ANNALS of WYOMING

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ABOUT THE COVER—A sketch of Wyoming's Historic Governors' Mansion by Elizabeth L. Rosenberg. The Wyoming State Museum Volunteers commissioned the drawing in 1984 as a fund raising project. Ms. Rosenberg is a free lance artist specializing in pen and ink drawings of historic architecture. For a detailed discussion of the history of the Mansion, see "Wyoming's Historic Governors' Mansion," by Timothy White in this issue of Annals.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

WYOMING STATE PRESS
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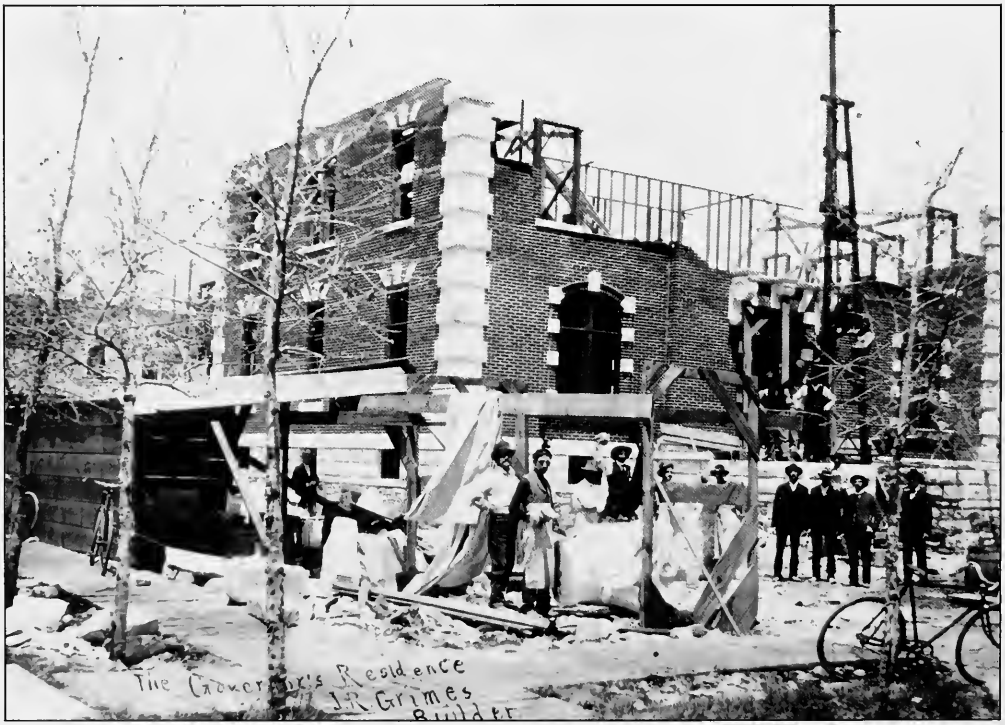
WYOMING'S HISTORIC GOVERNORS' MANSION

by Timothy White



COURTESY ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT (AMH DEPT.)

Construction of the Governors' Mansion began during the spring of 1904 and was completed the following fall.

Introduction by the author

A few years ago, a Cheyenne resident dropped into the Mansion to show me a photograph she thought might be of interest. The 1945 photo shows Elise Nila Hunt, daughter of Governor Lester C. Hunt, on her wedding day, standing in the Mansion living room with her bridegroom who was dressed in his officer's uniform. I was struck by the importance this bit of personal history had both for interpretation and research of the Mansion. This photo gave me the idea to begin a collection of photographs showing family life in the Mansion. When I contacted members of former first families for photos, they not only responded by donating excellent photographs, they also related many stories surrounding the photos themselves. Thus began my oral history research of the Mansion and Wyoming's First Families.

When I began the collection and research as the Mansion's Curator eight years ago, I realized that a complete history of the building and the families who occupied it had never been researched or written. I did not realize this history would be difficult because each first family created its own history, although when the families left office, they took their stories with them. Thus the Mansion history was not preserved here. Not even a Mansion scrapbook had been established and passed on from family to family. Researching and writing this history was also difficult because of the large number of residents and staff who lived in the Mansion.

As I continued my research and oral interviews, I noted how fragile and fleeting history can be; how family histories are easily lost and not easily, if ever, recovered. Three of the Mansion's residents, a first lady, a governor's daughter and a cook, have died since I interviewed them. I also discovered that the interviews of the Mansion's staff and neighbors offered a wealth of information. Although my research has helped to recapture some of the Mansion's history, many gaps remain. This article only scratches the surface compared to the depth of information that could be mined. I hope this article will provide a framework for other research and articles about the Historic Governors' Mansion, and will show the value of photographs and oral history in preserving the past.

Wyoming entered the Union as the 44th state on July 10, 1890, but the state legislature did not appropriate funds to build a Governor's Mansion until eleven years later. The reason for this delay is not known. The legislature authorized $37,000 to build the Mansion and selected Charles W. Murdock of Omaha, Nebraska, as the architect and James R. Grimes as the contractor. Construction began in the spring, 1904, and was completed that fall. The final cost of the two and one-half story, red brick Colonial Revival Mansion, with separate carriage house, was $33,253.29. This figure included the purchase of the corner lot at East 21st Street and House Avenue for $3,000, the landscaping, $2,036, and all of the original furnishings $4,500.[1]

From 1905 to 1976, the Mansion was the residence of nineteen Wyoming first families. Governor Bryant B. Brooks and his family were the first to occupy the newly-built Governor's Mansion in 1905. Brooks, a Natrona County rancher, and his wife, Mary Naomi Brooks, had five children—four daughters, Jean, Lena, Abby and Melissa, and a son, Silas, the youngest child. The children brought their pet pony from the V-V Ranch with them. The pony was quartered in the carriage house and tended by the resident horse groom, Charlie Anderson. Melissa Brooks Spurlock recalled that she and Lena chose the northeast bedroom so that they could be close to the carriage house to hear their pet pony.[2] The Brooks family was the largest and youngest ever to occupy the Mansion.

Charlotte Chaplin Smith was one of five Chaplin children who grew up in a house three doors west of the Mansion. The Brooks household made an indelible impression on young Charlotte, who recalls to this day the names of the Brooks' cook, Annie Duffy, and the parlor maid, Fanny Brooks (no relation to the Brooks family). Charlotte and her sister Ruth watched the Mansion being built and remember the stone workers carving the Corinthian capitals which grace the Mansion portico. Mrs. Smith fondly recalls the plays which the Brooks and neighborhood children presented under the eaves of the third floor. The "stage" was the ceiling of the portico, which was three feet above the floor level. The primary source of light came from the round, paned window in the center of the portico's pediment. After rehearsing, the Brooks children insisted that their mother and father attend the performance. Charlotte Smith also remembered the Mansion's spacious basement provided an ideal locale for indoor winter track meets.[3]

In February, 1907, the family of Peter S. Cook, a pioneer plumbing contractor, state legislator and Cheyenne mayor, moved into the beautiful Queen Anne house located immediately east of the Mansion. The Cooks had five children. Their youngest child, David, became a close friend of Silas Brooks. Dave Cook recalls how, in 1910, Governor and Mrs. Brooks, the five children, the two live-in maids, and he watched Halley's Comet from the dormer window of the maid's east bedroom on the third floor.[4]

Dave Cook also tells how he and Silas or "Si" loved to fish and would walk down to the train yard in the early morning and catch the north-bound Cheyenne Northern Railroad (later the Colorado & Southern), to Isley station to go fishing on the Russell Van Tassell Ranch. Later in the day, the train would stop on its way back and pick up the boys. Governor Brooks personally had made the arrangements with Van Tassell for his son and Cook's son to fish on the ranch. The boys used to go fishing so often that Governor Brooks became weary of Dave Cook ringing the front door bell so early in the morning, waking the entire household. Dave and Si devised a plan to avoid this problem. They tied a long string to one of Si's big toes and strung it from Silas' bed, through his second floor bedroom

COURTESY RICHARD SPURLOCK

Melissa, Silas, Abby and Lena Brooks enjoyed a tea party at their V-V ranch house near Casper, circa 1906. The eldest Brooks' daughter, Jean, was attending school in the East.

window, down to the front portico steps. From then on, Dave simply pulled the string to awaken only Silas.[5]

Joseph M. Carey succeeded Brooks in the governorship. Governor Carey, who had served the Territory of Wyoming as Territorial Delegate to the United States Congress and as a U.S. Senator from 1891 to 1895, took office in 1911. He and his family never lived in the Mansion, however, because he chose to continue living in his own mansion located on Carey Avenue and 22nd Street.

In 1914, Governor John B. Kendrick was elected to succeed Carey. Kendrick, a Sheridan County rancher, and his family did move into the Mansion and began to change the interior of it as early as 1915. He replaced the drawing room fireplace mantel with the oak-paneled mantel and over-chimney piece which remain today. At this time, Kendrick replaced all of the original, brass combination lighting fixtures with all-electric fixtures. These combination fixtures were two-armed, one arm used electricity, the other gas. When frequent brown-outs and electrical failures occurred, the gas arm could then be lit as a back-up system.

While Kendrick's daughter Rosa-Maye was visiting the East, she saw a painting by Joseph Henry Sharp hanging in a New York art gallery. The painting, titled ''Along the Little Big Horn,'' depicts a Crow Indian winter encampment. Rosa-Maye convinced her father to purchase the painting. The painting hung prominently in the living room of the mansion during the Kendrick residency. Then Rosa-Maye donated the painting to the State of Wyoming. It now hangs in the Wyoming Senate chamber of the State Capitol.[6]

After serving two years as governor, the Democratic Party urged Kendrick to be a candidate for the United States Senate. Manville Kendrick, the Governor's son, recalls that his father declined the offer, claiming that the people of Wyoming had elected him to a four-year term which he intended to complete. Despite Kendrick's wishes, a write-in campaign was conducted, and Kendrick was nominated by write-in votes in the primary and then elected to the U.S. Senate in the general election in 1916.[7]

Then Secretary of State, Frank Houx, became the acting governor in 1917. Houx, the first Mayor of Cody, Wyoming, moved into the Mansion with his wife, Ida, and their four children. Mercedes Houx Wallace, a daughter, still remembers the visit of William Jennings Bryan to the Mansion. Mrs. Wallace also recalled that her father took office during World War I and that he was called the ''War

Governor." She also remembered that her mother, Ida Mason Christy Houx, gave up the Mansion's domestic help and used that money to buy war bonds.[8]

Floyd Artist, a life-long neighbor of the Mansion, was born in 1904, the year the Mansion was under construction. Artist recalls that the Houx daughters, Vera, Mercedes and Thora, held circuses for the neighborhood children in the carriage house and they referred to Charlie Anderson, the horse groom, as "Charlie Governor."[9]

Houx unsuccessfully ran against Robert D. Carey in 1918. Governor Robert Carey, the eldest of two sons of Governor Joseph M. Carey, was born in Cheyenne in 1878. He was the first Wyoming-born governor (and also, later, the first Wyoming-born U.S. Senator) to serve his state. Carey graduated from Yale University and was the Director of the Wyoming Development Company, Wyoming's first major irrigation enterprise. He lived at Careyhurst, the beautiful residence in Converse County which his wife, Julia, the daughter of Brigadier General H. B. Freeman, had created from the original three-room ranch house. Julia Carey loved to fish and hike in the beautiful hills of Converse County, and much preferred living at Careyhurst to living at the Governors' Mansion. She candidly admitted that of the four years she was Wyoming's First Lady, she only lived in the Governors' Mansion about nine months.[10]

Cheyenne attorney William B. Ross was elected Governor in 1922. On June 24, 1923, Governor Ross greeted President and Mrs. Warren G. Harding when the President's train arrived at the Union Pacific Depot in Cheyenne. Harding's trip to the West would be his last; he died in San Francisco on August 2nd, 1923. Following the appendicitis-related death of Ross in 1924, Secretary of State Frank Lucas became acting governor. Frank Lucas had earlier served in the Wyoming legislature preceding his election as Secretary of State. For 25 years, he was the owner, publisher, and in the beginning, the typesetter for the *Buffalo Bulletin*.[11]

State law required a special election to fill the governorship. It was generally known, early on, that the Democratic candidate would be William Ross' widow, Nellie Tayloe Ross, a former school teacher. When Frank Lucas had been elected Secretary of State, he and his wife Ina gave up their newspaper business in Buffalo and moved to an apartment in the Plains Hotel in Cheyenne. Though he was acting governor, Lucas and his wife graciously continued living in their apartment until the special election was held and a new governor elected.[12] Thus, Nellie Tayloe Ross did not have to move out of the Mansion and then back in when she defeated Casper attorney E. J. Sullivan, the Republican candidate, in the special election. Nellie Ross was the first woman to serve as a state's governor in United States history.

Two years later, however, State Engineer Frank C. Emerson defeated Mrs. Ross in her bid for re-election. Governor Emerson took office in 1927 and won re-election in 1931. Less than eight weeks into his second term, Emerson, at the age of 48, died of influenza. Mrs. Emerson and her three sons, David, Eugene and Frank, also seriously ill, were unable to attend the public memorial service that took place in the Capitol rotunda. A private service was arranged for the family in the drawing room of the Mansion, but even then, only the youngest son, Eugene, was well enough to attend. The other family members listened to the service from their second floor bedrooms.

Secretary of State Alonzo M. Clark, who had taught school for 21 years in Campbell County before being elected Secretary of State, became acting governor and served for almost two years, 1931 to 1933, before a special election was held to fill the vacancy. Clark served during the darkest hours of the Great Depression. As a tax-saving measure, Clark and his wife continued living in their home just behind the Capitol Building at 108 West 25th Street. During his campaign for election to a full term, Clark said, "by not using the Governors' Mansion, I am able to report a saving to the State of better than four thousand dollars per year."[13] Clark lost the special election to Leslie A. Miller, who was sworn in as governor on January 2, 1933, and then elected to a full term in 1934.

Following Alonzo Clark's lead, Miller and his wife, Margaret, continued living in their home on West 27th in order to save money and to allow the Mansion to become an office building to house the state headquarters of the Emergency Relief Administration (ERA), and later the Works Progress Administration (WPA), both New Deal programs.[14] At that time, the original Mansion furniture was stored at Ware Furniture Storage in Cheyenne.[15] In 1937,

COURTESY EUGENE EMERSON

Governor and Mrs. Frank Emerson and sons posed for a photograph on the steps of the Mansion portico. From the top, Frank Jr., Governor Emerson, David, Mrs. Emerson and Eugene.

the WPA disbanded and the Mansion reverted back to the governor's residence. When the storage bill for the furniture was presented to the state legislators for payment, they decided that all of the furniture should be sold at public auction to defray the storage costs. The lawmakers then appropriated $12,000 to refurbish and refurnish the Mansion, which was necessary after 32 years of active use.[16]

The Millers played an important role in the redecoration and the money was well-spent. They completely remodeled the kitchen and pantry and added a breakfast room off the dining room on the east side of the house. The Millers eliminated two bedrooms and one of the original two bathrooms on the second floor and replaced them with three new bathrooms and five large closets. Since 1937, the second floor has had four bedrooms, each with a full bath. To complete the refurbishing, Governor Miller and his wife, Margaret, traveled to Chicago with a Casper interior decorator to purchase new furniture at the Chicago Furniture Mart. The Millers moved into the Mansion for the remaining two years of his six-year administration.[17]

Nels Smith followed Miller into the governor's chair. Smith had established and operated ranches in Crook and Weston counties before being elected governor. The Smiths found the newly-redecorated Mansion conducive to entertaining. One of their many house guests was internationally-known opera singer, Jessica Draggonetta, who performed in Cheyenne and established a lifelong friendship with Marie Smith, Wyoming's first Wyoming-born First Lady.[18] Governor and Mrs. Smith hired Johneana Scribner as housekeeper and cook. She and her husband, Charles, a conductor on the Union Pacific Railroad, created living quarters in the basement. The Scribners had to use the bathroom on the third floor to bathe, however, according to Evelyn Grant, the upstairs maid who had her quarters on the third floor.[19] Johneana (nicknamed Janeen) Scribner worked at the Mansion for 16 years, serving through five administrations.

Lester C. Hunt succeeded Nels Smith in 1943. Governor Hunt, a dentist from Lander, and his wife, Nathelle, continued the Mansion's tradition as a social and cultural center of Cheyenne and Wyoming. In 1946, the Hunts hosted a two-day public viewing of the sterling silver service from the battleship, the U.S.S. Wyoming, when it was decommissioned. In 1948, President and Mrs. Harry Truman and their daughter Margaret made a whistle-stop campaign appearance in Cheyenne. Following a parade from the depot to the Capitol where the President spoke, the Hunts entertained the Trumans at the Mansion.[20]

Evelyn Grant recalls that the Hunts brought their baby grand piano with them when they moved into the Mansion. The Hunts placed their piano in the middle of the living room facing the Mansion's baby grand. Daughter Elise Hunt and son, Buddy, often performed piano duets. Mrs. Grant also remembers the champagne wedding reception held in the Mansion for Elise Nila Hunt and her groom, 1st Lieutenant H. W. Chadwick, following their wedding at St. Mark's Church.[21]

Governor Hunt established the collection of photographs of Wyoming's First Ladies which is a permanent exhibit at the Mansion today. Nathelle Hunt, the eldest living former First Lady, now resides in Spokane, Washington. Two years into his second term as Governor, Hunt ran for the U.S. Senate and was elected. His unexpired term as governor was filled by Arthur G. Crane who was acting governor from 1949 to 1951. Crane had been President of the University of Wyoming from 1922 to 1941. During his tenure, the University's enrollment nearly tripled which necessitated the construction of fifteen new buildings. He thus became known as "Crane the Builder."[22]

Frank Barrett, an attorney from Lusk, was serving his fourth term in the U.S. House of Representatives when he successfully ran for governor in 1950. By this time, the Mansion needed a sprucing-up, and Mrs. Barrett enthusiastically took on the project. She selected new paint colors and wallpaper for several rooms.[23] Governor Barrett served two years before he won election to the U.S. Senate. Then Secretary of State, C. J. "Doc" Rogers, a Cheyenne businessman and owner of the Top Rail Motel on East Lincolnway, served as acting governor until Milward L. Simpson took office as governor in 1955.

Simpson graduated from the University of Wyoming and Harvard Law School. He was the first University of Wyoming graduate to serve as governor. Simpson wanted to have one room in the Mansion reflect Wyoming's land and people, so he commissioned Tom Molesworth of Cody, owner of the Shoshone Furniture Company, to build a set of furniture for the governor's den. Molesworth, who had attended the Art Institute of Chicago, constructed the furniture from native pine and cedar. The upholstered pieces feature embroidered pine tree boughs and the Indian Paintbrush, Wyoming's state flower. The den, now renamed the "Wyoming Room," remains unchanged.[24] Simpson and his wife, Lorna, also created an open-air sun porch off the second floor.

J. J. "Joe" Hickey became governor in 1959. He and his wife, Winifred, both natives of Rawlins, lived with their two sons, John and Paul, in the Mansion for two years. During that time, they enclosed the sun porch so that it could be used year-round as a family room. Following the death of U.S. Senator-elect Keith Thomson, Hickey resigned as governor. Secretary of State Jack R. Gage became acting governor and appointed Hickey to the senate vacancy.[25]

Prior to his election as Secretary of State, Jack Gage had served as State Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1935 to 1939. Gage was the first University of Wyoming graduate to hold one of the top five elected positions of the state. Governor Gage, an author and humorist, and First Lady Leona Gage, also a U.W. graduate, had both been teachers in Wyoming before they entered politics.

Clifford P. Hansen, a Jackson rancher, defeated Gage in the gubernatorial election and was sworn in as gover-

Governor and Mrs. Lester C. Hunt hosted their daughter's wedding reception at the Mansion on January 18, 1945. Elise Nila Hunt married 1st Lt. Russell H. W. Chadwick. The baby grand piano behind the couple and the corner cabinet with glass doors were among the furnishings taken to the new Mansion in October, 1976.

nor in 1963. Hansen and his wife, Martha, redecorated the drawing room. The First Lady installed silk curtains and handscreened, damask-patterned wallpaper which remain today.[26] During their tenure, Montana Governor Tim M. Babcock (1962-1969) was a frequent visitor at the Mansion. Florence Conroy, Hansens' cook, recalled that during one Christmas season, Governor and Mrs. Hansen cooked and served dinner to Florence's family and the family of Mary Stephen, the maid. Following dinner, the children played bingo, and Martha Hansen distributed the prizes.[27] Hansen served one term as governor before he successfully ran for the U.S. Senate.

Stanley K. Hathaway succeeded Hansen in 1967. Hathaway, an attorney from Torrington, Wyoming, also was elected to a second term in 1970. He was the first governor to complete a second term, thus the Hathaway family lived in the Mansion longer than any other First Family. First Lady Bobby Hathaway, an artist, took an active interest in the history and interior design of the Mansion. She sought to impart a museum character to the state rooms. Under her direction, the third floor rooms, originally used as maids' quarters, were refurbished for the two Hathaway daughters, Susan and Sandra. Mrs. Hathaway established the first Governors' Mansion Library with the nucleus of 60 books by Wyoming authors donated to the Mansion by the Wyoming Press Women's Association.[28] The library has grown and is now located at the new Governors' Mansion.

During their administration, the Hathaways entertained many prominent guests, including New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller (1959-1973), who was treated to a wild venison dinner prepared by Mansion cook Florence Conroy. Presidential candidate Richard Nixon was a house guest at the Mansion on April 21, 1968. May Eastgate, who succeeded Florence Conroy as the Mansion cook, recalls that she and Mrs. Hathaway planned an elaborate menu which featured roast beef with Yorkshire pudding.[29] The Hathaways' daughter, Sandra Hathaway D'Amico, was impressed with the presence of the Secret Service assigned to the future president.[30] The Hathaways also entertained author James Michener who was in Wyoming doing research for his novel, *Centennial*.[31]

Governor and Mrs. Ed Herschler began serving Wyoming in 1975. Before he became governor, Herschler practiced law in Kemmerer and operated the Herschler ranch in Lincoln County. When the new governor and his wife Casey moved into the Mansion, the new Governors' Mansion was already being built. The Herschlers have the distinction of being the last First Family to live in the old Governors' Mansion. They lived in it for almost two years before moving to the new Mansion, located in Frontier Park, in October, 1976. First Lady Casey Herschler easily

COURTESY CASEY HERSCHLER

Ed and Casey Herschler posed with the Governor's mother, the late Mrs. Ned Herschler, in a photograph used to publicize the 1975 Symphony Ball. They are standing in front of the fireplace mantle installed during the Kendrick administration.

transferred the warmth and open hospitality of the old Mansion to the new Mansion and took an active interest in the preservation and interpretation of the old Mansion as a historic house museum. Because Herschler was elected to and served an unprecedented third term, the Herschlers lived at the new Mansion for more than ten years.[32]

Today, Wyoming's 29th Governor, Mike Sullivan, and First Lady Jane Sullivan reside at the new Mansion with their daughters, Michelle and Theresa, and son Patrick. Mrs. Sullivan continues a tradition among Wyoming first families to enhance and preserve the governors' home.

After the new Governors' Mansion was built, the old Mansion became the Historic Governors' Mansion, a state site museum administered by the Archives, Museums and Historical Department. The Mansion opened to the public in July, 1977. As a museum, the Historic Governors' Mansion continues to be the center of many cultural and social activities as it was when Wyoming's First Families resided there. During the Simpson tenure, the Sioux Indians, including the late Princess Bluewater, danced on the front lawn of the Mansion during Cheyenne Frontier Days. From 1906 to 1958, the Mansion's carriage house served as a neighborhood voting precinct. In 1969, the Mansion was enrolled on the National Register of Historic Places. In December, 1976, the Mansion was the Women's Civic League Christmas House. The annual Christmas Candlelight Tours and Concerts, begun in 1981, continue to be a popular event. In addition to special events, the Mansion is open for touring five days per week. Tourists from all over the world have visited the Mansion.

Restoration of the Mansion has been a major focus since it became a state site museum. Three bedrooms have been restored. Some of the original furnishings from 1905 have been repurchased and placed in the Mansion. In 1986-1987, the entrance hall was restored to its 1905 decor, including the re-installation of a pair of brass, combination-style ceiling fixtures. The Cheyenne Historic Preservation Board recognized the restoration work when the Mansion received the William R. Dubois Award for historic preservation in 1988. A permanent exhibit of photographs donated by Wyoming's First Families has been established, and these photographs illustrate, in a graphic and personal way, the many chapters of the building's history.

Although the Historic Governors' Mansion was modest in size and decor compared to many other executive mansions, Wyoming people have always been proud of this dignified and gracious home they provided their governors. The Historic Governors' Mansion continues to be a beautiful and lasting tribute to Wyoming's rich and colorful people and heritage.

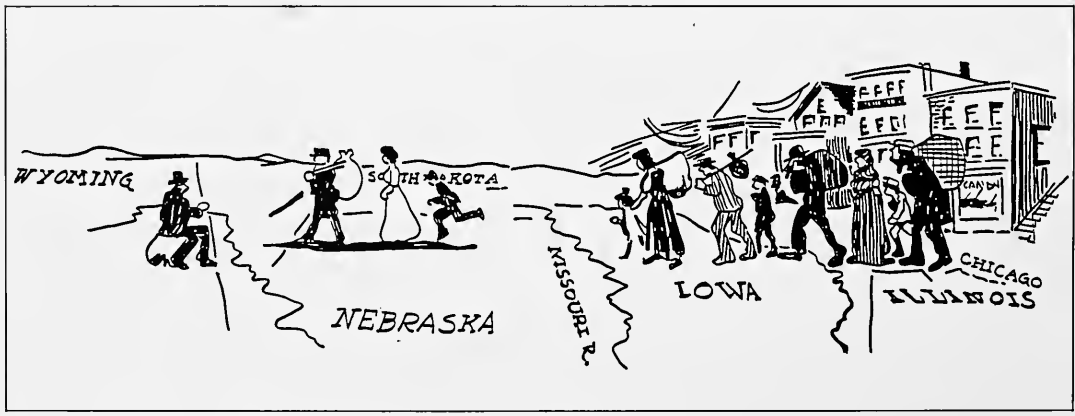
TIMOTHY WHITE, a Cheyenne native, graduated from the University of Wyoming. He did graduate work in painting and interior design at Pratt Institute of Art and Design in Brooklyn, New York, and for several years pursued a painting career in New York. He has been Curator of the Historic Governors' Mansion since February, 1981.

1. *Minutes*, Wyoming State Capitol Building Commission, 1901-1905, Archives and Records Management Division, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne.
2. Telephone interviews with Melissa Brooks Spurlock, Casper, Wyoming, 1983, 1984.
3. Interviews with Charlotte Chaplin Smith, Cheyenne, Wyoming, November 16, 1982, October 19, 1984.
4. Interviews with Dave Cook, Cheyenne, Wyoming, October 21, November 2, 1984.
5. Ibid.
6. Telephone interviews with Manville Kendrick, Sheridan, Wyoming, January 30, April 16, November 18, 1986.
7. *Cheyenne State Leader*, August 23, 1916.
8. Telephone interviews with Mercedes Houx Wallace, Hobbs, New Mexico, November 14, 1986, March 19, 1987.
9. Interview with Floyd Artist, Cheyenne, Wyoming, April, 1987.
10. Interview with Mrs. Joseph M. Carey III, Cheyenne, Wyoming, July 29, 1987.
11. Telephone interview with Clariece Lucas Carrel, Pensacola, Florida, December 7, 1988.
12. Ibid.
13. *Wyoming Eagle*, August 5, 1932.
14. *Wyoming Eagle*, February 23, 1937.
15. Interview with Margaret Laybourn, Cheyenne, Wyoming, July 23, 1985.
16. *Session Laws of Wyoming, 1937*, Chapter 2, p. 3.
17. Interview with Katherine Miller Mabee, Cheyenne, Wyoming, January 15, 1989.
18. Interview with Christy K. Smith, Cheyenne, Wyoming, July 26, 1986.
19. Telephone interview with Evelyn Grant, Meridan, Idaho, January 12, 1989.
20. Interview with Robert R. Larson, Cheyenne, Wyoming, June, 1987.
21. Interview with Evelyn Grant.
22. Telephone interview with Paul Crane, Cheyenne, Wyoming, December, 1985.
23. Interview with Mrs. Frank A. Barrett, Cheyenne, Wyoming, January, 1986.
24. Interview with Sue Breisch Buchanan, Cheyenne, Wyoming, November 19, 1986.
25. Interview with John Hickey, Cheyenne, Wyoming, July 26, 1985.
26. Interview with Clifford and Martha Hansen, Cheyenne, Wyoming, May 22, 1986.
27. Interview with Florence Conroy, Cheyenne, Wyoming, October 11, 1986.
28. Mrs. Stanley K. Hathaway, "Wyoming: The Executive Mansion," *Executive Mansions and Capitols of America*, Eds. Jean H. Daniel and Price Daniel (New York: Putnam Publishers, 1969), p. 120.
29. Telephone interview with May Eastgate, Saratoga, Wyoming, January 13, 1989.
30. Interview with Sandra Hathaway D'Amico, Cheyenne, Wyoming, June 18, 1987.
31. Interview with Susan Hathaway Garrett, Cheyenne, Wyoming, January 13, 1989.
32. Interviews with Casey Herschler, August 2, 1984, April 19, 1985.

JEWS IN WYOMING

by Carl V. Hallberg

The author wishes to acknowledge research funding for this project from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities.



REDRAWN BY BRUCE STRALEY

The Pittsburgh Press *printed this picture in its October 24, 1911, issue, to accompany an article on a plan to place Jews on homesteads in Wyoming. The caption to the piece read: "No more bondage in Industrial Egypt; Jews Swarm to New Promised Land in the West; Onto Soil for Hundreds From the Ghetto."*

In western Jewish studies, the subject of Jewish life in the Rocky Mountain states has generally not received careful attention. With few exceptions, Jewish themes have long appeared to be irrelevant for a region where the Jewish population has been viewed as very small, insulated from national issues or non-existent.[1] This had been especially true of Wyoming, where only recently have there been some efforts to explore the state's ethnic heritage in which Jews too have had a part.[2] A closer examination of the Jewish experience in Wyoming will provide new insights about Jews in Wyoming and in the West.

Jewish immigration and social life in Wyoming have always been connected with economic developments in transportation, mining and agriculture, from the first settlement of the state in 1867 to the energy boom of the 1970s. For the first pioneer Jews, opportunity on the western frontier appeared through the efforts of the Union Pacific Railroad in building a transcontinental line across the then Wyoming Territory. From the founding of Cheyenne in 1867 to the completion of the railroad across Wyoming in 1868, construction crews and boom camps attracted itinerant frontier merchants, some of whom had been following the progress of the railroad across the plains. Included in this westward stream of emigrants were Jews. In the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the camps and new towns, the profile of these Jewish pioneers became but one part of the heterogeneous population. Like other businessmen, they were independent men bent on economic gain rather than establishing roots in the new territory. Many came with a colorful background of transient existence, during which time they had acquired their experience in the field of merchandising and had become somewhat acculturated to life in the West. What made them different from their neighbors were personal qualities and mannerisms that were their Jewish heritage.

While Jewish merchants were not singled out publicly as Jews, their identity was sometimes known in private circles. Such an observation was made in Cheyenne in the winter of 1868 by James Chisholm. Chisholm was on his way to the gold fields around South Pass City when a snowstorm forced him to remain in Cheyenne. Due to the storm's severity and probably his own unpreparedness, he found himself without proper means of shelter and became gravely ill. He wrote in his diary:

> I was rescued by a Jew who drew me into his clothing store. . . . My Hebrew friend was very kind, and I felt like the wounded knight of Ivanhoe, only it was Isaac, and not the gentle Rebecca, who tended me.[3]

His "Hebrew friend" may have been Ben Hellman, a pioneer clothier, but how Chisholm recognized his rescuer as a Jew was not recorded.

Chisholm's remark was to become typical of local and regional knowledge about Jews as personal identification became a common means of measuring the Jewish presence in Wyoming. Even in larger Jewish circles and in some early historical studies, individuality was evidence of Jews in a state where the Jewish population was often known only by individuals rather than by a reference to a common cause or a religious community. This would be true not only for Wyoming, but for the Jewish populations in other western states, leading to the impression that the character of western Jews was markedly different from eastern Jews by the time and place of their newly chosen home and by the absence of anything remotely Jewish by eastern standards. Distance may have physically isolated western Jews from the main currents of Jewish culture, but many responded to the lack of cultural amenities by bringing their Jewish background to their respective areas.

This fact was probably known best to the newspaper, the *American Israelite*. The *Israelite's* principal task was to foster the spirit of Judaism, particularly Reform Judaism under its editor and publisher, Rabbi Isaac Meyer Wise, through the printed word. As a voice of American Judaism reaching out to pioneers and formative religious communities, the paper claimed a national circulation by the 1870s. Indeed, to many small communities and insulated individuals, the *Israelite* did serve as a primary tool of advancing the cause of Reform Judaism. That the paper had a wide circulation was evident from brief notices about local synagogues, donations to Jewish relief and welfare organizations and personal travels. Each short feature may have consisted of one sentence, a couple lines or a list of names, but when viewed collectively, these notices documented the geography of Jews in the American West.

While the *Israelite* willingly printed local notices, the paper was devoted primarily to publishing news on national and regional events directly relevant to the shaping of American Reform Judaism. One city that did merit special attention was Cincinnati, only because it was the home of the *Israelite* and the focus of the Reform movement in America. It then fell to local correspondents elsewhere to report about their community in greater detail in order to show the paper's midwestern readers that one's Jewish identity had not been lost and that the spirit of reform had staunch adherents elsewhere.

Though the *Israelite* was cognizant of its western supporters in Wyoming in the 1870s, the state's Jews did not receive substantial public attention through the pages of the paper until the 1880s and the 1890s. How the *Israelite* obtained information about Wyoming is a matter of conjecture. In any case, news from the state, which was either about individual travels or donations to Jewish charities, was infrequent, brief and often lost among the many lines in the *Israelite*. The reasons for this kind of reporting probably rested somewhere between the nature of the source and the editorial policies of the paper. The overall result was hardly informative for it revealed very little about the character and composition of the Jewish population in the state. In November, 1888, in marked contrast to previous presentations of Wyoming, Maier Marks, a dry goods merchant in Cheyenne, decided to bring Cheyenne and Wyoming to the attention of the *Israelite*.

> It may, perhaps, surprise many of your readers to learn that out here on the frontier, and, as many term it, "the other side of civilization," there is an intelligent and prosperous Jewish population . . . .[4]

Marks was an appropriate spokesman for Wyoming. He and his business partner, William Meyers, came to South Pass City from Salt Lake City about 1869. Their dry goods store profited, but only a short time due to a decline in gold production in the area. The two men soon closed their store and began anew in Cheyenne in the summer of 1870.[5] From 1870 to 1888, Marks and Meyers witnessed the growth and development of the Jewish community of Cheyenne and would be part of the core of the Cheyenne Jewish community until the turn of the century. At the time of Marks' letter to the *Israelite*, the first Jewish congregation in Wyoming had been organized in March, 1888, with Marks as one of its directors.[6] In his closing remarks to the *Israelite*, Marks promised to write future articles about Cheyenne for the pleasure of the paper's subscribers. Although no personal letters followed, Marks, at least, had brought Cheyenne and Wyoming to national attention.

Marks' letter, like many others in religious and ethnic newspapers, was intended primarily to make his co-religionists rediscover their western brethren. Due to limited transportation and communication lines in the West, most eastern Jews were not totally aware of the scale of Jewish settlement or of the extent to which Judaism had been carried across the country. Western Jews, however, were not forgotten among individuals concerned with the welfare of Jews and the future of Judaism in the region. Social and rabbinical leaders in the East realized that the Jewish population was becoming widely dispersed and that many western Jews lived in sparsely populated areas without any religious direction or guidance. To bring these Jews within the framework of the American Jewish community would be difficult. Central to the problem was not when, but how. Western migration was independent of any central or guiding forces, and the Jewish presence was more often than not suspected, or known generally but not specifically. What was first needed before religion could be brought to the frontier was information about the settlement of Jews.

The first group to define the geography of Jews was the Board of Delegates of American Israelites. Formed in 1869, it was the first national Jewish organization in the United States dedicated to the preservation of the civil rights of Jews. Initially the scope of its activities were confined to the eastern coast until the mid-1870s, when the board decided to broaden its influence nationwide. Before it could do so, however, the board needed exact information on the location of Jews and Jewish institutions in the country. Lacking such, the board decided in 1876 to conduct a national census of the Jewish population in America.

Because the board had very little material with which to begin its project, the enormity of the task quickly became apparent. At first, it relied upon a national networking system based solely on correspondence with known individuals and institutions. While this was a good starting point, it later proved inadequate when inquiries were made about other areas. To expand the network only created more administrative and financial problems for the board. As the census became increasingly expensive to conduct and the acquisition of precise figures became more difficult, the board began to look for outside help and turned to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Founded in 1873 by Rabbi Isaac Meyer Wise, the objective of the organization was to create a center for American Judaism. When approached by the board of delegates with the topic of a national Jewish census, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations readily consented, not only because it involved contact with Jews across the country, but also because the project could have long-term rewards for the union. No sooner had the board of delegates made its proposal to the union than an agreement of cooperation was quickly approved by both organizations. Together they would embark on an ambitious task of conducting a complete and thorough census of the Jewish population in the United States.

The census took two years to complete. After the first year, the initial difficulties experienced by the board of delegates still hampered the progress of the census. When preliminary findings were published in 1877, the organizers admitted that the results were considered unsatisfactory and not reflective of the true population. Although there were Jews in Wyoming at this time, the census missed them entirely. Other procedural errors and difficulties in gathering accurate data awakened organizers to the fact that their task was not as simple as it first seemed. Determined nonetheless to meet the challenge, the two groups agreed to commit more money to their project. At the same time, they also decided to modify their goal. They acknowledged that their original aim of conducting a thorough and complete census was unrealistic because not every community or individual could be counted. Thus the work was prefaced on the fact that all figures would only be close approximations of the total population.[7] When the census was finally completed in 1878, more than 200,000 Jews in the country had been counted.

Of the states and territories, Wyoming ranked at the bottom of the list with 40 Jewish residents.[8] This figure was only for Cheyenne. The absence of other cities suggests that the only contact between the census takers and Wyoming was with a person or people of the capital city. It is also evidence of the lack of communication with fellow Jews in the territory, for there were Jews living in Wyoming cities along the Union Pacific Railroad.

Despite problems in its methodology, the census of 1878 was a major achievement in enumerating the Jewish population. Unfortunately, the census takers did not publish any information on the character of the people or the environment in which they lived. Whether this was intentional or not is hard to say, since the original census records no longer exist to allow the modern researcher the privilege of re-evaluating the information. A similar

predicament also faced the inquiring reader of the late 19th century. A person interested in supplementary data had only a limited number of other sources available to him. There were many books, pamphlets and articles on the western states, but few of these were by Jewish writers and fewer still were the number of Jewish writers describing Wyoming.

The first critical accounts about Wyoming to appear in the Jewish press came from the hand of Dr. Max Lilienthal. A noted author and reform rabbi, Lilienthal presented mixed reviews about the Wyoming Territory. While traveling to California in 1874 and 1879, he recorded his observations about Wyoming for the young readers of *Sabbath-School Visitor*. As the train made its way from Cheyenne to Evanston, he toured the major cities along the route and reported in a positive, educational and colorful manner on the general character of the urban and natural environment. In the end, he left his readers with the impression that Wyoming was worthy of exploration by young minds.[9] To his adult readers, however, Lilienthal conveyed a very different impression. On a trip to California in 1876, he portrayed the state as a desert wilderness covered only by sand and sage. Traveling through the territory seemed to him like a rite of passage to San Francisco.

> It is a tedious ride, the ride through Wyoming territory. . . . It is an awful monotony relieved at last by the sight of the Rocky Mountains and Black Hills [foothills between Cheyenne and Laramie] . . . .[10]

His harsh commentary on the entire state contradicted the statements he had made in *Hebrew Sabbath-School Visitor*. While these later remarks may have appeared authoritative to Lilienthal's uninformed adult readers, they were probably born out of an important desire to reach a final destination.

Within a year after Lilienthal's journey in 1876, Rabbi Isaac Meyer Wise toured the West as a representative of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to enlist the support of Jewish communities for Hebrew Union College. Obviously aware that there were Jews in Wyoming, his transcontinental railroad crusade took him to Cheyenne in the summer of 1877. He found his trip somewhat tiresome, for he, like Lilienthal, was bored by the seemingly uncompromising expanse of the plains from Nebraska to eastern Wyoming. The appearance of the Rocky Mountains on the horizon was a pleasant and welcomed sight. As to Cheyenne, he found "a new city of some substantial buildings and a large number of shanties."[11] His brief portrait probably stirred little interest nationwide about the city, but this was not important to him. What was important was that he found a Jewish community here sympathetic to his cause.

Wyoming's image fared no better in the eyes of a foreign correspondent. In 1876, Henry Sienkiewicz, a reporter for the *Gazeta Polska* of Warsaw, made a tour of the United States. His purposes were to satisfy his curiosity about the country and to confirm the colorful and romantic images in newspapers and books about the American West. To Sienkiewicz's dismay, he found the seemingly wild stories and reports about inherent natural disasters and Indian troubles to be unfounded. Most disappointing to him was the blandness of the prairie landscape. From Iowa to Nevada, he wrote, it was "one tremendous treeless prairie, covered only with grass and sweetbroom, and here and there with scrawny willow bushes along river beds."[12] As Sienkiewicz traveled from Wyoming through Nevada, the landscape seemed even more emotionally unsettling.

> It would be a futile attempt to depict for the reader what a dreadful, oppressive effect Wyoming, Utah and Nevada had upon me as I traveled through them on the transcontinental railroad. There the eye has nothing to rest upon other than endless desert, jagged Dantesque rocks, or precipices whose satanical names makes one shudder. An occasional salt lake reflects a leaden, sullen sky. In areas as extensive as some European states, I did not see even a single tree. From time to time small herds of antelope or deer flitted between the rocks, but what these animals eat and drink still remains a mystery to me . . .[13]

At Sherman, the highest point along the railroad, he commented, "nothing is more desolate than the view from here."[14]

Although the purpose of the western travels of Sienkiewicz, Lilienthal and Wise differed, there was some similarity in their descriptions of the plains frontier for their readers. Because other matters merited more attention, their views of the environment were of secondary and passing concern and their overall method of reporting was narrow and reflective of eastern attitudes about urban life. Like most observers unacquainted with, if not uninterested in, the nature of the land, they were quick to make generalizations about the terrain within one or several states, to focus on the vastness and melancholy of the terrain, and to note the incongruity between the breadth of the landscape and the diminutive scale of human activities upon it.[15] By focusing on the broad natural vistas, the observers considered man-made features as separate, independent features rather than as extensions of settlement on the plains. By emphasizing the singularity of things, they inferred the isolation of its inhabitants.

Except for Lilienthal's report in the *Sabbath-School Visitor*, the writers gave little evidence that they took time to discover the character of the place or community. Most of their viewpoints were of a visual criteria and were made from the comfort of their railroad car. Of the writers, only Rabbi Wise had sought out and recorded the presence of Jews. Had it not been for him, a serious reader might have assumed that there were no Jews out here. But Wise was also, in a small way, like the other writers by conveying Wyoming in terms deemed culturally unsuitable for Jews. The impact of these statements on eastern attitudes with regard to the West and western immigration cannot be measured, although given the small amount of space allotted to these topics, the effect is probably insignificant.

One important theme that escaped the writer's attention were the forces behind western settlement. What means of making a living that went unnoticed by Lilienthal, Wise and Sienkiewicz were known to Jews in the

immediate region. Indeed, most Jews who settled in Wyoming had been residing in the neighboring states of Colorado, Utah, Montana, South Dakota and Nebraska, and had first-hand knowledge of the opportunities available to them.

From 1867 to 1910, Wyoming Jews were a mixed and varied lot. Guarding the frontier were Jewish soldiers stationed at Fort D.A. Russell in Cheyenne to Fort McKinney in Buffalo. After the closure of most military outposts, there still remained a Jewish element among military personnel in the state. Mining camps attracted Jewish merchants eager to outfit and supply avaricious gold miners. Jewish participation in the actual extraction of ores was largely confined to areas of management or investment. However, there were two exceptions. In Fremont County, one mine was called the Irish Jew, even though it appears that its owners were not Jewish. Even more notable is the existence of a Jewish miner, Moritz Aronstein. Aronstein operated a rooming house in Colorado Springs before he purchased a mining claim south of Lusk, Wyoming. As the story goes, he was tricked into buying land seeded with gold nuggets.[16] In agriculture, Jewish homesteaders in Laramie, Platte and Goshen counties struggled to become successful farmers, while Isadore Bolton of Carbon County managed a sheep ranching empire stretching from Hayden, Colorado, to Rawlins, Wyoming.[17]

The majority of early Jews were frontier merchants. By the time of their arrival in Wyoming, they were knowledgeable in the merchandising of clothes, liquor, cigars and various sundry goods, were often quite enterprising and mobile when new opportunities became available elsewhere, and had established varying degrees of credit with wholesalers in New York and Chicago. Success in their endeavors depended upon their personality, business experience and community involvement. If a merchant managed to attain some social prominence, he often became recognized as one of the economic builders of his community and a symbol of respectable merchandising.[18]

COURTESY AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Max Idelman of Cheyenne.

Several men who prospered in one town went on to expand their business operations into neighboring boom towns. Ben Hellman and the firm of Marks and Meyers opened branch stores in Laramie by 1870.[19] The liquor wholesale dealers of Brown and Gottstein began in Evanston about 1873. Brown left for Nevada in 1875, but his post was filled by Max Idelman, an astute Russian-Polish immigrant from St. Joseph, Missouri. By 1878, Gottstein and Idelman had stores in Laramie, Cheyenne and Deadwood. After the firm of Gottstein and Idelman dissolved in 1878, the two men opened competing liquor businesses in the new town of Fort Fetterman in 1886.[20] In northeast Wyoming, Abe and Meyer Frank opened a general store in Sundance in 1884 and five years later opened a second store in Newcastle.[21]

Jewish immigration to Wyoming was influenced by personal initiative, perceptions and information networks. If a business grew or expanded, Jewish merchants sometimes brought unemployed family members into the business. The newcomer provided the extra clerical help until such time, if ever, he could become independent. In some cases, the newcomer would operate the branch store. The Idelman Brothers of Cheyenne was headed by Max followed by his brothers Abe and Philip and Max' son Samuel, with Philip in charge of the Fort Fetterman store. In Sundance, Maier Marks brought in his brother Abe from Minneapolis to help run his store. When a second store was built in Newcastle in 1889, the Frank brothers sent for their brother-in-law, Isaac, to manage it. Such actions within a family were done primarily for managerial reasons, since family members were well acquainted with the business and were more responsive to the concerns of the business than were non-family help. In addition, the entrance of a family member increased the local Jewish population. Even if the Jewish population consisted of family members, a family unit brought and insured the preservation of Judaism in the small town.

The skill of the merchant was tested by his ability to conduct business under various conditions. Depressions, bank failures and fires could wipe out a merchant who did not have financial reserves to begin anew. A common and persistent problem was obtaining payment on outstanding debts from his customers. If necessary, the merchant resulted to legal action to make his customer assume some responsibility for his commitments. Legal action was important, not only for the maintenance of the agreement between the two parties, but in order that the merchant might meet his obligations with his creditors. Lastly, in the course

of the business, Jewish merchants, like their Gentile counterparts, sometimes ran up against the legal codes. Minor infractions resulted from the lack of emotional restraint in interpersonal dealings, failure to obtain the proper license or an ignorance of local ordinances.

A pioneer merchant's future relied not only on his ability to conduct business, but on his ability to attain and maintain good credit with his wholesalers.[22] As the Jewish merchants of Cheyenne and Laramie were well aware, however, getting a good credit rating was not easy for Jews. Nineteenth century reports by R. G. Dun & Company, the nation's credit reporting agency, were biased against Jews, reflective of a period when eastern banking and business firms charged Jews with dishonesty in their business affairs and lacking the character to do otherwise. It was along this kind of thinking that the identification of Jewish merchants were made in R. G. Dun & Company reports for the benefit and careful consideration of wholesalers and distributors.[23] It remained to be seen in subsequent accounts if the individual or individuals then matched common stereotypes.

Conflicting and vague images more often than not were the norm. For example, on Ben and Isaac Hellman, a R. G. Dun & Company agent reported that

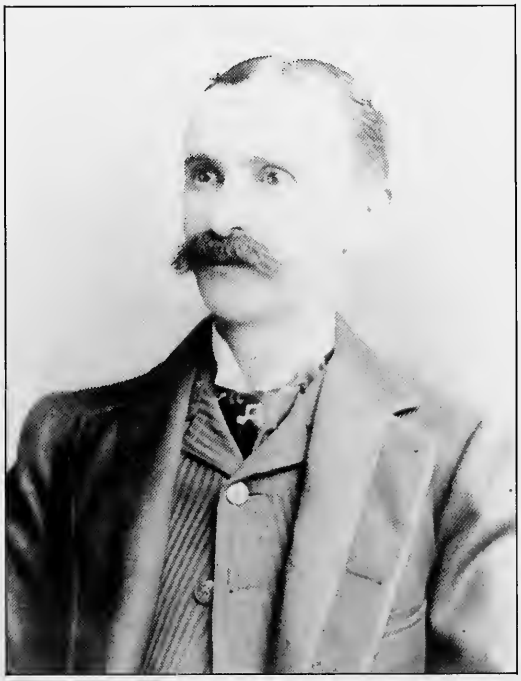
> they are Jews + so quiet + unassuming that but little is said abt [about] them. I have no means of knowing their means or worth [.] they [sic] . . . [are] consid[ered] perfectly reliable + stand high in this community as bus[iness] men . . .[24]

Henry Altman, a man who would make a name for himself in Cheyenne business and social circles, was considered "scaley" because he bought his own business paper at a discount of 50 percent. Consequently, agents for R. G. Dun & Company urged future creditors to be cautious in their dealings with him.[25] Herman Rothschild, a dry goods dealer in Cheyenne in 1869, also did a good business, but it was difficult to determine his means because "they are Jews."[26] A year later, when the business changed its name to Israel Herman & Company, it was reported that "as bus[iness] men they stand ab[ou]t as f[ai]r with the rest of the Jews here."[27]

Overall, the reports of R. G. Dun & Company agents showed that Jewish merchants varied in ability and talent. Ben Hellman, Gottstein & Idelman and Marks & Meyers were able to make a profit and satisfy the claims of their creditors, traits very commendable in the eyes of R. G. Dun & Company and eastern and midwestern wholesalers. Other businessmen were not so fortunate, and it was not too difficult to figure out why. Poor business practices and an inability to pay back creditors on a timely basis resulted in lower credit ratings and subtle warnings to future creditors.[28] Lacking financial reserves and insurance, a few Cheyenne businesses were wiped out by a city fire in 1870.

A number of Jewish businessmen linked their survival to those forces which brought on an economic boom or certain profit, rather than on the future of a community. The best example of this fact is illustrated in terms of the building of the Union Pacific Railroad in Wyoming. Merchants eagerly followed the railroad's progress in order to profit from the construction camps and new railroad towns. Even though the railroad line was 45 miles to the east, the city of Cheyenne already was taking shape.[29] The construction of permanent structures gave shape and character to the urban environment. As buildings arose, their size and dimensions were topics of the *Cheyenne Leader* as a signal of the permanence of this new city, optimism in the economic future and the civic character of its owners. By the winter of 1867, Cheyenne counted among its businesses the clothing store of Ben and Isaac Hellman, a confectionary of Louis Altheimer and a general store of Henry Altman. As the rail lines moved west of Cheyenne, several Jews, such as Simon Durlacher and Henry Altman, closed their stores and began anew in Laramie. In Laramie it was reported that "Jew peddlers" were among the city's first arrivals.[30] Why the author chose this terminology is unknown. One can only suspect that the reference may not have been a reflection of the ethnic character of the emigrants, but the writer's critical, albeit scathing, perception of business practices.

While Durlacher and Altman would make Laramie their home, others continued to tag along with the railroad. Simon Bamberger, future Utah governor, came to Cheyenne to collect on a debt for a St. Louis creditor. By the time of his arrival, he learned that his debtor had left the city and his old office had been closed. Bamberger then moved west, caught up with the railroad crews at Piedmont in southwest Wyoming, and opened a general store



COURTESY ANNA MILLER MUSEUM, NEWCASTLE, WYOMING

Meyer Frank, businessman in Sundance and Newcastle.

there. A short time later he moved to Utah and made his permanent home in Ogden.[31] Louis and Gerson Altheimer, two pioneers of Cheyenne, left the city in 1868 for more auspicious offerings elsewhere. They made their respective fortunes in Arkansas and Albuquerque, New Mexico.[32]

Other economic developments, most noticeably in the area of mining, had a similar influence on migration patterns. In the mid-1870s, the Black Hills gold rush attracted Cheyenne Jews to the gold camps even though Cheyenne was becoming a major outfitting and transportation center to the Black Hills. Railroad construction and coal and mineral mining across Wyoming attracted numerous Jewish merchants back into the state at the same time that gold and silver rushes in Colorado, Utah, Montana and Idaho were making Wyoming a crossroads for travel within the Rocky Mountain states. It was about this time that Jewish immigration in Wyoming, the Rocky Mountains and the Great Plains was being reviewed in larger circles.

In the 1890s, national Jewish organizations, concerned about the future of the Jewish immigration from Europe and the social welfare of Jews in the urban ghettos, considered the role the West should play to benefit such programs. The resettlement of urban Jews, the redistribution of urban labor and the procurement of homes for new immigrants had long been social programs confined to and resolved in the East. But as the scale and difficulty of welfare issues increased as a result of Jewish immigration from Europe, social leaders looked to their western brethren for assistance. Some not only sought economic aid, but also a geographical solution involving the relocation of urban Jews. These men recognized that any efforts at resettlement and distribution required knowledge about the geography of Jewish settlements in the country. The key points to insure the success of such a program were contact and cooperation with communities and individuals sympathetic to their causes, a process that might require a close look at areas not normally considered culturally acceptable for Jewish immigrants due to limited organized Jewish life. In some cases, the size of the local Jewish population, although an important consideration, would be waived on account of the expressed commitment of western participants, so that states like Wyoming would be deemed acceptable places for Jewish settlement.

When resettlement and distribution programs were instituted, the westward migration of Jews then assumed a new perspective. Whereas prior activities had rested entirely upon the motives of the emigrant, a part of the westward movement was now carried out under the names of charity and philanthropy. The role of personal motivation was not diminished in any way, but remained a prime prerequisite in a resettlement program, since the directing organization worked with individuals willing to relocate.

One of the more popular programs involved the placement of Jews on farms. In the 1880s, agriculture as a vocation fit for Jews had a wide acceptance among Jewish leaders, charities and benevolent organizations. Their principle argument to their skeptics was that Jews had the ability to be good farmers as they did tradesmen. Only historical circumstances restricting vocational opportunities imposed since medieval times and the perpetuation of urban retail trades kept Jews from working the soil.

COURTESY AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, CINCINNATI, OHIO

Rabbi Leonard Levy of Pittsburgh convinced the Jewish Agricultural Society to sponsor the first Jewish farmers in Wyoming.

Farming programs of the 1880s were mainly attempts at establishing an agricultural utopia. Jews established colonies across the Great Plains with the hope they would be self-sufficient agrarian communities and thus dispel the commercial stereotypes of Jews. While the organizers had good intentions, they had little or no planned programs or method of assimilating the Jewish farmers into the American agricultural scene. A combination of 19th century romanticism, spiritual idealism associated with a life on the soil, and charity clouded their minds as well as that of their supporters and many participants. The unpreparedness of Jewish farmers for a life on the soil, the poor choice of lands and the lack of supervision and guidance made for a bad start and gave poor publicity to the idea of farming as a Jewish vocation.[33]

Nonetheless, ardent advocates remained committed to the prospect that Jews could be farmers. If properly administered, social reformers believed that agriculture could be a way of life for the unemployed and immigrants and a means of relieving urban congestion. In Philadelphia, the National Farm School, under the able directorship of Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, showed that young men could be ade-

quately trained to assume careers in agriculture. But it was through a combination of charity and financial assistance that the Jewish farming program got off the ground. Instrumental in this regard was philanthropist Baron De Hirsch, who donated millions of dollars to agricultural colonization programs in North and South America. In America, his efforts resulted in the establishment of the principal agricultural credit agency for the Jewish farming movement, the Jewish Agricultural Industrial Aid Society, later called the Jewish Agricultural Society (JAS).

Organized in 1900, the JAS operated from a generous trust fund of $2.5 million from De Hirsch. While it also concerned itself with the redistribution of Jewish labor as part of its industrial aid program, it concentrated its efforts at the outset to funding as many agricultural applications as possible. In the process, the JAS confronted many of the problems of earlier agricultural ventures, but resolved them to some extent by offering educational assistance, supervising the choice of lands and applicants and funding only cooperatives. Its first endeavors in New York and New Jersey proved very successful and sufficiently demonstrated to the JAS and agricultural supporters the Jews' ability to become farmers. With these accomplishments, the society expanded its activities westward.

The JAS found no shortage of applicants anxious to acquire their own land, even on the plains. Across the Great Plains there was still plenty of land available for homesteading. Federal laws prohibited the communal ownership of land, but rural communities comprised of independent, ethnic farmers would constitute a close similarity to previous cooperative ventures. The JAS began its western venture with a loan to Jewish farmers in North Dakota in 1906. Less than a year later, it provided financial assistance to Jewish farmers in Wyoming.

Proposing a Wyoming settlement to the JAS was Rabbi Leonard Levy of Pittsburgh. Levy was one of the foremost Jewish leaders who reflected the progressive thinking of his time, stirring his congregation and community to deal with social problems of the day. Among other things, he sympathized with the social plight of Russian and Eastern European Jews and was very active in promoting Jewish immigration to the United States. He also realized that as long as these immigrants continued to leave in increasing numbers and congregate in eastern cities, conservative cries in Congress for immigration restriction for Eastern and Southern Europeans would continue. By providing for the employment and resettlement of Jews Levy believed he could resolve both problems. "It is not restriction that we need," he wrote, "but proper distribution we require."[34] The two promising areas for future Jewish settlement in his view were the South and the West, where the population and industrial activities were growing.[35] His call for redistribution began in his own city, when he convinced the JAS to sponsor fourteen Pittsburgh families to homestead, fifteen miles south of Torrington at Huntley, which was also known as Allen.

COURTESY HOMESTEADER'S MUSEUM, TORRINGTON, WYOMING

Girls of the Jewish School near Huntley posed in 1918 with items made for the Red Cross.

Any hope that the Wyoming colony would mirror the New York and New Jersey experiences was quickly dismissed, for the society immediately reported that the settlers "could not possibly have made a more injudicious selection."[36] The land was arid and irrigation was only a distant possibility because the government's reclamation efforts on the North Platte River around Casper were progressing slowly eastward. The JAS figured it would be five years before any irrigation benefits would be realized. In the meantime, loans were sent to the colonists for temporary relief. In 1908, continued cries from Torrington and from friends in Pittsburgh reminded the JAS of how it had entered "what seemed to us a doubtful venture . . . ."[37] Additional loans totalling more than $4,000 were sent, but it was soon learned that the settlers in conjunction with local dealers had misappropriated the money. Adding to the difficulties, the JAS found homesteaders reluctant to take out mortgages on their real property as collateral for financial assistance. The JAS had to settle instead for cattle mortgages in seven cases.[38]

Troubled by financial problems of its settlers, the JAS turned to an independent observer to comment on the Torrington situation. The man they picked was Rabbi Abraham R. Levy, secretary of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America (JAAS), a Chicago organization.

Levy was one of the guiding forces behind the JAAS and one of the strongest advocates of farming as a livelihood for Jews. The JAAS, like the JAS, believed the Jew could become a good farmer and perceived agriculture as a preventive, rather than curative, charity for needy Jews. The JAAS was primarily concerned with arresting the plight of the Russian Jew, getting him out of the congested urban environment and placing him into a more wholesome atmosphere. To Levy, the Jew's pension for independence, economy, industry, love of family and love of home life were urban characteristics that could be carried out in a rural atmosphere and accordingly would make an agriculture enterprise successful.[39] Levy's idealism was aptly reflected in the gratuitous assistance and generosity of the JAAS, for every effort was made to accommodate all applicants. There was no selection process for applicants and no supervision in the choice of lands. Instead the JAAS trusted in the individual's abilities and sincere desire to be a farmer. Though it operated only on donations from Chicago's Jewish community, the JAAS could afford to be liberal in its philanthropy, for among its directors were some of Chicago's leading social and business leaders, including Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Julius Rosenwald, Adolph Loeb and Hugo Pam.

Before he left for Wyoming, Levy read the reports of the JAS and after making his inspection, found the situation to be portrayed accurately. Traditional farming practices would be difficult for a time, but he suggested that the farmers should be supported financially until the government reclamation project was completed. In the meantime, Levy figured that a loan of $250 per person, gardening and work on area farms would help sustain the colonists. Future monetary allotments may be substantial, but he believed this was necessary if any Jewish farming program was to succeed.[40]

Levy tried to be objective in his report to the JAS, though he could not help but add his approval to the Wyoming experiment. For the JAAS, he had no doubts that Wyoming offered excellent opportunities so that the JAAS could take an active part in the Jewish agricultural movement.

> As for our Organization, I was of the opinion that we should assist as large a number of people as possible to settle in the territory, believing that valuable and permanent homes would thus be secured for many of our Jewish poor in a country where, climatically as well as economically, conditions are most favorable.[41]

Before the JAS published its report, the JAAS had plans to transplant a sizeable Chicago colony on the Wyoming plains. The urban Jews of Chicago were as much attracted to the benefits of homesteading as their counterparts in Pittsburgh. But the JAS' depressing statements on Wyoming in 1907 and 1908 caused the JAAS to reconsider the scope of their own program. Because "those that expressed the opinion spoke as with authority," the society nearly discarded its plans. Upon further reflection, and considering the earnestness of the applicants and the intention of the society, the society did send ten families to Wyoming.[42]

The society did not regret this action. In fact, it believed the new colonists would not encounter quite the hardships and difficulties of their predecessors, for the government's reclamation work on the North Platte seemed near at hand. In 1909, in accordance with federal law, the Secretary of the Interior withdrew lands in the immediate area from settlement. Levy took this to be a sure sign that an irrigation system would be built within two or three years. He also reported that the company working for the government might offer employment to economically troubled farmers. He estimated a man could earn between $40 and $50 per month while a man with a team of horses could earn between $100 and $200 per month. Certain of these facts, Levy was convinced in the soundness of the JAAS in sponsoring homesteaders in Wyoming. It was disappointing to him that by heeding the reports of the JAS, the JAAS would not play a major role in Wyoming. Levy sadly noted: "We have lost a great opportunity in having disregarded the proposition of settling several hundred families in that territory."[43]

Sympathizing with the desires of the farmers and wrestling with its own decisions, the JAS continued nonetheless to support the efforts of Jewish farmers in Wyoming from 1907 to 1912. Besides the Torrington-Huntley-Allen area, a second Jewish farming community was established at Iowa Center east of Chugwater, the core group of which consisted of family members headed by Abe Blatt, a fruit peddler from St. Paul, Minnesota. Elsewhere there were numerous individuals who filed for homesteads around Guernsey, Granite Canyon and outlying areas of Torrington and Iowa Center.[44] While com-

munal ownership was not allowed under the federal homestead laws, a rural Jewish community did arise comprised of the neighboring farming families whose religious lifestyles brought Judaism to the plains of Wyoming. With a majority of students being Jewish, the schools at Iowa Center and Allen were nicknamed "Jewish School" by county residents.[45]

The JAS and its Chicago counterpart, the JAAS, had good reasons to believe the Torrington-Huntley-Allen area settlers would succeed. Agricultural opportunities in eastern Wyoming had long been lauded by the railroads and the state as potentially productive. The federal government's reclamation efforts were near at hand, and even without irrigation the outlook for some farming families was promising. In 1913, Abe Shapiro of Iowa Center had a reported indebtedness of only $200, most of it incurred due to the illness of his wife. His assets included 320 acres of land, two horses, a cow and a calf, a barn, a house, a granary, wire fencing, chickens and $300 in crops. After assessing Shapiro's situation, S. S. Pearlstine, a Cheyenne attorney, commented that "[i]f he [Shapiro] had the resources and stock to sufficiently cultivate the whole acreage, his crop today would be worth at least $3,000."[46] This figure, probably inserted to impress readers on Shapiro's productivity and prosperity, was actually the medium received by farmers nationally and did not take into account other obligations a farmer might have had.[47]

If Shapiro's outlook appeared fortuitous, Pearlstine foresaw an even better future for a neighbor, Nathan Cohen. Formerly a junk dealer, Cohen had assets totaling more than $2,600. His situation was not only productive and apparently profitable, but reflected the purposes underlining the Jewish farming movement.

> When he came to Wyoming he was not in the best of health, but now is as rugged as [he is] adamant. He expects to put twice as much in cultivation next year, and stated that he would feel most grateful, indeed, unless he could do somebody a service by telling them of his happiness and prosperity.[48]

Cohen and Shapiro were but a small group of farmers who appeared somewhat successful, at least in their first year. On the other hand, others had to turn, often repeatedly, to the JAS for assistance, a sign of major underlying problems which would result in the eventual failure of the Jewish farming experiment in Wyoming.

In spite of past experiences and preparation, the Jewish farming movement still contained some romantic images of life on the soil. By supporting Wyoming's Jewish farmers, the actions of the JAS appeared somewhat naive and ill-conceived when compared with the society's eastern endeavors. Most striking of all was the apparent laxity it initially took in handling loan applications. The close supervision and guidance which contributed largely to the success in the East were missing and were replaced by trusting in the sincerity of applicants to be good farmers. Secondly, the society could not take a hard hand at determining the location of farms as it had in the East.

Of equal if not greater influence on JAS was the determination of Jewish homesteaders. There is no doubt the concept of free land was both an attractive and desirable objective. Positive images associated with working and owning land meant the possible realization of the yeoman heritage idealized in popular and classical literature. For immigrants, land ownership was a symbol of wealth heretofore denied them. A national study conducted in 1910 found that while Jewish farmers struggled to eke out a living, "the desire of having a piece of land all their own is very strong in those men."[49]

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Rabbi Abraham R. Levy of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society strongly supported the settlement of Chicago Jews on farms in Wyoming.

Such idyllic prospects soon gave way to the sudden realization that free land did not come cheap, but came at a great price, financially and emotionally. At the outset, homesteaders were faced with developing farming strategies and trying to build a new life on an unfamiliar landscape.[50] Most homesteaders, Jewish and Gentile, did not have the benefits of dry farming techniques or ready access to irrigation. Moreover, Jewish farmers came with little or no knowledge of farming. Subsequently, a farmer found his labors on the land often proved far greater than expected. His largest investment was in land and in crops, usually corn, with the hope a good price could be obtained at harvest time. The remaining portion of his property usually consisted of a house, barn, maybe fencing and, to supply some basic needs of the family, a couple horses, cattle and some chickens. For the farm to succeed, strong

reliance was placed on individual determination and communal assistance, including that from Gentile farmers (*goyim*).[51]

Though homesteading entailed inherent hardships and personal sacrifices, any reservations on the part of Jewish farmers probably were dismissed by reminders of past urban occupations in retail and building trades. That many came from non-agrarian backgrounds may suggest their former vocations were unsuccessful or marginal. That there were no regrets is also evident from the initial number of applicants and later, from those who took out additional loans and mortgages to make their agricultural life successful. Personal motives could run much deeper emotionally. For Morris Sincher, agricultural problems were forgotten with vivid reminders of social injustices and programs in Russia. Having left his wife behind, he hoped through his labors he would soon be able to bring her to America. Just when this seemed possible, his sister-in-law, Mindel, informed him his wife had been killed the previous year. Mindel then reminded him his wife's fate was the fate of many as "tausends [sic] of young men and women loosen [sic] ther [sic] lives everyday in Russia, and I think that they are better of[f] because we are sufferi[n]g too much."[52]

Except for the JAS and the Jewish rural schools, there was not much novelty placed on the presence of Jewish farmers in Wyoming by the press, regionally or locally. Their rural isolation sheltered them from the focus of local publicity. From a national viewpoint, experiments in Jewish farming already were widespread. In 1911, the Jewish farming experience took on a different perspective among Wyoming and national officials.

That year the National Association of State Immigration Officials embarked on a campaign to encourage immigration in the Great Plains states. The idea itself was not new other than regional states apparently agreed to work together rather than, as in the past, against one another. Among the western immigration officials who supported such a program was Wyoming's Commissioner of Immigration, Roy W. Schenck.

Schenck had only been Commissioner of Immigration a short time when news of a western immigration program reached him. In fact, his department had just been created by the state. Wyoming's governors, who saw immigration as an essential part in the growth and development of the state, long desired an immigration department. State legislators, however, with their ties to the cattle industry, continued to block such efforts. Finally, under Governor Joseph Carey, the state created the Department of Immigration in 1911 with Schenck as its director. From the start, Schenck worked hard to promote Wyoming, particularly its agricultural opportunities, by distributing pamphlets, answering inquiries and publicizing the state through a traveling exhibit and with exhibits and his attendance at land conventions. After his first year, he reported there was a wide interest in Wyoming from people of all backgrounds, including "Hebrews."[53]

In October, 1911, Schenck went to Chicago to meet with other immigration officers regarding a new western immigration program. During his stay, he met a group of people interested in settling Jews in Wyoming. Numerous private discussions soon led to a tentative deal. Reporting back to Governor Carey, Schenck felt very confident a Hebrew agricultural colony would be planted in Wyoming. He believed 100 emigrants might be encouraged to settle on 8,000 acres of land, "if the terms are satisfactory."[54] After reading these notices, Carey was greatly pleased with the prospects. A man who supported efforts in the areas of agricultural development and immigration, Carey notified Schenck, "I hope we may be able to 'land' some of them."[55] Shortly after he informed Carey of these events, Schenck left Chicago for a land convention in Pittsburgh. It was here, where a national land convention and a national convention of Jewish charities were held simultaneously, that the Chicago discussions received national publicity.

The "deal" was sensational even by the standards of the JAS. Under the proposed plan, 450 Chicago Jewish families would move into the Wheatland district in the spring of 1912. The site seemed ideal, for it was still open to homesteaders and was considered one of the more promising dry farming regions by the U.S. Reclamation Service. Each family would be supplied with 80 acres of land and $1,000. In return, the state of Wyoming promised to give the colonists agricultural advice and assistance.[56] On paper, the plan was the largest and most expensive colonization scheme ever attempted in the state. If it succeeded, it would be a big boost to the state's immigration program and a major achievement for Schenck. It was also seen as the beginning of a new era of western immigration. A. M. Liebling, editor of the *Daily Jewish Press*, said confidently, "we expect the movement to be national in scope," even though the Jewish farming movement had long been in existence.[57]

In social circles, the exciting, but unsubstantiated news, was that the colony's sponsor was Julius Rosenwald, Chicago philanthropist and founder of Sears, Roebuck and Company. His rumored association gave a sense of prestige and credibility to the project, and with his support, the Wyoming colony could expect close supervision, but also generous aid. However, no one was quite sure if Rosenwald was bankrolling the entire project. The wire service, nonetheless, hinted at the speculative nature of this elusive backer, stating that while Rosenwald had not yet made any definite commitments, he was interested and "his interests generally develop into something substantial."[58]

Contrary to rumors and speculations, Rosenwald's involvement remained fictional. He was aware of a Wyoming colonization scheme, but denied any association with it. To what degree he was familiar with the plan cannot be determined. His records at the University of Chicago Library make reference to a file on the Wyoming project, but unfortunately, this has been lost. Still, it is very likely that any resettlement of Chicago Jews in the name of char-

ity would have been reviewed carefully by one of the city's prominent philanthropists. Since he had watched the Jewish farming movement from the start, he was in a position to evaluate the merit and feasibility of an agricultural colony in Wyoming.

While his immediate reaction to the project is difficult to measure, his correspondence in the following year shows that he apparently was becoming doubtful about the Jewish farming movement in general. On the JAAS, of which he was a board member, he said it "has had a very unfortunate experience in placing farmers."[59] He also believed forced colonization schemes by charity organizations "were far from desireable."[60] His own experience with the troubled Clarion Colony in Utah made him apprehensive of any endeavor undertaken on a large scale or blindly by persons not acquainted with the fundamentals of agriculture.

For all its sensationalism, the Wyoming colony failed to materialize. After his attendance at the land convention in Pittsburgh, Schenck did not make any further mention to Carey of a Jewish settlement. Neither did the JAS or the JAAS make any reference to it, and school census, mortgage records and local newspapers fail to show any large influx of Jewish farmers into the state. While Jewish farmers continued to file for homesteads in Wyoming, they did not do so on the scale anticipated by Schenck.

In his correspondence to Carey, Schenck never revealed the names of his contacts in Chicago, nor did he follow-up on this lead.[61] As stated, any resettlement of Chicago Jews in the name of charity would probably have been reviewed by Julius Rosenwald. If there was such a connection, it would follow that Rosenwald acted in behalf of the JAAS. It now seemed the earlier excitement expressed by Levy about Wyoming was being reawakened and was about to be realized.

On the other hand, it appears very unlikely the JAAS would have committed itself to such a grand program. Financially, the society did not have the means to be as generous as it had been in the past. Poor loans in the past soon put the society in a dire economic condition, so that by 1911 it already was financially overextended and barely able to assist those under its care.[62] Rosenwald's comment on the society's "unfortunate experience" reflected how the society's benevolence had gotten the better of itself. As its financial obligations continued to burden the JAAS, the JAAS looked more and more to the JAS for assistance. It became the western office of the JAS in 1912.

The acquisition of the JAAS by the JAS was done out of consideration for Jewish farmers. As a branch of the JAS, the Chicago office found there was a great demand among Jews to settle in the West. The JAS was sympathetic, but unable to accommodate all the requests. Earlier in 1909, it had made significant policy changes concerning Jewish agricultural settlements. Rather than continue to risk countless failures to individuals and to the organization's name, it would only encourage and assist those fit for a life on the soil. The JAS had no intentions of abandoning settlers sponsored by itself and the JAAS, but the JAS realized the troubled conditions of western farmers were not likely to improve. All that could be done was to continue to offer as much assistance and cooperation as possible.[63] Technical aid also was provided through the Federation of Jewish Farmers. Its publication, the *Jewish Farmer*, gave advice on agricultural topics and concerns. More importantly, most of the articles were written almost entirely in Yiddish, the language of the Eastern European farmer. In addition, the Federation provided marketing and purchasing aid in the form of cooperatives. A local branch of the Federation organized in Goshen County in 1914, but lasted only one year.[64]

By 1912, the JAS lamented that the Wyoming farmers seemed no better off than they were five years ago. A major problem since the beginning was the delay in the government's reclamation project. The possibility of irrigation systems still seemed years away. For its part, the JAS tried to keep abreast of the government's work in Wyoming, or at least get some kind of encouraging word. Past inquiries to the Department of Interior on projected schedules of completion were of little help. Five years after sponsoring the first Jewish homesteaders to Wyoming, the JAS was notified that reclamation work was anticipated for the immediate area. Progress hinged upon the department's ability to get 95 percent of the deeded land owners to sign contracts for the construction of canals. While a long-sought irrigation program seemed near, the JAS was told not to expect too much too soon.

> . . . it is noted that you are interested in a settlement of Jewish farmers within this area. It, therefore, may be appropriate to call attention to the fact that extreme care should be used in encouraging any developments which are dependent upon the building of this [Fort Laramie Canal] or any other canal until the work is actually constructed. There are too many contingencies, legal, financial, and other wise, to justify embarking in any enterprise, especially where considerable number of poor people are concerned, until the irrigation works are actually completed and in use. I am writing this, as the Department cannot afford to be put in the position of in any way encouraging risks of this kind. In all past history, both of private and public enterprises, it has been shown that they are inseparably connected with disappointment as to the time of completion.[65]

The advice was realistic, but for the JAS, untimely, because there were Jewish settlers already in the area. Unfortunately for the JAS, it would be several more years until the Fort Laramie Canal was constructed and ten years before the government completed its reclamation work on the North Platte River.[66]

In the following years, the agricultural climate in Goshen and Platte counties worsened. Low agricultural prices and limited marketing methods plagued county farmers. Aid from the county extension service was limited as the state extension service was still in a formative period and county agents varied in ability, knowledge and public relations. From 1922 to 1928, Platte County was without a county agent to assist area farmers. New programs in planting cash crops, rotation crop farming and soil fertility

were in their infancy. While these programs seemed promising, they required an initial investment that many farmers could not afford to make. As it was, many farmers already were going to the banks for loans, only to be refused.[67] Some Jewish farmers supplemented their farm incomes by working on neighboring irrigated farms and in the sugar beet factories, engaging in some form of truck farming or doing odd jobs.[68] At the outset, farmers counted on the JAS for loans to help through the difficult financial periods, but even aid from the JAS soon became difficult to attain as the number of loans being denied quickly equalled and surpassed the number of loans being granted. This development resulted from new loan policies initiated by the board for the JAS to be less charitable and more fiscally responsible in its dealings. As personal debts mounted, most farmers were forced to make the hard decision of abandoning their agricultural dream. After selling or losing their farms, some resumed their former urban trades in Cheyenne, Wheatland, Torrington or Denver. Most of Wyoming's Jewish farmers moved to California where new opportunities were most plentiful and where large Jewish communities offered some semblance of cultural continuity and stability.

The Wyoming experience was no doubt a great disappointment to the JAS, given the years it watched farmers struggle to make the land fruitful without the benefit of irrigation. Between 1907 and 1933, the organization granted 121 loan applications totalling more than $95,000 and closed on 104 loans amounting to more than $70,000.[69] The western farming experience in general was a financial failure for the JAS and prompted a review of goals and objectives. Among other things, agricultural sponsors agreed that in the future, closer attention would be paid to the character of the land and the cultural needs of Jewish farmers. During the depression era, some deemed it essential that farmers be located in close proximity to large Jewish communities and be engaged in a manufacturing-agricultural cooperative.[70]

The early agricultural activities of the JAS were but part of a larger plan of social reform within the larger organization of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. As a sister organization of the JAS, the Industrial Aid Society, later the Industrial Removal Office (IRO), worked to redistribute Jewish labor across the country. The program was created in order to relieve urban congestion in the eastern cities, to improve the living conditions of Jewish immigrants by transplanting them into the interior portions of the country, and indirectly, to keep the immigration doors open. In some respect, the activities of the IRO proved much more successful than those of the JAS,

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Children celebrated July 4th at the Jewish School near Iowa Center in 1915 or 1916.

because they could be readily and widely implemented without much personal adjustment on the part of the applicant and without expense to the IRO.

In order for its program to succeed, the IRO established a network of contacts with Jewish communities across the country. Agents were sent abroad to measure the prospects of relocating Jewish emigrants in the interior portions of the country. Priority was given to large and established Jewish communities, although larger towns might serve as distribution centers to smaller towns, particularly in the mercantile fields.[71] Once a suitable city was found, a local committee was organized consisting of prominent people familiar with the economic and cultural atmosphere. The committee then kept the IRO abreast of job vacancies, arranged for housing and employment, saw to the general comfort of the immigrant in his new surroundings and reported any problems to the IRO. For its part, the IRO examined the quality of applicants and selected communities that could accommodate the transplants.

Basically, every city, regardless of the size of its Jewish community, was given due consideration by the IRO. It could not afford to be particular or choosy if its program was to succeed. This was especially true in evaluating states like Wyoming, where the only Jewish community of any size and organization was in Cheyenne. Subsequently, the IRO reviewed applications from individuals in small towns across the state. Familial surroundings also were considered the proper cultural milieu for the applicant. For example, a Torrington resident offered to take in his brother's family and provide him with employment in order to prevent him from deserting his wife and children.[72]

Careful planning and study were important in the relocation of individuals, but problems arose nevertheless. Some immigrants found their new surroundings alien and did not want to remain in their chosen home. Those who failed to keep their jobs could become a public burden. A larger problem for organizers was trying to make the West cognizant and sympathetic to the problems of overcrowding and unemployment among Jews in the East. Westerners, in turn, protested the character of the immigrants, arguing mainly that they could not be assimilated into their social environment.[73]

The difficulties in placing men in Wyoming arose two years after IRO work began in the state. In 1904, Cheyenne requested four men to work in the Union Pacific Railroad shops. To IRO organizers, this was a good sign from Cheyenne. However, this order proved to be a bad experience for both sides with many problems surfacing at once. Within a month, three of the four men had lost their railroad and subsequent jobs. Samuel Idelman, spokesman for the Cheyenne committee, stressed that the community had done everything possible for them. He blamed the IRO for sending men not fit for a life in a western city and threatened to withdraw Cheyenne from the list of IRO cities.

> Don't send me any more men. The last three you sent me have proven to be absolutely worthless. After securing work for them in a half dozen different places[,] all of them were fired on account of their inability to comprehend any thing [sic] [and] they decided to travel to some larger city where there are many people of their own kind and where they [can] make themselves understood and feel at home. This is no place for Greenhorns. People like these ought to be given some kind of work where they can work in bunches. It won't do to put them out singly among people that don't understand them and don't have any sympathy for them.[74]

The IRO apologized for these inconveniences and was willing to make amends so that the Cheyenne community would be cooperative in the future. David Bressler, manager of the IRO, responded that the relocation of people was not an exact process, but promised to try to send people who were somewhat familiar with the land.[75] Despite Idelman's defiant stance, he was willing to try to support a worthy program.

Cheyenne's initial experience was shared by Charles Benjamin in Cody. A German immigrant, Benjamin was a tailor who came to Cody around 1910. His business quickly prospered and he soon sent a request to the IRO for an assistant in 1910. The new man's stay was short, because his wife did not like the country. The following year, Benjamin put in another request with a preference for a bachelor. Although Benjamin was the only Jewish family in town, he informed the IRO that he could make a man's stay comfortable, and if a man could adjust to living alone, he would find Cody a nice place to live.[76]

Benjamin, however, needed a man as soon as possible. Delays in processing and sending a suitable person in 1911 prompted Benjamin to withdraw his offer, for it was too late in the season to give a man steady employment. The following year saw more delays on account of a sickness in the applicant's family. Meanwhile, work was piling up as Benjamin had counted on an assistant by this time. Three months later, in August, 1912, the IRO candidate, Harry Reidinger, and his family of three arrived in Cody.[77]

Reidinger apparently chose not to remain a permanent resident of Cody nor a permanent employee of Benjamin, for two years later, in 1914, Benjamin once again made another application for an assistant. Past IRO applicants had come with their families and chose not to remain long in his employment. He emphasized he wanted a good tailor, fairly Americanized, and "one hew [who] is willing to stay here, not to make a few dollars and gon[e] back to new york [sic]."[78] The IRO agreed to find a suitable man, but there is no record of the IRO's efforts.

Acting in concert with the IRO were organizers desirous of rerouting immigration through Galveston, Texas.[79] Its chief sponsor was Jacob Schiff, a prominent New York philanthropist. Schiff was convinced that by offering an alternative immigration port of entry, Jewish immigrants would not congregate in New York City. Such a site would not be easily found, because New York offered a full spectrum of Jewish life and the only western

city which could make a similar claim was Chicago. Schiff realized that if any immigration program was to succeed, the immigrant also would have to make some effort to adjust to unfamiliar surroundings rather than be part of the mainstream funneling into the country through the eastern corridors. Addressing the problem in 1904, Schiff stated that it was all too easy for communities to ship immigrants to New York rather than make "even partial provision for their sustenance and employment."[80]

Here was the basis for a new program. If a new immigration port could be found, which would be Galveston, and if communities would make some effort to provide jobs and shelter, then Jewish emigration would have conquered two hurdles. Moreover, by settling and acculturating Jewish immigrants in the interior portions of the country, conservative cries for immigration restriction would be calmed. Like the IRO, the Galveston Plan focused its resettlement activities initially in the states west of the Mississippi River, because Schiff and others viewed the interior as a kind of safety valve for the benefit of Jewish immigration. Because limited job opportunities in western states restricted the ability of those states to handle large numbers of immigrants, Galveston Plan organizers broadened the scope of their activities area to include the Old Northwest and eventually the entire country.

On the surface, the idea did seem to have some validity. The West lacked laborers to meet the growing demands in agriculture and industry. For a Jewish resettlement program, all that was now needed was to settle a few immigrants to establish the nucleus to attract others. As Schiff wrote,

> . . . with the successful settlement of such a number, others would readily follow under their own accord, and that then a steady stream of immigration would flow through New Orleans and Galveston into the territory between the Mississippi River on the East, the Pacific Ocean on the west, the Gulf on the south and the Canadian Dominion on the north.[81]

To popularize the Galveston Plan, Schiff enlisted the services of the U.S. Commissioner of Immigration, the Jewish Territorial Organization and Morris Waldman and David Bressler, two IRO men very familiar with removal work.

Schiff's plan rested largely on the work of Bressler and Waldman. Operating in much the same manner as the IRO, Waldman toured the West and established a network of local committees to work with Galveston leaders. At the outset, it was readily agreed that resettlement throughout the trans-Mississippi West was unrealistic. Only those states with industry and large Jewish communities could make the plan work. Cities like Cheyenne, Boise, Salt Lake and Helena and the states of California and Washington "all, more or less, offer opportunity for effective cooperation."[82] Sparsely settled areas and small towns with limited or no industry could not be counted on, because they could not provide the atmosphere necessary for the immigrant's cultural adjustment.

In his first tour of the West in 1907, Waldman commented that there may be more limitations than organizers previously realized.

> We cannot expect a large volume of co-operation from the towns in the far Southwest and Northwest, because they are very small and they have practically no industries, still, they should be included in order that the distribution may be as wide as possible.[83]

After several months of touring the West, Waldman became more skeptical about the project.

> You must understand, though the opportunities in the area are fine for good mechanics and strong laborers, they are very discouraging for some of the people who are being sent over there. There is more opportunity for our people in the one State of Ohio than there is in all of the states of the hinterland.[84]

In looking at the northern Rocky Mountain states, he reassessed the occupational situation and concluded that there were no offerings in Montana, while Boise and Cheyenne might be counted upon occasionally to take a man.[85]

Waldman's attitude was not unfounded but neither was it to be completely true. A depression at the outset of the program made jobs scarce and hindered the initial efforts of the IRO. But by 1910, the IRO happily reported that in nine years, the program had contacts with nearly every state in the country. Ironically, the IRO found that in northern Rocky Mountain states there were more placements in Montana than in Idaho and Wyoming combined. The Big Sky State outdid both Idaho and Wyoming in the number of cities to which immigrants were sent (7 in Montana to 1 in Idaho and 3 in Wyoming), and in the total number of emigrants sent to a state (61 in Montana to 9 in Idaho and 15 in Wyoming).[86]

Nationally, the IRO relocated nearly 80,000 people across the country. Montana, Idaho and Wyoming did not play significant roles in the relocation programs of the IRO and the Galveston Movement, because small Jewish communities and limited employment opportunities in these states restricted the degree of participation. It is also apparent that the IRO's experience in Wyoming fluctuated greatly due to need and demand. Between 1902 and 1917, 46 applicants were placed in 9 Wyoming cities. Among the 24 states working with the IRO, Wyoming ranked 22, being above New Hampshire and Nevada.[87]

It is very difficult to assess in detail the efforts of the IRO, the Galveston Plan and the Jewish Agricultural Society in Wyoming. In comparison to other states, there are few records on their activities detailing the names and places of contacts, names of participants and performance ratings. It is nevertheless obvious from annual reports and statistics that Wyoming was a full participant. If nothing else, all of these national programs resulted in a renewed look at the Jews in the western states. While small in number and widely dispersed, western Jews were integrated into national networks and were able to participate in national issues.

Though there were avenues of communication, it was

quite a different and difficult matter to bring Judaism to western Jews. Of the national Jewish organizations of the period, none were more concerned than the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which recognized that its future lay in its ability to cultivate those interested people, not only in the Midwest, but also the West. What resources the Union had in the way of men and material were not adequate to meet the challenges of catering directly to the needs of pious individuals. A program of itinerant rabbis in the South and the Midwest failed to be implemented in the West due to the size of the areas to be covered and a lack of commitment from rabbis themselves.[88]

Reform Judaism still managed its way westward through its followers. Travel to friends and family helped reaffirm personal values. Before the automobile, railroads served to link the frontier Jew with cultural centers in the East. It was by the railroad that Rabbi Isaac Meyer Wise had contacted western Jewish communities in 1876. Since the railroad was the lifeline to many frontier communities, the Khela Bnai Israel Congregation of Council Bluffs sent invitations to cities along the Union Pacific for Jewish people to come to Council Bluffs for Yom Kippur in 1868.[89] Another instrument of western Judaism was the *American Israelite*. From its pages readers were kept abreast of religious issues. In November, 1888, Maier Marks reported that the newspaper was widely read in Cheyenne.[90] Interest in Jewish activities in the nation and abroad was apparent from lists of Cheyenne contributors to social and benevolent organizations.[91] Through the circulation of the *Israelite* and personal values, Jewish identity was not lost within the mainstream of frontier society.

The perpetuation of Reform Judaism in Wyoming was later advanced by the Department of Synagogue and Extension Work of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. It provided outreach programs in the form of literature, correspondence courses and instructional and inspirational mailings. While not as effective or desirous as an itinerant rabbi, these materials did meet part of the spiritual needs in Wyoming. Designed primarily to ease the cultural isolation of Jewish farmers, the program found interested participants not only in Iowa Center, Guernsey and Allen, but also Cheyenne and Gillette.[92]

On the local level, personal and collective efforts determined the character and future of Judaism in a community. In respect to organized religious life, Jews often found themselves too small in number to establish a religious community, support a rabbi or even hold a minyan. (To hold a service requires at least 10 adult males.) Yet, the initial efforts in fostering Judaism began on the grass roots level. The most noticeable time was usually around the High Holidays of Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year. The occasion was often recorded in the local press by the closing of a Jewish-owned business and was probably followed by private observances in the home or among several families.[93] Future events might see the foundations of Jewish life being planted in a city as the local Jewish population grew and assumed a more visible profile. In turn, as a religious community took shape, Jewish life acquired a formal appearance.

The first congregation was organized in Cheyenne.[94] As a center of government and transportation, Cheyenne attracted the largest Jewish population in the state. Jewish life was readily apparent by early notices in the 1870s of Jewish businesses closing for Yom Kippur. As the community continued to grow, Jewish life became organized and assumed a formal appearance. Bertha Myers, wife of pioneer William Myers, organized a Sunday School in 1875, a Reform congregation, Congregation Emanuel, incorporated in 1888 and a Jewish cemetery was plotted that same year. There were tentative plans for the construction of a temple, and to help, a Ladies Jewish Sewing Circle, organized in the 1890s by Bertha Myers, sold knitted goods to raise funds for a temple and to support programs in the East. However, a temple for Congregation Emanuel never materialized because there were never enough members to finance its construction. Nonetheless, Congregation Emanuel remained a strong symbol of Reform Judaism in Wyoming. By the turn of the century, Cheyenne became a semi-regular training ground for student rabbis during the High Holidays. The chance for practical experience coupled with cross-country travel made the Cheyenne post a very attractive assignment.

In the following years, membership in Congregational Emanuel began to dwindle. German Reform Jews were not entering the state in large numbers because the Jewish emigration from Europe was dominated by Orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe. Congregation Emanuel's declining membership became more and more apparent as its founding members grew old or died and few children remained in the area to be members. Religiosity was not in trouble, but, as Mrs. Allenstein commented to directors of Hebrew Union College in 1917, there were "only a few who wish these services."[95] The last student rabbi to Cheyenne came in 1918. For the capital city, Jewish life was not in danger of decline but was showing signs of change.

Before World War I, the Jewish population in Wyoming was increasing. Developments in agriculture, mining, oil, transportation and tourism and the growth of small towns in the state attracted new waves of settlers. In some respects, the new emigrants were no different than their territorial predecessors in that they exhibited independence, mobility and creativity in their economic endeavors. They differed in that they were more diversified in their backgrounds and attitudes. They were retailers, peddlers, junk and hide dealers, hotel operators, blue collar workers, professionals, Orthodox and Reform. Geographically, there was a wider distribution of Jews than in territorial years as a result of personal perceptions and information networks within families or national movements, like the Galveston Plan. Unfortunately, population figures are not totally reliable. Unlike the census of 1878, more organization and effort went into enumerating the Jewish population in the 1920s and 1930s, although some reliance was

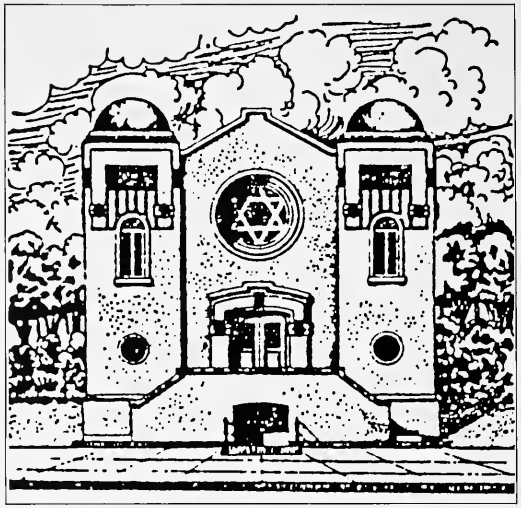
placed on estimates and on the estimates of individuals unacquainted with a particular area.

Nonetheless, it was undeniable that the Jewish population was growing, and as a result, Jewish life became more apparent. In Casper, Cheyenne, Laramie and Rock Springs, there was often a person knowledgeable in the Jewish liturgy to be appointed as a lay leader until such time a student or resident rabbi could be called or a visiting rabbi made a stop in the area. In Rock Springs, a Jewish community was centered around the family of Wolf Cohen, a Denver shoemaker turned dry goods dealer and the founder of Congregation Beth Israel in the mid-1920s. While religious observances of Yom Kippur in Laramie were recorded in the 1890s, the first minyan was held in 1926.[96] The oil boom in Casper attracted numerous Jewish families from Denver. In 1923, a B'nai B'rith lodge was formed, a sign to Denver's *Jewish News* of a formative community in the making.[97] Later, in 1928, a representative of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations convinced the small, but devout, community to organize themselves. Shortly afterward, the Casper Jewish Community Association was formed, comprised of the city's prominent professionals and businessmen.[98] Arthur Lebowitz, a student rabbi at Hebrew Union College, conducted the first High Holiday services in 1929 and 1930.[99] Student rabbis served the Casper community intermittently during the High Holidays from 1930 to 1946 and continuously since 1947.

Changes in the Jewish population were most noticeable in Cheyenne, where an Orthodox community arose on the east side of town. The population of Orthodox Jews grew rapidly and in 1910 formed Mt. Sinai Congregation. Differences between Emanuel and Mt. Sinai were very evident in two ways. Whereas Emanuel relied upon a pool of educated lay leaders, Mt. Sinai was always served by trained rabbis. Whereas Congregational Emanuel long dreamed of a temple, Mt. Sinai soon completed plans for one. In 1915, construction commenced on the first synagogue in Wyoming in a public ceremony that included the attendance of former Governor Joseph M. Carey and Mayor R. N. La Fontaine. Further sign of the community's growth was evident in 1923 when the building was enlarged to include five classrooms, a large hall, a gymnasium and a swimming pool.[100]

Meanwhile, the only organization of Reform Judaism in the city was the Ladies Circle. It operated as a sewing and social function in the mid-1930s long after Congregation Emanuel disappeared, knitting and selling for the day when a reform temple would be built. Despite their strong interests, the city's declining number of Reform Jews realized that no temple was forthcoming and that their financial activities merely served to divide rather than unite the Jewish community. After the death of Bertha Myers, the principle force behind the Ladies Circle, these funds were donated to Mt. Sinai Congregation.

Because of its size, Cheyenne's Orthodox community organized numerous organizations to meet the cultural and



AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

The original design of Mt. Sinai Synagogue in Cheyenne.

spiritual needs in the locality and the region. By 1930, there were a men's and ladies' B'nai B'rith, a branch of the Jewish Welfare Board, the Workmen's Circle and a newspaper, the *Wyoming Jewish Press.* The Cheyenne Relief Society was organized in 1925 to provide assistance and aid to Jewish travelers and transients. Jewish military personnel from Fort F. E. Warren were regularly invited to services and activities.[101] A Service Men's Hebrew Progressive Association organized in 1930.[102] At the present time, Jewish services are still held at the post by lay officers.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the automobile emerged as the medium for Judaism. Better roads and increased personal mobility resulted in increased contact between Wyoming Jews and western regional centers, greater coordination between local communities and the development of an ad hoc networking system across the state. With greater personal mobility, services in one city could be attended by Jewish residents from outlying towns. It was reported that the first High Holiday services in Casper drew Jews from all parts of the state.[103] Residents of Kemmerer, Rawlins and Evanston traveled to Rock Springs.[104] Laramie residents went to Cheyenne, while Sheridan, Gillette and northern Wyoming residents went to Sheridan or Billings, Montana. Religious lines were not restricted to neighboring counties. In order to get a minyan, the Rock Springs community, for example, used to send for Jewish soldiers at Fort F. E. Warren in Cheyenne for the High Holidays.[105]

The automobile also increased the influence of major regional centers on Wyoming. Salt Lake City, Denver and Billings became more conveniently accessible for Jews desiring some form of organized religious life. Family ties to former religious associations were more convenient and more accessible. For example, trips to Denver became commonplace for former residents who lived in Rock Springs,

Laramie and Cheyenne. Northern Wyoming's services were almost entirely one-directional with the Billings Jewish community, until 1924, when the rabbi of Billings traveled to Sheridan to celebrate Yom Kippur in Wyoming.[106]

Another feature contributing to the extension of regional influences during this same period was the development of a Jewish press in the Rocky Mountains. The *Denver Jewish Press*, later renamed the *Intermountain Jewish News*, found eager subscribers across Wyoming desirous of some reading material with religious news pertinent to their area. In turn, the paper relied mostly on anonymous correspondents in Casper, Rock Springs and Laramie to keep the region abreast of their activities as well as their presence. In Cheyenne, the correspondent of the *News* was Abraham Goldstein. A man of many talents and varied experiences, he was a homesteader, pawnbroker and foremost a newspaperman who had worked in Chicago and Omaha. In addition to providing the *News* with information about the Jewish community in Cheyenne, he established the *Wyoming Jewish Press* in 1930 as a state Jewish newspaper. His endeavor served as a temporary medium in addressing general items of interest and in providing a guide to the Jewish population of the state. The paper was discontinued shortly after Goldstein's death in 1943.

COURTESY NELL LEBOWITZ

Rabbi Arthur Lebowitz, who, while a student at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, conducted the first Jewish services in Casper in 1929.

World War II and booms in the mining industry brought renewed life into existing Jewish communities. The Casper Jewish Community Association of 1929 apparently dissolved in the wake of the depression, but the Casper community received Jewish servicemen stationed at the Casper air base during World War II. In the post-war era, Temple Beth Israel organized and functioned from 1958 to 1981 and in 1959 constructed the second Jewish house of worship in the state.[107] Today, Temple Beth-El stands as another symbol of organized Jewish life in one of the state's largest cities. In Rock Springs, the Beth Israel Congregation of the 1920s and 1930s was revived in the 1980s.[108] A Laramie Jewish Community Association was organized by a handful of individuals in 1980. Retired rabbis or student rabbis from Hebrew Union College in New York come once a year to conduct High Holiday services.[109]

Undergoing a different transition from other cities during the same period was Cheyenne. As a center of government, transportation and home to a military base, the Jewish population remained larger here than anywhere else in the state. In the post-war years, the Jewish population and membership at Mt. Sinai grew to its highest levels. To meet the needs of a growing congregation, a new synagogue was built in 1951. Congregation president Sol Bernstein observed that the new building was a symbol and a catalyst for worship.

> This building is dedicated to the glory of G-d and to the service of all people. This is the second Synagogue that this congregation has been privileged to erect[.] How much nobler in concept and in construction is this one compared with the first [.] How more richly fashioned to nourish in us a reverence for G-d, a love for our heritage, a respect for each soul fashioned in G-d's image![110]

But the life source of the synagogue was predicated on the continued commitment of the community. As Rabbi Herbert Friedman of Denver wrote, "[T]he structure is valuable only if the very walls breathe the love of Judaism for which it was erected."[111]

One of the more troubling problems for the Cheyenne community was not so much the sustaining of a synagogue by the community, as it was the procurement of a resident rabbi. Rabbinical commitments were usually of a short term and ended when opportunities with larger congregations appeared more enticing. To the ambitious Orthodox rabbi, there was little need in Cheyenne for a full-time rabbi. Moreover, Jewish atmosphere was not as developed as in the East, making it difficult for young orthodox rabbis to maintain a strict kosher lifestyle and thus want to stay in Cheyenne. Nor was the formative congregation able to support adequately a resident rabbi. Rabbi Lehrer (1912-1915) took in boarders, while Rabbi Abraham Hoffman (1917-1938) opened a kosher meat market, the Hoffman Livestock Company, in order to support his family.[112] While many rabbis served Cheyenne but a couple years, there were several leaders whose length of service were reflective of the faith and strength they saw in the community, the most notable being Rabbi Abraham Hoffman and Rabbi S. Morris Susman (1963-1978).

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Mt. Sinai Synagogue in Cheyenne today.

Change and continuity has marked the Jewish experience in Wyoming. Jewish life has been comprised of a mixture of people-mobile, intransient, Orthodox, Reform and independent. Seriously affecting the course and character of Jewish life are changing economic conditions in Wyoming's mineral industry that has resulted in rapid variations in the size and character of the Jewish population in a community. The emigration of local Jews has been detrimental to the future of any formative community and any hope for a synagogue or a resident rabbi among formative congregations is impossible under these circumstances.

Meeting the needs of the Jewish population in smaller towns has never been easy. In the past, mailings and itinerant rabbis provided the only means of reaffirming one's religious beliefs outside of the home. Other, more personal outreach programs have arisen with the development of Jewish communities in Wyoming and neighboring states. Cheyenne's rabbi, the only resident rabbi in the entire state, has been called upon to attend to Jewish needs across Wyoming. Casper's High Holiday services have met, to some extent, needs in the central part of the state. Jews in northern Wyoming have also looked to Billings. As Rabbi Samuel Horowitz of Billings critically noted, there is but one rabbi for Montana, Idaho and northern Wyoming. While he felt somewhat privileged in this regard, he realized that the territory was too much for one man. At the same time, he felt his work could be made more effective. Among other things he called for a place of worship at Yellowstone National Park for Jewish visitors.[113]

While there are efforts to bring organized Jewish life to a community, there is also concern on how the emigration of family members and neighbors affects community life. For younger Jews, especially those in professional, managerial and administrative fields, occupational opportunities are greatest outside of the state. As future generations continue to exhibit greater occupational and social mobility, the attraction to regional commercial centers such as Denver, Los Angeles and San Francisco, becomes greater at the expense of the local community and the family unit. Even the familial and spiritual ties that at one time attracted Jews to Denver, Billings and Salt Lake City has greatly diminished and eventually disappeared with the diffusion of family members. In turn, issues of family life are more acute as families try to balance social activities and still maintain one's Jewish identity in a small town. One of the results has been intermarriage of Jews and Gentiles and, unless some arrangements or considerations are mutually agreed upon, the dissolution of Jewish life in the home. Families concerned with their children's religious future have considered moving to another city, indirectly arranging marriages, or even sending children to a large university in order to meet other Jewish youth.

Although the Jewish population in Wyoming is the smallest in the United States, its size does not make it any less important in a larger context, nor is it totally removed from involvement with Jewish issues. Instead, Jewish life in Wyoming has been shaped by the character of Jewish settlers, the economics of the state and the activities of regional and national Jewish organizations. During the

dedication ceremonies of the new synagogue in 1951, Sol Bernstein commented that there were members who witnessed the construction of the former and present buildings. He concluded that the contrast in styles was not as important as the evidence of the continuity of their faith.[114] The history of Jews and Judaism outside of Cheyenne is often not accompanied by such visual and physical changes. Yet, whether an established community or one person, there remains a Jewish element in the history of Wyoming.

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   In May, 1986, the American Jewish Historical Society, the Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society and the Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Denver hosted a convention on the theme of "The Jewish Experience in America: A View From the West." On the local level, in June, 1986, the congregation of Mt. Sinai in Cheyenne celebrated its 75th anniversary. The occasion not only recognized an institution, but Jews in the capital city and Wyoming as well.
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4. *American Israelite*, November 16, 1888, p. 6.
5. Western Territories, Vol. 2, p. 4, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration.
6. Corporation Record, Laramie County, Vol. 42, p. 99.
7. *Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations*, Vol. I (New York: Bloch and Company, n.d.), pp. 352-357, 508-516; Address to the President and Representatives of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, May 28, 1877, Annual Reports, Union of American Hebrew Congregations Records, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio; *Statistics of the Jews of the United States . . .* (Philadelphia: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1880), n.p.; *Proceedings at the Session For 5367, Held at the City of New York* [Board of Delegates of American Israelites] (New York: Davis Printing Office, 1877), pp. 10-15.
8. *Statistics of the Jews of the United States*, pp. 54-55.
9. *Hebrew Sabbath-School Visitor*, October 1874, No. 38, pp. 150-151; No. 39, pp. 154-155; No. 40, pp. 158-159; No. 41, pp. 162-163; September 26, 1879, pp. 308-309.
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11. William K. Kramer, ed., *The Western Journal of Isaac Meyer Wise, 1877* (Berkeley: Manges Museum, 1974), p. 7.
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14. Ibid., p. 80.
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16. *Lusk Herald*, March 3, 1932, p. 1.
17. Max P. Cowan, "Memoirs of the Jewish Farmers and Ranchers of Colorado," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly*, 9 (April 1977): 224; *Wyoming Jewish Press*, September 22, 1930, p. 15.
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39. "Jews as Farmers," *American Israelite*, June 24, 1909, p. 3; A. R. Levy, "Farming and the Jews," *American Israelite*, December 26, 1906, p. 5.
40. Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America, *Report for the Year 1908* (Chicago: Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America, 1909), pp. 22, 24.
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47. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 483.
48. Pearlstine, pp. 31-32.
49. "Jewish Farming in the Midwest," article in Jewish Agricultural Society Collection, American Jewish Historical Society.
50. John G. Rice, "The Role of Community in Frontier Prairie Farming," in Ward, p. 188.
51. Interview with Arnold Sky, Denver, Colorado, June 13, 1987.
52. Mindel Sincher to Mejlack Sincher, no date, Letters and Petitions, Vol. I, p. 80, Clerk of District Court, Platte County, Wheatland, Wyoming.
53. Wyoming State Board of Immigration, *Biennial Report, 1911-1912* (Cheyenne: S. A. Bristol Company, 1912), p. 46.
54. Roy W. Schenck to Governor Joseph M. Carey, October 12, 1911, File 3387, Governor Joseph M. Carey Records, Archives and Records Management Division, AMH.
55. Governor Joseph M. Carey to Roy W. Schenck, October 13, 1911, and October 24, 1911, Governor Joseph M. Carey Records.
56. *American Israelite*, October 12, 1912, p. 3; *Pittsburgh Press*, October 24, 1911, p. 14; *Torrington Telegram*, October 12, 1911, p. 1.
57. *Pittsburgh Press*, October 24, 1911, p. 14.
58. Ibid.; *Covington* [Kentucky] *Post*, October 21, 1911, Folder 2, Bob LII, Julius Rosenwald Papers, University of Chicago Library.
59. Julius Rosenwald to M. F. Westheimer, March 16, 1912, Folder 12, Box XXII, Julius Rosenwald Papers.
60. Julius Rosenwald to Charles Freund, August 1, 1913, Folder 11, Box XXII, Julius Rosenwald Papers.
61. By 1912, Schenck managed to spend all of the money appropriated to his department and was ordered by Carey to stop altogether. Schenck has been viewed as impulsive and wasteful by one historian, but it must be remembered that Schenck was in competition with many older, more experienced state immigration boards. While Schenck's administrative style did not endear him to political opponents, feelings which were felt by the Carey administration, Carey did applaud the board for its work "of great magnitude" and urged the legislature to continue to fund it. The appropriation bill in 1913 failed to pass. Betsy Ross Peters, "Joseph M. Carey and the Progressive Movement in Wyoming" (Ph.d. dissertation, University of Wyoming, 1971), pp. 104-105, 167, 191; *Message of Joseph M. Carey, Governor of Wyoming, to the Twelfth State Legislature, 1913* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 9-10, in Joseph M. Carey Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

    Accompanying Schenck in Chicago was Carey's son, Robert. Carey's papers at the Wyoming State Archives, Museums, and Historical Department suggest that Robert also played a role in the resettlement of Chicago Jews to Wyoming. Unfortunately, his letters to Carey on this matter are not in the governor's official records and Robert's personal records at the American Heritage Center fail to shed any light on this period of his life.
62. Robinson, pp. 74-76.
63. Ibid., p. 55.
64. *American Jewish Year Book* 16 (5675/1914-1915): 283.
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66. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Reclamation Service, 1915-1916* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 256; *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Reclamation Service* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), p. 79.
67. Goshen County Extension Service, *Annual Narrative Report, 1923* (n.p.), p. 4; ibid., *Annual Narrative Report, 1924*, n.p.
68. Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, *Annual Report for the Year 1911* (New York: Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, 1912), p. 34; ibid., *Annual Report for the Year 1916* (New York: Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, 1917), p. 11.
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71. Assistant manager to David Bressler, October 15, 1906, Follow-up Correspondence, IRO Records, American Jewish Historical Society.
72. Harry Coleman to IRO, June 27, 1912, Job Offers Accepted, IRO Records.
73. Joseph, p. 186.
74. Samuel Idelman to IRO, September 24, 1904, Local Agent's Correspondence, IRO Records.
75. David Bressler to Samuel Idelman, September 30, 1904, IRO Records.
76. Charles Benjamin to IRO, November 7, 1911, and November 21, 1911, IRO Records.
77. Ibid., August 12, 1912, and August 22, 1912; Assistant Manager, IRO, to Charles Benjamin, August 23, 1912, and August 26, 1912.
78. Charles Benjamin to IRO, June 25, 1914, IRO Records.
79. See Bernard Marinbach, *Galveston: Ellis Island of the West* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983).
80. Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff: His Life and Letters*, Vol. II (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929), p. 95.
81. Ibid., p. 99.
82. IRO Secretary to Morris Waldman, November 4, 1907, Galveston Immigration Plan Records, American Jewish Historical Society.
83. Morris D. Waldman to David M. Bressler, February 21, 1907, Waldman-Bressler Correspondence, Galveston Immigration Plan Records.
84. Morris D. Waldman to David M. Bressler, July 19, 1907, Waldman-Bressler Correspondence.
85. Ibid.
86. David M. Bressler, *The Removal Work, Including Galveston* (n.p.: 1910), p. 21.
87. Joseph, p. 290.
88. *Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations* (n.p., 1911), pp. 6512-6513.
89. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 14, 1868, p. 1.
90. *American Israelite*, November 16, 1888, p. 6.
91. Ibid., April 17, 1874, p. 7; December 22, 1892, p. 9; January 30, 1896, p. 1; February 4, 1897, p. 7; Jeanette Meisell Baron, ed., *Steeled by Adversity: Essays and Addresses on American Jewish Life by Salo Wittmayor Baron* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971), pp. 235, 266.

    It was reported that a Jewish Mutual Benevolent Society met

in the Sternberger House. No further information was given as to the nature of the society or its activities. *Cheyenne Leader*, January 14, 1868, p. 1.

92. *Forty-third Annual Report of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations* (Cincinnati: May and Kreidler, 1917), p. 8032.
93. The *Cheyenne Leader* noted the coming of the Jewish New Year in 1868 to 1870, but did not reveal if it was being observed in the city. Probably the earliest recorded observation was held by George Frank and Brothers in South Pass City. George and J. H. Frank operated a clothing store, and George was also the only licensed auctioneer in Sweetwater County at the time. *South Pass News*, September 27, 1870, p. 3; Michael Massie, Curator of South Pass City Historic Site, to author, July 15, 1988.
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96. *Intermountain Jewish News*, October 23, 1926, p. 2.
97. *Denver Jewish News*, May 23, 1923, p. 3.
98. *Wyoming Jewish Press*, September 22, 1930, p. 13.
99. *Casper Herald*, October 2, 1929, p. 2; *Casper Daily Tribune*, October 1, 1929, p. 8; ibid., September 22, 1930, p. 8.
100. *Denver Jewish News*, January 24, 1923, p. 5.
101. *Wyoming Jewish Press*, October 2, 1940, p. 4.
102. Ibid., September 22, 1930, p. 6.
103. *Casper Herald*, October 2, 1929, p. 2; *Casper Daily Tribune*, October 1, 1929, p. 8.
104. *Rock Springs Rocket*, September 26, 1924, p. 1; September 16, 1926, p. 1.
105. Interview with Phyllis Silverman, Lakewood, Colorado, March 14, 1987.
106. *Sheridan Post-Enterprise*, September 28, 1924, p. 5.
107. Corporation 76057, Defunct Corporations, Secretary of State Records, Archives and Records Management Division, Wyoming State Archives, Museums & Historical Department; Amy Shapiro, *A Guide to the Jewish Rockies: Colorado, Montana, Wyoming* (Denver: Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society, Center for Judaic Studies, University of Denver, 1979), p. 34.
108. Interview with Edward Shineberg, Rock Springs, Wyoming, May 16, 1987; interview with Jonathan Shineberg, Rock Springs, Wyoming, May 16, 1987.
109. Interview with Edward Jackson, Laramie, Wyoming, September 17, 1987.
110. "Cheyenne Synagogue Dedication," 1951, Sol Bernstein Papers, private collection.
111. Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman to Mt. Sinai Congregation, June 14, 1951, Sol Bernstein Papers.
112. Anne Schorer to author, December 26, 1985; "Biographical Sketches of Jewish Citizens of Cheyenne, Wyoming."
113. *Billings Gazette*, April, 1960, article in Samuel Horowitz Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.
114. "Cheyenne Synagogue Dedication."

THE WIND AT WORK IN WYOMING

by Robert W. Righter

The author would like to thank the Wyoming Council for the Humanities for a generous research grant which made this article possible.

COURTESY MARY JO ATHERTON

Laramie school children demonstrate some positive and exciting possibilities with the Wyoming wind.

Almost everyone reacts to the Wyoming wind. Take, as examples, two famous 19th century visitors. The first was John C. Frémont. In 1842, he and his men camped on the North Platte River. It was a normal July day: warm and sunny, with clear to partly cloudy skies. Most men were relaxing. However, Charles Pruess, the caustic German scientist, was busy. He had built a small fire in his tent-lodge and was measuring the temperature of boiling water. In an attempt at some ventilation, Pruess raised the ground pins of his tent. He got more than he bargained for. Frémont explains: "At this instant, and without warning until it was within fifty yards, a violent gust of wind dashed down the lodge, burying under it Mr. Pruess and about a dozen men, who had attempted to keep it from being carried away. I succeeded in saving the barometer, which the lodge was carrying off with itself, but the thermometer was broken."[1]

Novelist Owen Wister offers another example. The famous author of *The Virginian* loved Wyoming. He continually praised the contours of the country and the character of the people. The wind, however, was another matter. Writing to his mother in 1885, Wister explained that there was only "one thing about this country I don't like—and only one. The wind. Never did breeze fulfil [sic] the Scripture so completely. We'll be in the middle of a cloudless and calm, sunlight or moonlight. Without any premonition there'll come a rush from some where that blows the things off the table—slams the doors—tears up our tent pins—and has once taken the whole tent down. This will last about fifteen mintes [sic], and then everything will be as still and silent as before."[2]

Pruess' and Wister's experiences were certainly not unique. Almost any Wyomingite can conjure up a story about the wind, and many of them are true. The wind has swayed Wyoming lives, and influenced the state's folklore. In Rawlins a restaurant waitress was asked if the wind ever stopped blowing. Her smug reply was: "Only when it stops to blow the other way."[3] Thurman Arnold, perhaps Wyoming's most illustrious native son, told an oft-repeated story of Rawlins which is applicable to a host of Wyoming towns: "The wind stopped blowing for a moment, and everyone in town fell down."[4] Ted Olson, reflecting on his boyhood days living on the Laramie River, recalled that sometimes the winter wind gusts "were so savage that we had to turn and wait until they worked their tantrums out."[5] Geologist David Love also talks of the wind and how its ageless work has eroded and shaped the Wyoming landscape. Mixing folklore with history, and perhaps with a knowing twinkle in his eye, he divulged to author John McPhee that: "Old-timers used to say that a Wyoming wind gauge was an anvil on a length of chain. When the land was surveyed, the surveyors couldn't keep their tripods steady. They had to work by night or near sunrise. People went insane because of the wind."[6]

The wind has always been a topic of conversation, and often it is more. It has turned a gentle rain into a tornado. In the winter time the "wind chill factor" has been the causal agent which turns a pleasant snowfall into a dangerous blizzard. In the milder months, like Frémont and Wister, Wyomingites have been haunted by abrupt winds which have knocked down trees, flattened gardens, blown off roofs and carried off most everything that was not battened down. Aeolus, the Greek god who controlled the wind, was a fickle fellow, and no where was he more capricious than in Wyoming and the arid West. Psychologically, the winds presence or absence has been said to determine moods of depression or skittishness. Some might argue that the wind has been a final catalyst for suicide, although such claims have no scientific basis.[7]

Science aside, the Wyoming wind is usually thought to be a negative force. One rarely hears a good word for the wind, except its ability to clear the air during the mosquito season. The purpose of this essay is to put in a good word for the Wyoming wind, this unappreciated primal force. Although it is unquestionably a nuisance, in some respects the wind has served us well. Undeniably, it has been a significant factor in the settlement of the state.

When we think of the wind at work in Wyoming, we must first consider the windmill. Developed by the Persians in the 7th century A.D., these earliest windmills were employed to grind grain in more arid regions where water power was unavailable.[8] By the 12th century millers and farmers used them widely in England and northern Europe. In a world of intermediate technology and renewable energy resources the windmill and the waterwheel provided power for numerous tasks.[9]

However, these old world windmills were not transferred successfully to the new world. A few English post type mills were constructed on the Atlantic Coast, but waterwheels were more popular. The drier climate of the American West provided a more suitable environment. Westerners needed an apparatus that could pump water. But it could not be the European style, for to be successful this windmill had to be inexpensive, portable, self-regulating and require little maintenance. The inventive American-mind was equal to the task. Daniel Halladay, a Connecticut mechanic born in Vermont, developed just such a machine in the mid-1850s. By 1857, he and others had formed the Halladay Wind Mill Company. Two westerly moves later, Halladay and his partners settled in Batavia, Illinois, under the corporate banner of the U.S. Wind Engine and Power Company. The company struggled in the 1860s, but by the mid-1870s it was on a firm financial footing.[10]

The "Halladay" windmill was the first to be used in Wyoming. The Union Pacific Railroad brought the first sizable White settlement to the region. Hand-in-hand with the railroad was the windmill, providing water to the thirsty steam locomotives of the Union Pacific. Various size windmills were installed at convenient watering places along the line. The largest boasted a wheel that had a circumference of 39 feet. Such a windmill was installed in Laramie, and became a landmark for many years. These Halladay windmills were built to withstand the punish-

ment of the occasional gale-force winds that swept across the southern Wyoming plains. Protection was accomplished by sections of wooden blades, each attached to the larger wheel. When the wind became severe each section would furl inward, allowing the wind to pass with little resistance.

We also know that the Union Pacific Railroad made cattle raising feasible by providing transportation to eastern markets. However, the windmill was equally important. Pioneer ranchers settled along reliable streams and rivers, and ran their cattle in a close vicinity. This system was successful enough, but millions of acres of grassland proved unusable, simply because water was not available. It was impossible to utilize rangelands more than fifteen miles from a surface water source. The windmill resolved the problem, expanding the cattle range by thousands of acres, particularly in eastern Wyoming.[11]

State statistics on the use of windmills are non-existent. It has been estimated that some 6.5 million windmills were sold in the United States between 1880 and 1935.[12] We do know that only a few Wyoming farmers used windmills for irrigation purposes. Generally, in the eastern corridor of the state they preferred to rely on dry land farming techniques for wheat and grain crops. But thousands of windmills were used to pump water for stock ponds. Just how many functioned in Wyoming at the turn-of-the-century is impossible to determine. Even today accurate statistics on the number of stock wells is unavailable. Pressed to give a number in 1985, Dick Stockdale, of the Wyoming State Engineers Office, estimated that some 20,000 stock wells are in use, 7,000 of them powered by windmills.[13]

Perhaps the numbers are not important. We do know that the windmill became an accepted part of the Wyoming countryside. It offered a colorful vertical relief on the horizontal landscape. It demanded another skill from the Wyoming cowboy, who might often be expected to climb the tower to oil the machine or make repairs. Often the windmill was the only landmark for many miles. Also, it provided the only water. Therefore, both cows and cowboys congregated nearby. During harsh weather it could be a point of reference on an indistinguishable landscape. The windmill has been an enduring presence on the Northern Plains, past, present and surely in the future. In many respects it is a highly practical technology. An abundance of wind is employed to alleviate a shortage of water. The windmill exploits a free, renewable and abundant source of energy to increase the supply of a scarce necessity of life. What more could one ask?

While windmills were changing the use and appearance of the grasslands, in Wyoming towns another technological wonder came into common use. By the early 1890s, such towns as Cheyenne and Laramie boasted electricity, produced by small steam-driven generating systems. The advantages of electricity were apparent, particularly in lighting and power needs which involved turning or spinning. Ranchers were curious, and perhaps a few longed to have this new labor-saving luxury. If so, it was possible, for in the 1890s, the Fairbanks, Morse Company made available an electric version of its popular Elipse windmill.[14] It was the first wind unit available to the public. This variation on a water-pumping windmill was not successful. The multi-bladed wheel turned too slowly to generate efficiently. Nor was the machine reliable for customers unfamiliar with this new force called electricity.

It was not until after World War I that "wind chargers" made their appearance in Wyoming and the Northern Plains. When they did, they looked altogether different from the water-pumping windmills. They used two and three-bladed propellers which had been developed by aeronautical engineers for airplanes during World War I. These propellers turned many more revolutions per minute, making an elaborate gearing system unnecessary. Thus in the 1920s, this new technology combined with a more receptive market to encourage a number of companies, both new and old, to begin production of small wind generators for rural use.

For Wyoming ranchers the attraction was free fuel. Once the unit was paid for, theoretically the purchaser could have the advantages of electricity without cost. This was the "selling point" in competing with the gasoline-powered generators, popularly known as "Delco units." The HEBCO Wind Electric Company advertising leaflet was typical in its promise that the owner of their machine would have "electric power, running water under pressure—all *Without Fuel Cost*—without the noise and bother of a gas engine . . ." Among the testimonials of satisfied customers was that of a farmer from Wheatland, Wyoming.[15]

Such machines as the HEBCO, the Aerolectric and the Jacobs were expensive systems, designed to provide for the electrical needs of a ranch or farm. Farm machinery such as a milker, separator, grinder and circular saw could be operated by a wind generator with an adequate storage battery system. Furthermore, home appliances could be used, easing the drudgery of household work. The Perkins Corporation claimed that their Aerolectric wind turbine "will furnish you with an automatic *FARM HAND* . . ." It will do the washing, "make ironing a pleasure, make cleaning a joy" and will run such appliances as a toaster, a coffee percolator, curling iron and many others.[16]

As with the water-pumpers, it is impossible to estimate how many wind chargers operated in Wyoming. Company records are virtually non-existent. Neither federal, state nor county records give us any clues. One must be content with oral history. In conversing with a number of old-time Wyoming ranchers, one has little difficulty triggering a dialogue about wind chargers. Many used wind generators during the Depression era, World War II and the post-war years. If they did not have one, they usually recalled a neighbor that did. They were a common sight, particularly in the eastern counties of the state.

Of course many of the units were not powerful or expensive. Numerous ranchers simply desired to have enough electricity to operate a few 40-watt lights and a

This photograph taken at Sherman Station in 1869, is of a smaller version of the Halladay windmill (U.S. Windpower) which was employed along the Union Pacific line. The photograph looks like the windmill is destroyed, but that is not the case. Most of the sections are simply furled inward, which meant it was a normal day on the pass—windy!

AMH DEPT.

AMH DEPT.

Giant Laramie Windmill. This is, of course, a well known photograph of the largest of the Halladay windmills—39 feet in circumference. Notice how it dwarfs the Union Pacific engine.

radio. Such units as the Miller Airlite, the Universal Aerol-Electric, Paris-Dunn, Zenith, Airline, Wind King and Windpower could do the job with a nominal cost of $10 to $100.[17]

Though the proliferation of wind chargers and gasoline generators ("Delco units") was considerable, ranchers did not consider them the final answer. In towns and cities utility companies were stringing electrical wire, providing residents with unlimited centralized power. Ranchers wanted the same. However, because of the great distance involved, companies could not be persuaded to run lines to rural regions.

Federal intervention provided central power for much of Wyoming's ranching community. In 1935, Congress passed the Rural Electrification Act, establishing the Rural Electrification Administration. This agency encouraged and subsidized the formation of cooperatives. Their purpose was to provide electricity to rural people. Between the late 1930s and the 1950s, "hi-lines" were stretched throughout the state, bringing unlimited electrical energy to the countryside.

Of course for every gain there is a compensatory loss. While few would question the benefits of REA power, the "hi-line" did still the wind chargers of Wyoming. Typically, they rusted on the tower, lofty monuments to a doomed technology. Sometimes they were discarded to the ranch yard scrap heap. They could not be sold, for no demand existed. They remained valueless until the rebirth of interest in the 1970s. The tower, however, advised *Successful Farming* magazine, could be put to good use as a television antenna![18]

To some degree television added to the final demise of wind chargers in Wyoming, simply because it represented the growing desire for electrical luxuries unavailable with the 32-volt wind charger system. Ida Chambers and her son Roy supplied the electrical needs of their Jackson Hole ranch between 1946 and 1954 with the "Windcharger" machine. However, they wanted to have television and a freezer, luxuries unavailable with the 32-volt system. They hooked up to REA power. Just how successful their Windcharger system was is subject to dissimilar memories. Ida Chambers fondly recalled no repairs were necessary, and that it was a "very, very good investment" and "the greatest thing that ever was."[19] Her daughter-in-law Becky, however, remembered differently, recalling that when Ida hooked up to REA she "gathered all her 32-volt appliances, marched out to the yard, dug a hole, and threw them in—glad to be rid of them."[20]

Across the state in Laramie, Joe Orr remembered his "Wind King" machine with fondness. He used it in his Centennial, Wyoming, cabin from 1947 to the mid-1950s. His primary difficulty was the batteries would freeze in the winter. Furthermore, it became more and more difficult to obtain Direct Current (DC) appliances, and parts became non-existent. When REA came along and offered to hook him up for only $10, and a minimum of $3.60 a month, he could not resist.[21]

COURTESY AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

The Chambers place on Mormon Row, Jackson Hole. Ida and her daughter-in-law are mentioned in the manuscript. This is a "Windcharger" unit which gave good service in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Such stories abound in Wyoming. In truth, most people would agree with Clara Jensen, who lived in the tiny town of Lysite. She and her husband were mighty happy to get rid of their windcharger because it was constantly breaking down.[22] Geologist David Love, raised on an isolated Wyoming ranch, also recalled that his parents were constantly "fussing" with the wind machine.[23] Thus, unless a rancher was particularly knowledgeable regarding electricity, a central power system was most welcome. Not only would it provide unlimited, reliable power, but no longer would you have to climb that tower and endanger your life fooling with the confounded wind machine! The fact that the rancher would no longer be "power-independent," and that more centralization might intrude on his individualism seemed a small price to pay.

Today only a few small wind generators operate in the state. More familiar to most residents are the huge wind generators located near the town of Medicine Bow. Here the wind speeds average more than twenty miles per hour. With such potential, in 1977, the Bureau of Reclamation initiated an experimental project, with the thought that eventually a wind power plant featuring some 40 or more units and producing 100-megawatts of power would be developed. The bureau sponsored the construction of two

units: the Boeing MOD-2 and the Hamilton-Standard WTS-4. The dimensions of these machines were quite staggering. The height with blades in vertical position of the Boeing MOD-2 was 350 feet, and for the Hamilton Standard, almost 400 feet (391). The total weight of the Boeing was 580,000 pounds, and the Hamilton-Standard, 791,000 pounds. Perhaps more significant, when generating properly, together the units would provide energy to meet the needs of some 3,000 homes.[24]

The Medicine Bow units were part of a national research and development project. In the early 1970s, as a result of gasoline shortages and an awareness of the nation's energy dependence, the Department of Energy sponsored a MOD series of large wind generators in Sandusky (Ohio), Block Island (Rhode Island), Boone (North Carolina), Clayton (New Mexico), eastern Washington, northern California, and most recently, Hawaii. The objective was to test the feasibility of large units, which might in the 21st century provide as much as ten percent of the nation's energy needs.[25]

The success of this effort is open to differing interpretations. On the positive side, much has been learned, and engineering knowledge has been expanded. On the negative side, the machines broke down with disappointing regularity. The experimental unit at Sandusky, Ohio (Plum Brook Station), failed in less than two days, prompting the *New York Times* to headline its story, "$1 Million for only 30 Hours of Work."[26]

At Medicine Bow, the Boeing and Hamilton-Standard were no exception. They were shut down frequently. Compounding the problem was the cost of repair. When the main bearing of the Boeing failed, the repair bill was estimated at $1.5 million. The Bureau of Reclamation put the unit up for sale, but there were no takers. In 1987, a scrap metal company dynamited the tower and hauled it all away. The Hamilton-Standard may suffer an identical fate. It is no longer operating. The Bureau of Reclamation has ended its experiment with the Wyoming wind, and even if the Hamilton-Standard escapes the wrecking ball and survives as a tourist attraction, its functional use is probably at an end.

Is the functional use of Wyoming's wind also at an end? Has the failure at Medicine Bow drained forever the state's enthusiasm for wind energy? Not necessarily. The wind is still available, and elsewhere in the nation there have been notable successes. In California, tax incentives and the cooperation of utility companies has led to the development of wind power plants at Altamont, Pacheco, Tehachipi and San Gorgonio passes. There are well over 15,000 units in California.[27] They generate electricity for the average needs of more than 300,000 homes.[28] Of course, these machines are not without problems. In engineering, blade fatigue has proved costly. Noise pollution has become an issue. Many people find the wind power plants visually unattractive. These problems, combined with other obstacles, have caused some companies to file for bankruptcy.[29]

In conclusion, during the past 100 years the wind has occasionally been bent to the will—rather than the consternation—of "Homo Wyomo," as T. A. Larson liked to call Wyoming people. Whether the Aeolian science can be used to further the prosperity and growth of the state remains to be seen. At present, wind energy is in—pardon the expression—the doldrums. The destruction of the Boeing MOD-2 and the shut down of the Hamilton-Standard, combined with small machine failures, is not encouraging. Elsewhere the wind energy business has been plagued with technical, environmental and economic crisis. Furthermore, private and public utility companies have a surplus of electrical energy. Presently, they are actively opposing the cogeneration of energy from alternative sources.

Yet, times change. Few can realistically believe that the energy crisis of the 1970s will not return in the new century. It would be folly to assume that energy abundance will permanently prevail over scarcity. Perhaps it is fair to prophesy that when Wyoming oil shale becomes valuable, so will its wind. One fact is evident: when the oil, the coal and even the oil shale are gone, the wind will remain. It will sweep across the corridor of the southern Wyoming plains as long as human beings scratch out a living. Perhaps one day it will be welcomed as a benefactor, providing energy in a post-petroleum world when nonrenewable sources are all but gone. Perhaps in a new century, Wyoming people will take to heart Professor of Engineering Emeritus John Hill's challenge: "People are always cussing and damning Wyoming's winds. Some say they're the cause of suicide. I say let's make winds our friends, not our enemies."[30]

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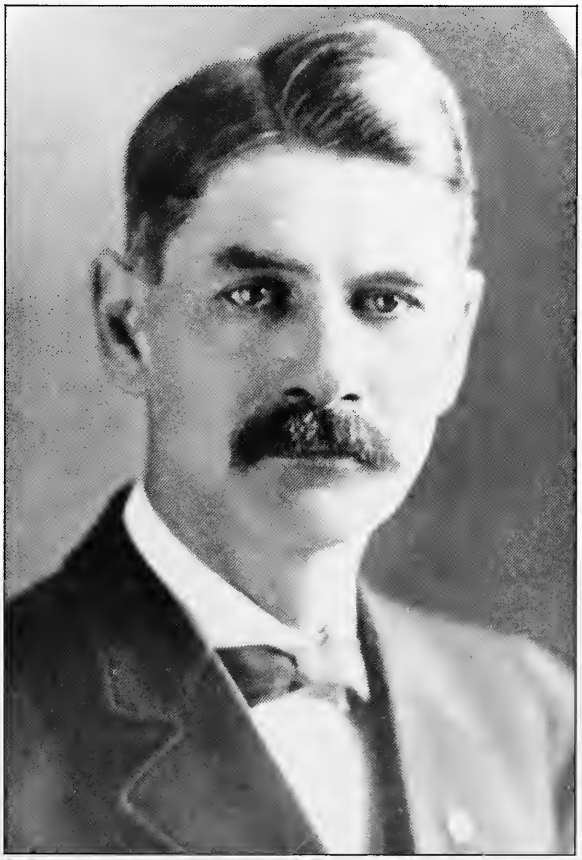
1. Donald Jackson, Mary Lee Spence. *The Expedition of John Charles Frémont*, 3 Vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. I, 242.
2. Owen Wister to his mother, July 28, 1885, in Francis K. W. Stokes, *My Father, Owen Wister* (Laramie, Wyoming: 1952), p. 40.
3. Related to the author on a windy day in Rawlins.
4. Thurman Arnold, *Fair Fights and Foul* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965), pp. 9-10.
5. Ted Olson, *Ranch on the Laramie* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973), p. 43.
6. John McPhee, "Annals of the Former World," *The New Yorker* (February 26, 1986): 65.
7. The most famous statement about the psychological effects of the wind was the novel, *The Wind*, published in 1926 by Dorothy Scarborough. The plot centers around Letty, a southern-born woman, who marries a west Texan in the 1880s. Slowly the west Texas environment, and particularly the wind, bring Letty to a point of insanity. The novel was denounced in Texas.
8. See E. W. Golding, *The Generation of Electricity by Wind Power* (London: E. & F. N. Sons, Ltd., 1976, 2nd Ed.), p. 6; also see Suzanne Beedell, *Windmills* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), p. 13.

9. See Edward J. Kealey, *Harvesting the Air: Windmill Pioneers in Twelfth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
10. T. Lindsay Baker, "Turbine-Type Windmills of the Great Plains and Midwest," *Agricultural History*, LIV (January, 1980), p. 39. For a definitive work on American-style windmills see T. Lindsay Baker, *A Field Guide To American Windmills* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).
11. In Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Plains* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1931), pp. 333-348, we find one of the first enlightening explanations of the importance of the windmill in the settlement of the Great Plains region.
12. Landt Dennis, *Catch the Wind: A Book of Windmills and Windpower* (New York: Four Winds Press, 1976), p. 61; *Kansas Wind Energy Handbook* (Kansas Energy Office, 1981), p. 2.
13. Interview with Dick Stockdale, Wyoming State Engineers Office, by author, August 13, 1985.
14. Baker, *Field Guide to American Windmills*, p. 45.
15. Herbert E. Bucklen Corp. (HEBCO) folder, Windmill Literature Collection, Pan Handle Plains Museum, Canyon, Texas.
16. Perkins Corporation, folder 4, Windmill Lit. Collection, Pan Handle Plains Museum.
17. Michael A. Hackleman, *The Homebuilt, Wind-Generated Electricity Handbook* (Mariposa, California: Earth Mined, 1975), *passim*. Hackleman made no effort to identify all the manufacturers, but simply noted the brands that he had located and often restored to use. Also, of particular note: Hackleman stated that eastern Wyoming was a particularly fruitful hunting region for old wind chargers, simply because REA was late in arrival, and the arid climate guaranteed that the discarded apparatus would not be badly rusted.
18. R. Fincham, "Use Your Windmill For Television," *Successful Farming* 48 (April 1950): 111.
19. Interview with Ida Chambers by author, August 4, 1986. Ida Chambers was in her 90s at the time of the interview. She has since passed away.
20. Interview with Becky Chambers by author, June 30, 1986.
21. Telephone interview with Joe Orr by author, August 12, 1985.
22. Clara Jensen, a leader in the Wyoming Historical Society, has since died. She told the author about her dissatisfaction with the wind generator informally in 1982.
23. As with Clara Jensen, this information was recalled by David Love in an informal conversation with the author.
24. Information from a Bureau of Reclamation pamphlet titled, "Wind Power from Medicine Bow" (n. p., n. d.), pp. 8-11.
25. British Wind Energy Association, *Wind Energy for the Eighties* (Stevenage, UK: Peter Peregrinus Ltd., 1982), p. 172: also see "Wind Power From Medicine Bow," p. 11.
26. *New York Times*, Sunday, June 27, 1976.
27. Donald Marier, Paul Gipe, "Bridging the Gap," *Alternative Sources of Energy* 87 (January 1987): 6-9.
28. See "Windletter," Number 4, 1988, publication of the American Wind Energy Association.
29. "Windletter," Number 4, 1988, p. 4. There are two monthly magazines which regularly report on the successes and failures of the wind energy business. They are *Alternative Sources of Energy*, and *Windpower Monthly*.
30. *Laramie Boomerang*, March 20, 1977.

DR. WILLIAM SABIN BENNETT:

The Rise and Fall of a Pioneer Doctor

by Ester Johansson Murray



COURTESY CITY OF CODY

"I was born in Lawrence, Kansas, a few days after the bloody raid on the town by Quantrill," said Dr. William S. Bennett, when interviewed for the *Northern Wyoming Herald*, May 16, 1913, at the peak of his prominence and career.[1] Although Dr. Bennett sometimes stated his age as figured from 1863, the Quantrill attack date, his death certificate revealed his birth day was July 1, 1870. Perhaps to give himself more credibility as an experienced doctor, he added seven years to his actual age. This alteration of truth is minor compared to later actions of this upwardly mobile, respected physician, who reached great success, only to fall into disgrace, to be tried in a court of law for immoral behavior and eventually to die from alcoholism. His trial was a result of breaking a law which is practically unknown today, the 1910 Mann Act, also known as the Federal White Slave Act, a law to prohibit interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes and directed at prostitution.

Bennett grew up in Chicago and claimed it as his home town. He graduated from Hahnemann Medical College of Chicago with honors in March, 1891. Later he took courses at Chicago Post Graduate College and at the Ophthalmic College of Chicago so he could fit glasses. While "filling in" for six weeks for Dr. McGown in Friendship, Wisconsin, he met and married Clara Elizabeth Holm on September 23, 1891. Clara was born in Friendship on February 23, 1868, the daughter of Andrew and Rebecca Barnson Holm.

Bennett established a practice in Meeteetse, Wyoming, in 1899, after the state issued him a license to practice medicine, surgery and obstetrics on February 14 of that year.[2] All together the Bennetts had four sons and one daughter. Bertram was the first born, Frank, born May 13, 1894, Clara, who died in infancy in 1896,[3] William Sabin, "Bill," or "Willy," was born in Meeteetse on February 28, 1899, and Joseph Dexter, "Jo," often spelled Joe in the newspapers, was also born in Meeteetse, June 12, 1900.

In connection with his medical practice, Bennett established the first drug store in Meeteetse, Bennett's Drug, with himself as manager. It was located on the northeast corner of the block between Park and State streets, across from the Mercantile. It later became the Pioneer Pharmacy.[4]

Bennett advertised his business in several ways. He purchased ads in the Meeteetse and Cody newspapers. He also had at least one outdoor advertising sign painted by his friend, Italian Count Valentin deColonna, aka Bill Miller, a remittance man who was decorated with the Croix de Guerre during World War I. The sign is near Highway 120, one mile north of the historical Halfway Station sign and is 300 feet west of the old road between Cody and Meeteetse. Faintly discernible in 1987, it must have been painted before 1909, when the doctor moved to Cody. It is on an east facing rock, painted white with a black border and black letters. It is approximately eight feet by four feet on the fairly even surface of coarse, beige colored sandstone. It consists of three lines, the top says "BENNETT'S," the middle "DRUG STORE," and the bottom "phone 58." On the top of the sign is a small, round white circle with a red cross, Bennett's logo.

During their tenure in Meeteetse, the Bennetts lived

The Bennetts' home in Meeteetse, Wyoming.

COURTESY AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Dr. Bennett's advertisement between Cody and Meeteetse.

in a house diagonally across the intersection from the bank. The present address of that house is 2006 Warren Street and is a two story house painted yellow with white trim. Jeanette Cheeseman Miller lived near the Bennetts and recalled Mrs. Bennett dressed the boys nicely and kept up a fashionable home. She also said, "Dr. Bennett was a nice looking man, he and Mrs. Bennett were 'dressy people.' He was one of the best doctors in the country."[5]

When the Cheesemans lived at their ranch near the Upper Sunshine School, Bert Cheeseman broke his leg. He was outdoors during recess, running and playing in the school yard and stepped in a prairie dog hole. He was taken to the ranch house and his folks sent a rider off on the twenty mile trip to Meeteetse to get the doctor. Bennett arrived late that night in his horse and buggy. "I was just a little kid," said Jeanette, "and I was so scared I hid under the bed."[6]

Another long time resident of Meeteetse, Georgia Schulties, said her mother, Mrs. Avery, was at times a midwife in the town. She remembered that Dr. Bennett did not want to take care of patients who could not pay.[7]

Bennett served the community in other ways than just his medical practice. In 1901, the townspeople elected him councilman.[8] He also served "several times" as mayor.[9]

Bennett served as a member of the Wyoming House of Representatives when the residents of Big Horn County elected him to that body in 1908, on the Republican ticket with 2,682 votes. During his term he authored a bill that took saloons out of drug stores and restricted the sale of poisons and harmful drugs. He initiated the law for the State Board of Health to collect vital statistics and worked to have Park County become a separate county.[10]

In 1904, Bennett opened an office in Cody. He still had a thriving business in Meeteetse so he divided his time.[11] By 1909, however, the Bennetts moved to Cody. They sold their home and many of their furnishings to Mr. and Mrs. Frank Blackburn and family.[12] In Cody they bought a two story house next to the big, boxy, Sant Watkin's house which was on the corner of "First" Street and Bleistein. The present address is 1032 Bleistein Avenue. Neither the outside of the Meeteetse house nor the Cody house has been greatly altered and the exteriors of these homes retain their historical integrity. The local newspaper greeted their move by stating that Dr. Bennett was an "active, public spirited gentleman, as well as a pushing business man." He also was a member of the Masonic organization.

Following the move to Cody, Bennett went to Chicago where he took a seven week post-graduate course in surgery at the Chicago Post-graduate Hospital. It was noted that while there he bought an x-ray machine and up-to-date appliances.[13]

In Cody, he established his office, his drug store and a jewelry store in the gray, native stone building east of the Irma Hotel. It was known as the Cody Drug and Jewelry Store. It is today 1202 Sheridan Avenue. His slogan was "Bennett Handles the Goods," and his logo was the small red cross. Jay Powers, Mrs. Bennett's brother-in-law, was in charge of the merchandise.

Bennett was well received in Cody. He was a slim, handsome man with dark hair and mustache, energetic, amiable and had all the social graces of a polished gentleman. He was closely connected with every major event in Cody in one way or another, medical, social or civic. In 1912, he was elected to the school board in Cody.

In 1913, at the height of his popularity, Bennett ran on the Peoples Ticket for mayor and was elected for one term. As one of Cody's leading citizens and mayor he had many official and unofficial duties as town booster. According to Ray Prante, "Bennett was a great promoter of Cody."[14] When the Secretary of Interior came through in 1913 to tour the North Fork, Bennett entertained them. When the Prince of Monaco came out to hunt with Buffalo Bill at Pahaska, Bennett welcomed the prince on the veranda of the Irma Hotel and later had a "long chat with the Prince," according to the newspaper.

After "Spend-A-Million" Gates returned from his famous 25-day hunt in the Thorofare in 1913, he became ill and Bennett was called to his private Pullman car to consult with Gates' personal physician. Following Gates' death from apoplexy, Bennett accompanied the body to New York, and later took advantage of being in the East to meet with Wyoming legislators in Washington, D.C. He also purchased a supply of Christmas merchandise for his drug and jewelry store. Only one reference mentioned he was paid $10,000 and all expenses for his services to the Gates family.[15]

About this time was noted the first hint of the beginning of changes in the personality and actions of Bennett. Prante stated it this way: "After he came back from his

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

The Bennetts' home in Cody, Wyoming.

trip with the body of Spend-A-Million Gates is when he went bad. Something happened about that time. Mrs. Bennett stayed by him all the time through all the troubles.''[16]

Despite financial troubles and extra-marital involvements, Bennett continued his active life and career, all done at a fast pace. He was one of the first men to buy an automobile in Cody and drove as fast and sometimes faster than road conditions would allow. He had a 48 hp Oakland and in 1913 bought a new 54 hp, 6 cylinder Hudson with electric lights and an electric starter. On April 24, 1914, as goodwill ambassadors, Bennett and ''Billy'' Deegan, cashier of the First National Bank, met the MacAlleenan hunting party at the Burlington depot and drove them to the Majo Ranch at the head of the South Fork, where they were booked for a spring bear hunt. Joe MacAlleenan later wrote in his book, *Diary of a Wyoming Bear Hunt,* about the exciting ride from the depot to Cody. ''We proceeded at high speed and skidded three times hitting the guard rail.'' That was on the rain-slippery clay roads from the depot, down over the Shoshone River bridge and up the Mill Hill road onto 2nd Street (now 12th Street), into town. Even with the harrowing ride, the hunt was a successful one.[17]

A sampling of Bennett's medical calls will be listed as they were reported in the local newspapers or from recent interviews with people who have a direct memory of him. Gladys Jordan Allen remembered Bennett treated her sister, Edith, who contracted polio about 1910. He was called and confirmed a diagnosis of polio, or infantile paralysis as it was known then. He was not able to provide any curative treatment. Allen said: ''He prescribed some medicine that came in a glass bottle. My mother put the bottle on her dresser and when the sun shone on it the bottle blew up.''[18]

A 1913 issue of the *Northern Wyoming Herald* reported he left early one morning for the YU Ranch near Meeteetse where Joe Isham was ''dangerously ill'' with an attack of appendicitis. Apparently he drove his Oakland at full speed. It did not state, however, whether he had to operate on the kitchen table.

In December, 1914, Bennett had to make an urgent business trip to Burlington, Wyoming. Three Cody boys hitched a ride to see a basketball game there. Bennett, racing along in his Hudson, turned a corner at too high a speed and the car flipped over. It pinned Bennett under the steering wheel and scattered the boys. The boys freed him and all walked into Burlington, got help and the next morning returned to Cody under their own power.

In January, 1915, when Pat Kelly had an accident at the Red Hill tunnel, Bennett made it to the scene of the accident in fifteen minutes, the newspaper boasted. Surely he was at that time ''the fastest doc in the West.''

During May, 1915, Bennett, as official greeter, was on his way to meet the mayor of New York City to escort his group into Cody. He stripped the gears on his car at Sage Creek, a few miles east of Cody, and his good friend, J.M. ''Jakie'' Schwoob, another auto owner, had to send his car out as a replacement.

Thus Bennett rushed about the Big Horn Basin, treating patients and greeting notables. One would think he was the only doctor available, but during the years he practiced, there were from time to time in Cody, Drs.

Howe, Waples, Lane, Bradbury, Ainsworth, Trueblood and Kinney. Occasionally there was cooperation, but mostly each one took care of his own patients.

Bennett accompanied his son, William, to New York where he had enrolled at Cornell University. The oldest son, Bert, had worked as a cashier at the First National Bank for several years. He resigned and went into selling insurance, moved to Casper and later to Cheyenne. In 1916, there was the first publicized hint of financial problems when the First National Bank brought suit against Dr. Bennett for default.

For a number of years, while Bennett was carrying on his duties as a doctor and promoter of Cody, he also was carrying on in a highly improper manner by having an affair with Cassie, a madam from one of Cody's brothels. According to Prante: "He was quite a nice man, he just got off on the wrong foot. He was very handsome. He just seemed to go to pieces overnight. When he came back from that trip east with the body of Spend-A-Million Gates, he wasn't Dr. Bennett anymore."[19] That was in 1913, however, and it was in 1919 that he became financially strapped, and in 1921 that his business and extra-marital affairs became intolerable to the civic leaders of Cody.

In talking with early residents of Cody, one finds a number of tales of the affair between Bennett and Cassie. Huldah Hoglund Borron said the stress of the overwork from the 1918 flu epidemic got to him. He openly began seeing and supporting his mistress. "He bought his wife and Cassie each a dress exactly alike, said Borron, and when Mrs. Bennett was at the post office getting her mail, Cassie also was there, leaning over to get her mail from her box. When she straightened up they confronted each other in the identical dress." Borron felt "this was the final straw for Mrs. Bennett. She stayed on awhile and then moved to Cheyenne to be near her son, Bert."[20]

Myrtle Tennyson recalled when Dr. Bennett and Cassie wanted to get away from it all and have some privacy they drove out in the hills and pitched a tepee. Lloyd Tennyson said one time his family, the Einar Tennysons, were coming in from their home up Cottonwood Creek near Marlow Basin, and when they got down past Dan Marlow's place and were on the old Convict Road, they saw Bennett's car and the tepee he and Cassie had pitched in that remote spot.[21]

Prante said one time Bennett and Cassie drove out on a dark night to a local trysting place called Red Lake, south of Cody on the old Southfork road. Red Lake is a dry lake bed, but that night it was gumbo mud and the pair had to slog out through it. The car was left stuck in the mud.[22]

By 1918, Bennett's interests in financial matters were taking precedence over his interest in his medical practice. In June of that year, the local newspaper reported he had returned from a "trip to Nevada where he closed one of the biggest deals of recent date in mining circles by purchasing the old Silver Eagle property near Ely, Nevada, also the Taylor mine." This was the Taylor mining district of the 1893 era, sixteen miles south of Ely. His plans were for a big campaign of development to clean out and build a big concentrating mill. Bennett said there was $1,000,000 worth of ore in sight of the mines.[23]

He had been struck with mining fever and was pouring his efforts and money, and other people's money, into this old mine. According to Lloyd Tennyson, Bennett had talked several Meeteetse men into sinking money into his investment. These men were D.H. "Whoopie Dan" Wilson, E.P. Bowman, who built a hardware store in Meeteetse in 1902 and who served as postmaster for fifteen years, Fred A. Whitney and Martin L. Pratt. These men formed the Wyoming Mining and Milling Company. Apparently each one put in $25,000 at first, then another $25,000. After investing so much they hated to quit and kept going deeper and deeper until they had sunk from $100,000 to $125,000 each. According to Tennyson, "Charlie Webster was at the time miffed because he wasn't asked to join the company, but the investment broke the Meeteetse men. Mrs. Whitney hawked her diamonds and Mrs. Bowman was reduced to eating out of garbage barrels."[24]

Bennett was convinced that by using modern methods the mine could be operated profitably. He believed they could cull the mine dump of 20,000 tons of silver ore. However, first they had to build a six mile long water line and buy and install a compressor hoist and other equipment. The bullion was to be shipped to the California United States Mint. Silver was at that time up in value. The venture never did succeed.

Even with his personal and business difficulties, Bennett's personal popularity was slow to decline. The State Board of Health appointed him health officer for Park County in April, 1919. He continued to travel frequently and in the same month of his appointment, he made a trip to Salt Lake City. He was in need of a new car and bought a second hand super six speedster.

Apparently strapped for money, he sold his Cody Drug Store to Drs. Trueblood and Lambert, but he kept his medical practice. He sold his jewelry stock to a buyer in Riverton and sold his real estate in Meeteetse.

Bennett did attend to his medical practice when he was in town. On May 15, 1919, he was in attendance and delivered this writer. Apparently, his mind was not completely on his work because he left a surgical needle in the patient's bed. This was soon noticed.

When Bennett stayed in Cody and practiced medicine he was a competent physician. Frances Jones Purvis (Mrs. Henry) in a 1987 interview said, "Dr. Bennett was a brilliant man, ahead of his time. He saved my life in 1919."[25]

Frances Purvis, aged 86 in 1987, has lived a vigorous outdoor life since Dr. Bennett amputated her right leg because of impaired circulation in 1919. She first sought treatment from Drs. Lane of Cody and Whitlock of Powell for an undiagnosed illness. She had spent eight weeks in Whitlock's Powell hospital, returned to Cody and was staying with the Walter Kepfords. She was constantly feverish and losing weight. It was Stampede time, 1919, and her

left leg felt "like it was going to sleep all the time." It was decided to call her doctor to come and check her. Lane was so delayed in coming that after a long wait Bennett was called.

Purvis had been running a temperature since March, so upon examination Bennett decided she had an infection causing pus in her pleural cavity. He made two holes, one in her side and one in her back and cleaned out the pus. She was "put under" with ether.[26] This operation cleared up the chest problem and she responded well. Her temperature went down right away, but there was a clot under her knee and after a month the clot still had not dissolved and her "toes were drying up and turning black." Bennett called in another doctor for consultation and they decided the leg had to be removed. Bennett performed the surgery and left a 4½ inch stump below the knee. He had wanted to leave a longer stump, but wanted to get well above the trouble spot and get "good sound flesh," so further amputations would not be necessary. Purvis weighed 70 pounds after her illness and she was very weak. By September her leg and back had healed and she began to regain her health. She had kind feelings toward Bennett, as she said, "He saved my life."[27]

In March, 1920, the *Park County Enterprise* noted Bennett returned from a four month trip in the Seven Lakes District in New Mexico. "He acquired quite a lot of acreage and got some producing oil wells." He had added oil to his other mining interests. The other Cody newspaper, the *Northern Wyoming Herald*, a more straight-laced paper and not friendly with Bennett, published on March 10, 1920, "Dr. W.S. Bennett accompanied by E.L. Bridgford of Denver and Miss Ruth T. Steigerwald of New York City arrived in Cody overland. These two people represent capital. Bennett is engaged in the oil game in southern states and has bought a home in Denver but expects to live here and resume his practice of medicine in Park County." The April 28, 1920, issue of the *Park County Enterprise*, put it this way: "Dr. Bennett returned to Cody and expects to remain in Cody and devote his time entirely to his profession and practice."

Bennett found another investment closer to home. In May, 1920, a group of investors made up of Bennett, Larry Larom, Caroline Lockhart, S.A. Elred and C.M. Conger purchased the *Park County Enterprise*. Two months later, despite his promise to remain in town and continue his practice, Bennett traveled to Ely, Nevada, on a business trip regarding his silver mine.

About this time Bennett began a series of moves. He moved his office from the Cody Drug to space in the Irma Hotel and hung an electric sign on the porch over the entrance. His office probably was the last room on the southeast corner, later used as an office by the Valley Ranch Company. Perhaps as an economy effort, the Bennetts moved out of their home on Bleistein and into the Christ Church rectory in November, 1920. After a brief time there they moved into a residence at the corner of Beck and First Street.[28]

In December, 1920, the Bennetts again moved, this time from the house at the corner of Beck and First Street to an apartment in the Irma Hotel. While things were going from bad to worse, the worst was yet to come for Bennett, although it must have been some consolation that his three sons were rising to prominence. The *Park County Enterprise* reported that W.S. Bennett, Jr., was appointed Assistant District Attorney for the city and county of Denver. "The twenty-two year old man was born in Park County, Wyoming, and a graduate of Cornell University. He is the younger brother of Major Bennett, Secretary to Governor Carey of Wyoming."[29]

All through his adventures, Bennett continued as health officer, but by the summer of 1921 there was outright public disapproval of his conduct. How long this feeling had been latent is difficult to tell. The people did not approve of his affairs with Cassie and other women. There was much disapproval of his bilking the Meeteetse investors. His in and out of town ramblings were not looked upon favorably. The slowness of action by the townspeople partly could be because he was a doctor, his wife was above reproach and his sons were achievers. However, from June, 1921, until his death in March, 1924, it was all downhill for him.

The *Northern Wyoming Herald* reported in its June 22, 1921, issue, a resolution adopted by the Cody Club, Cody's Chamber of Commerce and the town's ruling hand.

> Inasmuch as the conduct of the present incumbent of the county health office, W.S. Bennett, has been decidedly of a disgraceful nature, the club endorsed the following resolution to be sent to the governor of the state and the secretary of the public health department at Cheyenne:
>
> "To the Honorable Governor and the State Board of Health of Wyoming:
>
> "At a regular meeting of the Cody Club held Monday noon, June 20, 1921 the following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted:
>
> "Resolved, That the Cody Club is shocked and outraged by the reported ungentlemanly and dishonorable behavior of the present County Health Officer, and hereby asks the Governor and State Board of Health for his immediate removal and the appointment of some one in his place whose conduct is more nearly in accord with the ideals of honor and decency held by this community. Several times in the past few years this town has been agog over some scandal in which this individual was reported as the chief actor, and this club voices the enlightened sentiment of this community, in requesting that he be permanently retired from any office of honor and responsibility in this county, from this time forth.
>
> (Signed) The Cody Club"[30]

This resolution must have been another embarrassment to the family, especially to Bert Bennett, who worked in Governor Carey's office.

Newspaper items of Bennett became very short although his family's activities still were covered. In July, 1921, it was reported that Jo Bennett, "an honor man at Yale" and a junior was a friend of the J. Pierpont Morgan family and accompanied them on their yacht on a cruise to Bermuda. And in September, "Cody loses a bridge

player when Joe [sic] Bennett returns to school.'' Two years later after his father's scandals had surfaced, young Jo was following an active social life, the newspapers stated he was making a trip around the world with the Colgate family.[31] Returning to the business of the elder Bennett, the *Park County Enterprise* reported on December 7, 1921, that ''Dr. Bennett is moving to Greybull where he will set up an office.''

News stories from 1922 reveal what was going on in Bennett's private life. What happened to his affair with Cassie is not certain, but in November, 1922, a newspaper had a headline which read: ''Greybull Pair Is Nabbed By Police.''

> Dr. W.S. Bennett, 52 year old physician, and Mrs. W.E. St. Clare [sic] 31 and pretty, both of Greybull,were fined $50.00 and costs each in police court yesterday afternoon as the result of their arrest early yesterday in one of Sheridan's leading hotels.
>
> A raid on the room occupied by the pair at 3:45 o'clock yesterday morning brought sensational developments. Mrs. St. Clare [sic] is said by the officers to have attempted to escape by crawling out the window. The attempt was foiled however, by the appearance of two officers below the window. The light had been turned out and door locked, the officers said.
>
> The two had arrived in Sheridan on the late night train and had registered at the hotel under the names of J.D. Ashley and Mrs. Jennie D. Shirley, and had been assigned to rooms on different floors. The arrests were made by Officers Staggs, Rogers and Fowler of the city police force and Todd of the Burlington special agency, who first gave warning to the city officials.
>
> Mrs. St. Clare [sic] is being held on word from Greybull officers that she is wanted there. Her husband is said to have filed suit for divorce against her asking custody of their small daughter. She and the physician are said to have fled from her husband, who telegraphed Thursday to local police to be on the lookout for his wife.[32]

By way of explanation for this compromising situation, the *Rustler* said Bennett had discontinued his practice in Greybull and was on his way to Lodge Grass, Montana, to open a new practice. He posted the appropriate money for himself and Mrs. St. Clair and he was freed, with a trial pending in 1923.

As is sometimes the case in these affairs, the more that comes to light the more confusing and improbable it becomes. The *Rustler* added further information. The doctor returned to Greybull, but St. Clair was held at Sheridan on a charge of kidnapping her little daughter. In the pending divorce case, Court Commissioner Bonwell had given the mother custody of the child. Later, an order had been issued giving the father the right to see the child a part of each week. In taking the child to Sheridan she had violated the court's order. A few days later the court ordered the father be given custody of the child, the charges of kidnapping were withdrawn and St. Clair left for Cheyenne.

The trial in the case of the United States against Dr. W.S. Bennett for violation of the Mann Act took place in Cheyenne five months later, beginning on April 19, 1923, and ending April 21.[33] The Mann Act also was known as the White Slave Traffic Act. It was a criminal offense to transport any woman or girl in interstate or foreign commerce for the purposes of prostitution, debauchery or other immoral purposes. Congress had passed this act on June 25, 1910.

The *Wyoming State Tribune and Cheyenne State Leader* for April 21, had the headline, ''Hung Jury Result of Bennett Trial Mann Act Charge.'' Some of the testimony was incredible. St. Clair stated at the trial that her husband had been abusive toward her and she had fled with the doctor as a result. Then the doctor declared there had been no immorality, that he had taken ill in his room and St. Clair had come to nurse him. The officers testified that ''she was in negligee attire when arrested.''

The *Tribune* reported St. Clair was the star witness and gave several pieces of conflicting testimony. After objections from the prosecuting attorneys, the defense attorneys insisted it is a woman's privilege to change her mind. Testimony from young lawyer, W.S. ''Bill'' Bennett, brought out the fact that he had been trying to get his father relocated in Lodge Grass from Greybull and St. Clair was to be his office girl and nurse. Also mentioned was that Mrs. Bennett had departed to visit relatives in the East in May, 1922. The defense declared it was not a separation.

R.L. Wilson took the stand and testified Bennett had rented rooms from a bank in Lodge Grass for setting up an office, but had changed his mind after the notoriety he and Mrs. St. Clair had gained after being found together at the Sheridan Inn. When St. Clair took the stand in rebuttal, testimony revealed she had bought clothes at the Denver Dry Goods Company in the amount of $165.25 in November, 1922, and at Daniels and Fisher for $200.00. Bennett had paid both bills.

Legal facts on the Bennett trial show there were two dockets, numbers 1958 and 1959.[34] Docket 1958 is the U.S.A. vs. W.S. Bennett—violation of the Act of Congress known as the White Slave Traffic Act. Docket 1959 was essentially the same except Jennie St. Clair was added as codefendant.

Both pled not guilty to the charge. Bennett's bond was $2,000, later reduced to $1,000, the same as St. Clair's. The jury could not agree on a verdict in the case and was discharged. In November, a new trial date was set for December 10, 1923. On December 4, Bennett's attorney filed a motion for continuance which was granted. The second trial was then scheduled for May, 1924.

There was to be no new trial, however, as Bennett died March 30, 1924. The Nevada Death Certificate stated Bennett, age 53 years, 7 months, 29 days, died of ''Alcoholism (chronic).'' Contributory cause was ''Moonshine.'' Bennett, Jr., who gave his address as Rawlins, Wyoming, signed for the body, which was buried in Ely, Nevada.

Bennett's obituary in the local newspapers was short. The *Park County Herald* for April 2, 1924, stated he had been practicing in Ely for several months. The *Cody Enterprise* and the *Meeteetse News* had equally brief statements.

Mrs. Bennett moved back to Friendship, Wisconsin, where she taught grade school for many years. She died

February 6, 1954, having outlived all but one of her children.

Most of the memories of Bennett have faded away in Park County. All that remain are the houses and buildings occupied by him and his family, bits of advertising signs painted on sandstone rocks, newspaper stories and folk tales, and some antique furniture representing more stories than will ever be known about the life of a once prominent physician, whose life followed a path of self destruction and ended ignominiously.

ESTER JOHANSSON MURRAY (Mrs. John A.) is a Cody native. Her father came to Cody in 1902, and was an old-time guide. Her mother arrived in 1910. Murray is a graduate of the University of Wyoming and has had articles published in Annals of Wyoming, True West *and* In Wyoming. *She is a member of the Park County and Wyoming State Historical societies and lives in Billings, Montana.*

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1. On August 21, 1863, William Clarke Quantrill led a band of 450 Confederates and guerillas who sacked and burned Lawrence, Kansas, and murdered 150 men and boys. E.B. Long, *The Civil War Day by Day: An Almanac* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971), p. 399.
2. Archives and Records Management Division, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department (AMH Dept.), Cheyenne.
3. Letter from Edith Holm Dittburner, niece of Clara Holm Bennett, Friendship, Wisconsin, to author, June 25, 1988. Edith believed one child was buried in Meeteetse, and possibly the other also. She did not know the cause of death. This writer examined all the Meeteetse gravestones August 21, 1988. There were none for Frank or Clara Bennett.
4. Interview with Bob Adams, March, 1987, Cody, Wyoming.
5. Interview with Jeanette Cheeseman Miller, September, 1986, Cody, Wyoming.
6. Ibid.
7. Interview with Georgia Avery Schulties, October 26, 1986, Meeteetse, Wyoming.
8. *Cody Enterprise*, February 25, 1987.
9. *Northern Wyoming Herald*, May 16, 1913.
10. Ibid.
11. Lucille Nichols Patrick, *The Best Little Town by a Dam Site* (Cheyenne, Wyoming: Flintlock Publishing Co., 1968), p. 77.
12. Interview with Margaret Blackburn Hughes, October 26, 1986, Meeteetse, Wyoming.
13. *Wyoming Stockman and Farmer*, September 17, 1909.
14. Interview with Ray Prante, September 7, 1986, Cody, Wyoming.
15. *Billings Gazette*, January 9, 1966. Feature interview with 90 year old Dick Nelson of San Diego, California, former Wyoming railroad man. Nelson said, "A Cody doctor, who by the request of his (Gates) family in New York, accompanied the remains on the special train, and was paid $10,000 and all expenses." According to Edith Dittburner, "Uncle Will (Dr. Bennett) was a very kind man and wonderful doctor. After his contact with the hunter who died in Cody (Spend-A-Million Gates) he stopped in Friendship and took his wife's cousin, Clara Smith, who had been paralyzed early in life, to Chicago to consult specialists. Unfortunately, she was not helped." Telephone conversation with Edith Dittburner, August 10, 1988. Clara Smith "was Register of Deeds in Friendship for years and years. Court house employees remember Bert Bennett, always dressed in western clothes, pushing his aunt Clara Smith's wheelchair up the ramp almost on a daily basis." Letter to author from Alma Thurber, Register of Deeds, Adams County, Wisconsin, May 3, 1988.
16. Interview with Ray Prante, September 7, 1986, Cody, Wyoming.
17. Joseph MacAlleenan, *Diary of the Wyoming Bear Hunt* (Brooklyn, New York: P.J. Collison & Co., n.d.), pp. 7, 35.
18. Interview with Gladys Jordan Allen, September 4, 1987, Cody, Wyoming.
19. Interview with Ray Prante, September 7, 1986, Cody, Wyoming.
20. Interview with Huldah Hoglund Borron and Francis Hayden, March, 1986, Cody, Wyoming.
21. Interviews with Lloyd and Myrtle Freeborg Tennyson, 1986 and 1987, Cody, Wyoming.
22. Interview with Ray Prante, September 7, 1986, Cody, Wyoming.
23. *Northern Wyoming Herald*, June 12, 1918.
24. Interviews with Lloyd and Myrtle Freeborg Tennyson, 1986, and 1987, Cody, Wyoming.
25. Interview with Frances Purvis, March 7, 1987, Cody, Wyoming.
26. Myrtle Freeborg Tennyson recalled being Frances' roommate at Kepfords. She said she was enlisted to help with the draining process.
27. Interview with Frances Purvis, March 7, 1987, Cody, Wyoming.
28. In renumbering the Cody streets, First Street became 11th Street. Park County Archives, Cody, Wyoming.
29. *Park County Enterprise*, September 15, 1920.
30. *Northern Wyoming Herald*, June 22, 1921, p. 1. The last time Bennett was paid for serving in this position was June, 1921. Archives and Records Management Division, AMH Dept.
31. G. Colgate roomed with Jo Bennett during his sophomore year. History, Class of 1922, Yale University.
32. *Big Horn County Rustler*, November 17, 1922.
33. The Bennett court records are at the Denver Federal Center. Agency Group #21 Accession #57-A-48, Agency Box 26 of 37. Old location #469899. New location Denver Federal Center, Building 48, Denver, Colorado.
34. Federal Clerk of Courts Office, Joseph O'Mahoney Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

INSIDE WYOMING

One of the darker chapters in our nation's history was the interning of the 110,000 Japanese-Americans and Japanese alien residents living on the West Coast during World War II. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, fears that these two groups posed a threat to the security of the United States led to an intense campaign by West Coast public officials to deal with the Japanese-American community. Their efforts resulted in President Franklin D. Roosevelt signing Executive Order #9066 on February 19, 1942, which allowed for the evacuation of the West Coast Japanese and their placement into restricted areas. Eventually, the government constructed ten relocation centers in various parts of the country to house the uprooted Japanese residents of the West Coast.

Wyoming played an important role in the relocation because of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, active from 1942 until November, 1945, between Cody and Powell. This camp housed more than 10,000 Japanese and in size was the third largest city in Wyoming at the time.

The federal government formed a new agency, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), to oversee the evacuation and manage the camps. The various names of the camps, as in the case of Heart Mountain, were derived from local geographic features or nearby settlements. Titles included Manzanar, Gila River, Tule Lake and Jerome among others. Called concentration camps by many, including the internees, the WRA euphemistically used such terms as "colony," "relocation center," "resettlement center," and "evacuation center." This was done because WRA officials "felt it was easier to win public acceptance and find jobs and homes for 'relocatees' from 'relocation centers' than 'prisoners' from 'concentration camps.' "[1]

The WRA portrayed these camps as typical American communities, even though they were surrounded by barbed wire and watched by armed soldiers in guard towers. Guy Robertson, Project Director for Heart Mountain, stated in 1943 that the Wyoming community of Japanese was just like "any normal community in interests and activities."[2]

These claims of normality for the concentration camps,

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS AMH DEPT.

"Evening falls over the Heart Mountain Relocation Center where nearly 11,000 persons of Japanese ancestry reside. One by one, lights dim out in the barracks and Wyoming's third largest city dozes off to sleep." (September 19, 1942)

however, according to one historian, were "simply untrue. Whatever appearances there were of a healthy, full community life were just that—appearances. At most they provided a thin veneer over a life filled with petty conflict, artificiality, and pain." Work in the camps "was either a combination of drudgery and 'make-work' or else public improvement projects deliberately designed to benefit the non-Japanese who would remain in the area after the war was over." Wages were very low, $12 a month for unskilled labor, $16 for semi-skilled and $19 for professional or highly skilled. The WRA espoused the principles of free speech and self-government, but in reality these were curtailed or non-existent.[3]

"Heart Mountain, in conception, design, and operation, was a concentration camp. To those imprisoned there, the realities of existence were not community involvement or meaningful work or self-government, but rather confinement, dependency and powerlessness."[4] According to the editor of the *Heart Mountain Sentinel*: ". . . there is something lacking. Perhaps it is because no American ever can be satisfied with existence behind barbed wire under the eyes of armed sentries. Perhaps the lack can be expressed in the one word, freedom, without which life loses zest and living becomes an empty pantomime."[5]

Recently, the Photographic Section of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department received a collection of WRA photographs, complete with original captions, of Heart Mountain. These photographs present an idyllic view of the work, educational and recreational activities of the internees. No barbed wire or armed guards are seen, only the edited excerpts of daily life.

1. Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1969), p. 348.
2. Douglas W. Nelson, *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976), p. 31.
3. Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, pp. 31-34.
4. Ibid., p. 34.
5. *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, January 1, 1943, p. 4, c. 2.

"A nursery school group at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center where persons of Japanese parentage, evacuated from west coast defense areas are now residing." (January 4, 1943)

"Furniture for the schools, public buildings and administrative offices is being made in the wood working shop at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center by these evacuee residents." (September 22, 1942)

''A shoemaker busy in the shoe repair shop at the center. With every available shoemaker at work, the flood of shoe repair is so great that completed work is promised in three months. The rough countryside and a town without sidewalks and pavement areas makes short work of foot gear.'' (January 11, 1943)

''For this young former Californian of Japanese ancestry, learning to ice skate is a challenge. By this, his third time out, he has learned a healthy respect for the vagaries of ice and is intent in learning to avoid a third layer of bruises. Centerites enthusiastically took up ice skating at the first Wyoming winter freeze.'' (January 10, 1943)

"Young Mike Hosokawa's chief interests are mechanical. In the tradition of American boyhood, his toys were soon in pieces to see what makes them go. His father, Bill Hosokawa, Nisei leader and editor of the Sentinel, *Heart Mountain Relocation Center newspaper, is a graduate of Washington U, a former West Coast newspaper men [sic] and foreign correspondent in the Orient." (January 8, 1943)*

"Ruby Hifumi, 16 year old high school student with a special New Year's flower arrangement. The material is a piece of pine, a sprig of sage with paper flowers indicating a plum tree and a paper bamboo. The flower arrangement of the three materials symbolizes in order, hardiness, courage and strength." (January 9, 1943)

"Minnie Hegoro, an art student at the University of California in Los Angeles before the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry from west coast defense areas, is taking up the art of the potters wheel at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Ceramics Plant, where dishes and other pottery products for this and other relocation centers will be made." (January 12, 1943)

"Two small girls, whose grandparents came to the United States from Japan, play with clay toys in the nursery school at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center." (January 4, 1943)

"A group of centerites gather around two of the center's expert Go players. The game, popularly conceived as a game of military strategy, it is more nearly a battle of keen wits, tho even this has been frustrated by a six year old boy who recently defeated 13 players in simultaneous games at this center." (January 4, 1943)

"Visiting soldiers from the Army of the United States are entertained in the Heart Mountain Relocation Center where persons of Japanese ancestry, evacuated from west coast defense areas, now reside; by girls of the Heart Mountain USO, the only nationally recognized USO chapter operating within a relocation center." (June 4, 1943)

ANNALS' REVIEWS

The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846. By Francis Paul Prucha. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986. Originally published: New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1969. Illustrated. Maps. Index. Notes. Bibliography. xvii and 442 pp. Cloth $29.95. Paper $12.95.

Francis Paul Prucha is one of our most respected western historians. Beginning with the publication of his Harvard doctoral dissertation in 1953 (*Broadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1860*), Prucha launched a writing career that has spanned a quarter-century and includes 22 volumes of history and 40 monographs and miscellaneous pieces. While his early writings dealt with antebellum military history, his later work has centered on American Indian policy, and his recent two-volume study, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, published by the University of Nebraska Press, 1984, is recognized as the definitive work on the subject. For his remarkable record, his peers honored him in 1987 with the Western History Association Prize for distinguished studies.

Originally published in 1969, *Sword of the Republic* is the culmination of Prucha's early interest in military history. His book is the first chronological volume in The Macmillan War of the United States Series (17 volumes), produced in the 1960s and 1970s under the general editorship of Louis Morton. Generally, Prucha tells the story of the beginnings of the regular army and its role in establishing American sovereignty on a frontier rapidly expanding from the Appalachians to the Pacific Ocean during the period between the American Revolution and the Mexican War.

On June 2, 1874, the last Revolutionary soldiers left federal service, except for 25 men at Fort Pitt and 55 at West Point, specifically retained to guard military stores. The following day, Congress asked the states for 700 men for one year to garrison former British posts in the West that were now under U.S. control. The need to protect settlers on the northwestern frontier from Indian warfare convinced members of Congress to provide for the same number of troops in 1785, this time providing a three-year authorization and dropping the description of the force as "militia." This was the inauspicious beginning of a regular army, which by 1845 would number 8,509 officers and men.

Slow growth in numbers during the 1785-1845 period reflected the belief of the Founding Fathers that a standing army in peace time was inconsistent with the principles of republican government and dangerous to the liberties of a free people. But the frontier grew rapidly—tremendously with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803—and Indian tribes presented a continuing problem, requiring protection for and from the rush of exploiters and settlers that filled the Old Northwest and spilled over into the trans-Mississippi West in a few decades. Besides its role as the agent of empire, the army physically attacked the wilderness, building forts, roads and bridges, and at times conducting extensive farming operations and gathering some of the first scientific data on the great hinterland. Among the major campaigns of the period were Indian activities surrounding the War of 1812, the Black Hawk War of 1832 and the Second Seminole War of 1835-1842. The volume ends with a description of the army's early activities on the Great Plains and the founding of Fort Kearny and Fort Laramie to protect westward migration. While Prucha notes that American ideals inhibited development of the strength needed to carefully control westward expansion and avoid several lamentable conflicts, the army was able to uphold American dominion within the territorial limits of the United States from foreign encroachments and against Indian nations and thereby successfully performed its mission.

One will find very little social history in this volume. While problems of desertion and drinking are mentioned, there is nothing, for example, on the army ration, what soldiers did for entertainment or what they suffered from. Nor does the author treat weaponry or other equipment. Developments in the staff branches of the service—quartermaster, subsistence and medical, to name three—are not covered. Occasionally, the necessity for treating subjects topically within an overall chronological context creates problems. We find, for example, on page 391, that in 1845 Stephen Watts Kearny recommended against the purchase of Fort Laramie for a military post and, on page 393, that in 1842 John C. Frémont recommended in favor of it.

When this volume appeared in 1969, it received rave reviews. Robert Athearn called it "a tremendous piece of research," and Richard Knopf declared that "it should remain the standard work on the army before 1846 for many years to come." Nearly 20 years later, those judgments stand.

JOHN D. McDERMOTT

The reviewer is a freelance historian, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Entrepreneurs of the Old West. By David Dary. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. Originally published: New York: Knopf, 1986. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Notes. 325 pp. Paper $11.95.

David Dary has given us another book on the "Winning of the West." Dary's focus is on what he calls "a silent

army;'' businessmen, town-builders and speculators fixed their gaze on profit and self-advancement, and with luck and guile ''in time, trade became the civilizer of the West.''

Dary provides factual information on particular incidents of western history. His book is a chronicling of the rise and/or fall of selected individuals who are examples of the market-place ethic. The stories of Wells, Fargo and Company, Russell, Majors and Waddell, the Goldwaters in Arizona, all the names, dates and anecdotes are the substance and the theme of this book.

By far the brightest parts of the book are the snatches of original documents, the personal diaries and letters, the company inventories and price lists and the physical descriptions of trading posts, bank buildings and ''boom'' towns. The glimpse of John Hubbell's trading post empire or John Chisum's cattle kingdom, or Granville Stuart's 1862 diary description of mining in Montana are worth reading.

Dary's illustration of the prime importance of the railroad in promoting and building the West is an example of the continuous and essential involvement if not the actual underwriting of commercial ventures by the federal government. Dary does not confront this complex relationship directly and there are other points raised in the book which could well have been enlarged upon. The federal government's ''hands off'' policy toward the West during the Civil War is another inviting story. President Lincoln was so anxious to have a pro-Union West that Nevada's 1864 constitution was telegraphed to him, word by word. Dary finds the important point earlier established by Gene Gressley that much of western enterprise was built on eastern money. It was easy to start a bank in the West, but the interest rates were too high for most ''profit seekers'' so they borrowed eastern capital. Dary also reiterates the fact that ranching, for instance, was a risky business, and many investors lost money.

Saying all this, we need to recognize that *Entrepreneurs of the Old West* is ''old-fashioned'' western history that accepts without blinking the injury done to minorities, Indians and the land itself in the name of progress and ''potential profits.'' Dary makes it appear as though frontier ''fleecing,'' robbery and pettiness were all an expected part of what was an economically-directed westward movement. Dary's strongest intellectual outrage goes only to the point of saying, ''the country merchant . . . did not conduct business with a great deal of alertness to customer interest.''

Dary's attitude toward Indians is short-sighted—they simply stood in the way of expansion and economic opportunity. In 1880s Oklahoma, Indian leaders ''fought every move to organize the territory for statehood.'' By 1875, ''the Indians were gone from Texas, and the region . . . was safe for White settlement.''

Finally, there was no compelling reason to have written this book. Apart from the interesting details and anecdotes, this is a book which requires no mental investment by the reader. And, as well-meaning as it is, the book perpetuates a misplaced conclusion.

Dary has it that this ''silent army'' of entrepreneurs were transformed by the West, ''as they crossed the unsettled prairies and plains . . . a unique spirit that was less trammeled by tradition began to emerge;'' they began to believe in self-reliance, independence and dream of freedom; they helped to create a West which valued personal initiative.

Not quite. The West may have provided a wider opportunity for self-advancement, but it did not create the principle. The pioneers, merchants, land speculators, cattlemen and town builders were already committed to the values of the enterprise system. ''Seeking opportunity and profit'' is, for better or worse, what America is all about. That is the very basis which has laid out the contours of our society. Ours has always been a nation whose sense of identity is connected to its commerce.

We need to place the West within the mainstream of American history and to recognize its continuity as well as its uniqueness.

ROY JORDAN

The reviewer is Associate Professor of History, Northwest Community College, Powell, Wyoming.

The Bozeman Trail: Highway of History. By Robert A. Murray. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1988. Illustrated. Map. Index. 85 pp. Cloth $24.95. Paper $11.95.

During the middle of the 19th century, American explorers found another of the continent's natural ''highways,'' this one lying north of Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Soon called the Bozeman Trail, the 400 plus mile ''highway'' extended north by northwest along the Big Horn Mountains and across the border, then west by northwest to the mining camps and valleys of southern Montana. For the five years of 1864-1868, the Bozeman Trail played a central role in the drama of United States-Indian relations and a somewhat more ambiguous role in the history of westward migration. Robert Murray has penned a series of brief, encyclopedia-styled sketches of the prominent pioneers, soldiers, stations, forts, Indian battles and historic incidents whose names have become associated with this trail. His purpose is to provide ''tourists, students and armchair history buffs'' with a ''capsule'' of ''the colorful events of the early days along a whole trail system in readable form within a single volume'' (Introduction).

Murray's book begins with a first chapter on the origins of the trail and its earliest Indian and American users. The story of the trail itself is then told in 40 encyclopedic entries found within the next four chapters, chapters which focus upon specific segments of the trail as it was traveled from north to south (e.g. ''Bridger's Ferry to Fort Reno''). Most of these entries relate to the earliest efforts to maintain the Bozeman Trail during the 1860s, with additional entries on the pioneering and military efforts of the 1870s. The 40 entries are of three lengths: 50-100 words to cover such topics as ''Montgomery Van Valzah's Mail Party

Massacre," 250-300 words to cover such topics as "The German Lutheran Mission On The Powder River," and 800-900 words to cover such topics as "The Wagon Box Fight." The book concludes with a fine essay, "The Bozeman Trail Today," which provides useful information on the physical remains, museums, highways, and so forth, appropriate for the modern road explorer.

Murray writes in a straightforward, sometimes folksy, style. Unfortunately, his generally informative, readable entries are disrupted with occasional "gee whiz" facts and observations of little relevance to the story line and with an annoyingly chronic use of the exclamation point to artificially punch up the narrative. The strong suit of the book, however, is the visual presentation of the story of the Bozeman Trail. Murray or the editors of Pruett should be commended for the knowledgeable selection of the 70 paintings, drawings and photos, and the more than 40 portraits, which strikingly document the history of the trail. Well-designed maps could have enhanced both the written and pictorial components of the book, but the editors instead chose to insert four times the very same map already printed twice as the inside front and back covers of the book. These inserted maps, slightly larger in scale, contain no new cartographic information.

Books of this nature must be judged, finally, on how well they meet the needs of their intended audience. In this regard, Murray's book may be of use for those who want brief factual information on the people and events associated with the early history of the Bozeman Trail. However, students and buffs should be aware that even modest-sized libraries will likely contain virtually all of the ready-reference information provided by Murray. Students, buffs and librarians will more likely want to consider purchase of this book on the merits of its pictorial presentation. As for motoring tourists, the book could provide some pleasurable, informative motel reading, but the always sound tourist advice, *caveat emptor*, suggests a perusal of the book before parting with one's money.

DAVID L. FERCH

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Battle of the Rosebud: Prelude to the Little Bighorn. By Neil C. Mangum. El Segundo, CA.: Upton and Sons, 1987. Illustrated. Index. Notes. Appendices. Bibliography. 180 pp. Cloth $35.

The Custer Tragedy: Events Leading up to and Following the Little Big Horn Campaign of 1876. By Fred Dustin. Introduction by Frank Mercatante. El Segundo, CA.: Upton and Sons, 1987. Reprint of 1939 edition by Edwards Brothers, Inc. Illustrated. Notes. Appendices. Bibliography. 275 pp. Cloth $45.

Custer saw. Custer rode. Custer died, along with more than 200 men of the Seventh Cavalry. This relatively insignificant military engagement on the Little Bighorn River in Montana has spawned more research and publications than any other single event in American history. Upton and Sons Publishers has recently released a series of books related to the Battle of the Little Bighorn, including Neil C. Mangum's *Battle of the Rosebud: Prelude to the Little Bighorn* and a reprint of Fred Dustin's 1939 study, *The Custer Tragedy*.

Little had been written concerning the conflict on Rosebud Creek, even though it occurred just eight days before and a few miles east of the Little Bighorn engagement. Using primary and secondary sources, Mangum corrects this omission by providing a detailed and interesting account of General Crook, his role in the 1876 military campaign, and the battle just inside the Montana border from Wyoming. As part of a three-pronged military offensive which included General Terry's and Colonel Gibbon's columns in Montana, Crook's army of 1,325 soldiers and 260 Crow and Shoshone scouts invaded Indian country from Wyoming in June, 1876, hoping to force some Sioux and Cheyenne onto reservations in Dakota Territory. Fearing that the soldiers would attack their camps, several hundred Indians charged Crook's column on Rosebud Creek.

With the help of maps and photographs, Mangum describes the details of the ensuing six hour struggle, including the key role the Indian scouts played in keeping Crook's casualties to a minimum. Nevertheless, the Sioux and Cheyenne accomplished their objective when Crook retreated to Goose Creek in Wyoming, eliminating the threat to their villages.

As a conclusion to this primarily military account, Mangum compares and contrasts Crook's and Custer's styles of command and the resulting differences in the outcomes of the Rosebud and Little Bighorn engagements. Noting that the three columns were operating independently of each other and that immediate communication of the results of the battle was impossible, the author makes a good case for absolving Crook of any blame for Custer's subsequent downfall on the Little Bighorn battlefield.

While *Battle of the Rosebud* offers new information and interpretation, the scope of the book is limited primarily to military maneuvers, which is characteristic of most studies of the 1876 campaign. As a result, several important points are neglected, such as what the Sioux and Cheyenne hoped to accomplish by staying in such large camps, why the Crow and Shoshone were leading White soldiers into battle against other Indians, why the military was attacking people who were rightfully occupying their land, and what significance, if any, did the Indians attach to the fight. Addressing these issues would have identified the cultural and economic conflicts which precipitated the battle, thereby providing a meaningful context for the events detailed in the book.

Just a few days after the Rosebud engagement, Custer and a couple hundred soldiers rode down Medicine Tail Coulee and never returned. Fred Dustin's 1939 study, *The Custer Tragedy*, provided the most comprehensive examination of the battle of the Little Bighorn and the most complete bibliography of Custer literature up to that time. His detailed account of the battle and the events surrounding it have been repeated, revised and supplemented by countless writers over the past 50 years. Yet, his portrayals of

Colonel Custer and Major Reno are the more interesting and controversial legacies of the book.

Disputing previous publications by Edward Godfrey, a survivor of the battle, and Elizabeth Custer, the colonel's widow, Dustin believes Custer to be ''. . . one of the most overrated men on the stage of American life'' and describes him as power hungry, pretentious, egotistical, immature and arrogant. In contrast, the author defends the actions of Reno, who often was blamed for Custer's disaster. Using primary sources and reconstructing the battle at the scene 62 years later, Dustin contends that Reno's retreat saved his men from the same annihilation that Custer failed to prevent.

Even though many of Dustin's conclusions about the battle, Custer and Reno's decisions would be disputed by later researchers, *The Custer Tragedy* elevated the study of this conflict from eulogies of Custer to a more thorough and comprehensive scholarship. As a result, his work remains important, although students of the battle would need to wait eighteen years for most of the Indian participants' views of the fight, initially contained in David Humphreys Miller's *Custer's Fall*.

Dustin's and Mangum's books offer new insights into the 1876 military campaign, furthering our understanding of these two battles. Mangum's work will be particularly valuable to the State of Montana in its efforts to preserve and interpret the Rosebud battlefield. However, one continues to hope for another ''Fred Dustin'' to arrive on the scene in order to advance the scholarship again, beyond detailed accounts of military engagements and colorful personalities to research on the more important historical forces which precipitated these battles and continue to affect Indian-White relations today.

MICHAEL A. MASSIE

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The American West in Film: Critical Approaches to the Western. By Jon Tuska. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Originally published: Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985. Illustrated. Index. Notes. Bibliography. xix and 264 pp. Paper $10.95.

Jon Tuska is no stranger to film criticism or the Western genre. In fact, *The American West in Film* is the second book Tuska has written about the making of Western movies. His first, a popular history of Western film production, met with mixed reviews following its publication by Doubleday in 1976.

Tuska admits in the preface to this volume that it was not possible to combine film history and film criticism into one book about Westerns. Therefore, the casual reader expecting a flashy tale of Western movie-making may be disappointed with *The American West in Film* even though Tuska does serve up bits of movie set gossip and plot lines of films in between his very personal criticisms and elaborate arguments of film theory.

For what the book may lack in flash, however, it amply supplies in controversy. In analyzing the films of six distinguished directors of Westerns, Tuska points out, in first-person sentences, what he likes or dislikes about their work. Sometimes the criticism seems influenced by friendship. For instance, after providing the narration of a sometimes disgusting interview with director Sam Peckinpah, Tuska writes: ''With the affection I have come to feel for this man over the years, it is not the easiest thing to write critically of his Western films, yet it must be done'' (p. 119). The reader is left wondering if Tuska provided such an apology just to suggest his criticism has the validity of an insider ''who knows.'' Whatever the reason, it unnecessarily seems to call the author's impartiality into question.

More interesting than Tuska's discourses on the works of directors is his section on frontier legends. There, he traces the lives of such luminaries as Jesse James, Billy the Kid, Wild Bill Hickok and Wyatt Earp and how they have been portrayed on film. He concludes that each has been variously shown as ''all bad, all good, or as good becoming bad'' (p. 218). Tuska takes issue with film critics who claim that the decade during which the film was made largely determines how they will be portrayed in it. Instead, Tuska reiterates the point from his chapters on particular directors: the interpretation is a personal one made by the individual director. In a sense, he reasserts the ''great man theory'' and applies it to filmmaking.

The book, despite occasional irritating digressions, should be of interest to any Western movie-goer. Whether or not one agrees with Tuska's point of view, his arguments may cause one to reevaluate how and why particular Westerns have become movie classics.

PHIL ROBERTS

The reviewer is a doctoral student in history at the University of Washington, Seattle.

New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington. Edited by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987. Index. Notes. Bibliography. xvii and 438 pp. Cloth $19.95.

Editors Bitton and Beecher state in the introduction of *New Views of Mormon History* that ''. . . the work of a historian has to be almost one of celebration. It is an activity of exploration and discovery, it is interesting, it makes a difference.'' As a tribute to the Mormon historian and scholar, Leonard Arrington, the editors invited those who had a close relationship with Arrington and who were themselves working in the field of Mormon history to participate in this collection of essays. This is their celebration of the life of Arrington.

The Noah Arrington family, a Mormon family originally from Tennessee, settled early in the century in the Magic Valley area of Idaho. Growing up on the family farm during the Depression, Arrington continued in this field when he declared his major, agricultural economics, at the University of Idaho. He completed his Ph.D. in economics

at the University of North Carolina in 1946. His dissertation on the economic history of the Mormons was published in 1958 under the title *Great Basin Kingdom*. Thus he was established as a leader among those professionally studying the Mormon past. Arrington founded the Mormon History Association in 1965, and was called by the church in 1972 to be their church historian, a position formerly only held by an apostle of the church. In 1982, he and his staff were transferred to Brigham Young University, establishing the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for church history. Arrington continues to encourage all historians to pursue scholarly study of the Mormon culture, and many of the historians included in this collection have been greatly influenced by his example.

New Views of Mormon History is divided into four parts: Part One, "Early Mormonism, Aspects of History and Theology"; Part Two, "The Church and the People, in Utah and Abroad"; Part Three, "Mormon-Gentile Relations"; and Part Four, "Mormonism in the Large Perspective." Parts One and Two are written by Mormon scholars who explore the myths of Mormon History. The twelve essays lay the foundation for the non-Mormon reader and broadens the reader's view of Mormon history.

Known for adhering to the ancient scholarly tradition of precise recordkeeping, the Mormons have been called into question on the historical documentation of the Book of Mormon. However, Richard Bushman, Professor of History at the University of Delaware, does not address this controversy in his essay, "The Book of Mormon in Early Mormon History." Instead, he advises us to not use the proof text method in our analyses, but to bear in mind the "genius of the Book of Mormon" which "is that it brings an entire society and culture into existence, with a religion, an economy, a technology, a government, a geography, a sociology, all combined into a complete world." He states: "Nothing less than the restoration of world history was the charge given to Joseph Smith when he accepted the responsibilities of seer and translator prophesied of him in the Book of Mormon."

Thomas G. Alexander, Director of Brigham Young University's Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, continues Bushman's line of thinking in " 'A New and Everlasting Covenant': An Approach to the Theology of Joseph Smith." Since the idea of a covenant between God and man are both present in Judeo-Christian tradition and biblical accounts, Joseph believed that the restoration of the gospel could only be accomplished if mankind would realize the old covenant had been broken and a new covenant adopted. The term covenant is used so many different ways in early Mormon history that it can be seen as "the central organizing principle of the faith of early Latter-day Saint theology." Joseph Smith used this concept of a new covenant to bring an entire new society and culture into existence as he played the role that we today associate with biblical prophets. His continuous revelations from God on the original intent of the biblical texts became the foundational doctrines of the church. Alexander pursues the early understanding of these doctrines in the Mormon society, and concludes with the observation that people were attracted to Mormonism because they were searching for the message of the primitive church, the imminence of the second coming of Christ and the certainty that those who preached the gospel had authority.

In the early years of the church the number of followers was limited. However, after the Saints reached Utah, the church had to address the need for administration and centralized decision-making. The collection of tithes, the creation of the United Order of Enoch for communitarian reform, the industrialization and urbanization of a traditionally rural society, the development of missions abroad, the impact of suffrage on Mormon women and the infusion of other cultures into Utah were some of the issues addressed in this phase of development. The historians in Part Two reflect this social history by exploring these various facets of Mormon life.

Part Three and Part Four provided a point of reference to identify intellectually with their culture and faith. The scholars' comparative analysis of Mormon thought as it relates to traditional Christian theology seemed to indicate a movement by Mormon historians to bring the Mormon church into the mainstream of today's American religious movement. Jan Shipps, Director of the Center for American Studies at Indiana University-Purdue University, addresses the stereotypes of Mormon and non-Mormon communities in the 20th century. Her model categories of people, which she locates along a belief-behavior continuum, was quite helpful in delineating the current thought on Mormonism. The comparative essay on the "Socioreligious Radicalism of the Mormon Church: A Parallel to the Anabaptist," and the philosophical essay on "Time in Mormon History," were especially stimulating for those of us who are interested in biblical history and thought. James Allen's discussion of the historiography of Mormonism since 1950 in "Creators and Creations of Mormon History" emphasized that Mormon historians are no longer having to approach their task from a defensive position; they are now able to re-examine old assumptions and seek new perspectives on their own history.

It has been assumed that we as historians can be more objective as we are removed from situations or events by time. Possibly this is true. However, as the Mormon historians perform more research and re-interpret their past history, I hope they do not re-interpret the motives, convictions and passions that were such a vital part of that history. The evolution of each religious movement contains these so-called irrational elements and they are usually the driving force in the early development and fulfillment of each member's own unspoken ideals. This collection of essays is another step in the development of the Mormon movement and is a worthy accomplishment by these scholars.

RHEBA MASSEY

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No Step Backward: Women and Family on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, Helena, Montana, 1865-1900. By Paula Petrik. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1987. Index. Bibliography. Notes. Appendices. xix and 141 pp. Cloth $19.95.

Central to Paula Petrik's *No Step Backward* is her belief that "The urban mining frontier transformed its inhabitants, particularly its women, and promoted increased economic opportunity and social equality for its oftentimes unwilling changelings" (xiii). To test this thesis Petrik chooses as her venue Helena, Montana, a rough mining camp that evolved into a regional economic and political center in the northern Rockies.

Petrik begins with a survey of Helena's early economic evolution. Its demographic composition during its formative years was decidedly male—typical of nearly all early frontier urban areas. Yet the male domination of the business climate provided economic opportunity for many of the women who slowly trickled in from the East (and from other western mining camps) especially in the service sector, including prostitution. The profession soon became "the largest single female employment outside the home until 1900" in Helena (p. 25). Indeed, during the 1870s and 1880s Petrik contends that Helena's prostitutes "created an economic empire within the city" (p. 24). The author's chapter on Helena's prostitution, "Capitalists with Rooms," is a lively and original contribution to the scholarship on the subject and grounded in first rate statistical research. Petrik analyzes court records, deeds, mortgages, tax assessments and census returns to paint an engrossing social and economic portrait of these "fancy ladies" and "soiled doves." By the mid 1880s, as a group they were a potent force within Helena's growing economy, outgaining many male wage-earners; several madams even enjoyed enough success to become substantial property-holders and moved into legitimate business concerns. Many of these women also learned how to use the court system to their benefit—in short, they adapted to the conditions of the frontier and learned to compete in a hitherto male dominated arena.

Despite the engaging observations on Helena's demimonde, the heart and soul of *No Step Backward* lies in Petrik's discussion of Helena's middling women via her exploration of several of Helena's more prominent early pioneers and their progeny. By use of their letters, diaries and even divorce records, Petrik is able to breathe life into Helena's middling women—life that usually escapes the social and economic historian enslaved by statistics—and as a result concludes that "Frontier women . . . redefined womanhood" (p. 96). Petrik closes the work with a chapter, a postscript really, on the women's suffrage crusade in Montana, again focusing on Helena, while detailing how the movement grew and developed through succeeding generations of pioneer daughters.

No Step Backward is a meticulously researched work in which its author employs the latest methodological techniques used by current social historians. Thankfully, Petrik's 22 statistical tables—the vogue fashion of contemporary social and economic historians—are confined to appendices and not forced upon the reader within the text. Furthermore, though this is a work mainly on women's history and provides a glimpse at how frontier women coped and ultimately politicized themselves in a decidedly male chauvinistic world, Petrik has refrained from stridency in coming to her conclusions and presents a carefully balanced, objective history. *No Step Backward* is an outstanding achievement in the social and economic history of women on the Rocky Mountain mining frontier and sets a new standard by which to measure future studies of the genre.

KEITH EDGERTON

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Life in Alaska: The Reminiscences of a Kansas Woman, 1916-1919. By May Wynne Lamb. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Illustrated. Map. Notes. 166 pp. Cloth $19.95. Paper $8.95.

This is the story of May Wynne Lamb's experiences as a teacher in the remote Yupik Eskimo village of Akiak on the Kuskokwim River. Dorothy Wynne Zimmerman, Lamb's niece and a professor of English at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, edited and introduced the volume.

The story itself is a simple one. May Wynne Lamb signed a contract to teach in a United States government Native school in Akiak. The village was difficult to reach in pre-aviation days, so the author went by ocean steamer from Seattle to St. Michael near the mouth of the Yukon River. She continued her journey on one of the numerous river sternwheelers up the Yukon. At Russian Mission she and several others got off to travel the Yukon-Kuskokwim Portage and reached Akiak in nine, rather than the projected five, days because of weather problems. The trip had taken nearly six weeks from point of origin to destination. She settled in and taught school. During her second year she met, fell in love and married Frank Lamb, a young physician who had come to take charge of the new hospital at Akiak. The lovers married in October, 1917. In 1918, May Wynne gave birth to a baby boy, and Dr. Lamb died on December 23, 1918, on the Yukon at Old Hamilton, Alaska, a victim of the great influenza epidemic of that year.

Unfortunately, the author's impressions of Alaska are superficial and add no insights about the territory nor its people to the existing literature. Her narrative is peopled by stereotypes.

For example, John Kilbuck, a full-blooded Delaware Indian, and a graduate of the Moravian school in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, she describes as "very quiet and reserved with an air of dignity, possessing many of the attributes of his race . . . If he was your friend, he was loyal to the last" (p. 33). That description, of course, fits the noble savage perfectly.

Ole Andersen is the stereotypical Norwegian, "with all the earmarks of his country in looks and speech: sun-

bleached hair, blue stern, piercing eyes, and a bright, handsome face" (p. 33). Her Scandinavians are all broad-shouldered and tall. The one Englishman, Percy Goodair, as expected, was cultured and "came with all the dignity of an English lord, for he had a title" (p. 65).

The Natives do not fare too well at the author's hands. She made no efforts to understand another culture. All Natives speak pidgin English. For example, the Eskimo guide who took the party across the Yukon-Kuskokwim Portage, is typical. At the end of the journey he states proudly: "Me takum pay. Me no gettum lost" (p. 34). Her children enjoyed school "for there was little of interest in that country to divert their attention, or to play hooky" (p. 59). Natives, of course, had an entirely different view of their country. The author describes the steam bath as "a unique way of bathing" which "answered in a primitive way the same purpose as our hot and cold shower" (p. 87). On Yupik dancing, a most important facet of that culture, she observes that "it was, indeed, a simple, artless dance" (p. 88).

In short, the author spent three years in Alaska and yet learned little, if anything, about the people she was to serve. Perhaps it is unrealistic to expect a teacher to have the powers of observations of the Russian explorer, Lieutenant L.A. Zagoskin, who traveled in that region between 1842 to 1844 and left a splendid account of his experiences. This reviewer is of the firm opinion that most of the journals left by government officials, teachers or missionaries do not merit publication. The few meritorious manuscripts should be published because they enrich our understanding of life in the north and Alaska's Native cultures. May Wynne Lamb's *Life in Alaska* does not belong in the latter category. Her book, however, tells us much about her character and attitudes, and those of the society she lived in.

There are a few mistakes. There was no such office as a territorial marshal (p. 51). Alaska had a federal judiciary, and by Mrs. Lamb's time, the territory had been divided into four judicial divisions, each with a U.S. Marshal who appointed his deputy U.S. Marshals. Ducks did not live on fish (p. 55), so what the author cooked could not have been ducks. The parka covers are called kuspuks, not cushbrooks (p. 91). The Kuskokwim River certainly does not translate into Cough river. Kuskokwim is the genitive of Kuskowik. The last syllable means river, and the rest of the name is of unknown meaning.

CLAUS-M. NASKE

The reviewer is a Professor in the Department of History, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

BOOK NOTES

The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains. By John C. Frémont. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988. Illustrated. xv and 319 pp. Paper $14.95.

Exploration of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. By Howard Stansbury. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988. Illustrated. Index. xiii and 421 pp. Paper $24.95.

In its Exploring the American West series, the Smithsonian Institution Press is reprinting rare and out-of-print reports originally prepared by the nation's first government and military explorers. Included in the John C. Frémont work are his expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1842 and his explorations of Oregon and California in 1843 and 1844. These reports were first published in 1845. In 1849 and 1850, Howard Stansbury explored and surveyed the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Both Frémont and Stansbury were part of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. These and other reports provided the first glimpses of the lands west of the Mississippi River.

Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails. By Stanley B. Kimball. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988. Illustrated. Index. Maps. Appendix. Bibliography. xviii and 299 pp. Cloth $37.50. Paper $15.95.

In this book, the author traces the routes of the Mormon, Oregon-California, Overland, Santa Fe and other trails followed by westward pioneers during the 19th century. The author also describes important points of interest, including forts, trail centers and museums. The many maps and photographs are great additions to the book.

With Crook at the Rosebud. By J.W. Vaughn. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Originally published: Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Co., 1956. Illustrated. Map. Index. Notes. Bibliography. Appendices. 171 pp. Paper $8.95.

A week before General George Custer's defeat at the Little Big Horn, a U.S. Cavalry and Infantry column led by General George Crook fought a party of Cheyenne and Sioux led by Crazy Horse at the bend of the Rosebud River.

J.W. Vaughn carefully examined this battle which he considered to be of greater historical significance than the one Custer lost.

The Bullwhacker: Adventures of a Frontier Freighter. By William Francis Hooker. Edited by Howard R. Driggs. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Originally published: Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Bk. Co., 1924. Illustrated. xxi and 167 pp. Paper $5.95.

William Hooker left Wisconsin bound for Wyoming Territory in the early 1870s. Soon afterward he found himself driving a team of oxen hauling supplies to such places as Fort Fetterman and Red Cloud Agency. He chronicled his adventures in this book which was first published in 1924.

Tim McCoy Remembers the West. By Tim McCoy with Ronald McCoy. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Originally published: Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1977. Index. Illustrated. xxii and 267 pp. Paper $8.95.

Tim McCoy, known and remembered as a star of Western films in the 1920s and 1930s, also was a working cowboy and rancher, a performer in the Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey Circus and head of a Wild West show. In his autobiography McCoy relates episodes of his long life in the American West.

Cheyenne: City of Blue Sky. By Judith Adams. Northridge, California: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1988. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. 123 pp. Cloth $27.95.

This is a promotional book about Wyoming's capital city. Produced in cooperation with the Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce, *Cheyenne: City of Blue Sky* contains many historical photographs along with a brief history of the city.

Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West. By Sarah J. Blackstone. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1986. Illustrated. Index. Notes. Bibliographical Essay. xi and 134 pp. Cloth $27.95.

This study looks at the career of Buffalo Bill Cody during the years he organized, promoted and starred in his Wild West show. The author included such topics as the logistics of touring such a show, the treatment of Indians and other minorities, as well as the way the show presented a mythic image of the American West which is still with us today.

The Galvanized Yankees. By Dee Brown. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986. Illustrated. Index. Map. Notes. Bibliography. 216 pp. Paper $7.95.

This book tells the story of the Galvanized Yankees, those captured Confederate soldiers who agreed to switch uniforms in order to serve in the West and provide a valuable service at a time of great need. From 1864 to 1866 these soldiers fought Indians, escorted supply trains along the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails, guarded surveying parties for the Union Pacific Railroad and manned lonely outposts on the frontier.

Molders and Shapers: Montana Women as Community Builders, An Oral History Sampler and Guide. By Laurie Mercier, Mary Murphy, Linda Peavy, Diane Sands, Ursula Smith. Molders and Shapers Collective of Montana, 1987. Illustrated. Bibliography. Appendices. 33 pp. Paper $8.00.

The authors of this study saw a need to reevaluate the role women and women's organizations have played in shaping Montana communities. Not only does the study accomplish that purpose, but much more. It also serves as a guide to the planning and producing of oral history projects. The book describes the steps necessary for a successful oral history project: collecting records; examining records; outlining topics; conducting the interview; processing the interview; and turning out a final product. Included are sample forms needed for any successful project.

To No Privileged Class: The Rationalization of Homesteading and Rural Life in the Early Twentieth-Century American West. By Stanford J. Layton. Brigham Young University, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1988. Index. Notes. Tables. 90 pp. Paper $6.95.

This monograph, seventeenth in the Charles Redd Monograph Series, examines the origin of the enlarged homestead acts of the 20th century American West, their lack of success and eventually their supersession by the 1934 Taylor Grazing Act.

Corrections to Fall, 1988, *Annals of Wyoming* . . . In the review of *Calamity Jane and the Lady Wildcats*, Wild Bill Hickok's correct name should have been James Butler Hickok instead of William Butler Hickok . . . In the article, "The Mummy Cave," all photographs were taken by Jack Richards.

INDEX

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; William F. Bragg, Jr., Casper, 1980-81; Don Hodgson, Torrington, 1981-82, Clara Jensen, Lysite-Casper, 1982-83; Fern Gaensslen, Green River, 1983-84; Dave Kathka, Rock Springs, 1984-85; Mary Garman, Sundance, 1985-86; Ellen Mueller, Cheyenne, 1986-87; Mary Nielsen, Cody, 1987-1988.

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
Joint Annual Membership (two persons of same family at same address)	$7
Institutional Membership	$10

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ANNALS of WYOMING

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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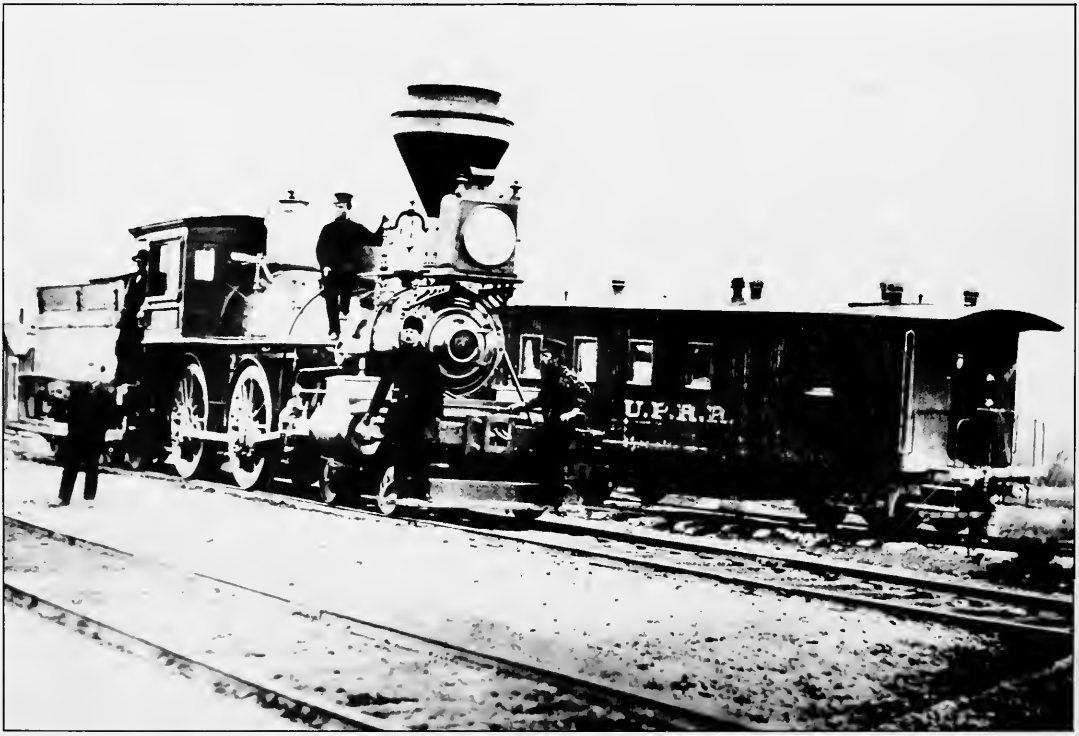
A TERRITORY IS FOUNDED:

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN WYOMING 1850-1890

By Johanna Nel



ALL PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY AMH DEPT

The Union Pacific Railroad played a very important role in the founding and settling of Wyoming. This photograph was taken in 1870.

Last year, 1988, marked the hundredth anniversary of the first official step taken towards the establishment of the State of Wyoming. On February 7, 1888, the Tenth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming formally requested permission from Congress to write a constitution and to form a government of their own. At this historic time many Wyomingites and others interested in the history of the West are turning their attention to earlier days when this vast land was being tamed. Why did people come to Wyoming? What factors led to statehood? What were the political, social, economic and educational conditions prior to, and during, territorial days? With this essay an attempt is made to answer some of these questions.

At the close of the 18th century, Wyoming still lay virtually undiscovered by White Americans. The land beyond the Mississippi River was believed to be an area unfit for White men, a vast, inhospitable stretch of desert sands beyond which the mountains lay as an insurmountable barrier. During the first half of the 19th century, the only White inhabitants of the entire Rocky Mountain area were the trappers and traders who were migrating from place to place. Even though official reports of government explorers, such as Lewis and Clark, called attention to the possibilities of settlement in the northwest portion of the country, almost half a century elapsed before the first actual settlements came into being. In fact, it was not until 1842, when Captain John C. Frémont did a comprehensive geographical survey of the area lying between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean, that the extent of ignorance about the western regions was discovered. Frémont saw the possibility of establishing an overland communication system between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans.[1]

As a result of the great depression of 1837 and the build-up of population along the Mississippi River Valley, many people in the United States looked towards the West as the land of opportunity. When gold was discovered in 1848 in California, thousands of people set out to find their fortunes. Some went via Cape Horn while others crossed the mountains and plains on their way to, what proved to be at that time, the richest gold mines in the world. Remarkable, however, is the fact that this part of the country, more traveled over than any other area between the Pacific Ocean and the Great Plains, remained unsettled for an unbelievable long period.[2]

The first people to come to Wyoming with the intention of settling down were a group of 55 Mormons who arrived in November, 1853.[3] Hoping that they would be able to make a living by providing supplies to travelers on their way to the Pacific Ocean, they settled in what is now known as Uinta County.[4] At this time the Indians still had full control over the northern portion of the territory—a situation that was to last until 1876.

One of the most potent factors in bringing settlers into Wyoming and transforming American life on the plains, was the Union Pacific Railroad.[5] Railway terminals along the track determined the location of mills, freight depots, stores and division points.[6] The railroad not only provided transportation for people, products and manufactured necessities, but its owners also sold the land which they had received from the government as compensation for building the railroad, at reasonable prices to settlers.[7] According to the contract with the government, the railroad companies received, for each mile of track laid, twenty sections of public land—every odd numbered section in a strip twenty miles on each side of the track.[8] The availability of relatively inexpensive land served as a tremendous booster to the immigration movement to the West. According to Ichabod S. Bartlett, the population of Wyoming increased from 400 people in 1860, to 9,118 in 1870.[9] This was only an estimate, however, since no official census was taken before 1869.[10]

On July 4, 1867, the railroad company established an office on Crow Creek and named it Cheyenne after an Indian tribe in the vicinity.[11] The Union Pacific Land Company started the sale of lots immediately. With a starting price of $150, a third of which had to be cash, the same lots sold for $1,000 one month later.[12] According to Hubert H. Bancroft, prices increased at the rate of approximately $1,000 per month during the first summer.[13] When the railroad tracks finally reached Cheyenne four months later, the town already had 4,000 people, a city government, a brass band and two newspapers.[14] Within a few weeks after the arrival of the railroad the population had increased to 6,000. Learning that Cheyenne would be the terminus for the winter, "all the scum of society which had drifted along with the pay car of the railroad company" decided to take up residence in the town.[15] While tents, sodhouses and "dug-outs"[16] provided for the necessary shelter, drinking, gambling, robberies and assaults became a daily occurrence. During the winter of 1867-1868, Cheyenne was considered by a number of authorities as the worst town on the frontier.[17] Some even called it the Sodom of the West![18] When authorities proved to be powerless to control crime and the patience of the law abiding citizens ran out, a vigilante committee came into being to help keep the order.[19] The *Cheyenne Daily Leader* of January 13, 1868, mentioned a vigilante committee of 200 strong. Luckily, when spring came the majority of transients moved on with the railroad, leaving Cheyenne much more peaceful, with a more or less permanent population of 1,500. In spite of the loss in population the town of Cheyenne survived and continued to grow at a steady pace.[20] Railroad industries were developed and stock raising became the major industry in the vicinity of the town.

When Laramie City was laid out by the railroad company in April, 1868, the history of Cheyenne was repeated.[21] The population expanded at a tremendous rate and for a time this town too was overrun by "desperadoes and lewd women."[22] As the railroad pushed westward, however, much of the immoral element passed along with it.[23]

Territorial organization for the expanding population along the railroad became a political necessity, and on July 25, 1868, the Organic Act was passed, which created Wyoming Territory and defined the present boundaries.[24] It was carved out of the territories of Dakota, Utah and Idaho, and was 365 miles in length and 276 miles in width. According to a geographical description that appeared in the *Cheyenne Leader* in 1871 under the heading, "Wyoming As It Is," the southern half of the territory consisted of an elevated and broken plain with an average elevation of 5-6,000 feet above sea level. The northern half of the territory, with an average elevation of 3,000 feet, was considered to be the best for agricultural purposes. Regarding the climate, the author declared it to be "one of the finest and most salubrious in the world," one which exerts a "bracing and energizing effect on the human system."[25]

On April 17, 1869, Wyoming territorial government began with the arrival of the first governor.[26] A unique aspect of the Wyoming situation was brought to the settlers' attention when Governor John A. Campbell, in his inaugural address to the First Legislative Assembly, explained to his audience that it was the first time in the history of the country that "the organization of a territorial government was rendered necessary by the building of a railroad." Up until that time, "the railroad had been the follower instead of the pioneer of civilization.[27] The railroad and the telegraph were no novelty to the early pioneers of Wyoming, and "modern" methods of travel and communication constituted a part of the very basis of the development in Wyoming.[28]

As the building of the Union Pacific progressed, towns such as Benton, Rawlins, Green River City, Bryan, Bear River City and Evanston came into being.[29] Some of these survived for only a short time while others became permanent settlements.

The departure of the Union Pacific construction workers during the winter of 1868-1869 brought a severe decline in the population, as well as an economic depression.[30] The census, taken in 1869, showed a population of only 8,014—a half of what it had been the previous year.[31] According to Marshall Howe's report, Laramie County had 2,165 people and Albany County 2,127.[32] Resulting from this massive departure, public improvements came to an almost standstill. Business was bad, capital weak, and opportunities for laborers, clerks and mechanics almost non-existent.[33] Illustrating some of the difficulties experienced, editor Nathan A. Baker of the *Cheyenne Leader* wrote:

> The natural resources of the mining districts contain the elements of inexhaustable wealth, but then they must have steady, persistent, patient workers. They must have costly machinery which has to be freighted up mountains, and through valleys, and over extensive plains, to places distant from the great thorough fares, and in many cases almost inaccessible.[34]

Times remained hard, but conditions did improve somewhat during 1871 and 1872.[35] Community leaders such as Joseph M. Carey encouraged their fellow citizens by reminding them of the fact that "labor, toil, and privation must be endured to make a new and unpopulated country wealthy and populous."[36]

John A. Campbell served as Wyoming's first territorial governor from 1869 until 1875.

Efforts to attract immigrants were made by both governors and secretaries, who made numerous speeches in the East praising the advantages of living in Wyoming.[37] The Union Pacific also did their share of promotion by appointing Dr. Hiram Latham, a well-spoken railroad surgeon, as advocate for immigration. They not only paid him to "explore and investigate the country," but also provided him with an irrigated experimental farm to promote farming.[38] In the January, 1870, edition of the *Wyoming Tribune*, a plan was mentioned to collect and exhibit specimens of all Wyoming's minerals under the guidance of Dr. Latham. This was considered good advertising and of "utmost importance to the future of Wyoming."[39]

Newspapermen such as James H. Hayford of Laramie, and Baker and Herman Glafcke of Cheyenne, also did a great deal to promote immigration. Although encouraging immigrants to come to Wyoming, Baker did not neglect to warn of the conditions that might have to be faced:

> Men who come here from the East will soon learn that things don't run in grooves. A man should make up his mind to rough it. He must bid adieu to all the delights of cultivated society—strictly speaking. The great finishing touches of civilization which make large cities so attractive, will all be wanting in the mountain settlements, and even in the larger towns of the West. A man who can't sleep outside of a feather bed need not come.

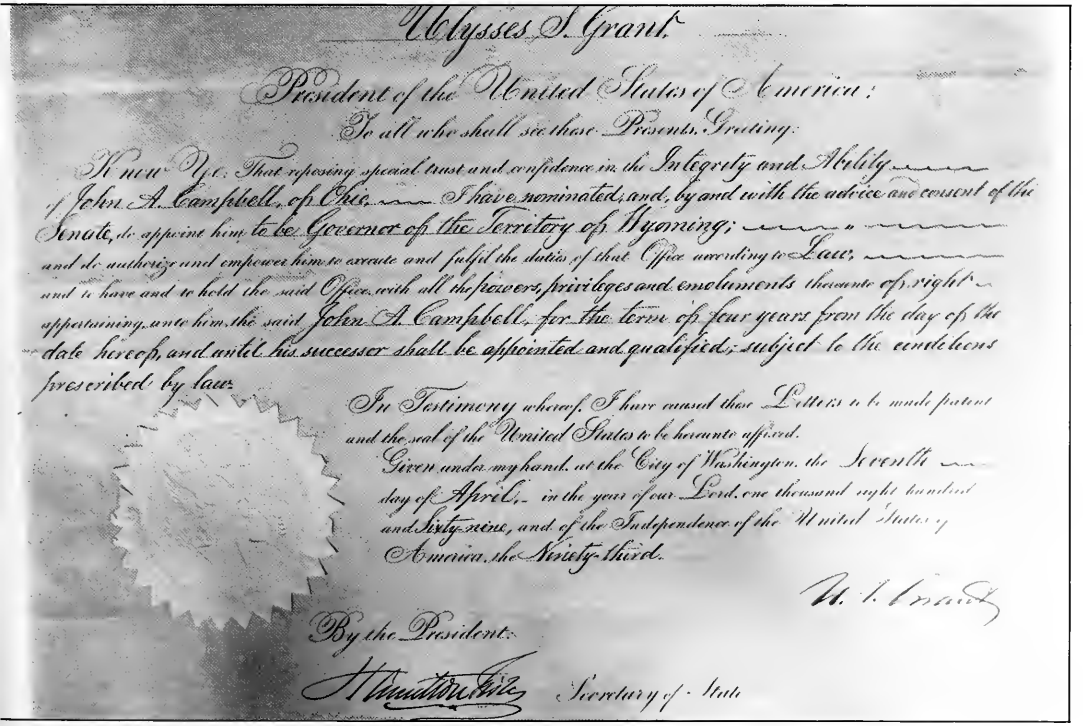
> A man who can't be happy without the *New York Times* or *Sun* or some other great journal to read before breakfast, had better stay in New York . . . Whoever comes here without means (no matter what his previous condition) and is above sawing wood or driving team, if occasion requires, had better turn back immediately, and make the best of his way home before he gets broke' or degenerates into a gambler or a horse thief and gets his neck 'broke.'[40]

Glafcke wrote promotional articles about Wyoming,[41] while Baker, concerned with the immorality of Cheyenne, urged citizens to help banish prostitution and gambling from the city. Only then he maintained, "will immigrants seek this place, instead of avoiding it for its wickedness, as it does now.[42] "If we want to invite immigration from the intelligent and industrious of the East," he said, "we must first show them that we have schools . . . . a liberal and enlightened common school system was needed." He also urged readers to "encourage newspapers, sustain churches, and found libraries."[43]

In their reflection on community life, and their writings about the ideals and needs of the territory, newspapers played an important part in the building of frontier towns. In proportion to the population, the number of newspapers in Wyoming was always high.[44] Starting with the *Cheyenne Leader*, established by Baker and J. E. Gates in 1867,[45] the number had grown to eleven in 1880. The Wyoming population at that time numbered 20,789.[46] By 1890, when the population had tripled, the number had increased to 38.[47]

In their reflection on community life, and their writings about the ideals and needs of the territory, newspapers played an important part in the building of frontier towns. In the first issue of the *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, Baker made the following statement regarding the philosophy of his paper: "The *Leader* will labor to present a faithful picture of life and events in the far West, and will represent with fidelity and truthfulness the peculiar advantages and interest of the thriving city of Cheyenne."[48] While early Wyoming newspapers demanded state and national reform, clamored for the better organization of territory, county and schools, and crusaded for the establishment of state institutions and public offices in their towns, they wanted, above all, local recognition.[49] Starting in 1886, most newspapers in the territory demanded statehood.[50] Velma Linford found in her research that it was not unusual to see the newspaper press, loaded on a wagon, drawn by oxen or horses, enter a future Wyoming town, even before the people had arrived![51] Newspapers often experienced difficulties to survive because subscriptions rarely paid for all expenses.[52] They generally had to depend upon advertising and other printing activities such as hand bills, programs, booklets and circulars to keep out of the red.[53] Business boomed, however, when traveling troupes and speculators arrived in town.[54]

The early settlers brought with them a background of culture, represented in intellectual tasks, social aspirations and religion. These qualities had to be merged into a new


Ulysses S. Grant.

President of the United States of America:

To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting:

Know Ye, That reposing special trust and confidence in the Integrity and Ability of John A. Campbell, of Ohio, I have nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint him to be Governor of the Territory of Wyoming; and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that Office according to Law; and to have and to hold the said Office, with all the powers, privileges and emoluments thereunto of right appertaining, unto him, the said John A. Campbell, for the term of four years from the day of the date hereof, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified; subject to the conditions prescribed by law.

In Testimony whereof, I have caused these Letters to be made patent and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the Seventh day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and Sixty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the Ninety-third.

U. S. Grant

By the President:

Hamilton Fish Secretary of State

President Ulysses S. Grant appointed John A. Campbell Wyoming's territorial governor during April, 1869.

environment with fewer cultural facilities, but not very different from that of Eastern states. While the basic needs for existence remained the chief concern for many years, the early pioneers had definite prerequisites as far as their cultural environment was concerned.[55] Some desperadoes and adventurers floated in among the early settlers, but they were, according to Bartlett, for the most part, transients. "The real, bona fide first settlers of Wyoming were men of sterling character, of broad vision and undoubted courage."[56] "Nowhere in the world are the people so venturesome, so believing, so industrious. Everybody has a "big thing and is confident of his ability to work it out . . . Adventure, faith, work, and muscle are the grand means of success."[57] Wyoming pioneers were, as S. S. Stockdale almost poetically declared, "the descendants of the sturdy Puritans and courtly Cavaliers; of staid New Englanders and gentlemen of intense Southern blood; men and women of genius and of character."[58] The new territory attracted courageous professional men and on many a ranch an Ivy Leaguer was roughing it out. In the words of a newspaperman who had visited the rural areas during the summer of 1880:

> In Wyoming there is a class of highly educated men engaged in the cattle trade. The men are sunburned and wear flannel shirts on the ranch, but none need mistake them for common or ignorant persons. They are in very many cases gentlemen of culture and standing. In the circle of ranchmen whose acquaintance I formed during my stay, there were several of considerable wealth and scholarly attainments who, traveling to the West for health, had become interested in the cattle business, and enchanted by the wild open life, and who had invested in stock, roughed it, and were enjoying the climate, the freedom and the excitement, as well as the money it brings. One gentleman—mine host, had been in the royal navy of Great Britain; but he now likes the billowy prairies better than the deep blue sea. A neighbor was one of the best special geologists in America. Traveling in the pursuit of his profession, he saw there was money in cattle and so left his aesthetic Boston home for a tent.[59]

In talking about the earlier years, Wyoming University President, Charles W. Lewis, wrote in the 1904 *University Melange*:

> Men and women have had to measure strength with stern nature. Physical endurance has had much to do with success. When our fathers were standing face to face with Nature, piercing the mountains, subduing the forest and the plain, the pursuit of science for its own sake was forbidden . . . . Many of them came from Eastern homes where the cry of want had never been heard. Many of them came with college training and culture, but all the easy things had to be left behind, and a future state was formed on the backbone of the continent.[60]

Reverend C. T. Brady, a missionary who came to the West during the 1880s, was also impressed with the quality of people found on ranches and farms, and maintained that no matter where he went he "never got away from culture and refinement." Sketching an incident that occurred on one of his many travels, he said:

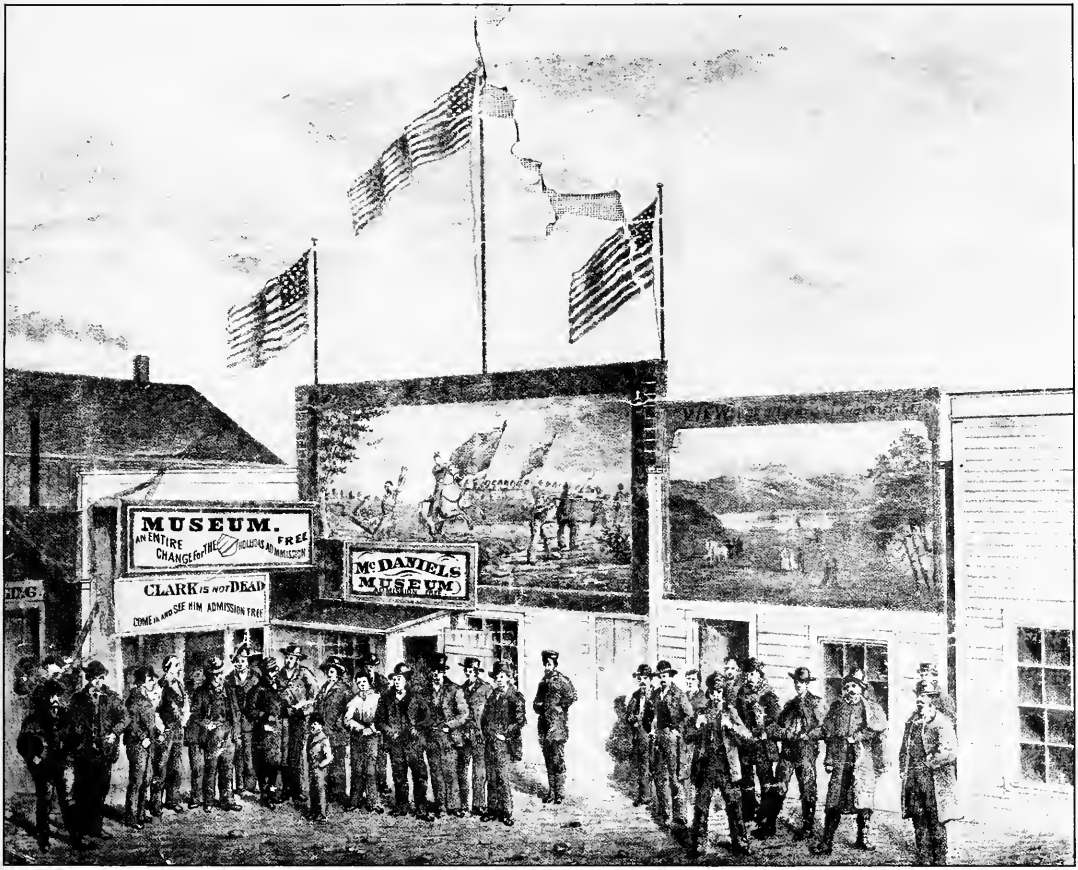
> I once stopped for a glass of water at a non-descript dwelling, half dug-out, half-sodhouse, alone on the prairie. A woman came out to meet me . . . graceful and pretty . . . in spite of her worn, haggard, overworked look . . . She too was a graduate of an Eastern college.[61]

Although many of the early settlers were educated, quite a number of them knew little about farming.[62]

As in the rural areas, the towns too had their quota of educated people, many of whom were doctors, lawyers, professors or engineers. Here, however, a more materialistic philosophy of life seemed to prevail. In writing about her first impressions of the people of Wyoming, Mrs. Campbell, wife of the first governor, remarked, somewhat critically, on this characteristic, saying that "while earnestness, intelligence, and courtesy characterized the people, all seemed to be working under the same great impulse to make a fortune and to do so quickly."[63] Additional evidence of this desire to make money is found in the content of the first paper that was read at the newly established Young Men's Literary Association of Cheyenne. On this occasion, Dr. E. H. Russell, a young physician, declared that "we are all in search of wealth . . . . which is the mainspring of life, ... and the propelling power in every movement."[64] Concerned with this excessive striving after earthly goods, N. A. Baker, editor of Wyoming's first newspaper, warned his readers against the tendency of becoming totally "absorbed and swallowed up in the pursuit of gain," making "every other consideration secondary to the all prevailing passion for riches." He reminded his readers of the importance of other values such as "health, mental culture, integrity, a high sense of honor, a consciousness of moral rectitude, and benevolence."[65]

The early Wyoming lawmakers were adventurous, robust, and clear-thinking individuals who took care to write into their territorial laws the things in which they believed. During the first session of the legislature several revolutionary laws regarding the equality of women, in both voice and action, were passed.[66] In fact, Wyoming startled the world when from its "primeval mountains and plains was fired the first shot for equal suffrage." Bartlett drew attention to the fact that this enactment was not the result of "an idle fancy," nor was it an effort to gain notoriety or to make "a joke," as has been asserted at times. "Every step in its passage through the legislature showed grim determination."[67] This enactment, which took a great deal of courage, provides insight into the philosophy and character of the early Wyoming pioneers.

Even though Wyoming was considered to be blessed by "one of the finest and most salubrious climates in the world,"[68] life was unquestionably hard. This was especially true for the people out on the ranches.[69] These settlers, who lived in log or stone homes, were often separated from both neighbors and friends by miles of virgin land.[70] With roads little more than trails during the summer, and usually completely covered by snow in the winter, they lived extremely lonely lives. Although stage coaches traveled along the trails during the 1850s, and the Pony Express came into being in 1860, the postal service and other means of communication were inefficient and expensive.[71] The cost of a letter delivered by the Pony Express, for instance, was



Wyoming's first museum was established in Cheyenne during 1867 and was located between 16th and 17th streets on Eddy Street, now Pioneer Avenue.

five dollars.[72] Ranchers and farmers, especially the women, suffered from loneliness and isolation.[73] In the words of a rancher's wife who remembered life before the advent of the automobile: "We just dreaded living so far from everybody and the whole world . . . . 36 miles from the nearest town or railroad."[74] Reverend Brady, in his *Recollections of a Missionary in the Great West*, also referred to this aspect of frontier life when he said: "The distances to be covered are so great . . . and demands upon strength and bodily vigor so overwhelming, that it is no easy matter for the strongest to live up to."[75] It is thus no wonder that the early pioneers found it hard not to lose sight of the finer and spiritual things in life while constantly toiling and struggling to make a living under such extremely harsh circumstances.

In the towns conditions were a great deal better. As a rule the cultural aspects of life were not neglected. People often organized cultural groups such as women's clubs, fraternal groups and literary societies as soon as towns were established, and no time was wasted to establish schools and churches. Neither insufficient services nor filthy streets, overrun by cows and hogs, deterred them. [76] It was not unusual at that time to open the daily newspaper and find in it a request to have the streets cleaned, a report about the daily confrontations between hogs and dogs, and in the same paper, a report about an art gallery being opened.[77] Many of the towns were eyesores in the beginning, but as time passed they became more attractive and presentable.[78] Flourishing merchants and cattlemen started to build mansions, and many of the prosperous cattlemen and mining promoters decided to reside in the towns for the greatest part of the year, instead of living out on the ranches or mining sites.[79]

A striking characteristic of territorial Wyoming was the scarcity of women. In 1870, the ratio was one to six for all persons over 21 years of age.[80] By 1880, the ratio had improved considerably, but men still outnumbered women. The *Leader* reported that of the 4,625 people in Albany County, 3,009 were men. In Laramie County, the numbers were 4,313 male to 2,096 females.[81] This dearth of women, and also of children, greatly influenced social life in Wyo-

ming. Single men, having little family life, crowded the saloons, and drinking and prostitution became instruments through which to escape the loneliness and coarseness of their lives. The *Cheyenne Daily Leader* remarked in the fall of 1869 that "all of the three vices, prostitution, gambling, and drunkenness are indulged in—seemingly without an attempt to conceal it."[82] The *Wyoming Tribune* reported the next summer that "two-thirds of the business places in Cheyenne were saloons and the other third wholesale liquor houses."[83] A law was passed in 1884 which made it a misdemeanor to keep a house of prostitution, but few merchants paid heed to it, arguing that prostitution was an inevitable vice in a society with so many single men. Gambling was also a favorite pastime among men.[84] Thousands of dollars changed hands at horse races,[83] while poker games sometimes resulted in the loss of complete ranches and whole herds of cattle. In an effort to curtail social drinking, which was almost the rule among men in the territory, a law was enacted which provided for the closing of saloons on Sunday. This created such resentment, however, that it had to be repealed.

Riding and roping contests, baseball, football and target shooting were some of the more "healthy" forms of recreation and in many towns roller skating rinks were found where young and old enjoyed themselves.[86] Starting in 1876, when a Laramie resident became the first proud owner of a bicycle, bicycle riding became a popular pastime and both Cheyenne and Laramie had bicycle clubs.[87] Hunting, fishing, picnicking and camping-out were also popular pastimes during the territorial days. On occasion, special trains were chartered for picnic excursions.[88] Wherever families were available, dancing was to be found and both the society balls[89] and the honky-tonk dances in the saloons were well attended. The *Buffalo Bulletin* reported in 1892 that weekly all-night dances were being held on Johnson County ranches, and that these social get-togethers were helpful in breaking the dreariness and monotony of the long winters. As a rule, variety shows,[90] which normally included dancing, singing and acrobatic acts, drew larger crowds than the occasionally offered drama and operatic music.[91]

Even though the outlying towns and communities did not enjoy the conveniences and entertainments which were available in the larger towns, the country people seldom missed the opportunity to combine social activities with their work. Neighbors often joined together to build fences, erect buildings and round up stock, transforming necessary work projects into social affairs. Stock shipping was regarded as the culmination of their social and business lives.

School in Buffalo, 1895.

On such occasions the whole family usually spent several days in town, with the women visiting and shopping and the men attending to the shipping of the stock.[92]

In spite of the fact that the Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Roman Catholic and Mormon churches had been active in Wyoming even before the territory was established, religion was largely neglected.[93] The *Wyoming Tribune*, April 8, 1871, reported, somewhat ironically, that the Wyoming pioneers may be a God-fearing people but that they were certainly not a church-going people. In a survey of church attendance in Laramie during January, 1881, Laramie editor Hayford found that only one in ten people went to church—the majority of whom were women. However, said editor Glafcke of the *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, "the morals of our community are good." Justifying his statement, he added that, "we have one large, fine graded school, several good churches, three organized religious societies, a lodge of Good Templars and one of the Masons."[94] Denominational rivalry was less prominent in Wyoming than in older communities in the East, and total church membership for 1890 was also ten percent lower than the average of the United States—21.4 percent as opposed to 34.5 percent nation wide.[95]

The violence and lawlessness of those early days have been greatly exaggerated by movies and the television. Although newspaper files do tell about shootings, knifings, wife beating and of the violence resulting from conflicts over land claims, the territorial settlers were, on the whole, a civilized people, or relatively so.[96] In the private letters of E. E. Robinson, written from Rock Creek, Wyoming Territory, during 1870 to a friend in the East, he told him that "the law in this country consists of Colt revolvers, Henry rifles, and 'Arkansaw' bowie knives."[97] On the other hand, some people were of the opinion that "Cheyenne was as quiet and orderly a city on Sunday as a great many in the old States, in spite of open saloons, restaurants and billiard rooms."[98] Laramie also was declared "pretty decent." Crime and drunkenness were not increasing and "the people were good-living, clean-thinking, and morally-inclined."[99]

Early Wyoming lawmakers also saw to it that free and compulsory education was provided to the youth.[100] Among the early settlers in Wyoming were large numbers of college educated and professional men and women, who were determined to see that their children received the education they deemed necessary for civilized living.[101] The value that had been placed on education, even before the territory was officially created,[102] is illustrated in a report that appeared in the *Cheyenne Leader*, January 6, 1867. Baker, expressing his pleasant surprise at the large number of citizens that had gathered, in spite of a temperature of 23 degrees below zero, to dedicate a school house, said that "the room was densely crowded with an anxious assemblage of our best citizens . . . impressed with the importance of the undertaking." Two months later, the *Wyoming Tribune* mentioned that there were 109 White children and 14 "colored" children enrolled. The school had two teachers and the students were studying reading, spelling, writing, geography, grammar, arithmetic, algebra and philosophy.[103]

Wyoming's constitution provided for the maintenance and regulation of education. It was stated that education was to be free regardless of color, race, religious belief or sex, and that no religion was to be taught in schools. No public money was allowed to go to religious schools.

More evidence as to how people felt about education, is to be found in Governor Campbell's message to the First Legislature as it appeared in the *Cheyenne Daily Leader*:

> The subject of education will doubtless receive your early attention. In laying the foundation of a new state, this should be the corner stone for without it no durable political fabric can be erected. It matters little how great our material prosperity may be, if our moral and intellectual growth does not keep a pace with it. It is a duty we owe not only to ourselves and to our posterity, but to all mankind. In the diffusion of knowledge among the people rests our only hope for the preservation of our free institutions . . . . Now in the infancy of our Territory, let the fostering aid and encouragement of the government be given to every scheme for the advancement of education, and to establish as the cornerstone of our embryo state the principle of universal, free, common school education.[104]

Because of the meager and shifting population, schools were, however, slow to take root, and were often extremely unstable in character. In 1872, there were only nine schools, four public and five private, with a total enrollment of 305 students.[105] There were 31 libraries, containing an aggregate of 2,603 volumes. Twenty of these libraries were private with 1,500 books, and 1,000 volumes belonged to Sunday Schools. The territorial library was also started and had 103 volumes.[106]

Although the enthusiasm for, and the support of, education remained high, the task of "holding successive generations up to the culture level of their predecessors"[107] was tremendous. In sketching the difficulties that Wyoming educators were facing at the turn of the century, O. E. Swanson, President of the Wyoming Teachers Association, argued that:

> The difficulty of the task is vastly increased when the people to be educated are spreading out into new territory, or taking into themselves large elements from foreign civilizations, or from distantly related portions of our own civilization. Add to this the responsibility which modern democratic aspirations impose, of educating each succeeding generation better than its predecessor, more extensively and more variously, and the task with which educators of Wyoming are wrestling is seen to be one of almost overwhelming difficulty.[108]

In 1873, the Commissioner of Education reported that most of the population of 9,000 to 10,000 people, was scattered along the Union Pacific for a distance of 500 miles, and that there were few places large enough to support a school. Yet in spite of this fact, he found that "wherever there are people and children in one place, enough to form a school, a school is established and an effort made to have a good one."[109]

In 1874, teachers' institutes became organized and in 1877 all principals of graded schools were required by law

to attend these institutes.[110] At these institutes, which lasted from four to ten days, common problems were discussed, courses of study designed and textbooks selected.[111]

In 1877, John W. Hoyt, soon to be Wyoming governor and later the first president of the University of Wyoming, stated with a great deal of enthusiasm that "the public at large feels a great pride in the public schools of the Territory . . . I have never known a community, whether in this country or in Europe, more zealously devoted to the cause of popular education."[112] Governor Hoyt also established the Wyoming Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters.[113]

The compulsory school attendance law required that "all between the ages of 7 and 20 years inclusive," had to attend school for at least three months of each year. Parents who neglected to send their children to school were subject to a penalty of $25 for "each and every offence."[114] Most of the other states or territories in the United States during that time had less strict requirements for compulsory school attendance.

When statehood came Wyoming had a well developed school system with a university and at least eight public high schools, four of which were accredited by the university. A total of 7,675 students were enrolled in the public schools.[115] According to the constitution, the 16th and 36th sections of every township belonged to the school and could never be sold for less than three-fourths of its assessed value or for less than ten dollars an acre. The fund itself had to remain intact and only the income from it was allowed to be used.

Between 1880 and 1890 Wyoming's population tripled, increasing from 20,789 to 62,555 people.[116] Immigrants, attracted by the vast coal beds, copper, and occasional gold mines, the livestock industry, and the promise of employment on the railroad, came in a steady stream.[117] Many of them found work in mercantile and transportation businesses in frontier towns.[118]

During the 1870s and 1880s, this brand new "free-for-all, room for everybody," country also became known as the finest grass range territory in the United States.[119] The *Wyoming Tribune* reported of the "hundreds of miles of unbounded pasture field . . . where the numbers of herdsmen were constantly augmenting."[120] The cattle industry grew with leaps and bounds, and with 50 million acres of public land just waiting for cattle, even foreign investors became interested in the business.[121] Notwithstanding the high freight costs, the Wyoming ranchers were able "to furnish Eastern beef-eaters with sirloins and roasts, better and cheaper than those of their home production." The Wyoming Stock Growers Association, formed in 1873 as the Laramie County Stock Growers Association, represented a capitalization of more than $100 million (at a time when Wyoming was still a wilderness), and Cheyenne, on a per capita basis, was the richest city in the world according to livestock capitalization.[122]

In 1877, the total assessed valuation of taxable property in Wyoming Territory was $8,275,823.33.[123] During these years the territory assumed a cosmopolitan character. It represented "every language, religion, environment, custom and conceivable grade of education."[124] Many foreign and eastern cattle companies were established[125] and large amounts of money flowed from England, Scotland, France and the New England states to Wyoming. The open range industry boomed from 1880 to 1886, but by 1890 the ever increasing numbers of sheep began to crowd out the cattle on many ranches. In addition, homesteaders began to file on land during the 1870s and started to fence their properties.[126] When they included their water sources, tremendous hazards were created for the cattle on the range.[127]

Mining became more important after the Civil War and coal mining attracted people from all nationalities. This not only brought in much needed business to the territory, but it also brought organized labor to an otherwise, individualistic kind of life style.[128]

When the northern and central areas became settled during the mid-1880s, new counties were created from the five original ones, bringing the number to thirteen at the end of the territorial days. The main means of transportation during this time were still stagecoaches and freight wagons.

The political history of Wyoming during territorial days was relatively unmarked by any striking events.[129] The costs to the general government was limited to the supply of military service, and to government appropriations not exceeding $34,000. Bancroft was of the opinion that "of all the younger common wealths, none have conducted their public affairs more carefully or with better results than Wyoming."[130]

Development between the years 1884 and 1888 was slow but steady. During this period the legislature authorized the issue of $230,000 in bonds to be divided between a university building fund, a capital building fund and a fund for the construction of a hospital for the insane. An act also was passed to create an institution for the education of deaf mutes, a much needed penitentiary, a normal school at Sundance and an agricultural college at Sheridan.[131] Being primarily rural, however, with only a few small industries and little manufacturing, territorial people were generally speaking, not prosperous.[132]

On February 7, 1888, the first official step towards statehood was taken when the Tenth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming requested permission from Congress to write a constitution and to form a government of their own.[133] Two years later, on July 10, 1890, Wyoming became the 44th state to be admitted to the Union, leading the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* to announce that: "after 22 years of territorial bondage, Wyoming had achieved statehood."[134]

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1. Robert C. Morris, "Sketch of Wyoming," in *Selections of the Wyoming Historical Society*, ed. Robert C. Morris (Cheyenne: The Wyoming Historical Society, 1897), p. 20.
2. Hubert H. Bancroft, *The Work of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1890), pp. 25, 694.
3. E. E. Baker, "Education in Wyoming," *Wyoming School Journal* 5 (1908): 53.
4. Ichabod S. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming* (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1918). This group, according to the *Utah Handbook of Reference*, should receive the credit for being the first actual settlers in Wyoming. Forts Laramie and Bridger, established in 1834 and 1843 respectively, were not considered as true settlements in the sense of families wanting to stay permanently.
5. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 15, 1869; and Bartlett, *History of Wyoming*, p. 163.
6. *Wyoming Tribune*, October 8, 1870.
7. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 17, 1867; September 1, 1869; and *Wyoming Tribune*, May 14, 1870.
8. *Report of the Governor of Wyoming to the Secretary of the Interior, 1886* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 8.
9. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming*, p. 430.
10. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, July 22, 1869.
11. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, July 5, 1871; and Baker, "Education in Wyoming."
12. Baker, "Education in Wyoming." Baker gave this figure as $1,600.
13. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, p. 734.
14. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 18, 1867; November 14, 1867; and Velma Linford, *Wyoming Frontier State*, (Denver, Colorado: The Old West Publishing Co., 1947), p. 194.
15. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, p. 738.
16. E. Dearinger and C. A. Cagle, *A History of Wyoming* (1976), p. 6. A dug-out resembled a half-basement about four feet deep which was boarded up all around about three feet high with boards to form a low gable roof. This was covered with dirt and straw to keep it from leaking and also to insulate it. Dug-outs usually had dirt floors.
17. Baker, "Education in Wyoming."
18. *Wyoming Tribune*, October 8, 1870.
19. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, p. 738. See also *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 11, 13; March 21; October 19, 20, 21; December 2, 1868.
20. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 17, 1875.
21. E. E. Robinson collection, American Heritage Center (AHC), Laramie, Wyoming. Robinson wrote these letters to a friend back East telling him about conditions in Laramie: "There was a time in Laramie City, when if a man shot another and left him laying in the street, he would be promptly arrested for obstructing the side-walk, and this a common occurrence, until the citizens, on arising one morning, found twelve of the 'shootists' with 'hemp neckties' on, hanging from telegraph poles, the victims of an impromptu vigilance committee. The 'vigs,' by continuing this 'hemp neck-tie' process, soon cleared Laramie of her share of the roughs and desperadoes following the Union Pacific. Since then the streets are rarely 'obstructed.' "
22. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, p. 739. See also *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, May 17, 1872.
23. Baker, "Education in Wyoming."
24. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, June 22; July 23, 1868, August 9, 1869. See also *Session Laws of the State of Wyoming, 1891*.
25. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, May 25, 1871.
26. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 17, 1869.
27. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 13, 1869.
28. Francis Beard, *Wyoming from Territorial Days to the Present* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1933), p. 326.
29. *Wyoming Tribune*, November 20, 1869.
30. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 108.
31. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 13, 1869.
32. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 16, 1869. Contains a discussion of county lines.
33. *Wyoming Tribune*, May 7, 1870.
34. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 28, 1869.
35. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 10, 1871; November 11, 1873.
36. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 108.
37. *Report of the Governor to the Secretary of Interior, September 27, 1887* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 7.
38. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 26, 1870.
39. *Wyoming Tribune*, January 22, 1870.
40. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 28, 1869.
41. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 6-16, 1872; January-March, 1875.
42. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 14, 1869.
43. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 25, 1869.
44. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 10, 1872.
45. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 19, 1867; April 8, 1869.
46. 1880 Wyoming Census.
47. *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1895* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, n.d.); and Lola M. Homsher, *Wyoming: A Student's Guide to Localized History* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1966), p. vi.
48. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 19, 1867.
49. *Rock Springs Rocket*, November 1, 1912; and Linford, *Wyoming Frontier State*, p. 208.
50. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 29, 1886; May 9, 1889.
51. Linford, *Wyoming Frontier State*, p. 276.
52. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 26, 1867; July 23, 1870; *Wyoming Tribune*, October 8, 1870. See subscription rates.
53. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 1, 1889.
54. Linford, *Wyoming Frontier State*, p. 288.
55. Beard, *Wyoming from Territorial Days to the Present*, p. 324.
56. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming*, p. 197.
57. "Who are the people that came to Wyoming?" *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 5, 1867.
58. S. S. Stockdale, untitled, *Wyoming School Journal* 2 (1905): 48.
59. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, August 21, 1880.
60. Charles W. Lewis, untitled, *The University Melange* 1 (1904): 13.
61. C. T. Brady, *Recollections of a Missionary in the Great West* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1900), p. 48.
62. Ibid., p. 46.
63. Mrs. J. A. Campbell, "Wyoming Territory: As Seen by the Wife of Wyoming's First Governor," in *Collection of the Wyoming Historical Society*, ed. Robert C. Morris (Cheyenne: Wyoming Historical Society, 1897), p. 316.
64. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 26, 1867.
65. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 23, 1869.
66. *Wyoming Tribune*, December 11, 1869; October 1870.
67. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming*, p. 197.
68. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, May 25, 1871.
69. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 28, 1882.
70. C. T. Brady, *Recollections*, p. 73.
71. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 27, 1871; March 10, 23; April 2; May 22; September 1, 1874.
72. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, p. 228.

73. Brady, *Recollections*, p. 47. "The life of a frontier farmer's wife is about the hardest which can fall to the lot of women. All the cares of a large and ever-increasing family, with several hired hands to cook and wash for, usually a calf or two to bring up by hand, a brood of motherless chicks needing attention, a kitchen garden, cows to milk, and Heaven only knows what else! She has no society and no amusements, very infrequent church services, with no time to read and no place to go. She even finds no interest in the changing fashions, for the fashion of her narrow world never changes. When by chance she does survive all the troubles and labors of youth and middle life, she becomes one of the finest, sturdiest, strongest, most independent and self-respecting of women."
74. *Sheridan Post*, January 9, 1914.
75. Brady, *Recollections*, p. 73.
76. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, July 29, 1869; May 11, 1872. "Dirty streets are the curse of this town."
77. *Wyoming Tribune*, May 28, 1870.
78. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, May 11, 1872.
79. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 2, 1875; August 23, 1885.
80. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 202.
81. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 27, 1880.
82. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 1869.
83. *Wyoming Tribune*, May 7, 1870.
84. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 1, 25, 1875.
85. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, June 30, 1875.
86. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 6, 1872.
87. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, August 30, 1882.
88. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, May 23, 1871.
89. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 15; October 27, 1869.
90. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 16, 1869.
91. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 208.
92. Linford, *Wyoming Frontier State*, p. 302.
93. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 221; and *Laramie Boomerang*, June 15, 1912.
94. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 17, 1875.
95. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 225; *Wyoming Tribune*, June 18, 1870; *Laramie Boomerang*, January 25, 1915.
96. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 26, 1868; September 27; October 4, 1869.
97. E. E. Robinson collection, AHC. Robinson also described the following incident: "I was engaged in playing a match of Ball in Laramie City on the 4th [July 1870], and myself and another player were endeavoring to lead a drunken man off the field, when he in a playful manner drew a six-shooter and told us to 'git.' I not being accustomed to this western mode of arguing, was disgusted, and did 'git' in good order."
98. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 7, 1869.
99. *Laramie Boomerang*, November 18, 1914.
100. A. D. Cook, "Educational Progress in Wyoming," *Wyoming School Journal* 2 (1909): 9. The compulsory educational law was one of the best in the country and illiteracy was universally low.
101. Cora M. Beach, *Women of Wyoming* (Casper, Wyoming: Boyer and Company, 1927); *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 24, 1867. "The American people demand schools for their children and are unwilling to live where they are not to be had. It was long since established by our fathers, that the only solid foundation for permanent prosperity is the virtue and intelligence of the people."
102. A. D. Cook, "Educational Progress in Wyoming," *Wyoming School Journal* 2 (1909): 9. "Wyoming has always shown a great interest in education. Even in the earliest days of the Territory, when the first mile of railroad was being pushed slowly forward, the agitation for schools was started. That same characteristic, energy in educational affairs, has dominated the people of Wyoming all through her history."
103. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 12, 1870.
104. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 13, 1869.
105. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1872* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1873), p. 383; and E. G. Dexter, *A History of Education in the United States* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1911), pp. 152, 614, 616.
106. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1872* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1873); E. E. Baker, "Education in Wyoming," *Wyoming School Journal* 5 (1908): 74; *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 13, 1869.
107. O. E. Swanson, "President's Address to the Wyoming State Teachers Association," *Wyoming School Journal* 5 (1908): 105.
108. Ibid.
109. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1873* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 468; *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, May 7, 1872.
110. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Year 1877* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878).
111. Executive Documents of the House of Representatives, 1887-1888; and *Compiled Laws of Wyoming, 1876*, Chapter 103, Section 7.
112. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for Year 1877*, p. 297.
113. *Message of Governor Hoyt to the Seventh Legislative Assembly, January 12, 1882*, p. 25. "The Wyoming Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, an association organized within the past year . . . . deserves mention here, as marking an important step in the intellectual and social progress of the territory." *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 13, 1882; *The University Melange* 1 (1904-1905): 51-54.
114. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1877.*
115. Wyoming, *Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* (1890-1892).
116. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming*, p. 185.
117. *Wyoming Tribune*, December 18, 1869; January 1, 1870. The article mentioned 15,000 square miles of lignite coal beds. *Report of Governor of Wyoming to the Secretary of the Interior*, September 27, 1887, p. 28; September 19, 1888, p. 14; *Cheyenne Leader*, July 22; October 13, 1869; *Report of Governor Hoyt to the Secretary of the Interior* (1878), p. 15.
118. *1883 Directory of Cheyenne* (Cheyenne, Wyoming: Sun Steam Book and Job Print, 1883), p. 26.
119. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 8, 1877; November 7, 1879; and Bartlett, *History of Wyoming*, p. 365.
120. *Wyoming Tribune*, January 8, 1870.
121. *Report of the Governor of Wyoming to the Secretary of the Interior* (1881), p. 52; and Homsher, *A Student's Guide*, p. 19.
122. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 27, 1871; *Report of the Governor of Wyoming to the Secretary of the Interior* (1886), pp. 20, 26. See Minutes of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, 1881-1922, AHC; and Bartlett, *History of Wyoming*, p. 364.
123. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, August 2, 1877.
124. Swanson, "President's Address," *Wyoming School Journal*, p. 105.
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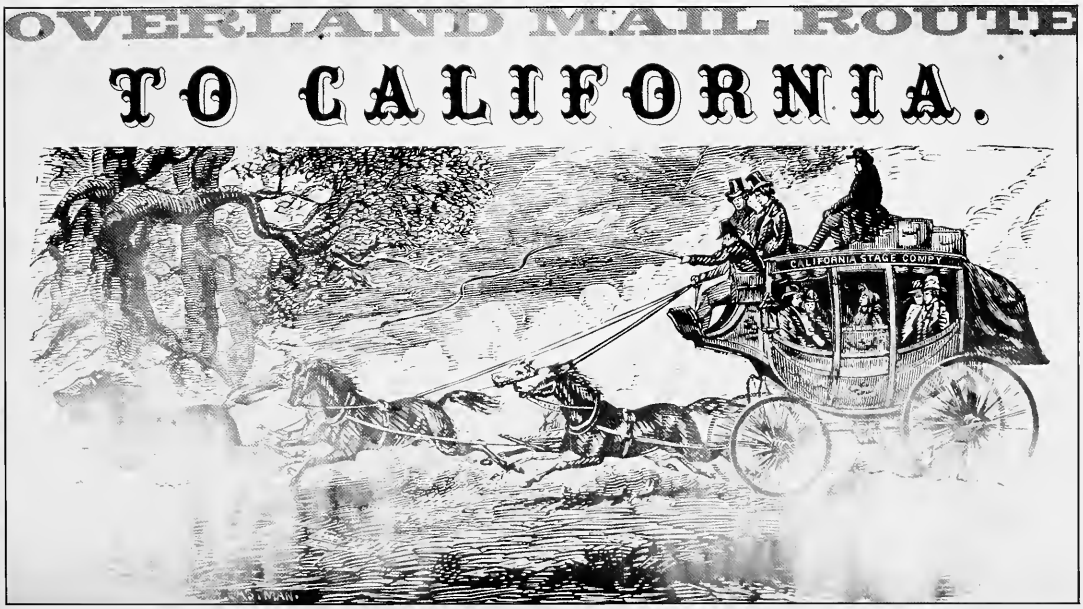
THE OVERLAND MAIL IN WYOMING

by Patricia Ann Owens

"Nothing on God's earth must stop the United States Mail"



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This woodcut was made in 1866 and used in an advertising poster for the California Stage Company, which carried passengers and mail.

By the mid-19th century the Oregon Trail had become a national highway. Settlers followed the trail to Oregon and California, but had little tendency to establish permanent settlements anywhere along the trail. As mining populations became entrenched in Montana and other areas of the West a need developed for a transportation network that would ship out the gold and a system that would bring supplies, mail and news to the settlements.[1] Various freighting companies were established to meet this need, and the most famous such firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell also organized the Pony Express to carry the mail to points in the West as well as to California. The Pony Express had a brief existence, but it did have the distinction of carrying the news of the election of Abraham Lincoln to California. It was discontinued October 26, 1861, when the overland telegraph was completed.[2]

The mail was a link to home for the settlers in the West. They felt a vital need for information from the East, and through constant reminding they kept the federal government aware of its responsibilities to the West. Most government officials realized the difficulties in providing an overland mail service while admitting that such a service was a necessity for bonding together the East and West.[3] It was obvious that mail service to the West would benefit economic development of the entire country and would advance civilization in the West. Leaders in Washington, wishing to promote both prosperity and civilization, favored a transcontinental overland mail system and passed appropriate legislation. Mail was carried to sparsely populated regions and through uninhabited regions in hopes of encouraging settlement. Regular mail service was a sign of security.[4] The mail service brought improvements to a region and prepared it for the emigrants yet to come.[5] Beyond all of these arguments was the importance of the mail in human terms. Soldiers, miners and emigrants got lonesome without the letters from home.[6]

Opponents of the overland mail pointed out the hardships experienced by many western travelers as sufficient reason for not establishing official mail routes to the West.[7] Nevertheless, the demand for overland mail increased. One of the loudest cries for the mail route came from California. In February, 1860, the California legislature instructed that state's senators and representatives to secure passage of a law in Congress providing for a daily mail service from the Mississippi River to California. The California legislature maintained that the overland route could deliver the mail in a shorter time and with more regularity than ocean vessels, and above all the establishment of a route would tend to "promote settlement and bring into market millions of acres of land now considered too remote for civilization, and would also tend to secure emigration to the Pacific States . . . ."[8]

Postmaster General Joseph Holt expressed opposition to the overland route in his 1860 annual report. He held that an overland mail system would have to cross deserts and mountains in all types of weather carrying tons of mail each year and that the same mail could more regularly be delivered by other routes. Overland mail would benefit no one but the contractor.[9] Despite such opposition, a bill establishing an overland mail route passed Congress.

When hostilities broke out between the North and South in 1861, the mail route had to be changed. Congress authorized the postmaster general to discontinue the mail service on the southern overland route which was near the Confederate's domain. The mail was now to move along the central overland route from a site on the Missouri River to Placerville, California. Authorization was also given to increase the mail schedule to six times a week.[10]

The contract, let to the Butterfield Overland Mail Company, covered the period July 1, 1861, through July 1, 1864, for a fee of one million dollars per annum.[11] The mail contract provided that the mail be carried through in twenty days, eight months of the year and in 23 days during the four winter months of the year. Bad weather made travel conditions poor during the winter months, thus the additional three days allowed for delivery.[12] Mail on the central route would start July 1, 1861, from St. Joseph, Missouri.

The eastern division of the mail route, which ran from Atchison to Salt Lake City, was operated by the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company (the C. O. C. and P. P. E.) owned by the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell. The firm experienced financial difficulties and was forced to borrow money from a western financier, Ben Holladay. By March 21, 1862, Holladay took control of the company, foreclosing on money owed him.[13] As a result, Holladay also received the contract for the overland mail. He reorganized the line and divided the route with W. B. Dinsmore, president of the Adams Express Company, who took the western end of the route from Salt Lake City to Placerville, California.[14]

Mark Twain, who traveled the overland route to Nevada, wrote about Holladay in *Roughing It*:

> No doubt everybody has heard of Ben Holliday [sic]—a man of prodigious energy, who used to send mails and passengers flying across the continent in his overland stage-coaches like a very whirlwind—two thousand long miles in fifteen days and a half . . . .

Twain recounted the tale of a young man who was told the story of Moses and how he led his people out of Egypt 300 miles to a new land taking 40 years to do it. The boy answered, "Forty years? Only three hundred miles? Humph! Ben Holliday [sic] would have fetched them through in thirty-six hours."[15]

Holladay was born in Carlisle County, Kentucky, in 1819, and moved to western Missouri as a young boy. There he operated a store which supplied goods to the U.S. Army during the Mexican War. Money from these and other business ventures enabled him to loan money to the stagecoach line of Russell, Majors and Waddell and eventually obtain the mail contract and operate nearly 5,000 miles of stage lines.[16] Holladay was an effective executive who

The Overland Mail coach in front of station at Fort Bridger, ca. 1864.

possessed an ability to organize the many aspects of the overland stage business.[17] He appeared as a coarse frontiersman to many, yet was ambitious and filled with the cunning of a gambler who would risk his entire fortune when a greater one could be acquired.[18] One of Holladay's contemporaries wrote that Holladay was a "man of restless and untiring vigor."[19] He combined his many talents with his first hand knowledge of the frontier to develop a great stage line. He hired skillful and experienced men to drive his coaches, purchased first-class coaches and the finest horses and mules. He paid his men on time and, to the pleasure of the Post Office Department, he delivered the mail.[20]

There were 93 stations along the mail route from Atchison, Kansas, to Salt Lake City, Utah.[21] These stations were ten to twelve miles apart. Every 50 miles there was a "home station" where the drivers changed and made their homes. These were also eating stations for passengers riding the coaches. Intermediate stations along the route were called "swing stations" and here only horses were changed.[22] The station buildings were constructed of logs and sod and divided into one to three rooms. Here people ate, slept and bought groceries and whiskey from the store room.[23] These were primitive facilities but they were not the only hardships experienced by the stagecoach drivers and passengers. The weather was a formidable foe. Furious snowstorms would blast the route for weeks on end in the winter, and flooded streams would turn the route into a quagmire in the spring.[24] These conditions slowed down or completely stopped mail delivery at various times from 1862 to 1865.

The overland mail crossed through the present-day states of Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming and Utah in the completion of the eastern division of the route. In Wyoming, the route passed between Fort Laramie in the east and Fort Bridger in the west. Beginning in 1862, this region became the scene for numerous Indian raids upon the mail route, emigrants and the telegraph.

The depredations by the Indians coincided with the removal of troops from various western forts. The troops were sent east to fight the Confederacy and in April, 1862, Indian war parties took advantage of the situation by frequent attacks on stagecoach stations between Fort Bridger and the North Platte River. Mail was often destroyed by the Indians, scattered across the plains or lost in stations set on fire by the Indians, and those stations attacked lost numerous horses and mules.[25]

A small force of soldiers from Fort Laramie tried to guard the 500 miles of mail route. However, they were ineffective and the Indians continued their raids. Messages from Fort Laramie reported that "the road is in danger daily from Platte Bridge to Salt Lake Valley."[26] In order to afford some protection, two coaches were run at a time with a double set of men. However, this proved unsuccessful. On April 17, 1862, dual coaches were attacked by 45 Indians who fired upon the men and coaches causing

severe damage before retreating four hours later.[27] In another show of force, the Indians attacked a mail station within two hours after a detachment of troops left the vicinity.[28] The Indians were able to attack quickly with force and evade the troops.

The Indian raids during 1862 took their toll on the mail delivery, causing the postmaster general to report in his annual message of that year that the mail service had not been satisfactory. He was, however, optimistic that it would be made successful. The mail route was becoming more and more important. The postmaster general reported:

> Everyday brings intelligence of the discovery of new mines of gold and silver in the region traversed by this mail route, which gives assurance that it will not be many years before it will be protected and supported throughout the greater part of the route by a civilized population. As an agency in developing these resources for the government the mail line is indispensable and every needful protection and support should be given to the company, and some allowance made for failures in the beginning of the undertaking.[29]

The Overland Mail leaving Deer Creek Station during the 1860s.

The mail route through present-day Wyoming suffered so severely during 1862, that all along the line were found disorganized and abandoned stations.[30] After Holladay had studied reports of the raids committed by Indians on the route between Fort Laramie and South Pass, listened to advice from the persons familiar with the country, and realized the inability of the military forces adequately to protect the stage line, he decided to move the line to a more southern route.[31] He later testified before a Congressional committee on his decision:

> I deserted and abandoned all stations and moved south from various points 100 to 300 miles for the new route, . . . I can state under oath that the mails could not have passed over the old road without enormous expenditure of money and loss of life and property. Indeed, I know it was impossible to carry the mails regularly on that route. General Craig agreed with me that it was impossible to afford me protection with his force.[32]

The postmaster general gave permission in July, 1862, to change the mail route. It was located 100 miles south of the Oregon Trail. This new route was often referred to as the Cherokee Trail or the Bridger's Pass route.[33] Abandoning the old route was not without great expense to Holladay's company. It was necessary to abandon 26 mail stations and build 25 additional stations along the new route. new stations meant new houses, new barns and new supplies all at increasing expense.[34] Holladay estimated the total cost at $50,000.

To protect the new route, James Craig, the commander at Fort Laramie, ordered escorts of 25 to 30 men to accompany the stages.[35] Sending these troops more than 100 miles to the south forced Craig to divide his forces and severely limited his ability to protect the emigrant trains that passed through the region.[36] In such a weakened position, Craig petitioned his superior officers for additional troops.[37]

Holladay also petitioned Washington for protection of his stages carrying the mail. He had friends in the Post Office and War departments and he appealed to them in his effort.[38] The mail route had been destroyed for hundreds of miles and Holladay experienced great financial loss. Therefore he took his case to President Abraham Lincoln. When he went to the White House, Holladay was accompanied by Senator Milton Latham of California. Latham was especially interested in maintaining the regular mail service on the overland route to California. Holladay explained the situation to the president, and Lincoln told him, "you must have protection; the mails must be carried." Lincoln instructed Holladay to carry the mail at all hazards and promised he would be protected by the government and that he would be compensated for his losses.[39]

Holladay's friend, Senator Latham, wrote to President Lincoln on April 26, 1862, requesting that authority be given to Brigham Young, leader of the Mormons in Utah, to raise 100 men to protect the overland route.[40] Lincoln endorsed the request and Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas telegraphed Young on April 28 and informed him

that by authority of the president he was to raise, arm and equip a company of men for 90 days service and they were to proceed to Independence Rock, a landmark east of Fort Bridger, to protect the new mail route.[41] The Indians soon disappeared from this region and the Mormon forces served only 30 days before being mustered out.[42]

Despite Holladay's hopes, the southern route was not immune to Indian raids.[43] An employee of Holladay's wrote from Salt Lake City in June, 1862, that the Indians had caused a suspension of the mails and this would continue until troops could arrive to protect the route from further violence.[44]

By 1864, travel along the overland trails had increased to the point that it rivaled the days of heavy overland migration during the rush to California gold fields in 1849. For a stretch of 400 miles along the mail route the Indians plundered wagons, coaches, stations and brought Holladay's empire to a standstill.[45] The mail delivery was impeded; stations, houses, supplies were burned; and agents were murdered.[46] All of this brought financial difficulties to Holladay. The overland mail was shut down as a result of the Indian raids at a time when it would have paid the best. Summer and fall were good times for coaches to carry passengers. Now no passengers rode the coaches, no mail was delivered and overland commerce in general was hurt. Mail had to be sent by ocean vessel. Burned stations, stolen livestock and other destroyed property cost Holladay several hundred thousand dollars.[47]

Once again Holladay appealed for protection of the mail route to President Lincoln. A representative from Holladay's firm, George Otis, visited the White House accompanied by the assistant secretary of the interior, the acting postmaster general, as well as delegates from Oregon and Colorado. They told Lincoln the mail coaches would run if the government would furnish military guards and escorts. Otis reported that Lincoln replied:

> Mr. Otis, we are in a great strait with the country today; at this time we have very few, if any, troops to spare. But I want you to understand, as the agent of Mr. Holladay, that this line must, under no consideration, be stopped . . . . This thing must be protected, and it shall be protected.[48]

Clearly, Lincoln recognized the importance of the mail route in connecting east to west during the war. The president gave Otis a letter to take to General S. R. Curtis at Fort Leavenworth. Lincoln asked Curtis to meet with Otis to discuss protection for the overland mail route and "to do the very best you can for this important interest . . . ."[49] Curtis in turn ordered the commander at Fort Laramie, now Brigadier General Robert B. Mitchell, to "make the overland stage route as secure as possible."[50] Mitchell's

Stagecoach used along the Overland Mail route.

success was no greater than Craig's had been. Small groups of men were still trying to guard 500 miles of country, raids were committed daily and Mitchell expected a general outbreak.[51]

While Holladay experienced difficulties with Indian raids along the mail route, he was facing the end of the contract period for the mail. It was necessary to devote some effort to the renewing of the contract. The mail contract possessed by Holladay was set to expire on June 30, 1864. The postmaster general, by authority of various acts of Congress, divided the mail route into sections and announced in October, 1863, he would accept bids for the mail service until March 3, 1864.[52] Holladay bid on route number 14260 to run daily coaches both ways between Atchison, Kansas, and Salt Lake City, Utah, a distance of 1,220 miles. His bid for this portion of the overland route was $385,000. For the complete route extending to Folsom, California, Holladay bid $820,000, but he was not the lowest bidder.[53] John H. Heistand of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, bid $750,000 to cover the entire overland route, but then withdrew the bid.[54] Holladay then informed the postmaster general that he should receive the contract since Heistand had withdrawn his bid. After some delay the contract was offered officially to Holladay and he accepted on August 5, 1864.[55]

The new contract for October 1, 1864, to September 30, 1868, stated that the contractor was to carry the mail with "certainty, celerity, and security . . . ." The mail was to be carried in a "safe and secure manner free from wet or other injury." If carried on a horse, the mail was to be carried under an oil-cloth or bear skin and if carried in a coach then placed under the driver's seat. The carrier was to protect the mail and lock it up or put it in a safe place at night. Holladay would receive payments in the months of May, August, November and February for carrying the mail.[56]

The schedule of departures and arrivals took into consideration the bad weather conditions during the winter months. From October 1 to April 1, the mail was to leave Atchison daily at 8 a.m., arrive at Salt Lake City on the fourteenth day after, by 2 a.m., then leave that city daily at 7 p.m. and arrive at Atchison on the fourteenth day after by 1 p.m. The one way trip between either city was a total of 306 hours. During the other eight months of the year, April 1 to December 1, the mail was to leave Atchison daily at 8 a.m., arrive at Salt Lake City on the eleventh day after by 11 a.m., then leave Salt Lake City daily at 10 a.m. and arrive at Atchison on the eleventh day after by 1 p.m. This was a one way trip of 243 hours.[57] To maintain such a schedule, Holladay kept a number of coaches rolling across the plains at all times. The distance was immense and the organization of such an undertaking was complicated.

The Indians continued their raids throughout 1865. In January of that year, the Cheyenne and Sioux took control of the route for 200 miles along the Platte River. These raids played havoc with the mail and made deliveries irregular along the eastern half of the route.[58]

Holladay continued the mail service throughout the years of the Civil War when communication with the West was so vital. Damages suffered as a result of the continuing raids accumulated. Holladay was a successful businessman and a sly one at that. The railroad began its rapid expansion across the continent after the close of the Civil War, bringing with it new and faster mail delivery. Holladay realized that it was time for him to abandon the overland mail. On November 1, 1866, he sold the Overland Mail Company to Wells, Fargo and Company and quit a winner.[59]

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"Y'ALL CALL ME NIGGER JIM NOW, BUT SOMEDAY YOU'LL CALL ME MR. JAMES EDWARDS":

Black Success on the Plains of the Equality State

by Todd R. Guenther

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY THE AUTHOR

The now abandoned home of Jim and Lethel Edwards.

> Out on the rolling, rugged Wyoming prairie not far from the one store town of Lost Springs (pop. 38), there is a forlorn, forgotten ranch. Amid its weathered, fallen corrals, blown down windmills, (and) rusting ancient cars there is a gaunt stone-face house with a wisp of smoke trailing up to the sky. In the shadows of the kitchen, heaped with unwashed dishes, pots with half-eaten food and old papers, lives James Nathaniel Edwards, now 85 years old. His hair has turned almost completely white. His shoulders are beginning to bend . . . This is the man who once was the greatest negro cattle rancher in all the West . . . Jim Edwards is a legend in Wyoming, a name that will long be remembered wherever and whenever cattlemen gather to talk about the building of the West.[1]

The preceding passage dramatically gives Edwards somewhat greater significance than history has yet chosen to. Currently, virtually nothing is known of the history of Blacks in Wyoming, and only a small amount about Blacks in the West. Very little information exists, then, for comparative purposes, making such grandiose rankings unsupportable. Nevertheless, during the first half of the 20th century, Edwards and his wife Lethel were, possibly, the most successful Black ranchers at least in Wyoming, if not the West. It is clear they were more prosperous and productive than many White homesteaders in the region, a large number of whom lived in squalor before going bust during the 1920s or 1930s. During that whole period the Edwards thrived. Because they accomplished so much more than the majority of their more numerous White counterparts, common sense suggests they were probably more financially successful than all their peers, the few undocumented Black ranchers included.

Originally from Ohio, Edwards was born on February 14, about 1871, and may have come West as early as the 1880s when around the age of 16.[2] The amount of education he received is unknown, but bank checks he wrote in the 1920s are in a very clear, confident, legible hand. He never discussed his early years with the informants who provided much of the information about him. William Nuttall is "sure he didn't" trail cattle between Mexico and Canada as the unreliable author of the *Ebony* article claims, and it is doubtful he was in the West before 1900. Local tradition maintains that before coming to Wyoming he served in a Black cavalry unit in Cuba during the Spanish American War. According to this version he was an NCO who refused to lead his troops into a valley he had scouted and knew to be infested with an overwhelming number of enemy. Art Joss, a neighboring rancher, thought he subsequently deserted and that Edwards may have been a pseudonym; Nuttall thought he was discharged. Referring to the incident and his presence in Wyoming he once said, "I wouldn't've been here if it wasn't for that." Nuttall said that later in life, Edwards "hated anything military."[3] The National Archives, however, contains no record of a James Nathaniel Edwards serving in either of the Black cavalry units in the U.S. armed forces, although he might have served with a state volunteer unit.

Edwards appeared in Newcastle, Wyoming, with his father in 1900 in response to help wanted advertisements placed in eastern newspapers by the Cambria coal mine. Both had worked in coal mines in Ohio. They came West with a group of Italian miners who soon drove them away. What became of the elder Edwards is unknown. Jim walked south looking for work until arriving in the Lusk area, a distance of about 80 miles. There, the Willson Brothers Ranch hired him to herd sheep on the Running Water, now called the Niobrara River.

Edwards worked for the Willsons for ten or fifteen years, eventually as a foreman. That put him in a supervisory capacity over lower ranking White employees. He remained on the Willson payroll at least until December, 1914.[4] Joss said the Willsons refused to pay him a decent wage and threatened to report him to the military authorities if he quit, but that he finally took them to court and won the case.[5] No court records for the case were located, but if this account is accurate, it suggests he did not desert. As Edwards was involved in many legal disputes through the years, it seems likely that if he was indeed a deserter, the fact would have been discovered.

The Willson brothers originally placed Edwards on his Harney Creek homestead early in the century. Joss thought it was around 1906 or 1908.[6] During the blizzard of 1949, Edwards said that he had looked "out of the same window for 50 years."[7] Nuttall estimated he was on the homestead as early as 1901 or 1902. He applied for a patent on the land where his buildings were situated in 1908, but may have been there earlier. In a common arrangement of the day, the Willsons set him up with the understanding that he would turn the place over to them after proving up. Instead, when he received the patent he kept it. When he sold out years later he had eighteen sections of land, including two leased school sections, was a respected member of the community and highly regarded as a cattle and horse breeder.

Edwards was the first Black person to live in the area. The name of Nigger Baby Spring, now called Baby Springs Draw, several miles north of his homestead, suggests the possible presence of earlier Blacks in the area when geographical features were still being named. That assumption is inaccurate. The name probably results from "the black, tarlike mud through which the water seeps to the surface." Any one or anything "drinking there, or standing in the water [will] emerge . . . plastered with the black ooze."[8]

Edwards began ranching when the Wyoming cattle industry was experiencing a period of "general steady growth, with [only] minor setbacks."[9] By this time stockgrowers had adopted winter feeding methods as opposed to letting the animals fend for themselves during the brutal Wyoming winters. They had also learned advanced dry-farming and irrigation techniques in their feed crop production which allowed them to produce larger amounts of feed. Because of past disasters caused by overgrazing,

ranchers also became respectful of the shortgrass prairie's low carrying capacity. Between 1900 and 1910 the number of cattle on the plains declined by 36.7 percent.[10] Cattlemen who fed their stock and kept costs down usually prospered during this period. Jim Edwards, an intelligent and talented stockman, earned a position in that category.

Edwards was fortunate in that he did not have to winter feed his stock. His land just north of the Harney Hills provided exceptionally good pasture. These beautiful, cedar dotted hills are on the divide between the North Platte and Running Water (Niobrara) rivers. Because of their elevation they receive slightly more annual precipitation than surrounding areas. The average precipitation there is eighteen inches per year, as compared to sixteen elsewhere in the vicinity. Although it is obvious the vegetation in the Hills is relatively lush, the precise figures were not documented until Catherine Nuttall kept daily records for the United States Geological Survey for 35 years. The extra moisture resulted in increased biomass and thus carrying capacity for Edwards' land, thereby contributing to his future success by letting him produce more with less effort and expenditure than his competitors.

Also during this period, much of the remaining open range was claimed by new homeseekers and established ranchers trying to enlarge their holdings. Thirty-eight million acres were claimed on the Great Plains between 1911 and 1914.[11] In 1913, Edwards received his first patent on 90 acres surrounding his cabin. Stockmen who did not own their grazing lands often lost portions of the open range they had used to others taking advantage of the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 or the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916.[12] Throughout much of the thirty year period from 1890 to 1920, Edwards thrived. He was able to do so because national economic trends created a usually favorable market for cattlemen and because he was a gifted, accomplished stock-grower who was prudent in his business dealings.

World War I brought a short-lived economic boom to Wyoming ranchers. Improved animal husbandry methods and a growing market enabled them to nearly double the number of cattle between 1914 and 1918.[13] This unprecedented boom resulted in wild inflation and extravagant speculation in agricultural commodities. Many new banks opened with poor organization and funding by parties wanting to capitalize on the situation. Environmental factors, however, in the form of summer droughts and severe winter blizzards in 1919 and 1920, compounded by the effects of a nationwide economic depression following the war and lasting through the early 1920s, spelled doom for many of the large ranches with high operating costs and smaller, new homesteads, without the resources to survive hard times. Nationwide, "net farm income plunged from a total of nearly $10 billion in 1919 to $4 billion in 1921."[14] In 1920, steers sold for $150 per head and much land was still open to homesteading. By 1924, steers were down to $60, cows went for anywhere from $75 to $25, and choice Wyoming farmland sold for as low as $75 per acre. In short, in Wyoming the Great Depression began in the 1920s. What followed after the 1929 market collapse was just more of the same to western stockmen. Farmers and ranchers had bank loans based on boom prices, when crop and livestock prices fell below cost, many gave up and just walked away. Banks in the eastern part of the state were heavily over-extended and many failed. In fact, all the unsound national banks in Wyoming failed during the 1920s, so that unlike many other states in the union, none of Wyoming's closed during the 1930s. Of the 47 national banks operating in the state in 1921, 23 were out of business in eight years. Of the 133 state or private banks open to business in the early 1920s, 76 closed by 1927, and only 32 were left by 1936. Edwards received a severe, but not devastating financial blow during this period. When banks in Manville and Lusk failed, he lost $30,000, an astronomical sum at the time. Two banks in Manville closed, in 1922 and 1923, and three in Lusk, during the years 1920, 1923 and 1924. Seven other area banks, in Shawnee, Keeline, Douglas and Casper, were also casualties. Ranches that survived this era were generally small or mid-range, easily managed, family sized operations. That included the Edwards ranch. An additional loss suffered by Edwards at this time was a poorly invested $10,000 in a California movie venture with Neal Hart, a former Lusk resident.[15]

Thirty of Edwards' bank checks survive, dating between 1929 and 1940. Twenty-one were drawn on the First State Bank of Douglas in 1929 and 1930. Eight dated 1938-1939 were on account at the Converse County State Bank. One, dated 1940, was from the Lusk State Bank. This sample is too small to draw any accurate conclusions, but may indicate that after the earlier small town bank failures, they were utilizing larger banks, presumably with greater assets, in larger communities. The sample is also insufficient to define spending patterns, but drafts were written to a variety of individuals and businesses. A few examples are purchase of gasoline and oil, tractor repairs, agricultural seed and supplies from neighbors, auto parts, lumber, $5.00 at a pool hall, a new kitchen stove ($88.25, Wrought Iron Range Co., November 1930), groceries, land, doctor bills and other unrecorded expenses.

Edwards was a hard worker, driven to succeed in spite of the obstacle created by his racially determined status as a second class citizen. He never stopped to eat a midday meal because it would have interfered with his daily goals. He said his brand, $\frac{16}{1}$ (sixteen bar one, on the left ribs of his cattle and the left shoulder of his horses), represented the ratio of sixteen White men who lived in the neighborhood to one Black man. Overt racism was not a problem around Lost Springs, where "only a few people were afraid of them and made remarks about 'this country [was] no place for a nigger.' " Only a few neighbors avoided Edwards because of his race. He was generally accepted as equal, but "[t]here are always some people who hate

negroes even though they do not know them."[16] The situation in the Harney Hills may have resulted from the small number of Blacks in the area who consequently were not threatening to their White neighbors, or to unusually open-minded attitudes on the part of local Whites. In spite of this general lack of local prejudice, however, Jim Crow lived out West, too.[17] Consequently, Edwards was often wary in his dealings with Whites, especially women. He lived through a time when the lynching of Black men for allegedly assaulting White women was often applauded and few of the White majority burdened themselves with concerns about due process of law or guaranteed protection of rights until proven guilty. Between 1914 and 1920, 382 Blacks were lynched in the United States and many others imprisoned or executed under questionable circumstances.[18] When the course of his work took him to a neighboring ranch, Edwards consistently refused even to dismount his horse, much less enter the house, if a woman was home alone.[19] When he did accept an invitation to stop, he invariably ate in the kitchen or outside while the family dined. It should be recalled that Edwards first came to Lost Springs after being driven from a Wyoming mining job in a racial confrontation with White miners. Perhaps the lynching of a jailed Black man, even in the supposedly liberal, enlightened university town of Laramie in 1904, served to keep the need for caution fresh in his mind. The turn of the century murder of another Black homesteader with the audacity to settle in the Equality State, near Casper, possibly did not escape his attention either. The message that Blacks could not rely on the law to protect them from White hatred no doubt was driven home repeatedly by subsequent lynchings in Rock Springs in 1917 and Green River in 1918.[20] Edwards' consciousness of his tenuous position in western society could only have been underscored by Wyoming laws prohibiting inter-racial marriage, passed in 1913, and another permitting the establishment of segregated schools as late as the 1960s in defiance of the state constitution. As in much of American history, the early decades of the 20th century are remembered as a bleak era for Blacks. They faced continued oppression, especially those who successfully acquired money and education. Woodrow Wilson's administration was decidedly racist and expanded segregation. In 1913, Booker T. Washington wrote, "I have never seen the colored people so discouraged and bitter as they are at the present time."[21]

A large part of Edwards' success is attributable to his wife, Lethel. She was described as "small, very neat, clean, quiet" and light complected.[22] She did not try to straighten her hair, which was combed down neatly. Her parents may have been born slaves. They cooked on Mississippi River steamboats until her father developed tuberculosis and they moved to Telluride, Colorado, where he continued to cook for a short time before his death. Subsequently his widow, Marie Dawson, and her two children, Lethel and Doris, moved to Denver. Lethel, born between 1895 and 1900, was the oldest. She was fashionable, educated (possibly even at the college level) and bright. She was eager to try new technologies and techniques that would improve life and production. She was an accomplished musician and excellent pianist. She sang at the Black Hills Passion Show with some of her students, at the Lusk fair, at funerals and numerous other gatherings. During the three years Union Oil spent drilling a (dry) test well near the Edwards' homestead, she taught music to the children of the drillers. According to one unreliable source, Lethel also sang in the choir at the Congregational Church in Lusk where they were members and had contributed money to help build the structure.[23] Nuttall said the Edwards did not belong to a church.[24] A minister friend from Denver, who was also an artist, did visit and preach three or four times a year though, and Lethel helped with the church choir at the Baptist Church in Lusk one summer. She preferred religious music, including both Black spirituals and old European hymns, but joked during the 1930s with neighbors Mable Howard and Catherine Nuttall about opening a nightclub for ranchers in the Harney Hills. She also enjoyed western folk music. After she and Jim were married in Denver in 1914, she brought a baby grand piano to the two room cabin that would be their home. Jim was not musical and neither sang nor played an instrument.

One wonders what possessed a sophisticated young city girl to marry a rancher many years her senior, leave familiar surroundings in a community with a large Black population, and move to what must have seemed a desolate and uniformly caucasian part of a largely unpopulated state. Perhaps she recognized Denver's growing racial tension and wanted to escape the sinister stirrings of organized bigotry for a home with the attractive nickname, "The Equality State." A few years later, in the early 1920s, Denver's 6,000 Blacks were opposed by 17,000 local members of the Ku Klux Klan. That organization was so powerful that its leaders willingly associated with it in news photos and articles, and even "frequently requisitioned men and vehicles from the police department" for their own purposes.[25] Lethel must also have recognized Jim as an up and comer. Already he was selling cattle in Denver. He wore good clothes, was six feet tall (she was 5'2"), attractive and slender, and had nice manners. Ruth Grant described him as "soft spoken, polite, clean about his person, and amiable." Jim's color was very dark brown, literally black, his full head of hair was cropped short, and he sometimes wore a small mustache. Except for his skin color, Jim looked and acted the part of a classic Old West cowboy. He was a "tall, athletic, lanky cowboy [who] rolled Bull Durham cigarettes, [was] quiet, polite, [quarrelsome] only when drinking, clean and well kept." Although Lethel disapproved of any kind of alcohol, Jim liked whiskey and if he went to town alone he usually got drunk. Even during Prohibition it was a simple matter to get liquor from bootleggers and local moonshiners. There is no evidence that Edwards or any of their frequent visitors were

involved in rum-running themselves. Nor did Edwards swear, but that may have been because "Lethel was very religious and . . . didn't approve."[26]

Whatever the attraction, Jim and Lethel struggled together to fulfill the American dream of success. Other Blacks questioned whether participation and membership in White society was a worthwhile goal, though. DuBois wrote, ". . . one ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body."[27] No matter how successful a Black person was, they were still seen first as Black and thus, even if proud of it, were not fully accepted as equals in the dominant White society. The Edwards were to deal with this dichotomy for the remainder of their lives. Liquor loosened Jim's tongue on one occasion during a moment of rage, frustration and anguish, probably during the 1920s. While in Lost Springs he entered the old hotel for a drink or two. This business served as a meeting place for people to eat, play cards and visit, regardless of race. Edwards, resentful after being heckled by some of the other patrons responded, "Y'all call me 'Nigger Jim' now, but someday you'll call me Mr. James Edwards!"[28] It is clear that though he was already financially well off, he did not feel accepted as an equal to Whites, but rather, that at mid-life he was determined to become so and did not accept his lower rank in society. It might be appropriate to note at this point that Jim was not without prejudices of his own. Like most Wyomingites of his day, "Jim didn't like Mexicans."[29]

Marie Dawson also moved to Wyoming, though it is not known if she and her youngest daughter, Doris, came immediately. Both filed large homestead claims several miles west of Edwards' on December 29, 1916.[30] The claims were north of a high, boulder covered hill called Rocky Top, or Rough Top locally. Marie had a small cabin in which she stayed during the summers to prove up on her claim. She continued to spend the winter months at home in Denver. She listed her address as 2301 Washington Street when endorsing checks in May and October, 1929. Both were drawn on the Edwards' account, one in the amount of $125.00 to pay a debt owed Dr. I. S. Huffer, M.D., suggesting a possible medical problem at that time. Her cabin was a typical homestead shack, 12 feet square, one room, built of sawn lumber and tarpaper. The land was fenced and the cabin was situated on a ridge above a small spring. Jim and Lethel checked on her frequently until she moved in with them about 1940. Mrs. Dawson, as she was called, was about 4'9" tall, light complected, and wore her hair in an old style with many small braids all over her head. Although she was very old, she gave the appearance of good health, not even wearing glasses. She was reticent and seldom talked, even around Lethel, although the two were very fond of each other. She and Jim also got along well. Whenever anyone else was around she busied herself in the kitchen. She did much of the housework and kept the place very neat. At an unknown date, probably before 1920, Doris moved to Salt Lake City. Marie joined her about 1943. Although her background, including education, is a mystery, she was apparently literate.

The White ranchers in the area respected Lethel and addressed her as Mrs. Edwards. This may have been due in part to traditional courtesy or deference towards women in that time and place. Nevertheless, her energy, intelligence, ability, the diligence with which she worked, and her refined ways caused them to admire her. Although he too was respected by most, Jim did not get the polite title of "Mr." He was known as "Nigger Jim," or simply "Jim." This prefix seems to have been quite common for Black homesteaders in Wyoming. Depending on context and the speaker, it may or may not have been intended in a derogatory fashion. Most people did not think anything of using the title. Indeed, they probably did not think about it at all. Had anyone given it any thought, they doubtless would have said it was no different than calling a German "Dutch Charlie." Chuck Engebretson, a rancher in the area, said "nigger" was not intended as slur in Jim's case.[31] But, because he was Black, aware of his different status before the law and in the eyes of the majority of White Americans, and was familiar with all the different usages and intents behind the word, Jim recognized the label as derogatory and disliked it intensely. So did Marie. When a young White man came to the door once and asked

Lethel Edwards and dog, Jack, sometime before 1934.

to speak to "Nigger Jim," the old woman coldly responded, "You all want to see James Edwards."[32]

The original dwelling on the homestead to which Jim brought his bride was a two room log cabin. Earl Eutsler and his father, who ranched about five miles northeast, built it.[33] They may have been hired for the job by the Willson brothers. The cabin was constructed of logs which were probably cut in the cedar groves on the Harney Hills just south of the homestead. Its two rooms were later used as the kitchen and front (living) room where the house was enlarged.

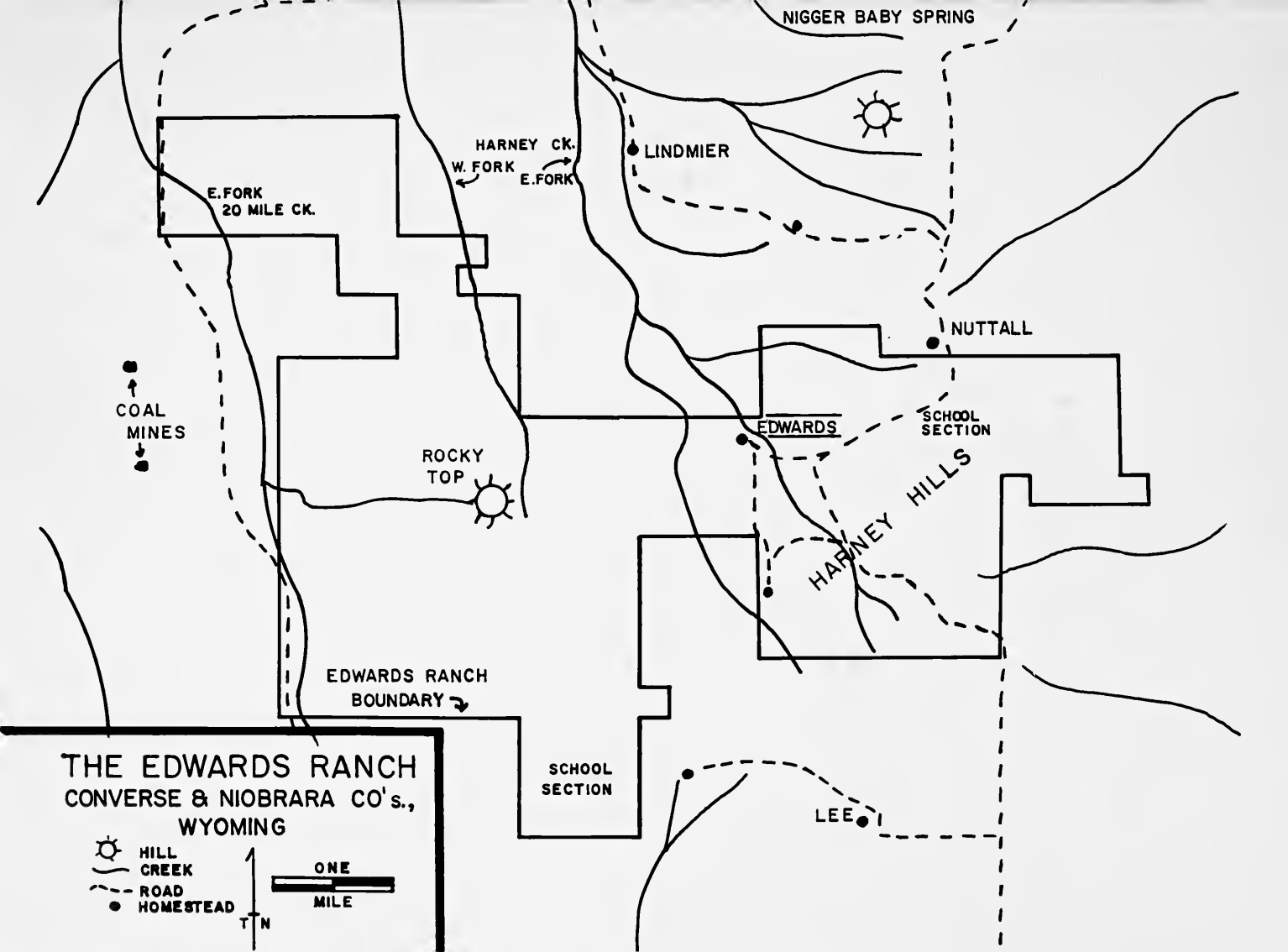
Lethel was responsible for the many improvements to the cabin, which were initiated only a few years after her arrival. Eventually, the house would become almost palatial by rural Wyoming standards. Sometime between about 1914 and 1917, the Union Oil Company began the first of three or four years of drilling for oil just north of the Edwards homestead.[34] Jim, at Lethel's urging, got a job hauling fuel oil and water from the town of Keeline to the well site by team and wagon. This brought in extra cash used to defray construction expenses. The money occasionally seemed not quite worth the dangerous effort when the heavy tank wagon bogged down or even tipped over. On at least one occasion, Edwards needed the help of a neighbor and another team to get pulled clear of the mud and moving again.

Jim Edwards, ca. 1930.

Edwards added in 1918 or 1919 a master bedroom, plumbing, downstairs bathroom with a shower and stool, front porch, garage, two second story bedrooms and an upstairs bathroom, all of frame construction. The front (south) porch was enclosed and made into a library and sunroom in 1934. In 1940, the unpainted external front and side walls were faced beautifully with large, round granite and quartzite stones that Lethel gathered into piles on the prairie for Jim to collect later with a team and wagon. This gave the house the substantial appearance of having been built of stone, and made it much tighter and warmer in the winter. Today, a few piles of Lethel's stones remain uncollected, scattered across the prairie. The trim of the house was painted a pale, creamy yellow.[35] In 1987, remnants of piping for hot and cold water and a toilet were located in the upstairs bathroom, but Nuttall said that when the Edwards lived in the house, no running water was available upstairs. Instead, a basin and pitcher were located in the small washroom at the head of the stairs. The flooring in the house was tongue and groove 1" by 4" fir throughout, with the exceptions of the west entrance hall and downstairs bathroom, which both had concrete floors. The open wooden stairway with ornately turned spindles in the banister led up from the front room. All the interior walls were covered with plaster and lath and were painted or papered.

The Edwards' hot and cold running water and shower were remarkable on a Wyoming ranch of that era. In the 1920s and 1930s, Saturday night was "bath night" on most ranches. To bathe, Nuttall had to carry water uphill from a spring a quarter mile west. It was, typically, heated on the kitchen stove and then poured into the large galvanized tub on the floor in front of the stove. An old song went, "Well water's low, nearly out of sight, we can't take a bath till Saturday night." Bathing and the use of deodorants and bath powders did not become common until the 1950s or later when electricity reached the rural areas and supplied ranches with pressurized water systems. In an age when most rural western families, White or Black, lived in a crowded room or two at ground level with no amenities, the Edwards' impressive house does not seem to have caused much, if any, racially complicated jealousy from the neighbors. It was, however, the talk of the neighborhood. Following its abandonment, there were even suggestions that it be turned into a museum until cattle got inside and ruined the interior.

Like the house, the outbuildings were of high quality. A windmill up the slope to the south pumped water into a tower faced with stones to match the house. The room beneath the tank contained a stove to prevent the water from freezing during the long cold winters. The elevation of the tank was sufficient to pressure water into the upstairs faucets. The corrals, possibly the most important structures on a ranch, were built solidly of logs, planks and stone. Oddly, and suggestive that Edwards may not have been raised in an agricultural setting, the corrals and barns were


NIGGER BABY SPRING
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E. FORK
LINDMIER
E. FORK
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NUTTALL
COAL
MINES
EDWARDS
SCHOOL
SECTION
ROCKY
TOP
HARNEY HILLS
EDWARDS RANCH
BOUNDARY
SCHOOL
SECTION
LEE
THE EDWARDS RANCH
CONVERSE & NIOBRARA CO's.,
WYOMING
HILL
CREEK
ROAD
HOMESTEAD
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located uphill from the other buildings. This necessitated excavation of a drainage ditch through the yard to prevent the run-off from washing manure into the other buildings. This ditch is now almost completely washed in. One barn, built of log and stone, was quite substantial and divided into several sections along its east-west axis. Another, also aligned east-west a short distance north of the first, and probably newer, was evidently of frame construction placed on a poured concrete foundation. The bunkhouse was located immediately east of the latter barn and connected to it by a short sidewalk. This structure was nicer than many homestead cabins. It had two rooms, windows, a stove, internal walls nailed over the studs, and two beds to accommodate four adults. A simple ice-house was dug into a bank northwest of the house. It was little more than a hole in the ground covered by poles and straw, but it served the purpose. Ice was cut at a spring east of the house and at the main springs over on Harney Creek. A frame chicken coop and another unidentified, collapsed frame structure, complete the ruins observed at the site. The outbuildings were unpainted. There are indications other structures may have existed.

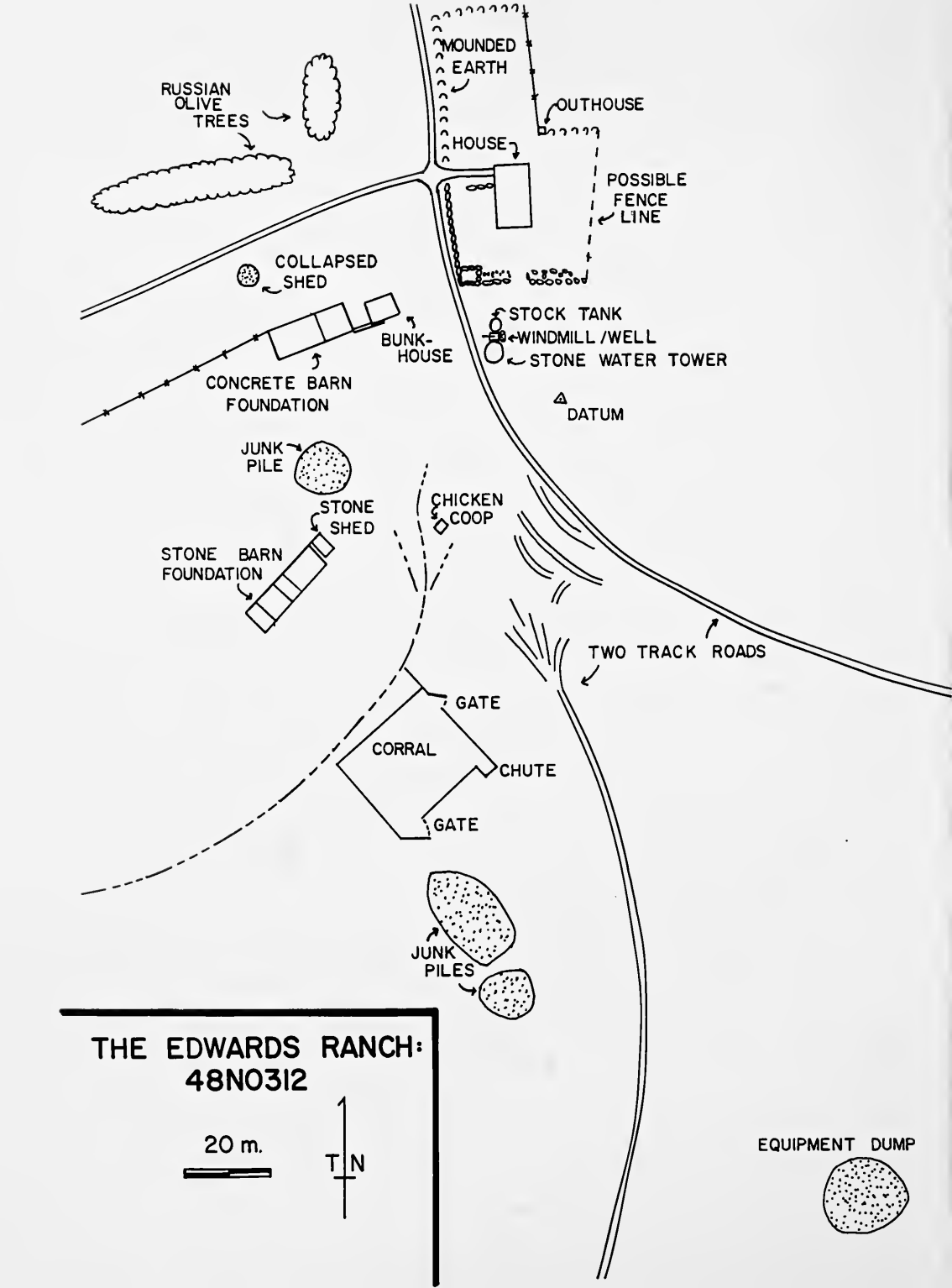
After Edwards abandoned the homestead in the 1950s, people flocked in to scavenge the dumps and haul away anything of use or value left behind, including the flat building stones used in the barn. Worn out equipment had been deposited on the hillside about a quarter of a mile south of the buildings. As smaller household goods wore out or were discarded, they were deposited in a trash heap across the creek east of the house. That dump could not be located in 1987 and presumably either washed away or is now covered.

Unlike the majority of ranchers, Jim did not do his own building or carpentry. Indeed, he "could hardly drive a nail."[36] Consequently, they hired the work done. Supplies were purchased in Keeline, Lost Springs and Custer, South Dakota. During the Depression years of the 1930s, Jim usually had two or three young Black men come from Denver to work for him in exchange for room and board. They were responsible for much of the menial labor, stock tending, maintenance and construction at the place, and had to "work HARD."[37] Jim also hired a few Mexican sheep herders to tend his flocks. Occasionally he employed Whites as well for various jobs. Jim rarely built fence and his employees typically did not, either. If his neighbors wanted to keep his stock out of their pastures, or vice-versa, they had to build it. Jim was either a firm believer in the perpetuation of the open range, or raised in an urban environment and unaware of rural etiquette. It is also possible that he did not want to hinder access to his land for stray cows and unbranded calves. He did assist the Nuttalls with some fencing on one occasion when their cattle bothered him.

The Great Depression resulted in beef prices and consumption falling drastically. Farm prices dropped 60 percent, but production decreased only 6 percent creating a huge excess of unmarketable produce. By 1932, ranchers were experiencing the worst depression in their economic history. Between 1929 and 1933, farm income was cut in half. The Federal Surplus Relief Corporation purchased livestock from failing ranchers in 1933, 1934 and 1936 and slaughtered many right where they stood on the range. Like the brief depression following World War I, this period also experienced unfavorable weather. A series of droughts, worst in 1934, wreaked havoc on the native prairie vegetation needed to support the cattle. In the mid- and late 1930s, federal relief was almost three times as great per capita in the agriculturally dependent state of Wyoming as in the rest of the country. In 1935, 17 percent of Wyoming residents were on relief. In 1936, the Resettlement Administration purchased 320,000 acres in eastern Wyoming in order to institute conservation practices. The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 withdrew nearly all remaining unappropriated land still in the public domain. By 1936, 143 million acres were affected. This was a devastating era in the history of the Wyoming cattle industry. Numerous ranches and farms failed, resulting in many displaced families and abandoned homesteads.[38]

Unlike so many of their peers, the Edwards successfully weathered those hard times. They utilized the fantastically inexpensive labor pool provided by unemployed members of the Black community in Denver. They adopted some of the new conservation techniques, including planting a windbreak of Russian Olive trees, well adapted to arid regions, northwest of the house. Jim also took advantage of government assistance programs to build small reservoirs, build some fence and raise wheat. They managed to keep major operating expenses low, and find markets for what they produced. They even invested in a restaurant on the Sandbar in Casper, for which they supplied much of the meat.[39] Edwards managed to expand his holdings during this period. He traded some horses to Lewis Lee for one parcel, and bought and sold with other neighbors as well.

In the fall of 1936, Jim proved, with his neighbors, that "he thought it very important to vote." Jim, Bill Nuttall and Warren Larson shoveled through miles of deep snow drifts to reach a ranch owned by Gene Willson. Catherine Nuttall was staying there to care for Willson's and Nuttall's cattle, but they all needed to go to Keeline to vote. Lethel was visiting her many friends in Denver as she often did for a week at a time, so did not vote in that election, but normally exercised her right to suffrage. Jim was a Republican and thus probably voted for Kansas Governor Alf Landon in the presidential race. Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate, won nearly twice as many popular votes and 523 electoral votes to Landon's eight. Some observers feared the collapse of the two-party system. Black voters in northern cities, where Edwards was probably from originally, had traditionally been Republicans. During the 1930s many changed the affiliation to the Democrats, attracted by the New Deal response to the misery


MOUNDED EARTH
OUTHOUSE
RUSSIAN OLIVE TREES
HOUSE
POSSIBLE FENCE LINE
COLLAPSED SHED
STOCK TANK
WINDMILL /WELL
STONE WATER TOWER
BUNK-HOUSE
CONCRETE BARN FOUNDATION
DATUM
JUNK PILE
CHICKEN COOP
STONE SHED
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T N
EQUIPMENT DUMP

caused by the Depression. Edwards, having adopted a rural western lifestyle, was not a part of the eastern, urban Black trends.[40] One is inclined to wonder what he thought of Roosevelt's "Black Cabinet," as the many highly educated Black advisors to the President were called. Roosevelt has been called "the most appealing president since Abraham Lincoln" to Black Americans.[41] He was obviously an improvement on Herbert Hoover, who nominated a White supremacist to the Supreme Court, favored southern White Republicans over Blacks, and appeared unconcerned by their suffering. The President however, never endorsed two important goals of the civil rights movement, a federal law prohibiting lynching and abolition of the poll tax. Additionally, some New Deal programs were hostile to Blacks. The Agricultural Adjustment Act forced many Black tenant farmers and share-croppers off the land. Two federal housing agencies hindered progress by refusing to guarantee Black mortgages on houses purchased in White neighborhoods and by financing segregated housing projects. The Civilian Conservation Corp. was segregated, as were many Tennessee Valley Authority sponsored projects. In response to the National Recovery Administration's agreeing to lower wages for Blacks and not Whites, a Black newspaper wrote that the NRA might be "a predatory bird instead of a . . . messenger of happiness."[42] Many service positions such as waiters and janitors, frequently held by Blacks, were excluded from social security coverage and minimum wage provisions of the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. Edwards may or may not have been aware of all these factors. It cannot be determined whether he supported the Republican party in response to factors such as those discussed, as a matter of tradition, or for some other reason.

The Edwards always had good cars and good clothes. The vehicles were purchased used, but in good condition. They drove a team and buggy until acquiring their first auto in the late 1920s, when such conveyances were still a novelty in the area. They owned three at different times, a Dodge with a rumble seat, a Buick touring car and a Chevrolet. They never owned a pickup truck, instead using teams and wagons for all hauling. Catherine Nuttall was a young school teacher in Lost Springs when she first met the Edwards in 1931 at the Hitshew home where she boarded. She came home from school one day to discover Lethel seated in the kitchen waiting for Jim and Charlie Hitshew to get the Edwards' car pulled out of the mud with a team of horses. Lethel was frail, very quiet and dressed nicely in a black fur coat for their drive to Douglas and back. After marrying and moving to a ranch just east of Edwards', Nuttall rode "to Douglas *once* with Jim and Lethel," about 1935, before they had a car of their own. "That was enough," they said, as the old cavalryman was "a very reckless driver and [they] were glad to get home safely."[43] Lethel did not drive the autos, but could handle a team. She could also ride and had two saddle horses, one a baldface, the other a stocking legged bay.

The Edwards' material lifestyle was comparable to that of most Americans, but ahead of the times in the rural West. Because they were contemporary Americans, they consequently outpaced their neighbors in more ways than just having a fine two story home with hot and cold running water, expensive, fashionable clothes, and an automobile. Their telephone was installed extraordinarily early for a Wyoming ranch when the oil company drilling nearby ran a phone line past their house during World War I. Neighbors did not get telephones until 1934 or electricity until 1964.[44] They also had the first pressurized kerosene cook stove in the area, which was easier to use and meant not having to cook over smoky coal or wood fires, plus a kitchen that was not unbearably hot in the summer. They also had the first pressure cooker, which Lethel used extensively while canning garden produce and meat. The first radio in the area, powered by batteries, was installed in the Edwards' house in 1930. It was an Atwater Kant shelf model. "Denver was the main station that everyone listened to. It was a rare event to get Chicago at night."[45] How they recharged the batteries is unknown since they did not have a wind generator.

In short, the Edwards were the aristocrats of the neighborhood in spite of the cultural hindrance created by White attitudes toward their race. It is interesting that even during the nationwide upsurge in bigotry, intolerance and Ku Klux Klan activity during the 1920s and 1930s—called "the most powerful social movement of the decade in terms of numbers and political influence"[46]—the Edwards were not harassed in spite of their conspicuous affluence when so many White farmers and ranchers were living in poverty and failing financially. The Edwards "had above average nice things, [but] no one thought of them as being wealthy," even though their ranch was also "above average" in size.[47]

Jim and Lethel's daily activities were quite different. Their tasks were divided along gender based lines as was typical of homestead families. Jim's days were devoted primarily to caring for the large stock. This kept him busy from dawn to dusk most of the year. "Jim was a splendid horseman, and handled teams of horses with expertise."[48] Much of his time was spent horseback, riding over many miles of the beautiful, rugged landscape on unshod horses. Edwards took exceptional care of his livestock and encouraged those around him to do the same. One morning, after watching a youthful Bill Nuttall weather the bucking of an unruly horse, he commented, "Kid, if you'd throw away those spurs and feed your horse some oats he wouldn't buck on you that way."[49] Edwards never used spurs. Like most cowboys Jim carried a lariat on his saddle, but "he wasn't too good [with a rope]. Just fair."[50] He normally dressed in blue jeans and cowboy boots, which were a must for safe riding. He sometimes wore work or dress trousers and flat soled shoes depending on the circumstances.

Work on horseback always had potential for danger. A spooky horse, or a mount that stumbled in a treacherous location, could maim or kill an unlucky rider. Lightning was another source of danger. A mounted rider was sometimes the highest target on the prairie. A Mexican sheepherder working for Jim, named Chavez, was struck during an afternoon thunderstorm one June. When he came to, his back was badly burned by the picket chain attached to the horse's reins, which had been flung over his back. The nails in his boot soles also burned the bottoms of his feet. Strangely, his horse survived too, but the sheepdog that had been next to them was killed. After he managed to crawl several miles to the Edwards' buildings, Jim took him to the doctor in Douglas. Chavez later recovered.

Jim carried a gun everywhere he went and was a good shot. It was common for cowboys to carry guns, which were used to kill "rattlesnakes, badgers, porcupines, prairie dogs, and other varmints," and were also "handy to get a grouse, sage chicken, or rabbit for supper."[51] When on horseback he carried a handgun. While herding sheep he either carried a rifle or kept it close by in the sheep wagon. His rifle was a .32-20, a versatile caliber introduced about 1882, which fired a bullet rather large for the amount of powder behind it, but was adequate for use on deer, rabbits, coyotes or other targets at ranges of about 200 yards or less. A variety of arms manufacturers produced many different models of this caliber weapon in several price ranges through the years. It is remembered primarily because the ammunition it used could be fired in either rifles or pistols. Bearse, referring to the .32-20, writes, "Many frontiersmen found it advantageous to have one cartridge for use in rifles and sixguns."[52] It was a fairly popular rifle until other models were introduced in this century, but Jim seemed content to continue carrying it. His pistol was a .45 caliber single action Colt, which did not fire a compatible cartridge, however.

Edwards raised thoroughbred saddle horses, Hereford cattle, sheep and high quality Percheron draft horses, a breed preferred by those who could afford them. He also had twenty or thirty hogs which he allowed to roam the open range and ruin his neighbors' yards and hay meadows, much to their vexation. He had 80 acres in oats and raised a good grade of macaroni wheat on another 80 acres. Jim furnished the land and seed, but contracted out the labor. Each party received half of the harvest. His fields were on the north side of the Harney Hills and produced about 20 bushels per acre. He also had about 40 acres in hay, which was stacked, never baled. He got about one ton of hay per acre. None of his land, crop or pasture, was irrigated. Four acres northwest of the house were tilled for a garden. *Ebony* gives obviously inflated statistics: 1,000 cattle, 9,000 sheep, 200 horses, 5,000 chickens and 500 hogs, in addition to 200 acres plowed.[55] Experienced area ranchers familiar with the Edwards' holdings and the carrying capacity of the local rangelands, give more plausible estimates: a total of about 200 cows and calves, 30 or 40 horses, 1,500 sheep, 200 chickens, 40 turkeys, 30 guinea hens and 25 hogs.[54] Edwards ran his stock on sixteen sections of land which he owned and two school-sections rented from the state, in addition to using portions of the remaining open range. During the short summers, most of the stock was pastured in the vicinity of Rocky Top. Horses ran there year around. During the winter and spring, the other animals normally grazed on the exceptionally good grass in Jim's Harney Hills pasture. Those figures represent the peak of the Edwards' production during the late 1930s and early 1940s. His share of the wheat was sold at the elevator in Keeline. Lambs were shipped to Denver and Chicago, cattle to Omaha and Denver, dressed turkeys and chickens to Casper and Chicago. Getting stock to market meant trailing them to a railhead. Ranchers in the Harney Hills generally drove them to Shawnee, Lost Springs, Keeline or even Manville. Between the 1930s and 1950s cattle were sold to local buyers.

Lethel's days were also full. She had a number of valuable skills including cabinet making, furniture upholstering, sewing (particularly beautiful curtains), braiding rag rugs and keeping Jim's hair trimmed. With her mother's help, the house was kept meticulously clean. She kept only a few house plants, including geraniums and wandering jews, usually on the sunporch. They also were responsible for preserving all the garden produce and cooking each meal for all the help and any guests that happened to be present at mealtime. After saying grace, Lethel always served the large meals for the family, guests and hired men in the kitchen. Her mother made baking powder biscuits for every meal. Any leftovers were fed to the dogs. In the spring, Lethel planted the large garden, but left its care and maintenance in the hands of the seasonal help. Like most ranch women her age, she never wore pants even to work in, only dresses. Younger women however, sometimes wore blue jeans. She and her mother usually wore white, tie-around-the-waist aprons to protect their clothing. On hot summer afternoons, when kids from ranches to the north would ride through the Edwards' yard to reach the county road and pick up the mail, Lethel enjoyed going outside to give them a drink from the well. She never invited them into the house, though.

She raised all the fowl on the place, which included chickens, ducks, turkeys and guinea hens. By taking a university extension class in Casper she learned how to caponize them, and about 1934 generously held demonstrations to teach her neighbors the skill. Lethel shipped high quality dressed turkeys to Chicago for a time and received complimentary letters in return addressed to "The Turkey Lady, Keeline, Wyoming." She also did the bookkeeping and business affairs for the entire ranch operation because "Jim was not a businessman."[55] Although everyone knew her as Lethel, she signed the checks, Ethel Edwards.

Because they never had children, Lethel was not faced with the time consuming task of childcare. Although she and Jim liked children, probably even wanted them, it was

out of the question. Her health was never good, and pregnancy would have been dangerous for her.

The Edwards were almost always friendly and polite with their neighbors. As was customary in an agricultural community, they traded labor at certain times of the year such as haying, lamb docking, sheep shearing, branding, etc. Edwards even loaned his horses to people needing an extra team or two.[56] They always gave the Nuttalls a freshly dressed lamb when they sold in the fall. Mabel Lindmier described him as a "wonderful man" who would ride up to talk, come inside if her husband was home, and help them do anything.[57] The Nuttalls described him as "very neighborly."[58] Ruth Grant elaborated:

> My father, William Lindmier, Sr., came here to homestead in 1916. Dad always said of [Jim] that he would help homesteaders whenever they asked. He harbored no resentment towards them, nor did the homesteaders resent Jim. However, it was a fact that the homesteaders learned quickly that Jim was not altogether to be trusted—by this I mean that he always managed to be compensated for any service he performed—nothing was "for free." My father said of Jim, "That coon would promise you that he would do anything for you, but you had better see that the promise was kept the day it was made, or he would conveniently forget his commitment." Even though no one exactly trusted [Jim], I never heard of anyone ever coming to physical blows with him. Everyone just had to watch him pretty closely, for he was a sly individual. He was soft spoken . . . and amiable, but also was able to look out for his own interests, and those of others which would benefit him in the long run.[59]

Late in life, Edwards reportedly told of some neighboring ranchers having tried to "horn in" on his land, but that he fought them off in gunbattles. "No man will ever run Jim Edwards from his land! Let'em know right away that you're going to fight for what you own. Just because a man's colored is no reason for people to think he's a coward."[60] Shootouts in the 20th century West were uncommon. This passage may have been fabricated by the article's author to entertain readers. Certainly, none of his neighbors ever heard of his involvement in a shootout. If the quoted passage is authentic, Jim was probably referring to confrontations other than gunfights. Edwards did have occasional encounters with violence through the years, but some of them were of his own making. For example, he once bought, but characteristically failed to pay for, a hay rake from Doug Fowler, a neighbor. When the latter's brother, Wade, subsequently went over to reclaim the rake, Edwards said he was going to pay and would not let Fowler take it. After a heated argument there was a fight which Jim evidently won. No one ever knew exactly what happened, but Fowler had two black eyes and a bruise on his cheek afterwards. Perhaps Edwards had a "gun battle" by pistol-whipping Fowler, who began to "carry a gun for Jim."[61]

Edwards frequently neglected to pay his debts. In similar incidents, he bought an old tractor for plowing in the late 1930s, even though he used horses for most projects. Joe Kuhn, the dealer in Lusk, eventually had to repossess it. On at least two occasions the Edwards were taken to court by creditors. On January 7, 1927, they signed a promissory note for $159.79 to Abe Friedman at 8 percent interest until maturity on April 1, 1927. A small part of the debt was paid a year later, in February, 1928, but in October of that year they were summoned to court for a civil suit to recover principal, interest and legal fees amounting to $133.87. Edwards did not appear, so after waiting for one hour the judge decided against him. Court costs were an additional $7.75. The Edwards may have been short of cash at this time for they still did not pay the debt. In December, 1928, an officer of the court placed attachments on one phonograph and records, one farm wagon, one hayrack and wagon, one hay rake, one disk-drill, one spring wagon, and one set of harness. Edwards signed the document, "I accept this attachment but [illegible] said articles are [already] mortgaged. James Edwards." Later, in 1937, Sam Joss obtained a judgment against Edwards on a mortgage lien for $3,646.84. The judge awarded Joss nearly 1,000 acres of land appraised at $2,320.00. Edwards redeemed the debt in January, 1938, with a payment of $3,931.36 to Joss, covering fees and interest at seven percent.[62]

Edwards' lackadaisical attitude toward repaying debts and favors carried into other areas also. He often "borrowed" equipment from neighbors and then kept it. Lindmier loaned him a breaking plow which he did not get back until the 1950s when they discovered it discarded in a pile of old equipment.

Edwards was not the only one in the area who had people trying to horn in on his land. Sam Joss, who began working for Willson Brothers with Jim in 1900, at one time owned a parcel of land surrounded by Edwards' land to the east of the Edwards' homestead. Joss claimed the homestead about 1898. He refused to rent the land to Jim and allow the latter to "get the upper hand on him."[63] Edwards, however, used the land as though it were his own. As soon as Joss' hired man fixed the fence and left, Jim loosened the wires to give his cattle, sheep and horses access to Joss' good springs and grass.

Time and again Edwards pushed people as far as they let him. Once their limits were established they often became friendly. In 1927 or 1928, Earl Dunham, a cowboy for Fred Williams' large operation headquartered about 40 miles north of Douglas, had problems with Jim. Williams rented some grazing land from Edwards to run 100 head of cows and calves for the summer. Twice when checking the cattle Dunham found Jim's stock mixed in with them. Both times he angrily drove them out and fixed the fence. Williams told him to get along, not fight, with Jim. The third time he left to check the cattle, he put a pistol in his chaps pocket where it would be in plain sight. When he encountered Jim, whose cattle were again stealing grass that Williams had paid for, Dunham told him to keep the cattle out, "or else," implying that he would shoot them. Edwards immediately rounded up his cattle and kept them out. "Earl and Jim were always friends after that."[64]

Additionally aggravating to the neighbors were Ed-

wards' hogs—the bane of the neighborhood. Jim's wandering swine are one of the things most remembered about him. Unrestricted, they did not just eat the grass, rather, they rooted up the prairie and hay meadows everywhere they went, causing thousands of dollars worth of damage. Hardy Lee, a neighbor who lived three and a half miles to the south, in exasperation, loaded up a truck with hogs that came around his house, took them to Casper and sold them. He had the check sent to Edwards and had no more trouble thereafter as Jim kept his hogs away. Another time, a sow and her young broke into Nuttall's pasture where Bill was working with a green-broke bronc. He decided to rope her for a joke, but the horse reared and the sow freed herself from the slack loop and escaped. Jim's old employer, Gene Willson, eventually began carrying a gun to shoot any of the animals he found in his hay land north of the Edwards. Grant writes:

> He had a large bunch of razor-back hogs . . . I recall the vicious, tusked sows with half grown pigs following them coming into our yard—some three miles down Harney Creek to the north [of Edwards]. They would stand slavering and snuffling, looking for something to eat (Mother raised chickens). Running them off was a project, usually taking shots over their heads since our dogs had no luck in turning them around.[65]

Like many people who believe themselves unobserved, Edwards was not above trying his hand at a little rustling. It was said in those days when a man could ride all day without seeing another human being, "that it was stupid to eat your own beef."[66] It was much cheaper to eat someone else's, and their's tasted better, anyway. Few people ate much of their own stock; it was worth more if sold.

> One very hot day in July, Jim was riding near the Wanek ranch. He came on a nice fat three-year-old heifer belonging to Joe Wanek. Believing himself to be quite alone, Jim decided that he would drive the heifer home and butcher her. Joe Wanek witnessed the theft, but he allowed Jim to take the heifer. Later, Joe rode to the Edwards' place and accused him of the act. Of course, Jim denied everything until Joe unearthed the fresh hide of the animal which wore the U Lazy Y brand. Joe told Jim to keep the beef but that on his way home he was going to find a nice, fat heifer wearing the 16 Bar 1 and take her along. He did just that. Joe got his beef back, but the Waneks had to work hard all night canning the meat to keep it from spoiling . . .
>
> The incident did not seem to cause any lasting hard feelings, though, for both of the Wanek girls took music lessons from . . . Lethel.[67]

Bill Nuttall's first encounter with Edwards also involved a controversy over the ownership of livestock in an incident which reveals much about the Edwards and area ranch life at the time. There was a severe drought in Converse and Niobrara counties in the summer of 1919, followed by a hard winter and spring in 1920. Many ranchers did not have enough feed for their cattle so turned them out onto the open range to fend for themselves. The State Humane Society shipped hay by train to Douglas, which was then distributed to area feeding stations. One station was located on the Harney Meadows near the Edwards' place. Cattle fed there came from ranches on Walker Creek, Twenty Mile Creek and Harney Creek. Nuttall, then 16, was hired by Fred and Stella Williams to gather their cows and bring them home in early summer. He did not know the Edwards were Black as he first approached the place on horseback at about dusk. This is one of several instances in which people did not seem to think the Edwards' race important enough to mention. A young Black man, Marcus Bradley, told him to put his horse in the barn and come into the house for supper. He added that Mr. and Mrs. Edwards would return soon from their wagon trip to Keeline, thirteen or fourteen miles southeast of the ranch. Depending on the load, three or four hours were needed to drive a team and wagon between the ranch and either Keeline or Lost Springs. The trip was usually made about once a month. Jim and Lethel arrived home about eight. Bill was "quite surprised" to see they were Black, and "a little uneasy," not having been near Blacks previously. Sensing his discomfort, Lethel sat down at her piano and played a song for Jim and Bill, after which they showed him upstairs to his room. The Edwards were up and had finished milking by dawn when Nuttall heard the cream separator running in the entranceway below and went down to breakfast.

That morning Jim and Bill found three of the Williams' cows, but Jim said one was Lethel's, branded with her 3D (the brand originally belonged to a man named Dourghty who worked for Sam Joss, but was purchased along with some cattle by the Edwards). Nuttall insisted the cow was Williams', so roped and threw her, then cleaned the brand with a knife to prove his case. After their brief confrontation, Edwards called Bill "the hot-headed, red-headed kid," but they became friends and eventually neighbors.[68]

Often, cattle from neighboring ranches were discovered in Jim's pastures. When questioned, he once responded, "Mr. Bill, I just don't know how the cow got over on my place. You take her back with you."[69] If the cow had had a calf by its side, the calf usually disappeared. When a buyer once pointed out that one cow in a herd was a stray, Jim said he would take it to the owner. However, when the buyer bought the cattle, the cow was still in the herd, but it carried Jim's fresh brand then. This same buyer claimed to have encountered Jim night-riding on many occasions, and said that "Jim's rope was pretty long, and he knew how to use it," meaning not that he was a good roper, but that he was an experienced rustler.[70]

On March 18, 1915, a neighboring landowner, A. A. Spaugh, filed a complaint stating Edwards ordered John B. Tapoya to kill some of Spaugh's livestock "for mutton" in early December, 1914. Tapoya was evidently one of Edwards' subordinates in the employ of the Willson brothers. Tapoya was arrested but released on March 20 after the judge determined there was "not probable cause for holding" him. In his testimony, Edwards said that the previous autumn he branded with the Willson brothers' brand, "by mistake," approximately 20 head of some 40 Spaugh sheep at the ranch. He did not order his herders

to kill any sheep. They were instructed to bring in strays, but only skinned sheep which died naturally. By March, only ten or thirteen of Spaugh's sheep remained alive. The figure hardly supports Edwards' reputation as a skilled stock-raiser. In spite of Spaugh's failure to prove any misconduct by Edwards or Tapoya, it certainly appears that some type of illegal behavior may have taken place. When the case was dismissed, the judge ordered a frustrated and doubtless angry Spaugh to pay the prosecution costs incurred.[71]

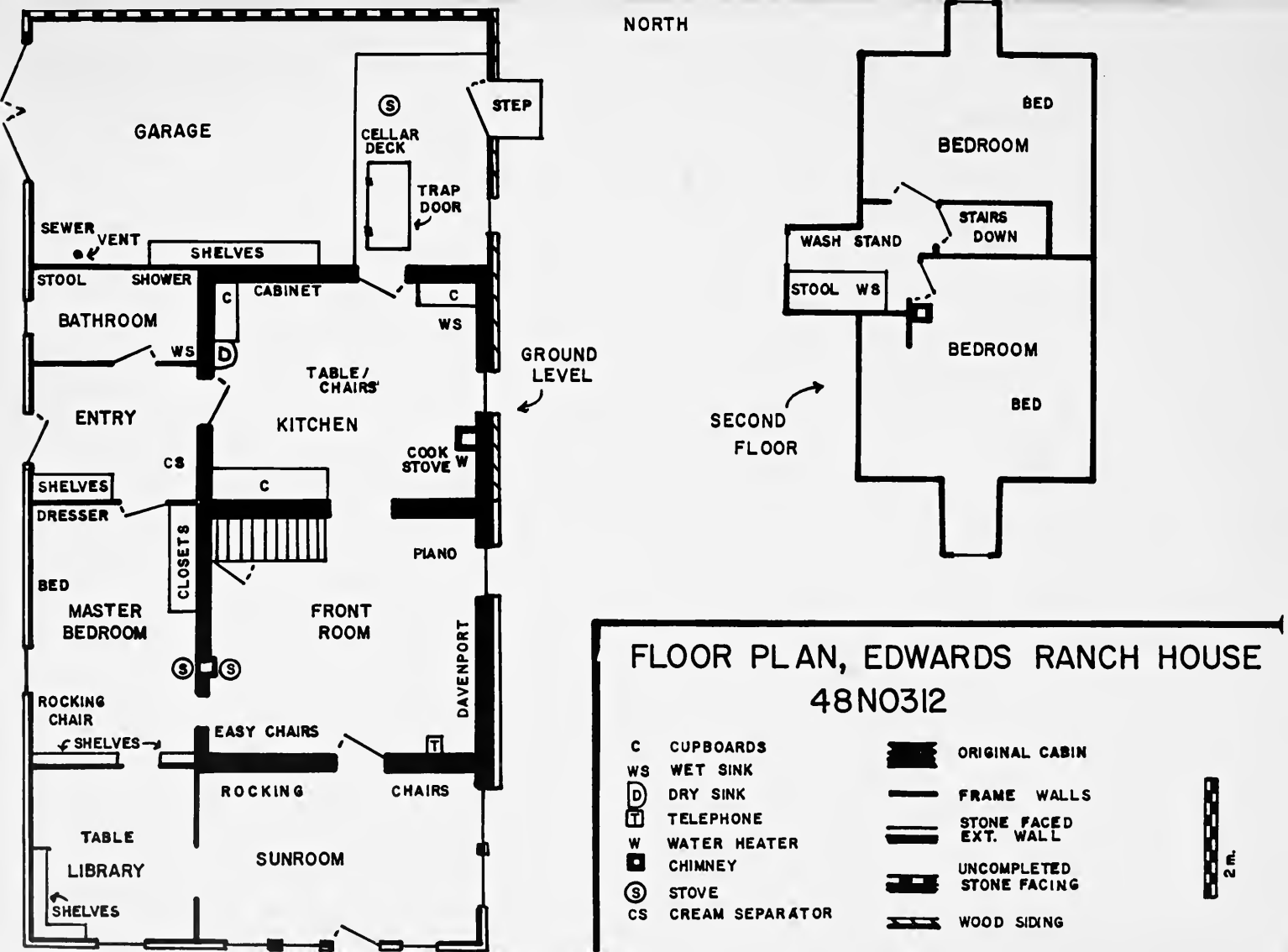
There were a few other Blacks in the area, but most were only temporary summer residents. A family named Hughes lived in the vicinity of Lost Springs year round during the 1930s. About 1933, they trailed perhaps 15 head of cattle up from the vicinity of Harrison, Nebraska. These were pastured in Edwards' Rocky Top pasture until another location could be found. They were laborers on farms and ranches but did not own their own land. They lived one summer in an old house on the Edwards' property. Hughes' step-daughter, Venessa, was 14 and helped Lethel with the cooking and housework during the busy times of lambing and shearing.[72]

J. Edwin Sizer, a young cousin of Lethel's from Minneapolis, spent many summers living on the ranch. He was described as "the blackest little boy."[73] Sizer often brought friends along, including a young White boy, Willard (Bill) Wheelock. No relatives of Jim's ever visited. If Jim's father was still living, he never saw the ranch, nor did the one brother Jim left behind in Ohio. Edwards never returned to his family home after settling near Lost Springs.

Most of the other Blacks in the area came out during the summers as a result of the Edwards' encouragement. Five or six were friends who had served in the military who came to live in their claim shacks and thus fulfill the homestead requirements for getting patents on the land they claimed. None of them raised their own stock. After proving up, which they could do in less than the normal time because of their status as veterans, they sold the land to the Edwards.[74] This was during the 1920s, and Jim paid them about $1.25 per acre, the same value the government allowed for improvements on the homesteads. Some were in the area earlier. Marcus Bradley first began his process of claiming land in 1911.[75] Thus Jim and Lethel were able to enlarge their real-estate holdings relatively inexpensively, making them very competitive with other successful ranchers in the area who did not have that advantage. Edwards evidently learned his lesson well from his days with the Willson brothers. One of these families was named Kercheval. They were originally from the deep South. During the winters he worked in the Ford garage in Douglas, she was a hairdresser. Marcus Bradley was a barber in Chadron, Nebraska. Several others were red-caps on the Union Pacific Railroad. These people were all in addition to the friends, relatives and employees from Denver and Minneapolis. Although the Edwards were the only permanent, landed Blacks in the area, their ranch in the Harney Hills was the focal point for a small Black community of their own creation. Thus, even though they lived in a predominantly White area, they did not lack for companionship from other Blacks.

This situation points out the surprising level of tolerance exhibited by the Edwards' White neighbors. Rural westerners, often called "red-necks" in the vernacular, are generally perceived as being quite conservative in racial matters, among other things. In this case, their easy-going behavior, which is also typical, might be explained because they probably did not find the Edwards themselves particularly threatening. Jim had a reputation

Jim Edwards (left) posed for this photograph with some summer visitors to his ranch.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for exercising extreme caution in his contacts with White women, a subject which could elicit frenzied hysteria in the calmest White community. Nor did they have children, who might have been perceived as threats for desiring to associate too freely or intimately with the sons or daughters of local Whites. But they were actively engaged in bringing additional Blacks into the area, any of whom might have chosen to stay. Those activities could have been viewed with apprehension in many communities. But in Lost Springs, "they were considered homesteaders, the same as white people," however, "nobody expected a railway porter, a barber, or a night watchman [for example] to stay in the country."[76] The Edwards' conspicuous affluence during times when many ranchers across the West were struggling desperately to survive financially could have been another source of conflict. The distressing, even appalling, treatment of wealthy, "uppity" Blacks by Whites has been a common literary and historical topic through the years, yet there were no such incidents directed toward the Edwards. Even Jim's proud, occasionally combative, willingness to stand up to Whites, dating back at least to his days in the cavalry, and his habitually permitting his stock to ruin other peoples' property, potentially explosive situations in other places, seemingly caused him no more trouble than they would a White man. He seems to have had even less, for many a White man was killed or jailed for stealing other peoples' livestock or damaging their property. The attitudes and behavior of the Edwards' White neighbors were not totally without prejudice, but for unexplored reasons were much more tolerant than many of their contemporaries across the nation.

The Edwards did not limit their socializing to the Blacks around them. Graciously entertaining guests in the role of a country gentleman seems to have been a big part of Jim's life, especially in the summer months when the roads were passable. Using ice from the ice-house, they treated many of their summer visitors, who came from all over the country, with homemade ice cream served in cut glass ice cream goblets (now in the possession of Catherine Nuttall) while Lethel played her baby grand piano. Many were Black friends from Denver, including "preachers and teachers" and an artist. On one occasion in the early 1930s, they invited some neighbors over to listen to a Black preacher friend who, with his wife, was visiting from Denver. As they served ice cream after the sermon, the three-year-old daughter of Warren Larson said to Lethel, "Your hands are black!!" The Larsons had not told their children that the Edwards were Black. Although the other guests were slightly embarrassed, Lethel was not and responded simply, "Yes, child."[77]

Jim and Lethel never became overly familiar or intimate with their neighbors. They did not attend dances, school parties, wedding parties, or other gatherings. There is no way of knowing whether they did so out of simple disinterest, or to avoid any risk of suffering racially motivated harassment. It is nearly inconceivable that the cautious Jim would have danced with a White woman. Attending such functions could have been unpleasantly awkward, not to mention being painful reminders of real positions in western society. Nor did they typically visit the homes of their neighbors, though some neighbors were often invited to the Edwards'. They did occasionally go to the Nuttalls', even taking their out of town guests with them. Although she was, perhaps, her best friend in the area, Catherine Nuttall always addressed Lethel formally as "Mrs. Edwards."[78]

From about 1937 to 1942 the Edwards were visited annually by some White friends who worked in a Chevrolet plant in Kansas City.[79] They had three week vacations and managed each year to pull a travel trailer to Wyoming which they parked next to the windmill. They probably helped with groceries, and the women helped Lethel cook and work around the house. Occasionally they did some riding. They were excellent singers and interested in western folksongs, which Lethel enjoyed singing with them. Catherine Nuttall taught them some songs. Favorites included, "Come a ki yi yippi yippi ya," "Red River Valley" and "Wyoming." They enjoyed popular sheet music as well, which Lethel purchased often. Some lyrics were obtained from old phonograph albums. All three women enjoyed entertaining as well. Once, with the Nuttalls and Edwards, they all participated in a Fourth of July amateur rodeo north of Lance Creek. Bill Nuttall received several cracked ribs in the wild cow milking contest, but, characteristically of the people in that day, was back at work in the hay fields the next morning.

The men were good horsemen and did a lot of riding with Jim. They also helped with some fencing and stock tending. One year they took Jim's worn old saddle back to Kansas City and had it rebuilt for him. They also gave him a beautiful bridle and saddle blanket to show their gratitude for the generous hospitality they received. The last year they visited, they hauled several loads of rock to the southwest corner of the front yard to build "a surprise." They laid up a two foot high rectangular wall before being suddenly called home. The enclosure, whose purpose was never learned, still stands unfinished in the yard.

Seldom interrupted by guests during the long, snowy winters, the Edwards were comfortable in their home. Except for an occasional visit with a neighbor, their only companions were usually their dogs. Jim's favorite was a German shepherd named Jack who accompanied him everywhere when Jim was on horseback. Jack killed rattlesnakes and was bitten several times, but always recovered. Other people considered Jack vicious, but he was affectionate towards Lethel and Jim, who kept him under control. Oddly, they did not have any cats either as house pets or mousers in the barns.

The snowbound isolation of the winter months allowed them time to read and catch up on correspondence. Both Jim and Lethel were literate, though Lethel had more formal education than Jim. Like most ranch wives, she also did most of the letter writing. They subscribed to weekly newspapers including *The Lusk Herald*

and *The Lost Springs Times*. They also took *Ebony Magazine*. Their relatively large library contained a King James Bible, a twelve volume set called The Book of Knowledge and perhaps 50 other titles.[80]

The house was kept warm by several stoves placed in the kitchen, front room and master bedroom. Because the plaster and lath ceilings were uninsulated, enough heat rose into the upstairs bedrooms to keep them habitable. No openings exist in the upstairs chimney to accommodate a stove pipe. Because the attic was also, typically of that era, uninsulated, the heat then continued on out through the roof. The stoves burned wood obtained along the creek or coal procured from several outcrops in the pastures. In the summer and fall Jim and the hired men strip-mined enough by hand to get them through the winter. There were several small commercial coal mines in the area where coal was also available. A rail embedded across the top of the front wall of the house to hold the stones over the windows of the sun room was obtained from the Rosin mine located about five miles west.[81]

The Edwards' diet was typical in many ways of Wyoming ranch families, though perhaps spiced with more variety and luxuries. They raised potatoes, green beans, turnips, cabbage and tomatoes in the garden. When the raccoons neglected to eat them all, a few ears of corn were salvaged from the corn patch. Much of the produce was laboriously canned using the large pressure cooker. For example, they canned 30 to 50 quarts of green beans each year. During the year they slaughtered an average of about three or four cattle, ten sheep, five hogs, 100 chickens and 40 turkeys. This was enough to feed themselves, the help and their many guests. When Jim first arrived, people ate a great deal of game, including deer, antelope, sage-chickens and cottontail rabbits. By the late 1920s, game animals were almost non-existent in Wyoming. Deer and antelope hunting was subsequently made illegal in the Harney Hills until about 1954.[82]

Additional quantities of the usual ranch groceries were purchased at stores in Keeline, Lost Springs, Douglas and Lusk. The Nuttalls estimated annual totals at roughly 100 lbs. dry beans, 600 lbs. flour, 200 lbs. sugar, 200 lbs. corn meal, 200 lbs. oatmeal, several hundred-pound sacks of potatoes and canned goods by the case. Other store bought foodstuffs included salt, syrup, baking soda and powder, chocolate, among others.[83]

A cellar was excavated beneath the floor of the garage with the trap door just outside the entrance to the kitchen. It was large enough to store most of the food and protect it from freezing. The garage could be heated, if necessary, by a stove placed near the back door on top of the wooden roofed cellar.

The difficult years of the Depression began to ease by 1938 as the economy slowly improved and increased precipitation levels put an end to the terrible drought. The range recovered rapidly due to the low number of stock, which began to thrive again on the rich prairie short-grasses. When World War II began, it brought a period of unparalleled prosperity that caused cattlemen to increase their production. Wartime controls ended in 1946 and prices rose even higher, making ". . . it possible for a man to buy a dogie in the morning and sell it in the afternoon for enough profit to pay for his dinner and perhaps a few drinks."[84] In the late 1940s, most cattlemen paid their debts and took care not to incur any new ones, and saved more money than they previously would have been able to in a lifetime. Many of the relatively few remaining truly large ranches sold out for high prices and the family sized operation came to dominate the scene.

Although the Edwards profited from the wartime economy, they would not enjoy with their neighbors the heady days of the postwar years. Lethel began to suffer increasingly from terrible hemorrhages. Finally, about 2:00 a.m. one morning shortly before Christmas in 1945, she began bleeding profusely from the nose. Jim frantically, but unsuccessfully, tried to telephone the Nuttalls for help when his own efforts to stop the torrents of blood failed. He then carried her to the car, hoping to drive through the snow and reach a doctor in time to save her. Lethel may have lived long enough to reach Douglas, Casper or even Denver; no one knows what happened that night except that she bled to death. She was only 45 or 50 years old. The location of her grave is unknown, but it is probably in Casper or Denver.

Following Lethel's death, the grief-stricken, 74 year-old Edwards became a recluse when home, drinking heavily and not tending the ranch, which began to crumble around him. The buildings took on an air of abandonment and decay. The formerly spotless house grew filthy. He often left for days at a time to frequent the old saloon and red-light district in Casper known as the Sandbar. He also made extended trips to Denver. He sometimes was visited, not by old friends, who began to avoid him because of his drinking, but by new people he met in bars. They came out to the ranch for riotous and destructive parties. These bacchanalian orgies were restricted to the Edwards' ranch after Nuttall threatened to shoot them if they approached the Nuttall place again.

Once after Lethel's death, two of Jim's drinking buddies brought him home with a good supply of liquor. The three began to drink heavily and Jim said he was going to shoot himself. Victor Kamp, a young White man whom Jim had hired to herd sheep, met Nuttall on the road and asked for help. He got into the pickup and they drove to Edwards', where they told Jim's friends to leave. Jim was lying on the bed beside a gun mumbling that he wanted to die. He dozed off after talking to them awhile, so they put the gun away and went home. Jim never mentioned the episode. Nuttall often looked after Jim for about four years following Lethel's death. They took him to town occasionally in their pickup, took meals to him when he was snowed in, and made sure he always had plenty of food and fuel enough to keep warm. At mid-century, Edwards

(Left to right) The bunkhouse, house, stock tank, windmill/well and stone water tower still remain from the days of Jim and Lethel Edwards.

was a slightly built, wiry old man, "with an abundance of kinky, white hair—whiter still against his very black skin."[85]

Edwards' last moment in the sun came during the winter of 1949. *Ebony Magazine*, a nationally circulated periodical for Blacks, published a feature about him. It was filled with errors and exaggerations either of Jim's or the author's making, and had the depressing title, "The Last Days of Jim Edwards."[86] Nevertheless, the renown it gave him must have been pleasing. The article called him "the greatest negro cattle rancher in all the West," and was acknowledged in a local newspaper.[87]

Not many years were required for the Edwards' hard earned fortune to disappear. Jim soon began to sell off his holdings, first the livestock, then the mineral rights underlying the land to Carl Spacht. Household items and agricultural equipment were sold piecemeal, not at auction. Some small things were given to friends.[88]

An attempt to stave off ruin came too late. Recalling Lethel's wish that he never let the ranch fall into the hands of Whites, Edwards began to look for Black stockmen who could take over after his death. He found a family named Furman at Cold Springs, Wyoming, with several sons who came to work for him and become familiar with the place.[89] Nuttall said the Furmans were miners, from Rock Springs, not Cold Springs. Two were described as "dependable," one spent much time drinking on the Sandbar. They did some farming for Jim and leased the ranch, on which they ran a few cattle purchased with a government loan.[90] Jim described them as "the cream of the crop," adding, "I feel like I can leave this world now and know that my ranch will always be a credit to my race."[91] But by this time, the buildings and remaining livestock were in poor condition and there was no money to make improvements. Nuttall said that Lethel's cousin, J. Edwin Sizer, had long expected to inherit the ranch, but that Jim lost it before that happened. In 1950, Edwards was forced to sell out to creditors Beryl Fullerton, Otto Bible and Roy Pennington.[92]

The ranch foreman and his wife who moved into the beautiful house threw out "the big, gray enamel Home Comfort cookstove, complete with a hot water reservoir," saying they would not "eat off something a nigger cooked on."[93] With no family, ignorant young Whites living in his house, and the ranch he built no longer his, Jim moved to Scottsbluff, Nebraska, where he lived briefly.

> James Edwards died from suffocation January 6, 1951, after water boiled away in a pot in which chicken was being cooked [and] filled a basement room with smoke. A companion in the room, Tillie Trimble, age 33, wife of Columbus "Monk" Trimble, also overcome by smoke was reported recovering at the Scottsbluff Hospital.

> Firemen were called to the house at 11:05 p.m. by Carmen Hernandez, age 13, niece of Steve Hernandez, who rents the upstairs rooms in the home. Carmen and her brother Rudy, age 8, reported seeing smoke pouring up through the bathroom floor and called firemen.
>
> Edwards and Tillie Trimble were found unconscious on a bed in the basement and were immediately carried outside where manual respiration aid was given until a resuscitator was brought. Edwards was pronounced dead at 11:50 p.m. by Dr. John Heinke.[94]

The Edwards' story began when Jim appeared on the Running Water owning nothing but the clothes he wore, a character reminiscent of Horatio Alger's rags to riches tales. The end of the story, however, seems almost Shakespearean in its tragedy. One cannot help but suspect that had the marriage produced a child, an heir, the story would have ended differently. Yet that ending does not diminish the remarkable and real accomplishments of their lives and the environment in which they lived.

In spite of his obvious familiarity with Jim Crow "laws" governing White and Black relations in much of the country, Edwards was more than willing to stand up to Whites verbally or physically. He was aware of his status as a second class citizen but refused to accept it. Under certain circumstances which excited deadly hysteria among Whites, such as the relations of Black men and White women, however, he accepted the need for extraordinary caution. In Wyoming he was renowned both for that caution and, at other times, his defiant behavior. The latter seems to have dated back to his military career, at least, if not further.

His aggressive, sometimes combative behavior might not have been tolerated by the dominant White culture in other areas of the country. An extraneous factor which might be considered crucial to the Edwards' success was the attitude of acceptance exhibited by the majority of Whites around Lost Springs and Harney Hills. Without that, the Edwards' efforts might have come to naught. Even today, the tradition of friendly, easy-going, openness is pervasive in the atmosphere among the Edwards' former neighbors and their descendants. The Edwards' neighbors generally accepted them not only as equals, as human beings, but even as economic superiors. While few people actually accepted them as friends, doubtless in part because of the Edwards' disinterest in socializing at public gatherings, they were admired for their success. That situation would have been intolerable in many parts of the nation. This is not to suggest that the area was without racist sentiment, conscious or otherwise, but it was not a powerful force in local human interactions. Race relations are never simple situations, but the climate of the area was generally amicable and Edwards behavior showed he was aware of its complexities. In that atmosphere, perseverance and intelligence allowed the Edwards to thrive. They became successful and admired people in their adopted home on the prairies of east-central Wyoming, and known to Blacks across the country.

Little is known of Edwards' background. He was probably not raised in a rural setting, which makes his subsequent success in agriculture and animal husbandry all the more remarkable. Like his father, he may have worked in coal mines somewhere in his native Ohio, growing up in an urban or semi-urban environment. Exactly where or when he was born, and how he was brought up can only be speculation. Even if he did not have a detailed body of knowledge pertaining to ranching when he arrived in Wyoming, he was possessed of an aggressive intelligence which allowed him to learn quickly and prosper. Starting with nothing, in a few years he managed to take what many perceived as an empty piece of the Western wilderness and turn it into a large and prosperous ranch.

After marrying, Edwards and his wife became more successful than most White ranchers of the times. Because Whites were so far in the majority, it is safe to surmise that the Edwards were more successful than most ranchers, regardless of race. Comparing them to the few, largely undocumented Black ranchers would no doubt result in the same conclusion. Within one decade he and Lethel had also managed to amass a small fortune in area banks even while purchasing additional land and livestock. Yet their spending on luxuries was far from miserly. Indeed, their home and furnishings were counted among the finest for miles around. When the banks failed they lost tens of thousands of dollars, but they had prepared so well against financial misfortune that they were able to absorb the staggering losses and still enter the Great Depression in a much sounder condition than many farmers and ranchers. In fact, they continued to prosper throughout the 1920s and 1930s when so many others went bankrupt.

Exactly how they met and what attracted them to each other will never be known. It is clear they "married for love," but the marriage was a good one for both people. Lethel was young, innovative, educated and hard-working. Paired with the older, more experienced, equally hard-working Edwards, they created a productive combination. Although Lethel definitely came from a very urban background, she was bright enough and sufficiently willing to learn that she was able to teach new agricultural skills to her rural neighbors. Jim was becoming financially successful before they married, but she expedited the process, and was largely responsible for the many material improvements and beautification in their standard of living.

The Edwards' roles and significance are interesting. Among the earliest settlers in Harney Hills, they were well established when the waves of new settlers arrived between 1914 and 1920. This put them in a position to loan equipment and labor, and give valuable advice to the newcomers, facilitating transitions to new homes. Perhaps this helps to explain the openminded ways they were treated by their almost exclusively White and less well-off neighbors. At any rate, the Edwards played significant roles in settling and developing the area between Douglas and Lusk.

Larson says that minorities in Wyoming have received comparable treatment to that accorded them in other predominantly WASP states. The picture here is gilded slightly because the small minority population contributed to the inaccurate notion that discrimination did not exist in the Equality State.[95] Attitudes of the White majority in Wyoming were consistent in many ways with Victorian era White feelings of superiority common across the nation. Gordon Hendrickson explained that Blacks and Mexican-Americans were the most visible and easily identifiable ethnic groups in Wyoming, and that in the assimilation process they lagged behind other groups and frequently assumed the least desirable jobs and living quarters.[96] This situation resulted from prejudice on the part of employers and landlords more than Black desires for such lifestyles. But White bigotry was not consistent across the state. Just as Wyoming's legal system was schizophrenic on racial matters, guaranteeing equality even as it forbade the same, the "popular mind" also sent confusing, conflicting messages to the Black community. Lynchings and murders of Blacks in Wyoming took place, but were rarities, easily outnumbered by stories of Black successess on various scales.[97] Blacks in rural Wyoming generally had access to resources and opportunities for financial success comparable to their White homesteading counterparts.

The Edwards were probably the most successful of all the Black homesteaders in Wyoming at any date. Their enterprise began in poverty, as was typical, but quickly rose to unusual heights. That might not have been tolerated in other parts of the country, perhaps even other parts of the state. The Edwards were accepted by their neighbors as equals, or possibly better. Few addressed him as Nigger Jim, his success did not spawn animosity, even his breaking the law, abusing western traditions and taking rapacious advantage of neighbors' property and goodwill resulted in little or no real trouble. In some ways, and not just economically, Edwards was "more than the equal of his neighbors." This does not quite balance his fear when dealing with White women, however, or his being called a "nigger," and being seen as one by the law. The Edwards were not full equal to Whites, but probably had a better life in the Equality State than would have been possible most anywhere else at that time.

Writing of Jim, a former neighbor summarized:

> All in all . . . he was a good man, and . . . was liked in the community. His feet, as all our feet, were made of clay, but my memories of him are good. I have a lot of respect for any black man who invades a white territory, makes a living for himself, and builds a home as elaborate as his was on the prairie. I believe that had Lethel lived, the ending to Jim's story might have been very different—but who knows?[98]

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ISAAC C. MILLER:

Events in the Life of a "High-Toned" Dane

by Mark E. Miller

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY CARBON COUNTY MUSEUM, RAWLINS, WYOMING

Portrait of Isaac Carson Miller at the peak of his successful business career.

Isaac Carson Miller's story is about a young immigrant who matured with the Wyoming frontier. He was born on March 6, 1844, on the island of Møn, Praesto County, Denmark. His birth name was Isaac Carstensen (or Carsensen), which he later simplified by condensing his surname and adding a new surname taken from his father's occupation.[1] I.C.'s Old World experiences nurtured a restless spirit that eventually would take him beyond Denmark to the American West in search of greater opportunity. He would become a kind of rural renaissance man, whose breadth of character, commitment to responsible decision-making and willingness to take risks established him as one of the most successful, yet unpretentious, pioneers in Wyoming.

It is difficult to tease from the musty pages of history why immigrants leave their homeland to face uncertainty in a distant country. For I.C. Miller the reasons may have been many. He was twenty years old in 1864 and entering his adult life; but things were rotten in Denmark. His father owned no more than 125 cultivated acres for his mill because Danish law prohibited large agricultural estates.[2] Such a small field could not be divided through inheritance and still support I. C. and his siblings as they grew and began families of their own.

Limited economic opportunity created only some of the problems facing Danish youth. In 1864, the duchies of Schlesvig, north of the Eider River, and Holstein, on the south, were torn between political allegiance to Denmark and Prussia. Christian I had signed a decree in 1481 declaring Schlesvig and Holstein would remain forever undivided.[3] By the time this document was signed, centuries of shipbuilding had depleted many Danish oak forests, allowing heather moors to invade the countryside. Prevailing winds swept over the treeless land and stripped the once rich topsoil, threatening cultivated fields.[4] But Schlesvig was still rich in arable land during the 1860s, and Denmark wanted to retain her agricultural wealth. Because of the ancient 15th century document, this also meant keeping Holstein despite her intention to align politically with Prussia.

Prussia and her Austrian allies, under the military leadership of Otto Edward Leopold Von Bismarck, solved the problem by force. Bismarck attacked the Danes on February 1, 1864, with well armed, numerically superior troops. By June the outcome was inevitable. The Danish fleet still controlled the coastline and seaways around the islands, but they had lost the war.[5] Many Danes who did not want to live under Prussian rule emigrated. Some probably believed Denmark should not have claimed political authority over Holstein in the first place, but let the duchy decide her own fate. Like other disillusioned countrymen, I. C. boarded a ship bound for New York. He would spend his 21st birthday and the rest of his life on American soil.

I. C. (later known as Ike) landed in the states amidst the Civil War with only 35 cents to his name. He learned the language and customs of his new home, then bummed his way to Omaha, Nebraska, in 1866, where he engaged in marketing. The city was a hotbed of commerce preparing for Union Pacific railroad construction, and Ike earned money to finance the next leg of his journey west. In 1867, he traveled to North Platte, Nebraska, then worked with the railroad as it built to Bitter Creek in Wyoming Territory. References are unclear whether Ike hacked ties, laid track or was a store clerk during this time, but he did engage in merchandising at Bitter Creek between the fall of 1868 and the spring of 1870.[6]

By June 6, 1870, Ike had backtracked east to Rawlins (Rawlings) Springs where he became a store clerk. The budding community, whose name later was shortened to Rawlins, boasted a population of 612.[7] Ike entered into partnership with W. R. Cogswell in 1871 and located placer claims at Poverty Hill in the Hahn's Peak gold mining region of Colorado.[8] He and Cogswell wintered in Rawlins the first year, but returned to mining operations for a total of two seasons, not really making much profit. Nonetheless, this enterprise initiated a lasting relationship between the two pioneers which spanned many years and involved other mining ventures. In 1873, Ike returned to Rawlins and entered the local business community to stay.

His first community venture was running the Alhambra Saloon on the south side of the tracks opposite 4th Street. Pat Downs established the Alhambra in 1873 and, later that same year, Ike became junior partner. The two worked together for about a year until Downs sold out to Ike. Ike enlarged the saloon and made it a thriving wholesale and retail business.[9] D. M. "Little" Van worked with Ike for a while before relocating in the Snake River country.[10]

The Alhambra boasted the delightful "Las Ninfas" cigars and advertised a wide stock of spirits, including fine imported champagne, brandy, gin, bitters and other quality liquor. Scotch and Irish whiskies, Kentucky bourbon, rye and sour mash soothed the palates of Old World immigrants and displaced easterners who longed for the flavor of their homeland. Some thirsty patrons did not pay off the credit extended them, so on Christmas Day 1880, Ike announced that beginning January 15, 1881, the Alhambra would operate only on a cash basis.[11]

The local newspaper noted with wry humor the popularity of saloons in the frontier town: "Many a woman dusts billiard chalk off her husband's coat, and a big tear stands in her eye as she thinks how late he works nights at his desk by the whitewashed wall."[12] On a separate occasion, a reporter lamented that "one of the 'regulars' who is an easy drinker, by mistake swallowed a glass of water the other day, instead of his usual dram of 'gin.' The timely arrival of a physician with a stomach pump saved his life."[13] Ike sold the Alhambra business to John Dyer and Ben Northington in May, 1881, but apparently retained the property and continued to make improvements to the building.[14]

Ike became firmly entrenched in the civic affairs of Rawlins during the 1870s. He began buying cattle on a

modest scale the same year he bought into the Alhambra, and ran cows throughout his ranching career. But his first publicized purchase, which was consummated over champagne in the Alhambra one Saturday night in November, 1879, may not have produced any beef at all. The evening began with Ike, Charley Blydenburgh and a Mr. Hooper from Arizona popping a few corks while reliving past exploits. It seems Hooper was just passing through and had 2,700 head of cattle waiting at Bitter Creek. Come sunup, Hooper and the rest were great friends. In fact, they were such good friends that Ike was the proud owner of Hooper's entire herd. Hooper disappeared soon after and the newspaper account does not mention whether or not the cattle, if they even existed, ever made it to Carbon County range. Ike did get a message from his old partner Pete Downs in Evanston, which complimented him on his purchase and jokingly asked him to treat the Honorable Mr. Hooper with greatest respect, because Hooper also cost Downs $55 when they became friends.[15] Hooper apparently conned more than one southern Wyoming resident during his trip through the territory.

On a more lasting note for the decade, Ike married Ada Kirk on May 7, 1874.[16] She was the daughter of Henry A. Kirk and Mary E. (Parrish) Kirk. Henry was a Civil War veteran, educator, businessman and successful farmer who spent much of his career in Rawlins.

The decade of the 1880s involved the most diverse activities in Ike's life. His business and civic interests expanded considerably. Ike owned sheep as early as 1875, but did so only on a modest scale until 1880. In 1881, he entered into partnership with Joel J. Hurt, and their investments soon established them as leading operators in Carbon County, which generally was more tolerant of sheepmen than were other parts of the territory. One of their early purchases was the sheep herd belonging to the Blydenburghs, Sam Morgan and Roberts of the Jack Creek Land and Cattle Company.[17] Miller and Hurt's flocks flourished on prime grazing land in Carbon County,[18] where herds wintered along the North Platte River and summered in the Seminoe Mountains. The partners bred Merino bucks to Columbia ewes for a hearty, more profitable cross. To better distribute produce to consumers, they ran a meat market in Rawlins at the corner of Front and 5th streets.[19]

Ike's interests, however, were not limited to stock raising. His business acumen and recognition as a fair, civic-minded citizen earned him the 1880 Democratic nomination for the office of Carbon County Sheriff. He was characterized during the campaign as a gentleman of fine physique and resolute character with plenty of sand to do the job. Ike defeated incumbent James G. Rankin on election day November 2, 1880.[20] Rankin was a well-known Republican who had recently gained notoriety for bringing George Parrott, alias Big Nose George, from Montana to Rawlins to stand trial for the celebrated Elk Mountain murders of Tip Vincent and Robert Widdowfield. Parrott

Front Street scene in Rawlins, Wyoming, variously dated between 1879 and 1883. Telegraph pole at left is probably the one from which Big Nose George hanged on March 22, 1881.

sat in the Carbon County jail awaiting trial in District Court while the elections were held. The sweet taste of victory was short-lived for Ike, because he was appointed foreman of the special grand jury summoned to hear the territory's case against Big Nose George on November 15. The outlaw was found guilty and sentenced to hang on Saturday, April 2, 1881.[21]

Ike settled into the sheriff's duties on January 3, 1881. His many responsibilities carried him throughout Carbon County which, in early 1881, ran from Colorado north to the headwaters of the Powder River. Ike was responsible for tax collecting and keeping the peace during the first year of his term, which began with a bang, rather than a whimper. He sensed strong community resentment toward Big Nose George, because Vincent and Widdowfield had been popular in Carbon County. Many citizens desired revenge. As precautionary measures to control the populace, he ordered the publication of the Wyoming laws pertaining to legal executions, and posted notices reminding citizens of the law against concealed weapons.[22] In late March, 1881, Ike was called away to Sand Creek on official business. Big Nose George attempted a jail break during his absence. The escape was foiled, but later that evening, March 22, a masked mob of irate citizens broke into the jail, dragged the prisoner toward the railroad tracks and hanged him from a telegraph pole in front of J. W. Hugus and Co.'s store.[23]

A year later, almost to the day, a second vigilante action shook the foundation of civilized life in the growing frontier town. On Sunday morning, March 19, 1882, a lynch mob grabbed from custody three thieves accused of beating and robbing a Chinaman. The desperados were James Lacey, Robert Roderick, alias "Opium Bob," and a man named Carter. They were believed to be part of a larger, organized gang of thieves operating throughout the surrounding country. Lacey and "Opium Bob" were left dangling at the stockyards for passersby to view, but Carter escaped.[24] This act was even more callous than Parrott's lynching the year before, because the suspects had not even been tried for their crimes. This incident stimulated renewed efforts to protect citizens and prisoners alike through due process of law.

Ike's duties did not always involve dealing with vigilante justice. He recorded the normal list of arrests for a frontier town along the railroad. Only a week or so before the Lacey and "Opium Bob" lynching, Miller arrested a couple of horse thieves named Thomas Curran and Matthew Guyer. They had robbed Knox and Co.'s saddle and harness shop, and made off toward Sand Creek. A month after this arrest the sheriff escorted Curran, Guyer and a convicted murderer from the territorial prison in Laramie to the penitentiary at Joliet, Illinois, where they would serve out their sentences.[25]

The arrest of Curran and Guyer had personal reward for Ike, because in February, 1882, Ike had purchased half interest in the saddle and harness business owned by Reuben B. Knox.[26] Knox' enterprise, established in the spring of 1879, boasted well-crafted saddles that earned a valued reputation throughout Wyoming Territory and surrounding regions. The new firm, known as R. B. Knox and Co., kept the original Cedar Street location. Ike purchased full, but short-lived, ownership on December 15, 1882.[27] In July, 1883, Mr. John Foote bought the company and placed Knox in charge once again.[28]

Ike was re-elected in November, 1882, defeating Isaac Amos for the job.[29] During his second term, he continued several innovative practices initiated during his first years of office. In particular, Ike worked to clean up the town and make Rawlins a more presentable community. He collected donations for street cleaning projects, and used a prisoner street gang to sweep away dust, rid town lots of sagebrush and grade some streets.

The early 1880s also was a time of growing stress on the rangelands of Carbon County. Cattlemen were concerned about rustling and the Wyoming Stock Growers Association worked diligently to eliminate losses. In late 1883, the association hired John M. Finkbone of the Turtle Detective Agency in Chicago to investigate activities along the Sweetwater River. In September, Ike and Detective Finkbone rode north to the Sand Creek country with requisitions for Clabe and Bill Young. They arrested Clabe and charged him with the murder of a man in Texas back in 1878.[30] It seems the Stock Growers Association believed Young was guilty of illegal branding. There was little evidence on the hoof by the time of his arrest, however, because Clabe had sold his livestock a month earlier to the Sand Creek Land and Cattle Co.[31]

Clabe Young was a popular cattleman in the region, and had been foreman for Tom Sun's Hub and Spoke outfit.[32] Several residents heard of the sheriff's trip and tried to warn Clabe and Bill about the warrants. They were successful only in the latter case.[33] Clabe's friends, unsympathetic toward the big cattle outfits run by absentee owners, were pleased to hear from Nate Young in April, 1884, that brother Clabe had been tried in Tilden, Texas, on March 13, and found not guilty.[34] Clabe, Bill and Nate eventually were blacklisted by the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, although Clabe overcame that complaint too.[35]

Leroy Donovan, a young man from Sweetwater County, was found guilty of first degree murder in October, 1883.[36] He killed a man in Rock Springs and was tried in Rawlins under change of venue. The court interviewed 107 prospective jurors before a panel of citizens unopposed to capital punishment was selected. They were sworn in, then knelt and prayed to assure a just verdict. Such behavior contrasted dramatically with the mob tactics of recent years, and signaled a trend toward a more positive community attitude.

Donovan, alias John Lee, was sentenced to hang on January 18, 1884. The task fell to Ike, and he was determined to follow the law as well as make the prisoner's last

I.C. Miller (right) and Homer France in front seat driving in a parade.

months as comfortable as possible. As the day approached, workers erected the scaffold near the courthouse, and connected it to the jail building with a fourteen foot high fence concealing all activities from outside view.[37] Only a few people were legally permitted to witness the hanging. Ike fastened the noose around Donovan's neck at the appointed time, then asked the condemned man if it was all right. The convicted murderer answered "It's about as tight as you can get it without choking me." Then Donovan was hanged.[38] It was an unpleasant but necessary task if Rawlins was to become a more law abiding community.

Rawlins' first legal execution was not the only event during Ike's tenure as sheriff which inaugurated a new era for criminal justice. Community concern over vigilante activity prompted the formation of a police force,[39] and tax collecting was removed from the sheriff's duties to allow more time for other tasks. Also, prisoner street gangs provided a greater return from community investment in the penal system. No longer would Rawlins be depicted as an unsettled town in the territorial frontier; Ike helped build a civic pride that endures today.

Ike's overall performance earned him consideration as a Democratic nominee for a third term. But the October, 1884, convention instead nominated him for County Treasurer and Probate Judge.[40] His years in law enforcement ended and he focused on even more challenging roles in city, county and territorial affairs.

Ike suffered the first political defeat of his career when he lost to incumbent D. C. Kelly in the race for Probate Judge and Treasurer. Carbon County residents might have regretted their choice in later years, however, because in March, 1887, there was concern over Kelly's alleged involvement in embezzling funds.[41] Kelly ended up paying back the county to avoid indictment by the grand jury.[42]

Rawlins incorporated in May, 1886, under by-laws, ordinances and articles that laid the groundwork for city government. Residents elected Ike as their first mayor to preside over the important decisions facing the city. One account recalls the efforts of several women who wanted him to win the election. These ladies voted once, went home to change clothes and put on veils, then returned to the polls to vote again.[43] M. E. Hocker, Chas. E. Chrisman and John Carrick were listed as trustees for the first city council.[44] The new mayor approved and signed the first city ordinance on April 28, 1886, which codified 30 sections of the by-laws for the government of the Board of Trustees of the city of Rawlins.[45] He served as mayor for one year, then was succeeded by Dr. John E. Osborne.

Ike's political commitments kept him busy at the territorial level as well, initially as a delegate to the 1886 Democratic convention held in Rawlins.[46] Then, at the 1888 Democratic territorial convention in Cheyenne, the Honorable I. C. Miller and C. E. Blydenburgh were chosen to serve as territorial central committee members. Ike also was temporary chair of the county convention where he and G. Caldwell were picked to run for territorial council. C. C. Wright, A. McMicken and Ike's father-in-law, H. A. Kirk, were chosen as candidates for the House of Representatives.[47] Unfortunately for the county Democrats, Republicans R. M. Galbraith and C. W. Burdick won the two council seats in November.[48]

Although not particularly interested in a political career, Ike agreed to try for public office one more time. President Benjamin Harrison signed the statehood bill for Wyoming on July 10, 1890. It was successful in Washington D.C. largely through the efforts of Joseph M. Carey, Wyoming Territory's last delegate to Congress. Territorial Governor Francis E. Warren, a Republican and friend of Carey's, wasted no time in establishing state government. Five days after statehood he set a special election for September 11, 1890.[49] This gave political parties less than two months to schedule conventions, select candidates and campaign for five state offices and the new state's lone seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Ike accepted the nomination of his party for Wyoming's first state treasurer.[50] Ike's opponent was Otto Gramm, a former druggist and prominent county treasurer and probate judge from Laramie.[51] The election was a disaster for the Democratic party, due largely to the popularity and political power of Carey and Warren. Republicans swept all state offices and the congressional seat. Ike was beaten by a count of 8,824 votes (56.5 percent) to 6,790 (43.5 percent), losing in all counties.[52] Those concerned with the fact of a short campaign could take solace in the words of Robert Louis Stevenson. The great novelist once proclaimed: "Politics is perhaps the only profession for which no preparation is thought necessary."[53]

Throughout these years, Ike never lost sight of his livestock interests or the growing difficulties in grazing Wyoming's public range lands. He and other industry leaders advocated an organized lobbying effort to protect their businesses. In May, 1880, the Carbon County Stockgrowers Association organized so stockmen could legally appoint a stock detective and petition the county commissioners for his salary. The detective would represent area

ranchers during round-ups.[54] Both cattlemen and sheepmen became members when the 1881 meeting was held in Ike's office. Ike was elected treasurer and Joel J. Hurt was appointed to the committee charged with drafting a set of by-laws.[55] The organization seems to have lasted until passage of the Maverick Bill in 1884, which assigned stock detection and round-up supervision to the state organization.[56]

When the county stockgrowers association weakened, Ike and Hurt aligned with other operators to form an organization of county sheepgrowers. The Rocky Mountain Wool Growers Association was established on March 2, 1886, with Ike as treasurer.[57] Hurt succeeded him at the 1887 meeting and Ike was elected president. Ike and several other woolgrowers also incorporated a company to build and operate a wool warehouse which would store clips until transportation costs and the wool market assured producers of satisfactory profits.[58] He was re-elected president at the third annual meeting of the association when discussions centered around Union Pacific wool transportation rates. Other railways had lowered rates and stockmen pressured the U.P. to do the same.[59] Association members also worked with other livestock interests in opposing President Grover Cleveland's efforts to remove the wool tariff and establish free trade. John Mahoney, in particular, criticized Cleveland's action as being uncalled for and cowardly, stating that it should be sat down upon. Ike, in an apparent reference to the President's massive physique, commented that "it was now sat down upon about as heavy as it could be."[60]

The year 1888 was a pivotal one for Ike's interest in the sheep industry. In October, he and Hurt dissolved their partnership and split their flocks.[61] Their herd had peaked a few years earlier at 40,000 head when they ran 20-man shearing crews at their pens north of Rawlins. By 1888, their flock totaled about 25,000 head,[62] but this was still too many to sustain on their range north of Rawlins. Hurt trailed 3,000 sheep into what soon would be Natrona County,[63] then operated out of Casper for several years.

Six months later, the Rocky Mountain Wool Grower's Association held their fourth annual meeting. Members discussed a major issue in Carbon County's livestock business, that of grazing on "checkerboard" lands. Checkerboard lands are those sections twenty miles either side of the Union Pacific railroad line. As an incentive to build the railroad, the federal government gave the Union Pacific surface and mineral rights to all odd numbered sections in this corridor, but retained ownership of even numbered sections. This produced an ownership pattern where no two adjacent sections were owned by the same landholder. To move from one private section to another, or from one public section to another, required crossing over adjacent squares like jumps in a checkers game. At this meeting, the association adopted a resolution pledging support to R. T. Rankin who was defendant in a lawsuit instigated by the Swan Land Company. Rankin allegedly trespassed his sheep on railroad lands recently purchased by the company,[64] which already had been involved with earlier litigation regarding fencing of public lands.[65]

The complex issue of private use of public range lands became more heated as time passed. Related problems of rustling and homesteading on the public domain would soon find graphic expression in the lynching of two alleged

The Rawlins National Bank, shown here, was established June 9, 1899, and was located in the Osborne Building. I.C. Miller, seated, was its first president between 1899-1912. J.C. Davis (left) and Frank Hadsell are standing in front of the cashier's window. Jim Randle is the cashier behind the window, and an unidentified man stands in back of him.

rustlers in a rocky canyon above the Sweetwater River. In late July, 1889, Rawlins residents received word that James Averell and Ella Watson had been hanged. Sheriff Frank Hadsell arrested several prominent cattlemen, and the case against the defendants was brought to District Court in Rawlins on Monday, October 14. Judge Samuel T. Corn presided as jury selection began. One prospective juror, William Jungquist, was excused because William Daley submitted an affidavit to the court arguing that Jungquist was prejudiced against the defendants. The name of Isaac C. Miller was drawn to fill the vacancy, and he subsequently was appointed foreman.[66]

This was a sensitive case due to the nature of the crimes and the prominence of the people implicated. Corn was specific and deliberate in his charge to the jury:

> In making your investigations you will hear the evidence for the prosecution only, and if upon the evidence introduced by the prosecution it appears that an offense has been committed, and who the offenders are, it is your duty to return an indictment. It is not your duty, and you are not permitted to examine witness upon the part of the defense. Whatever defense there may be in any case must be made upon a trial before a petit jury in open court. Yet you will consider all the evidence introduced before you by the prosecution and if from it the defense appears, you will return no bill.
>
> A full grand jury consists of sixteen members—twelve of your number present constitute a quorum to do business, and twelve must concur in finding an indictment before it can be returned a true bill. Your foreman is authorized to swear all witnesses examined by you . . .

Corn continued with intentional emphasis on the Sweetwater affair:

> It is not ordinarily necessary to charge the grand jury with reference to special crimes. The prosecuting attorney is authorized to be present during your sessions (except during the expression of your views or when a vote is being taken) and will advise you. But it has come to my ears and is the subject of much conversation in this community and has been widely published in the newspapers that certain persons are charged with the hanging of a man and woman by lynch law in this county, and it is evident there is great feeling and excitement in the community in regard to it. In such matters you are preeminently the guardians of the safety of the people and the good order of society. You have sworn to present none through malice or ill will and to leave none unpresented through fear, favor or affection. It becomes you in connection with this matter to be specially regardful of the obligations of that oath. Some of the ancients portrayed justice as a goddess blindfolded. Her eyes were hoodwinked that she might not know even the persons upon who she was called to pass judgment. In one hand she held the balances to weigh the evidence with absolute impartiality, and in the other a sword with which to execute her decrees. This idea of "justice blind" should be your guide in this matter. Weigh the evidence with absolute impartiality and without regard to persons, and then strike no matter upon whom your blow may fall.
>
> You have also sworn to keep secret the proceedings of the grand jury and by the statute it is made the duty of the court to charge you specially as to this obligation. It is intended that the grand jury shall act with entire independence, unaffected by outside influences. In order that that independence shall be preserved it is essential that all expressions of opinion and votes of individual members upon the various matters coming before you should be known to yourselves alone and should go no further. All that the public is entitled to know, in case an indictment is returned a true bill, is that twelve of your number voted in favor of the finding. And in case an indictment is ignored, that less than twelve were in favor of the bill.[67]

Few incidents in Wyoming history have received as much critical review as the Sweetwater lynchings, but facts clearly indicate that jurors abided by the full charge of the court in their deliberations. The panel considered two murder indictments pertaining to the Sweetwater incident, and according to each document, examined John De Corey, John S. Cranor and John L. Sapp as witnesses for the prosecution. Prosecuting attorney, David H. Craig, failed to bring sufficient evidence against the defendants, so each indictment was returned to the court and proclaimed not a true bill under signature of Isaac C. Miller, foreman of the grand jury. The documents were filed with the clerk of court on October 24, 1889.[68] All proceedings were secret, as mandated by Corn. The substance of debate died with the last juror.

The 1890s passed with relative calm compared to the preceding decade. In 1890, Ike built a stone ranch house and barn on Hurt's old homestead. These buildings still stand today. At the April, 1890, meeting of the Rocky Mountain Wool Growers' Association, Ike anticipated the needs of the sheep industry in Wyoming:

> "What we need most," he argued, "is a closer organization of the woolgrowers of the county and territory. Wyoming is distinctively a sheep country, and in a very few years sheep raising will be the principal industry of the territory. The advantages to be derived from thorough organization was fully exemplified by the cattlegrowers' association, which was a very powerful one. Cattle men received every benefit of favorable legislation, as well as the best possible rates from the railroad company, all on account of their organization, and what had been accomplished by the stock men could be done by the sheep men if they made their organization powerful enough."[69]

His call for a Wyoming-wide organization, however, would not become a reality until 1905, when the Wyoming Wool Growers' Association was organized under the auspices of the State Board of Sheep Commissioners.[70]

The sheep industry was enjoying real growth and prosperity, due in part to the decline in the cattle business. In 1892, there were more sheep than cattle in Wyoming, and Carbon County led the state in sheep production. While wool traditionally had been the major focus of producers, now more attention was being paid toward mutton to supplement ranch income. Good quality Merino wool brought about $1.90 per fleece. Wethers shipped for slaughter yielded about $3 per head, with cull stock about 50 cents to a dollar lower. These were good prices considering the average cost per head for raising sheep was only about 50 cents.[71]

But prosperity also bred conflict. Wyoming witnessed an unprecedented demand for multiple uses of the public domain, including grazing, homesteading and public access, water rights, wildlife management and fencing. The primary problem was common access to public range lands

Honorable Isaac C. Miller as depicted in the May 11, 1889, issue of the Carbon County Journal.

for grazing, because large cattle corporations had fenced out other operators. Unfortunately, the government vacillated over a policy on proper range use, thereby creating an obstacle rather than an aid to ecologically sound management. Interior Secretary Teller declared that grazers could not fence public lands, and proclaimed that his department did not object to fence destruction by the public who wanted access to the lands for settlement. He assured everyone the government would initiate legal proceedings against those who fenced.[72] This band-aid remedy was codified in the Unlawful Inclosures of Public Lands Act on February 25, 1885.[73] What began as a flickering ember in the early 1880s soon spread into an inextinguishable wildfire—the legality of fencing public lands is as real a problem today as it was a century ago.

In a sense, the government's prohibition of fencing precipitated deterioration of range condition in the West as much as did the alleged overgrazing practices of livestock operators. Without fenced pastures, even small homesteaders who owned stock might keep animals on the same range for extended periods to graze forage to ground level so neighboring herds would not trespass. Overgrazing occurred on private and public land alike, because federal law did not permit homesteads large enough to sustain economically viable herds. Stockmen were caught between a rock and a hard place. Either they fenced the range and faced prosecution, or they obeyed the law and witnessed range land degeneration. This ultimatum ignored the fact that fences could increase ranch values, protect pastures and waterholes, enhance wildlife habitat, control the drift of livestock and help regulate breeding to improve herd quality.[74]

Open range grazing actually produced more problems than it solved. This was particularly true in the checkerboard lands. In the late 1890s, these problems directly affected Ike's operation along the North Platte River. He recently had acquired the Union Pacific lands north of the river, and given notice to adjacent operators. On the first day of November, 1898, herders from the Cosgriff outfit drew their guns and crossed the North Platte with 6,000 sheep. They watched as their herd depastured nineteen sections of Ike's winter range. Ike took the Cosgriffs to District Court where the case was tried as a trespass on uninclosed lands. The Cosgriffs argued they intended only to graze in common on adjacent federal sections, and could not distinguish uninclosed, unmarked private land. However, section corners were marked by rockpiles and similar features, and Ike's foreman, Charley Wagers, was at the scene to let everyone know they were on private land. It was illegal to drive livestock upon the uninclosed lands

of another against his will, and evidence clearly showed that the Cosgriff herd not only crossed, but actually grazed Ike's sections. The court decided in Ike's favor, and held that it was not necessary to separate private lands from adjacent public domain by a fence. Ike was awarded payment to cover both livestock losses and the cost of replacement feed to sustain his remaining herd through the winter.[75] Fenimore Chatterton filed a motion for a new trial on behalf of the Cosgriff brothers. The Wyoming Supreme Court heard the appeal, but upheld the lower court judgment favoring Ike.[76]

Ike's diverse interests kept him going back and forth between Rawlins and his ranch. When in town, his home continued as a center for many social gatherings. Drifting cowboys often would bunk down in his barn rather than pay for a hotel room. Once, a couple of riders from John Coble's ranch near Bosler stayed overnight following a full day's ride; they were Earl (Amos) Johnson and Tom Horn.[77] Ike also operated the Ferris-Haggerty copper mine near Encampment for a while following George Ferris' death. And, he was named first president of the Rawlins National Bank when that business was established about the turn of the century. But business affairs did not consume his entire time. At least once he escaped to enjoy the natural wonders of Yellowstone with his father-in-law and several others.[78]

Ike enlarged his ranch during the late 19th and early 20th centuries by purchasing homesteads, Union Pacific sections and surrounding outfits. His acquisitions included an old English outfit called the RS, the Buzzard Ranch on Sand Creek, the George Ferris Ranch and several homesteads along the North Platte River, and the I Lazy D (Hurt's original holdings). He also leased the Dumbell for a time, which extended his sheep camps north to the outskirts of Casper.[79] Ike's ranch covered hundreds of thousands of acres in south central Wyoming and was one of the largest in the county.

Of all the livestock, horses were Ike's true passion. He loved thoroughbred saddle stock and strong, well-matched teams. He praised how the animals thrived on Wyoming's intermountain meadows, and when he harnessed a fast team, he always gave them free rein.

By 1910, Ike had earned an opportunity to reflect on his many accomplishments. One day he and his daughter, Katrine, were riding in the buggy between the ID Ranch and his Buzzard holdings. "Papa," she said as she considered her father's advanced years, "would you be willing to sell off some of the land?" "No Kitten," he answered with his favorite nickname for her, "I came from Denmark with almost no money, and built just exactly what I want. There is no way I would divide it up, but I am considering an offer from a buyer in Salt Lake who is interested in the entire outfit."[80] Perhaps recalling his youth long ago on his father's farm in Denmark, Ike refused to let his estate disarticulate into less viable parcels.

Isaac C. Miller died in Long Beach, California, on May 31, 1912,[81] before any sale of the ranch. His life spanned the birth and early growth of Wyoming. His eyes saw her develop from a raw, untamed frontier territory into a strong and prosperous state, rich in agricultural wealth. He lived during Wyoming's formative years and died as she mastered the industrial age. Perhaps his greatest achievement was his role in the agricultural development of the West, participating first hand in food and fiber production to help fuel the growth of civilization. His life may seem colorless and phlegmatic to some, but his character, and the character of others like him, is deeply woven into the fabric of Wyoming history.

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INSIDE WYOMING

After deliberations of less than a month, 45 members of Wyoming's one and only constitutional convention signed the document which enumerated the future state's fundamental laws and principles. With the completion of the constitution more than 100 years ago, Wyoming took a step in its quest for statehood.

Talk of statehood for Wyoming began as early as 1868 when the Territory of Wyoming was created. Twenty years later in 1888 Wyoming's territorial assembly sent a memorial for statehood to the United States Congress. As a result, bills for statehood were introduced in both houses of congress, although neither passed.[1]

Still believing this to be the appropriate time for transition from territory to state, Wyoming continued as if Congress had passed an act enabling Wyoming to move ahead. Territorial Governor Francis E. Warren called for an election of delegates to the constitutional convention to be held July 8, 1889. Of the 55 men elected that day, 49 attended the convention which began September 2, 1889, and was held in the Supreme Court room in the Capitol building.

Writing a state constitution in less than a month was an enormous task. In order to accomplish the feat, the delegates consulted other states' constitutions. Warren wrote to the five other territories also nearing statehood, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington and Idaho, and received copies of their constitutions. Others also were consulted, but apparently the three from which the delegates most liberally borrowed were from Montana, North Dakota and Idaho.

The delegates did include some original provisions in Wyoming's constitution, however. The most noted is the inclusion of woman suffrage. First passed by the territorial assembly and signed by Governor John A. Campbell on December 10, 1869, the law had been unchallenged since 1871 when Campbell vetoed a bill which would have repealed it. Since that time suffrage had become well accepted in Wyoming. A.C. Campbell of Cheyenne, however, moved that woman suffrage be offered to the electorate separate from the constitution. He stated he supported suffrage, but that others were concerned that the people had never voted on the issue. The delegates defeated Campbell's motion 20-8 and included woman suffrage in Article VI.[2]

One less successful issue was that of imposing a tonnage tax on coal. M. C. Brown of Laramie proposed including such a tax of 1½ cents per ton of coal in the constitution. The state would receive 1 cent and the county in which the coal was mined ½ cent. Brown argued that two-thirds of Wyoming's coal left the state and believed those who benefitted should help support Wyoming's government. Coal was the largest industry in Wyoming, but according to Brown did not pay much in the way of taxes. Leading the opposition to this proposal was C. D. Clark of Evanston. Clark argued it was unfair to single out one industry for taxation, it would lead to a surplus in the state treasury, it was unfair for the state to receive more than the county and it was an issue which should be decided by the legislature, not in the constitution. Brown wanted to include it in the constitution so as to remove it from the influence of corporation lobbyists. The tonnage tax proposal failed. Years later Brown described the failure of the tax as one of the "gravest omissions" in the constitution.[3]

Once completed the delegates voted on September 30, 1889, 37-0 to adopt the constitution, and then gathered to sign the document. According to the *Cheyenne Daily Leader*:

> . . . There was scarcely any ceremony about the final work of the body and while the exuberant spirits of some of the younger members found vent in sallies of wit, there was still something impressive about the act, and a hush fell over the throng about the presiding officer's desk when the members one by one affixed their signatures to the document which will in a great measure control the destiny of what is certain to become a leader in the sisterhood of states, a brilliant star in the firmament of the republic, an occupant of a place in the front rank in the onward march of advancement.[4]

Before the document was sent to congress, the people of Wyoming were to vote whether to adopt it or not. A committee of the convention, in a written address, explained to the people why the constitution should be adopted. Warren introduced the address with a short statement of his own in which he said:

> Every county in the Territory was represented in the convention. A month's time of careful, conscientious, and painstaking labor has been spent in formulating this constitution. In all our deliberations we have endeavored to embody in our fundamental law such economic measures as we believed would comment our work to the people of the whole Territory, without reference to partisan politics, and with equal protection for the rich and poor.[5]

According to the convention committee:

> For twenty years and more Wyoming has been laboring under the disadvantages of a Territorial form of government. These disadvantages are numerous. We have no voice in the selection of the most important officers who administer our local affairs; no voice in the enactment of laws by Congress, to which we must yield obedience, and no voice in the election of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic, who appoints the principal officers by whom the executive and judicial affairs of our Territory are administered. It has been well said: "A Territory can not have a settled policy. The fact that Congress may at any time annul its legislation on any matter of purely local concern prevents active co-operation by the people on those higher planes of public life which result in the establishment of a permanent State policy." The abuse of the veto power by alien governors, the lack of familiarity of alien judges with our laws, and the frequent changes of our executive and judicial officers, as it has been in the past and may be again in the future, can not but discourage the people. Although citizens of the United States in name, we have, in fact, been disfranchised. Territorial representation in Congress is a delusion—the Territories of these

United States have no representation. Taxation without representation, a condition in many respects allied to colonial vassalage, with the many other wrongs that follow the application of those two anti-American ideas, and with which you are familiar, have all united to render the condition of the people of Wyoming—the most energetic, intelligent, and patriotic citizens of the United States—well nigh intolerable.

We have endured all those things up to the present time without a murmur of discontent because we have not heretofore seen our way clear to throw off those chains of political and industrial bondage, and to ask, with hope of success, our admission in to the Federal Union, where we would enjoy equally with sister States the right of local self-government and those other natural and inalienable rights guaranteed in the Constitution to every man. The residents of Wyoming are the descendants of free citizens, such as framed the Constitution of the United States. The loyalty of the sons to republican institutions and their love of liberty have not been decreased but increased by the hardships and dangers that have been endured and by the difficulties that have been encountered and overcome in laying the foundation. It is admitted that Wyoming Territory stands next in order in its right to admission into the Union. We believe she is now ready to assume the responsibility of statehood-to cast off the burdens and inconveniences of Territorial vassalage. She can now ask for admission with hope of success. Her time has arrived. For the first time in ten years public opinion in the older States has so changed as to view the admission of new States with a fair degree of favor. If not admitted at this time, we may reasonably expect the wave of public sentiment will soon recede and the old unfavorable attitude toward the Territories will be again established. In this event our admission as a State would become so problematical that we need entertain no hope of obtaining the rights and benefits of statehood for the next ten years.

While the cost of State government is increased over the Territorial government in some departments, the savings in other departments, the retrenchment in other directions, the increase of population and assessable property that will follow our admission as a State will in a short time materially lessen the burdens of taxation, while to delay our application for admission until the "swing of the pendulum" of public opinion has reached the opposite position from that so favorable now to the formation of new States will be to fasten upon us for a long term of years all the abuses of financial management that have made our taxation burdensome and made plethoric the pockets of public officials at the expense of the tax-payer.

The Convention and the Constitution

The delegates in this convention came from both political parties from all sections of the Territory. It was non-partisan in character; indeed it may be truthfully said that in its deliberations there was at no time a division of its membership on party lines. Sectional questions were at no time considered, but to act for the common good of the whole people of Wyoming seemed to be the ruling motive. The material, industrial, and professional interests were represented in its membership, and no outside influences were permitted to affect their action.

The constitution adopted is believed to be fairly conservative and also progressive. It is the first constitution adopted by man which gives to each citizen the same rights guaranteed to every other citizen. Under its provisions pure elections are practically guaranteed, and economy of administration assured . . . .

In the interest of local self-government, to promote the general good, and to encourage the future growth and development of the State of Wyoming, the constitutional convention having finished its work, respectfully solicits your candid consideration of the constitution herewith submitted and ratification of the same by your suffrages.[6]

Voting on November 5, 1889, Wyoming's electorate approved the constitution, 6,272, to 1,923. Although the inclusion of woman suffrage did lead to some spirited debate in Congress, both the senate and the house passed Wyoming's statehood bill during the first half of 1890, and on July 10, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison signed the bill making Wyoming the 44th state to join the Union.

Most of the delegates of Wyoming's constitutional convention have long since been forgotten. In some instances, only their names are known, nothing else. The document they produced, however, is still vital and does provide a lasting legacy for the state of Wyoming.

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ANNALS' REVIEWS

Cavalier in Buckskin: George Armstrong Custer and the Western Military Frontier. By Robert M. Utley. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. Illustrated. Maps. Index. Sources. xvii and 226 pp. Cloth $19.95.

One may wonder, as did this reviewer, whether the world really needs another volume of Custerania. More ink has dried on the pages of Custer biographies than blood spilled on the banks of the Little Bighorn. However, if anyone need accomplish such a task it is Robert M. Utley.

More than 40 years ago Utley began his National Park Service career at Custer Battlefield National Monument. Before retirement he rose to Service Chief Historian and Deputy Director. Along that road he earned a reputation for solid, balanced and impartial scholarship, particularly when dealing with the western frontier military and Indian experience.

In his preface, Utley touches on his reasons for a current Custer biography. First, he wanted to explore his own feeling about the man, rather than the myth. Second was the publisher's desire to launch a new series of brief biographies significant to the American West. A current Custer biography would make the series more complete. Last, and certainly not least, Utley wanted to place Custer in the broad context of those historical epochs with which he was directly involved.

What resulted is a very enjoyable and highly crafted work tracing George Armstrong Custer from boyhood to immortality. Born December 5, 1839, in New Rumley, Ohio, George Custer spent most of his boyhood in the Monroe, Michigan, home of his half sister, Lydia Ann, who had married David Reed. By all appearances Custer had a normal, happy childhood. After a brief career teaching school, Custer entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. As clouds of Civil War drifted across the nation he graduated, last in his class of 34.

Custer proved a capable staff officer and rose rapidly in volunteer service to temporary Major General. He participated in most of the major engagements in and around Washington, D.C., earning a reputation for flamboyance as well as aggressiveness.

After the war Custer faced the demobilization and a regular captain's rank. Fortunately, he was selected for the Lieutenant Colonelcy, second-in-command, of the newly organized Seventh Cavalry.

Utley traces Custer's career from the plains of Kansas and Nebraska to the frozen prairies of Dakota. He discusses the political and social climate of the times which shaped that career and illuminates the culture and attitudes of Native American tribes that opposed those forces. Interlaced are discussions of those events and personalities that split the loyalties of the Seventh Cavalry officers' corps. The author also touches upon often neglected aspects of Seventh regimental history such as its role in the post-Civil War reconstruction of the South.

One might suspect *Cavalier in Buckskin* culminates with an in-depth analysis of Custer's Last Stand and the Battle of the Little Bighorn, June 25, 1876. While Utley does a superb job treating Custer's last fight, he more appropriately ends with a chapter discussing Custer's tactics and personality in the broader context of his times.

Serious students may find the lack of footnotes to be an irritant, particularly in those portions of the book that deal with such often debated subjects as Custer's marital fidelity, and his supposed but mythical presidential aspirations. *Cavalier in Buckskin* is a well written, well researched book that holds something for both a general reader and the student.

ROBERT R. RYBOLT

The reviewer is a Park Ranger with the National Park Service previously assigned to Custer Battlefield National Monument.

Death on the Prairie: The Thirty Years' Struggle for the Western Plains. By Paul I. Wellman. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. Originally published: New York: Macmillan, 1934. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. xii and 298 pp. Cloth $27.95. Paper $8.95.

Death in the Desert: The Fifty Years' War for the Great Southwest. By Paul I. Wellman. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. Originally published: New York: Macmillan, 1935. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. xiv and 294 pp. Cloth $27.95. Paper $8.95.

The University of Nebraska Press has reprinted two classic early accounts of the 19th century frontier Indian wars by Paul Wellman. Wellman's career began as a Kansas newspaperman. Later, he moved to Los Angeles where he worked as a screenwriter, then as a fulltime writer of Western history and fiction.

Both books are representative of an early phase of historical writing on Indian-White relations characterized by popular writers who sensed the great drama of the Indian wars of the 19th century. Both histories are lively and fast-paced, though almost devoid of analysis. Nevertheless, they manage to convey the drama that has captured so much worldwide interest in the American frontier. *Death on the Plains* focuses on the Indian wars of the Northern and Central Plains. With chapters covering such topics as the Minnesota Sioux Uprising, the Custer debacle of 1876, all the way to the bloody field at Wounded Knee in 1890, Wellman narrates a blow-by-blow account of the military movements surrounding each confrontation. *In Death in the Desert,* Wellman chronicles the 50 year struggle to destroy Apache resistance in the American Southwest.

Written during the 1930s, Wellman uses language and terminology which may alarm the modern reader. "The savages yelled as they saw themselves discovered . . ."

(*Death on Plains*, 108); Indians are variously referred to as "red men," "hostile hordes" and "screaming savages." Yet interestingly, Wellman writes with great sympathy for the Indians, often portraying them as victims of American aggression. Wellman's writing might be the historical equivalent of a frontier novel or Hollywood Western. His rapid, flowing style will surely appeal to new generations of Western history readers. It is hoped, however, that those same new readers will credit Wellman for kindling their interest, but then move on to more scholarly studies of Indian-White relations. This is not to say that Wellman has fabricated his stories or composed two works of fiction. He has read many of the primary sources, but has embellished them with a novelist's eye for color and detail. In short, these two works, now back in print, make exciting reading, but if you expect a comprehensive analysis of the Indian Wars of the late 19th century, you will not find it in Wellman's works.

STEVEN C. SCHULTE

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Fort Laramie in 1876: Chronicle of a Frontier Post at War. By Paul L. Hedren. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Illustrated. Maps. Index. Notes. Bibliography. xiii and 312 pp. Cloth $24.95.

To date, three lengthy histories of Fort Laramie have been written, each of them from a different point of view, all of them written by competent historians or accomplished writers, and every one contributing special knowledge and insights. They are LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis M. Young's *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1938), Remi Nadeau's *Fort Laramie and the Sioux Indians* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1967), and David Lavender's *Fort Laramie and the Changing Frontier* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1983). Add to this a brief summary written by the late Fort Laramie Superintendent David L. Hieb—*Fort Laramie National Monument* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1954)—and you have a body of work upon which historians and visitors to Fort Laramie (now called a National Historic Site) can depend for generalizations concerning the post's place in the history of the West and many of the details of its long life.

And yet, incredible as it may seem, none of these works is solidly based on the voluminous military records that exist in the National Archives. In *Fort Laramie in 1876*, Paul Hedren deftly demonstrates the usefulness of this material and what we have been missing. Basic to his study are post and regimental returns. These statistical documents contain very brief accounts of activities: they record troop movements, changes in command, skirmishes and unusual happenings. Hedren puts meat on this skeleton and gives it life by exercise of his organizational skills and the addition of supplemental first-person accounts, information from contemporary newspapers, and judicious use of military correspondence emanating from the post and the administrative and support offices that aided and controlled it, including the District of the Black Hills, the Department of the Platte and the Division of the Missouri.

Hedren sees Fort Laramie playing several specific roles. The post was the closest military base to the Black Hills and the guardian of the most popular route to the goldfields—the road from Cheyenne to Custer City and Deadwood. Troops at Fort Laramie's subposts at Sage Creek and Red Canon protected stage and telegraph lines, keeping transportation and communication links open through continuous patrols, chasing renegade raiders, and escorting civilian wagon trains. Second, Fort Laramie was the funnel through which filtered the men and supplies for the southern arm of the 1876 Sioux Campaign commanded by General George Crook, whose forces engaged in the Reynolds Fight on the Powder River in March, the Battle of the Rosebud in June, the Battle of Slim Buttes in September, and the Dull Knife Battle in November.

Finally, Fort Laramie was the scene of a multitude of arrivals, respites and departures that were the beginnings, middles and ends of a variety of adventures and episodes important in shaping the history of the region. The list of those coming and going in 1876 is a recitation of luminaries in the Western History Hall of Fame: military leaders Philip Sheridan, George Crook, Eugene Carr, Ranald MacKenzie and Wesley Merritt; junior officers John G. Bourke, Charles King and Anson Mills, ultimately destined for greater glory with the pen than the sword; flamboyant Western characters Buffalo Bill, Wild Bill Hickok, Calamity Jane and Captain Jack Crawford; the Irish pencil pusher John T. Finerty, Chief Spotted Tail, Big Bat Pourier, Frank Grouard and Frank North and the Pawnee Scouts. Add to this group, M. Notu, the commander-in-chief, of the royal army of Japan, and you have perhaps a frontier menagerie unequalled in glamour and disparity.

What Hedren undertook was a very difficult task: to tell the story of a post whose daily, on-site mission was patrol and supply, whose resident soldiers participated in some, but not all of the direct action of the 1876 Sioux Campaign, and whose role periodically expanded and contracted as a control center for the military expeditions under Crook's command in the spring, summer and fall. That he succeeds in investing Fort Laramie with a clearly defined personality is a triumph of imagination and scholarship.

The head of the body is Lt. Col. Edwin F. Townsend of the Ninth Infantry, the post commander who labored long and hard to meet the various demands placed on him by his myriad duties; the heart is manifest in the women of the post—Elizabeth Burt and Cynthia Capron—who keep us apprised of the daily happenings and the ebb and flow of emotions; and the arms belong to Capt. Teddy Egan and his Company K of the Second Cavalry, who seem to be everywhere, chasing Sioux on the Black Hills

Trails, riding north to fight with Colonel Joshua J. Reynolds on the Powder River and rushing south to protect ranches on the Chugwater. When the year was over, the Cheyenne had been defeated, Crazy Horse's Sioux had only one more battle left to fight, the Fort Laramie companies that had worked to make this possible were on their way to other assignments, and the post was about to begin an era of peaceful decline.

Hedren's contends that Fort Laramie made its greatest contribution to the settlement of the West during the Centennial Year, and few will dispute the judgment after reading this fascinating book. Now that he has shown the way, hopefully others will treat the fort's preceding military history in similar fashion.

JOHN D. McDERMOTT

The reviewer is a freelance historian, Sheridan, Wyoming.

The Saga of Tom Horn: The Story of a Cattlemen's War. By Dean F. Krakel. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Originally published: Laramie, Wyoming: Powder River Publishers, 1954. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. xi and 274 pp. Cloth $22.95. Paper $8.95.

Few episodes in Wyoming history elicit more interest than the life and hanging of Tom Horn, scout, stock detective and convicted murderer. Horn came to Wyoming in the 1890s, hired by the Wyoming Stock Growers Association in an attempt to deal with the rustling problem. Horn's tactics may have been too extreme for some in the Association as he was soon let go. Shortly thereafter, a few members of the Association hired him on their own. Many believe Horn to be responsible for several killings of so-called rustlers, but no charges were ever brought against him until 1902, and then for the murder on July 18, 1901, of a fourteen year old boy, Willie Nickell. Horn was convicted and hanged on November 20, 1903, for the killing of Nickell.

The Saga of Tom Horn examines Horn's exploits during his years in Wyoming. The strength of the book lies in its coverage of Horn's trial. Extensive portions of the trial transcript are included. Those portions not included are clearly and concisely described by the author. Also, the days leading up to and including the hanging are handled effectively. The myth that Horn never hanged is put to rest in this book.

Other areas of the book are not handled as well as the trial, however. The lack of footnotes is frustrating. A bibliography is included, but it is difficult, at times impossible, to determine from which sources various information comes. Also, the book deals too much in conjecture. In determining motivation for Horn's shooting of Nickell, Krakel uses the incident from 1890 when Kels Nickell, Willie's father, stabbed John Coble. Horn worked for and became a close friend of Coble. According to the book, when Coble told Horn of the incident he became angry. "Horn's hatred of Nickell must have been immediate—secretly he vowed revenge and would someday take careful aim on him . . . ." (p. 13)

When describing the killing of Willie the author also indulges in supposition. He studied the available information then stated: "In view of this evidence perhaps the crime was committed in this way:" (p. 14) This version includes the mistaken belief that Horn mistook Willie for Kels because the boy was wearing his father's hat and slicker. This is not supported by the transcript. No one who was asked what Willie was wearing that fateful day mentioned anything about a slicker.

One wonders if Krakel's views have changed during the intervening 34 years from when the book was originally published. A new introduction by him certainly would have added to this edition.

Even with these drawbacks, *The Saga of Tom Horn* is still the best book about Horn's adventures in Wyoming. The University of Nebraska Press is to be commended for making this long out of print book available again. We probably never will know for sure if Horn did or did not shoot Willie, but that only adds to the mystique of the man whose hanging in 1903 has been described as the end of the Old West.

RICK EWIG

The reviewer is Editor of Annals of Wyoming.

The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915. By Ferenc Morton Szasz. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988. Illustrated. Index. Notes. Bibliography. 288 pp. Cloth $27.50.

This book examines the lives, efforts and influences of the Protestant clergy in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain states. Such an undertaking is admittedly vast in its scope and, given the variety of Protestant denominations, complex. To narrow the field, the author concentrates on the mainstream Protestant bodies—Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, Baptists and Congregationalists—though there are occasional references to other Protestant groups, Catholics, Mormons and Jews.

Szasz devotes much of the book to Protestant evangelism, since bringing religion to the frontier and spreading the gospel were of upmost importance to ministers and missionaries. The religious hurdles faced by evangelicals are detailed in the context of personal trials and social surroundings. Szasz shows that Protestant clergy and churches proved to be quite creative in making the best of their situation, in adapting old methods to fit varied circumstances and in using new developments in transportation to Christianize a large and sometimes indifferent territory. Separate chapters are given to describing Protestant missions among the Indians, Hispanics and Mormons, because these groups presented cultural and dogmatic obstacles to ministers and church leaders.

Missionary endeavors and evangelism are but one part of the western religious experience. The author broadens

the picture to include such topics as Sunday schools, church socials, the role of women within the church, religious schools and colleges, denominational conflict and cooperation, Protestant and Catholic rivalry, the economic and mobile lives of ministers and the theological content of western sermons. Religion in the West was thus more than bringing words of salvation, but embraced many levels of community, individual and intellectual life.

In the center of this activity is the minister. Drawing from a variety of materials on the famous and not so famous, the author finds that the Protestant clergy often assumed many roles in their communities. Besides being preachers, they were also teachers, counselors, administrators, civic-minded individuals and social reformers. Subsequently, the success of the Protestant mission in the West was, in a larger sense, very much dependent upon the personality, attitude and competency of the churches' representatives. Szasz is careful to point out that such men were not always effective or successful. While many ministers exhibited a vibrant and enabling spirit, there were others who were less than inspired with their duties and despondent in their western assignments, both of which could result in frequent ministerial turnovers and tests of faith within the congregation itself.

The book concludes with an examination of the social gospel movement in the West. Szasz stresses that eastern activities, which have been long synonymous with the social gospel movement, had parallels in the West. He gives numerous examples to show the continuity of actions, ideas and personalities and elaborates on those "specific needs of the region," namely the care of health patients and the education and assimilation of Chinese immigrants. He concludes that the social gospel ministry, which supposedly originated in the East in the 1880s, was an integral part of the western Protestant mission in the 1860s.

Szasz ends the chapter with a two page look at the literature of Charles M. Sheldon. Though a little too succinct, it is disappointing in that it does not reveal whether or not Sheldon's efforts had any real effect or were echoed elsewhere. While Sheldon has been recognized as the western social gospel theologian, any comparison between him and Walter Rauschenbusch will have to be found elsewhere.

The book is not a definitive work in other ways due to the author's efforts to narrow the scope of his topic. Except for Hispanics, Chinese and Indians, Europeans, other Asian immigrants and Blacks are incidental facts. Szasz also does not mention the role of regional denominational networks. His treatment of national church policies for Indians, Hispanics and Mormons on one hand, and home missionary activities on the other are not balanced in terms of effort and administrative problems. His discussions about national concerns for the welfare of western churches are too general with the result that the Protestant experience appears largely the byproduct of numerous unorganized individuals working independently of their respective churches.

These problems do not significantly affect the overall purpose of the book. In his introduction, Szasz comments that of all western characters, the clergy have not received their due consideration in historical studies, let alone in cinema or popular myth. Towards these ends he has accomplished his task. He has drawn upon a broad range of sources and studies for a colorful and informative narrative and has amply documented his research. The bibliography, however, does not do the author justice, and the interested researcher is best advised to refer only to the footnotes for source material. It is, overall, an insightful and useful book which should encourage further work on this multifaceted subject.

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Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives. Edited by Lillian Schlissel, Vicki L. Ruiz and Janice Monk. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988. Illustrated. Index. Notes. vi and 346 pp. Cloth $27.50. Paper $14.95.

In the last decade, historians have tried to understand the experiences of women in the American West from a multi-cultural, class-sensitive perspective. Doing so upsets conventional wisdom, throwing into question even the notion of a "West" (which after all was, for migrants from Mexico, the North). This record of scholarly self-criticism, often painful, has yielded exciting results in four major conferences, several collections of essays, countless journal articles, and increasingly in full-length monographs.

Most of the essays and commentaries in this anthology were presented in 1984, at a conference sponsored by the Southwest Institute for Research on Women and Women's Studies at the University of Arizona. This volume reflects scholars' commitment to seeing Western women's diversity. The editors have gathered together studies of Anglo domestic ideology, Native American religion, frontier family tensions, Mexican-American women's work, women's responses to Western landscape, cross-cultural marriage in the fur trade, Indian women's legal rights, comparative frontier studies and historic site interpretation. The comments that follow each essay reflect the virtues and vices of conference comments. Some provide useful summaries, comparisons or challenges. Others seem to be the commentator's way of getting in a plug for his or her own work.

Worth singling out in the collection are Robert Griswold's elegant discussion of domesticity, Vicki Ruiz' well-crafted piece on Mexican-American women, and Genevieve Chato and Christine Conte's rich and disturbing study of the erosion of Indian women's rights. These pieces and the comments that follow each demonstrate the importance of gender, class and ethnicity for Western

women's relation to culture, the economy and the state. Jacqueline Peterson also contributes an innovative essay on the connection between native women's religious experiences and their willingness to marry White men. Antonia Castaneda's comment on Sandra Myres' essay deserves mention as especially illuminating.

The editors offer an introduction to each main essay, as well as a general introduction and epilogue. They sometimes claim too much for the volume. The call for Western community studies seems dated in light of work by Kathleen Underwood on Grand Junction and Paula Petrik on Helena, for example. The suggestion that Western women's historians have done little work on efforts to "christianize" non-Christian people, and have failed to appreciate the importance of ethnicity and class, does a disservice to Western women's historians who have tackled these issues, and belies the voluminous and informative endnotes that follow each article in *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives*.

In the epilogue the editors offer an agenda for future research. For the most part they raise significant questions, but in a couple of cases they miss the mark. Do we really "need to ask whether domestic ideology was a constructive or a negative system for Western women?" Can we even answer such a question? They also ask whether the West is "a region best (or only) understood by Westerners," drawing a parallel to the matter of whether ethnic history can "be written by scholars who do not share an ethnic identification with their research subjects." These are not comparable issues. A person can change geographical affiliation by moving from Montana to Maine or Australia to Arizona; one does not ordinarily change ethnicity by hitting the road. Regional identity, while important, does not have nearly the pervasive salience of race or ethnicity.

Quibbles aside, *Western Women* is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of women in the American West. The editors are to be commended for assembling a provocative group of pieces which testify to the growth and variety of research in the field.

VIRGINIA SCHARFF

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BOOK NOTES

Basin City: The First County Seat in the Big Horn Basin. By Lylas Skovgard. Basin, Wyoming: TimberTrails, 1988. Illustrated. Maps. Index. xiv and 146 pp. Paper $10.95.

The early years of Basin, Wyoming (1896-1918), located in Big Horn County, are recounted in this book. The study is not intended to be a complete history of Basin, but a recounting of the major events which helped shape the town during its formative years. The book concludes with biographical information about some of the town's original settlers.

Preserving the Game: Gambling, Mining, Hunting & Conservation in the Vanishing West. By J. R. Jones. Edited by Reade W. Dornan and Tom Trusky. Boise, Idaho: Hemingway Western Studies Center, Boise State University, 1989. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. iii and 172 pp. Paper $14.95.

Not only was J. R. Jones a gambler at cards, but also at life, such as the time he took up homesteading at Jackson Hole, Wyoming, in 1907. Jones' careers included big game hunter, homesteader, merchant, conservationist and author. His articles and short stories, some of which were published in such magazines as *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Sunset Magazine*, have now been compiled in this volume. Topics range from gambling in western gold camps, Jones' support for the creation of Grand Teton National Park, to the saving of the pronghorns. Included at the beginning of every chapter is biographical information about Jones written by Reade Dornan, English Professor at the University of Michigan, Flint.

Pony Trails in Wyoming: Hoofprints of a Cowboy and U.S. Ranger. By John K. Rollinson. Edited by E. A. Brininstool. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Originally published: Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1941. Illustrated. Index. 425 pp. Cloth $29.95. Paper $11.95.

John K. Rollinson left New York in 1890 at the age of sixteen to become a Wyoming cowboy. This he did and in *Pony Trails in Wyoming* he recounts his many experiences in Wyoming which included cowpunching, trapping, breaking horses and driving a freight team. He also was a U.S. ranger in the Yellowstone Park area.

Utah: A People's History. By Dean L. May. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987. Illustrated. Maps. Index. Bibliography. xii and 210 pp. Paper.

Written in conjunction with a television series about Utah history, this book examines Utah from its desert beginnings, to its settlement and up to present day. This general history is what the author describes as "popular and personal." At the end of each chapter annotated bibliographies are included.

The Wild Bunch at Robbers Roost. By Pearl Baker. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. Originally published: New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1971. Illustrated. Index. Maps. 224 pp. Cloth $19.95. Paper $7.95.

The Robbers Roost is located in southeastern Utah and was used as a hideout by outlaws, including Butch Cassidy, in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The area is perfect for such a purpose. The terrain is hazardous, it is remote and easily defendable. The author grew up on a ranch that included Robbers Roost and heard many of the legends and spoke to many who remembered that time period.

The Country Railroad Station in America. By H. Roger Grant and Charles W. Bohi. Sioux Falls, South Dakota: The Center For Western Studies, Augustana College, 1988. Illustrated. Index. Additional Readings. 192 pp. Paper $19.95.

This revised and enlarged version of the 1978 edition, looks at country railroad and interurban stations found in the United States and Canada, although its major focus is the stations in the Midwest. The authors explore the importance of the stations as a community hub and provide "an architectural overview of the combination freight and passenger depot."

Touring the Old West. By Kent Ruth. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. Originally published: Brattleboro, Vermont: S. Greene Press, 1971. Illustrated. Maps. Index. Bibliography. 218 pp. Cloth $21.95. Paper $7.95.

Kent Ruth has compiled a guide to what remains of the western frontier in 21 states, including Wyoming. He describes the various trails located in the West, forts, fur trade sites, gold and silver camps, hotels, ghost towns, mountains and mountain passes, rivers and the Indians of the Southwest.

Yellowstone Place Names. By Lee H. Whittlesey. Helena: The Montana Historical Society Press, 1988. Illustrated. Maps. Bibliography. xviii and 178 pp. Paper $11.95.

More than 650 Yellowstone National Park place names can be found in this book. Compiled by the author during 12 years of research, the information provided can be used as a guide to the park, a commentary on unique places and a concise history of Yellowstone.

Mesa Verde National Park: Shadows of the Centuries. By Duane A. Smith. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1988. Illustrated. Bibliography. Notes. Index. Maps. xi and 254 pp. Cloth $25.00. Paper $12.95.

Mesa Verde National Park, located in the southwestern corner of Colorado, is the only national park preserving the culture of prehistoric man. This book details the discovery of the cliff dwellings and Anasazi ruins in 1888, the struggle to establish the park, which was led by a small group of women environmentalists, and the development and management of the park. Also explored are the effects of railroads and highways on the park along with an evaluation of the impact of tourism.

Discovering Wyoming. By Robert A. Campbell and Roy A. Jordan. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1989. Illustrated. Index. Maps. 184 pp. Cloth $15.95.

Wyoming fourth grade teachers now have a new textbook to use in their classroom. *Discovering Wyoming* explores Wyoming's environment, geology, its first people, mountain men, the western migration, statehood, the world wars, the years since World War II, state and local government, the state's ethnic heritage and also looks ahead.

INDEX

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P

R

S

T

U

W

Y