officials in Washington were not happy with Christensen's efforts and he was fired from the project in 1938.[36] If his commitment to the New Deal organization was something less than total, Christensen had considerable company in Cheyenne and not just among his fellow Republicans. But his appointment tends to bear out Professor Larson's view that political patronage was not a major factor in the administration of Wyoming's relief programs.[37]

Agnes Wright Spring assumed Christensen's job in April, 1938. She had been with the project as an editor since March, 1936. An experienced writer and journalist, Mrs. Spring gave work on the guide book a new start, and she remained in the directorship until the project closed in 1942. While she, too, had some problems getting copy approved, they were minor and Wyoming's state guide went to press in late 1940. With this job complete, Mrs. Spring's organization assembled a "History of Grazing in Wyoming," a study that remained in manuscript form. Finally, the project did a history of the Wyoming National Guard, essentially a pictorial review that was published under the auspices of the Guard in 1940.

The federal-state tensions that marked the project came into sharpest focus with the guide book task. By March, 1936, Christensen's staff of some seven secretaries, typists, writers and editors in Cheyenne was sending sections of the Wyoming volume forward to Washington. Comment from the federal end was prompt, good-tempered, candid, and detailed. Wyoming's material, it seems, was poorly organized, loosely written, inadequately documented, and too often bogged down in antiquarian lore. From Cheyenne, Directors Christensen, and, later, Wright explained, defended, and revised. Often a note of frustration entered the dialog. The term "dude," wrote Christensen in one exchange, might be considered slang among Washington's editors, but in Wyoming its meaning was precisely understood. In fact, he added, the state had a good many terms in common usage that "vary far from the concepts of learned eastern critics."[38]

In another letter, Christensen protested copy changes made in Washington. At issue was the famed Teapot Dome oil lease scandal, an episode that Christensen had passed over briefly in his essay on industry and labor. The manuscript noted, accurately enough, that the questionable leases had been returned to the federal government by court order. The editor in Washington added a paragraph of further detail and explanation, naming the principals in the case and telling what happened to them. To Christensen, this seemed out of order, a gratuitous addition that did little to enhance the state's image. He fired a parting shot, suggesting that progress on the guide could be materially speeded up were the essays "not torn up so much in Washington, so to speak."[39] Washington had the last word; the added paragraph remained in the copy and appears at the bottom of page 94 of the published guide!

Similar frustrations tried the patience of Mrs. Spring. After a two-page letter of editorial criticism from one of Washington's readers, she wrote the Federal

Director protesting the "caustic" commentary and suggesting that perhaps another reader should be found.[40] The storm blew over and in her preface to the guide Mrs. Spring graciously acknowledged the assistance given by that particular consultant, John Stahlberg of the Montana Writers Project.

When Wyoming's Guide appeared in print in early 1941, Director Spring, her chief editorial aides in Cheyenne, Dee Linford and Richard Rossiter, and several dozen field workers could congratulate themselves on a difficult job carried through to a successful conclusion. Few states had so small an organization as Wyoming, and a good many had far more difficulty in getting their guide volumes into print. In some instances the book became an item of political controversy, and in others, procrastination and internal bickering were major factors. The copy problems that plagued the Wyoming effort were inherent in the guide book project and accompanied the preparation of virtually every volume in the series.[41] In late 1941, when the final state guide appeared (Oklahoma's), the Writer's Project itself was in the process of dissolution; in Wyoming, the records of Mrs. Spring's organization went into storage, January 8, 1942.

The New Deal programs which subsidized art and artists in depression America can be and often are described in national terms. Guided at the top by administrators strongly committed to a democratization of the arts, the patronage efforts fostered a cultural movement of sorts. In spirit, scope, and intent the programs were certainly something new in American history and they made substantial and lasting contributions to the artistic heritage of the country.

The federal nature of these programs virtually assured enormous variation in their operations. The fact of this diversity should not be overlooked, for it modifies in some respects the national synthesis just suggested. Contingency factors shaped the patronage efforts at the state level. These included such variables as local patterns of unemployment, the density and nature of available cultural resources, and the internal dynamics of state and local organizations.

This essay has noted the absence in Wyoming of both the Federal Music Project and the Federal Theater Project and has suggested why such was the case. The scope of Wyoming's art project and writers project was frankly limited, a necessary modification given local resources and personnel. The art project concentrated on its galleries and the writers project on its guide book. Rarely did project personnel identify themselves as part of a massive, nationwide cultural enterprise. They recognized the source of their funding, of course, and this implied some ties with Washington, but the connection was remote in every sense of the word.[42]

The relief aspect of the federal programs was less important in Wyoming than in more densely populated areas. The two Wyoming adjuncts of "Federal One" absorbed but a tiny fraction of the state's unemployed and very few were "professionals" as the term was understood by FAP officials in Washington. With federal dispensation, Lowry's gallery network and the writers project in Cheyenne relied substantially on non-relief personnel. Partly for this reason and partly because of Lowry's direction, the art project evolved into a quasi-educational enterprise, generally identified with the University and with the public schools in which the galleries were most often located.

The federal patronage programs in Wyoming resulted in little work that would be termed *avant-garde* or creatively experimental. The issue of political and artistic radicalism, unsettling to many national critics of "Federal One," apparently was never a factor in Wyoming. There is no reason that it should have been. The writers project worked in anonymity on the state guide. On Lowry's project, the painting was conventional, competent in a technical sense, and readily accessible aesthetically to its viewers. Murals commissioned in the state by the Treasury Department's Section of Painting and Sculpture can be similarly characterized. The artists chose local themes—the west, its people and their pursuits—and depicted them in realistic or semi-realistic modes well within the community's definition of proper "art." But if the federally-sponsored art in Wyoming made no severe demands on its audience, it still served an important end. Lowry made the point many times; the chance to see representative work in the original seems indispensable if the public is to be led toward a greater understanding of what art is all about.

For many Wyoming residents, the murals, the art galleries, and the traveling exhibits introduced that chance. As an educational institution, the art project dealt in matters which hitherto had gone at considerable discount in the state. Lowry was right—the Federal Art Project brought a new dimension to the cultural life of the "Cowboy State" and its citizens were the richer for it. The local gallery was something tangible in itself, a badge of cultural awareness perhaps, that meant a good deal to the community. And the gallery network doubtless gave a boost to local artists by putting their work on systematic public display.

The success of his galleries suggests, however, that Lowry stretched a point when he implied that his project was launched in a cultural vacuum. There was at least the Wyoming Art Association, with some thirty or forty members scattered throughout the state during the 1930s. We have no way of knowing how many of these people were "certifiably unemployed" (probably very few), but here was a collective resource that surely enhanced the project from the start.[43]

The writers project had no comparable impact on the cultural life of the state. Unlike Lowry's enterprise, it maintained a "low profile," doing its work on the

guide book without much fanfare, but successfully, none the less. The Wyoming Guide turned out to be a representative volume in the series, with both the virtues and defects of its genre. It is essentially descriptive rather than analytical, a virtual catalog of places and people, narrated in straightforward fashion with more than a touch of local pride. Thanks to the indefatigable Mrs. Spring, the tour section of the book was meticulously done and it has stood well the test of time. If the topical essays do not read so well today, this is partly because our expectations have changed; we are interested in the "why" as well as the "what" and "when," and we look for themes, interrelationships, and developmental features.[44] Not unlike the paintings done by the WPA in Wyoming, the Guide assumes now the significance of an artifact, picturing, as it were, the "Cowboy State" in an earlier, less complex time. In it one sees what the project writers thought to be significant and how they viewed their land and heritage.[45]

A fitting epitaph to the Writers Project exists in the National Archives, written by a member of the Utah project. Her organization was twice the size of Wyoming's but her comment applies no less to the work done by Directors Christensen and Spring and their people. "In common with all the other Writer's Projects," she wrote, "we did the nation an incomparable service by finishing our American Guide Series just before the outbreak of the war. The war must change the face of this land very greatly; the American Guide Series drew a complete portrait of America at a moment of perpetual historical significance." History and the nation, she continued, must owe always a debt of gratitude to the WPA that this was done.[46]

1. "A Review of the Federal Art Galleries in Wyoming," typescript in the National Archives, Record Group 69, file 651.315 (hereafter cited as 69/651.315).
2. For example, see William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and The Arts* (Columbus, Ohio, 1969); Richard D. McKinzie, *The New Deal for Artists* (Princeton, N.J., 1973); Francis V. O'Connor (ed.), *The New Deal Art Projects* (Washington, D.C., 1972); Monty Penkower, *The Federal Writers' Project: A Study in Government Patronage of the Arts* (Champaign-Urbana, Ill., 1977); and Jerre Mangione, *The Dream and The Deal: The Federal Writer's Project,* 1935-1943 (Boston, 1972). These volumes provided essential background material for this essay.
3. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln, Neb., 1965), p.443. See also Professor Larson's essay, "The New Deal in Wyoming," *Pacific Historical Review,* August, 1969, pp.249-273.
4. She commonly used a different entreé, representing herself as a writer for the *Wyoming Stockman Farmer,* to which she had indeed contributed in the past. Agnes Wright Spring's recollection appears in Mangione, *The Dream and The Deal,* p.117.
5. Jane De Hart Mathews, "Arts and the People: The New Deal Quest for a Cultural Democracy." *Journal of American History,* September, 1975, pp.316-339.
6. These three programs—the PWAP, TRAP, and the Section of Painting and Sculpture—and their work in Wyoming is discussed in H. R. Dieterich and Jacqueline Petravage, "New Deal Art in Wyoming: Some Case Studies," *Annals of Wyoming,* Spring, 1973, pp.53-67.
7. For illustrations of this work and detail on the commission, see Dieterich and Petravage.
8. The examples are documented by letters from the artist, John Walley, and the piano teacher, Alice Wertz, in 69/651.315 and 69/651.311. The music instruction out of Cheyenne is mentioned in the December, 1939, report of Wyoming's WPA Education/Recreation Project, 69/651.314.
9. The comment came in a regional meeting of relief administrators in April, 1935; it is quoted in McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and The Arts,* p.96.
10. Edward Requa to Music Project, November 3, 1938, 69/651.311. This rendition of the letter is precise, even to Mr. Requa's syntactical and spelling innovations.
11. Bruno Ussher to Dorothy Cline, August 21, 1936, 69/651.311. Ussher was an assistant director in the Federal Music Project; Cline, a field supervisor for the Recreation Department within the WPA.
12. For the quota dispensation, see correspondence between State WPA Administrator Will Metz and Washington officials in January, February, 1936, 69/651.315. On the all-inclusive project, the relevant correspondence was between Ernest P. Marschall in Cheyenne and FAP head Holger Cahill in December and January, 1935-56, 69/651.315. Marschall's title in the state WPA organization was "Educational Consultant."
13. For this early phase of the project, see correspondence, Marschall to Cahill, October 29, December 11, 1935; F. M. Strong to Bruce McClure, December 16, 1935; and Will Metz to Jacob Baker, May 29, 1936, 69/651.3.
14. Cahill to Donald Bear, June 23, 1936; June 25, 1936; Bear to Cahill, June 26, 1936; June 30, 1936, 69/651.315. Donald Bear was Director of the Denver Art Museum and also a Regional Supervisor for the FAP.
15. Lowry had chaired the University's art department since 1934. To say that he kept Washington officials informed on Wyoming's Art Project, once he became its director, is an understatement; he barraged them with letters, requests, explanations, and enthusiastic accounts of his activity on the project. His correspondence dominates the Wyoming Art Project record in the National Archives.
16. Brown to Thomas C. Parker, September 5, 1939, 69/651.315. Parker was Assistant Director on the FAP. Brown, a native of Buffalo, Wyoming, and a self-taught artist, had been Lowry's assistant on the Wyoming Project. With Brown, the directorship became full time and carried a salary of $1800 per year.
17. In a number of letters to Washington, Lowry described his efforts to launch a gallery system. See especially, Lowry to Cahill, October 10; Lowry to Parker, November 12, November 28, December 4, December 19, and December 29, 1936, 69/651.315.
18. Lowry's cautionary directions on the opening exhibit were to Washington officials Thomas Parker, October 27, and to Edward Crofut, November 23, 1936, 69/315. The Laramie *Republican-Boomerang* covered the gallery opening in a front page story, December 20, and in a sympathetic editorial marking the cultural event, December 21. The mimeographed flyer listing works in the opening show, local sponsors, and plans for the gallery is in 69/315.
19. Lowry to D. S. Defenbacher, October 6 and October 16, 1937, 69/651.315. Defenbacher was a regional director for the FAP, working out of Washington. The campus newspaper, *The Branding Iron,* covered the new gallery on a regular basis; see for example, its issues for November 11, December 2, "Eight Hundred Visit Federal Art Gallery During First Week, Lowry Reveals," and December 9, 1937.

20. Lowry, report to Washington office of FAP, March 1938, headed "A Review of the Federal Art Galleries in Wyoming"; Wilbur Brown to Thomas C. Parker, September 5, 1939, 69/651.315. Brown had just taken over the project and his letter lists the gallery directors.
21. J. B. Smith, "Art Galleries: Wyoming's Small-Town Educational Enterprise," *The Clearing House,* February, 1942, 351-353.
22. For his experiences in Rock Springs, see Campanella's letter to D. S. Defenbacher, February 27, 1939, and to Thomas C. Parker, October 26, 1939; citizen response quoted here came from letters, Charles Bohn to Holger Cahill, September 15, 1939, and Mrs. J. J. Gosar to Thomas Parker, January 21, 1939. This material is in 69/651.3151, Campanella folder.
23. Lowry's figures are in his "Review of the Federal Art Galleries in Wyoming," March 1938, 69/651.315 and the 1940 figure is from J. B. Smith's article on the galleries (note 21). The Newcastle information is in Mary Wrede's letter to Democratic Party Chairman, James A. Farley, May 29, 1939, a copy of which is in 69/651.315. Mrs. Wrede urged the Democrats to make the art project a "permanent organization."
24. *The Branding Iron,* March 3, 1938.
25. Lowry to Thomas C. Parker, April 21, 1939, 69/651.315.
26. Typescript report by Lowry, "issued 2/15/39," in 69/651.315. From the data in Lowry's report Professor James Forrest has been able to more accurately catalog some of the items now a part of the University of Wyoming Art Collection.
27. *Ibid.*
28. The murals of Stevens and Teichert are noted in a narrative report of WPA activity in Wyoming during the first six months of 1937, prepared by E. E. Dagley who was Lowry's predecessor on the Art Project; from the report, it is clear that the Stevens and Teichert paintings were completed in 1936. The report is in 69/Division of Information Series, Box 299. On Stevens as an artist and the Torrington murals, see Larry L. Armstrong, "Ernest Elmer Stevens," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wyoming Art Department, 1970. Walley's university mural is mentioned in a typescript "Wyoming Art," prepared by the Writers Project in Cheyenne, WPA Collection, Part II, file 1166, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department (WSAMHD). The work in Cody, done in August, 1935, Walley mentioned in a letter to the Director of the FAP in Washington, August 5, 1935, 69/651.315. Robert True's work is noted in a Laramie *Boomerang* story, January 17, 1937, as True was named by Lowry to be supervisor for the Garfield Street gallery. True was a nephew of Allen True, a Denver artist known for his paintings in the State Capitol Building in Cheyenne. Florence Ware's work is mentioned in an essay on Wyoming art in the Writers Project Collection in the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, (Part II, file 1552). The single mention of the Spoonhunter painting is in a letter, Ernest Marschall to Holger Cahill, May 13, 1936, 69/651.351. It is likely that other murals were done by WPA personnel in Wyoming in 1936 and 1937; Walter Jones of Evanston has called my attention to one such possibility, a mural in the Uinta County Library that dates from 1936, quite likely done by a local painter as part of a WPA Recreation/Education project.
29. The correspondence concerning Fausett's mural is in 69/651.3151. See also front page story in Laramie *Boomerang,* March 3, 1940.
30. "Final State Report, Wyoming Writer's Project," (three page typescript, no date), 69/651.3117. On the early organization of the project, see letters, Christensen to Alsberg, November 8, 1935 and Maurice Howe to Alsberg, March 19, 1956, 69/651.3172. Howe was State Director of the Utah Project but he served also as a field trouble-shooter for the national office; visiting Cheyenne in the spring of 1936, he noted that the project was still operating without filing cabinets, a situation to be shortly remedied, he was assured. Mrs. Spring, in a report to Washington July 13, 1939, noted that her staff numbered twenty-seven. (69/651.3172).
31. Director Christensen wrote at the beginning of the project that the guide would "tell the rest of the United States what we have in Wyoming and where to find it." Christensen to Wyoming State Librarian Alice Lyman, November 25, 1935. The letter is in the WPA Collection, III, file 51, WSAMHD.
32. Hendrickson, P.181.
33. A sample of this, Mrs. Cecil Howrey's poem, "In Wyoming," was published in *Annals of Wyoming,* Spring, 1977, p.52.
34. See letters, Alsberg to Christensen, March 13, 1936, and George Cronyn to Christensen, June 15, 1937, 69/651.3172. Cronyn was an associate director on the FWP. The "farmed out" essays were approved in 1937.
35. Christensen to Alsberg, Mar. 3, 1937; Alsberg to Christensen, May 7, 1937, 69/651.3172. On early work that was rejected by Washington, see also Hendrickson, p.180.
36. Mangione, *The Dream and The Deal,* p.77.
37. Larson, "The New Deal In Wyoming," p.263. In this article, cited in note 3, Professor Larson points out that most Republicans and many Democrats in Wyoming were by 1938 voting along anti-New Deal lines.
38. Christensen to Cronyn, October 4, 1937, 69/651.3172. For criticisms of Wyoming's copy, see for example, Cronyn to Christensen, February 1, 1936; March 9, 1937; Irving Lubin to Cronyn, July 11, 1936, 69/651.3172. Lubin was a consultant/reader for the FWP; his memo includes a tough four-page critique of Wyoming's manuscript materials.
39. Christensen to Alsberg, February 26, 1938, 69/651.3172.
40. Spring to Alsberg, May 3, 1939, 69/651.3172.
41. Mangione, details in chapters 9 and 10 some of the many guide book problems.
42. On occasion, Washington's triumphs were shared, however, as when a laudatory cover story on the FAP in *Time,* September 5, 1938, included a photograph of Laramie's gallery. Lowry assessed state reaction to the article as "very favorable," and with the self-assurance that marked most of his observations, he continued; "Modestly speaking, the state is very proud of the Federal Art Project." Lowry to Donald Bear, September 15, 1938, 69/651.315.
43. A Wyoming artists association had existed since 1931. Brief notes on the organization and its membership were compiled by the writers project. See WPA Collection, II, files 1182, 1552, WSAMHD.
44. The state history series published as part of the Bicentennial celebration of the 1970s is an interesting analog to the WPA guides. It too was underwritten by federal money and followed a prescribed format. The Bicentennial volumes are, however, more compact and reflect a greater concern for internal coherence and interpretative analysis. They were done under the supervision of a professional organization (the American Association for State and Local History), which group assigned each book to an author of established reputation. Wyoming's volume is the work of historian T. A. Larson.
45. Too long out of print, the Wyoming Guide will again be generally available to the public when it is reissued by the University of Nebraska Press in 1981. The new edition will include an introductory essay by Professor T. A. Larson and thus links, in some sense, the Bicentennial History with the New Deal work.
46. Grace Winkleman, "Final Report, Utah Writers Project," January, 1943. The document is the Utah folder, 69/651.3117.

WSHS 31st Annual Trek

By Ray Pendergraft

July 19, 1980

One hundred and sixty members and guests of the Wyoming State Historical Society left Worland in buses on Sunday morning, July 19, on the thirty-first annual historical trek sponsored by the Society. Ray Pendergraft, Washakie County Chapter president and past president of the WSHS, was chairman for the trek, assisted by Bill Bragg of Casper, the Society's first vice president.

Pendergraft had prepared the narrative for the trek, read in the buses and at selected stops along the 140-mile route. Following is a slightly edited account of the trek.

Leaving Worland the group crossed the lower and upper Hanover canals, which played a vital part in the development of this part of the Big Horn Basin. It began about 1903 on the west bank of the Big Horn River with a surveyor's camp conveniently located near Dad Worland's overnight stopping place, a dugout with a wooden front, built into a bank just back from the union of Fifteen Mile Creek with the Big Horn River.

The founders of Worland were substantial businessmen, bankers and professional men who got along well with the few native citizens so that they all worked in harmony to develop a sound business community. The area had other settlements which did not make it. Back in 1906, when the C.B. & Q. Railroad came up the valley from the north, it planned to establish towns every few miles along the way. Some eight miles south of Manderson they laid out—on paper—a town to be called Rairden, after Dr. Rairden, one of its settlers, and a scant few miles still farther south, still another, Durkee. Post offices and a public building or two were optimistically erected. Manderson, a thriving community in those days, was supported by a coal mine, stock shipping, two hotels, a restaurant, a saloon and stores.

Manderson is situated on the east side of the Big Horn River at its union with the Nowood. Many settlements were established at the joining of two streams. Several miles east of Manderson was Bonanza, where the Nowood and the Paint Rock join. Still farther east is Hyattville, at the junction of Paint Rock and Medicine Lodge. (Worland was originally established where Fifteen Mile Creek ran into the Big Horn.) Old Thermopolis stood where Kirby Creek and the Big Horn met; Ten Sleep, where the Nowood and Ten Sleep joined; Greybull, at the meeting of the Greybull River and the Big Horn; Neiber, at the Gooseberry and the Big Horn; Chatham, at Cottonwood and the Big Horn.

Southeast of Manderson was an embryo settlement called Jordan, and its principal reason for being was its flour mill. In its day, it was quite an enterprise. Water was piped from the Nowood to a hill top, then run down the hill to provide the power to operate the mill. Most of the flour in the area came from the Jordan mill. The wheat was largely soft wheat, but it did grind into flour and was satisfactory for the making of bread.

The German colony, established around 1888 on the east river bottom a few miles south of Manderson, provided considerable business for the Jordan flour mill. The late Johnny Bihr, son of one of the founders of the group which had migrated all the way from Germany, told of hauling a wagon load of wheat to the Jordan mill and waiting for it to be ground. If one didn't want to wait, he could take flour ground from some other farmer's wheat at the rate of three hundred pounds for every ton of wheat he supplied.

Following the usual pattern, they entered the Big Horn Basin over Cottonwood Pass in covered wagons. The Bihr family, the Boshes, the Wostenburgs, the Vosses, the Maiers and others followed the dirt road to Manderson. They needed some 1500 acres of unclaimed and tillable land with sufficient water to irrigate it. There was a lot of such land south of Manderson and a few miles up the Big Horn River they found some rich bottom land. They settled where the Big Horn provided a plentiful source of water. There were few people living up the river from there. Dan Winslow homesteaded a few miles up from the mouth of Nowater creek in 1889, B. J. Neiber in 1892 at the mouth of Gooseberry, and some folks named Winchester way up on Cottonwood. It seemed nearly everyone wanted to migrate downstream and very few upstream. The German colony settled on the bottom land they found and dug a ditch entirely by hand which they named the Fritz Ditch. They took up 1500 acres among them.

Slick Creek Drainage

The greasy, gumbo soil gives Slick Creek an appropriate name, but that isn't why it was so named. It got its name from a rather smooth individual, Slick Nard, who had attempted to rob a traveling sheep-

shearer of $700 in gold and currency at the draw north of Worland now known as Slick Creek. Nard shot at the man and the bullet went through his arm. He whipped up his team, turned around and, bouncing about in the buckboard, outran Nard back to Thermopolis.

Sand Creek divide separates the waters that drain the badlands between Worland and Ten Sleep. All the runoff on the east of this divide finds its way into the Nowood drainage; all that comes down on the west side goes into the Big Horn. The oil tanks and other structures scattered along this area mark the famous Hidden Dome oil field which has been producing hydrocarbons in one form or another since 1917. The Bonanza oil seep alerted people in the area to the possibilities of important oil deposits in the Basin. As early as 1912 there was some drilling east of Worland, but with no results. In 1914, the Grass Creek oil fields and Little Buffalo Basin were being drilled with some success. Drilling was being done in Elk Basin and other areas around Basin, and there was a lot of excitement about it. What is now known as Hidden Dome received no attention because the dome the oil men were always looking for was just what its name says, "hidden." Still there were other indications which knowledgeable oil men found and in the fall of 1917 drilling was started by Ohio Oil. Gas was found.

As usual big plans were immediately made to build a town there. C. C. Worland, son of Dad Worland, Abe Kent, the sheriff, banker Herman Gates, Joe Cook, oil man and hotel operator, and other local citizens got right into it. Ohio Oil was, of course, in it too.

But another almost automatic event occurred—a squabble over rights and land areas. Ohio Oil was again in the middle of it. Suits were filed—*Donnell v. Tallon,* another Worland group v. the Ohio. The field by this time was swarming with locators. In May, 1937, the long litigation over rights was settled out of court.

There was oil activity elsewhere, too. Dr. Frederick Cook, noted North Pole explorer, began drilling around Neiber where a very large and perfect dome existed. A lot of fast road building was done into the area. Dr. Cook obtained a lease from W. C. Holtz, earlier a Worland town marshall. Now the government stepped in and withdrew all land in the Neiber Dome other than land already filed on. In the fall of 1919 four million cubic feet of gas was struck at Hidden Dome.

With all this gas a scant few miles from Worland it seemed it wouldn't be too long before the community was enjoying all the benefits of gas heating and cooking. But it was not until 1927 that natural gas was turned into the city gas mains of Worland. About this time the *Worland Grit* ran an editorial stating, "Washakie County is unfortunate in not having discovered oil; it is here, and only needs a deep test hole to find it." Press Anderson of Basin and Herbert Wise of Worland were drilling shallow wells at the Bud Kimball dome a few miles farther east and south.

In 1932 drilling at Hidden Dome began again. Oil was struck at a depth of 1430 feet. It was a very high quality oil. Several of the workers put it directly into their gas tanks and drove back to Worland with it.

A few days later a gusher was hit at Hidden Dome, with oil spurting a hundred feet into the air. The first well was now flowing 1200 barrels a day. The oil fever became more intense than ever and a cracking plant to remove the gas from the oil was hastily constructed in Worland by Alton "Skeeter" Denton, son of W. A. Denton, Worland merchant.

Now a number of new oil companies began moving rigs into the area and a burst of drilling took place. Yale Oil bought out the Wyoming Oil Refinery (Skeeter Denton's company), enlarged the refinery to turn out five hundred barrels of gasoline a day, and built a pipeline from Hidden Dome to Worland.

To make up for its long delayed development, Hidden Dome was now pronounced the most active field in the Rocky Mountain region. Fifteen more wells were drilled, and another gusher blew in. Hidden Dome has continued to be an active producer as the years pass.

Highway 16

In the early 1900s there was no direct road connecting Worland and Ten Sleep. Travelers had to go to Bonanza from Ten Sleep, down to Manderson, cross there, come up the Bridger Trail, and cross the river again after Worland had moved to the east side of the river. A road of sorts existed down the east side of the Big Horn River to Manderson, and this came into some use, but unlike the west side which was gravelly, it became impassable when it rained. The Nowood-Ten Sleep area was a most important part of the developing new country.

The citizens of both Worland and Ten Sleep, which by then was a settlement boasting a general store, postoffice, saloon, hotel and a few dwellings, got together and planned a road. Bill George of Worland began a subscription list for expenses of the project and in two hours had obtained $365. By midsummer of 1906 $1000 had been subscribed and the work began. Several business and professional men, Ashby Howell, merchant, C. R. Robertson, mayor of the town, C. H. Worland, its founder, and others started for Ten Sleep on horseback, selecting the easiest route. A group of Ten Sleepers did the same thing, and where they met, the road was decided upon and work was begun.

The Big Horn County commissioners, sitting in Basin, disallowed a county road because there was nothing definite as to description in the petition. Nonetheless the road was built that summer. Charlie

Ford and his stepfather started work from the Ten Sleep side, with two teams and plow and slip and worked toward Worland. The Worland crew worked toward Ten Sleep, and by mid-September a road between the two cities existed. A trial run was made over it, and it was pronounced the best road in the county. Ford and his step-dad, Morton, received $300 for their summer long work on the road.

Road building presented no particular difficulties in the area. There were few rocky sections. The terrain was composed of bentonitic deposits and scaly soil, and it had long slopes and ridges suitable for horse-and-wagon movement. When it rained, travel was almost impossible but an hour or two of sunshine usually remedied this.

The thoroughfare continued to be shortened and otherwise improved in coming years. In 1917 it became known as the Black and Yellow Trail, from the Black Hills to Yellowstone. Tourism was becoming important by then as automobiles became more numerous and more certain. A narrow ribbon of road over the Big Horns was widened down Ten Sleep Canyon and a new industry, the repairing and servicing of motor vehicles, came into being. By 1917 this had become such a part of business life that George B. "Bear George" McClellan, who had been operating the Red Bank Cattle Ranch moved across to Worland then purchased the Ford garage in partnership with a man named M. G. Wild, and there came into being the appropriately named Wild Bear Garage. The purchase was made from the Moore brothers and Frank St. Clair.

It is possible now to drive from Worland to Ten Sleep in thirty minutes and still observe the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit. We're getting way ahead of our story, though.

During the early horse-and-wagon days, when it might take a team pulling a loaded wagon two days to make the trip one way, a well had been drilled roughly halfway between Worland and Ten Sleep, and this became the usual stopping place for an overnight trip. The family of Alti Pendergraft, Washakie County's first sheriff, moved to Worland from Spring Creek, some eight miles south of Ten Sleep, in April of 1910, almost one year to the day after the Spring Creek raid. With their two tarp-covered wagons loaded with their worldly possessions, and the various family members perching wherever they could find a secure and advantageous spot on the wagons, they set out from the house on the Waln ranch where they had dwelt for the past five years, leaving the one solid piece of evidence of their existence there, a barn Pendergraft had built without the benefit of a single nail, the corners mortised and tenoned. This barn is still standing.

They got as far as Ten Sleep that first day, fording the Nowood River at the edge of the town. The store owner, Walter Fiscus, was a kindly man who allowed the family to roll out their beds in the aisles inside his store, a place of business which the younger members of the family had never entered previously. Ray tells about lying awake that night, gazing into the counters displaying stick candy, caramels, and other delicious things just a few inches from his face.

Their first obstacle after leaving Ten Sleep the next morning was the combined Nowood-Ten Sleep creeks, which joined just above the crossing. April is high-water time, and the creek was running bank full. Was the crossing solid, or had it been washed away, as sometimes happened? Otto "Slim" Pendergraft (for whom Pendergraft Peak in the Rockies is named) rode horseback out into the current to make sure the bottom was still there. It was, and the crossing was successfully made, punctuated by yells and shrieks from the younger members of the family when a wheel would bounce over a creek-bed boulder and water would splash inward.

The noon camp was made at Cottonwood Creek, the horses fed and allowed to rest, and the family enjoyed what amounted to a picnic under the cottonwoods, which were larger and more numerous than they are there today. The younger members got their first taste of oranges and bananas, no doubt obtained from Mr. Fiscus that morning.

By evening they were at the well site and the water, well flavored with alkali, was much appreciated. They were visited that evening, on a not too distant ridge, by two or three wolves, who seemed more curious than aggressive.

Much speculation occurred the following day as to whether they would see a train when they pulled into Worland. And as they topped the bench just east of town, a long, drawn-out wail reached their ears from the hazy distance, black smoke puffed up into the air, and they indeed saw a train—the first such awe-inspiring sight the younger children had seen. Since the Pendergraft livery stable which he had just purchased was but one block from the railroad track (not the best arrangement for semi-wild teams and saddle horses) and the home Alti had built during the past winter was right beside it, they got a satisfactorily eye-filling view of the mighty steam engine busily switching freight cars, clanging its bell, and tooting its whistle.

The Blue Bank Road

The Blue Bank Road was named because of numerous blue deposits of bentonite and lignite. It is an old road, used as a cutoff in the early days—still so used, in fact. It did cut off a substantial number of miles from the long trip, and at three or four miles an hour—average walking speed for a horse—this made a lot of difference in what time you reached your destination. Originally this road went down a long hogback to the valley floor of the Honeycombs. It was said that if anyone got

off the trail down in these Honeycombs, he could wander for days trying to find his way out of them.

The old coal mine of U. S. Hubbell is actually down in the Honeycomb area, some couple of miles north. He was a hermit, who chose to live out away from everyone. His place was a ramshackle hut made of unpainted boards and logs. His mine was an opening into a sloping hillside; the coal obtained there was a low grade lignite, which, though it produced much in the way of clinkers and ash and not too much in the way of heat, did burn and provided fuel for the settlers who could drive out in a wagon and load it up. I once drove out there in my Model A Ford—in the early thirties—and found the place deserted except for a coyote chained up to the pump in the yard. The coyote displayed no hospitality whatever, and was the determining factor in my decision that I really wasn't interested in the life and times of a lonely—by choice—old hermit.

In addition to being a hermit, a coal miner and a coyote trapper, Mr. Hubbell had one other contradictory avocation; he was a racing car enthusiast, the owner of a far out racing vehicle. Where he was able to use this vehicle out in the badlands is a question.

There are many coal outcrops in this area, and the coal is much the same—low grade lignite, but burnable. You will note the outcrops as we go along. I once drove a slope for about a hundred feet into a hill along a coal vein for Millard Moses, just north of Highway 16. At the end of that time, the vein not having improved in quality, the work was abandoned.

A lot of road changes have taken place with Highway 16 down the years, but much of it still follows generally the route laid out by the citizens of Worland and Ten Sleep. It was along this route, back in April of 1909, that Joe Allemand and Joe Emge trailed their sheep, having wintered them near Worland. Allemand, whom everyone liked, had been warned privately not to attempt to move his sheep across the badlands along that route. But he explained that this was the only way he could cross to reach his ranch and summer range on Spring Creek. For three nights they moved their sheep across the country; no one slept in his wagon. They bedded down out in the brush, although not really expecting trouble. They made the trip across without incident, however. The trouble came later, when Allemand felt he was home safe.

This odd formation which has been named the Honeycombs covers an area roughly thirty miles long by at least fifteen miles wide, interspersed by small areas of smoother land. There are a number of trails down through it, and in season it is inhabited by fat deer. It is BLM land and prospective plans are to have it designated as wilderness area. It was necessary for us to obtain a permit in order to take our buses off the road here.

There is an absence of human habitation in this stretch of the Blue Bank cut off. Water, drinking and household water mainly, is the problem. After the spring run-off, carried swiftly away by the many washes that vein the entire area, the land is dry. The water, when drilled for and found, is nearly always alkaline.

Now and then one passes a reservoir containing water. They have been built by the BLM over the years since that agency was put in charge of the federal lands, and gradually some of the spots are greening up, a few trees growing, an oasis in this otherwise arid land. When the winter snow is good and the spring rains plentiful, the land provides good grazing for both cattle and sheep in the late spring months. In the winter the salt sage is good nourishment for sheep, being richer in protein than grass, green or cured. So for many years this area has been used for stock grazing in season but had no other use until the oil industry discovered its true treasure.

North Butte

On the right is North Butte which I have always called Lookout Peak. During the days when the land was under control of the Taylor Grazing Act, a fire watch was maintained on its top. A small house stood on its crest until finally a high wind carried it over the east edge where its remains may still be seen scattered about. There is a road of sorts, if it is not washed out, leading up to the top. It was very steep and narrow at its best. From the top there is a breathtaking view of the country in all directions, a vast panorama of jumbled hills, the faint green area along the Big Horn River, and the misty blues of the Rockies far to the west. Mr. Compton, one of the historians accompanying this trek, was a fire guard on North Butte for many years.

The structure to the right is owned by Cliff Brubaker. Both sheep and cattle now use this area in season. The land looks barren and forsaken now. In April and May, it is green with grass, with Indian paint brush showing crimson all over, and the fresh looking pink bitterroot, blooming here and there like flower gardens.

About a mile farther on is a corral, loading chute, owned by Bob Redland, and he uses it to load cattle into trucks when ready to transport them to market or to a feed lot. Here, too, in the little valley under, the gas-powered oil pumper throbs along on top of the hill to the northwest. The spring flowers and grass make this a garden spot in mid-spring.

Buffalo Detention Dam. BLM built this dam to hold the runoff from the long draw to the west. Dutch Mills, whose home ranch is just south of Ten Sleep on the Nowood, has this grazing area. The buildings are his, although much of the interior furnishing have been stolen and the property much vandalized. Here is located the "Half Way" hut that has long been a stopping place for cowboys out in this area. They called it

the "Dug Out." It was a warm structure, dug into the hill and roofed with cedar logs. It was stocked with food, and must have been a welcome place of refuge for many a cold and hungry cowpoke. The brown mound along the north bank of the reservoir can still be seen.

Deadline Draw. Deadline Draw, also known as "Minnick Draw," marked the deadline over which the sheepmen were not supposed to let their sheep move. Several deadlines had been established over the years, but they were all in this general area. The earliest was established in 1898, at a meeting at the Red Bank Cattle Company ranch. A committee was appointed to meet with the sheepmen and divide the range. George B. McClellan, manager of the Red Bank Company, Dave Picard, a cattleman from the Kirby Creek area, Charles Shaw, who had a place on the Big Horn slope, and Joe Emge, then a cattleman, were on the committee.

Noble and Bragg had just purchased 9000 head of sheep from Dave Dickie on Grass Creek. Emile Faure, a young Frenchman who had just come to this country, was to run these sheep and would have a third interest in them. He trailed them from Grass Creek to what would later become Worland, and made the first successful crossing of the Big Horn River with a band of full-wooled sheep. He crossed them on a riffle just a few yards below the present river bridge, swimming them across and losing only 175 head. He then trailed them southeast, up the East Fork of the Nowater Creek—on the safe side of the deadline—past Devil's Slide, and on to their destination on the Nowood.

The division of the range was done and considerable publicity was given to the deadline separating sheep range and cattle range. Some sheep interests seemed to think they hadn't had much to say about the location of this deadline.

A farrow was actually plowed along Deadline Draw, designating the actual boundary. It is not now visible as erosion has covered up virtually all signs of it.

In 1902 the troubles developing between the sheepmen and the cattlemen worsened. To sheepmen the deadline had remained like a sore thumb. They felt it was not a fair division, not only as to the location and boundaries but also because cattle were permitted to run over onto the sheep side while the sheep had to remain on their own side of the boundary. This deadline ran from Buffalo Creek straight up from Greet's place on Nowood. No sheep were to be in the area from Sand Creek to the Buttes on the north side of the deadline. Incidents kept happening. One herder had allegedly gotten drunk in camp, where there should have been no liquor, and was beaten with a pair of hobbles until he was unable to walk. Another sheepman found several of his horses dead from gunshot wounds, and still another found his wagon had mysteriously caught fire and burned.

In 1903, the country was just catching its breath after the Jim Gorman killing over on Brokenback and the nighttime raid on the Basin jail, when the Minnick killing occurred. It took place on Nowater Draw. Maxim, a one-armed man who had homesteaded near Big Trails, some twenty miles south on the Nowood, had, like so many men just starting out in a new area, taken a job to provide himself with a living while proving up on his land. He became a camp tender for Bill Minnick. Somehow Minnick's sheep had strayed across onto the cattle side of the deadline. They were quite a way over, to judge from the relative locations of the deadline and the killing, and it may have happened before. This particular morning about dawn an unidentified rider came up to the Minnick ranch, located safely on the sheepman's side, and looked in through the open door. A man, sitting on the bunk, was bent over putting on his shoes. The man, hearing the hoof beats, looked up, saw the rider and called out, "Come on in and have some breakfast."

The rider, instead, shot him just as he straightened up. The man fell over dead.

"Sorry, wrong man!" yelled the gunman, who had seen the face of the young man as he shot. He turned his horse and sped away. The actual victim, instead of Bill Minnick, was his younger brother, Ben, who had been visiting Bill.

As usual there were several versions of the actual details. The one that seems to bear out the facts is that Maxim, cutting wood near the wagon (a difficult task for a one-armed man, but one he had mastered) was witness to it all and was so scared he headed for his homestead on horseback. Charlie Berger, foreman for Nobel and Bragg, was also a witness to the shooting. It was he who hauled the body into Nowood in the supply wagon. A coffin was built for it there, and Ben Minnick lies buried on a hill behind the schoolhouse that stands near the Nowood Store. His grave is marked—if you can call it marked—by a large stone which erosion must have moved from its original place at the head of the grave, so it sits haphazard on its side near the grave. There are two other graves there.

Sheriff Fenton of Big Horn County arrested Jim McCloud, of the Hole-in-the-Wall gang, in Thermopolis for the shooting. The public was aroused to a point where the sheriff appealed to Wyoming Governor Fenimore Chatterton for protection for his prisoner. Militia from Lander, Douglas, Casper and Buffalo were alerted for active duty. Thirty men of the National Guard's Battery B, some of them from Worland, went out fully armed from Basin, Wyoming, rode horseback all night and reached Thermopolis at daybreak the day following the arrest.

Further trouble was prevented and McCloud was taken to the Basin jail. However, neither he nor anyone else was brought to trial for the killing, as no positive

identification was ever made. Many felt the eyewitnesses were too frightened to talk and that the killer had been hired to do the job.

George Brown, oldest son of Franklin Brown, who had recently homesteaded on the Nowood, and Hal Jensen's father, known far and wide as "Pruney," took a four-horse team and wagon, drove to the place where some 200 of Minnick's sheep had been shot, and skinned them out. George told me that both he and Pruney were very wary. They thought the killer could still be lurking somewhere in the area.

Coutis Shearing Pens. These pens are in a long flat with pens and water pump, visible just south of the blue-layered hills that give Blue Bank its name, and south of the old "Deadline." This is sheep country but cattle graze here too. The public lands allotment system under the BLM takes care of ranging permits.

Just why a sheepman would choose to put up a shearing pen way out here is a good question. I have never been able to answer this to my satisfaction, either. Back in the 1930s George Coutis used to shear his 6000 to 8000 sheep here. He had to haul drinking water and food, and have his wool hauled the long way to Worland after shearing.

On one occasion when my brother Archie and I were among the shearers here, the season had been particularly rainy. The crew had a full season's schedule lined up and were some two weeks behind it. It started to rain again. For two or three days no shearing was done. Sheepshearers will not shear wet sheep—the ammonia from them was said to be very harmful to a shearer bent over a sheep with wet wool and it was also a cordial invitation to early arthritis. Not only that but the wool could not be sacked as it would mildew if packed into a wool bag wet.

It continued to rain. My wife Peggie and Nina, Archie's wife, had consented to do the cooking for the crew. My three-year-old daughter was with us. We ran short of food. It continued to rain.

The food shortage became somewhat critical, and with the muddy roads, it would have to stay that way. Finally, in desperation, it was decided to finish the shearing, wet or dry. There was about half a day's work to do to complete the job.

Steaming and sweating and soaked down the front where we came in contact with the soaked wool and with friction-hot clippers threatening to warp from the moisture, we finished the job about three in the afternoon. The wet wool was piled up to be dried out later. Everybody broke camp, packed wet tents into their vehicles, and started up the muddy road. There were ten vehicles that began the trip to Worland on the Nowater road. When one of them got stuck, everyone would stop, get out and push. When one car became so mired down it was impossible to get it going again, it was abandoned. Of the ten vehicles that started, two pulled into Worland about four a.m., with the entire crew hanging on somewhere. The ladies and the little girl rode in the pickup cab with George Coutis. The back of the pickup was full of shearers.

Black Mountain and Lysite Mountain. To the west is Black Mountain; Lysite Mountain is just southeast of it. At the east foot of Black Mountain is the one-time homestead of Ted and Bonnie Hunter. Bonnie is well known for her early short stories in *McCall's Magazine,* and presently does a daily column in the *Northern Wyoming Daily News.* Ted had been a minister. After they left the homestead, they operated a trading post on the Wind River Indian Reservation northwest of Lander for many years.

Black Mountain was once known as Cookesley's Peak, after the Englishman who settled along the Bridger Trail. He was the second settler in that area. Captain Cookesley was a retired army officer. About 1882 he came to the Big Horn Basin and took up some land on a spot now called "The Chimneys." This is merely a pile of rocks from an old fireplace, which was about all that is left of the original home of Kris Kirby, the first settler on the Bridger, about a mile east of the mouth of the creek which bears his name. "The Chimneys" stand about where the road comes out of a canyon just below the Hayes Ranch. Cookesley was so taken with the country that he went back to England and brought back another man, Captain Brown. Together they ran horses.

These two men never abandoned their English ways. When mealtime arrived, one would act as butler and serve, then the other one would become the butler and serve the first.

In the fierce winter of 1886-1887 Brown was at the ranch and ran out of food. The nearest settlement was Lander, but there was too much snow to reach it. Brown sent his hired man to Hyatt's ranch at a little settlement some thirty miles north known as Hyattville. The hired man failed to return, so finally Brown, wearing an ordinary pair of riding boots on his feet, started walking down Kirby Creek. Nightfall overtook him and he was unable to build a fire. He kept walking and about ten the next morning he reached Virgil Rice's place, with both feet frozen. He had both legs amputated in an effort to save his life but he did not recover.

Although the Bridger Trail was becoming the main freighting road into the Big Horn Basin area, prospective settlers never took to it as they did the branch that took them down the Nowood. This is easy to understand. The green at the foot of the mountain as they headed north beckoned the prospective homeseeker. The Bridger Trail, turning westerly, went through some very rough and inhospitable looking country. Travel-weary feet must have been aching to find a spot where

they could halt their long days of plodding and turn to home building. The greenery along the Nowood valley looked much more inviting.

Lysite Mountains, to the southeast, is the area where the Bates Battle took place. The foothills surrounding the site are much too rugged for buses to travel. There is an old road branching off to the west from Nowood road passing through the Orchard Ranch. It is rough, steep and washed out here and there.

Lysite Mountain got its name from John Lysite who with one companion was killed there by Indians just before the Bates Battle.

Buffalo Springs. This place, now dry, was a spring fed swamp until a well was drilled up around the bend, tapping the spring. This was a favorite camping place for Indians, and a great many arrow heads have been found here. A well-constructed log house once stood in the steep draw to our right. It had been built by Joe Henry, a cattleman who ranged here. The lonely looking cabin on the left was the Tom Elliott homestead cabin. Elliott was a well-to-do sheepman in later years and a director of the Stockgrowers State Bank in Worland.

Another cabin stands halfway up the next hill but is not visible from the road. This was the cabin of Virgil and Antone Chabot, Frenchmen. The creek ahead is Buffalo Creek. Antone Chabot lived in the cabin alone. In the fall of 1914 Charlie Smith, who ran sheep on the Nowood, happened to be riding past the Chabot cabin. He saw Antone, sitting on the little front stoop, head drooped forward, blood all over the front of him. Something—magpies, maybe—had eaten away part of his face.

Chabot had been a prosperous sheepman, but had suffered financial losses on the east side of the Big Horns. He had retired to his lonely cabin, broken in health and pocket book. Murder was suspected, but no marks could be found on his body to bear this out. A coroner's jury composed of Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Smith and Bill Williams found the man had bled to death from a lung hemorrhage.

Carl Hampton, at whose place we will be stopping for lunch, said the other day, "I never travel a mile but what I see something new and different." This is the country the old-timers loved. It offered peace, quiet, vastness and a face unchanged by time. The old-timers understood it. Charlie Ford, Ten Sleep resident, said that when he first came into the country, the open range had grass as high as a cow's belly all the way over to Worland. Until it became overstocked, it supported the livestock that grazed it.

From the long winding and rocky hills ahead, one can see a shed down in a deep valley to the west; this was originally the place of Walt Hartman, and later the Lloyd Seaman cattle ranch. Franklin Brown, who had homesteaded on the Nowood, also ran cattle out here, and his son, Ray Brown, later a Washakie County sheriff, ran the ranch until a horse fell with him and crippled him so he could no longer ride.

The ranch is now owned by Tom Sanford of Thermopolis, who bought out several farms and ranches including the Buchanan Land and Livestock Company on lower Owl Creek, the home ranch of Peggie Buchanan Pendergraft.

Back in 1928 I lambed three bands of sheep in this country for Myron Tolman. They started out just southeast of Worland in April when the grass was just beginning to show. Moving eastward two or three miles a day, they worked the "drop herd" each morning. At these times they cared for newborn lambs and ewes in birth difficulties. It was the end of June before they reached the summer range on Onion Gulch near the Big Horn mountaintop. During all that time I never set foot inside a house except to eat my meals in the sheepwagon. I slept out on the ground, and walked every step of the way from start to finish.

During the lambing-on-the-trail trek, there were several fierce snowstorms, and campfires were built from scrub cedar, and newborn lambs were brought up to be dried off in their warmth. I killed over a hundred rattlesnakes during the trip and held a wood tick roundup every day or two. When we came to the Nowood Valley, we drove the sheep down over the steep red banks to the Nowood shearing pens where they were shorn. In spite of the bad storms, when we reached Onion Gulch, the tally of lambs was 104 per cent.

Old Bill Bailey. Old Bill Bailey, a wild stallion, ranged in this area with his harem of mares for some years. His mother was one of Buffalo Bill's mares that had gotten away and joined the wild herd. Bill Bailey was faster than any other horse in the country and it was said could run circles around his fleeing band at full speed.

Many attempts were made to capture this magnificent animal. Bill Williams, our wagon master's dad, was among the many who tried to capture him. Once they thought they had him cornered in a bend of the Big Horn River where the winter's ice was going out, but the horse jumped into the water, dodged the floating icecakes and made it safely across. One filly jumped into the water to follow him, but never made it to the other side. Bill Williams stood on the banks of the river and shouted after the stallion, "I name you Old Bill Bailey. Won't you please come home?" Bailey, when pursued, would take his band of some fifteen mares and colts into the Honeycombs where capture was impossible.

A plan to capture him was finally decided upon. Williams, Birch Warner, Denver Jake and others conditioned their best horses all that winter, feeding them hay and grain and keeping them in good riding shape.

When the time came, they stationed various riders on fresh mounts at strategic points along the route Bailey would follow. The chase began. First, one would pursue Bill Bailey, and when his horse got winded, another would take up the chase. Finally the stallion, worn down, tried to jump a dry wash, but fell short, landed in the bottom, and was captured.

After his capture, he lost his spirit. Bessie Bull (first white woman in the basin, according to historian Paul Frison) was the first rider to climb onto Bill Bailey—and he didn't even buck! He was acquired finally by Bear George McClellan and broken to drive. One day pulling a buggy on the road from Ten Sleep to Worland, he dropped dead of a heart attack. Carl Williams, our wagon boss, says he knows exactly where old Bill Bailey's bones lie.

A great many things happened here, in this solitary land. It was the back door of the Nowood country and it was here that the late Zinnie McQuerry met up with Tom O'Day of the Hole-in-the-Wall gang. It was evening and Zinnie and his dad were camped for the night. They had been freighting. Tom O'Day showed up and wanted to trade horses—his for Zinnie's. Zinnie told him "no deal" and Tom answered, "Well, I'll get it tonight anyway." Zinnie replied that he wouldn't get it that night or any other night. So Zinnie put a bell on his horse and tied him to the back of the wagon. Then he rolled his bed out under the wagon and laid his rifle along side. During the night the bell clanged two or three times—but the horse was still tied to the wagon when daylight came. Later on, as they drove down the road, a mile or two from their campsite they came upon Tom's own horse, dead. He had ridden it to exhaustion which was why he wanted Zinnie's horse. They never caught up with Tom, who must have hoofed it at a pretty good speed after his horse failed him.

Tom O'Day, according to those who knew him, was a born thief. He stole cattle whenever he could, but mostly he stole horses. Once, according to Zinnie, he stole Mr. McQuerry's team, then offered to sell it back to him for ten dollars. He was finally arrested and found guilty of theft. He served his time, but said, "By golly, they arrested me for stealing and sentenced me—and it was the only time in my life I was innocent!"

The rustlers working on the east side of the Big Horns would bring their stolen stock over onto the west side to find a market for them. Several men living in Thermopolis reportedly acted as a fence for them. U.S. Marshall Joe LeFors was finally brought in to see if he could put a stop to the rustling. One day, LeFors was coming down Ten Sleep Canyon and met a man going up. He asked the man if he'd seen Tom O'Day and the man said he'd seen him that morning going up the mountain with some other men after some horses. The marshall headed in that direction, never dreaming he had been talking with Tom O'Day.

Freighting was work anyone could take up if they could get hold of a four-horse team and a wagon or two. A great many newcomers engaged in it while trying to get established otherwise. Zinnie's father took up freighting and taught Zinnie the trade. They would freight together, each with a sixteen-horse spread pulling three wagons. They had no "kooster" but slept in a tent. Their run was from Casper over Cottonwood Pass to Nowood, then on down country to a store on Rome Hill. The McQuerries made one trip a month during the summer, but couldn't travel in winter. Occasionally, they hauled some freight for Okie at Lost Cabin, but another freighter, George Coleman, had that mostly sewed up. Coleman got started in the business by the McQuerries and, in his prime, was reportedly the best freighter in the business. There were a lot of freighters as there was a lot of country to freight into. It was a precarious life and a lonely one. The freighter was away from home for long intervals.

Nowood Valley. Carl Williams pointed out the various places below the rim of the Nowood Valley. The Nowood River is a long stream—some eighty miles—and it drains virtually all the west slope of the Big Horns north to Shell Creek.

There is Bear Creek, Trout Creek, Buffalo Creek, Deep Creek, Cherry Creek, Split Rock Creek, South Fork, Red Bank Creek, Garden Creek, Little Canyon Creek, Crooked Creek, Little Creek, Box Elder Creek, Alkali Creek, Otter Creek, Spring Creek, Ten Sleep Creek, and others below Ten Sleep, all a maze of streams and canyons carrying the runoff down from the mountain slopes. Below Ten Sleep, the Nowood turns more westerly and away from the mountain, the number of tributaries running directly into it become fewer as the many streams find a way to merge before reaching the Nowood. There is Broken Back Creek which drains a large and rugged area, Paint Rock Creek which includes several forks and canyons, and Medicine Lodge which joins forces with Paintrock at Hyattville to flow together into the Nowood. No wonder it is named the Nowood "River." While it doesn't wind up at it's mouth with a large volume of water, a considerable amount has been taken out for irrigation as it winds its way northward.

Nowood Valley. This is the gateway to the Big Horn Basin, particularly the southern portion. While a trickle of pioneers came in over Blondie Pass on the Owl Creeks, and up into the Basin from Montana, the southern half of the Basin was largely peopled with folks who moved in over Cottonwood Pass and down the Nowood.

Coming onto the valley highway, we are on Orchard's ranch. It runs some twenty-five miles east and west, and sixteen miles north and south. The graves of

Ben Minnick, Jeff Caldwell, who committed suicide at Nowood, and Lon Patterson, who froze to death on Cottonwood Pass, while freighting from Lost Cabin to Nowood store are above the schoolhouse on a rock slope. We had planned to visit these graves, but when Carl Williams and I visited them a week or so ago, there was no longer any sign of them, only three big boulders lying askew and haphazard somewhere in the vicinity of the graves. There is nothing to see.

The story of the Bridger trail is a familiar one. Jim Bridger induced Chief Washakie to show him a direct route through the Big Horn Basin to the Montana gold fields. Washakie led him in a westerly direction away from the rich Nowood Valley which was the favorite wintering grounds of several Indian tribes. The Nowood-Tensleep Valley was known to few whites. The revelation of Cottonwood Pass and the Bridger Trail opened the door to the area, and it was only a matter of time before the Nowood area was explored and settled.

One intriguing fact is how information about this new and fertile area became so widespread in such a short time. The settlers came from widely scattered parts of the United States, and even from Germany, England and France, and all were arriving at about the same time.

Bragg Ranch

The first Fred Bragg was born in London, England, came to the United States, lived in Maine for a time, then moved to Fort Washakie to live with his uncle and aunt, Bob and Charlotte Bragg. He became a "dyed-in-the-wool" cowboy and, with Charlie Berger, joined up with Worden P. Noble of Lander and Salt Lake City. Berger became the range foreman. Eventually, Bragg became Noble's partner. Noble and Bragg, finding the South Pass country getting overcrowded, began trailing sheep into the southern Big Horn Mountains in 1892. The sheep were sheared en route at J. B. Okie's pens at Lost Cabin. Noble organized the first cow outfit in present Ten Sleep, branding the Running WP, which was later sold to the Bay State Cattle Company. Bragg was a horsewrangler working for the Two Bar, run by Harvey Booth, with a home ranch at a place called Flagstaff, south of Ten Sleep.

After the winter of 1886-1887, Bragg moved up the Nowood and bought a small spread from Jack Mead. They started there with a little two-room log cabin with dirt floor, a log barn and corrals. For two years Bragg and his family lived in a tent. As the ranch grew and progressed, a cook shack, school house, general store, public shearing pens, bunkhouses, blacksmith shop and all the rest were added. Some 100,000 sheep were shorn there during the shearing season.

The general store became a shopping headquarters for the entire area. It was built by Fred Truisdale, who came to the area as a tenderfoot in 1898. He managed the store for some years. On at least two occasions the store was held up—by the same parties. The year was 1901 and the shearing crew was there. One night there was a dice game for oranges, a rare fruit which were just freighted from Casper. They were selling at $3 a dozen. Two men rode up, one of them a "Hole-in-the-Wall" hanger on, Stutterin' Dick. They went into the kitchen to be served a meal by Bill Driscoll, the cook. Stutterin' Dick noticed the sugar bowl on the table was empty, which angered him. He pulled his six-gun out of his boot and drew down on Driscoll. A second man present, Jim Boyd, grabbed Dick. In the scuffle the gun went off and shot a hole in the floor. Boyd threw Dick outside.

Two weeks later the place was held up. Two masked men, one of them assuredly Stutterin' Dick, entered the store. Fred Truisdale, the clerk, who had suffered a couple of years of being jobbed as a tenderfoot, paid no attention when one of the two masked men called everybody over to the cigar counter, and pulling his gun announced it was a stickup. Truisdale went on counting his cash. "Get out I'm busy!" he told the man. Dick then said, "I mean business!" Truisdale replied "I mean business, too." Dick then shot out the coal oil lamp. All the men got down on hands and knees and started crawling for the nearest exit.

The men in the bunkhouse, some fifty yards away, heard the shots and grabbed their own guns and went to investigate. The two stick-up men made a run for their horses, climbed on them and sped away. In the melee one of the men, Charlie Mitchell, had the presence of mind to grab Mrs. Bragg's jewelry and throw it in the woodbox.

A week later the two were picked up on Poison Creek. During the arrest Stutterin' Dick was shot in the leg. The two were locked in an old log cabin, but managed to escape. Neither was ever seen again.

The only losses in the holdup were one can of peaches, which Dick had shot a hole through (the bullet hole is still visible in the west wall) and the supply of oranges which Dick and his pal had stolen.

In the late nineties and early 1900s the valley was filling up. A quick inventory of names about that time from Okies to Ten Sleep shows Art Hanson, Browers, Noble and Bragg, Jake Becker, up on the hill east of them, the Jake Goodrich family living at Mahogany Buttes, Tom Mills on Cherry Creek, Charlie Wells on Box Elder, where there are two graves, one of them of a fresh-faced kid killed over a woman, Henry Helms, the Rebedeau family, the Red Bank Cattle Company, Lorenzo French on upper Canyon Creek, Dad Early, Johnny Hopkins and Gus Coleman. For a few miles the Nowood was unoccupied. East of there was the place of Henry "Injun" Alexander, then the Fatty Allen homestead—Fatty would eat a whole ham at a meal. At the mouth of Otter Creek was Jim Quiner, and Johnny

The grave of the "Three Joes." PHOTO BY ED BILLE

Buckmaster—one son, Mike, a fine bronc rider, is living in Thermopolis now. There was Charlie Shaw on Otter Creek, Willard Waldo, Bill Kize, then the Harvard family—one of their girls was the mother of our state senator, Jerry Geis—and Neri and Frank Wood. On Spring Creek were Elmer Chatfield, the Van Buskirks, and the family of Bob Waln, who owned most of Spring Creek.

Bob Waln believed that plenty of water (along with hard work) was the secret of success in the area, and in 1885 he and his boys dug a tunnel 300 feet long through hard red rock to provide irrigation water for a substantial portion of his land. That year he applied for and got a patent to the water from Spring Creek. Next, he obtained the postoffice, and at a place called Cedar, a short distance away, put up a dance hall.

At an old burial ground on top of a hill which we will pass, Bob Waln's family lies buried. There are a number of marked graves with names, dates, and other information.

In 1886 an election took place and the Waln house served as the polling place. It was the first time women had voted in the area. There were seventy-five votes cast; ten of these were cast by women.

The Mahogany Buttes ranch where we lunched was the homestead of the Speas family.

Red Bank Cattle Co. This ranch was founded by Governor Richards, prior to his governorship. William A. Richards had started a substantial irrigation project a few miles south of present Worland, taking the water from the Big Horn River. His Colorado Company sank $35,000 in the project which was not completed when they ran out of money and had to stop. This was in 1884. The canal is now a part of the Hanover Canal system.

It was shortly after this that he took up some land on Nowood Creek at a place he called Red Bank, and began his development of a cattle spread. One of the men who worked for him was George B. McClellan. Later, McClellan became his foreman, and finally, in 1897, Richards' partner. At this time Richards was Wyoming's second governor and was away from the place much of his time. In due time, McClellan was sole owner of the ranch.

McClellan came over the Big Horns with Tom O'Day to hunt for and provide meat for the army in 1880. He was a big man, hearty and bluff, intelligent and outspoken. His success at killing bear became so well known that his middle initial came to be known as

"Bear," and he came to be known far and wide as "Bear George."

The cattle business suffered its ups and downs. McClellan eventually found himself so indebted to a Worland bank that the banker told him to get out of the cattle business and into the sheep business. McClellan went to Dave Dickie, one of the most successful sheepmen in the country, to purchase some young ewes.

Some years before, when Dickie was a sheepman without a home base and trailing his herd from place to place, he bedded his sheep one night on the west side of the Big Horn River about where Old Worland was to stand. It was his intention to cross the river the next morning and continue his wanderings up into Canada, but he never got across the Big Horn River. Late that evening he was surprised by a group of armed cattlemen, who ordered him to pull up stakes and head back the way he had come. Dickie trailed back southwest, and finally settled on Grass Creek, where he prospered and eventually became wealthy. He never forgot the humiliation of being turned back at gun point, and vowed he'd get even with every man in the group. One by one he did. George B. McClellan was said to have been one of the men in the group.

It took a long time, in some instances, for Dickie to have his revenge. Now McClellan wanted Dickie to pick from his herds a band of young and healthy ewes to sell him. In due course Dickie delivered into McClellan's keeping the required count of ewes. A large number of them did not survive the next winter. While Bear George knew nothing about sheep, he soon learned to distinguish old gummers from young full-mouthed sheep.

"I never thought you'd do that to me," he said to Dickie.

"I told you I'd square accounts some day," Dickie replied. "I always pay my bills."

When there was talk about dividing the huge and unmanageable Big Horn County into several smaller counties, McClellan was among the leaders in the move. He was a member of the committee that met with the legislators in 1910 and 1911 to push for this division. Eventually it was accomplished. The forceful McClellan became a personality of importance both locally and statewide. He served several terms as Washakie County's state senator.

Governor Richards' Little Cabin Creek House

Beneath the picturesque red buttes that gave the Red Bank Cattle Company its name is the ranch headquarters, down on the creek to the east. North is the opening of a very rugged and narrow canyon. This is the Little Canyon Creek Canyon, and it was down in here, possibly a half mile in, that Governor Richards built the home that later was to be the scene of the tragic death of his daughter and son-in-law. I am much disappointed that we cannot visit the site but permission to go down into the area was withdrawn, due to the extra dryness of the grass. Carl Williams, Eddie Willard, Mike Hanify and I visited it and had to wade the the creek and go through tall grass and brush to get to the site.

Early Mail Delivery. As in most other places in the early west, getting mail was a continuing problem in this area. The mail came to Lost Cabin and was left there until picked up by local carriers and hauled to Bonanza. This was by team in the summer, by pack horse in the winter. The first run was from Lost Cabin to Big Trails, which took one day. The mail was left there by the first carrier who returned to Lost Cabin the following day with the southbound mail. The driver changed teams at Nowood, about halfway between the two terminals. The Bonanza carrier also made his run each way in one day, changing teams at Ten Sleep. In the deep snow which was common along the Nowood in winter, the route was marked by willows stuck upright beside the roadway. Two of the best known old-time mail carriers were Sam Brant and Jack Crosley.

Big Trails. Big Trails was named because it was a crossroads of Indian trails. The trail up the Nowood from Ten Sleep, the trail across the Big Horns to Hazelton, and the continuation of these trails to the Shoshone reservation, used by visiting Crows and Arapahoes meet here. Of course, when it first got its name, there was no reservation. The Crows claimed all the territory between Wind River and the Rockies, including the Nowood country.

I was born at Big Trails in the usual log cabin. It couldn't boast of a dirt floor and it must have been somewhat larger than the usual cabin because my dad, a well-known violinist and fiddler, put on a dance to celebrate the birth. The dance lasted until daylight and everyone who could possibly make it was present. This all-night listening to the lilt of Strauss waltzes by a week-old infant may or may not have had some influence on my insistence on writing songs in my later life.

Shorty Wheelright. East of Big Trails a few miles, a prospector named Shorty Wheelright had found a lime deposit which he felt of value and he proceeded to develop it after filing a claim on it. He constructed a kiln and hired three men to help him mine and fire the kiln. One other thing that needed to be done, apparently, was to keep him supplied with whiskey, and running short of his supply one day, he sent one of his men, a young man probably just out of his teens, to a place not too far distant, (there were at least two in the area) vulgarly called Shanker's Inn, to replenish his supply. He had counted out the money for the purchase and had given it to his hired hand. In due course the hand returned with Shorty's bottle, and the left-over change,

which Shorty again counted. "You are twenty-five cents short," he said to the young man. "Well, I was sorta dry, too, after hurrying like I did," replied the man, "so I bought myself a drink with that twenty-five cents."

Wheelright temporarily quenched his thirst, but it was plain he didn't completely approve of what his hired hand had done. Finally, he went to his cabin, got his rifle, and shot and killed the man. Again quenching his thirst, he ordered the remaining two helpers to pick up the body and put it in the lime kiln. They reluctantly started to comply when Shorty, by this time a bit wobbly on his feet, stumbled and fell. They jumped on him, tied him up, and went to notify the sheriff in Basin. This took place in 1906 and telephone service was available on a limited basis from McClellan's to Basin. Finally Sheriff Alston appeared and took Wheelright to Basin to stand trial for murder.

Carl Williams and I searched for and located the grave of the young victim of Wheelright's thirst not far from the scant remains of the lime diggings. Curiously enough, they also found the foundations or cornerstones of an old schoolhouse that once stood nearby.

Hattie Burnstad, well known in historical circles, remarked the other day, "Everything that happened over there on the Nowood seems so gruesome." (As I begin to tally up the things that happened there that fall into that "gruesome" category, I am inclined to feel that maybe the area did have far more than its statistical number, based on population.)

Another incident took place a little farther down the country and a little later on in time. John Caster was a teenage boy who lived with his family on Otter Creek. He had a favorite saddle horse which his dad one day expressed a desire to ride. The boy objected, as Mr. Caster was too brutal and rough in handling horses, and he didn't want his little mare subjected to such treatment. Upon John's refusal to let his dad ride the horse, the father went into the house and got his rifle, came out and pointed the gun at John, who was standing beside his horse rolling a cigarette. John said, "You wouldn't shoot me, would you, Pa?" His pa didn't answer but the rifle did.

There were two witnesses to this shooting, but neither of them could be found when the matter came up for a hearing in the Washakie County Court House. This often seemed to happen.

The Waln Cemetery. On a hill just a little to the right there is a fenced area, a wooden fence partly fallen down at one point. This enclosure is the burial ground of a number of Waln people. Arnold Waln told me a few years ago that they all died of smallpox during an epidemic, but the dates show deaths at different times. Not far are the graves of the three Joes: Joe Allemand, Joe Emge, and Joe Lazier, who were killed in the Spring Creek raid.

On the right side is a red road going up a hill and disappearing between two higher hills. Where the road makes its last upward curve can be seen a rectangular dark spot just to the left and under this road. This dark spot is one opening of the 300-foot tunnel driven by the Walns in order to get water on some of their land.

Down from the hills onto Spring Creek and off to the left are the remains of the barn built without any nails by Alti Pendergraft. While the roof is nearly gone, the walls still stand intact and solid.

On the right side just beside the road is a two-room log house, unused these days but by cattle trying to escape the flies. This was the home of the Pendergrafts and later became the cookhouse for the Taylor shearing crews. Across Spring Creek a few yards, the first Australian shearing plant constructed in the country stood for many years. It was an elaborate plant, with sorting tables, a hardwood floor, room for twelve shearers, and adequate cutting pens. During the 1920s and later it was used by most of the sheepmen in the area and many thousands of sheep were shorn here each spring. It finally fell down, and has been hauled away.

The group stopped at the site of the Spring Creek raid and heard an account of that incident.

Ward Noble started his WP band in the area where Ten Sleep stands now. This later became the Bay State Ranch. A store and postoffice followed, and a place to meet and hold dances. A school was also necessary and a church. The first church in Washakie county was built here, and stood beside the road, just as one enters Ten Sleep from the west. This church has been moved to the Methodist summer camp a few miles up Ten Sleep Canyon where it is still in use.

Gradually the land, homesteaded or otherwise acquired, was to become a part of Ten Sleep, the town. The Fred Baders were living on the Mark Warner homestead, just at the juncture of the Ten Sleep and Nowood Creeks, which he filed on in 1884. The Moses family had come into the area and homesteaded on land near the west outskirts of present Ten Sleep. Later, Moses donated the land to Ten Sleep for a cemetery. Ironically, he was to become its first occupant when the wagon in which he was hauling logs from the mountain got away and ran over and killed him.

Ten Sleep was incorporated in 1910 and Paul Frison was its first mayor. When Washakie county was formed, Ten Sleep was in the running for county seat. Worland, with the railroad, won this honor, and Ten Sleep has remained a typical western cow town. The area has rich soil, lots of water, including Madison formation artesian water, warm winters and an enviable location just at the gateway to the Big Horn Mountains.

The many other tragedies that took place along the life-giving waters of the Nowood will have to wait for another time to be told.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Fort Laramie of Alfred Jacob Miller, A Catalogue of All the Known Illustrations of the First Fort Laramie. By Robert Combs Warner. (Laramie: University of Wyoming Publications, Volume XLIII, No. 2, 1979). Index. Bib. Illus. 213 pp. $14.00.

Although the author has focused on the single subject of views of Fort Laramie by Alfred Jacob Miller (1810-1874), he has skillfully broadened his presentation to include historical background of the fur trade and personal images of the artist and his patron, the Scottish nobleman William Drummond Stewart. The book is an excellent addition to the literature of the Stewart-Miller expedition, a useful reference to have at hand as well as a good beginning for readers new to the subject. An amazing array of facts is compressed into a minimum of pages, but the author's easy-flowing style carries interest forward and often rewards the reader with nicely-turned phrases and word pictures. He is careful to explain such confusions as the spellings of "Stewart" and "Steuart" and to discuss the various official names of "the Laramie fort." He even mentions that the chief use of beaver pelts was for fur felt rather than skins.

Stewart had traveled previously in the West, and in 1837 arranged for Miller to accompany him with the fur trade caravan overland along the Platte River to Fort Laramie, moving on with his own party for leisurely hunting and camping among the beautiful lakes and mountains of the Wind River Range. Using the hundreds of small pencil and watercolor sketches made that summer, Miller spent more than four years painting a series of large oils for Stewart's Murthly Castle near Perth, Scotland. He then returned to his native Baltimore and became a successful portrait painter. However, the six months the young artist spent in the wilds added a new dimension to his career, and all his life he continued to receive commissions for oils and watercolors copied from the western sketches. The Fort Laramie paintings are typical.

Thirteen fort views are illustrated, yet the author in his conclusion says that the catalog should not be considered definitive of the Fort Laramie group. It is, of course, possible that other paintings based on the 1837 field sketches may turn up, but their addition would not measureably enhance this scholarly and entertaining book. The Fort Laramie scenes reproduced are accompanied by information about medium, dating, provenance, and present location. Some of the descriptive texts give research notes or historical background; others direct quotes from the artist's own field notes. Four additional pictures show landmarks on the trail, suggesting distances and travel conditions of the day.

Introductory chapters deal with the fur trade rendezvous system and the site where the Laramie River flows into the north fork of the Platte. The first stockade was built in 1834. Then, in the 1840s, as fur trapping in the mountains declined and emigrants started their westward migrations along the Oregon Trail, the Fort became a stop for thousands on their way to California, Utah and Oregon, described as the "dusty pageantry of wagon trains rolling up the valley. . . ."

In 1849 the fort area was purchased by the United States Army and until 1890 functioned as an active border post until the end of Indian hostilities. It is now restored as a National Historic Site and open to the public.

Military Fort Laramie is well documented through photographic techniques available by the 1860s. A few sketches were made earlier by survey parties, but only the work of the pioneer artist Miller gives authentic views of the mountain fur trade and Indian camps, complementing the Upper Missouri landscapes and Indian portraits made by George Catlin in 1832 and Karl Bodmer in 1833-1834.

Biographical information on Miller is presented briefly but concisely. The inclusion of twenty-two letters selected from the manuscript collections sought out by Professor Warner gives additional insight. They span a period of twenty years—the earliest dated a few days before Miller left St. Louis for the great adventure in the West—and include accounts of the stay at Murthly Castle.

Compliments are due the author for his professional planning of the book's physical format. Instead of lavish color layouts, he has used a dignified black-and-white scheme and achieved a handsome design with quality paper and easy-to-read type faces. The letters and field-note quotes are set in italics, centered on the page with wide margins, an arrangement that contributes to visual clarity. Footnotes are conveniently placed at the bottom of each page.

Professor Warner is undoubtedly the foremost authority today on Miller and Stewart, continuing the work of previous researchers in Scotland and the United States to whom he gives generous credits. In his travels he has acquired a valuable collection of manuscript material and paintings for the University of Wyoming where he is assistant professor of journalism.

MILDRED R. GOOSMAN

Now retired, the reviewer is the former curator of Western Collections, the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska.

Wheels West 1590-1900. By Richard Dunlop. Foreword by Ray Allen Billington. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1977). Index. Bib. Illus. 208 pp. $16.95.

In a book of modest length Richard Dunlop has produced a work which demonstrates his feeling for and love of the west as well as his ability to cover a vast panorama of western developments. His style is clear and lucid. His examples are well chosen and are presented effectively. To accomplish so much in such a short treatment required masterful organization and execution. It is a book which one feels as well as reads. To those who have traveled in animal-drawn vehicles it will bring back personal memories. For others who have not had such experiences there is still opportunity to appreciate the pace, the jolts, the bumps, the sounds, and even the smells which the actual participants have conveyed by aptly quoted words and the author's facile descriptions.

Dunlop does not attempt to present a comprehensive treatment of western travel. Instead he has depicted various methods of transportation used by those who moved into frontier areas. He achieves this by discussing the various vehicles utilized. Pre-railroad travel was slow, tedious, sometimes dangerous, and often expensive. It was not generally romantic or exciting. Even the fastest vehicles traveling over the best roads available moved at a snail's pace when compared to modern modes of travel. Participants in early western treks did not fret, but sought to utilize each vehicle as effectively as possible.

The most interesting parts of the book for many readers may well be the short but accurate descriptions which the author furnishes of the various types of vehicles used over varying periods of time. From the primitive carretas used by Spaniards as early as the sixteenth century along the Rio Grande to the more impressive Conestoga wagons and Concord stage coaches in later operations, each vehicle is discussed in terms of its appearance, dimensions, construction, capacity, and operation. The structure of the running gears, wheels, axles, tires, and interiors are clearly stated as well as pictured in illustrations and photographs. The comparative tractive power of animals such as oxen, horses, or mules is also assessed. Thus the reader can almost hear the horrible screeching of wooden hubs against wooden axles. He can almost feel the rough ride of springless wagons or the swaying, swinging sensations of the leather strap suspension of the stage coaches and mud wagons. He can virtually see the dust and mud, and even smell the cooking of meals prepared over campfires or the stoves of the chuck wagons or sheep camps.

But the reader also meets many fascinating people. The profane bull whackers, the drivers of freight wagons and stage coaches, Mormons pushing hand carts, and thousands of people walking along trails in all kinds of weather will all appear as real persons. The men who built and repaired the vehicles will also become familiar figures.

In other parts of the book Dunlop tells of attempts to develop new methods of transportation such as wind wagons and giant steam engines which ended in failure and even disaster. Nor does the author neglect special types of vehicles used by the military, homesteaders, or farmers. In this last category some readers may quarrel with Dunlop's description of the hay wagon. He says a rack was used to allow hay to dry while in transit. Actually wet hay was too heavy for the men to load or for the teams to pull. The rack was used to haul dry hay in order to increase the hauling capacity of the wagon. Hay not properly dried before loading, hauling, or stacking would spoil. This was the only questionable factual statement noted in Dunlop's otherwise accurate discussions.

The book is beautifully crafted with many color prints and rare and authentic photographs. The foreword by Ray Allen Billington is a definite asset. The index is complete and accurate. The extensive bibliog-

raphy illustrates the tremendous amount of research in which Dunlop immersed himself. For the reader who wants to share an adventure in frontier traveling *Wheels West* offers a fascinating reading experience.

GEORGE W. ROLLINS

The reviewer is Professor of History at Eastern Montana College, Billings.

Dams, Ditches and Water: A History of the Shoshone Reclamation Project. By Beryl Gail Churchill. (Cody: Rustler Printing and Publishing, 1979). Illus., 101 pp.

The author of this local history of irrigated, row-crop farming in Park County, Wyoming, has assembled an outstanding collection of photographs, mainly from the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation. The excellent photographs graphically show the struggles of later day Wyoming pioneers to bring the water of the Shoshone River to the high and arid lands of northern Wyoming and to create an agricultural oasis. Beginning with the authorization of the Shoshone Project in 1904, with photographs and text, the author relates the development of the various Shoshone Project Divisions to the present day.

Except for a few words in the introduction, referring to William F. Cody's futile effort to privately finance an irrigation project in Park County, utilizing the waters of the Shoshone River, author Churchill gives the reader no background as to why Congress approved the construction of the Shoshone project and subsequent reclamation projects in Wyoming. Without some discussion of the legislative enactments of Congress—the Carey and Desert Land Acts—the efforts of Elwood Mead, the first Wyoming State Engineer, U. S. Senators Joseph M. Carey and Francis E. Warren and others to encourage private investment in irrigation and land development projects, and the unsuccessful attempts of investment companies to develop privately owned reclamation projects, no history of a reclamation project in Wyoming or, indeed, the West can be complete.

Despite this shortcoming, *Dams, Ditches and Water* is a clear and concise history, considering all aspects of the construction, operation and effects of the Shoshone Project. The chapter dealing with the actual construction of the Buffalo Bill Dam is especially well done. The tremendous difficulty of transporting materials, equipment and men to the dam site, the austere living conditions and dangers faced by the workmen, and the magnitude of the construction for that era, documented by marvelous photographs, are all vividly portrayed. Nor does the writer neglect the effects of the construction of the Shoshone Project on those pioneers who had settled the Shoshone River valley many years before.

Succeeding chapters relate the historical development of the various divisions of the Shoshone Project, beginning with the oldest, the Garland Division (1907), and continuing through the last division of the project constructed, the Heart Mountain Division, which was ready for settlement in 1946. For each of the four divisions of the Shoshone Project, Churchill traces its history through the engineering phase, to settlement by homesteaders, through agricultural development and change, to community growth. The history of each division is a study of people, working to make themselves a place in Wyoming through irrigated farming, in an environment not richly endowed for that purpose, and it is all pictorially documented.

This little volume certainly is a valuable record of the history of northwestern Wyoming.

JIM DONAHUE

The reviewer is an Archivist-Historian in the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne.

Wagon Trails and Folk Tales, Sulphur Springs Station, 1862-1979. By Ann Bruning Brown, Gilberta Bruning Hughes and Louise Bruning Erb. (Laramie, Wyo., Lincoln Printing Co., 1980.) Bib. Illus., 158 pp. $8.20, paper.

The history of the Sulphur Springs Station, where the Rawlins-Baggs stagecoach road crossed the Overland Trail in Wyoming, has been compiled in book form by three sisters, whose grandparents, John and Ann Robertson, lived at the stage station.

The book, *Wagon Trails and Folk Tales, Sulphur Springs Station, 1862-1979,* chronicles the life of the stage station, thirty miles southwest of Rawlins, and the genealogy of the pioneering John Robertson family.

The book was a family effort and the three sisters, Ann Brown, Gilberta Hughes, and Louise Erb, who did not consider themselves to be writers, took on the project so that the history which was special to their families would not be forgotten.

They interviewed over twenty people about the region, collected information from other resource books and newspapers including *Annals of Wyoming* and published in their book a wide variety of photographs and illustrations. The book reveals a fascinating look at travel in Carbon County, Wyoming, in the days of the

Old West. A history of that part of the Overland Trail, written in 1935 by an aunt of the authors, is interesting and informative.

Sulphur Springs was the stage station where the Overland Trail and the Rawlins-Meeker road crossed. Sulphur Station had been built for use by the military in July of 1862. The station was named because of the free-flowing spring water with high sulphur content. It was not only a crossroads for freight and stage travel, but was also used by outlaw bands. Butch Cassidy, Kid Curry, and other outlaws traveled along the Rawlins-Baggs road.

There are other short chapters in the book which deal with the history of other stage stations, canyons and homesteads, and the town of Baggs. At the end of the book is a diary account of the winter at the Sulphur Ranch in 1931-32.

There were three known lady freight drivers who drove 4-horse teams from Rawlins to Baggs . . . Prices for hauling freight depended on bulk; $1.50 to $2.50 per 100 pounds for 100 miles. In 1865, the Indian attacks between Fort Halleck and Sulphur Springs were fierce. Most stations were burned. . . .

The general reader of *Wagon Trails and Folk Tales* will enjoy the historical background and details. The genealogical information of the book, which extends even into the 1970s to cover the Robertson descendants will not be as interesting to the general reader.

But in that regard, the book proves that history, even on a small scale, can be compiled into a book by individuals who have the interest and love for a subject, and is not limited to the pens of professional authors or professors.

The book succeeds in the way desired by the authors. It preserves and chronicles the history of a small Wyoming strip of land and occurrences there.

DAVID L. ROBERTS

The reviewer is the editor and publisher of the Medicine Bow Post *in Medicine Bow, and the publisher of the* Hanna Herald *in Hanna.*

Saloons of the Old West. By Richard Erdoes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979). Index. Illus. Bib. 277 pp. $13.95.

The American reader may well ask himself why a Viennese artist and photographer, who immigrated to the United States in the 1940s, writes a big and colorful book about the saloons of the Old West. The answer is easy enough for Europeans. For generations of European boys grew up reading the prolific German author Karl May, spinner of tales about the wild American West, inhabited by noble savages, fur traders, gunmen and cowboys, among others.

Mr. Erdoes has written a fine book, one which enlightens as well as entertains. The Hollywood stereotype of the saloon, inhabited by heroes and villains, more often was the refuge of heavy, dull, skirt-scared men watching the flies crawl up the window screen. And yet, the author tells us, the stereotyped, rip-roaring whiskey mill that launched a thousand horse operas existed once, at a certain time and in certain places, although shortlived. The typical western saloon did not appear until the mid-1880s and then quickly decayed and vanished.

History in the West was condensed and rapid. The mountain men, for example, played their role in the Western drama for approximately ten years, from 1830 to 1840. Americans, Erdoes tells us, generally did not appreciate the frontier until it was gone. Then they promptly resurrected it, and the mountain men and scouts became subjects of penny-dreadfuls, the Indians and gun fighters, the latter almost to a man dreadful shots, became circus performers, and the hard-working and grubby cowboys metamorphosed into singing and spanking-clean Roy Rogers and Gene Autrys.

There were, of course, several different Wests, but for the purpose of the saloons it was the West of the miners, ranchers and homesteaders, occupying the whole land mass between the Missouri and the Pacific. There were four fringe cities whose drinking spots, although not typically western saloons, nevertheless greatly shaped them. The southernmost and oldest of these was New Orleans, the starting point for the settlement of Texas, the exporter of slaves, gamblers and shady ladies. The second was St. Louis, the capital of the fur trade, and the beginning of the great overland trails, the city of French voyageurs and keelboatsmen. Chicago, the "Gem of the Prairie," was the third. From here came the barroom equipment and it was here that the cattle shipments terminated. Finally there was San Francisco with its famous Barbary Coast, the gateway to the gold fields for the Forty-niners, and a legend almost from the moment of its birth.

During its relatively brief life, the saloon was a place of comfort, a refuge and eatery, a hotel and bath, a comfort station and livery stable, a gambling den, dance hall, bordello, barbershop, courtroom, church, social club, political center and dueling ground, post office, sports arena, undertaker's parlor and library, news exchange and theater, opera, city hall, employment agency, museum, trading post, grocery, ice cream parlor; and even the forerunner of the movie where cowboys cranked handles of ornate kinetoscopes. In short, the saloon was all things to all men.

Erdoes correctly relates that American liquor consumption was heroic by any standards, from Washington through Daniel Webster, who was "as majestic in his

consumption of liquor as in everything else," right to the present.

As a good historian, the author traces the western saloon to the moment the first white man stepped ashore on America's East Coast, rolling his keg of ardent spirits before him down the gangway and already planning to establish a still. It is no wonder that venerable Jamestown had a part-time saloon, and the first Indian drunk was recorded in New England in 1621.

The reader is told that when Virginia Governor Spotswood explored the Shenandoah and Blue Ridge mountains, his liquor supply, loaded on pack horses, nearly equaled all the other provisions combined, including powder and lead. Spotswood toasted every newly-discovered hillock, valley or stream. The Pilgrims brewed metheglin, a dark amber cordial with a wallop that made imbibers hear the bees buzz.

Erdoes recounts the history of the saloon from colonial times to its demise at the end of the 19th century. Along the way, he tells the reader about famous bartenders, among them Jeremiah Thomas, "the Michelangelo among bartenders," who worked throughout the West and was famous for his own bar tools, done in sterling silver and worth $5,000; about the wonderous variety of booze Americans drank, the food they ate, the gambling they engaged in, the women they loved, and the deaths they died in the saloons. In short, Erdoes has written a fine volume, historically accurate and humorous.

CLAUS M. NASKE

The reviewer is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

Dallas Stoudenmire, El Paso Marshal. By Leon C. Metz. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979). Index. Bib. Illus. 162 pp. $6.95.

Dallas Stoudenmire, El Paso Marshal is Volume 53 of The Western Frontier Library published by the University of Oklahoma Press. The author, Leon C. Metz, has published several other studies on western lawmen and gunfighters. He is currently University Archivist at the University of Texas at El Paso.

During the late nineteenth century El Paso, Texas was a crime-infested town harboring many misfits. Receiving a charter of incorporation in 1873 from the State of Texas, El Paso did not have a marshal until July, 1880. When the city council appointed Dallas Stoudenmire city marshal in April, 1881, El Paso had its first significant lawman. Indeed, Stoudenmire's several predecessors who held the position did very little in establishing law and order.

Born on December 11, 1845, in Aberfoil, Alabama, Stoudenmire fought in the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy. After the war he moved to Texas and tried farming. He also was a member of the Texas Rangers in 1874. Several gunfights in the 1870s and 1880s established Stoudenmire's reputation as a gunfighter. Thus, he was selected to be city marshal of El Paso. He held the job for a little over a year, receiving a salary of $100 a month.

Metz explains how Stoudenmire "cleaned up the town." In the process, however, the marshal made several enemies, particularly the Manning brothers, local ranchers who were responsible for much of the banditry and rustling in the vicinity. Two of the Mannings would ultimately kill Stoudenmire in an action-packed shootout in September 1882.

Written primarily for the general reader of Western Americana, the book is well illustrated. There are a few typographical errors such as the misspelling of James Gadsden (p. 55 and in the Index) and Los Angeles (p. 123). Also, some of the word choices and phrases Metz uses were disturbing to this reviewer. Although not as solid a work as the author's study of Pat Garrett, *Dallas Stoudenmire* is, nevertheless, an interesting and exciting story of frontier violence and justice.

RAYMOND WILSON

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Photographing the Frontier. By Dorothy and Thomas Hoobler. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1979). Illus. 160 pp. $9.95.

Photographing the Frontier deals with early photography as it relates to the expansion of this country. Never before had the history of a country's expansion been recorded as it actually was happening. Prior to this time the visual history was recorded by art work.

With the invention of a plate by a Frenchman Louis Daguerre and his partner Nicephore Niepce in 1839 a method was available to record images of history on mirror-like plates known as Daguerreotypes. Prior to this time the artist would record his impression of what took place while now this new method allowed the actual event to be recorded.

The Daguerreotype was a one-time picture with no means to duplicate the photo and by 1859 this method had lost out to the new "wet-plate" process. The "wet-plate" process was used by virtually every photographer written about in this book.

Photographing the Frontier covers mostly the activities of photographers between 1850 and 1880. Picture taking at that time was a very difficult and demanding business. The photographer would usually equip a wagon with 300 or more pounds of photographic supplies. He needed the wagon for a portable darkroom to coat his glass plates and then to develop the plates. The photographer also needed a source of water to wash his plates so this required being close to a stream. The "wet-plate" had to be kept wet after the photographer coated the glass and until after he processed the plate.

Some photographers actually loaded all this equipment onto mules and transported the equipment up the sides of mountains to make a photograph. There is an account of a photographer who took a picture, wrapped the plate in a towel and slid down the mountain to wash the plate in a stream.

The book gives an interesting account of how early photographers lost credit for their work when their negatives were purchased and another photographer's name was placed on the pictures.

This book has a very generous number of photographs taken by early day photographers, and makes one marvel at the places from which these early photographers took their pictures. This collection alone makes the book a desirable addition to one's library.

The book has five chapters entitled Early Photographers of the West, Photographing the Railroads, Photographing the Great Surveys, Photographing the Indians and the Soldiers and Images of Frontier Life. These chapters deal with the major great expansions across the United States. There seems to be a lack of continuity in each chapter and between chapters. I feel a great help to the book would have been a chronology or a time chart of each photographer to aid in keeping track of the total picture.

This is the type of book one doesn't want to put down until it is finished. Less than 200 pages long, it is a good first book on photographic history. The bibliography is extensive and a useful source of information for many hours of additional reading.

LuRay Parker

The reviewer is a staff photographer for the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission and Wyoming Wildlife *magazine.*

Wyoming: Rugged But Right. By William F. Bragg, Jr. (Boulder, Colo.: Preutt Publishing Co., 1979). Illus. 196 pages.

For the novice Wyoming historian this collection of short stories is a start. Bill Bragg writes of the unusual happenings in old Wyoming. Some of the selections are authentic, with the facts verified by Mr. Bragg himself. Others are old tales passed from generation to generation, never having been written down until now. The truthfulness of others is questionable, but these are designated.

Wyoming: Rugged But Right is divided into eight sections: First Citizens, Pathfinders and Pioneers, The Army, Cowboys and Cattlemen, Both Sides of the Law, Colorful Characters, Wheels and Rails, and Places. Each of the eight parts has stories that are very familiar and important to the history of Wyoming, and others that are not so familiar but of equal importance.

The eighty-one stories in the book tell of little known adventures of well known men such as Jim Bridger, Butch Cassidy, and Joe LeFors. There are also accounts of Tom Horn, Cattle Kate, and Father DeSmet, just to mention a few. One interesting aspect of the book is the little known bits of facts and trivia that the author includes. For instance, "Wild Bill" Hickok was first known as "Duck Bill" Hickok; early day ambulances were more often used as overland taxis; and the first "WACs" were stationed at Fort D. A. Russell in 1890.

There are some negative aspects to this book. In places the wording of the sentences makes them hard to understand. It is also this reviewer's opinion that far too many cliches are used. Overall, though, this book is enjoyable reading for the novice Wyoming historian.

Linda Thomasee

The reviewer is Administrative Assistant at the Cheyenne Frontier Days Old West Museum.

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LOU L. BURTON, since his retirement from the Marine Corps, has lived in Cheyenne, where he and his family have been active in the Cheyenne Little Theatre Players. He holds B.A. and M.A. degrees in English from the University of Wyoming and is now completing course work for an M.A. in history, and teaching writing at the University. His fifty-year history of the CLTP was written with the assistance of a fellowship from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities.

RALPH GREENSTREET, a native Missourian, came West at an early age. In addition to his sheepherding experiences in Wyoming when he was twenty years old, he has been an oil field worker in California, a miner in Nevada, a surveyor's helper and a ranch hand. He lives in Burns, Oregon.

GERALD M. ADAMS, now of Cheyenne, retired from the Air Force in 1978 after a long career in aviation as a pilot, staff officer and unit commander. He is a native of eastern Nebraska, and early aviation in that area sparked an interest in military aviation that began in 1941 when he entered the Army Air Force, and continued through three wars. Adams received an M.A. in International Relations from C. W. Post College at Brookville, New York. He is now a graduate student in the history department of the University of Wyoming.

H. R. DIETERICH is currently Professor of History and American Studies at the University of Wyoming. He has authored some thirty articles and reviews in various historical and literary periodicals and presently serves on the Board of Editors of the *Western Social Science Journal.* He has B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Kansas and a Ph.D from the University of New Mexico. A research fellowship from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities made possible his work in the National Archives for the study published in this issue of *Annals.*

WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Wyoming State Historical Society was organized in October, 1953. Membership is open to anyone interested in history. County chapters of the society have been chartered in most of the twenty-three counties of Wyoming. Past presidents of the society include: Frank Bowron, Casper, 1953-55; William L. Marion, Lander, 1955-56; Dr. DeWitt Dominick, Cody, 1956-57; Dr. T. A. Larson, Laramie, 1957-58; A. H. MacDougall, Rawlins, 1958-59; Mrs. Thelma G. Condit, Buffalo, 1959-60; E. A. Littleton, Gillette, 1960-61; Edness Kimball Wilkins, Casper, 1961-62; Charles Ritter, Cheyenne, 1962-63; Neal E. Miller, Rawlins, 1963-65; Mrs. Charles Hord, Casper, 1965-66; Glenn Sweem, Sheridan, 1966-67; Adrian Reynolds, Green River, 1967-68; Curtiss Root, Torrington, 1968-69; Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Worland, 1969-70; J. Reuel Armstrong, Rawlins, 1970-71; William R. Dubois, Cheyenne, 1971-72; Henry F. Chadey, Rock Springs, 1972-73; Richard S. Dumbrill, Newcastle, 1973-74; Henry Jensen, Casper, 1974-75; Jay Brazelton, Jackson, 1975-76; Ray Pendergraft, Worland, 1976-77; David J. Wasden, Cody, 1977-78; Mabel Brown, Newcastle, 1978-79; James June, Green River, 1979-80.

Membership information may be obtained from the Executive Headquarters, Wyoming State Historical Society, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. Dues in the state society are:

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Institutional Membership	$10

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