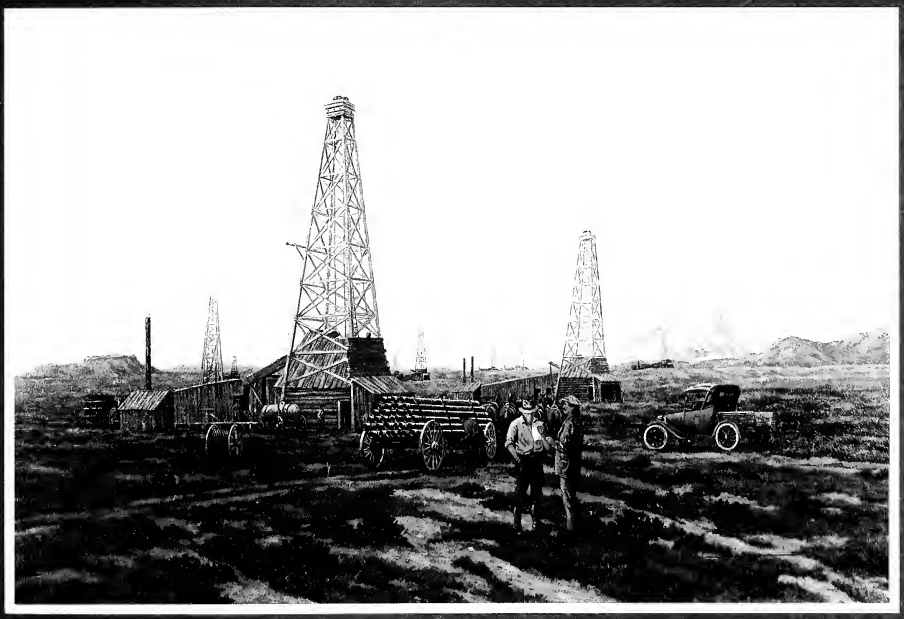
ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 63, No. 1 Winter 1991



In 1895 the state of Wyoming established a department to collect and preserve materials which interpret the history of Wyoming. Today those duties are performed by the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources in the Department of Commerce. Located in the department are the State Historical Research Library, the State Archives, the State Museum, the State Art Gallery, the State Historic Sites, and the State Historic Preservation Office. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artwork and artifacts for museum exhibit. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts.

ABOUT THE COVER—The development of the oil industry has been a significant factor in Wyoming's history. This painting, "Early Day Oil Field—Wyoming" by Dave Paulley, from the Wyoming History in Art Project sponsored by the Wyoming State Historical Society, depicts a typical scene of oil production in the Salt Creek area near Midwest, Wyoming, during the 1920s. Oil and other minerals are important to Wyoming because of the revenue it brings to the state through the severance tax. For a discussion of the passage of Wyoming's severance tax in 1969 and the role Ernest Wilkerson played see "Wyoming's Wealth for Wyoming's People: Ernest Wilkerson and the Severance Tax—A Study in Wyoming Political History," by Sarah Gorin.

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ANNALS OF WYOMING was established in 1923 to disseminate historical information about Wyoming and the West through the publication of articles and documents. The editors of ANNALS OF WYOMING welcome manuscripts on every aspect of Wyoming and Western history.

Authors should submit two typed, double-spaced copies of their manuscripts with footnotes placed at the end. Manuscripts submitted should conform to A MANUAL OF STYLE (University of Chicago Press). The Editor reserves the right to submit all manuscripts to members of the Editorial Advisory Board or to authorities in the field of study for recommendations. Published articles represent the view of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce or the Wyoming State Historical Society.

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ANNALS OF WYOMING is published quarterly by the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Membership dues are: Single $9; Joint $12; Institutional $20; Life $150; Joint Life $200. Current membership is 1,887. Copies of previous and current issues of ANNALS may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life.

WILLIAM JEFFERSON HARDIN:

Wyoming's Nineteenth Century Black Legislator

by Roger D. Hardaway

COURTESY WYOMING STATE MUSEUM (WSM)

The author gratefully acknowledges receipt of a grant from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities, an affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which helped finance the research for this article.

Several thousand Blacks went west during the late nineteenth century as a small but vital part of the westward movement. Like their White counterparts, Blacks on the frontier were trappers and traders, soldiers, cowboys, miners, farmers, and entrepreneurs. After the Civil War, many Blacks left the South seeking a better life away from the Jim Crow society that existed there. Most went north, and only a comparative few turned west. Consequently, until recently, the contributions Blacks made to the western frontier have been ignored. During the past quarter century, however, historians have attempted, to some degree, to chronicle the achievements of Blacks in the American West.[1] This article is an effort to contribute to that endeavor by focusing on William Jefferson Hardin, a Black man who was twice elected to the Wyoming Territorial Legislature in an era and from a place where Whites greatly outnumbered Blacks and often subjected them to discriminatory treatment.

Hardin took an erratic route from his native South to the Rocky Mountain West. Born in Kentucky around 1830, Hardin lived in that state until he reached adulthood. He was never a slave because his mother was a free Black and his father was White. Hardin's free status allowed him to receive an education, and he subsequently became a school teacher in the Kentucky city of Bowling Green for a brief period. With the advent of the gold rush to California, Hardin decided sometime after 1850 to seek his fortune there. He spent the next several years as a wanderer, living in Canada, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska before settling in Denver, Colorado, in 1863.[2]

Hardin lived in Denver for a decade, and became a leader in the city's Black community. A dynamic speaker, he soon became known as the "Colored Orator of Denver." He advocated integrated public schools and led the fight for Black suffrage against formidable White opposition. Then, when Congress granted the franchise to Black men in all of the territories in 1867, Hardin became an important asset to the local Republican party. He helped deliver the Black vote for the GOP, and party leaders rewarded him for his efforts. In 1872 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention that nominated President Ulysses S. Grant for a second term. A more lucrative recompense was the job party officials obtained for him at the Denver branch of the U.S. Mint in 1873.[3]

In the latter year, however, Hardin left Denver with his reputation and career in shambles. First, he married Nellie Davidson, a White woman from New York who worked as a milliner in the Colorado capital. Soon thereafter, a Black woman calling herself Caroline Hardin came to town with proof that she had married Hardin in Kentucky in 1850, and claiming that this marriage had produced a daughter. Moreover, she charged that Hardin had moved from Omaha to Denver in 1863 only to avoid being drafted into the Union Army. Hardin admitted that he had dodged the draft, that he had participated in a marriage ceremony with the woman, and that he was the father of the daughter. He argued, however, that the marriage to Caroline was illegal and therefore void when it was made because he had been a minor and she a slave at the time. Hardin was never charged with bigamy or any other crime, and he continued to live with Nellie for years after his purported marriage to Caroline became public knowledge. This episode nevertheless prompted the director of the mint to fire him, and Hardin decided to

1. The best general survey of the subject is W. Sherman Savage, *Blacks in the West* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976). See also William Loren Katz, *The Black West,* rev. ed. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1973), which is profusely illustrated. The pioneering historian in the field was Kenneth Wiggins Porter whose several articles on the topic are collected in *The Negro on the American Frontier* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1971). An early assessment of the work done by recent historians in this area is Lawrence B. deGraaf, "Recognition, Racism, and Reflections on the Writing of Western Black History," *Pacific Historical Review* 44 (1975): 22-51.

2. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* November 9, 1879, p. 2; Eugene H. Berwanger, "William J. Hardin: Colorado Spokesman for Racial Justice, 1863-1873," *The Colorado Magazine* 52 (Winter 1975): 52, 62; Forbes Parkhill, *Mister Barney Ford: A Portrait in Bistre* (Denver: Sage Books, 1963), p. 127; and *1880 Wyoming Census,* p. 316, copy in Historical Research and Publications, Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Wyoming Department of Commerce (HR&P), Cheyenne. Berwanger places Hardin's year of birth at 1831 because he was thirty-nine when the 1870 Colorado census was taken. The 1880 Wyoming census, taken on June 4, 1880, lists Hardin as being fifty years old at that time. Hardin always claimed that his father was the brother of Kentucky Congressman Benjamin Hardin who is profiled in James L. Harrison, compiler, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 1265.

3. Hardin's activities as a leader of the Black community in Denver are detailed in Berwanger, "William J. Hardin," *The Colorado Magazine* 52 (Winter 1975): 52-65. See also Eugene H. Berwanger, "Hardin and Langston: Western Black Spokesmen of the Reconstruction Era," *The Journal of Negro History* 64 (Spring 1979): 101-115.

leave Denver, where his future looked bleak, and move north to Wyoming in late 1873.[4]

Hardin settled in Cheyenne and opened a barbershop. He had held several jobs while in Colorado, but had barbered immediately prior to his appointment at the mint. He continued to earn his living in this manner during the ten years or so that he resided in Wyoming. The typical late nineteenth-century barber was Black, and undoubtedly Hardin became well known to Cheyenne's White male leaders in part because so many of them frequented his establishment. A business directory printed in a Cheyenne newspaper in 1878 listed Hardin as one of only four barbers in the city, indicating that a significant percentage of Whites in the area used his services. At any rate, by the end of the decade of the 1870s, Hardin was known and respected by most people in the territory's small capital city. The scandal that had forced him out of Denver apparently did not in any way limit his acceptance into Cheyenne social and political life.[5]

One interesting aspect of Hardin's makeup that bears noting was his physical appearance. The *Cheyenne Daily Sun* described him as being "of slim and slender build, five feet ten inches high, weighs 140 pounds . . .; has black curly hair with moustache and elfin whiskers of the same color and black eyes. Has sharp well cut features, thin lips and small mouth, long sharp nose and an orange complexion." His mother had one White parent, and, thus, Hardin was only one-fourth Black. He was very light-skinned, and the newspaper portrayed him as having "no resemblance in his features to the African race." Moreover, the paper concluded, "he looks more like an Italian or a Frenchman than a colored man." In the late nineteenth century, Blacks who did not have pronounced Negroid characteristics were usually more acceptable to Whites and more likely to progress in a White-dominated society. One Colorado historian has argued that most of the successful Blacks in Denver in the late nineteenth century, including Hardin, were of mixed blood. Another has noted that a Denver newspaper editor attributed Hardin's intelligence and leadership abilities to the "white" blood that he possessed.[6] Presumably, his light skin was an asset to him in Wyoming as well as in Colorado.

Two attributes that were definitely advantages to Hardin's political success were his great speaking ability and his outgoing personality. Perhaps his march to the Wyoming legislature began in March, 1878, when he addressed the membership of a local Presbyterian church on the evils of alcohol. The *Daily Sun* reported that it was only the second public speech Hardin had made since moving to Wyoming. His effort, the paper reported, was "frequently interrupted by applause." By the following year, Hardin was so well known throughout the city as an outstanding orator that he was often called upon to address public meetings.[7]

Hardin's ability to make friends is evident in examining the manner in which he came to be nominated and then elected to the Wyoming House of Representatives in 1879. At that time Wyoming had five counties, all of which stretched from the southern to the northern borders of the territory. Legislators were elected from counties according to an apportionment scheme set up by the territorial governor as mandated by Congress. Laramie County, where Cheyenne was (and is) located, was the most populous county and was entitled to four delegates in the Council, the upper chamber, and nine members in the House.[8]

Each party was to nominate candidates at a county convention for the general election to be held on September 2, 1879. On August 7, the *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* the

4. Berwanger, "William J. Hardin," pp. 61-64; and Parkhill, *Mister Barney Ford,* p. 159. Nellie Davidson Hardin's place of birth is found in *1880 Wyoming Census,* p. 316. Hardin's move to Wyoming, but not the reasons for it, is mentioned in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* November 9, 1879, p. 2.

5. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* November 9, 1879, p. 2; January 29, 1878, p. 1; and Berwanger, "William J. Hardin," p. 53. In *1880 Wyoming Census,* p. 316, Hardin is listed as being a barber. On Blacks and the barbering profession, see: Kenneth Wiggins Porter, "Foreword," to Elmer R. Rusco, *"Good Time Coming?": Black Nevadans in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975), p. xiii; Harmon Mothershead, "Negro Rights in Colorado Territory (1859-1867)," *The Colorado Magazine* 40 (1940): 213; and Berwanger, "Hardin and Langston," p. 102.

6. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* November 9, 1879, p. 2; Lyle W. Dorsett, *The Queen City: A History of Denver* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1977), p. 53; and Robert G. Athearn, *The Coloradans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), p. 80. Hardin may have had even less than one-fourth Black blood. Berwanger, "William J. Hardin," p. 52, says that Hardin's mother was one-fourth Black, making Hardin only one-eighth Black. However, Berwanger's source for this statement appears to be the *Daily Sun* article cited above which states that Hardin, not his mother, was one-fourth Black.

7. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* March 19, 1878, p. 4.

8. T.A. Larson, *History of Wyoming,* 2nd ed., rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 96; Marie H. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book: A Legal and Political History of Wyoming, 1868-1943* (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1946), p. 137; and *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* December 14, 1879, p. 4.

other newspaper in the capital city, proposed the creation of a fusion or union ticket made up of both Democrats and Republicans. This would, in effect, allow the delegates to the two county conventions, rather than the voters, to choose the people who would represent Laramie County in the legislature. The reason for this proposal, the newspaper explained, was that it was difficult to get qualified candidates who were willing to make enemies and spend money to obtain positions that paid little and took them away from their occupations. A fusion ticket would presumably attract good candidates who would otherwise refuse to run. Party leaders assented to the plan, and each party agreed to nominate at county conventions two of its members for the Council and four for the House. A drawing was held for the ninth House seat, and the Republicans won that position.[9]

The parties held their conventions at the Cheyenne city hall at the same time so that party leaders could keep up with the proceedings of the other body. The Republicans quickly settled on two Council and four House nominees. A struggle ensued, however, when the delegates sought to choose their fifth House candidate. Three people were being considered for the ballot position, including Hardin who was a delegate to the convention. At this point in the proceedings, several Democrats, whose convention had adjourned, came into the Republican meeting hall. When the Democrats learned that Hardin was in the running for the last position on the bipartisan slate, they "electioneered openly for him" among Republican delegates. After two ballots, both of which Hardin led, Republican leader Francis E. Warren moved that Hardin be declared nominated. "The motion was carried," the *Daily Leader* observed, "amid loud cheering." Hardin's acceptance speech was applauded by members of both parties, and "brought down the house."[10]

The *Daily Sun* editorially praised the selection of Hardin as "one of the best nominations made" by the two conventions. "Although classed with our colored brethren," the newspaper noted, "he has broken down race prejudice . . . by pre-eminent manifestations of ability and upright conduct."[11] Later, the newspaper published a long biography of Hardin in which it lauded his personality:

> He is very neat and tidy in his dress, modest and unassuming, polite and agreeable in his manners, treating every man as a gentleman and every woman as a lady, regardless of their dress, position or circumstance. He has a happy faculty of making friends among all classes of people, and . . . he knows how to keep them after he has made them. These qualities . . . have made him popular with the people.[12]

Hardin, like all other candidates on the fusion ticket, believed that his nomination assured him of election. That, however, was not to be the case. Some people in Cheyenne began to complain about the manner in which the slate had been chosen. A leading dissenter was Herman Glafcke, editor of the *Daily Leader* and the person who had conceived the idea of the united ticket. When the two parties held their conventions, Glafcke was out of town on business. When he returned, he was chagrined to learn that the editor of the *Daily Sun,* Edward A. Slack, was one of the candidates for the Council. Not only were these two men rival editors of the only newspapers in town, they had been political enemies since at least 1873 when Slack had advocated Glafcke's removal from the position of secretary of the territory. At any rate, a convention of "workingmen" met at city hall on the Friday night before the Tuesday general election and nominated a second group of candidates for the legislature. One of these nominees was Glafcke, who was now a candidate for the Council against Slack and others.[13]

When the workingmen's convention met, Hardin made a calculated political move that could have backfired, but ultimately proved to be beneficial to him: he attended the convention as a spectator. After the delegates chose their thirteen legislative nominees, they urged Hardin to make a speech prior to adjourning. Such conduct by Hardin could have upset those supporting the fusion ticket. Instead, however, it indirectly guaranteed his election because the day after the convention met, four of the nominees who had not attended the gathering declined to run. The backers of the workingmen's movement rushed to fill those places on their ballot, and they offered one of the House positions to Hardin. Thus, he went into the election as a nominee on both tickets.[14]

9. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* September 2, 1879, p. 4 (reprint of editorial that appeared in the *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* August 7, 1879); and *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* August 19, p. 4, August 21, p. 4, and August 30, 1879, p. 4.
10. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* August 19, p. 4, and August 21, 1879, p. 4. See also *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* August 21, 1879, p. 4.
11. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* August 22, 1879, p. 4.
12. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* November 9, 1879, p. 2.
13. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* August 30, 1879, p. 4; *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* September 1, 1879, p. 2; and Larson, *History of Wyoming,* p. 125.
14. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* August 30, p. 4, and August 31, 1879, p. 4.

Obviously, Hardin had support among all political factions in Cheyenne. Not surprisingly, Blacks in the city were elated with his nomination and supported him wholeheartedly. They held a meeting and drafted a resolution that was published in the *Daily Sun* on the morning of the election. In the declaration, they praised Hardin and the White political leaders who had supported his nomination. "We believe him to be a good man," their statement said, "and one who is worthy of this position . . . . We rejoice to know that our white fellow-citizens were mindful enough of the colored race to give them one representative in Wyoming Territory."[15]

The fact that Hardin had many friends in Cheyenne and strong support among those friends is evident in an analysis of the election returns. For the House, each voter was allowed to vote for nine candidates, and the nine people with the most votes would be elected. Hardin won easily, finishing third among all candidates. One additional victor was endorsed by both the fusion and the workingmen's tickets, while the other winners included four fusion candidates and three members of the workingmen's slate. The four Council seats were taken by one person endorsed by both factions, one fusion candidate, and two workingmen. Thus, the strength of the two tickets was roughly equal, and Hardin could easily have lost had he not been on both tickets.[16]

Hardin did much better in the city of Cheyenne than in the rural precincts of Laramie County. Sixteen candidates were running for the nine county House seats. These included the nine fusion candidates and seven additional workingmen's nominees. Hardin finished second among all candidates in Cheyenne, winning 903 votes from the 1,256 people who cast ballots there; thus, 79.1 percent of Cheyenne's voters gave one of their nine votes to Hardin. In the rural precincts, however, only 29.1 percent of the electorate supported him. There, he received eighty-five votes from 292 voters and finished fifteenth among the candidates. Thus, he did very well among his fellow city dwellers, but not well at all among rural voters

15. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* September 2, 1879, p. 4.

16. Official election returns are reproduced in *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* September 14, 1879, p. 4; and in Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* pp. 224-225. Hardin received 988 votes from 1,548 voters; 63.8 percent of the electorate voted for him. Herman Glafcke was elected to the Council while Edward Slack was defeated.

17. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* September 14, 1879, p. 4; and Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* pp. 224-225. Three other people who had been nominated on the workingmen's ticket but later withdrew received a few scattered votes from the rural precincts probably because the ballots sent to those precincts were printed before they announced their withdrawals.

OFFICIAL 1879 ELECTION RETURNS:
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, LARAMIE COUNTY

Candidates in order of finish	Cheyenne Votes	Cheyenne Rank	Rural Votes	Rural Rank	Total Votes
*1. S.K. Sharpless	1140	1	215	1	1355
*2. John E. Davis	814	3	181	4	995
*3. W.J. Hardin	903	2	85	15	988
*4. W.H. Hibbard	807	4	177	5	984
*5. W.C. Irvine	702	5	198	2	900
*6. Thomas Conroy	695	6	157	7	852
*7. E.W. Mann	660	8	129	9	789
*8. J.S. Taylor	661	7	121	11	782
*9. B.F. Deitrick	614	10	125	10	739
10. Peter Hamma	530	14	195	3	725
11. D.C. Tracy	621	9	92	14	713
12. R.B. Horrie	540	12	152	8	692
13. J.R. Whitehead	539	13	118	12	657
14. I.N. Bard	477	16	176	6	653
15. Milton Taylor	568	11	67	16	635
16. F.L. Greene	491	15	98	13	589
17. H.B. Kelly	0	--	43	17	43
18. E. Nagle	0	--	39	18	39
19. T.N. Shanks	0	--	29	19	29

* = Elected

Figures are from the Cheyenne Daily Leader, *September 14, 1879, p. 4.*

who surely did not know him as well as did Cheyenneites.[17]

Another obvious observation is that most Cheyenne voters exhibited no racial prejudice. Certainly, some Whites refused to vote for a Black man, but the number was so small as to be insignificant. Rural voters, however, must have allowed race to affect their voting behavior to a great extent. The other House candidate endorsed by both factions finished first in both Cheyenne and the rural areas. One would expect Hardin, the only other candidate with a dual endorsement, to finish at least second in the rural precincts as he did in the city. Had he been as well known among rural voters as he was with city dwellers perhaps he would have received more rural votes. But the difference between his city and rural results is so great that racial prejudice is the only plausible explanation.[18]

Further evidence of the racial tolerance of Cheyenne's 1879 White voters is found in examining the demographics of Laramie County. This can best be done by studying the 1880 Wyoming census. In that year, only 194 (or 3 percent) of the 6,409 people counted by the census bureau in the county were Black; most of them lived in Cheyenne. Just how many Blacks voted in 1879 is not known, but the number was obviously small—less than 194. Hardin's margin of victory over the losing candidate with the most votes, the person who finished tenth, was 263 votes. Had every Black person in Laramie County been eligible to vote in 1879 and had all voted for Hardin, he would nevertheless have had enough White votes to be elected. Consequently, Hardin's election shows that, compared to other frontier areas and even rural Laramie County, the voters of Cheyenne were remarkably free of racial prejudice in 1879. The *Daily Leader* agreed, calling Hardin's election "a moral triumph for the people." Moreover, the paper added, "what other territory or northern state can boast of such liberality?"[19]

The Sixth Legislative Assembly met in Cheyenne for forty days, from November 4 to December 13, 1879. Hardin was appointed to only one of the sixteen standing committees of the House, the relatively minor one of Indian and Military Affairs. He was also the House representative on a two-man Joint Standing Committee on Printing which was likewise not a choice assignment. That Hardin was not given better committee assignments is puzzling since Republicans held sixteen of the twenty-seven House seats, and the Speaker of the House and Hardin were friends. Perhaps Hardin was appointed to the committees on which he wished to serve, or perhaps the House leadership was reluctant to assign a Black legislator to more significant committees. Another possible factor is that House members did not simply line up on issues by party affiliation. Some of the more important issues facing the lawmakers were sectional in nature, with representatives from outside Laramie County seeking to move the capital west and attempting to reapportion the legislature by shifting seats from Laramie County to the state's other regions. Thus, the Speaker, who was from Albany County, perhaps believed that he should give choice committee assignments to his western supporters regardless of party membership.[20]

Hardin lived up to his reputation as a distinguished orator during the 1879 session of the Wyoming legislature. When, on opening day, the members of the House selected H.L. Myrick as Speaker, Hardin was chosen to make the speech introducing the new leader to the representatives. On at least one occasion he was called upon to sit in the Speaker's chair to preside over the House when it met as a committee of the whole. Perhaps the two most memorable speeches of the session were Hardin's opposing the move of the capital from Cheyenne to the city of Laramie, and resisting a reapportionment bill that would have cost Laramie County seats in the legislature. On both occasions, the gallery of the House was packed with local citizens who applauded loudly their representative's stirring words.[21]

Hardin introduced six bills during the Sixth Legislative Assembly. The subjects of those measures ranged from building fences and killing chicken hawks to setting salaries

18. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* September 14, 1879, p. 4; and Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* pp. 224-225.

19. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* September 4, p. 4, and September 14, 1879, p. 4; Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* pp. 224-225; and *Compendium of the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880), Compiled Pursuant to An Act of Congress Approved August 7, 1882,* Part I (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 379. Ironically, the *1880 Wyoming Census,* p. 316, incorrectly listed Hardin as being White. The only other Black person elected to a state or territorial legislature outside the South in 1879 was George Washington Williams of Ohio. Letter to author from Gary J. Arnold, Ohio Historical Society, May 23, 1990.

20. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* December 14, 1879, pp. 4-5; and Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* p. 162.

21. *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* November 5, 1879, p. 4; *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* December 4, 1879, p. 4; *Laramie Sentinel,* December 20, 1879, p. 2; and C.G. Coutant, "History of Wyoming, Written by C.G. Coutant, Pioneer Historian, and Heretofore Unpublished, Chapter XXII," *Annals of Wyoming* 14 (April 1942): 151.

of county officials. Anyone reviewing the 1879 legislative journals and laws passed at that session, however, has difficulty determining just what effect Hardin had on the legal history of territorial Wyoming. For example, the bill Hardin introduced concerning county officials' salaries was replaced by a committee substitute measure. The bill that was ultimately enacted is printed in the 1879 session laws, but Hardin's bill in its original form has not been preserved. Thus, how much of the final law came from Hardin's proposal is not known.[22]

Moreover, bills are mentioned in the legislative journals only by their titles and, if the measures never became law, no way exists to determine the content of those bills. One of Hardin's bills, regulating the construction of wire fences, was amended to delete a section. Hardin moved to put the clause back in and, when this motion was defeated, he was forced to vote against his own measure. But the journals do not explain what Hardin's original bill proposed nor what was in the crucial section removed against his wishes. Another of Hardin's proffered statutes proposed "to bind out and apprentice certain minors," but no explanation of what he had in mind on this subject exists. The title of another Hardin bill, however, gives some indication of the legislator's philosophy even though this law, too, never passed. That measure was designed "to prevent non-tax payers from voting at elections for the issuing of bonds or imposing taxes." The taxes referred to were property assessments, and Hardin, who had become a property owner in Cheyenne in April, 1878, did not want his property taxes raised by those who would not have to bear the burden of a tax increase.[23]

Two of Hardin's proposed laws were enacted. One, "to protect dairymen," is impossible to track through the 1879 session laws under that title or subject matter. This is not surprising when one realizes that Hardin's other successful bill, "to protect poultry," was renamed "an act for the destruction of hawks and eagles" before its final enactment. This latter law is an interesting one, and the nature of its contents suggests to some degree what was important to the residents of a sparsely populated frontier territory in the late nineteenth century. Hardin's original idea was to protect poultry by establishing a bounty for chicken hawks. This bill breezed through the House, twenty-five to zero, with two legislators absent. The Council, however, wanted a bounty on eagles as well, and amended the bill. When the House voted again on the measure, as amended by the Council, the vote was a narrow sixteen to eleven in favor of passage. One of the "no" votes was cast by a member who was absent when the first vote was taken, but the other ten dissenters were legislators who had supported the original proposal, but could not bring themselves to advocate the demise of a bird, one species of which was a symbol of the country. The law as passed required the territory's county commissions to pay a twenty-five cent reward to anyone killing a hawk or eagle. To claim the money, a person had to present to the commissioners the head of the dead bird and an affidavit attesting that the person claiming the bounty had killed the predator.[24]

One of the more significant bills passed by the Sixth Legislative Assembly changed the meeting dates of future territorial legislatures. Instead of convening in November of odd-numbered years, legislatures would now meet beginning in January of even-numbered years starting

22. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* December 14, 1879, pp. 4-5; and *Session Laws of Wyoming Territory, Passed by the Sixth Legislative Assembly, Convened at Cheyenne, November 4, 1879* (Cheyenne: Leader Steam Book and Job Printing, 1879), chapter 35, pp. 74-87.

CHAPTER 46.

Hawks and Eagles—Bounty For.

AN ACT for the Destruction of Hawks and Eagles.

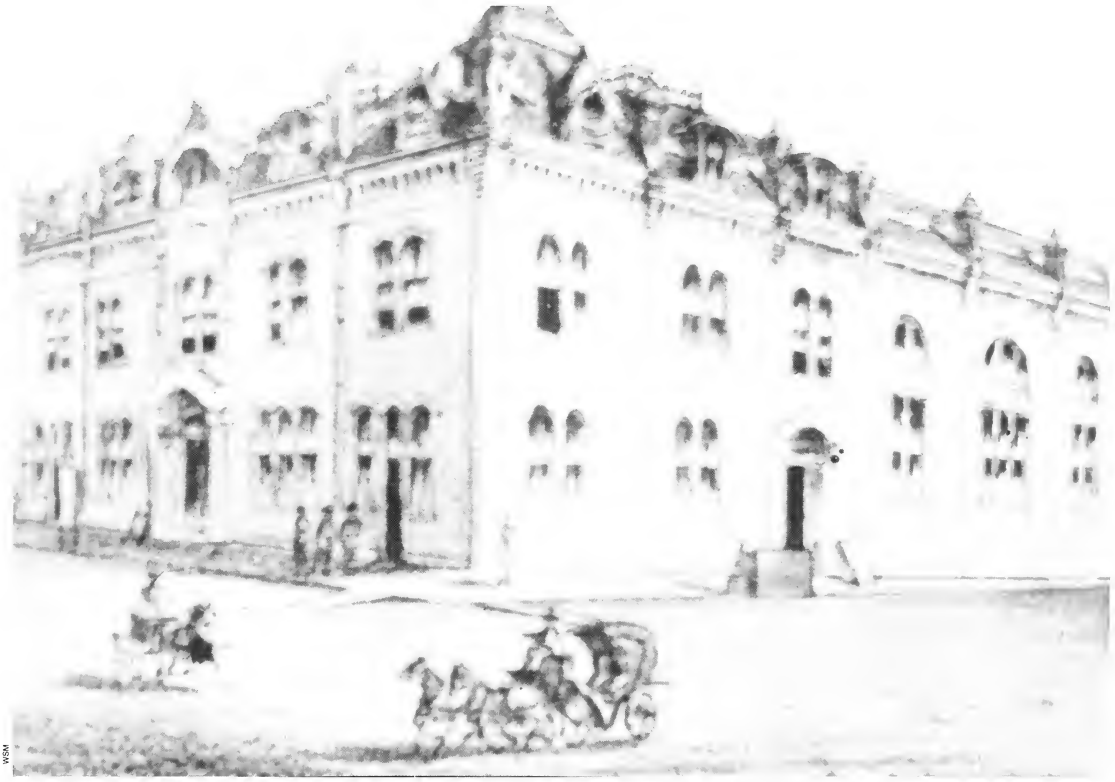
Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wyoming:

SECTION 1. The county commissioners of the various counties in this Territory are hereby authorized and required to encourage the destruction of hawks and eagles by making payment out of the county fund to any person who shall engage in the destruction of hawks or eagles, the sum of twenty-five cents for each hawk or eagle killed by such person. The person so engaged who may desire the compensation above named shall present to the chairman of the board of county commissioners of the county, in which the hawks or eagles were killed, the heads of such hawks and eagles claimed to have been killed, together with an affidavit, that the hawk or eagle from which said head was taken, was killed in the county by the person presenting said head, which head and affidavit, shall be evidence that the hawk or eagle was killed by the person so producing it. It

During the 1879 legislative session Hardin introduced a bill "to protect poultry" which became "An Act for the Destruction of Hawks and Eagles."

23. *House Journal 1879,* p. 197, typescript copy with no date or place of publication in Wyoming State Archives, Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne; *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* December 14, 1879, pp. 4-5; and *Deed Record, Laramie County, Wyoming,* Deed Book J, pp. 164-165.

24. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* December 12, 1879, pp. 4-5; *House Journal 1879,* pp. 94, 124, 132; and *Session Laws of Wyoming Territory . . . 1879,* chapter 46, pp. 101-102.



WSM

Wyoming's Seventh Legislative Assembly met on the first floor of Cheyenne's Opera House from January 10, 1882, until March 10, 1882.

with 1882. Although the law was silent on the dates of election, future territorial assemblies were chosen at the regular general elections held in November of even-numbered years. Thus, the Seventh Legislative Assembly was elected in November, 1880, but did not meet until January, 1882. This fourteen-month space between elections and meetings continued for the remaining legislatures of the territorial period, which ended in 1890.[25]

Hardin was the only House member of the Sixth Legislative Assembly to serve in the House during the seventh session. One Laramie County representative, B.F. Deitrick, lost his re-election bid, and another, W.C. Irvine, successfully ran for the Council as did Representative W.A. Hocker of Uinta County. Most members, however, retired after their one term was completed. A possible reason for this is that service in the legislature was less an honor than a civic duty. With only 20,789 people in the territory in 1880, Wyoming's population was equivalent to that of many small towns, and serving in the legislature was perhaps perceived as much like being a member of the city council. Surely, most members of the legislature were not there to launch political careers.[26]

At the 1880 Laramie County Republican party convention, the first order of business was selecting four candidates for seats in the Council. Hardin was nominated,

25. *Session Laws of Wyoming Territory . . . 1879,* chapter 52, p. 109; Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* pp. 138-139; and Larson, *History of Wyoming,* p. 136.

26. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* pp. 162-163; and *Compendium of the Tenth Census,* part I, p. 2. Hardin himself remarked in a speech at the 1879 Laramie County Republican convention that it was difficult to convince qualified people to run for the legislature. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* August 21, 1879, p. 4.

but finished fifth in the balloting. When convention delegates considered possible nominees for the House, Hardin's name was again placed before the convention. The legislator declined to run, however, and asked that his name be withdrawn. Nevertheless, he received the eighth most votes, making him one of the party's nominees. Hardin again asked to be allowed to withdraw from consideration, but the conventioneers refused his request and declared him a nominee.[27]

Laramie County voters were allowed to elect only eight members of the House in 1880. Congress, which controlled many territorial affairs, had passed a law limiting the size of all territorial legislatures to twelve members in the upper house and twenty-four in the lower chamber. Thus, Wyoming's Seventh Legislative Assembly had three fewer House members than did the sixth assembly, and Laramie County's representation in the House decreased from nine to eight. Consequently, county voters in 1880 voted for eight House candidates, and the top eight vote-getters were elected.[28]

The election was held on November 2, 1880. Unlike 1879, the Democrats and Republicans did not have a fusion ticket; however, a workingmen's slate was once again offered to the electorate. In the House races, the workingmen endorsed three Republicans (including Hardin), three Democrats, and two candidates who were not on the tickets of either major party. Thus, eighteen candidates were on the ballot—eight Republicans, eight Democrats, and two workingmen.[29]

Hardin barely won his second term in the Wyoming House of Representatives. He finished eighth among the candidates, receiving 1,277 votes, a mere fifty-eight ballots ahead of his closest rival. Hardin had the sixth highest vote total in Cheyenne. However, once again, he fared poorly in the outlying regions of the county, garnering only the fifteenth most votes. Thus, as in 1879, he won his victory in the city and overcame racial prejudice and few votes in the rural precincts.[30]

Moreover, support from the workingmen's organization helped Hardin win in 1880. He openly courted that support, speaking to a workingmen's rally a few days before the election. All three Republicans endorsed by the workingmen for seats in the House were victorious. Additionally, Hardin was aided by the fact that 1880 was a Republican year in Laramie County, as six of the eight House seats went to the GOP. Several possibilities, however, suggest themselves as to why he did no better than he did after having made such an impressive showing the year before. For one thing, his reluctance to seek re-election might have given some voters the impression that he did not really want the seat again. Secondly, he undoubtedly made some enemies during his first term although published reports of his service were uniformly positive. Perhaps, too, the fact that most incumbents did not seek re-election to the House indicates that tradition generally limited legislators to one term in office, a practice that prevailed in some areas of the country in the late nineteenth century. Finally, the fact that the Democrats had a full slate of candidates to support in 1880 prevented some of Hardin's friends in that party from voting for him.[31]

The seventh assembly met from January to March, 1882. Although the majority of the Laramie County delegation was from the Republican party, the Democrats held more seats in the House of Representatives than did the GOP. This, of course, would presumably have affected adversely Hardin's ability to be effective. Nevertheless, as the only returning member, he was given a committee chairmanship, that of the relatively unimportant Engrossment Committee. Moreover, as in the 1879 session, he occasionally presided over the House when it met as a committee of the whole.[32]

Hardin introduced three bills in the 1882 legislative session. One, concerned with "running cattle with dogs," was defeated easily in the House. Another, having to do with amending the law that incorporated Cheyenne, apparently expanded the city's borders and became law. The third, which was also enacted, made it a misdemeanor to "exhibit any kind of fire arms, bowie knife, dirk, dagger, slung [sic] shot or other deadly weapon in a rude,

27. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* October 13, 1880, p. 4. Hardin was also elected to a two-year term on the county Republican party executive committee.
28. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* p. 138; and *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* October 13, 1880, p. 4.
29. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* October 30, 1880, p. 1 of supplement.
30. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* November 6, p. 4, and November 14, 1880, p. 4; and Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* p. 231.
31. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* p. 231; and *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* October 31, p. 4, and November 14, 1880, p. 4.
32. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book,* p. 139; *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* January 18, p. 4, February 17, p. 4, and March 9, 1882, p. 1; *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* February 17, p. 1, and March 9, 1882, p. 1; and Larson, *History of Wyoming,* p. 138.

Hardin introduced a bill during the Seventh Legislative Assembly to protect the public peace.

CHAPTER 81.

PUBLIC PEACE.

AN ACT to Preserve the Public Peace by preventing the Display of Knives and other Deadly Weapons in the Presence of One or More Persons.

Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wyoming:

SECTION 1. Whoever shall in the presence of one or more persons exhibit any kind of fire arms, bowie knife, dirk, dagger, slung shot or other deadly weapon in a rude, angry or threatening manner not necessary to the defense of his person, family or property, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeaoor and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding six months or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage and approval.

Approved March 4, 1882.

angry or threatening manner," except in the defense of self, family, or property.[33]

One bill Hardin wanted passed was introduced by another member at his request in an attempt to avoid the appearance of a conflict of interest. This proposed law would have prohibited barbershops from opening on Sundays. This prompted Hardin's fellow barber, George P. Goldacker, who knew who the author of the bill was, to write an angry letter to the *Daily Leader* criticizing the measure. Goldacker argued that some people who were employed by the Union Pacific Railroad or on ranches had to work on other days and could visit their barbers only on Sundays. Furthermore, Goldacker declared, "If the gentleman [Hardin] has too much money, or his religion does not allow him to work on Sunday, he has the right to close up his place of business, the same as I have the right to open mine. . . . If you close barber shops, close every business; if you let one open, give the barbers the same right." Evidently, Goldacker's logic was persuasive because, although the bill easily passed the House, it died in the Council and did not become law.[34]

Perhaps the two most important laws passed during the seventh session of the territorial legislature won Hardin's support. One repealed a prohibition on interracial marriages and the other granted married women several rights. Both measures were significant actions for a territory that prided itself on treating everyone equally. Hardin, whose wife was White, delivered one of his patented moving speeches in support of removing the interracial marriage ban. The *Daily Leader* described his oration as "earnest and eloquent, bristling with facts." The law had been enacted in 1869 by the First Legislative Assembly, but apparently it was not uniformly enforced. Hardin was probably not in violation of the law since the statute made it a crime for an interracial couple to marry in the territory, but not necessarily to live in Wyoming while married. The Hardins had married,

33. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* January 26, p. 4, and February 10, 1882, p. 1; *House Journal of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming, Convened at Cheyenne, January 10, 1882* (Cheyenne: Sun Steam Book and Job Printing, 1882), pp. 40, 45, 63, 67, 71; *Session Laws, Wyoming Territory, Passed by the Seventh Legislative Assembly, Convened at Cheyenne, January 10, 1882* (Cheyenne: Sun Steam Book and Job Printing, 1882), chapter 81, p. 174; and *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* March 11, 1882, p. 1.

34. *House Journal of the Seventh Legislative Assembly,* pp. 102, 134-135; and *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* March 4, p. 1, and February 25, 1882, p. 4.

Hardin supported the bill which successfully repealed in 1882 the law passed in 1869 by the First Legislative Assembly which prohibited inter-racial marriages. The state legislature in 1913 unanimously passed Wyoming's second law which prohibited the "marriage of white persons with Negroes, Mulattoes, Mongolians or Malays." The state legislature repealed the law in 1965.

CHAPTER 54.

INTERMARRIAGE.

AN ACT to Repeal An Act Entitled An Act to Prevent Intermarriage Between White Persons and those of Negro or Mongolian Blood.

Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wyoming:

SECTION 1. That the act entitled "An Act to Prevent Intermarriage between White Persons and those of Negro or Mongolian Blood," chapter 64 of the Compiled Laws of Wyoming 1876, be and the same is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage and approval.

Approved March 7, 1882.

as previously mentioned, before moving to the territory.[35]

The statute concerning married women was designed to remove many restrictions that had been imposed upon Wyoming women under the Common Law. Wyoming's action was part of a trend by legislatures in the late nineteenth century to grant women some small measure of equality, and such a law was only fitting in Wyoming which had become in 1869 the first jurisdiction in the U.S. to provide for woman suffrage. The law allowed a married woman to sell her property without obtaining her husband's permission, to sue and be sued without her spouse being made a party to the action, and to be a witness in any civil or criminal matter.[36]

Hardin did not run for a third term in the Wyoming House of Representatives. On the day the Republican county convention met in October, 1882, the *Daily Leader* reported that Hardin's name was being suggested as a candidate once again. However, the account of that meeting in the newspaper's next edition does not mention him as having been in attendance.[37] Apparently, he convinced party leaders beforehand that he did not wish to run again. His term ended presumably in January, 1884, when the Eighth Legislative Assembly was sworn in, but he apparently had no duties after the 1882 session adjourned in March of that year. Legislatures of that era did not have committees that met throughout the year as they do now, and the Seventh Legislative Assembly did not meet in any special sessions after the regular term ended. Still, it is accurate to say that Hardin was a territorial representative from November, 1879, to January, 1884.

Hardin's life after he left the Wyoming legislature is a mystery. He and his wife sold their Cheyenne real property in 1881 and 1882, perhaps in contemplation of leaving the city. A business directory for Cheyenne dated "1884-85" does not list Hardin as one of the city's barbers, indicating he and his wife left town by 1884. Some historians have written that Hardin lived and held political office in both Utah and Colorado after he left Wyoming. The source of this information is a letter written by Hardin's grandson in 1956. The grandson, the child of Hardin's daughter from his first marriage, wrote to the clerk of the Wyoming House of Representatives seeking information on his grandfather's Wyoming experiences. In the letter, the grandson declared that after Hardin left Wyoming, he went to Park City, Utah, and then to Leadville, Colorado. Moreover, he stated that Hardin had been elected mayor of each town twice before dying in Leadville in 1889 or 1890. In fact, Hardin never served as mayor of either town, and the date and place of his death cannot be confirmed.[38] Why Hardin and his wife left Cheyenne is also unknown, but perhaps the wanderlust that had taken him from Kentucky to the West some thirty years before caused him to move on once again.

35. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* February 18, 1882, p. 1; *Session Laws, Wyoming Territory . . . 1882,* chapter 54, p. 134; and *House Journal of the Seventh Legislative Assembly,* p. 93. For a detailed examination of Wyoming's 1869 interracial marriage law and a second one enacted in 1913, see Roger D. Hardaway, "Prohibiting Interracial Marriage: Miscegenation Laws in Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming* 52 (Spring 1980): 55-60.

36. Homer H. Clark, Jr., *The Law of Domestic Relations in the United States* (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 219-222; *Session Laws, Wyoming Territory . . . 1882,* chapter 68, pp. 154-155; and *House Journal of the Seventh Legislative Assembly,* p. 148.

37. *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* October 14, p. 3, and October 15, 1882, p. 3.

William Jefferson Hardin is a significant figure in the history of Wyoming and of Blacks in the West. After a successful career in Denver was ruined by scandal, Hardin relocated to an area with only a tiny number of Blacks. Yet, he became a well-liked and respected member of the entire Cheyenne community. And although he was a loyal Republican, he had many friends in the Democratic party and in all political factions that existed in the frontier capital city. His two elections attest to his personality and speaking ability and to the liberal attitude of the White men and women whose votes were largely responsible for putting him into office.

Hardin's primary importance lies not in what he accomplished as a legislator, although some of his votes were significant ones. His support of women's rights and racial equality and his opposition to efforts to move Wyoming's capital from Cheyenne are all noteworthy. His tenure in the Wyoming legislature is principally significant, however, because it occurred when and where it did—in an area with few Blacks and in an era when Blacks were generally not allowed to participate in political decision-making. Hardin and his fellow citizens broke down racial barriers when he ran and they elected him twice to represent their interests in the legislature.[39] Undoubtedly, Hardin endured some discriminatory treatment in Cheyenne just as he had in Denver and elsewhere throughout his life. Some people did not vote for him because of his race. Cheyenne newspaper editors, while lauding his achievements, nevertheless felt compelled to refer to him as the "colored orator" and the "colored legislator."[40] But the majority of Cheyenne's voters viewed him simply as a community leader who just happened to be Black. His political success, therefore, makes him a significant figure in Wyoming territorial history while it also serves as one dramatic example of the positive contributions Blacks made to the settlement of the American West in the late nineteenth century.

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38. *Deed Record, Laramie County, Wyoming,* Deed Book 5, pp. 270-272, and Deed Book 15, pp. 110-112; A.R. Johnson, compiler, *1884-1885 Residence and Business Directory of Cheyenne* (Cheyenne: The Leader Printing Co., 1884-1885), p. 114. William H. Morris to Clerk of Records, House of Representatives, Wyoming State Legislature, July 1956, in William Jefferson Hardin vertical file, HR&P; letter to author from Sandra C. King, City Recorder, Park City, Utah, August 3, 1987; letter to author from Sherrill Warford, Historical Research Volunteer, Historical Research Cooperative, Leadville, Colorado, August 8, 1987. An article on Hardin that perpetuates the errors in the Morris letter is Frank N. Schubert, "Hardin, William Jefferson," in Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, eds., *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1982), p. 287.
39. Hardin's legislative career has been examined briefly in Rick Ewig, "Wyoming's First Black Legislator," which appeared in several Wyoming newspapers including the *Laramie Boomerang,* March 2, 1986. The two premier volumes on Blacks in the West ignore Hardin's legislative service. Katz, *The Black West,* does not even mention Hardin. Savage, *Blacks in the West,* discusses Hardin's activities in Denver but not in Wyoming. Neither author was aware, at the time he wrote his book, that Wyoming had had a Black legislator during the late nineteenth century.
40. See, for example, *Cheyenne Daily Sun,* August 30, 1879, p. 4; and *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* December 16, 1879, p. 4.

WYOMING'S WEALTH FOR WYOMING'S PEOPLE:

Ernest Wilkerson and the Severance Tax A Study in Wyoming Political History

by Sarah Gorin

COURTESY THE AUTHOR

The author gratefully acknowledges receipt of a grant from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities, an affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which helped finance the research for this article.

I have always felt that Ernie did more in his losing campaign for governor in 1966 by fighting for the severance tax, more for Wyoming in perpetuity, than anything else he might have done with his life . . . . Can one imagine what Wyoming's problems would be today if we had not had the tax in question all these years?

Wyoming journalist Mike Leon
***Editor,* The Spokesman**[1]

Mineral severance taxes reflect the realization that minerals are produced only once. Wyoming's mineral resources (principally oil and gas, coal, trona, uranium, and bentonite) constitute economic assets which, once "severed," are gone forever. Severance taxes provide the state with a new asset—money—with which to strengthen and diversify its mineral-based economy. As important as these are to Wyoming's economy today, it is surprising that the severance tax was not instituted in the state until the late 1960s. One man who played a leading role in the discussion and passage of the tax was Ernest Wilkerson.

The idea of a severance tax appeared in Wyoming politics long before Wilkerson. In 1923 the legislature passed a constitutional amendment levying "a severance tax based on the actual value of the gross product." The Wyoming Constitution requires amendments to be ratified by a majority of those voting at the next general election, so the amendment was presented on the 1924 ballot. Although 39,109 voted for it, with 27,795 against it, the amendment failed because the number of "yes" votes did not constitute a majority of the total votes cast in the election. As historian T.A. Larson noted in his classic work, *History of Wyoming:* "Though often renewed later, the drive for a severance tax would never again come so close to victory."[2]

According to Larson, the second significant move toward severance tax came more than twenty years later, in the 1949 legislative session. The debate was surprisingly nonpartisan, with both Republicans and Democrats for and against. A 2 percent tax on oil passed the House, but failed in the Senate.[3]

The legislative debate carried over into the 1950 gubernatorial campaign. Democrat John J. McIntyre, formerly a one-term congressman and later a Wyoming Supreme Court justice, faced Republican Frank Barrett, who had knocked him out of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1942 and defeated him again in 1946. McIntyre proposed a severance tax only on oil piped outside Wyoming for refining. Barrett chose not to debate the issue directly, but instead allowed McIntyre's fellow Democrat, William "Scotty" Jack, to attack him. Jack had served as Wyoming auditor and secretary of state in the late 1930s and early 1940s, and was considered a strong candidate for governor in 1950. Jack passed up the political opportunity, however, and instead took charge of public relations for the Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Association (RMOGA). RMOGA was founded principally to fight severance tax proposals, and in his new position, Jack successfully "made the severance tax and McIntyre equally unpopular." Barrett defeated McIntyre by 12,000 votes.[4]

Interest in the severance tax waned in 1954 when Jack took on Republican Milward Simpson for the governorship, since both opposed the idea. Simpson won the election. Although severance tax bills were introduced in every legislative session during the remaining years of the decade, none were seriously considered; and in 1961 none were even introduced. Efforts to enact the tax began again in 1963, but did not bear fruit for another six years.[5]

Wyoming's mineral severance taxes now provide partial or complete funding for key state accounts and programs: the Permanent Wyoming Mineral Trust Fund (PWMTF); the general fund, which finances most operations of state government; water development; highways; and capital construction for schools, community colleges, and municipalities. The principal of the PWMTF is invio-

1. *The Democratic Connection,* February 15, 1987, vol. II, no. 2. *The Democratic Connection* is the newsletter for the Wyoming Democratic party.
2. T.A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 433-434.
3. Ibid., p. 513
4. Ibid., pp. 514-515.
5. Ibid., pp. 519, 522, 525, 528, 533.

late (except that the legislature may specify conditions for loans to political subdivisions of the state). Interest from the PWMTF will be the largest source of income to the state's general fund by the early 1990s.[6]

Although severance tax revenues now comprise an essential part of state government funding, the rate of taxation and the allocation of revenues continues to be controversial. Numerous bills raising or lowering the rates for various minerals and changing the distribution of revenues have enlivened every legislative session since the severance tax was first passed, and most proposals have sparked controversy among industry, conservation groups, municipalities, and other interests concerned with Wyoming's economic health. Because the legislature is free to change rates and allocations as it sees fit (except for one and a half percent on oil, gas, and coal earmarked to the PWMTF by a constitutional amendment ratified by the voters in 1974), these issues will doubtless continue to be debated.

How did the severance tax come to be an integral part of Wyoming state government funding? As the first Wyoming politician in recent years to advocate vigorously severance taxes, the late Ernest Wilkerson played a major role. His unsuccessful 1966 gubernatorial campaign carried the slogan, "Wyoming's Wealth for Wyoming's People," and his severance tax proposals spurred considerable debate during the campaign and the years immediately following. This article examines the political origins of current severance tax policy by providing a brief overview of Wilkerson's campaign and the subsequent enactment of Wyoming's first severance tax by the legislature in 1969.

"Aristocrat," "patrician," "commanding," "brilliant," "didn't suffer fools gladly," these are the words and phrases most commonly offered by his contemporaries in describing Wilkerson. His physical presence—"he looked like a governor"—and superior intellect clearly set Wilkerson apart all during his life in Wyoming.

Wilkerson was born in Lusk in 1920, the son of W.F. and Lula May Wilkerson. W.F. Wilkerson founded Wyoming Automotive Company, a highly successful auto parts business which eventually included stores in towns all around the state. The family later moved to Casper, where Ernest distinguished himself as a debater at Natrona County High School.[7]

Attending the University of Wyoming, Wilkerson made his first foray into politics when he served in the student senate and was subsequently elected president of the student body. Plans for law school were laid aside, however, with the onset of World War II. A thin young man, Wilkerson had to gain weight to enlist in the Marines after his graduation from UW in 1941. He served with distinction in the South Pacific and was discharged after four years with the rank of captain.[8]

Wilkerson married Margaret Sullivan, a member of a prominent Casper family. Her father, Republican E.J. Sullivan, ran unsuccessfully for governor against Democrat Nellie Tayloe Ross in the 1924 election. The Wilkersons had two sons, Ernest and Mark, and one daughter, Laura.[9]

Graduating from Yale Law School in 1948, Wilkerson returned to Casper to practice law. Although he had a highly successful practice in Casper, specializing as a plaintiff's lawyer in personal injury cases, former Wyoming Supreme Court Justice John Rooney described Wilkerson as "more a student of law than a practitioner"—an inclination which fit Wilkerson superbly for his later work in legal education.[10]

Upon his father's death in 1950, Wilkerson inherited Wyoming Automotive. He continued running the business as well as his law practice for fifteen years, whereupon he sold the stores—by then part of the largest domestically owned company in Wyoming—to their local managers. He chose to do so despite offers from several out- of-state corporations to buy Wyoming Automotive, preferring to give the Wyoming managers the opportunity to make a go of it. He even financed the sales if necessary. Some of the local managers succeeded and some did not, with Wilkerson incurring the losses; but he apparently had no regrets, feeling he had been true to his own, and his father's, business philosophy.[11]

Wilkerson's overall interest in business and economic matters drew him to the Casper Chamber of Commerce, where he was an active member for many years and served a term as president. He also provided financial backing

6. "Wyoming Revenue Forecast," Consensus Revenue Estimating Group, October 1989.
7. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 6, 1987, p. 1.
8. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 6, 1987, p. 1; Personal interview with Justice Robert Rose, September 3, 1987. All interviews are in author's collection.
9. Personal interview with Justice Robert Rose, September 3, 1987; personal interview with Frank Bowron, July 15, 1987.
10. Personal interview with Justice John Rooney, September 3, 1987.
11. Personal interview with Justice Robert Rose, September 3, 1987.

for the short-lived *Casper Morning Star,* believing that the city needed another voice besides the Republican *Tribune-Herald.*[12]

For many individuals now in high public office, being elected president of their class was the first rung on the political ladder. But this was not the case with Ernest Wilkerson. Although his close friend and colleague, former Wyoming Supreme Court Justice Robert Rose, believes that Wilkerson was "never happier" as when he was student body president, he was only mildly interested in politics during the 1950s.[13]

"There was no question in anyone's mind, when Ernie was in his younger years, that Ernie Wilkerson would be a United States Senator . . . his whole background was groomed toward that direction," adds Casper attorney Jim Fagan. "But he went along and he went along and he went along, and the only elective office Ernie Wilkerson ever held was on the City Council of Casper, Wyoming. This amazed us because we knew he should be headed in that direction but he simply never made the steps during his career . . . ."[14]

Wilkerson did provide steady financial aid to the Democratic party during the 1950s, and, as Fagan mentioned, ran successfully for the Casper City Council in the early 1960s. Another friend and colleague, former Wyoming Congressman Teno Roncalio, thinks his involvement with campaigns, particularly John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential race, finally captured Wilkerson's interest.[15]

Apparently Roncalio's successful race for Congress in 1964 focused Wilkerson's thoughts on running for office himself, an observation corroborated by Casper attorney, and unsuccessful candidate for Wyoming secretary of state in 1962, Frank Bowron, who pointed out: "The 1964 election was one in which the Democratic Party swept the State of Wyoming, and I think it encouraged many people to look to 1966 as a possible year in which the Democrats could elect state officers . . . . I think that factor was one that helped Ernest decide to run for governor—there was a chance at being elected."[16]

Nineteen sixty-four was a banner year for Wyoming Democrats, the best they had had in nearly thirty years. Presidential candidate Lyndon Johnson carried the state by more than eighteen thousand votes. Democrats won control of the state House of Representatives, thirty-four to twenty-seven, and barely missed a majority in the state Senate, where the Republicans clung to a thirteen to twelve lead.[17]

And so Wilkerson began to "take the steps." He volunteered to chair the finance committee of the state Democratic Party in 1964, and traveled to every county in the state, teaming up with local Democrats to visit potential contributors and get pledges. In 1966, when he resigned as finance committee chairman to run for governor, he still implored his fellow Democrats to support the pledge system year-round. This was not simply a self-serving move. Wilkerson funneled all his donations through the state Democratic party, and some of the money was used to assist other candidates.[18]

In addition to the prospect of Democratic good fortune lingering from 1964, the state's economy in 1966 provided a good launching pad for an issue- and business-oriented individual like Wilkerson.[19] Then, as now, the economy had a "colonial" aspect, with its heavy dependence on extractive industries whose operational decisions were made elsewhere. The politically prescient could see that the 1967 legislature would face revenue problems; where could the state get more money? Wilkerson had some ideas.[20]

Wilkerson found himself in a five-way primary with Howard Burke, a former legislator; former governor Jack Gage; Cheyenne Mayor Bill Nation; and Ray Whitaker, a fellow Casper attorney. Wilkerson was a prolific writer and published several newsletters during the primary campaign. These contained a mixture of campaign anecdotes, presentations of his positions, and general observations of Wyoming's political scene. For instance, in his May, 1966, newsletter, he discussed his proposal for investing state permanent funds for economic development. Citing the example of the Star Valley Swiss Cheese plant at Thayne, which processed locally produced milk into a variety of products sold mostly out-of-state, Wilkerson wrote:

12. Personal interview with Mike Leon, June 16, 1987.
13. Personal interview with Justice Robert Rose, September 3, 1987.
14. Personal interview with Jim Fagan, March 25, 1988.
15. Personal interview with Teno Roncalio, June 24, 1987.
16. Personal interview with Frank Bowron, July 15, 1987.
17. Larson, *History of Wyoming,* p. 541.
18. "Finance Committee Report," by Ernest Wilkerson, in *The Spokesman,* February 1966, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 8; personal interview with Justice John Rooney, September 3, 1987.
19. Personal interview with Frank Bowron, July 15, 1987.
20. For starters, investing state permanent funds for economic development and instituting a mineral severance tax, discussed in more detail below.

> Everyone would benefit from the creation of wool processing, canneries, tanneries, feed marketing and slaughter houses, wood processing mills, and on down through the list. The farmer, the rancher, the timberman would make more money because he would sell locally. Payrolls would be created; new customers would appear for the merchants and professional men; and, as our products are put into marketable form here in Wyoming and shipped out of the State, money from outside pours into Wyoming (and remember it is only bringing money from the outside into the State that we create wealth).
>
> We can, with common sense, determination, and imagination begin the employment of our State's Permanent Funds to generate these markets; these payrolls; this wealth.[21]

Wilkerson also told a tale on himself, a tale that reflects the physically and emotionally exhausting nature of campaigning:

> Surely one of the most delightful moments of the campaign the other day in Gillette. I, going from Democrat to Democrat in their homes (as I have done during the last weeks of the campaign), up one walk . . . . . steps to the porch . . . the doorbell . . . I said, Mrs. _____, I'm Ernest Wilkerson, Democratic candidate for Governor, and I'm here to ask for your vote. She rejoined, bless her:
>
> Don't bother—I voted for you yesterday. Took me a moment to realize she meant absentee—my gratitude was cut short when she asked me to stop licking her hand . . . .[22]

Wilkerson looked forward to the August primary with the feeling that he had "tried to conduct a clean, intelligent, persuasive, and significant campaign." He stated serenely: "There is nothing that I have done that I would do differently—and there is nothing I have left undone that I would wish I had done." Wilkerson need not have braced himself; he scored a solid win in the primary election with 13,145 votes, compared to 9,834 for Nation's second-place showing.[23]

In 1966 the Democratic party attempted to run a unified campaign with its five candidates for statewide office and its congressional candidates. The seven hopefuls, Teno Roncalio for U.S. Senate, Al Christian for U.S. House, Wilkerson for governor, Jack Jones for secretary of state, Bob Bentley for auditor, Bob Adams for treasurer, and Katherine Vehar for superintendent of public instruction, frequently traveled around Wyoming together on a chartered bus. Local supporters would meet the bus several miles outside of town, and the busload would roll into the community.[24]

No one seems to have fond memories of traveling on the bus, not to mention those awful times in every campaign when there are more candidates who speak than there are people who listen. Wilkerson's personality was especially unsuited to such occasions. "He wasn't a mixer," recalls Ceil Roncalio, Teno's wife. "He had no knack for the common people; he would stand in one corner, and Bob Bentley would stand in another." Although Wilkerson inspired awe and devotion, Mrs. Roncalio added, his wealth "stood him off" from people. Her description is echoed by Bowron, who said simply, "Ernest Wilkerson was not built to be the glad-handing politician."[25]

Despite his awkwardness with campaign crowds, Wilkerson found an audience for his wide-ranging and innovative proposals. Bowron notes that Wilkerson "had spent a lifetime of studying the problems of the state, studying possible solutions, and he put forth a program that offered possible solutions. It's really amazing how many of these programs have become part of our state statutes . . . the fabric of our life has been affected."[26]

One result of this unusual hobby was Wilkerson's famous, or perhaps more accurately, infamous, campaign pamphlets. These were described by another of Wilkerson's friends, retired Northwest College political science professor John Hinckley, as "brilliant small essays on public policy." Journalist Mike Leon, editor of the Democratic party's newspaper, *The Spokesman,* expressed a widely-shared opinion when he called the legal-size sheets covered on both sides with tiny print "incomprehensible—a lawyer's production."[27]

Brilliant or incomprehensible, the Wilkerson pamphlets were definitely not standard campaign fare. He laid out detailed plans for equalization of school funding, investment of the state's permanent funds to promote economic development, and, of course, imposition and use of a mineral severance tax. The pamphlets were indeed "essays on public policy," the like of which has not been seen in Wyoming campaigns since.[28]

21. Ernest Wilkerson, May 1966, primary campaign newsletter, in collection of Laura (Wilkerson) Perry; copy in author's collection.
22. Ernest Wilkerson, May 1966, primary campaign newsletter.
23. *1967 Wyoming Official Directory,* Summary, Official Vote, Primary Election, August 16, 1966, p. 72.
24. Personal interview with Teno and Ceil Roncalio, June 24, 1987.
25. Personal interview with Teno and Ceil Roncalio, June 24, 1987; personal interview with Frank Bowron, July 15, 1987.
26. Personal interview with Frank Bowron, July 15, 1987.
27. Personal interview with John Hinckley, July 27, 1987; personal interview with Mike Leon, June 16, 1987.
28. Personal interview with John Hinckley, July 27, 1987.

ERNEST WILKERSON
DEMOCRAT FOR GOVERNOR
BOX 635
CASPER, WYOMING 82601

The Not Very Merry Month of May
In The Election Year 1966

First, this sentimental recollection of, and tribute to Bob Murphy, a friend for many years. Bob, too, aspired to be a candidate for Governor of our State one day. He was very close to me. His counsel and his help were important from January through May 14th, when he died in Lander. He was unique and irreplacable. Our Party and our State are much the poorer for having lost him.

* * * * *

WE ARE SEEING A "NEW THING" THIS YEAR. THE SLEEPING GIANT, CALLED "WYOMING", IS BEGINNING TO STIR. . .TRANQUILIZED FOR YEARS, HIS STRENGTH SAPPED BY CONTINUOUS BLOODLETTINGS AND REPEATED APPLICATION OF LEECHES, HE IS NONE-THELESS BEGINNING TO RESPOND TO THE ADRENALIN OF NEW IDEAS -- BOLD AND CHALLENGING PROPOSALS BEING ADVANCED BY THE DEMOCRATS THIS YEAR.

OF COURSE, THOSE WHO WANT HIM TO SLUMBER ON HAVE NOT RUN OUT OF SEDATIVES. DAILY, THE PUBLICITY MEDIA CARRY STORIES, EMANATING FROM CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, THE OFFICES OF MAJOR COMPANIES, STATE AGENCIES, AND OTHER REPUBLICAN SOURCES, CONCERNING THE SPECTACULAR GROWTH AND THE DEVELOPMENT WHICH WYOMING IS "ABOUT TO HAVE". THESE WOULD BE AMUSING IF THEY WERE NOT DANGEROUS. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN, I GUESS, WHETHER OUR PEOPLE HAVE THE PERSPECTIVE AND THE CRITICAL EYE WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM TO REALIZE THESE THINGS ARE ELECTION YEAR PROPAGANDA. WE GET THEM EVERY FOUR YEARS. WE GET THEM IN PLACE OF ANY GENUINE NEWS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS. THEY ARE PART OF A DELIBERATE, CALCULATED EFFORT TO PRESERVE THE STATUS QUO HERE SO THAT THE QUIET SIPHONING OF WYOMING'S WEALTH MAY GO ON.

ONLY HERE DO WE GET THIS "IMITATION PROSPERITY". TAKE AN EXAMPLE -- GOVERNOR LOVE OF COLORADO, IN LAST WEEK'S NEWSPAPER, POINTED OUT, TRUTHFULLY, THAT IN THE FOUR YEARS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION 28,000 NEW JOBS HAD BEEN CREATED IN COLORADO. HE, JUSTIFIABLY, GAVE SOME CREDIT FOR THIS TO HIS "SELL COLORADO" TRIPS.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

Copy of a page taken from Wilkerson's May 1966 campaign newsletter.

Wilkerson's advertisements were similarly unconventional. He took out several full-page advertisements in the *Casper Star-Tribune*—masses of solid text punctuated occasionally with small graphs or drawings. Lois Shickich recalls, "No one—not even the faithful—read those ads." Political television commercials were just coming into vogue then as well. Unsurprisingly, a candidate as issue-oriented as Wilkerson spurned the notion of making thirty second spots; instead, he bought three half hour programs, termed "monumental presentations" by Jim Fagan.[29]

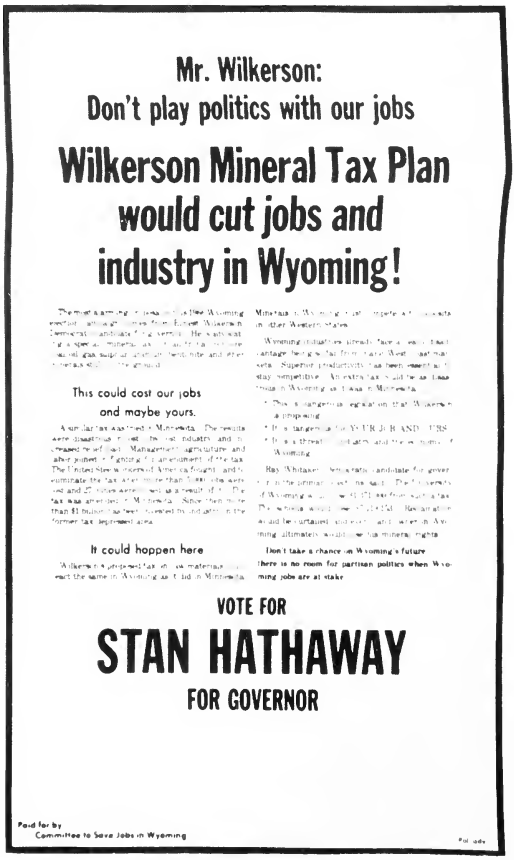
Wilkerson was advised time and again that his wordy pieces exceeded the attention span of most voters, but he refused to compromise what he considered a necessary explanation of his proposals. And even if no one read his pamphlets or advertisements in their entirety, Wilkerson's support showed that he succeeded in getting something across to the electorate—even if it was just the vague notion that he was a man with ideas.[30]

Wilkerson's general election opponent was Stanley K. Hathaway of Torrington. Hathaway entered politics in 1954 with a successful race for county attorney in Goshen County. He was reelected in 1958. He then served as state chairman of the Republican party from 1964-1966. Although his state chairmanship was a perfect springboard for statewide candidacy, Hathaway was planning to run for the Wyoming Senate until friends and party officials persuaded him to run for governor. He handily defeated Joseph Burke and Arthur Linde in the primary contest, despite Burke's support from what Hathaway calls the "third house"—special interests, especially the mineral and agricultural industries.[31]

"I brag to my colleagues—you don't have to run against Ernest Wilkerson," said Hathaway in an interview. "He challenged you mentally all the time." Certainly Wilkerson's approach to politics provided the campaign with plenty of issue fodder. He and Hathaway sparred on a number of issues, including legislative subdistricting—with Wilkerson against and Hathaway for; equalization of school finance—Wilkerson proposed financing education with a state collected tax redistributed on a per pupil basis, while Hathaway favored changes in the mill levy; and, of course, the severance tax.[32]

29. Personal interview with Joe and Lois Shickich, March 24, 1988; personal interview with Jim Fagan, March 25, 1988.
30. Personal interview with John Hinckley, July 27, 1987; personal interview with Justice John Rooney, September 3, 1987.
31. Personal interview with Stanley K. Hathaway, August 3, 1988.
32. *Casper Star-Tribune,* October-November 1966.
33. "Let's Make Wyoming Minerals Make Wyoming Payrolls . . . Some Ideas," campaign brochure, in collection of Laura (Wilkerson) Perry; copy in author's collection.

The two candidates maintained a running debate in the press on this controversial subject. Wilkerson and the other four Democrats running for statewide office published a brochure titled, "Let's Make Wyoming Minerals Make Wyoming Payrolls . . . Some Ideas." There were several: a tax on crude oil exported from Wyoming, but forgiven on oil refined in Wyoming; preferential assignment of state mineral leases to companies processing their product in Wyoming; and a straightforward severance tax, with the revenue earmarked to the permanent funds and invested for education and other functions of state and local government. The Democrats also proposed a study of taxing minerals-in-place as a means of stimulating production.[33]



The Committee to Save Jobs in Wyoming ran this campaign advertisement opposing Wilkerson's proposal of a severance tax on Wyoming's minerals in the Casper Star-Tribune, *October 27, 1966.*

Hathaway focused on the proposed study, arguing that taxing minerals in place was unconstitutional, and ignored the rest of the ideas. By mid-October, this strategy earned him a chiding editorial in the *Casper Star-Tribune,* which backed Wilkerson's allegation that Hathaway was misrepresenting this position; but Hathaway continued undeterred for the remainder of the campaign. Besides their newspaper battles, the two candidates had, at Wilkerson's suggestion, two face-to-face televised debates; Hathaway thinks they were the first Wyoming gubernatorial candidates to do so. He also recalls that his advisers were dead set against his participation in a TV debate, fearing he would be "cut to ribbons" by the articulate Wilkerson. "But my wife and I decided I had to debate—I felt like I was running from him," said Hathaway. So he marched up to Wilkerson's law office in Casper, accepted the challenge, and in turn got Wilkerson to accept his rule: that their answers would be limited to three minutes. This was a clever move on Hathaway's part, for he realized it would be difficult for Wilkerson to get to the point in a three-minute response. Hathaway concedes that Wilkerson still "won" the debates, but says, "I think my supporters were pleased that I didn't lose them badly."[34]

Hugh Duncan, Hathaway's campaign manager and now a Casper attorney, characterized the 1966 race as a "lunch-bucket campaign" focused on the question, "Who would develop the economy?" Duncan feels there was "latent resentment of big companies who came and exploited resources," an impression that probably began with the Salt Creek oil field. When people thought about it, however, they figured that "promising an industry more taxes was not the way to go."[35]

The campaign event of that fall was unquestionably U.S. Senator Robert Kennedy's visit to Casper on October 25. He came primarily to support Roncalio's bid for U.S. Senate, but spoke for the entire Democratic slate. A crowd of five thousand filled the Industrial Building to see and hear this national figure. Unfortunately for Wyoming Democrats, Kennedy's appearance was not enough to influence significantly the state's Republican majority. The following day, KTWO issued poll results showing outgoing governor Cliff Hansen over Roncalio, 52.9 percent to 47.1 percent, and Hathaway over Wilkerson, 57 percent to 43 percent.[36]

Undaunted, Wilkerson kept hammering his theme home. The *Casper Star-Tribune* reported the following remarks on October 31, dateline Cheyenne:

> ". . . the state of Wyoming was the only state in the nation where the true governor was not chosen by the people."
>
> "Certainly four years ago we had an election in which the Republican candidate won and bears the title of governor," he said. "To our hardship, however, and to our shame, the people who have really governed Wyoming for the last four years live in Omaha in a railroad office building, in Denver on 17th street, in Dallas, in Tulsa, in Los Angeles, and other far away places," he said.
>
> Wilkerson said the monuments left by these people are empty stores, empty houses, "the mortgage foreclosures, the closed refineries, the vanished roundhouses, and the thousands of other daily reminders to their absenteed abuses of our state."[37]

Small wonder that the Union Pacific, the oil industry, and the other targets of his speeches may have wanted to see Wilkerson defeated.[38]

The *Casper Star-Tribune* announced its endorsement of Hathaway on November 1. "Our preference for Republican Stan Hathaway over Democrat Ernest Wilkerson for Governor has been pretty clearly indicated," the editorial read. "We question Mr. Wilkerson's approach to the basic problems of Wyoming. As much as we would like to have a Casper man as chief executive of the state, we can only feel that he has shown a certain extremism in his campaign which we are unable to endorse."[39]

Toward the end of October, display advertisements from the "Committee to Save Jobs in Wyoming" began appearing in newspapers around the state, accompanied by radio and television spots. A typical advertisement characterized a severance tax as "dangerous for YOUR

34. Personal interview with Stanley K. Hathaway, August 3, 1988.
35. Personal interview with Hugh Duncan, July 15, 1987.
36. *Casper Star-Tribune,* October 26, 1966, p. 3.
37. *Casper Star-Tribune,* October 31, 1966, p. 13.
38. According to Ernest Wilkerson: "Money from those companies—oil, railroad and others—whom I have proposed to tax fairly and make responsible to the state and its people is being lavishly distributed among the media, . . ." "Ernest Wilkerson Returns to Wyoming," *Casper Star-Tribune,* September 17, 1979, p. 7. In a letter to Frank Bowron, Wilkerson wrote: "One flyer that came out during the last week of the campaign I wish I had kept—this portrayed me as a spider, as I recall, spinning cobwebs over the industries of Wyoming and making it abundantly plain that if I were elected the U.P. (the source of the canard) and all of the other God-fearing predators of the state would close the mills, shut the mines, abandon the shops and generally leave everybody out of a job." Letter dated November 22, 1985, in Frank Bowron collection; copy in author's collection.
39. *Casper Star-Tribune,* November 1, 1966, p. 4.

JOB AND OURS." The advertisements wound up with a plug for the election of Stan Hathaway.[40]

Wilkerson took up the gauntlet with vigor, challenging the "Make Believe Committee" to identify itself. "Let's have the names, gentlemen," Wilkerson asked the Republican Party in a press release November 1. "I want to know who sponsors these advertisements that they are afraid to sign." In a November 4 advertisement over the name of the Wyoming Democratic State Central Committee, Wilkerson revealed his own suspicions:

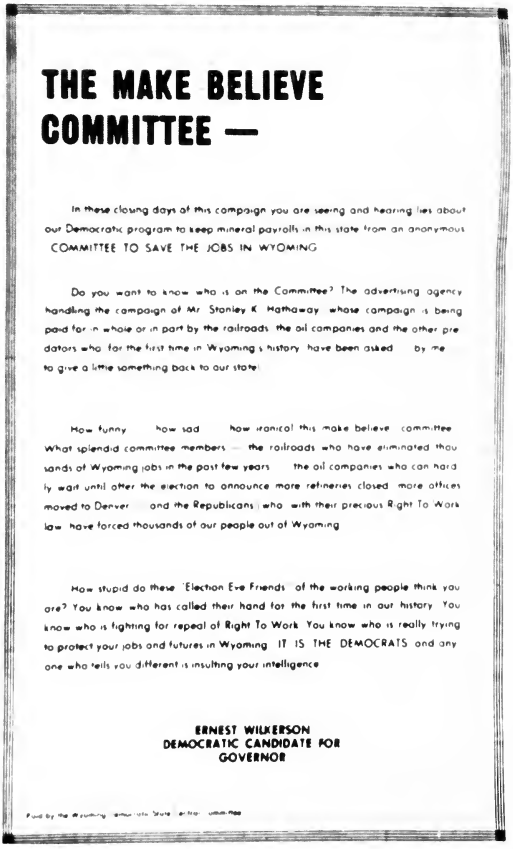
> Do you want to know who is on the Committee? The advertising agency handling the campaign of Mr. Stanley K. Hathaway (whose campaign is being paid for in whole or in part by the railroads, the oil companies and the other predators who, for the first time in Wyoming's history, have been asked - by me - to give a little something back to our state).
>
> How funny . . . how sad . . . how ironical this make believe 'committee'. What splendid committee members - the railroads who have eliminated thousands of Wyoming jobs in the past few years . . . the oil companies who can hardly wait until after the election to announce more refineries closed, more offices moved to Denver - and the Republicans (who, with their precious Right to Work law, have forced thousands of our people out of Wyoming.)[41]

Who, indeed, comprised the "Committee to Save Jobs in Wyoming?" If any of the individuals interviewed for this study know, they are not telling. Possibilities offered by interviewees included the National Right to Work Committee, the Union Pacific Railroad, the Brotherhood of Railroad Engineers, and the oil industry - a disparate lot. Any of these entities had a tremendous stake in making sure not so much that Hathaway won, but that Wilkerson lost; and perhaps there were others.

The attacks on Wilkerson were not limited to the threat of job losses. A vicious personal smear campaign which had been quietly dogging Wilkerson all along suddenly was quiet no longer. "He wasn't attack-able intellectually," said John Hinckley; so, "Every political gimmick you can think of was used in that campaign, from the smear to the rumor to the flashy threatening type of misrepresentation of Ernie's campaign."[42]

The mudslinging reached such proportions by the end of October that Democratic U.S. Senator Gale McGee delayed a return trip to Washington to hold a press conference in Cheyenne to defend Wilkerson:

> "This smear started in our own Democratic primary and is now being perpetuated by members in both parties as well as certain individuals of some vested interest groups," McGee said.
>
> "Today we learn of an imported 'goon' squad crisscrossing southern Wyoming, peddling stories about Ernest Wilkerson that are so incredible they tax your comprehension - stories that reek of moral accusations so gross as to be nauseous," McGee continued.
>
> "The tragedy is not that it may defeat one man and elect another, rather that it destroys the dignity of responsible self government," McGee added . . . .
>
> McGee called for Democrats and Republicans alike to denounce "the smear peddlers."
>
> "Ernie has set the issues - let him be judged on that basis, not on innuendoes and slurs," McGee said.[43]



THE MAKE BELIEVE COMMITTEE —

In these closing days of this campaign you are seeing and hearing lies about our Democratic program to keep mineral payrolls in this state from an anonymous COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE JOBS IN WYOMING

Do you want to know who is on the Committee? The advertising agency handling the campaign of Mr. Stanley K. Hathaway (whose campaign is being paid for in whole or in part by the railroads, the oil companies and the other predators who, for the first time in Wyoming's history, have been asked — by me — to give a little something back to our state).

How funny — how sad — how ironical this make believe committee. What splendid committee members — the railroads who have eliminated thousands of Wyoming jobs in the past few years — the oil companies who can hardly wait until after the election to announce more refineries closed, more offices moved to Denver — and the Republicans (who, with their precious Right To Work law, have forced thousands of our people out of Wyoming.

How stupid do these 'Election Eve Friends' of the working people think you are? You know who has called their hand for the first time in our history. You know who is fighting for repeal of Right To Work. You know who is really trying to protect your jobs and futures in Wyoming. IT IS THE DEMOCRATS and any one who tells you different is insulting your intelligence.

ERNEST WILKERSON
DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR
GOVERNOR

Wilkerson's response to the advertisements placed by the "Committee to Save Jobs in Wyoming," appeared in the Casper Star-Tribune, *November 4, 1966.*

40. For example see *Casper Star-Tribune,* October 27, 1966, p. 3.
41. *Casper Star-Tribune,* November 4, 1966, p. 3.
42. Personal interview with John Hinckley, July 27, 1987.

Hugh Duncan recalls that he offered to set up a joint press conference and television appearance for Hathaway and Wilkerson to denounce the rumors. The idea was scrapped because they could not figure out how to denounce something without giving it more publicity. Duncan also thinks Wilkerson may have believed Duncan was trying to "sandbag" him.[44] While the smear campaign did not destroy Wilkerson's candidacy, the combination of personal attacks and the determined opposition of certain groups was a major factor in his defeat, according to close friend and then Natrona County Democratic party chairman Joe Shickich.[45]

One of Hathaway's campaign advertisements for his successful quest for governor in 1966. It appeared in the Casper Star-Tribune, *November 7, 1966.*

A typical Wyoming event occurred on Election Day - a snowstorm. But interest in local races (because of reapportionment in 1965, all the legislative seats were up for election), as well as the statewide contests, still drew voters to the polls. At that time the *Casper Star-Tribune* carried front-page advertisements, a practice unheard of in recent years; Hathaway obtained that critical space on election day, while Wilkerson did not take out any advertisements in the entire issue.[46]

The 1966 election brought a stinging backlash from the Democratic victories of 1964. The entire Democratic statewide slate, starting with Teno Roncalio for U.S. Senate, went down to defeat. The legislative gains enjoyed only two years earlier were substantially reversed, with the Republicans capturing majorities of thirty-four to twenty-seven in the House and eighteen to twelve in the Senate. Wilkerson could take small comfort in the fact that with his 55,249 votes (to Hathaway's 65,624), he had received more votes for governor than any previous Democratic candidate, win or lose.[47]

Hathaway's victory brought him the dual distinctions of being the first man from Goshen County to be elected to any one of the five statewide offices. He also was the first state Republican chairman to be elected governor.

Wilkerson sent his congratulations to Hathaway the day following the election. According to the November 9, 1966, *Casper Star-Tribune:*

> Ernest Wilkerson, unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor, wired his congratulations to Gov.-Elect Stanley K. Hathaway Wednesday.
>
> "Congratulations. You have my best wishes for a successful and productive administration," was the text of Wilkerson's telegram to Hathaway.[48]

43. *Casper Star-Tribune,* October 27, 1966, p. 1. The newspapers did not report the specific allegations and those interviewed declined to comment on what the charges may have been.
44. Personal interview with Hugh Duncan, July 15, 1987.
45. Personal interview with Joe and Lois Shickich, March 24, 1988.
46. *Casper Star-Tribune,* November 8, 1966, p. 1.
47. T.A. Larson, *History of Wyoming,* 2nd ed., rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 560; Virginia Cole Trenholm, ed., *Wyoming Blue Book,* vol. III (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, 1974) p. 13.
48. *Casper Star Tribune,* November 9, 1966, p. 12.

Wilkerson did not allow his defeat in the governor's race to end his quest to "use this [mineral] wealth to benefit our people and to stop its use exclusively to benefit the entrenched power structure of Wyoming and the 'Big Operators' of other cities and other states." On January 3, 1967, less than two months after the election, Wilkerson sent a letter and three legislative proposals (already drafted in bill form) to all members of the Democratic State Central Committee and all the Democratic legislators. The proposals included: (1) a 4 percent crude oil export tax, with all revenues earmarked to the permanent funds except for the first ten years; (2) a minimum annual rental per acre of state-owned lands, requiring appraisal and classification of state lands for the purpose of establishing rentals; and (3) allowing the permanent funds of the state to be deposited with Wyoming banks and building and loan associations.[49]

In his cover letter, Wilkerson exhorted his fellow Democrats:

> During the just concluded campaign and during all of the primary campaign of mine, repeated Democratic emphasis was placed on the concept of "Wyoming's Wealth for Wyoming People." Though we were defeated, I think we should continue in fairness to our people and in fairness to our party to spell out proposals which will, in our view, be beneficial to this state.
>
> Our Democratic party platform, adopted in Sheridan last May, endorsed in principal two concepts originally proposed by me, these being:
>
> First: The encouragement of the retention here in Wyoming of payrolls resulting from the processing of minerals taken out of our soil.
>
> Second: The imaginative and productive investment of our permanent funds to produce more revenue for Wyoming and to provide a measure of credit expansion by such use of the funds . . .
>
> Finally, a personal footnote: As I have told you before, I hope you will not misunderstand my own motives in this post-election activity. I am doing this simply because I worked too hard for these ideas which appear to be so desperately needed in our state to let them simply slip away through inaction or indifference. It may be that the Democratic party does not concur with me on this. If this is true, of course, that will pretty much terminate the matter. If the party does, however, then let us have the wisdom and the tenacity to fight for what we believe in 1967 and in coming years. We were right in our campaigning. We will be *proved* right in the months and years ahead if we continue the battle to make this state work for the benefit of the *people who live here*.[50]

49. Copies of letter in author's collection and in collection of Laura (Wilkerson) Perry.

Needless to say, these proposals went nowhere in the legislature that year, but Wyoming Democrats felt Wilkerson had carried the party's banner high, and they looked for opportunities to venerate their champion. They got one after they saw the results of the 1967 legislative session, when lawmakers hiked sin taxes and made the sales tax applicable to sales of services - but refused to enact a severance tax - in order to meet state government expenses.[51]

The March, 1967, edition of *The Spokesman,* the Democratic party newspaper, carried this paean to Wilkerson:

> He pointed the way. He had the courage to raise the issues that counted even though, as he must have known, to do so was to invite down upon himself all the wrath, slander, irrelevancies and misrepresentations a desperate opposition could devise.
>
> Today he stands vindicated. Painful as his defeat was for himself and the rest of us, we join with him today in the proud knowledge that his influence upon Wyoming will, over the long run, be far more substantial than that of the man who defeated him.
>
> To be courageous without being knowledgeable is folly. To be knowledgeable without being courageous is futile. To be both knowledgeable and courageous is to live and serve in the highest sense. To such a person defeat never happens.[52]

But Wilkerson was far from done with the severance tax. In May he sent a tart letter to the editor on the subject, and by the beginning of 1969, he was ready to fight again.[53]

The late 1960s found the state of Wyoming short of revenue. Because the state constitution requires a balanced budget, legislators had two choices: cut programs or raise taxes. As noted earlier, in 1967, they raised "sin taxes" - taxes on cigarettes and alcohol - and imposed a sales tax on services.[54] Two years later, the Fortieth Legislature faced an eight million dollar shortfall between projected revenues and Hathaway's budget for the 1969-71 biennium.[55]

50. Copies of letter in author's collection and in collection of Laura (Wilkerson) Perry.
51. Larson, *History of Wyoming,* 2nd ed., p. 562; personal interview with Stanley K. Hathaway, August 3, 1988.
52. *The Spokesman,* March 1967.
53. See "An Open Letter to the Members of the Fortieth Wyoming Legislature," from Ernest Wilkerson, January 21, 1969, in the collection of Laura (Wilkerson) Perry; copy in author's collection.
54. Larson, *History of Wyoming,* 2nd ed., p. 562; personal interview with Stanley K. Hathaway, August 3, 1988.
55. *Casper Star-Tribune,* January 17, 1969, p. 1.

Hathaway followed through on "warnings" he had given to the mineral industries on grassroots tours of the state in the fall of 1968. In his 1969 budget message to the legislature, Hathaway proposed a 1 percent severance tax on all extractive minerals. Why a severance tax, rather than, say, an increase in the sales tax? "I think the sales tax is somewhat regressive, and it was already three percent," explained Hathaway. An income tax is, of course, out of the question in Wyoming, so that left only a severance tax.[56]

The governor was not overrun by enthusiastic sponsors for his proposal. According to Hathaway, on the last day for bills to be introduced, House Revenue Committee Chairman Cliff Davis (R-Campbell) called him up and said, "I'm going to introduce your bill for you, Governor, because I feel sorry for you." Davis lined up cosponsors representatives Harold Hellbaum (R-Platte) and Leon Keith (R-Johnson).[57]

The severance tax bill (House Bill 229) was assigned to Davis' Revenue Committee, which held a hearing on the measure on February 7, 1969. Five representatives of the mineral industry testified against the proposal; probably the most extreme was S. M. Cimino, speaking for trona mining companies, who stated: "Every penny of cost reduces our potential market. We located here because of the favorable industrial market."[58] (Wyoming is the only state in the nation with mineable trona deposits.)

Only Ernest Wilkerson testified on behalf of the legislation (actually advocating a 3 percent tax). He posed two questions: (1) Do minerals contribute as much tax revenue to Wyoming as they do to other states?; and (2) Do minerals produce tax revenue to the same degree as other types of Wyoming property subject to the same ad valorem taxes? According to Wilkerson's statistics, the answer to both questions was no. For example, the value of severed minerals in Wyoming in 1967 was about $600,000, with the state's total valuation (including minerals) at $1.18 million. The value of minerals was thus approximately half of the total valuation - but property taxes paid on minerals constituted only 28.8 percent of total property tax revenues.[59]

The recalcitrance of the spokesmen for the mineral industry was scored in a February 9, 1969, front-page editorial in the *Casper Star-Tribune* titled, "The Disgrace of It." Although the paper had not backed Wilkerson's candidacy, and in fact had criticized his advocacy of the severance tax only two years earlier, the editors seethed with indignation that "not one company said they could live with one percent." They pointed to the obvious: that mineral companies came to the state for its vast mineral wealth (mentioning trona specifically). They wound up with the declaration, "We intend to record for posterity every vote on this bill. We intend to let the people know who were for the people and who were for the industrial giants."[60]

One of numerous letters to the editor at this time also summed up the popular sentiment by adding, "It is a disgrace that no one saw fit to speak up for the people but Ernest Wilkerson. As Mr. Wilkerson has gone to bat for the people of Wyoming on this issue several times [in] the past it seems that we are willing just to 'let Ernest do it.' "[61]

After the hearing, HB 229 proceeded to the floor of the House. Davis and Casper oilman Warren Morton were the principal speakers for the bill (although Morton's speech in particular sounded like he meant otherwise), with Representative Ed Herschler (D-Lincoln) leading the charge in opposition. "I don't think we need it," said Herschler simply. He cited the top-heavy nature of state government and expressed concern that the tax could put Wyoming fuel products at a competitive disadvantage. Several amendments offered to increase the level of taxation or to establish a permanent fund were voted down.[62]

At the time, Wyoming already imposed a property tax on petroleum, which varied across the state with the differing county mill levies (4.7 percent to 8 percent). On February 15, when the bill came up for second reading, Morton successfully amended the legislation to impose a 6.25 percent tax, with 5.25 percent credit for county taxes (5.25 percent was the average county mill levy). The remaining 1 percent was designated for the state general fund, as before.[63] The Casper newspaper reported on February 16 that Morton acknowledged the intended effect of his amendment was "psychological and was made in

56. Personal interview with Stanley K. Hathaway, August 3, 1988.
57. Personal interview with Stanley K. Hathaway, August 3, 1988; *Digest, Senate and House Journals,* 1969.
58. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 8, 1969, p. 1.
59. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 8, 1969, p. 3.
60. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 9, 1969, p. 1.
61. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 13, 1969, p. 15.
62. *Digest, Senate and House Journals,* 1969.
63. *Digest, Senate and House Journals,* 1969.

an effort to show the public what the mineral industries were paying both at the county and state levels."[64]

The severance tax legislation passed the House overwhelmingly (forty-seven to ten) on February 17. Two amendments to put all or part of the revenues into a permanent fund were defeated on the grounds that the money was needed to meet current expenses. Three legislators, Morton, Bud Daily (D-Carbon), and Eugene Updike (R-Weston), were excused from voting because of their oil interests.[65]

The Senate Revenue Committee, headed by Howard Flitner (R-Big Horn), acted on HB 229 with dispatch to ensure the bill could make it through the required three readings by the end of the legislative session. On February 20, acting as Committee of the Whole, the Senate approved the bill with a standing committee amendment exempting low-value minerals (sand and gravel, limestone, gypsum, stone, and clay). Attempts from the floor to exempt other minerals such as trona, low-grade coal, taconite, scoria, and dolomite were defeated. The following day, attempts were made on second reading to delay the effective date of the tax and to have it expire at the end of the biennium; both amendments failed.[66]

On the final day of the session, the Senate passed HB 229 by a vote of twenty to ten. Two amendments, one to drop the exemption for low-value minerals, and one to establish a permanent fund for schools, were defeated. But the legislation was thrown into a last-minute conference committee when the House refused to concur with the Senate amendment on exempting low-value minerals. The conference committee dropped the exemption, and both houses went along with the version originally passed by the House. Hathaway immediately signed Wyoming's first severance tax into law.[67]

According to a *Casper Star-Tribune* article on February 23, the sponsor of the amendment for the permanent fund for schools, Sen. David Hitchcock, D-Albany, "predicted that the discussion over the permanent fund will continue until that proposal is adopted." He was right; but that was not to come until 1974.[68]

Hugh Duncan likened Hathaway's leadership on enactment of the severance tax to President Richard Nixon's establishment of relations with China: "Only a Red-baiter could do it." He doubts whether Wilkerson could have gotten the proposal through the legislature even if the Democrats had had the majority because of his "patrician" bearing. He does credit Wilkerson with a "substantial contribution" to final enactment of the tax because he was an "excellent spokesman who raised the public interest," especially with his arguments presenting Wyoming's mineral tax levels against those of other mineral-producing states.[69]

Casper stockbroker Robert Gosman, who was state Republican party chairman in 1966, likewise credits Wilkerson with raising the public consciousness on the severance tax issue. He also pointed to Republican fears that if the Democrats ever took charge, the mineral industries would end up with a 3-4 percent tax, so it would be better to defuse the issue early on.[70]

John Rooney, a Laramie County Representative and also Wyoming Democratic party chairman from 1964 to 1970, took on Stan Hathaway when he ran for a second term. In a letter to fellow Democratic candidate Mayne Miller, dated September 3, 1970, Rooney noted:

> . . . Although Ernest did not win the election, I believe he did win his crusade on Mineral tax and that the enactment of last session was a result of his campaign. True, it was less than the desired amount — but history will record the enactment as Ernest's accomplishment . . .[71]

Severance taxes and equalization of school funding were not the only issues where action similar to that advocated by Wilkerson eventually came to pass. He discussed the investment of permanent funds for economic development years before the Wyoming legislature created the clean coal program or the natural gas pipeline authority, which loaned permanent funds at low interest rates to promote extended development of Wyoming's mineral resources.[72] Among the bills he proposed to Democratic

64. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 16, 1969, p. 4.
65. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 18, 1969, p. 1.
66. *Digest, Senate and House Journals,* 1969.
67. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 24, 1969, p. 1.
68. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 23, 1969, p. 1. In 1974 the voters of Wyoming adopted a constitutional amendment establishing the Permanent Wyoming Mineral Trust Fund and earmarking one and a half percent of the severance tax on oil, gas, and coal to the fund.
69. Personal interview with Hugh Duncan, July 15, 1987.
70. Personal interview with Robert Gosman, July 16, 1987.
71. Copy of letter in author's collection and collection of Justice John Rooney.
72. "Our $150,000,000 Land Fund — A Tool to Build Wyoming," campaign pamphlet issued by the 1966 Democratic candidates for the five statewide offices; in collection of Laura (Wilkerson) Perry; copy in author's collection. The two programs here mentioned derive funding from the Permanent Wyoming Mineral Trust Fund.

legislators in 1967 was one designed to get more state funds deposited in banks around Wyoming, with preference given to banks owned by Wyoming residents and maintaining a high deposit-loan ratio.[73] Wilkerson foresaw the importance of travel and tourism; he worked successfully as a key figure in Casper's Chamber of Commerce to get better air service to the city, and proposed "Howdy Houses" to welcome tourists at the major entry points to Wyoming.[74] Moreover, he set forth a program of groundwater exploration and development almost identical to that pursued today under the Wyoming Water Development Commission.[75]

Jim Fagan summed up Wilkerson's tireless effort when he remarked, in discussing the severance tax: "Sometimes issues like that handle that way, it takes a moat-filler . . . Ernest Wilkerson was a moat-filler."[76] Wilkerson himself viewed the event with mixed feelings, as expressed in a March 12, 1969, letter to the editor of the *Wyoming Eagle* in Cheyenne. Characterizing the one percent tax as a "timid token," he nonetheless noted that, "Token or not, it's important that we've made a beginning."[77]

An undated, typewritten note with the letter read as follows:

> The 1966 election campaign was fought out on two major proposals of mine: a severance tax on the state's minerals and a uniform statewide education levy which, in turn would have subjected the mineral extractors to higher taxes to educate the kids. Immediately after my November, 1966 defeat, I picked up the cudgels again and continued as you will see in the 1969 letter. Success of sorts came when the legislature adopted measures short of those I had pressed in both areas.[78]

Four years after his race for governor, Wilkerson and his wife moved to New York City, where he obtained additional legal training at New York University School of Law and then began work for the Practicing Law Institute. Three years later, he founded and directed the Center for Advanced Legal Training and the Commercial Law Forum.[79]

Wilkerson maintained an intense interest in Wyoming events and politics and enjoyed visits from Wyoming friends in his new home. Lois Shickich, who with her husband Joe now lives in the elegant Casper home once owned by the Wilkersons, remembers traveling to New York City and recognizing Wilkerson riding his bicycle down the street. "He had a distinctive style, pedaling slow with his head up in the air."[80] Preceded in death by his wife, Wilkerson died of cancer in New York in 1987.[81]

SARAH GORIN's interest in Wyoming political history stems from fourteen years of citizen organizing in the state and lobbying at the Wyoming Legislature. She is now a political consultant in Laramie, working with issue and electoral campaigns. Gorin holds an A.B. in interdisciplinary studies from the University of Missouri and is completing a master's degree in political science at the University of Wyoming where she teaches part-time.

73. Proposed legislation to all Democratic legislators on January 3, 1967.
74. Personal interview with Frank Bowron, July 15, 1987; letter to author from Frank Bowron, November 14, 1988; personal interview with Jim Fagan, March 25, 1988.
75. *The Wyoming Stockman-Farmer,* October 1966, p. 3.
76. Personal interview with Jim Fagan, March 25, 1988.
77. Copy of letter in author's collection and collection of Laura (Wilkerson) Perry.
78. Copy of letter in author's collection and collection of Laura (Wilkerson) Perry.
79. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 6, 1987, p. 1.
80. Personal interview with Joe and Lois Shickich, March 24, 1988.
81. *Casper Star-Tribune,* February 6, 1987, p. 1.

WYOMING SCRAPBOOK

Wyoming's Bentonite

by Roger G. Joyce

This view of the Clay Spur Bentonite Plant is taken from a pamphlet, "Bentonite Handbook," published in 1934.

The minerals industry has played a significant role in Wyoming's history. Oil and coal are the best known mineral resources, but Wyoming also mines many lesser known minerals, one of which is bentonite. Northeastern Wyoming was the center of the United States' bentonite industry for a portion of the twentieth century. The Clay Spur Bentonite Plant and Camp in Weston County was one of the first bentonite processing plants built in the northeastern part of the state. It remained the premier Wyoming district producing the highest quality bentonite until reserves began to dwindle during the 1950s.[1]

True bentonite occurs almost exclusively in Wyoming, although South Dakota, Montana, and Canada also have deposits of the mineral. It is a sedimentary rock formed from volcanic ash and contains at least 75 percent of clay minerals.[2] On the surface it appears usually as yellow-gray in color and has a wrinkled texture. While in the ground, the color is a dark olive gray and the texture is soft and waxy due to dampness. Bentonite is valuable because it is capable of absorbing large quantities of water causing it to swell several times its original size. Uses of bentonite depend largely upon its swelling capacity.[3]

1. Robert G. Rosenberg, "Historical Overview for DEQ Abandoned Mine Lands Project No. 12-B, Weston County, Wyoming," 1986, Wyoming Department of Environmental Quality, Land Division, Cheyenne, p. 1.
2. Frank W. Osterwald, Doris B. Osterwald, Joseph S. Long Jr., and William H. Wilson, "Mineral Resources of Wyoming," *Geological Survey of Wyoming Bulletin No. 50* (Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1966), p. 10, in H89-21, Clay Spur Bentonite Plant Collection, Historical Research and Publications (HR&P), Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
3. "Silica Products Company," *Bentonite Handbook Bulletin No. 107* (Kansas City, Missouri: Silica Products Company, 1934), p. 11, in H89-21, HR&P.

Both Indians and early pioneers recognized deposits of bentonite. They noted the occurrence of what was known as "soap holes," due to the wetting of the surface of a bentonite deposit. Because of its natural adaptability as a detergent and cleansing agent, bentonite was commonly called "mineral soap" or "soap clay."[4]

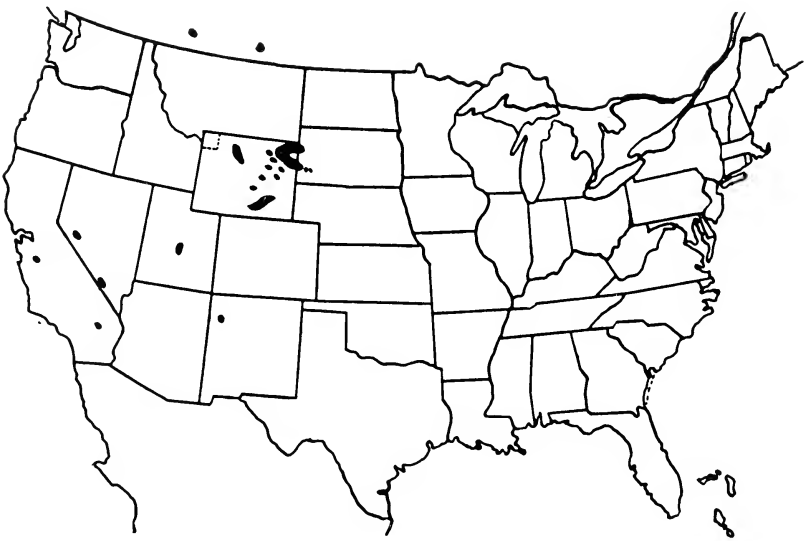
William Taylor developed the first bentonite mine at Rock Creek, Wyoming, in 1888. At first called Taylorite, the mineral later became known as bentonite because of the fact that it existed largely in the Benton geological formation of Wyoming.[5] Taylor sold his product to eastern cosmetic manufacturers and firms that produced hoof packing used to treat inflammation in horses' hooves. He shipped an estimated 5,400 tons of bentonite from his mine prior to 1896. It sold for about $2.50 per ton with a total value of $13,500. Taylor dug by hand a bed of bentonite ranging from four to five feet in thickness with only a few inches of overburden, the material overlying the mineral deposit, that was stripped away. He then loaded it onto wagons and hauled the mineral to Wilcox where it was shipped in box cars.[6]

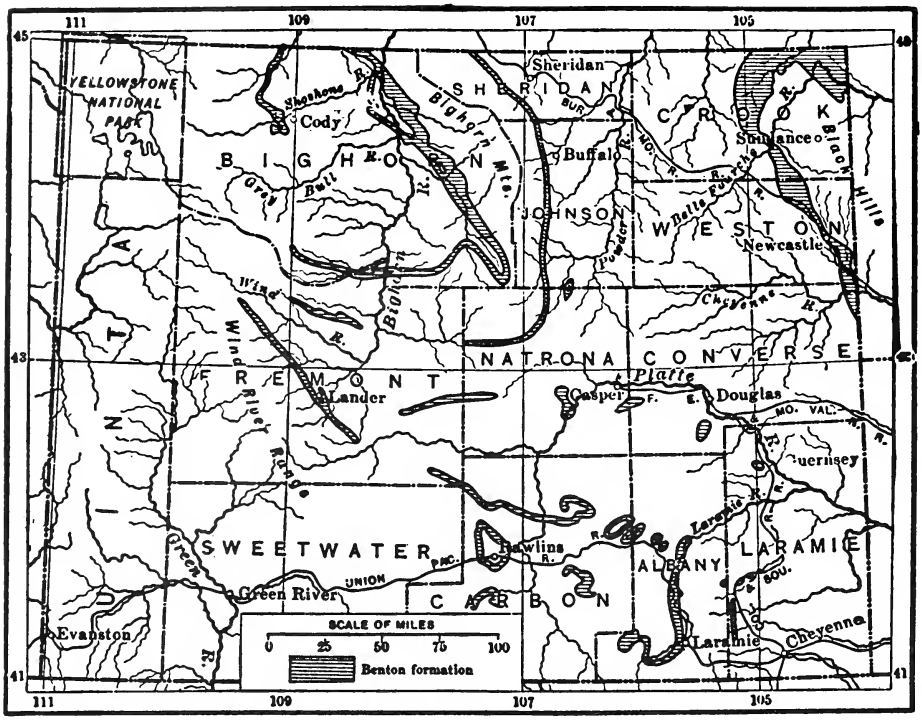
In order to be of commercial value, bentonite mining had specific conditions that needed to be fulfilled. The beds had to be relatively undisturbed, overburden had to be thin to reduce mining costs, and adequate transportation had to be available.[7] The bentonite industry started out slowly in Wyoming because of a limited market due to the distances between deposits and industry, and the high cost of processing the clay. One of the biggest and most costly problems was the washing and drying of the raw bentonite because of its ability to expand as much as twenty times its own weight.

New uses and markets were developed during the 1920s. The most important new use was as an ingredient in oil drilling mud. This decade saw an increase in the number of rotary drilling rigs, thereby increasing the demand for bentonite. In a rotary drilling system, cuttings from the drill are removed by circulating fluid down the drill pipe over the bit and back between the casing or wall of the hold and the outside of the drill pipe. Because of bentonite's ability to absorb water it was added to the drilling mud. It prevented gas and salt water from running into the drill hole as well as cave-ins. The bentonite

4. Rosenberg, "DEQ Abandoned Mine Lands Project No. 12-B," p. 3.
5. Rosenberg, "DEQ Abandoned Mine Lands Project No. 12-B," p. 11.
6. Rosenberg, "DEQ Abandoned Mine Lands Project No. 12-B," pp. 3-4.
7. Osterwald, "Mineral Resources of Wyoming," p. 11.

A 1934 map showing the locations of Bentonite in the United States and Canada.





Map showing the Benton formation of Wyoming in which bentonite may be found.

mud served to plaster the walls of the drill hole, sealed off the formations, and preserved circulation. By 1949 bentonite was used mainly as an ingredient in drilling mud and for preparing metallurgical molding sand. During the mid-1950s a new market developed in which the mineral was used in pelletizing taconite iron ore. In 1980 Wyoming produced 65 percent of the bentonite in the United States.[8] Today bentonite has a variety of uses. Some of these include: filler for paper, phonograph records, electrical insulation, paints, inks, drugs, cosmetics, and fertilizers.

The Clay Spur Bentonite District was first developed during the early twentieth century. As early as 1910, the Wyoming Bentonite Company mined the nearby deposits and shipped the bentonite in raw form. In 1928 the company and former Wyoming congressman, Frank W. Mondell, built the first drying mill at Clay Spur. The Silica Products Company of Kansas City, Missouri, obtained the property from the Wyoming Bentonite Company around 1930. The company controlled more than thirteen hundred acres of bentonite property near the plant and was one of the most important early bentonite companies in Wyoming.[9]

Companies used the open-cut or strip mine process to mine bentonite in the Clay Spur District. By using auger tests, the thickness of the overburden, the underlying bentonite bed, and the deposit's quality could be determined to judge the economic viability of a prospective site. Most of the overburden was composed of shale and soft sandstone which could be removed with earthmoving equipment. Before World War II the bentonite was broken off the ledge with pick and shovel to assure a clean product. It was then loaded onto a small portable conveyor or directly onto waiting trucks or cars. With more modern equipment the exposed bentonite was

8. Rosenberg, "DEQ Abandoned Mine Lands Project No. 12-B," pp. 6-7; "Silica Products Company," p. 31.
9. Rosenberg, "DEQ Abandoned Mine Lands Project No. 12-B," pp. 8-9.

COURTESY STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

The Clay Spur Bentonite Plant photographed April 20, 1989.

allowed to dry partially in the pits. Other techniques involved drying the bentonite in storage piles near the processing plants.[10] During the winter the processing plants relied on reserves that had been stockpiled. Rain and cold temperatures tended to hamper mining.

The bentonite mines at Clay Spur were equipped with industrial tracks and open cars that hauled the bentonite to the processing plant with a small engine. A specially designed ramp was made so the engine and cars could climb and dump the bentonite in a specified area. The raw bentonite was then cut, dried, crushed, ground, and packed in bags for shipment. The refining process, to prepare the bentonite for shipping, involved spreading and mixing the stockpiles with a bulldozer to provide a uniform quality.[11] The finished product was stored in bins and fed mechanically to packing machines that automatically filled one hundred pound bags ready for shipment.[12]

The Clay Spur plant operated until 1975 when it closed. Some of the records of the company were salvaged and are stored in the Historical Research and Publications Section of Wyoming's Department of Commerce, and are available for public research. The bulk of the records from the plant are blueprints and maps. There is a set of blueprints for the construction of the 1932 mill, layout maps of the plant ca. 1930 and 1932, and other blueprints of the plant's buildings. Additional materials include Payroll Ledger, 1959-1965, Summary of Production Costs, 1958-1972, and journals of technical data relating to the production and processing of the bentonite.[13]

10. Rosenberg, "DEQ Abandoned Mine Lands Project No. 12-B," pp. 10-11; "Silica Products Company," p. 19.
11. Rosenberg, "DEQ Abandoned Mine Lands Project No. 12-B," pp. 13-14; "Silica Products Company," pp. 19-20.
12. Rosenberg, "DEQ Abandoned Mine Lands Project No. 12-B," pp. 13-14; "Silica Products Company," pp. 19-20.
13. See H89-21, HR&P.

BOOK REVIEWS

So Much to Be Done: Women Settlers on the Mining and Ranching Frontier. Edited by Ruth B. Moynihan, Susan Armitage, and Christiane Dichamp. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Illustrated. Selected Bibliography. xxii and 325 pp. Cloth $32.50. Paper $12.95.

This edited volume of narratives from nineteenth century pioneer women aims at reflecting both the diversity of women's experiences on the West Coast, Rocky Mountain, and Southwestern frontiers and their commonalities. The first part is easier. Regional, social, class, ethnic, and racial, as well as attitudinal differences provide a range of subject matter, political viewpoint, and tone.

The volume juxtaposes the "wretched life" of Annie Green, who with her husband and baby followed Horace Greeley to Union County, Colorado, in 1870, with the exuberance of Mrs. Nat Collins. When Collins' father died and one of her brothers was murdered by Indians while prospecting in the mountain, she would begin by recognizing that she and her mother had to provide "the necessaries of life." She would go on to become a nurse, a mining camp cook, and, eventually, the "Cattle Queen of Montana" as a ranching partner with her husband. The chapter titles are wonderful reflection of attitude. While Green "Resolved to try and be cheerful," Collins could say matter of factly, "To complain was never one of my traits of nature." But were these attitudes causes or products of their differing experiences?

I was equally fascinated by varying experiences with Native American peoples. While Mrs. E.A. van Court, who admittedly had a wide range of misfortune in California, would describe the "treacherous Digger Indians," Sadie Martin was almost disappointed with her first encounter with Yuma Apaches, "such harmless looking creatures in overalls," who became both hired labor and friends.

The most extensive descriptions of Native/White relationships are found in the witty, irreverent piece by Mary Ronan, wife of a Flathead Indian agent, whose family was very much at home with their Indian neighbors. She did find an anecdote of fear worth telling, when one day a Salish-Nez Perce man followed her through her house and took hold of the back of her neck before she discovered that he was only measuring her admirable freshly washed knee-length hair. On the other hand, the Paiute leader and scholar, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, related not only the pathos of yet another unwarranted forced winter move of an Indian people, but that, in her case, wages for labor as a translator were more dependable from the military than from the Bureau of Interior. The variety of descriptions, but especially this vignette, reminded me of Sherry Smith's recent book, *The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians,* in which she demonstrates that even the nineteenth century military officers and their wives did not share a monolithic, negative view of their "enemies," but often respected them and their cultures.

Commonalities are harder to ferret out in such diversity, but ultimately they may provide greater analytical utility. The common theme may be found in the title and the cover photograph of a woman carrying a tray of food into a boarding house dining room. The volume reflects contingent nature of women's work—of making do with available resources, of following their husbands' decisions to move West, of finding new occupations (even in secret) to enable them to put food on the table. Women's accommodations to varying economic demands is the real theme of this collection. Women often had to fill in the gaps in husbands' more glamorous careers. When mining claims failed, the stock were lost or grazing far away, men died in violent conflicts or succumbed to disease, women sold bread, took in boarders, raised a lot of chickens, even sold engravings door-to-door.

This is a volume about productive labor in circumstances of economic and personal insecurity. At some level, for all of these women, going West was a personal choice and they provide stories of energetic people demonstrating equanimity in the face of recurring disaster. Even before Mrs. Lee Whipple-Haslam's father was murdered in a mining camp shooting, she had become "an important member of the family" by keeping the ground squirrels and rabbits out of the garden. And despite her critical descriptions of the "quick retribution of the people," and the "wild maniacal ways of mobs and unlawful hangings" in the mining camps, she would describe the importance in that time and place of her brothers showing her

the use of firearms. She imagined that comfortable residences, gardens, and orchards would displace this community violence. Unfortunately it remained a persistent legacy of Western culture.

Flexibility and resourcefulness are other sub-themes of women's work. On one level, even the long, almost tedious diary entry by Carrie Williams, a young married woman in a Sierra Nevada mining town, provides important evidence about daily routines characterized by responsibilities, including child care, shared with both her mother-in-law and her husband. On the other hand, Sister Blandina Segale of Trinidad, Colorado, would describe picturesque tales not only of the organizational work of building a "well-lighted, well-ventilated school, with flowers blossoming on the sill" without a construction budget of any sort, but of personally having a successful showdown with a lynch mob, using her friendship with local Indians to avert sabotage of a mine, and convincing Billy the Kid and his gang not to scalp a local physician. This is the stuff of feature films.

Ruth Moynihan, Sue Armitage, and Christiane Dichamp have produced a valuable book. Despite my mantra that western historians need to get on to the twentieth century, I love the nuance of the nineteenth century prose. I think it is interesting that a letter cost twenty-five cents postage, even then. And why did those southwestern houses have no doors to keep the snakes out? The photographs are excellent, but larger format would serve them better. Sometimes even this sociologist would like a clearer notation of dates and editing, but altogether this volume suggests both what our nineteenth century female forbearers experienced directly and what is left for us to find out about women's laboring contributions to the frontier. It appears that there is still "so much to be done."

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Sagebrush Classics. Edited by Betsy Bernfeld. Lincoln, Nebraska: Media Publishing, 1990. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. xxii and 263 pp. Paper $12.95.

Why would anyone want to search through the musty recesses of unused library holdings and the long forgotten boxes of memorabilia in someone's attic to find unpolished writing by unknown authors? That was the question I asked myself after a first look at Betsy Bernfeld's *Sagebrush Classics.* Bernfeld had anticipated my question. In her introduction, Bernfeld explains that she was "warned by numerous sources . . . that early Wyoming composition would not measure up to modern standards," but that she is not worried because hers is a "historical not a literary perspective." With this historical focus in mind, readers can turn off their internal literary critics, sit back, and enjoy what Bernfeld calls "pure Wyoming 'Stuph.' "

What does "pure Wyoming 'stuph' " consist of you ask? It consists primarily of poetry, a few prose pieces and excerpts from short stories written for the most part by people you have never heard of before: ordinary forest rangers, schoolteachers, ranchers, journalists, housewives, miners, a U.S. army scout, a bullwhacker, some lawyers, and a judge. You may recognize a few authors' names: Owen Wister, Frederic Remington, Thomas Moran, John C. Fremont, Sitting Bull, Tim McCoy, Bill Nye. With the exception of Wister and Nye, these names are not familiar because of their writing, but because they have made some other memorable contribution to Wyoming's history. This "stuph" is indeed a seeming hodgepodge of impressions by a widely diverse group of people who have in common a connection with Wyoming's past.

To find the connecting thread in this diversity, you need to pay close attention to Bernfeld's introduction and to titles and subtitles for each section of the book. In them are clues to Bernfeld's rationale for organizing the selections as she did. The book has four parts, organized chronologically. Part I: 1830-1880, "Prancing They Come," about the reactions of Indians, the White explorers, soldiers, and settlers to the events of the period. Part II: 1880-1905, subtitled "The Living, Breathing End of Three American Centuries," reflects the Indian defeats of the period, cowboys' and miners' views as well as the impression of artists and environmentalists. The subtitle for Part III: 1905-1925, "Where They Work All Day and Do Chores All Night," is a phrase taken from a sentimental and touching Bill Nye essay which is the lead piece in the section. This part of the book focuses on "Ranch life, boom towns and wilderness. Farmers, foresters, miners, cattle ranchers and dude ranchers" (p. 83). Part IV: 1925-1934, borrows its subtitle, "Cakes and Bugs and Lemonade. Life's A Picnic. Who's Afraid?" from a 1925 poem titled "Optimism" by Laramie attorney, C.P. Arnold. The book's final section, "The Poets," contains biographies and photographs of the authors whose works are represented in *Sagebrush Classics.* Because information about many of these writers could not be found in the usual literary reference works, this is an especially helpful feature of the book.

After reading *Sagebrush Classics,* you realize that Bernfeld has done a remarkable job of balancing these diverse voices from Wyoming's past. The readers gains a sense of the wide range of experience as well as the common themes represented in the selections. Some common themes that emerge from the reading are the land's beauty and its destructive power, the necessity of hard work and the toll it takes, the White man's increasing dominance of the land and the Indians' decreasing power to maintain their traditional way of life. This reminder of the Indians' plight is the most somber aspect of the book.

These somber realities of Wyoming's history are not, however, the dominant theme in *Sagebrush Classics.* Also included are essays featuring the understated humor of Bill Nye, narrative poems, amusing poems, and poems in dialect. Taken as a whole, the book's tone is rather lighthearted. Bernfeld explains that "the most striking characteristic" she found in the writing of early immigrants was optimism. "While hardships were vividly depicted, pain was invariably balanced by humor" (p. 4). The works in this collection reflect the same balance.

Tessa Johnson's illustrations provide another lighthearted touch to the book. They are fresh, energetic and simple in style, providing a nice counterpoint to the antique quality of the literary selections. The color illustration on the cover is especially bright and pleasing.

As I read *Sagebrush Classics,* I felt that I was glimpsing the ordinary life of Wyoming's past. Here were the thoughts of the many behind-the-scenes folk who played their parts in the building of the state as they went about the business of living. Often I was struck by the sense of shared experience with them—in a description of a place in Wyoming that I also have seen, in an expression about the beauty of the land that I also have felt. Betsy Bernfeld is to be congratulated for gathering up this "Pure Wyoming 'Stuph,' " these revealing and entertaining documents, essays, and poems to which the average reader would not otherwise have had easy access.

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Dreams to Dust: A Diary of the California Gold Rush, 1849-1850. By Charles Ross Parke. Edited by James E. Davis. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. Illustrated. Maps. Index. Notes. xxi and 280 pp. Cloth $33.95.

Editing a pioneer diary is like faceting a gemstone to enhance its character without diminishing its intrinsic value. The 1849-1850 California gold rush diary of Charles Ross Parke is a little jewel, and James E. Davis' editing of it makes up a book which sparkles throughout with human interest. Parke's day-end reflections from April 8 to September 18, 1849, recount his overland passage with the Como Pioneer Company from northern Illinois, ferrying the Mississippi River above Burlington, Iowa, before going southwest to the Missouri River crossing above cholera plagued St. Joseph; then finding the Big Blue-Platte River routes to Fort Kearney, Nebraska, before heading northwest to Fort Laramie, Wyoming, and thence through the South Pass opening into southeast Idaho; and from there southwest onto the Humboldt River route through Nevada, to Donner Pass in the Sierras and below at last to the California gold fields around Sacramento.

By a happy chance, the companion diary of David Carnes, a fellow traveler with the Como Pioneer Company, accesses minute information for Davis in the notes he furnishes to corroborate and elaborate the account of Charles Parke. An 1847 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania medical school, Dr. Parke had been practicing for just two years before crossing the plains: to test his mettle in the new wilderness or to find quick riches in California. If Carnes is the more precise diarist, twenty-six year old Parke draws skillfully on his medicine box and sometimes acerbic wit for pungent diagnoses of the human condition along the trail. Davis prefaces Parke's diary: "He and his diary exhibit many of the era's strengths and weaknesses by shedding light on motivation, personal interaction, national character, and other aspects of the human experience." Parke is looking for his bearings, and two months underway, among strangers in the bleak hills west of Ash Hollow, Nebraska, the young doctor begins to define his own place: "How the sick grasp at straws! How poor the judgment seems to be, which by the way is not astonishing, but we should expect better advice from *friends* and *relatives. Home* is the place, of all places to die. It matters not how horrible it is. I have seen enough persons die to satisfy me that even the presence of a friend at that time is comforting, but oh what a thought to be buried here, in this sand, away from home, and an hour after the last clod is placed upon your blanket—no coffin here—your companions march off and leave you alone forever."

After refitting at Fort Laramie, the company proceeded to Independence Rock, where Parke is humbled by its size and imponderability. And on July 4 he

lifted himself by making ice cream in South Pass with milk from the company's two cows and coarse snow from a mountain bank. "I soon produced the most delicious ice cream tasted in this place. In fact, the whole company so decided, and as a compliment drew up in front of our tent and fired a salute, bursting one gun but injuring no one."

Following this fling Parke grows somber in his observations of places and people. Near Ham's Fork tributary to the Green River he contemplated the Wyoming terrain and its Indian inhabitants: "Snow, grass, heat, cold, and mosquitoes, combined with rock and dust make up the most interesting part of this country. Our government would do well to trade the Indians out of their good land and force them on to a 'reservation' such as this and then proclaim to the world what a Christian people we are."

When the company visited Idaho's Fort Smith trading post to see the Indians, Parke commented: "The squaws were a dirty looking set, short and heavy in build and quite dark brown in color. Like the mosquito, Lord only knows what they were made for." Embarrassing to read, such remarks also frame Parke's character in the western migration, when numerous other accounts tell of burning or poisoning sides of bacon and barrels of flour rather than offload foodstuffs for the use of Indians, or anyone else. In the long haul Davis shows Parke as a fundamentally decent person, who returns sadder and wiser to medical practice in Illinois after his extended prairie walk.

The overland experiences Parke recorded taken together with his curious sea passage to Nicaragua and return home have important residual values for him as a diarist, and for us as readers. James Davis presents a fascinating portrait of a humanitarian, "crusty at times and quick to see faults in others," but mellowing by practice. In his compendious notes, rivalling in page length the diary itself and addictive in the extreme, Davis gives double money's worth to trail buffs and historians. Indeed the Illinois physician diarist and the Illinois professor editor are well met: clinical and puckish by turns. And certainly the book is mistitled *Dreams to Dust,* for Charles Parke is quite restored to life by James Davis.

Walter Edens
University of Wyoming

Dreams in Dry Places. By Roger Bruhn. Foreword by Ted Kooser. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Illustrated. Geographical Index. Photo Notes. xix and 145 pp. Cloth $40.00.

Why do book forewords need to be lyrical, or ascribe some noble purpose to the author? Ted Kooser, Nebraska poet, in the foreword to *Dreams in Dry Places,* waxes eloquent: "There is not an exposure in this collection in which there is not an invisible palmprint on the doorjamb or the smell of pipesmoke adrift on the breeze. By leaving the people out of the picture this photographer has left them in." The statement describes something the poet saw which I could not, or would not see. The author need not be shriven for excluding people. Nor do his strengths—documentary photography and graphic design—need to be bolstered by elevating his work to some higher plane—an exercise in metaphysics, at best, and bourgeois schmaltz, at worst.

On the other hand, Kooser's statement that the comparison of images provides not only the book's organizing principle, but its theme, hits the mark. Bruhn's *Dreams in Dry Places* is not the poetic, transcendental work of fellow Nebraskan, Wright Morris. The latter's *Photographs and Words* transcends historic documentation, its images redolent of human presence. *Dreams in Dry Places,* however, is a delightful, sharply focused exhibit of black and white photographs documenting Nebraska's architectural heritage.

Bruhn wants you to feel something about dreams. But the book's effect upon the reader is more literal than figurative. It demonstrates the wonderfully eclectic tastes of the inhabitants of a Great Plains state who built vernacular as well as high-style structures. In the process Bruhn reveals the subtleties of his vision and the excellence of his craft.

The book is like a musical composition. Paired images on opposite pages form the structure, a contrapuntal arrangement. Movements, in places separated by white pages, are tied together by the underlying theme of architectural style and detail. Landscape forms the prelude—quickly introducing structures rising vertically from it—and landscape forms the final movement. The first two pages of major architectural composition establishes a harmonious pattern of comparisons. On page ten a gabled church emerges from the left, balanced on page eleven by an emerging, gabled stone barn. There are always other matching elements in Bruhn's photos, however. In this case a vanishing point in the form of a wire fence and steel gate balance the church and provide

a visual lead to the opposite photo which is itself counterbalanced by a farmhouse in the background. The main facade of a lap-sided Scandinavian Lutheran Church, displaying angular gables and tower, is seen on page twelve. Opposite, on page thirteen, is a shingled barn, also displaying steeply-pitched gables and tower. One is religious, the other secular, but stylistic elements of the structures are similar. And thus it goes: the verticality of a flour mill's gabled facade (p. 16) matched by the interior verticality of an Episcopal church (p. 17), the lites of mill windows matching interior church lights.

What pleasure the author must have had in photographing Nebraska's architecture and designing this book! The images probably were made with a view camera set at F64 and mounted on a tripod because, well printed, they allow the reader to see infinitesimal detail. For a visual person, looking at the photos is akin to being turned loose in a many-roomed mansion of pleasure and surprise. Each image is a game of discovery, like discerning the twelve smiling leprechauns in the foliage of a tree, or finding Lowly Worm on a two-page spread in Richard Scarry's word books. Despite Bruhn's claim that he is not qualified as a teacher, he gently instructs us in the similarities of detail found in different architectural styles, from Classical, Gothic, and Romanesque Revival to Deco, International, Moderne, and the vernacular. In the process he not only shows us how architecture is organic and syncretic, but indicates how vernacular structures incorporate the details of high-style. He also removes some of the pretentious from a field of study whose students become aloof via their own, arcane taxonomy.

Pairings involve not only entire structures, but also exterior and interior micro-details such as picket fences, porches, balusters, and newel posts. Even light splotches and shadows are used for comparison. The music does not stop until the final movement, in which a scrawl on a prison wall, "Chris Smith was here," is followed by a cemeteryscape which, figuratively, repeats the message in the scrawl.

To describe the many other visual elements found in *Dreams in Dry Places,* however, is to spoil your fun. In short, the discriminating and exacting work of author/photographer/graphic designer, Roger Bruhn, makes his book an intelligent and unique approach to the photography of architecture. Bruhn is obviously a perfectionist with a fine sense of composition, a facility for utilizing light and shadow and a knowledge of architecture. The duotone photographs, with few exceptions, were very well-printed and the paper and cover stock make the book a pleasure to open, touch, and see. The University of Nebraska Press deserves credit for their work and their commitment to quality publications.

Mark Junge
Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office

The American West: A Narrative Bibliography and a Study in Regionalism. By Charles F. Wilkinson. Niwot: The University of Colorado Press, 1989. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. xiv and 144 pp. Cloth $19.95. Paper $9.95.

The author is a law professor at the University of Colorado who believes "If you want to understand the law of the American West, understand the American West." As a result he has read widely in the literature and history of the region and shares his thoughts about those readily available books and articles (he lists 488 sources) that he believes are the most helpful to understanding the "West" as a place. He also suggests a "bakers' dozen" to start with that, while not necessarily the best books about the West, give the reader a comprehensive overview. But this book is more than a bibliography for its organization suggests a historical interpretation of the American West and a use for that history.

While Charles Wilkinson is not a historian of the West by training, his sympathies clearly lie with those currently categorized as "new western historians." Like many of these scholars, Wilkinson seeks to understand the American West not as a disinterested party, but as an activist who believes that an accurate understanding of the past will lead to a better understanding of the region and ultimately help to construct a better future.

In his opening chapter Wilkinson tries to define the American West by listing a number of characteristics. Drawing upon Wallace Stegner he first suggests characteristics such as aridity and a high concentration of public lands managed by various federal agencies. Other key characteristics to be considered in his definition include a terrain "chopped up by rugged mountains and spread out by high plains and desert country," and a high concentration of Indian lands, all of which combine to create great open spaces. But some of these characteristics are more pronounced in some parts of the West than in others leaving Wilkinson to conclude that a definition is elusive. He prefers to examine the West by looking at the central forces that shaped the region, arguing that these

forces give the American West a cohesiveness the other definitions do not.

Wilkinson categorizes the central forces in western history under the headings: Events, People, Terrain, and Ideas. Under Events he lists, for example, the California Gold Rush, the opening of the public domain, the creation of Yellowstone National Park, Indian allotment, the construction of Hoover Dam, and the World War II boom as turning points. He uses these events as metaphors and then discusses the literature. Hoover Dam, for example, is a metaphor for large scale dam building and reclamation. His chapter titled "The People" includes a look at leaders, at subcultures, and at institutions.

Wilkinson concludes the book with a short chapter (five paragraphs) about the future of the American West in which he argues that geologic time may be the most useful concept for understanding the region.

During the decade of the 1980s the field of Western American history experienced an injection of intellectual adrenalin that resulted in a review of its traditional foundations. Historiographical essays by Eugene Berwanger and William Robbins in the *Pacific Historical Review,* and by Michael P. Malone in the *Western Historical Quarterly,* examined this and Wilkinson's book is a welcome addition to that effort. But I found Wilkinson's book especially engaging because it seems to invite the reader to join in an intellectual journey. This is work in progress; the author has not solidified his thinking, but is testing ideas and the reader feels inclined to join in the fun. It is worth the effort.

David Kathka
Division of Parks and Cultural Resources
Wyoming Department of Commerce

What Should We Tell Our Children About Vietnam? By Bill McCloud. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989. Suggested Readings. Chronology. xviii and 155 pp. Cloth $17.95.

In recent years many books have been written about the Vietnam War. These include novels, collections of oral history interviews from those who served in Vietnam, letters sent home from the war, and broader studies of the causes and effects of the conflict. *What Should We Tell Our Children About Vietnam?* is different in that it asked one question, "What do you think are the most important things for today's junior high students to understand about the Vietnam War?" Included in this book are 128 responses to that question.

Bill McCloud, a junior high school social studies teacher in Oklahoma, and a Vietnam veteran, several years ago was planning to teach his students about the Vietnam War. His school had never taught the subject before. He surveyed junior high school principals and students to determine how many schools taught the topic and how much the students knew about it. He discovered that many schools did not teach it, even though almost fifteen years had passed since the fall of South Vietnam. He also learned many students were interested in the war, but knew little or nothing about it. Still unsure about how to teach it, McCloud wrote to many participants and asked them what they believed should be taught. The responses to his letters led to an article in the May, 1988, issue of *American Heritage.* Upon seeing the article, many more wrote to him with their answers to the question.

The responses in the book came from Vietnam veterans, government officials, journalists, historians, authors, family members of servicemen who died in the war, and anti-war activists. Some of the people who wrote were George Bush, Jimmy Carter, Tom Hayden, Alexander Haig Jr., Pete Seeger, Robert McNamara, John Hersey, Henry Kissinger, and Garry Trudeau.

As one would expect from such a book, the answers are wide-ranging. Some are just a few lines, some a few pages. Several of the recurring themes are that public support is necessary for any war, that our government should not always be trusted, but should be questioned, the importance of learning from history, and that our troops fought well and earned and deserve the country's respect. One such sentiment was expressed by a nurse who served on a hospital ship during 1968 and 1969: "Those who served in Vietnam were special men and women who, in spite of the failure of their country to support them, did the best they could because they believed that their country would not ask them to do what was not right. I'd want them to know that the Vietnam veteran has nothing for which he or she needs to apologize."(p. 21)

The letters which comprise *What Should We Tell Our Children About Vietnam?* were written for junior high school students, but they really are for anyone who wants to gain a better understanding of the Vietnam War.

Rick Ewig
Annals of Wyoming

BOOK NOTES

Roadside History of Yellowstone Park. By Winfred Blevins. Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1989. Index. Illustrated. Maps. Suggested Readings. x and 106 pp. Paper $7.95.

This look at Yellowstone National Park examines the people who have lived in, explored, mapped, fought for, exploited, and visited the country's first national park. The author organizes his story around the park's five entrances and the established roads. You follow the history of the park as you follow the roads. The book is filled with maps and photographs.

Myths and Legends of the Sioux. By Marie L. McLaughlin. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Originally published: Bismarck, North Dakota: Bismarck Tribune Co., 1916. Illustrated. 200 pp. Cloth $19.95. Paper $6.95.

Marie L. McLaughlin was born and raised in an Indian community in Minnesota. She was one-fourth Sioux. At the age of twenty-one she married Major James McLaughlin who went on to become the Indian agent at Devils Lake Agency until he was transferred to the Standing Rock Agency on the Missouri to work with the Sioux. Having a thorough knowledge of the Sioux language, the author served as an interpreter for her husband. She gained the trust of the Sioux and fearing that their stories would be lost to posterity, she took careful notes as the older men and women of the Sioux related their myths and legends to her. According to McLaughlin, these stories "will also give an intimate insight into the mentality of an interesting race at a most interesting stage of development, which is now fast receding into the mists of the past."

Reminiscences: Incidents in the Life of a Pioneer in Oregon and Idaho. By William Armistead Goulder. Introduction by Merle W. Wells. Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1989. Originally published: Boise, Idaho: Timothy Regan, 1909. xvi and 376 pp. Paper $16.95.

Reminiscences is the first book published in the *Idaho Yesterdays* state centennial reprint series sponsored by the Idaho State Historical Society and the Idaho Centennial Commission. Born in Virginia, William Armistead Goulder traveled the Oregon Trail in 1844 at the age of twenty-two. He settled in the Willamette Valley for sixteen years before going to Idaho to search for gold in 1861. In Idaho he served three terms in the territorial legislature, became a community leader, a correspondent, and later a regular staff member of Boise's newspaper the *Idaho Statesman.* Well educated, Goulder was a perceptive observer and in 1909 he published an account of his pioneer experiences in Virginia, Oregon, and Idaho. His reminiscences of early western politics and culture are important to the study of the West.

Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804. Volume I. Edited and with an Introductory Narrative by A.P. Nasatir. Introduction to the Bison Book Edition by James. P. Ronda. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Originally published: St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952. Footnotes. xx and 375 pp. Cloth $40.00. Paper $11.95.

Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804. Volume II. Edited and with an Introductory Narrative by A.P. Nasatir. Introduction to the Bison Book Edition by James P. Ronda. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Originally published: St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952. Footnotes. Maps. Index. viii and 477 pp. Cloth $40.00. Paper $12.95.

The University of Nebraska Press has reprinted A.P. Nasatir's two volume compilation of original documents first published in 1952 relating to the history of the Missouri River before Lewis and Clark's exploration. The first volume begins with the discovery of the river in 1673 and relates the early Spanish and French activity in the area and documents the Missouri until 1795. The second

volume explores the years 1796 to 1804, the first year of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The documents used in the books pertain to topography, trading, encounters with the Indians, Indian policy of the Spanish, and the encroachments of the British.

'Dear Old Kit': The Historical Christopher Carson. By Harvey Lewis Carter. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. Index. Illustrated. Maps. Appendices. xxii and 250 pp. Paper $14.95.

First published in 1968, *'Dear Old Kit': The Historical Christopher Carson* is now available in paperback. Harvey Lewis Carter examines the myth and legend of Kit Carson. The book includes Carson's memoirs annotated by Carter as well as three essays by the author and a chronology of Carson's life. The Carson exposed is not the legendary hero of the West, nor is he the great Indian-hater some believe him to be.

The Little Big Horn, 1876: The Official Communications, Documents and Reports of the Officers and Troops of the Campaign. Compiled and annotated by Loyd J. Overfield II. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Originally published: Glendale, California: A.H. Clark, 1971. Illustrated. Index. 203 pp. Paper $8.95.

The original orders, letters, and telegrams dating from May 6, 1876, until December 9, 1876, regarding the Battle of the Little Big Horn, are included in this recently reprinted volume. Loyd L. Overfield quoted these documents directly from microfilm provided by the National Archives. Also included is a chronological list of battles during the 1876 Sioux and Cheyenne campaigns as well as rosters of the officers and troops involved in the campaigns.

The Fur Trade in North Dakota. Edited by Virginia L. Heidenreich. Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1990. Illustrated. Maps. Notes. Suggested Readings. 73 pp. Paper $6.50.

This well-illustrated account of the fur trade in North Dakota examines such topics as Fort Clark on the Missouri, the Chippewa fur trade in the Red River Valley, and the peopling of the northern plains by the Metis, people not citizens of the United States or Canada, but of North America. The Metis were of Indian and White ancestry, primarily French and Scottish. Also included is an essay describing the early fur trade on the northern plains.

Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists. By Paul Russell Cutright. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. Originally published: Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Footnotes. Appendices. xiii and 506 pp. Paper $14.95.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark carried out many scientific studies during their exploration of the West from 1804 to 1806. *The Journals of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* published in 1814 ignored this aspect of their journey. Paul Russell Cutright attempts to correct this oversight of the naturalist role Lewis and Clark played by describing their studies of animals, plants, and topography.

A Sad and Terrible Blunder: Generals Terry and Custer at the Little Big Horn: New Discoveries. By Roger Darling. Vienna, Virginia: Potomac-Western Press, 1990. Index. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. Maps. viii and 295 pp. Cloth $28.50.

Roger Darling's study of the Little Big Horn looks beyond the role of Custer and places the entire campaign in a broader historical context. Examined are wide-ranging issues such as the relationship between Terry and Custer, and the lack of a U.S. Army Indian warfare doctrine and how that affected Terry and the campaign. Also explored are the evolution of Terry's strategic plan, the role operational intelligence played in the campaign, the accomplishments of the Indians, as well as new information the author believes contributes "to more balanced historical judgments on the campaign." The book is oversized and contains many maps and photographs which greatly add to the presentation of the material.

ERRATA

Regarding "Solving the Jigsaw Puzzle: One Suffrage Story at a Time," by Sidney Howell Fleming in the Spring 1990 issue, the editor and author wish to correct the following:

Part III, page 34, column 2, lines 13 and 14: "None of the three lawyers, Ben Sheeks, Rockwell, and James R. Whitehead, opposed the married women's property bill (though they did oppose the suffrage bill) and the provisions (of the married women's property act) were very generous."

Part IV, page 53, line 3 through end: Citation 37 should follow removal, line 3; citation 38, with two references should be divided into Stanton, 38-A and *Cheyenne Daily Leader,* August 30 and 31 as 38-B. Citation 38-A should follow petticoat, and the page number following Stanton in footnote 38 should be changed to p. 673. The *leader* references, 38-B, are properly at the end, following manhood.

Part IV, page 57, column 1, lines 6 and 7 of paragraph 1 should read as follows: "Even as the bill to allow Wyoming to be admitted into the Union waited for Senate action, Carey lobbied for the bill, while Plunkett assured his audience . . .

Part IV, page 60, column 2, lines 7 and 8 of the last paragraph should read: "When a city policeman tried to intervene, the Cheyenne city marshall stopped him. Finally, U.S. Marshal Church Howe . . . ."

Part IV, page 62, footnote 72: The first cite should be 1900 Washington, D.C. Census; the same correction should be made for the 1850 and 1900 census in footnote 16, page 71.

Part IV, page 64, column 1, line 13: Add a comma after letterhead so that the sentence reads ". . . Collection, which is on Post letterhead, in the Women of . . ."

In order to maximize space, the editorial decision was made to group all citations from one source together. This has the effect of disrupting the sequence of citations as they relate to the text. The author is glad to assist any reader who encounters a problem with specific citations. A correction list of errors has been assembled, and can be obtained on request either from the editor or author.

Ernest Wilkerson, Democratic candidate for governor, spelled out details of his proposed incentive tax on mineral industries at a lemonade reception at the City Park Tuesday night. "When I began my campaign," Wilkerson said, "I urged across the state that our people 'take charge' of this enormously wealthy state of ours which is producing so little profit, so little wealth for them.

"The wealth created by the literally billions of dollars of minerals being taken out of our ground is building other cities, other states, benefiting other people. I'm thinking, for example, of the oil company which last year made a seven million dollar profit, 95 per cent of it off of Wyoming, and which doesn't have a single employee in Wyoming.

"I'm thinking of the oil company operating the Reno Field in Johnson County and shipping five million barrels of oil a year to Illinois for refining -- all directed out of its offices in Denver. Or I'm thinking of other mineral producers, coal, uranium, etc., who are content to live off of Wyoming but don't want to live with us.

"We can encourage these people to be better corporate citizens of Wyoming by giving them an incentive to keep their people, their payrolls here. One possibility for legislative consideration next year would be the levying of a tax of perhaps five to ten cents per barrel on oil, for example, with a credit being given to those companies which refine the products here. Last year Wyoming gave up 150 million barrels of oil, only a small share of which was refined here. This oil had a total average tax of 10 cents per barrel. This is less than one-half the total average tax on a barrel of oil in any other state in the nation. There is room, thus, without in any way hurting our friends in the oil business, to create an incentive tax, which would be assessed against the oil removed in the crude for refining elsewhere, and would be forgiven on the oil refined in our own state, by our own people," Wilkerson said.

The candidate concluded, "I could take you south and west of Sheridan, into oil fields within a hundred-mile radius, and show you pumps taking out of our soil tens of thousands of barrels of oil every day. I could then take you to refineries hundreds of miles away and there, employing thousands of people in the processing of this oil -- I could show you that not one drop of it is refined in Wyoming. Wyoming's people in this campaign, by their choice of parties or of candidates, have what may be our last chance to stop this slow economic death of our state -- this incessant bleeding away of our mineral wealth to the advantage of other places."

An example of a press release from Ernest Wilkerson during the 1966 race for governor.

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 63, No. 2 Spring 1991

In 1895 the state of Wyoming established a department to collect and preserve materials which interpret the history of Wyoming. Today those duties are performed by the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources in the Department of Commerce. Located in the department are the State Historical Research Library, the State Archives, the State Museum, the State Art Gallery, the State Historic Sites, and the State Historic Preservation Office. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artwork and artifacts for museum exhibit. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts.

ABOUT THE COVER—Nineteen ninety-one is the 125th anniversary of the battle in which eighty-one men from Fort Phil Kearny led by Captain William J. Fetterman fought a much larger force of Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes. This sketch is of the fight which took place on December 21, 1866. This issue of Annals of Wyoming examines the lives of Captain Fetterman and the man said to have killed Fetterman, American Horse. (Courtesy Wyoming State Museum)

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 63, No. 2
Spring, 1991

ANNALS OF WYOMING was established in 1923 to disseminate historical information about Wyoming and the West through the publication of articles and documents. The editors of ANNALS OF WYOMING welcome manuscripts on every aspect of Wyoming and Western history.

Authors should submit two typed, double-spaced copies of their manuscripts with footnotes placed at the end. Manuscripts submitted should conform to A MANUAL OF STYLE (University of Chicago Press). The Editor reserves the right to submit all manuscripts to members of the Editorial Advisory Board or to authorities in the field of study for recommendations. Published articles represent the view of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce or the Wyoming State Historical Society.

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ANNALS OF WYOMING is published quarterly by the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Membership dues are: Single $9; Joint $12; Institutional $20; Life $150; Joint Life $200. Current membership is 1,892. Copies of previous and current issues of ANNALS may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life.

PRICE OF ARROGANCE:

The Short and Controversial Life of William Judd Fetterman

by John D. McDermott

COURTESY WYOMING STATE MUSEUM (WSM)

William Judd Fetterman (1835-1866) was the son of an army officer, Lieutenant George Fetterman, who entered military service from Pennsylvania. The elder Fetterman attended West Point, enrolling on July 1, 1823, and graduating on July 1, 1827, tenth in his class, with a commission as a second lieutenant in the Third Artillery. Lieutenant Fetterman served at Fort Trumball, Connecticut, from 1829 to 1833, where on April 18, 1831, he married Anna Marie Judd, the daughter of Bethel Judd of New London.[1]

Little is known of William Fetterman's early life. We know he was born in April, 1835, in Cheshire, Connecticut. His mother died shortly thereafter, perhaps even in giving birth. This would help to explain the fact that George Fetterman resigned his commission from the Third Artillery thirteen months later, on May 31, 1836. The elder Fetterman died on June 27, 1844.[2]

After his father's death, young Fetterman became the charge of his uncle on his mother's side, Henry Bethel Judd. A graduate of West Point in 1835, Judd served with distinction in the Third Artillery during the Mexican War, earning a brevet for gallant and meritorious service in the affair at Medelin, Mexico, on March 25, 1847. He continued in the artillery, serving as regimental adjutant of the Third and finally retiring November 21, 1861, as a major in the Fourth.[3] Judd's wife, Margaret, treated William as her own, calling herself his adopted mother.[4]

Thus, Fetterman grew to manhood in a military family, and his one great ambition was to continue that tradition. When eighteen years old, Fetterman submitted an application to the commandant of West Point, which tells much concerning his values:

Rochester, New York
July 21, 1853

Honorable and Dear Sir:

Pardon me for the liberty I have taken in addressing one who is so much my superior in station and who must be well nigh wearied by the number of petitions with which he is annoyed—But I am very anxious to procure an appointment to the Military Academy at West Point. I, as a son of deceased officer of the U.S. Army, apply to you for such an appointment. My Father who died 5 or 6 years since was a Lieutenant in the 3rd Artillery, but was never in active service, which you may—but hope will not—consider disparaging. My Uncle Capt. Henry B. Judd, 3rd Artillery, served with distinction in the Floridas & Mexican War. My age is 18 years and 3 mons. I am anxious to appear at the August Examination of this year, but if I cannot I will rely upon your generosity (which may be presumptuous in me) for an appointment next year. I am employed in a bank in this city as an Asst. Teller and whatever recommendations may be necessary or may be needed I can procure.

I remain your Obd't Serv't
William J. Fetterman[5]

The assistant bank teller was unsuccessful in securing the appointment. The next we hear of him he is twenty-six years and two months old. On May 14, 1861, Fetterman accepted a commission as a first lieutenant in the Eighteenth U.S. Infantry, a regiment established ten days earlier by the direction of President Lincoln and later confirmed by the Congress. Leaving his home in Wilmington, Delaware, he reported for duty on July 6 in Columbus, Ohio. In the School for Instruction, organized by Regimental Commander Henry B. Carrington, Fetterman quickly made an impression as being ambitious and proficient in his duties. As did all the officers in the newly formed regiment, Fetterman served initially as a recruiter, helping to organize companies at Camp Thomas, established on August 10, about four miles north of Columbus. Promoted to captain on October 25, 1861, he took charge of Company A, Second Battalion of the Eighteenth Infantry on November 28. On December 1, he left Camp Thomas for the front. The Eighteenth Infantry became part of the Third Brigade of the First Division of the Army of Ohio, commanded by General George H. Thomas.[6]

1. "Obituary: Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Wm. J. Fetterman," *Army Navy Journal,* January 12, 1867, p. 336; "William Judd Fetterman," *Dictionary of American Biography,* ed. by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, 22 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1944), vol. 3, pp. 350-351.
2. Letter from Fetterman, Wilmington, Delaware, June 20, 1861, to Assistant Adjutant General USA; Commission Branch File No. F22, William J. Fetterman, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army,* 2 vols. (Washington: GPO, 1903), vol. 1, p. 418.
3. Heitman, *Historical Register,* vol. 1, p. 584. During the Civil War Judd helped to organize volunteer regiments, receiving commendation for his work and promotion to lieutenant colonel on November 13, 1865. He died on July 27, 1892.
4. "Mother's Pension, June 29, 1872," William J. Fetterman, Pension File 157908, Records of the Veteran's Administration, Record Group 15.
5. Entry 103, 1853, U.S. Military Academy Application Papers, 1805-1866, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, Microfilm Series 688, Roll 193.

During April and May, 1862, Fetterman participated in the siege of Corinth, Mississippi, part of an attempt by Generals U.S. Grant and D.C. Buell to divide the Confederacy. On October 6, Fetterman fought in a minor engagement with the Confederate rear guard from Springfield to Texas, Kentucky, and two days later led his company in the Battle of Chaplin Hill. On December 25, 1862, a reorganization assigned the Ohio regiment to the Fourteenth Corps. On the last day of the year, the Eighteenth Infantry engaged the enemy at Stones River, Tennessee, in what would be a four-day battle in which nearly thirteen thousand Union soldiers and twelve thousand Confederates lost their lives. Holding the center as part of General L.H. Rousseau's Division, the Eighteenth lost nearly three hundred men or half its strength in an hour of fighting. After the battle Rousseau declared that if he could, he would promote every officer and many noncommissioned officers and privates of the Ohio regiment for their service that day. At the end of the war Fetterman did receive a brevet of major for "great gallantry and good conduct" exhibited during this engagement. In looking back on his military service in 1866, Fetterman wrote that he considered Stones River the most important service rendered by him or his regiment during the Civil War.[7] Fetterman's only other action in 1863 was a brush, on March 2, with Confederate cavalry near Eagleville, Tennessee.

On April 28, 1863, Fetterman left his company for regimental recruiting service. His station was Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where for a time he also served as mustering officer. He left recruiting service on March 2, 1864, at his own request and reassumed command of Company A, then preparing to participate in the famous Atlanta Campaign of William Tecumseh Sherman. The Eighteenth Infantry formed part of the Second Brigade of the First Division of the Fourteenth Corps of the Army of the Cumberland.

Fetterman renewed his own personal war in skirmishes with the enemy at Buzzard Roost Gap, Georgia, on May 9 through 11, and in the Battle of Resca on May 13 and 16. His conduct in these engagements earned him a greater role in the fighting to come. When the Second Battalion of the Eighteenth Infantry marched into battle at New Hope, Georgia, on May 27, Fetterman rode at its head, and he continued to serve as a battalion commander through the fighting at Kenesaw Mountain, June 12 to July 13; the Smyrna Church, July 4; and Peach Tree Creek, on July 20. In the siege of Atlanta from July 21 through August 18, 1864, which included a skirmish with Confederate outposts and cavalry at Utoy Creek on August 4 and the Battle of Utoy Creek on August 7, he functioned as Acting Assistant Adjutant General (AAAG) of the Fourteenth Corps.

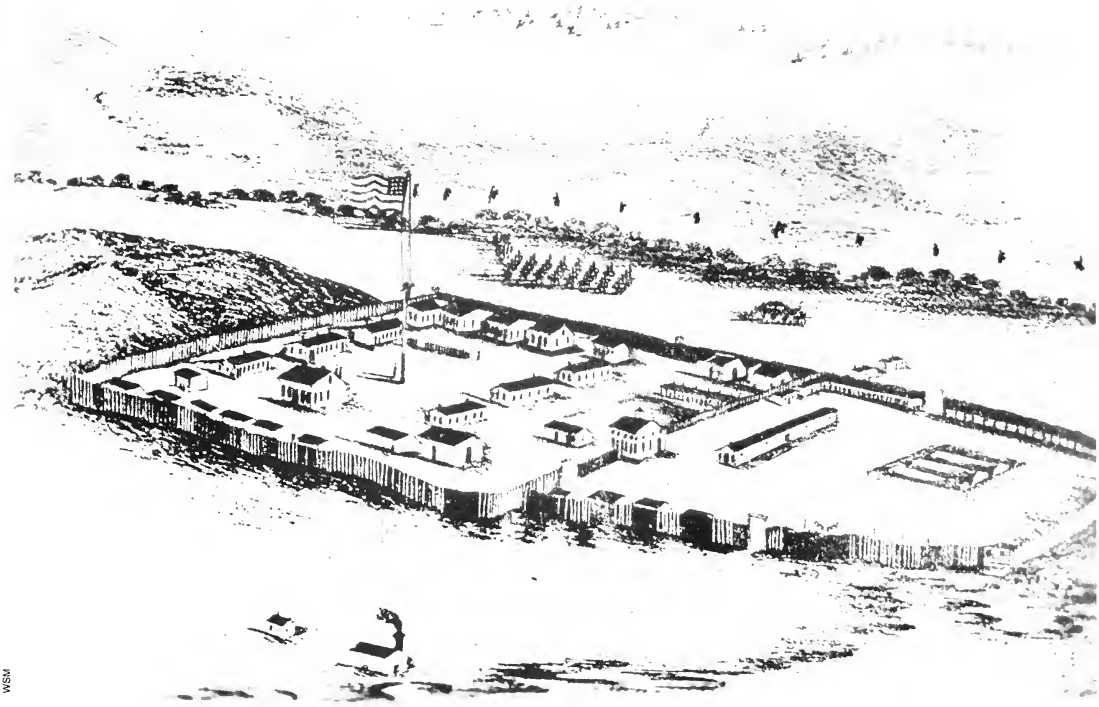
Fetterman's last Civil War action was the Battle of Jonesboro on September 1, which resulted in the fall of Atlanta. Here the Eighteenth Infantry charged the enemy's fortifications and overran the Confederate's first line of defense. The regiment suffered heavy losses in this engagement and during the campaign, because Sherman used his veteran units as the initial attack force in turning a flank or seizing enemy defenses. At the start of the campaign, the regiment numbered 653 officers and men, but at the end only 210 answered the call. Fetterman received a brevet of lieutenant colonel for great gallantry and good conduct for his service at Atlanta and Jonesboro. He remained as AAAG for the Fourteenth Corps until the close of the war, and during June, 1865, he again left on recruiting service, first regimental and then general, serving at Camp Thomas in Columbus, Ohio, and ending in Cleveland. On September 21, 1866, he received orders to join his company in the field at Fort Phil Kearny.[8]

In looking back, Fetterman's Civil War career was impressive. Rising from company to battalion commander, serving on the staff of the Fourteenth Corps, and being twice breveted for gallantry, the young officer had gained a reputation for efficiency and courage as a member of a unit that had been in the thick of the fighting in the Civil War. His regiment, according to Fox' *Regimental Losses,* one of the compendiums of the day, had lost

6. For discussion of the service of the Eighteenth Infantry see "Records of Events and History of the 18th Regiment of Inf., 1861-1865," Records of the Eighteenth Infantry, Records of Regular Army Regiments, Record Group 391; Cabaniss, "The Eighteenth Regiment of Infantry," pp. 1111-1120; Arnold J. Hedenheimer, *Vanguard to Victory: History of the 18th Infantry* (New York, 1968), pp. 48-51; A.B. Cushing, "History of the Eighteenth United States Infantry, *Winners of the West,* January 1938, pp. 1-2; Frederick H. Dyer, A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion vol. 3 (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, n.d.), p. 1715.

7. Letter from Fetterman, Cleveland, Ohio, April 7, 1866, to Bvt. Capt. Eugene Carter, Department of Washington, CB File F22.

8. "Captain William J. Fetterman," in "Records of Events and History of the 18th Regiment of Inf., 1861-1865," Record Group 391, pp. 106-107; "William Judd Fetterman," *Dictionary of American Biography,* p. 351.



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Antonio Nicoli, 2nd Cavalry Bugler, sketched Fort Phil Kearny during 1867.

more killed and mortally wounded than any other regiment in the regular army. With the exceptions of the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Fetterman had been through it all, and with confidence born of having been repeatedly shot at and missed, he was no doubt ready for more action against another foe in a distant land. As senior officer serving with the Second Battalion, Fetterman could expect to take command of that unit when the Army Reorganization Act of July 28, 1866, took effect on January 1, 1867. The legislation reconstituted the Second Battalion of the Eighteenth as the new 27th Infantry.

Colonel Henry B. Carrington, now back in command of the regiment, looked forward to Fetterman's coming for no other reason than he lacked officers for his companies. In contemplating his arrival, Mrs. Carrington noted that Fetterman's social and professional character had made him a regimental favorite in the past, and added that the officer had "earned the reputation of being a brave soldier."[9] Apparently the rank and file appreciated Fetterman. At least Charles Wilson of Company H of the Second Battalion remembered that Fetterman was humane to his men, "always looking out for them, seeing to their needs, and saving all unnecessary suffering."[10]

In the power structure, Fetterman was in an interesting position as the heir apparent to command the 27th Infantry. Because all units stationed at Fort Phil Kearny were to be included in the new grouping, Fetterman's junior officers and the noncommissioned officers of the

9. After the officer had been at Fort Phil Kearny for a time, Mrs. Carrington commented on "his gentlemanly manners and adaptation to social life." See Margaret Irvin Carrington, *Absaraka: Home of the Crows* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1868; reprint ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), pp. 244-245.

10. Charles William Wilson, "Army Life in the Rockies," *National Tribune*, June 22, 1899.

various companies would undoubtedly pay more than normal attention to his opinions in matters of tactics and strategy.

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel William Judd Fetterman, the much-discussed Civil War veteran who promised to lead the much-pressed Second Battalion to glory, reached Fort Phil Kearny on November 3, arriving in company with Lieutenants Horatio S. Bingham and James Powell, the former soon to die in Indian combat and the latter destined to command one of the army's most successful mid-nineteenth century Indian engagements.

Within a few days after his arrival Fetterman had two experiences that shaped his attitude toward Indians and Indian fighting. On November 5, after only forty-eight hours on the job, Fetterman went to Carrington with a plan to surprise the Sioux. He proposed to take a detachment that night to the cottonwood thicket lining Big Piney Creek in front of the fort, hobble some mules nearby as live bait, wait for the marauders to strike, and then attack them from ambush. Carrington gave his permission for the experiment. It was a bright, moonlit night so that those bent on theft could clearly see the unprotected mules. At 2 a.m. the troops hid themselves in the brush and for hours kept anxious watch. However, nothing stirred, and with the dawning of a beautiful Sunday morning, the unfulfilled party returned to the post. Shortly after 9 o'clock, the Sioux ran off James Wheatley's cattle herd not a mile distant.[11] Being made a fool undoubtedly strengthened Fetterman in his resolve to punish the Sioux.

On November 7, a second important incident occurred. Fetterman's first duty was to acquaint himself with the locality, and, in company with Captain Tenodor Ten Eyck, Lieutenant Bisbee, and another officer, he set out to visit the pinery, and inspect the wood cutting operation. Considerably in advance of their small cavalry escort, the officers entered a ravine and were suddenly fired upon from about fifty paces by fifteen to twenty rifles. None in the party were hit, and a second volley equally failed to touch a man. The officers returned the fire, skirmishing their way down Pine Island. Having received a report of the ambush from a bugler-messenger who feared that many had been killed, Carrington led a relief party, rendezvousing with his subordinates about seven miles from the post, and the group returned without incident.[12] No experience could have been more supportive of a deprecative view of Indian competence in arms.

In a very short time Fetterman made his views of the situation known. To put it simply in Margaret Carrington's words, "he was impatient because the Indians were not summarily punished," and "he wanted to settle accounts."[13] Furthermore, he had no respect for the Indians as a fighting force, and his opinions concerning the ability of the United States Army to deal with them have been much quoted, appearing in practically every piece written about the Fetterman Fight published during this century.

In her book, *Absaraka,* published in 1868, Margaret Carrington reported that Fetterman had boasted shortly after his arrival that "a company of regulars could whip a thousand and a regiment could whip the whole array

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Margaret Carrington accompanied her husband to Fort Phil Kearny in 1866. She wrote of her experiences at the fort in Absaraka, Home of the Crows.

11. Carrington, *Absaraka,* pp. 170-171; Frances C. Carrington, *My Army Life* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1910), p. 120.
12. Testimony of Henry B. Carrington, "Records of the Special Commission to investigate the Fetterman Massacre and the State of Indian Affairs, 1867," Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, pp. 226-227, National Archives; Carrington, *Absaraka,* pp. 191-192.
13. Carrington, *Absaraka,* pp. 217, 245.

of hostile tribes."[14] Frances Grummond Carrington repeated the boast almost verbatim in her reminiscence, *My Army Life,* published in 1911.[15] The first to quote the officer as stating he needed only eighty men to chastise the Sioux was Colonel Carrington in a speech delivered at the dedication of the Fetterman Monument in 1908, which was reproduced in the volume by his second wife three years later.[16] It seems a bit too neat to believe that Fetterman ever named exact numbers, as his commanding officer suggested a half-century later, but rather that he simply called for a company, which as Carrington noted in a letter to Department of the Platte Assistant Adjutant General Litchfield dated July 30, 1866, at that time had an effective strength at Fort Phil Kearny of eighty men, due to attrition, illness, and other reasons.[17]

Fetterman, always reinforced and prodded by Captain Frederick H. Brown and Lieutenant George W. Grummond, two fire-brands who deserve their own biographical treatment, decided to attempt the proof of his opinion and went to Carrington with a plan.[18] In his report to the special commission investigating the Fetterman Disaster, Carrington testified that Fetterman and Brown came to him with a request to lead fifty mounted soldiers and fifty civilians on an expedition to Tongue River to punish the Sioux in their camps. He had refused, in his words, "because the country was broken, because most of the officers had not been with me in reconnaissance and had recently arrived at the post, entirely unused to Indian warfare, [and] because I knew the Indian to be in large numbers. . . ." Appealing to reason, he showed the two officers his morning report, stating that if he allowed the request he would have no horses for mail parties or pickets and still be eight animals short of the desired number. When citizens made a similar plea, Carrington replied that even with a lieutenant and fifty men, they had been unable to protect themselves long enough to fulfill a contract for a winter's supply of hay for the army's stock; consequently in his view they were incapable of attacking and destroying Indian villages.[19] This incident fed the flames of discontent among those who preferred action to restraint, and apparently strengthened Fetterman's resolve to take any opportunity to engage the foe in sustained combat.

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Colonel Henry B. Carrington

On November 25, raiders ran off some stock, and Fetterman with thirty men gave chase, riding forty miles to reclaim all but five of the animals, which had been killed by the Sioux to prevent their recapture. By this time Fetterman had fully made up his mind about his superior, and in a letter to a friend in Cleveland, Ohio, dated November 26, he declared that the regiment was "afflicted with an incompetent commanding officer viz Carrington."[20] Fetterman, however, noted they would soon be rid of that officer, since the reorganization would reconstitute the Second Battalion of the regiment as the 27th Infantry, which he would command.[21]

14. Ibid., p. 171.
15. Carrington, *My Life,* p. 119.
16. Ibid., p. 253.
17. Letter from Carrington, Fort Phil Kearny, July 30, 1866, to Acting Assistant Adjutant General Litchfield, Testimony of Henry B. Carrington, "Records of the Special Commission," p. 76.
18. For a short sketch of Grummond and his checkered career, see John D. McDermott, "Introduction," in Frances Carrington, *My Army Life* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1990), pp. xxvi-xxix.
19. Testimony of Henry B. Carrington, "Records of the Special Commission," p. 248.
20. Letter from Fetterman, Fort Phil Kearny, November 26, 1866, to Charles Terry, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.
21. This interesting document is reproduced on page 68.

Fetterman had his first chance for real combat on December 6, his thirty-fifth day in service at Fort Phil Kearny. At 9 a.m. that morning, a party of twenty to twenty-five soldiers and civilians left the fort for the wood camp. About 1 p.m., the Sioux mounted an attack, and pickets on Pilot Hill signaled the post in the prescribed manner. Carrington decided to take personal command, dividing his force into two parts, one to rush to the aid of the wood party and the other to hurry north, past Lodge Trail Ridge, to catch the Indians when they retreated, which was their normal ploy when reinforcements arrived. Carrington sent Fetterman and Bingham with thirty of the cavalry to relieve the wood party and assembled the twenty-one mounted infantrymen under Grummond and with three orderlies rode out of the post, leaving word for Second Lieutenant Alexander H. Wands to join him as soon as possible. Receiving wrong directions from a sentinel, Wands ended up catching Fetterman's command and because of the circumstances decided to remain.[22]

When Fetterman reached the scene he found a party of ten under siege by one hundred Sioux. Joining Fetterman and command at this time were Brown and several mounted infantrymen, who had left the fort without Carrington's knowledge to participate in the chase. The Sioux raced off to the northeast with Fetterman in pursuit, proceeding five miles into rough, ravine-filled country. Fetterman and Bingham and the men with them kept up a fire as the chase progressed, although the Indians were far out of range. Eventually the horses tired, and when they reached a fork of Peno Creek, the Sioux surged out of some ravines and surrounded the party on three sides, forming an elongated horseshoe.

Fetterman quickly ordered a halt, but, for some undetermined but much-speculated reason, Bingham, with three-fourths of the cavalry, broke through the Indian lines and headed down the road leading back to Fort Phil Kearny. The Indians withdrew when they saw Carrington's column approaching in the distance, but the troops passed by a half-mile on the right without seeing Fetterman's party, and the fighting renewed. Fetterman and his dwindled command fought and then pursued the Sioux, but could not keep pace. When they reached the Bozeman Trail in Peno Valley, they sighted Carrington's detachment again and this time joined it.

While descending the north side of Lodge Trail Ridge and approaching Peno Creek with Carrington, Grummond had glimpsed Bingham and, armed only with a saber, left the main column, three men following. Beyond Lodge Trail Ridge Grummond joined Bingham in chasing what turned out to be a decoy, and about two miles west of Carrington's position the Sioux swarmed in ambush. Grummond barely escaped with his life, fighting his way back to Carrington's column, but Bingham fell with a bullet in his brain. Carrington later recovered the mutilated body. With the uniting of Carrington's and Fetterman's forces, the Sioux moved rapidly southeast up the Bozeman Trail and disappeared. The casualties were Bingham and Sergeant Gideon R. Bowers killed, and one sergeant and four privates wounded. About 7 p.m., in near darkness, the weary force rode through the gates of Fort Phil Kearny. Fetterman's first sustained encounter with the Indians had hardly been a success.

Carrington reported of Fetterman to his superiors that the officer "knew little of the country, but carried out his instruction promptly. Captain Brown who accidentally joined him knew the ground, and the result would have been a good fight if he had retained Lieutenant Bingham's command."[23] It is interesting to note that Fetterman was unable to control the actions of his subordinate, and that had it not been for Carrington's arrival, the separation might have meant the annihilation of the novice Indian fighter and those remaining with him. Margaret Carrington later commented that, "It seems that such a disaster has been necessary, to check the natural impulse of every one who comes here to chase Indians regardless of numbers or rules." She reported that Fetterman said he had learned a lesson, that this Indian war had become hand-to-hand combat, requiring the utmost caution, and that he wanted no more such risks.[24]

22. Letter from Carrington, Fort Phil Kearny, December 6, 1866, to AAAG Litchfield, Department of the Platte in Testimony of Carrington, "Records of the Special Commission, pp. 191-197; Letter from Fetterman, Fort Phil Kearny, December 7, 1866, to Post Adjutant Bisbee in Senate Ex. Docs., 39th Cong. 2d sess., no. 15, vol. 2, 1867, serial 1277, pp. 14-15; Letter from Alexander H. Wands, Fort Phil Kearny, January 4, 1867, *Chicago Times,* February 8, 1867; Assistant Surgeon C.M. Hines, Fort Phil Kearny, December 15, 1866, in House Ex. Docs., 39th Cong., 2d sess., no. 71, vol. 11, 1866, serial 1293, pp. 8-9. For monograph on the battle see Barry Hagan, "Prelude to a Massacre—Fort Phil Kearny, December 6, 1866," *Journal of the Order of the Indian Wars* 1 (Fall 1980): 1-17.

23. Letter from Carrington to Litchfield, December 6, Testimony of Henry B. Carrington, "Records of the Special Commission," p. 195; Carrington, *Absaraka,* p. 194.

24. Carrington, *Absaraka,* pp. 194-195.

Whatever his professed intention to caution, Fetterman had not lost his obsession for punishment, and now the desire for personal revenge fired his resolve. He had met the enemy, but they were not his, and it must have rankled. According to Carrington in his testimony before the special commission, Fetterman and Brown were soon plotting to meet the Sioux and their allies in force. He told the commissioners that H. Schiebe, Brown's clerk, would testify that Fetterman and Brown had previously planned to move directly upon Indians whenever they should be out of the fort in any considerable force.[25] In any event, Fetterman began preparations for the next meeting with his adversary. Immediately he began drilling his company at retreat in loading and firing by file and by numbers and continued to do so until the fateful day.[26]

The story of December 21, 1866, is quite simple. The day was bright and clear, the weather cold, with snow covering the ridges and packed deep in the canyons. The wood train left about 10 a.m., and in an hour, the post received the inevitable signal that Indians had attacked. Carrington ordered a relief party, putting Captain Powell in charge, based on his satisfactory performance in handling a similar emergency two days before. However, Fetterman requested the command, citing his seniority, and Carrington assented. Fetterman readied his own Company A and a detachment of Company C. The plan called for Grummond to follow with the cavalry and mounted infantry, which would overtake the foot soldiers down the road in time to relieve the wood train in unison. Brown and two civilians, James Wheatley and Isaac Fisher, later joined the party so that the number of men under Fetterman totaled eighty.

Carrington gave Fetterman his orders: "Support the wood-train, relieve it, and report to me. Do not engage or pursue Indians at its expense; under no circumstances pursue over the Ridge, namely, Lodge Trail Ridge, as per map in your possession." Before the party left, Carrington asked his acting adjutant, Wands, to repeat the orders, and then later stopped the departing cavalry and repeated them to Grummond from atop a sentry platform.[27]

The rest is history. Fetterman pushed over Lodge Trail Ridge and down the other side, where he followed decoys into an ambush. In attempting a withdrawing action the troops succumbed to overpowering numbers, most soldiers dying of head wounds administered by clubbing. When the sound of firing reached the post, Carrington sent a relief party under Ten Eyck, which ultimately numbered seventy-six men. By the time they reached the top of Lodge Trail Ridge, it was all over, and the Indians were moving away to the southeast. Estimates of the Indian force by officers at the post were from fifteen hundred to two thousand. Some Indian sources report many less than that, although the composite figures given by Stanley Vestal based on his Indian informants are the same.[28]

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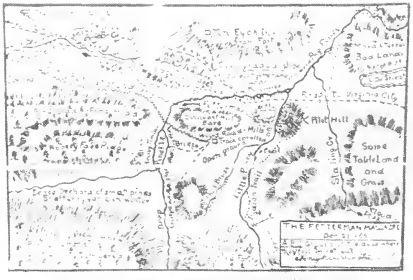
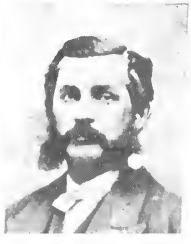
Lieutenant George W. Grummond was one of the officers killed during the Fetterman Fight.

25. Testimony of Henry B. Carrington, "Records of the Special Commission," p. 263.
26. Testimony of Henry B. Carrington, "Records of the Special Commission," p. 237.
27. Henry B. Carrington, Official Report of the Philip Kearny Massacre, January 3, 1867, Letters Received, Department of the Platte, Records of United States Army Commands, Record Group 393, National Archives. The document is reproduced in a number of Congressional reports and in H.B. Carrington, *The Indian Question* (Boston: DeWolfe and Fiske, 1909), p. 22.
28. For a description of the Fetterman Fight see Elbert D. Belish, "American Horse (Wasechun-Tashunka): The Man Who Killed Fetterman," in this issue of *Annals of Wyoming*, pp. 54-67. Stanley Vestal, ed., *New Sources of Indian History, 1850-1891* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 136.

A WYOMING MEMORIAL





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"A Wyoming Memorial" to the Fetterman Fight, not dated.

Ten Eyck recovered forty-nine bodies before returning to the fort. The next day a column commanded by Carrington brought in the rest. Burial of the three officers took place on December 24, with Fetterman and Brown placed in one grave and Grummond, whose remains would later be transported back to Tennessee with his wife for permanent burial, placed in another. In his diary Ten Eyck reported that interment took place at 1 p.m. without any service or military honors. "I feel much shocked," he wrote, "but it appeared necessary in the opinion of Col. Carrington, Maj. Powell and others."[29] The explanation for abrupt burial appears to have been the twenty-eight degree-below-zero weather and the fear of attack, but it allows speculation, providing opportunity for other interpretations and debate which seem unavoidable in any consideration of the life of William Judd Fetterman. On December 26, Department of the Platte Commander Philip St. George Cooke ordered Carrington to cease command of Fort Phil Kearny and report to Fort Caspar.[30] Two official investigations followed in which Carrington was exonerated from blame for the disaster, although it was years before the results became public and long after Carrington had ended his active military career.[31]

Even in death controversy continued to surround Fetterman. In his official report of the Fetterman Fight on January 3, 1867, Carrington stated that Fetterman and Brown each had a bullet hole in the right temple. Since Brown had often declared he would reserve a bullet for himself, Carrington believed the officers shot each other rather than undergo torture.[32] A year later in *Absaraka,* Margaret Carrington said the men each had a bullet hole in the right temple, and they were "so scorched with powder as to leave no doubt that they shot each other when hope had fled."[33] However, Assistant Surgeon Samuel M. Horton, who examined the bodies before burial, told the special commission that Fetterman's throat had been cut crosswise with a knife, deep into the viscera, and that the throat and entire neck were cut to the cervical spine all around. Horton stated that he believed this mutilation to be the cause of death. He later said Brown's body was the only one he remembered that showed evidence of death by pistol shot.[34] Some years later James H. Cook reported that Red Cloud had named the Oglala, American Horse, as the despatcher of Fetterman, and American Horse later confirmed it, saying he had knocked the officer from his horse with a war club and finished him with a knife.[35] This story coincides with the surgeon's testimony. Among the many artifacts in the James Cook Collection, temporarily stored at Scotts Bluff National Monument, near Gering, Nebraska, is a war club identified as the weapon that killed William Judd Fetterman.

Well into the twentieth century, one of Fetterman's military colleagues, William Bisbee, challenged the

29. "Diary of Tenodor Ten Eyck," entry for December 24, 1866, Special Collections, MS. 82, University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona. Fetterman's remains and those of his command, with the exception of Grummond, eventually found their way to Custer Battlefield National Cemetery, where they are today.

30. Carrington was to assume command of the 1st Battalion of the 18th, which on December 21, had been ordered to be headquartered at Fort Caspar on December 21. The fact that Departmental Commander Philip St. George Cooke issued Carrington's orders to report to the post immediately after reading the dispatch on the Fetterman Fight speaks for itself. For a discussion of this issue see Robert A. Murray, *Military Posts on the Powder River Country of Wyoming, 1865-1894* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), pp. 85-86; Robert A. Murray, "Best Place in Hell to Send a Regiment," *Hoofprints* [Yellowstone Corral of Westerners] 2 (Summer 1972): 12.

31. Members of the special commission made individual reports. Gen. J.B. Sanborn's report, dated July 1867, exonerated Carrington. "The difficulty," he wrote, "was that the commanding officer of the district was furnished no more troops or supplies for this state of war than he had been provided and furnished him in a state of profound peace." See Senate Ex. Docs., 40th Cong. 1st sess. no. 13, pp. 61-66. Special Indian Commissioner John Fitch Kinney, who held no love for Carrington, noted in his October 6, 1867, report that Fetterman was under orders to protect the train, but not follow the Indians over the ridge. See Report of SIC Kinney, October 6, 1867, "Records of the Special Commission," p. 65. The Military Court of Inquiry, which convened in May, 1867, adjourned after Carrington's testimony without finding any living survivor responsible for the massacre. See Conclusion, "Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry re: the Fetterman Massacre," Court Martial File 00236, 1867, Records of the Judge Advocate General's Office, Record Group 153, National Archives. For a discussion of these investigations see Dee Brown, *Fort Phil Kearny: An American Saga* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1962), pp. 215-218, reprinted under the title *Fetterman Massacre* by the University of Nebraska Press; and Robert A. Murray, "Commentaries on the Col. Henry B. Carrington Image," Roundup (March 1968), reprinted in *The Army on the Powder River* (Bellevue, Nebraska: The Old Army Press, 1969), pp. 1-10.

32. Henry B. Carrington, Official Report, January 3, 1867. See also letter from Carrington, Fort Phil Kearny, January 4, 1867, to AAAG Litchfield, Department of the Platte in Senate Ex. Docs, 39th Cong., 2d sess., no. 15, vol. 2, 1867, serial 1277, p. 11.

33. Carrington, *Absaraka,* p. 208.

34. Testimony of Assistant Surgeon Samuel M. Horton, Fort Phil Kearny, July 25, 1867, Records of the Special Commission, pp. 3-4.

35. James H. Cook, *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), p. 198; E.A. Brininstool, "The Tragedy of Fort Phil Kearney," *Hunter-Trader-Trapper* (October 1922): 34.

accepted fact that the officer had disobeyed orders. Speaking at the annual dinner of the Order of the Indian Wars in 1928, Bisbee stated that the files of the Order of the Indian Wars in Washington, D.C., contained evidence by witnesses that disproved the ex-parte statements made by Carrington after Fetterman lay dead and unable to defend himself. He stated that upon his departure from Fort Phil Kearny on December 11, Fetterman had conveyed to him his "feeling of unrest and humiliation over the prevailing trend of affairs in the service under an officer who had not served in the field or been acquainted with hostile rebel shots during four years of Civil War." Bisbee concluded, "Colonel Fetterman was my friend. . . . He was of military heritage, intelligently disciplined; incapable of willfully disobeying a positive order or disregarding its importance. This much to the memory of a dear friend."[36] Bisbee identified F.M. Fassendan as one of those who had witnessed the exchange between Carrington and Fetterman and had denied any mention of where not to go.[37]

However, evidence to support the charge of disobedience remains overwhelming. The fact that Carrington had issued identical orders to Powell two days before stands as the best circumstantial argument in support of the allegation. Beyond that, eyewitness documentation exists in abundance. Sergeant Alexander Brown stood by Carrington when Fetterman received his orders, and Private Thomas Lewis shared the sentry platform with the colonel when he repeated the instructions to Grummond.[38] Both men confirmed Carrington's statements. Wands,

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The monument at the site of the Fetterman Fight which reads: "ON THIS FIELD ON THE 21ST DAY OF DECEMBER 1866, THREE COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND SEVENTY SIX PRIVATES OF THE 18TH U.S. INFANTRY, AND OF THE 2ND U.S. CAVALRY, AND FOUR CIVILIANS, UNDER THE COMMAND OF Captain Brevet-Lieutenant WILLIAM J. FETTERMAN WERE KILLED BY AN OVERWHELMING FORCE OF SIOUX, UNDER THE COMMAND OF RED CLOUD. THERE WERE NO SURVIVORS."

36. William H. Bisbee, *Through Four American Wars* (Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1931), p. 175.

37. Bisbee had received the information second-hand through A.B. Ostrander, who had talked to Fassendan at a G.A.R. encampment. Fassendan said he was present when Fetterman came in to the adjutant's office to request command and that Carrington had said nothing about crossing the ridge. Apparently, Fassendan did not know that Fetterman received his orders from Carrington in front of the latter's quarters and in line on the parade ground. Private William Murphy, a copy of whose much-published account of his service in the 18th Infantry is found in the Order of the Indian Wars files, now at Army Military Service Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, may have been another of the parties referred to by Bisbee. Murphy stated that he was in the orderly sergeant's office when the troops assembled in front of the "northwest men's quarters of the garrison." Murphy's contribution was to discount the story of an unidentified guard at the bastion who claimed to have heard the orders issued rather than to provide any eyewitness testimony that Carrington did not issue the command. See William H. Bisbee, "Items of Indian Service," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Order of the Indian Wars of the United States, Held January 19, 1928* (1928). Reprinted in *The Papers of the Order of the Indian Wars,* introduction by John Carroll (Fort Collins, Colorado: The Old Army Press, 1975), pp. 81-83; William Murphy, "The Forgotten Battalion," *Winners of the West,* June 30, 1928, p. 7; William Murphy, "The Forgotten Battalion," *Annals of Wyoming* 7 (1930-1931): 383-401.

38. Alexander Brown, "Served in 27th U.S. Infantry—Fort Phil Kearny, 1866," *Winners of the West,* February 28, 1927, p. 5. Lewis is quoted in *Casper Tribune Herald,* March 12, 1939, part 6, p. 4; and "Mr. Lewis Writes for the Voice," unidentified newspaper clippings, item #775-Ke, American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming. J.W. Vaughn in his study of the battle suggests that Fetterman may not have disobeyed orders, mistakenly noting that there were no eyewitnesses to substantiate Carrington's claims. See Vaughn, *Indian Fights: New Facts on Seven Encounters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 81-82.

who had repeated the orders to Fetterman, confirmed disobedience in private correspondence, and all the other contemporary letters home echo the refrain.[39]

Carrington showed amazing restraint in his treatment of Fetterman's memory, eulogizing him in General Orders No. 1 of January 1, 1867, as follows: "Captain Fetterman, son of George Fetterman of the army, was born in garrison, and was instinct with the ambition of a soldier; his character was pure and without blemish, he was a refined gentleman, and had distinguished his regimental record and honored his own name by duty well done."[40] However, in his final statement to the Court of Inquiry, recorded in the privacy of his own home at Fort McPherson, Carrington finally told what he believed:

> No disaster other than the usual incidents to border warfare occurred, until gross disobedience of orders so crucified nearly eighty of the choice men of my command. I now know, that dissatisfied with my unwillingness to hazard the post, its stores, and the whole line for an uncertain attempt to strike Indians in their villages, (many times my numbers), at least one of the officers . . . deliberately determined, whence obtaining a separate command, to pursue the Indians after independent honor. Life was forfeit. In the grave I bury disobedience.[41]

Margaret Carrington speculated that Fetterman's desire to punish the Indians and his contempt of them had driven him to hopeless ruin. His own inexperience in the methods and contingencies of Indian fighting had led him to do what he did, and he paid the ultimate penalty in refuting the experience of others.[42] The judgment seems just. Fetterman's admirable Civil War experience simply did not prepare him for the kind of guerrilla warfare that was the rule on the plains. At one point, Jim Bridger is said to have declared, the "men who fought down South are crazy! They don't know anything about fighting Indians."[43] Mass attacks across wood and dale in Tennessee and Georgia had no relevance in the foothills of the Big Horns. Fetterman was dealing with overpowering numbers of highly skilled light cavalry whose tactics were never to stand, but to deliver quickly and depart rapidly, except when you least expected it, when their numbers were vastly superior, and then it was too late.

It is interesting that while Fetterman gained national notoriety as the fatal commander in the December 21 fight, his past remains relatively unknown. The life of the man who succeeded him in that role ten years later, George Armstrong Custer, on the other hand, is ubiquitously present in our national consciousness due in no small part to his widow, Elizabeth, who lived until 1933 and did everything possible to preserve his memory. Because Fetterman's parents had long since passed from the scene, and he had no siblings or wife, his story is much more difficult to reconstruct.

Just as the details of his early years are lacking, the facts of his last hours are missing. Wrapped in the mystery of his beginnings and enshrouded in the enigma of his death, William Judd Fetterman lived a warrior's life and died with his boots on, arrogant and ignorant to the end, a man destined to be remembered for destructive self-will and the lessons he refused to learn. In history's perspective, he stands a decade after John Grattan and a decade before George Custer, as an embodiment of the best and worst of the military personality, brave beyond question, brash beyond dispute.

39. Letter from Alexander H. Wands, Fort Phil Kearny, January 4, 1867, *Chicago Times,* February 2, 1867; C.H. Hines, January 1, 1867, Senate Ex. Docs., 39th Cong. 2d sess., no. 16, vol. 2, 1867, serial 1277, p. 9; Rev. David White, January 2, 1867, *Chicago Republican,* February 6, 1866; Letter from unidentified sergeant, December 28, 1866, Sen. Ex. Docs., no. 15, p. 12. Letters from Wands and White and other contemporary correspondence are reproduced in Harry H. Anderson, "Centennial of the Fetterman Fight," *The Chicago Westerners Brand Book* 23 (December 1966): 77-80. See also Timothy O'Brien, "Indian War Veteran of 1866," *Winners of the West,* July 30, 1930, p. 11.

40. General Orders No. 1, Fort Phil Kearny, January 1, 1867, Post Records, Records of United States Army Commands, Record Group 393, National Archives.

41. Testimony of Henry B. Carrington, "Records of the Special Commission," pp. 257-259.

42. Carrington, *Absaraka,* pp. 245-246.

43. Carrington, *My Life,* p. 253.

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AMERICAN HORSE (Wasechun-Tashunka):

The Man Who Killed Fetterman

by Elbert D. Belish

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY WYOMING STATE MUSEUM

Warrior, chief, scribe, traveler, philosopher, and orator all describe American Horse, a complex and influential leader of the Oglala Sioux. He traveled with Buffalo Bill's Wild West show and was a frequent visitor to the nation's capital as an Oglala representative. He was party to nearly all the significant events affecting the Oglalas from the mid-nineteenth century until his death in 1908. His immediate family consisted of four sons, two daughter, and two wives. One wife was the daughter of Red Cloud, and one son died during childhood during a reservation epidemic.[1] American Horse began his adult life a warrior and history will probably most remember him as the man who killed Colonel William J. Fetterman in the Fetterman Fight near Fort Phil Kearny. Yet his greatest accomplishment came in his later life when he guided his people through the transition from nomadism to reservation life.

Existing biographies are discrepant as to American Horse's birth year and lineage. The birth year conflict is resolved by examining the Winter Counts kept by American Horse and his ancestors. In the 1882-1883 Corbusier interpolation of those Winter Counts, the 1839/40 entry states that "American Horse was born in the Spring of 1840."[2]

Some historians have suggested that an elder American Horse, who was killed in the Battle of Slim Buttes in 1876, was either the father or uncle of the younger American Horse. However, He Dog, in his recollection of that battle, stated that his relative, the elder American Horse, was a Sans Arc and it is well known that the younger one was a member of the True-Oglala band.[3] Some Indians even believe the elder American Horse has been misnamed by White historians and that his true name was Iron Shield. The American Horse Winter Counts are unequivocal on the lineage. The entry for 1840/41 states that "Sitting-Bear, American Horse's father, and others, stole two hundred horses from the Flat Heads . . . ."[4] American Horse himself stated that "there was never an American Horse killed."[5] Had he known of an elder American Horse, he would not have made this statement.

While American Horse's birth name was Cannot Walk (Manishee),[6] little else is known about his childhood years. The exception is his own recollection of a severe winter when he was approximately age five: "Snow was deep and drifts high. Buffalos would follow along in paths. Indians [would] follow and assail them and fatigue them and kill them on foot with arrows. Winter of great severity."[7]

During 1858, at the age of eighteen, American Horse received his adult name. Eli S. Ricker recorded the event as told him by American Horse. "He [American Horse] got a big Army horse and rode it in battle and killed men and from this received his name of American Horse."[8]

In 1862 gold was discovered in Virginia City, Montana.[9] The existing routes to Virginia City were both long and arduous. In 1864 John Bozeman pioneered a shortcut, later known as the Bozeman Trail which left the Oregon Trail near the present town of Douglas, Wyoming. It followed the eastern slope of the Big Horn Mountains, right through the heart of the Powder River country, the unceded Indian hunting grounds. The Indians resented this intrusion and began attacks on travelers and wagon

1. George E. Hyde, *A Sioux Chronicle* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 28n. Hyde states that American Horse was Red Cloud's son-in-law. Frederick J. Dockstader, *Great North American Indians* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1977), p. 13. Dockstader states that American Horse had two daughters and one son, Samuel. However, he also had three other sons. Tom, the oldest, was present during the Ghost Dance uprising and Ben served as an interpreter during Buffalo Bill Cody's ill-fated attempt to make a movie about the Wounded Knee massacre. See David H. Miller, *Ghost Dance* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1959), pp. 127, 276-278. American Horse brought up the childhood death of a fourth son while testifying in Washington, D.C. See U.S., Congress, Senate, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Senate Executive Document 5, no. 49, 51st Cong., 1st sess., p. 222. Eli S. Ricker, interviews with American Horse, 1906, Ricker MSS., Tablet no. 35, pp. 34-35, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln (hereafter cited as Ricker MSS.). Ricker stated that American Horse and "one of his two wives" visited him during August, 1906. The names of his wives and daughters are unknown, but a picture of one of the daughters can be seen in Edward S. Curtis, *In a Sacred Manner We Live* (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishers, 1972) p. 22.
2. Bureau of Ethnology, "Pictographs of North American Indians," *Fourth Annual Report* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 140.
3. "American Horse," *The Readers Encyclopedia of the American West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1977), p. 28; Kenneth Hammer, ed., *Custer in '76: Walter Camp's Notes on the Custer Fight* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1976), p. 208; George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 318. Hyde incorrectly assumes that American Horse and Sitting Bear were one and the same. Also see Jerome A. Greene, *Slim Buttes, 1876* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), p. 159n.
4. Bureau of Ethnology, "Pictographs," p. 140.
5. Ricker MSS., Tablet no. 16, p. 25.
6. Dockstader, *Great North American Indians*, p. 12.
7. Ricker MSS., p. 28.
8. Ricker MSS., p. 26.
9. The origins and problems of the Bozeman Trail are found in Dee Brown, *The Fetterman Massacre* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), pp. 13-14.

trains on the Bozeman Trail. In 1865 or 1866 American Horse was involved in his first known conflict with Whites, when he rode with Red Cloud in an attack on a wagon train near the present location of Casper, Wyoming. This was a large-scale, organized attack in the vein of the Platte Bridge and Fetterman fights. For the most part the freight train was successfully defended, but American Horse described how the Sioux took advantage of a defensive weakness.

> The Indians cut off 5 wagons shooting the oxen and their drivers; then they looted the wagons and destroyed them. One wagon was loaded with barrels of whiskey. One wagon was jugs and bottles. They knocked out a head of one barrel and taking dishes drank and many got drunk and were laid out on the ground. This was an ambuscade. The Indians formed two lines and the emigrants drove right in between them.[10]

Following the Civil War, the U. S. government needed gold to replenish the badly depleted Treasury and decided to protect travel along the Bozeman Trail with a series of forts.[11] While the 1851 Horse Creek treaty reserved the government's right to build military outposts on Indian lands, it also put the Powder River country off limits to White encroachment. In June, 1866, while the government was still negotiating the road with the Indians, Colonel Henry B. Carrington arrived at Fort Laramie with his Second Battalion of the 18th Infantry. The Sioux were outraged when they learned that Carrington's mission was to build forts along the Bozeman Trail. Overnight they broke camp and set out for their Powder River hunting grounds, leaving the treaty unsigned. Carrington was ordered to continue his mission and on July 15, 1866, he began construction of Fort Phil Kearny near the current town of Story, Wyoming. This set the stage for the most significant event affecting Indian/White relationships in the Powder River country. It happened on a bitter-cold winter day, December 21, 1866, and was chosen as the pictographic event in the American Horse Winter Counts to record the 1866/67 year. It was the day "they killed one hundred men at Ft. Phil Kearny."[12] Ricker recorded the following description of the battle as told him by American Horse.

> Colonel Fetterman and party were on wagon trail [near the] woodcamp. American H. and 9 other Oglela [sic] Warriors went and attacked them. The mounted soldiers were riding in advance in columns of fours. The dismounted men following closely. After firing at the troops Am. Horse and his party slowly retreated into [the] rough ground over [Lodge Trail] ridge where two long lines of warriors were lying in ambush; and troops walked into the trap set . . . and were completely surrounded. In one hour and a half every soldier was killed, also two civilians that were with the party. One of . . . the civilians was a swarthy looking man who looked like a mixed blood. . . . 2 men [jumped] into a pile of rocks and did a lot of shooting before they were killed. The soldiers, when they discovered that they were trapped by hundreds if not thousands of Indians, were badly demoralized and [did] poor shooting. The Indians had only 7 killed and 8 wounded. American Horse himself ran his horse at full speed directly on to Col. Fetterman knocking him down! He then jumped down upon him and killed the colonel with his knife. One of the Indians [who was] killed, having a very brave heart, succeeded in riding into the midst of the soldiers shooting right and left. After the battle the Indians scattered and various bands going in different directions to secure game for food.[13]

Although some writers contend that Fetterman and Captain Frederick H. Brown shot each other, American Horse's version was confirmed by Red Cloud[14] and is supported by other evidence. The post surgeon's report of the massacre shows a bullet hole in Brown's left temple, but is silent regarding any gunshot wounds to Fetterman's head. Rather, the report states:

> Col. Fetterman's body showed his thorax to have been cut crosswise with a knife, deep into the viscera; his throat and entire neck were cut to the cervical spine, all around. I believe that mutilation caused his death.[15]

There is additional evidence suggesting American Horse first hit Fetterman with a war club. American Horse's war club, labeled the "Fetterman Disaster Club," is currently on display in Gering, Nebraska,[16] and the post surgeon's report indicated that most in the Fetterman party were hit with clubs.

The pictographic entry of a wagon and blanket surrounded by horse tracks and slashes in the American

10. Ricker MSS., p. 30.
11. The events leading to the construction of Fort Phil Kearny are found in Brown, *The Fetterman Massacre,* pp. 14-18, 39-48.
12. Bureau of Ethnology, "Pictographs," p. 144.
13. Ricker MSS., p. 18. Ricker interspersed shorthand throughout his text. Where possible the English equivalent is substituted. The words within brackets are best guesses where the shorthand symbols were less than clear. The ellipsis represent shorthand symbols which were indecipherable.
14. James H. Cook, *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 198.
15. Statement of Post Surgeon, Samuel Horton, "Records of the Special Commission to investigate the Fetterman Massacre and the State of Indian Affairs," Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives.
16. The war club resides in the archives of the Agate Fossil Beds National Monument in Gering, Nebraska, catalog no. AGFO 355.

Horse Winter Counts for 1867/68 is the last of the entries depicting hostilities against Whites. Corbusier interpolated the entry as follows: "They [the Oglalas] captured a train of wagons near Tongue River. The men who were with it got away. The blanket represents the goods found in the wagon."[17] That the more dramatic Wagon Box and Hayfield fights were not chosen for the Winter Counts is a strong suggestion that American Horse and the True-Oglala band were not a party to those events.

Eighteen sixty-eight is known as the year of peace in the Powder River country, and by the end of August, 1868, all the forts on the Bozeman Trail had been abandoned by the Army.[18] As promised, Red Cloud and the Sioux came in to treat now that the army was gone. Incredibly, in signing the 1868 Treaty, the Indians agreed to relocate to reservations in South Dakota. Although subsequent events would suggest that they did not really understand the scope of the treaty, they essentially relinquished all they had gained with their Powder River resistance. For the Powder River Sioux the dynamic now shifted from fighting Whites to treating with the government and engaging in a host of negotiations, bickering, and discussions about the meaning of the treaties. American Horse was involved in most of these events and continued to gain prominence as a leader.

During April, 1870, Red Cloud requested a visit to the Great White Father to discuss the 1868 treaty.[19] The request was granted and Red Cloud, along with Sitting Bear and thirteen other chiefs, visited Washington. American Horse was not a member of the group, but he was the most important warrior to remain behind. James C. Olson stated that "at one time there were a thousand lodges camped across the Platte [from Ft. Laramie] under the leadership of American Horse, who came to the fort frequently to inquire about the travelers."[20]

Later that year when the commissioners came to Fort Laramie to tie up loose ends following the negotiations in Washington, American Horse, accompanied by Red Cloud and others, made his first known appearance at a commissioners' meeting. The Indians rejected the proposal of any agency at Rawhide Buttes and the commissioners returned empty handed.

During February, 1871, despite all the Indian agency efforts to move the Sioux away from Fort Laramie and onto the reservation, the government found itself with nearly three thousand Sioux who wanted to hunt on the Republican River where game was plentiful. The army, in its continual power play with the Indian agency, decided to issue rations instead. General Christopher C. Augur conducted a head count and the results showed the second largest Sioux band (sixty lodges or three hundred people) to be under the leadership of American Horse. Red Cloud's band was slightly larger with seventy-eight lodges or three hundred and ninety persons. Records of the 1870 trip to Washington indicated Sitting Bear as the leader of the True Oglala band, but this later census shows that he had then been replaced by his son American Horse.[21]

There is no record of American Horse's activities from February, 1871, through May, 1875. He neither traveled to Washington during May, 1872, nor took part in the acrimonious debate over the agency move to the White River. In his Winter counts for 1874-1875 American Horse depicted a building, a flag, and flag staff being struck with an ax. Corbusier interpolates this as follows:

> The Oglalas at the Red Cloud Agency, near Fort Robinson, cut to pieces the flag staff which their agent had had cut and hauled, but which they would not allow him to erect, as they did not wish to have a flag flying over their agency.[22]

There is no indication that American Horse was involved in this siege, probably led by northern Indians wintering at the agency, who saw the flag as a symbol of soldiers and war.[23]

Even though there is no record of American Horse's activities, he had not been idle during these times. As indicated, he was becoming an important Oglala leader and American Horse stated that in 1875 he was elevated to the status of chief:

> . . . at one time four of them [Sioux] were appointed chiefs: himself first, Young Man Afraid, Crazy Horse, and Sword (now dead) a brother to George Sword. These appointments were made 31 years ago by the people as [the four] having been great warriors.[24]

While the Oglalas were self-absorbed in the issues of agency location and agency politics, other forces were at

17. Bureau of Ethnology, "Pictographs," p. 144.
18. A discussion of the events culminating in the 1868 treaty is found in James C. Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 79-82.
19. Events for the years 1870 and 1871 are found in Olson, *Red Cloud*, pp. 117-131.
20. Ibid., p. 117.
21. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, p. 312.
22. Bureau of Ethnology, "Pictographs," p. 145.
23. Olson, *Red Cloud*, pp. 169-170. The northern Indians were primarily the Sans Arc, Hunkpapas, and Miniconjous Sioux and Northern Cheyenne. The southern Indians were primarily the Oglala and Brule Sioux. At any given time there was considerable intermixing of the northern and southern groups.
24. Ricker MSS., p. 25.

work on the reservation. The ink was barely dry on the treaty of 1868, which forbade Whites in the Black Hills, when rumors of gold began to circulate in the East. Rumors fed speculation and Whites gathered for an all out assault. In 1874 the army, in an attempt to defuse the issue, sent Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer on a scientific/military expedition to lay the gold rumors to rest.[25] The unintended result was just the reverse. Custer turned the expedition into a carnival replete with a brass marching band and a bevy of reporters. The reporters sent back glowing reports of abundant gold, Custer declared the Indians were of no problem, and the floodgates were opened. This issue of the Black Hills would be central to negotiations with the Sioux for many years.

During May, 1875, American Horse accompanied Red Cloud and others on a trip to Washington, D.C.[26] The reason for the trip, the Indians thought, was to negotiate the removal of Red Cloud's adversary, J.J. Saville, the agent at the Red Cloud Agency. But the government's hidden agenda was to persuade them to cede the Black Hills and their hunting rights in Nebraska and on the Smokey Hill River. Red Cloud argued his case badly and Saville was not sacked, but the Sioux outmaneuvered the White negotiators and no concessions were granted on the Black Hills or the hunting rights.[27]

American Horse had been relatively unobtrusive during this visit with the exception of his arrival in Washington. During the journey there had been a lot of bickering about the interpreters. The Sioux accused the agents of controlling the interpreter selection and excluding interpreters desired by the Indians. The Indians were in an unpleasant mood. A representative of the Indian office customarily escorted the Indians to a "decent" hotel. However, six of the Indians, led by American Horse and probably influenced by the ner' do well half-breed, Leon Pallady, objected and went to the Washington House to stay. They were later persuaded to return to the Tremont House when the government refused to pay the bill. The objection to the Washington House according to the *New York Times*

> . . . was for moral reasons . . . . Delegations of Indians formerly quartered at the Washington House were clandestinely afforded opportunities to indulge in scandalous excesses, which it is intended shall not be repeated.[28]

The Allison Commission journeyed to the Red Cloud Agency during September, 1875, to obtain the sale of the Black Hills. The commission failed in its mission, but did gain the concession of hunting rights in Nebraska and on the Smokey Hill River.[29] Near the beginning of the talks an incident erupted which mightily excited the commissioners. American Horse described the incident as follows:

> Little Big Man, with some Sioux warriors, noisly [sic] naked and painted; these were followed by Sioux and Cheyenne—all were singing and discharging their weapons. The commissioners requested Red Cloud and Spotted Tail each to send four braves to quell the turbulence of the insolent Indians. The former sent American Horse, George Sword, Young Man Afraid of his Horses and Hollow Horn, while Spotted Tail on his part appointed Crow Dog, Black Crow, Looking Horse & Big Star. They suppressed the disorder, but Little Big Man threatened to kill a commissioner and any chief that would consent to sell the Black Hills.[30]

The failure of the Allison Commission had two effects which eventually resolved the "Indian problem." The first was to apprise all the Indians that the U.S. was trying to obtain the Black Hills. This solidified their resolve, especially that of the northern Indians, to resist any such acquisition. The second was the recommendation of the commission to turn the problem of the northern Indians over to the military. Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan, commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, acted quickly and set in motion his famous three pronged pincer movement under the commands of General Alfred H. Terry, Colonel John Gibbon, and General George C. Crook. The Winter Campaign of 1875 faltered, but the presence of troops in the field plus the Black Hills issue caused the northern Indians to be in an uproar in the spring of 1876.[31] Even Red Cloud was speaking aggressively. There were charges that the Oglalas were taking supplies to them and Red Cloud's son Jack and other braves even joined the northern tribes. All this activity culminated in that fateful day in June when Custer and his entire command were annihilated in the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Fateful not only because an entire command was destroyed, but because this dramatic Indian victory spelled the death knell of the nomadic Plains

25. Details of the Custer expedition are found in Olson, *Red Cloud,* pp. 172-173.
26. Details about the May, 1875, trip to Washington, D.C. are found in Olson, *Red Cloud,* pp. 175-188.
27. The hunting rights were ceded the following month at Pine Ridge. See Olson, *Red Cloud,* p. 188.
28. Ibid., p. 178.
29. Ibid., p. 210.
30. Ricker MSS., Tablet no. 35, pp. 33-34.
31. Events of 1876-1877 can be found in Olson, *Red Cloud,* pp. 216-226.

Red Cloud (l) and American Horse. "The two most noted Chiefs now living" n.d.

Indian. Within little more than a year's time, virtually all the Indian holdouts were relocated to reservations. The government's get tough policy also had a marked effect on the treatied Indians already living on reservations.

The Indian agents were ordered to turn the agencies over to the military. The military commanders, with Custer's defeat fresh in their minds, were definitely not in a benevolent mood. Neither was Congress as it directed the president to send a commission to the Indians with an ultimatum demanding the cession of the Black Hills. Unlike the gentle Allison Commission, the Manypenny Commission was tough and fulfilled its charge. It spent little time rehashing the particulars of the agreement and even abrogated the legal requirement requiring treaty changes be approved by three-fourths of all adult braves. Instead, the commission called for two headmen from each band to represent the entire band. The headmen were quickly persuaded to sign the agreement, but from their closing statements it would appear that few understood what they were signing. The one exception was American Horse. While the others complained about agents and the lack of Indians holding agency jobs or requested farming implements, none brought up the issue of the Black Hills. American Horse, however, stated: "In regard to this arrangement about the Black Hills it is to last as long as we last."[32]

This statement and an incident which occurred a few days earlier on September 2, 1876, provide a hint of American Horse's thinking. The incident was a disturbance at Fort Robinson in which American Horse, while assisting the Indian police, killed Sioux Jim.[33] These events suggest that American Horse realized that in order to survive, the Sioux would have to deal with the White man on his terms and obey his laws. This tightrope between the old ways and the new was the path American Horse chose to walk as he led his people into the twentieth century.

American Horse's position was prophetic, for within a month Colonel Ronald S. MacKenzie, under orders of General Crook, surrounded the Oglalas late one night at Chadron Creek. The army confiscated 722 horses, all guns, and ammunition. The braves were immediately marched to the post stockade and the remaining Indians moved to the agency the following morning. Crook then set out after Crazy Horse who led the army on a wild goose chase over the Powder River country. Crook adopted a new tactic and convinced Red Cloud and Spotted Tail to effect Crazy Horse's surrender. The two chiefs and a large group of braves soon located Crazy Horse and sent back word that Crazy Horse could not come in because of the poor condition of both his people and their ponies. Crook wanted no delays so he sent out Rosencrans with ten wagonloads of rations and one hundred head of cattle. He was guided by fifty Sioux scouts under the leadership of American Horse.

At the agency Crazy Horse proved to be almost as troublesome as he was on the run. He was easily the most glamorous figure there and he used his popularity to ferment trouble. He threatened to bolt the agency with a large band of followers. American Horse, Red Cloud, and the others were becoming reconciled to their new existence and did not want trouble. They counciled together for several days, but were unable to arrive at a solution.

32. "The Treaty of Peace," *The Chicago Times*, September 23, 1876, p. 7.

33. Ricker MSS., Tablet no. 16, pp. 35-36.

The Red Cloud Agency, January 10, 1876.

On September 4, 1877, Crook ordered Crazy Horse arrested. One day later Crazy Horse was killed in an incident still controversial. American Horse's version of the final moments of Crazy Horse was as follows:

> In the struggle to escape from his captors he was held around the waist by an Indian who seized him from behind, while Little Big Man grasped his wrist and hand in which he held his knife. By turning his hand adroitly he gave Little Big Man a wound in his arm which caused him to release the hold; and thereupon making a violent effort to disengage himself he surged against a bayonet in the hands of one of the guards who was standing as a guard against the infantry and swaying his piece forward and backward. The bayonet entered his side below the ribs inflicting a mortal wound . . . during the scuffle [American Horse] threw his gun down on Crazy Horse to shoot him, but some Indians pressed between them and prevented him from taking his [Crazy Horse's] life.[34]

Within three weeks the Sioux chiefs were once again in Washington. Ostensibly the purpose was to protest a provision of the recent Black Hills agreement which called for the Indians to relocate to the Missouri River. However, they also wanted to meet the new Great Father, Rutherford B. Hayes. Almost to a man the Indians sounded the same theme: no move to the Missouri. There were two main reasons. The most important was the impracticality of moving so close to the impending winter season. The other reason, somewhat more fatuous, was the unsavory influence of the Missouri River which was both a "whiskey road" and, with its enterprising White men, a corrupting influence on Indian women. Several also wanted something to take back, such as forty dollars, a trunk, and an overcoat. They got thirty dollars, a valise, and overcoat.

American Horse's speech stands in great contrast to these statements. Where the others were practical, he was visionary; where they were demanding, he was conciliatory. He was codifying his vision of a new life:

> My great father, the loafer band has been the friend of the white man for a long number of years. I represent that band and have come down to hear what you have to say. My people who have spoken to you want a plain and wide road, and I want to travel in that road also. The reason we are poor, and the reason that our fathers and grand-fathers were poor is, we never had any white man to help us, and that is why we live poorly. You are our new Great Father and take the place of our old one; and General Crook and Captain Clark have carried out your orders. We have finished everything, and we want to pick out lands, and to have an

34. Ricker MSS., Tablet no. 35, pp. 35-36.

> Agency to live like white men. I want you to know the way you advise your people to live so that I may live that way also. We come here to learn your wishes, and we want a good road and a good agency.[35]

The Indians returned home only to find that their trip to Washington had been in vain as their provisions had been shipped up the Missouri to the new agency. If they did not move they would surely starve. Crook outfitted them as best he could with provisions from Camp Robinson, and on October 25, 1877, more than four thousand Indians departed for the Missouri. They stopped when they reached the White River, some eighty miles short of their expected destination. For nearly a year the government pressured the Sioux, but they refused to move one foot closer to the Missouri. Finally during September, 1878, the Indians, tiring of the harangue and with winter once again impending, simply packed up and moved to the White Clay River, the site originally agreed to by President Hayes. This ended the hassle over a permanent agency, but the government, intent on having the last word, renamed the agency, "Pine Ridge."

With the Indians safely ensconced on the reservation, the government stepped up the forces of acculturation. In March, 1879, a new agent, Valentine T. McGillycuddy, arrived at Pine Ridge.[36] He immediately concluded that the old line chiefs were an obstruction to progress and he tried to arrange the deposition of Red Cloud as head chief. When put to a vote, however, Red Cloud won a resounding victory with only five no votes of the more than one hundred votes cast by the headmen and chiefs. American Horse decided to write the following letter to the president, explaining the incident:

> Red Cloud was chosen almost without opposition . . . . He has been our head chief, he is now and always will be, because the Nation love, respect and believe in him. We ask and beg of you to take our present agent from us and give us another in his place so our people can be at peace once more which they will never be as long as he remains with us.[37]

This was the beginning of a long running feud between the agent and the Oglalas. Two years later during April, 1882, McGillycuddy, feeling he had improved his position with the Indians, called a general council with the chiefs. American Horse and others spoke and McGillycuddy felt he had received a vote of confidence. Subsequent events would suggest otherwise.

That summer the Indians completed their Sun Dance with no untoward incidents, but shortly afterward Red Cloud, American Horse, and several others left the reservation without a pass to attend a feast at the ranch of Louis Shangran (a half breed whom had been evicted from the reservation). While there they prepared their third petition requesting McGillycuddy's removal. Tensions mounted and McGillycuddy called another general council. During the council American Horse extended his hand, but McGillycuddy would have none of it. Upset, American Horse said, "I have seen nothing wrong at the Agency. You have refused to shake hands with me, I don't know what for. I simply wanted to explain the present trouble." McGillycuddy retorted, "This is no place to explain. You should have sent your explanation to the Great Father with the letter you sent to make trouble."[38] As usual American Horse was walking his tightrope, but none too successfully.

Following the Black Hills cession, White emigration accelerated. Soon the settlers were demanding a corridor through the Sioux reservation which cut the state in half. The settlers also had their eyes on all that idle reservation land. Consequently, in 1882, Congress appropriated money and appointed the Edmund's Commission to secure more Sioux land. The crux of the cession was a mere eleven million acres to the north of Pine Ridge. The Edmund's Commission was unsuccessful, as were other negotiating attempts that persisted for a period of six years. American Horse seems to have been in the background during this period as there is no record of his involvement. In fact he was absent from the reservation for about a year when he replaced Sitting Bull as the main Indian attraction in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show.[39]

There is a delightful photograph taken at Staten Island in 1886 with American Horse dressed in full chieftain regalia, standing to Buffalo Bill's immediate left. American Horse is resting his hand on Buffalo Bill's shoulder. Three other Sioux chiefs, similarly dressed, are standing to American Horse's left. To the right of Buffalo Bill are the Sioux' old enemies, four Pawnee Scouts.[40] American Horse was with the show from April, 1886, through February, 1887, and visited the following cities: St. Louis, Dayton, Wheeling, Cumberland, Hagerstown, Frederick City, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and Staten

35. Ricker MSS., Tablet no. 36, pp. 29-30.
36. Events during the McGillycuddy tenure at Pine Ridge are found in Olson, *Red Cloud,* pp. 264-285.
37. Ibid., p. 271.
38. Ibid., p. 279.
39. Elizabeth J. Leonard, *Buffalo Bill King of the Old West* (New York: Library Publishers, 1955), p. 244.
40. Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), p. 86.

Island.[41] One can speculate that this tour surely reinforced American Horse's belief that the Sioux must accommodate the White man's ways.

During April, 1888, Congress passed the Sioux bill, which formalized the earlier Edmund's plan.[42] As always, a commission, the Pratt Commission, was appointed. Pratt and company went out to the agencies but, having no more luck than Edmund's Commission, recommended that the chiefs and headmen be brought to Washington. American Horse and other chiefs made the journey, but rejected the bill for three main reasons: 1) the price offered per acre was too low; 2) several of the provisions were unfulfilled promises of earlier treaties which needed to be first honored; and 3) there had been no survey and they wanted to be able to see the land to be ceded.

A year later Congress reenacted the Sioux bill incorporating most of the changes requested by the Indians and added a sweetener for the Red Cloud and Red Leaf bands. The Indians would be compensated at a rate of forty dollars a head for horses confiscated in 1876. To implement the bill Congress also appointed the Foster Commission which included a Sioux favorite, General Crook.

Of the myriad commission meetings, this one which began on June 15 is without question the most interesting.[43] On June 18 the commissioners turned the floor over to the Indians. Red Cloud and several others talked against the treaty, but there was no unanimity in their objections. Some rehashed the old treaties. Some complained that the old treaties were not yet mature and therefore a new one was unnecessary. Some complained of half-breed voting rights. Only Little Wound objected to the land cession and he complained of the strictly optional provision of ownership by severalty. He did receive a round of applause for both these points. No one brought up the issue of the northern boundary where the bulk of the eight million acre land cession was to occur. Young Man Afraid of his Horses did bring up a boundary issue, but it was the location of the southern boundary! This boundary had been set in the treaty of 1868 and had not moved an inch, at least in the minds of the commission.

The commissioners spent June 18 with the Cheyennes and on June 19 again held court with the Sioux. Red Cloud opened the meeting, and claiming to be indisposed, turned the floor over to American Horse. So began the greatest oratorical Indian performance of record. For three days American Horse held the floor. He was eloquent, persistent, humorous, friendly, and tough. Crook, in speaking of this performance in his autobiography, stated that American Horse "was too much for the Commission. He was a better speaker than any of us."[44] Governor Foster, after listening to a particularly long speech that was frequently interrupted by cheering, laughter, and applause said, "I have been very pleased with the speech of American Horse. I am sure that if he had the education of a white man he would sit in the Great Council of the nation."[45]

There has been much discussion as to whether American Horse was speaking for or against the treaty. Careful textural analysis suggests he was doing neither. Rather, he was carefully going through the treaty, point by point, to obtain understanding, both for himself and his people. Several times during his presentation, he referred to himself as the mouthpiece for the tribe, and one can only assume that he presented, not only his own concerns, but also those tribal concerns he had heard in private councils. To be sure, at some point during the meetings he decided to vote for the treaty and even became upset that more braves did not follow his lead. But it must be remembered that just a year previously, while in Washington, he said no to a very similar bill.

For the most part American Horse restricted his discussion to items directly connected to the bill. The one notable exception was the issue he dwelt on the most, the southern boundary, which he brought up no less than eight times! It mattered not that each time the commissioners emphatically stated that the boundary was fixed by the 1868 treaty and therefore their hands were tied. The Indians believed the boundary to be ten to twenty miles farther south and to follow, more or less, the Niobrara River. To make his point American Horse used testimonials, personal recollections, restatements, requests to telegraph the president, and even biting humor. After being told that the lines of the survey were infallible, because they were fixed by the stars, American Horse responded:

> My friend you speak of the instrument that white people have that is governed by certain stars or landmarks in the sky. In my opinion in that first mark they gave us, that star must

41. Leonard, *Buffalo Bill,* pp. 243-245.

42. Events for 1888 and 1889 are found in Olson, *Red Cloud,* pp. 309-312.

43. U.S., Congress, pp. 1-233. The discussion of the Foster Commission is based on this document unless otherwise indicated.

44. Martin F. Schmitt, ed., *General George Crook, His Autobiography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946), p. 286.

45. U.S., Congress, p. 91.

have been removed or something, for it runs crooked and everything (pointing to a river boundary) [great laughter].[46]

When this line of inquiry led nowhere American Horse switched tactics. After a reading of the treaty by Foster, American Horse began his next speech by embracing Crook and proclaiming his friendship. He also made an oblique reference to "a lady" who had given Foster "some sort of present to wear" and the subsequent adoption of Foster into the tribe, when he was given the name of "Young-Man-Proud-of-His-Tail." This brought about great cheering and American Horse once again launched into a long diatribe on the southern boundary. After rehashing many of his previous points, he realized the commissioners were growing weary and made the following statement:

> If we wished to monopolize you here altogether or wished to induce you to remain here, we would proceed in a different course. We have some good fat horses, and some nice-looking women, and we would ask you to ride out with them and entertain you in that way. [Great laughter, excepting General Warner who does not laugh.][47]

American Horse brought up the northern boundary only once and that was not to discuss the loss of large acreages or choice lands, but to lobby for retention of the nearby badlands, for they served as a natural fence for their cattle. On the final day of talks several Indians spoke against the treaty, but only two, Little Wound and Man Afraid of his Horses, spoke about the land cession. Their objections were to the southern boundary and once again no one breathed a word about the northern boundary. One can only wonder if the main objection was not to the sale of the nine million acres to the north of Pine Ridge, land with which the Oglalas had little historical connection, but rather to the loss of those few thousand acres laying between the Nebraska state line and the Niobrara River—land over which the Oglalas had roamed for a long time.

American Horse was also very interested in the severalty option in the treaty. He requested that plots of eighty, 160, and 320 acres be staked to illustrate the various proposed allotments. It was this issue, more than any other, that separated American Horse from his brethren. American Horse stated the majority position on June 28 during the farewell ceremonies:

> The only thing my people are afraid of in this bill is that part of it regarding the taking of land in allotment. Let that be set aside for the present, and only consider the selling of the land. I understand this, that we by signing the bill are not compelled to take our land by allotment. Some of our people do not understand this, although you have explained it time and again.[48]

That the Indians would be alarmed by this is perfectly understandable. Most were apprehensive of, it not down right hostile to, abandoning communal property ownership. Private property ownership was a very radical idea.

American Horse had laid out his position seven days earlier during the last day of formal talks. He said, that while traveling with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, he had visited a headman who lived in the "land of the sun." He asked the headman

> . . . what laws are there governing the way you take your land, and how big a piece of land do you take? And he told me a certain amount of acres, which I forget now, but I know it is far less than this bill offers us. Then I told him I was unable to form any idea of the size of land he told me by the acres, as I have never measured any land, and he took me out in the yard and he pointed to a fence corner, saying, there is the beginning of one corner; and he pointed to another corner, saying that is the length; and again pointed to another corner saying that is the width. And, my friends, the land was so small that I could stand in the center and throw a stone to every point you would ask me to outside of the land that was shown me. And I said, my friend, how is it that you have such a small piece of land? And he said, it is simply this: The Government offered our fathers certain terms of taking the land and they all refused it, thinking that what they knew was best for their future, and the consequence was that our future was decided by unscrupulous white men, who gave us only small portions of land like this that I am now showing you.[49]

Having made the general case for the ownership in severalty, American Horse added his personal reasons:

> . . . when I am laying on my death-bed, if you do not defeat this bill, I will have the satisfaction of knowing that I can leave a piece of land to my children, so that they will not have to say that for my foolishness I deprived them of lands that they might have had, had I accepted the reasonable terms that the government has offered us.[50]

American Horse had been badly bitten by the bug of private property ownership, but he did have one area of concern. He was afraid that

46. U.S., Congress, p. 90. The brackets are contained in the original text.
47. U.S., Congress, p. 91. The brackets are contained in the original text.
48. U.S., Congress, p. 116.
49. U.S., Congress, p. 113.
50. U.S., Congress, p. 113.

> . . . as soon as we take our lands in severalty, that the government will have them all in a string, as it were, like ropes leading from one to the other, and when we have these established the government will be pulling at each one of the strings; and pulling the money to him [meaning paying taxes].[51]

American Horse was not objecting to the payment of taxes per section, but, because Indians did not have any money, he feared the land would be confiscated for back taxes. This issue more than any other illustrates the gulf between the sophistication of American Horse and that of his colleagues. While most could not even accept the notion of private property, he was already concerned about its tax consequences.

Lack of money was a sore point among the Indians and they complained of being deprived of a share of the agency payroll since all agency employees were non-Indian. American Horse took this issue a step further. He felt the government should allow for independent trading posts owned and operated by Indians or half-breeds because, "every ten cents [will be spent] in that store of our own nation, and that ten cents will be kept in circulation among our own people and not be going somewhere else."[52]

American Horse and No Flesh were the only important Oglalas to sign the treaty and subsequent events further isolated this minority position. The problem was hunger to the point of starvation. For various reasons, mostly government mismanagement, their beef ration was halved.[53] Consequently, two days after signing, American Horse traveled to the Santee Agency to address the commissioners:

> The first thing I wish to mention is like cutting our heads off . . . the commissioners told us that the beef or anything would not be touched or the treaty of 1868 would not be touched, but it seems to me that when we signed the treaty you struck us in the face by the commission in taking the beef away from us. There are a lot of my people who are ignorant, and they don't know much. They think it is the fault of signing the bill to cut the beef off.[54]

The next day American Horse added another cause of the hunger:

> When the commissioners were all out there [at Pine Ridge] the agent notified us and we all came to the agency, and came for weeks, and there was nobody out there to attend to our farms. Our oats and corn and wheat were all destroyed by the cattle, as the commission can tell you . . . . All we depend on now is the ration we get from the government, and now if it is taken away from us, I don't know what we will depend on when the spring comes.[55]

Two months later he went to Washington for the formal ratification of the new treaty. He again brought up the starvation issue, but to no avail. This did not bode well for American Horse or his people. The spring of 1890 found the Indians in an agitated state.[56] This new radicalism grew from the desperation of starvation, sickness, and death and was fueled by a belief in a Christ-like messiah who promised true believers a bounty of food, resurrection of deceased relatives, and revival of the buffalo culture. American Horse, Red Cloud, and other old line chiefs sent messengers to investigate the phenomena and dismissed it as bogus. But for large numbers of the Sioux, this messiah was their only hope.

Belief in the messiah was manifested by participating in a spirit dance, which was called by Whites the Ghost Dance. The Indians wore cloth shirts painted with Ghost Dance symbols (there was not time to make the elaborate quill and beaded buckskin garments traditionally worn in religious ceremonies) and danced in the fashion of the Sun Dance, but prolonged with a frenzied intensity.

At Pine Ridge this agitation came to a head on November 17, 1890.[57] Agent D.F. Royer, just recently appointed, issued the monthly allotment of ninety-three scrawny steers to thousands of starving Indians. Each band's quota was sequentially released and the young braves were allowed to "hunt" the beeves. The animals were immediately consumed and this left no provisions until next month. Little, a prominent ghost dancer, used the excitement and meager rations as an opportunity to inflame the gathering. Royer, fearing for his life, ordered the Indian police to arrest Little. The police rushed out and were quickly surrounded by a mob of angry ghost dancers brandishing rifles, knives, and clubs. American Horse, despite his waning popularity and influence, pushed his way into the center of this melee and stood between the ghost dancers and the police. In this, his finest hour, American Horse confronted the ghost dancers with these words:

51. U.S., Congress, p. 99. The brackets are contained in the original text.
52. U.S., Congress, p. 100.
53. Olson, *Red Cloud,* pp. 319-320.
54. U.S., Congress, p. 222.
55. U.S., Congress, p. 227.
56. The events for 1890 are found in Olson, *Red Cloud,* pp. 320-332, unless otherwise noted. Also see Bureau of Ethnology, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Fourteenth Annual Report* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), pp. 839-841.
57. The events for November 17, 1890, are found in Miller, *Ghost Dance,* pp. 129-131.


DEAD INDIANS WOUNDED KNEE BATTLE FIELD

A Sioux delegation to Washington in 1891. Top row (l to r) Zaphier, Hump, High Pipe, Fast Thunder, Rev. Chas. Cook, and P.T. Johnson. Middle row (l to r) F.D. Lewis, He Dog, Spotted Horse, American Horse, Maj. Geo. Sword, Lewis Shangreau, and Bat Pouriea. Bottom row (l to r) High Hawk, Fire Lighting, Little Wound, Two-Strikes, Young Man Afraid Of His Horses, Spotted Elk, and Big Road.

> Stop! Think! What are you planning to do? Kill these men of your own race? Then what? Kill all these helpless white men, women and children. And then what? What will these *brave* words and *brave* deeds lead to in the end? How long could you hold out? Your country is surrounded by railroads. Thousands of white soldiers could be here within days. What ammunition have you? What provisions have you? What will become of your families? This is child's madness! Think my brothers, think! Let no Sioux shed the blood of a brother Sioux![58]

A moment later Jack Red Cloud jumped into the fray and thrust a cocked revolver into American Horse's face. Jack shouted, "This is the one who betrayed us! Here is the man who sold us out! Here is the one who brought on this trouble by selling our land to the whites!"[59] American Horse called Jack's bluff with the ultimate indignity. He simply turned his back and walked away. There can be no doubt that the courage that once fired the young warrior at Fort Phil Kearny was still strong in his heart at Pine Ridge.

Despite his voice of reason, American Horse did not escape the ravages of the Ghost Dance. To escape peril he and his family had to seek refuge at the agency dispensary until the Ghost Dance craze subsided.[60] During this absence his home was destroyed, ponies stolen, and cattle consumed. They were left with only a canvas tepee and the clothing they had with them.[61] Nevertheless, the position of American Horse was the only viable path during the uprising and his followers, who stayed near the agency, avoided the horror of Wounded Knee and the

58. Ibid., p. 130.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., p. 131.
61. Hyde, *A Sioux Chronicle,* p. 272.

frustration of the futile resistance on White Clay Creek. This painful, but short-lived Ghost Dance, punctuated the end of the wrangling over the reservation system.

Despite the poor treatment by his fellow Sioux, American Horse made a pilgrimage to Washington on behalf of his people. He spoke eloquently of their sorrow and hunger and the appropriations were restored to the original issue, but the government was firmly in control.[62] The Indians would now have to dance to the tune of the Department of Indian Affairs with little or no voice in its dictates.

American Horse made his final trip to Washington in 1897.[63] The discussions were a rehash of old grievances, but he sounded a theme that had lain dormant for some time. The Sioux did not like the loss of the Black Hills and wanted them back. The conference was mostly window dressing and the Indians returned home empty handed, but the issue of the Black Hills did not die and continues to fester to this day.

In his last five years American Horse continued searching for bridges to the White culture. He frequently visited the home of Captain James H. Cook. The tree shaded banks of Cook's ranch offered many of the Sioux a vacation paradise in contrast to the desolation of Pine Ridge.[64] In 1906 American Horse, with his wife, daughter, and friends traveled to Cheyenne, Wyoming, to be an attraction at Frontier Days.[65] This was his last known public appearance. He died two years later at Pine Ridge on December 16, 1908.[66]

The confrontation between a powerful culture and a weaker culture usually results in the eventual assimilation of the weaker culture. Resistance through blind adherance to old ways frequently accelerates the process because of the destructive forces unleashed by the powerful culture. Adherence to the old ways was the path of Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, and others. We remember these chiefs because of their valor in the face of overwhelming odds. Yet they ultimately did little, if anything, to preserve the Sioux culture. American Horse began his adult life on this same path, but as he gained prominence as an Oglala leader, he saw the futility of this approach. He realized that in order to survive the Sioux would have to change. Bravery is not the sole domain of the warrior, but it is also found in the thinker and visionary who advocates a new road, especially when it is an unpopular road. The last half of the nineteenth century was a very painful time for the Plains Indian. The pain certainly would have been much greater were it not for leaders like American Horse who had the courage to show their people a new direction.[67]

62. Olson, *Red Cloud,* pp. 333-334; David G. Phillips, "The Sioux Chiefs before the Secretary," *Harpers Weekly,* February 21, 1891, p. 142.
63. Details of this trip are found in Olson, *Red Cloud,* p. 337.
64. Cook, *Fifty Years,* p. 195; Olson, *Red Cloud,* p. 339. Also note that a number of the Ricker interviews cited elsewhere were conducted at Cook's home.
65. Ricker MSS., Tablet no. 35, pp. 34-35.
66. "American Horse (Wasechun-tashunka)," *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1988), p. 22.
67. There are no known Indian opinions of the leadership role of American Horse. However, in the Ricker MSS, Tablet no. 16, pp. 14-15, is found the following testimonial written by Major General Nelson A. Miles on January 10, 1891, which generally supports the above summation. "This is to certify that American Horse is a great Sioux Chief, has been a friend of the white people and loyal to the government. He has had a good influence over his people, and his wise management and control of his people has kept them to a great extent free from excitement and apart from the hostile elements."

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WYOMING SCRAPBOOK

Documents Relating to the Fetterman Fight

edited by John D. McDermott

Recently discovered documents offer new insights into the motives and emotions of those who participated in the events of 125 years ago. The first is a letter written by William J. Fetterman to Dr. Charles Terry from Fort Phil Kearny dated November 26, 1866, less than a month before his death. The only other personal correspondence of the ill-fated captain known to exist is that reproduced on page 43 of this issue of *Annals of Wyoming*. Fetterman became Terry's friend while on recruiting service in Cleveland, Ohio, and wished the same experience for his replacement.

Fort Phil Kearny
via Fort Laramie
November 26, 1866

My dear Doctor

Allow me to introduce my friend Capt Jackson of the 15th US Infantry, who has relieved me in the Recruiting Service in Cleveland. He has expressed the wish to make the acquaintance of your family, and so fresh in my memory of your Kindness to me while a sojourner in your beautiful city that it is a privilege I should wish every friend of mine to enjoy. Enroute here I fell in with Genl Terry, and had the pleasure of his company on the Boat from St Joseph to Omaha. I cannot begin to tell you how much I was pleased with him, a more elegant gentleman I have never met. My journey was a very long one, and had it not been for the politeness and hospitality of the officers at the different posts along the route would have been very tedious I am now very pleasantly domiciled in an excellent log house which my company hastened to build me on my arrival, and feel perfectly contented with the country, and the life I am to lead.

The Indians are very hostile and barbarous, and annoy us in everyway they can. Yesterday with about 30 mounted men I chased a band of them who had run off some stock. Rode 40 miles and recovered all the cattle but five, which the Indians shot with arrows to prevent them from falling into our hands. I, with three other officers, while riding out to view the country a few days since, fell into an ambuscade of Indians who fired a volley at us. Our escape was a very narrow one. Returning with a few Infantrymen who happened to be near guarding some wood choppers, we scoured the woods but the Indians had decamped. We are afflicted with an incompetent commanding officer viz. Carrington, but shall be relieved of him in the re-organization, he going to the 18th and we becoming the 27th Infantry. We have four companies of Infantry and one of Cavalry at this post and are favored with the presence of four ladies.

The locality of the post is pleasant being about 7000 feet above the sea. The atmosphere is very dry and is almost oppressively so to a new comer. The climate so far as we have experienced it is delightful. Today we have Spring like weather. The country is rough but abounds in game of every kind. Enroute from Laramie being mounted I had a very exciting Buffalo chase, and wounded three, but they are very tenacious of life and would not die. Our table though scarcely supplied with Eastern delicacies is always provided with game of some description. While chasing the Indians the other day we passed Buffalo, Elk, antelope, wolves and a large bear, but were to intent after the nobler game to pay them any attention. I trust that all in your family are well. The young ladies here doubtly returned from Detroit 'ere this and Miss Julia received the scolding she deserved for staying away so long. Please present my kindest regards to each member of your family. I would also like that one of the ladies would remember me to Miss Woolsean. I was assist of her Kinsman General Wessells at Fort Kearney, who made my inquiries after her family. I would be very much pleased to hear from you. Truly your friend

WmJ Fetterman[1]

On July 5, 1867, at Fort Phil Kearny, Captain Tenodor Ten Eyck gave testimony to the Special Commission appointed by the President to investigate the Fetterman Disaster.[2] Sent by Colonel Carrington to find what happened to Fetterman and his command, he described his journey and what he found on the far side of Lodge Trail Ridge.

1. Letter from William J. Fetterman, Fort Phil Kearny, November 26, 1866, to Dr. Charles Terry. The letter is reproduced here courtesy Everett D. Graff Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. This letter was discovered by Susan Badger Doyle, who generously made it available for the study.
2. Born on August 5, 1819, Ten Eyck began his military career on October 16, 1861, as a corporal in the 12th Wisconsin Infantry. He received his commission in the regular army on February 19, 1862, as a captain in the 18th Infantry. Ten Eyck retired from the service on January 1, 1871, dying in Chicago, Illinois, on February 27, 1905, in his eighty-fifth year. See Tenodor Ten Eyck Pension File 601-912, Records of the Veteran's Administration, Record Group 15, National Archives.

At this time I received an order from Col. Carrington to take command of a detachment of about forty infantry and dismounted cavalry, and proceed as rapidly as possible to the scene of action, and join Col. Fetterman if possible. As soon as the detail was formed which occupied but very few minutes, I started, following the course which Col. Fetterman had taken crossing the creek at the same place, and marching up the road. Lieut. Matson at my request was allowed to accompany me, and Dr. Hines was likewise sent out by Col. Carrington. Several citizens joined my party as volunteers.

My reason for taking the road was that I could accomplish the distance sooner, and with less fatigue to my men, there not being much snow on the road, the ascent being more gradual, and the ridges being intersected by several deep ravines, that were partially filled with snow.

After proceeding about four miles I came upon the crest of a hill where the road descends into Peno Creek valley, and here I first came in sight to the Indians. This march occupied but little if any, over an hour. Up to the time we crossed the creek, we heard heavy firing apparently in volley, and after which very little firing was heard by me.

From the point on the hill where I first came in sight of the Indians I could see a distance of several miles along the valley of Peno Creek. From this point the road descends for near half a mile abruptly, then a large gradual ascent for about a quarter of a mile, to the summit of a small hill from which the road follows a narrow ridge for about a mile, and then descends abruptly into the valley of Peno Creek. Upon both ends of this ridge are a number of large rocks lying above the surface and bends of the road.

When I first came in sight of the Indians they were occupying the ridge, just described and extending a distance of a mile or more beyond the further point of the ridge. About one hundred mounted, appeared congregated about the pile of rocks on the ridge nearest to my position. Many were passing backwards and forwards on the road, but no indications of a fight going on.

I could discern none of Col. Fetterman's party. I thought that they might be surrounded near the further point at which I could see Indians, or that they might have retreated to the West and joined the wood party at the pinery. I dispatched a mounted courier to the fort asking the Commanding Officer for reinforcements and artillery. I then marched my men along the crest of the ridge in a westerly direction by which I could gradually approach the nearest point of rocks without losing my commanding position on the higher hills. As I advanced I observed that the group of Indians near the rocks named, became much less as I approached, so that when I arrived within about six hundred yards of the rocks, there but four Indians remaining at that point.

I was then able to discover a large number of naked bodies lying there.

I then fired a few shots at the four Indians remaining, who retire precipitately and joined the main body, who were slowly retiring along the road.

About this time I was joined by about forty employees of the Quartermaster Department with three wagons and an Ambulance, who I afterwards ascertained were sent from the Garrison before my courier arrived.

The Indians at this time to all appearance were forming a line of battle on the high hills across the valley about two miles distant. . . .

I cannot state the exact number lying at that point as I did not count them, but I think more than sixty. In their appearance they were all stripped naked, scalped, shot full of arrows, and horribly mutilated otherwise, some with their skulls smashed in, throats cut of others, thighs ripped open, apparently with knives. Some with their ears cut off, some with their bowels hanging out, from being cut through the abdomen, and a few with their bodies charred from burning, and some with their noses cut off.

I was able to recognize several whom I was not intimately acquainted, and among them Capt. F.H. Brown.

I brought in, I think, forty seven bodies all the wagons could conveniently carry.[3]

Author of the third document is George Webber, who served in Company C of the Second Battalion of the 18th Infantry. In his account, which appeared in the *National Tribune* on October 21, 1897, Webber tells of the events immediately following the Fetterman Fight.

The rescue of the bodies of Fetterman's command, and the incidents of the day at Fort Phil Kearny immediately after the massacre, are worthy of a story themselves. With the next morning came a meeting of officers, with universal disinclination, generally expressed, to venture a search for the dead. The safety of any small party seemed doubtful, and the post itself might be imperiled by a large draft upon the garrison.

But the Colonel had made up his mind, and freely expressed his purpose, not to let the Indians have the conviction that the dead could not be brought in. Capt. Ten Eyck, Lieut. Matson, and Dr. Ould went with the party. Long after dark they left. The pickets which were distributed on the line of march indicated their progress, and showed that neither the fort nor the detachment could be threatened with such connection of signals as would advise both, and secure co-operation.

3. Testimony of Captain Tenodor Ten Eyck, "Records of the Special Commission to investigate the Fetterman Massacre and the State of Indian Affairs, 1867," Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives, Exhibit A, pp. 15-18.

Near midnight the wagon and command returned with the bodies, slowly passing to the hospital and other buildings made ready for their reception. A careful roll-call of the garrison was had, and the body of every missing man identified.

Wheatly and Fisher, the frontiersmen, had been discovered near a pile of rocks, surrounded by cartridge-shells, proving that their Henry rifles had done good service. All the bodies had lain along or near a narrow divide, over which the road ran, and to which, no doubt, the assailed party had retreated when overwhelming numbers bore down upon them.

Fetterman and Brown had been found at the point nearest the fort. . . . Capt. Brown's repeated dashes, and especially his successes on Sept. 23, had inspired him with perfect recklessness in pursuit of Indians. On the night before the massacre he had declared that he must have one scalp before leaving for Laramie, wither he had been ordered. He had inspired Fetterman, who had been but a short time in the country, and already had great contempt for our adversaries, with the same mad determination to pursue the redskins whenever they could regardless of numbers. Together they had planned the expedition of a week's time to Tongue River Valley, with a fixed party of 90 citizens and soldiers, to destroy the Indian village and clear out all enemies. Disapproval of the plan did not change their belief in its feasibility and wisdom; but now were 80 officers and men, among them the veterans of a long, war, utterly destroyed in their hands, only six or seven miles on the route to the same Tongue River Valley.

The dead were deposited in the spare ward of the hospital, two hospital tents and double cabin. Details from each company assisted in their care and identification. Many gave their best uniforms to clothe decently their comrades, and the good traits of the soldier were touchingly discussed as mutilated fragments were carefully handled, arrows drawn or cut out and the remains composed for the burial. A long line of pine cases, duly numbered, was arranged by companies along the officers' street near the hospital, and as each was placed in its plain receptacle the number and name was taken for the future reference of friends.

The detail to dig a grave for its great entombment was well armed and accompanied by a guard, but so intense was the cold that constant relays were required. Over the great pit, fifty feet long and seven feet deep, a mound was raised. Then the ceremonies were

WSM

On July 3, 1908, the monument at the Fetterman Fight site was dedicated. General Carrington, in a speech which lasted three-quarters of an hour, defended his actions on December 21, 1866.

WSM

After the dedication at the monument, the crowd traveled to the site of Fort Phil Kearny for a flag-raising ceremony. Carrington, Mrs. Frances Grummond Carrington, William Gibson, a member of the garrison at the fort at the time of the Fetterman Fight, S.S. Peters, the only survivor of the Crazy Woman Fight, and Wyoming Congressman Frank W. Mondell att spoke. (l to r) Bugler Pabloski, Lieutenant Wheeler, William Daley (he raised the first flag over Fort Phil Kearny), General Carrington, William Gibson, Frances Grummond Carrington, J.B. Stiven, and S.S. Peters. Last man is unidentified.

performed. From the very night of Dec. 21 the Winter became unmitigated in its severity, requiring guards to be changed at least half-hourly, preventing out-of-door inspection and driving officers, privates and women to beaver, buffalo or wolf skins for protection from the cold. The relief, as they hastened to their regular distribution, presented no bad idea of Lapland or Siberian life. The tastes, workmanship and capital of the wearers were variously illustrated in their personal wardrobes.

The holidays were sad as they were cold. Lights were burned in all quarters, and one non-commissioned officer was always on duty in each building so that in case of alarm there could not be an instant's delay in the use of the whole command. Each company knew its place and the distribution of the loopholes. The gunners slept in tents near their guns and all things were ready for attack. The constant and drifting snow soon lifted itself above the west flank of the stockade, and when a trench 10 feet wide was cleared the next snow would fill it.

The whole garrison shared the gloom. Charades, tableaux, the usual muster evening's levee at the Colonel's and all the holiday reunions were dropped as unseasonable and almost unholy. It was truly a depressing period.

The massacre proved the wisdom of a settled policy not to precipitate or undertake a general war while there was but a handful of men at the post and the army had not yet received such increase as could promise any considerable support. Kind Providence spared many, and the line of road opened in the Summer of 1866 was maintained, other regiments having strengthened the garrison.[4]

Indian accounts of the Fetterman Fight are rare, and those known to most were recorded during the early twentieth century by George Bird Grinnell and Judge Eli S. Ricker and in later years by Stanley Vestal. The follow-

4. George Webber, "Cold Cheer at Ft. Kearny," *National Tribune*, October 21, 1897, p. 2.

ing account is one told to Mitch Boyer by a Sioux participant a few months after the battle. Boyer, a scout, repeated the story to the Special Investigating Commission July 27, 1867.[5]

On my way to Fort C.F. Smith last Spring, a Sioux Indian came into my camp on the Little Horn River, remained with me that day and night, and the next day, and told me all about the massacre. He said that there were 1800 Indians engaged in it, and that the great majority of the Indians were Sioux that there were some Arrapahoes and Cheyennes engaged in it. He also stated that there were eight Indians killed on the battle ground, and about fifty wounded, and twenty-two of the wounded afterwards died of their wounds. There were two Sioux Chiefs killed, "Iron Goggles" and "Lone Bear," belonging to the Ogalalla band of Sioux and one Cheyenne Chief "Bull Head" was killed. He also stated that the Indians who came to the post and attacked the wood train, drew the soldiers out on the ridge road, and a large number of Indians lay concealed in the ravines on either side of the road, and then the soldiers got where they wanted them, the concealed Indians surrounded them and killed them all. He also said that the soldiers fought bravely but huddling together it gave the Indians a better opportunity to kill them, than if they had scattered about. He said that the soldiers' ammunition did not give out, but they fired to the last. He said the Indians took all the ammunition the soldiers had left but some soldiers had no ammunition left. . . .

[The principal chiefs were] Red Cloud, Iron Goggle and Lone Bear of the Ogalallah band. Pretty Bull of the Menieconja band, and Red Horn of the Unk Papas or Missouri Sioux. There were some Breulah Sioux, young warriors who were fighting under the Chiefs. There were about 150 warriors of Cheyennes, under the leadership of Bull Head who was killed. There were about 60 Arrapahoes without any Chief of their nation, but were fighting under the Sioux. . . .

I asked him why the Indians killed these soldiers. He said that the principal reason was that the whites were building Forts in this country and traveling this road driving off their game, and if they allowed it to go on, in two years they would not have any thing for their children to eat. Another reason was the principal Chief of the Missouri Sioux had died just before the massacre, and the bands had gotten together and determined to avenge his death. The chief's name was White Swan who died a natural death on the Powder River. . . .

He stated that there were 1800 [Indians] on the ground but only half of them engaged in the fight. That the fight did not last very long, about one hour. That some of the soldiers were a mile in advance of others, and when the Indians rose up from the ravines the advance soldiers were killed in retreating to the main body and that the main body huddling together were killed as before stated.[6]

5. Twenty-eight years old, Mitch Boyer was a mixed-blood Sioux, who had lived in the mountains since 1849, trading with the Oglalas, Shoshoni, Bannocks, and Crows. In 1876 Boyer was a scout for Custer, perishing with his commander at the Little Bighorn. His remains were found at Custer Battlefield during archaeological investigation in 1984. See John M. Carroll, ed., *They Rode With Custer* (Mattituck, New York: J.M. Carroll & Company, 1987), p. 16; Douglas D. Scott, et. al., *Archaeological Perspective on the Battle of the Little Bighorn* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), p. 80.
6. Testimony of Michael Boyer, "Records of the Special Commission to Investigate the Fetterman Massacre and the State of Indian Affairs, 1867," Exhibit F, pp. 3-4.

REVIEW ESSAY

Without Evidence: The Rape of Justice in Wyoming. By Jeane S. Wagner. Cheyenne, Wyoming: Pioneer Printing, 1989. Illustrated. iii and 201 pp. Paper $10.95.

"Doc": The Rape of the Town of Lovell. By Jack Olsen. New York: Atheneum, 1989. 479 pp. Cloth $19.95. Paper $5.95.

After Dr. John Story of Lovell was convicted in 1985 of raping several of his female patients, his trial emerged as more than a mere act of criminal wrongdoing. Sensationalized and highly publicized in media circles, the facts behind the case have led people to ponder larger questions of justice and medical ethics, while in some private circles the trial itself remains unresolved. Because of this heightened publicity, reporting the Story case becomes far from a simple task. Two books published in 1989, *"Doc": The Rape of the Town of Lovell* by Jack Olsen, and *Without Evidence: The Rape of Justice in Wyoming* by Jeane S. Wagner, tackle this complicated case, but present different viewpoints based largely on oral history.

Olsen and Wagner attempt to recreate and understand the Story trial. From the start the reader is made aware of the authors' feelings and assumptions, with Olsen upholding Dr. Story's conviction and Wagner claiming his innocence. Both accounts are hardly marks of historical scholarship, but neither are they amateur attempts. The authors have studied the case and prepared their arguments accordingly. Olsen's approach is a combination of psychology and literature. He accepts the facts of the case as true and uses psychoanalysis and plausible amounts of fiction to enliven the drama. Wagner's style is journalistic. She believes the public records cannot be taken at face value and argues in a straightforward manner that the Story incident is fraught with legal and ethical mistakes.

Whether people accept one book or the other, the two books together will become part of the historiographical record. As a result, both books together raise a difficult, yet fundamental question of historical evidence: how will historians be able to verify Olsen or Wagner? Except for references in the texts, the lack of footnotes and bibliographies makes it difficult to ascertain where the authors obtained their information. Nonetheless, Olsen and Wagner want the reader to accept their own investigative methods. In some instances they often borrow from the same source but for different purposes. For example, tacit acknowledgement is given to how the Dr. Story case was seen on "60 Minutes" and "The Oprah Winfrey Show," but only selective portions of these television programs were used. Wagner does point out that in "Oprah" and a *Ladies Home Journal* article the issues of guilt and rape were already assumed from the start.

It is obvious that oral history plays a tangential informational role, since each book is based on legal testimony, newspaper interviews, and, most important, interviews conducted by the authors. Olsen acknowledges nearly one hundred interviews during a two year span. He writes: "No author ever received more enthusiastic cooperation on both sides of an issue, or met advocates who were more honestly convinced of the righteousness of their position." Wagner, too, credits "conversations carefully documented." While court and police records, stories, and media reports are publicly available, the authors' interviews themselves are not. As one compares both books, the context of these interviews becomes crucial in order to critique Olsen and Wagner. What questions were asked? How prepared were the authors? Who was interviewed and who was not? How did the authors deal with inconsistencies? How well were the interviewees able to observe and report on events? How did the interviewees personalities and attitudes affect their statements? Were both writers asking the same questions? Without the interviews themselves, historians are left to wonder about the authors' merits and abilities.

While Olsen and Wagner are more concerned with the structure and presentation of thematic material than with outside evaluation of their evidence, the historian must be aware of how the evidence, even in the form of oral history, is being used. As oral history becomes accepted as a valid informational tool, its implications as a historical tool merit greater concern. Oral history guidelines published by the American Historical Association in 1989 and the Oral History Association in 1990 advocate ethical and objective practices and access to interviews for future use. Once these principles gain wider acceptance, oral history will no longer be considered private, but historical property. Only a qualitative assessment of Olsen's and Wagner's interviews will verify the context of their arguments.

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Wyoming State Archives

BOOK REVIEWS

Wiley's Dream of Empire: The Wiley Irrigation Project. By Jeannie Cook. Cody, Wyoming: Yellowstone Printing and Publishing, 1990. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Maps. iv and 114 pp. Cloth $27.50. Paper $16.70.

The Big Horn Basin receives between five and six inches of rain annually, making it one of the driest regions in the United States. Yet, Americans were determined to establish White settlements there, like elsewhere in the West, despite the obvious desert conditions. Irrigation was to be the answer to the development. William F. Cody attempted it with his Shoshone Land and Irrigation Company as did a group of Mormons and their Big Horn Basin Colonization Company. A third attempt was made by Solon Wiley, the subject of Jeannie Cook's book. Wiley's "Dream of Empire" was a verdant, populated Big Horn Basin, made possible by his plan to irrigate a large tract of land extending from Cody east to present day Greybull.

Wiley, an experienced and successful hydraulic engineer from Omaha, Nebraska, formed the Big Horn Basin Development Company June 1, 1895, in Newcastle, Wyoming. Making financial use of the Carey Desert Land Act of 1894, and later the Newlands Act of 1902, Wiley first filed with the state for a land segregation covering the area already known as "the Bench." He completed this project and it was considerably successful, resulting in the farming community of Germania, named for German settlers. Wiley furthered his irrigation efforts by attempting to build another canal, known as the Wiley Ditch, and another community, also named for himself. The ill-fated Wiley Ditch, though, met with engineering difficulties, which included a mathematical error in laying out the ditch. Wiley's problems were exacerbated by the 1907 recession, slowing up investors when he desperately needed to raise more capital. The company was forced into receivership in October, 1908. Wiley gambled heavily in the development of the Big Horn Basin and even lost his personal fortune.

This is not a story of failure despite the doom of the Wiley Ditch and townsite. The Wiley Irrigation Project was the largest irrigation project, public or private, in the United States at the time. Wiley's company injected $600,000 into the area economy and brought in many settlers. He was important to the area's agricultural and economic development. The success of the Germania settlement, later renamed Emblem during World War I due to strong anti-German sentiments, can be attributed to the irrigation made possible by the Big Horn Basin Development Company.

This book is more than a detailed discussion of the irrigation efforts in the Big Horn Basin. The author states that she "attempted to set the stage for the development and settlement of the Wiley Project in Northwest Wyoming at the turn of the century, and weave it back into the history of the area" (p. iii). She succeeded well at her goal. This work is a wonderful account of early White settlement in this area specifically, and the West in general. One is reminded of the desperate attempts by Whites to populate the West, despite the harsh elements. It is also a marvelous collection of reminiscences of life for the early White settlers, from various viewpoints. Accounts by men, women, and children are included, creating an interesting recollection of this period of Wyoming history. The book is further enhanced by the impressive and large collection of photographs of the key figures of the period and work undertaken in the area.

Jeannie Cook is the granddaughter of W.B. Edwards who went to Cody in 1908 to work for Solon Wiley and settled in Germania in 1910 after the Wiley Ditch failed. Cook was born in Greybull and raised on the Edwards family farm, where she grew up hearing stories about Wiley and his irrigation efforts. Edwards collected a large amount of materials about the Wiley project and Cook made good use of this collection in the book, drawing heavily on his original photographs, maps, and documents. She also depended on other area diaries, letters, memoirs, and interviews, enabling her to recreate an interesting piece of western history.

Cook intended to write just a local history, but my only disappointment with the book is not knowing how the Wiley project compared to other irrigation efforts in the West around the turn of the century. Her study would have more historical significance if she had carried her study further to include such a discussion. It is valuable now, though, to the historian of future studies of irrigation in the West as a detailed case study. It is also a valuable history for social historians, recreating daily life in the West of the early White settlers.

The book reads well and Cook seems to be fairly objective, despite her closeness to the events and people.

ANTONETTE CHAMBERS NOBLE
Cora, Wyoming

Written in Water: The Life of Benjamin Harrison Eaton. By Jane E. and Lee G. Norris. Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press (Ohio University Press), 1990. Illustrated. Index. Appendix. Bibliography. 294 pp. Cloth.

Since 1859, the search for gold has lured thousands of people to Colorado and has captured the attention of dozens of historians who have examined this historical episode. Unfortunately, the equally important agricultural activities on the state's eastern plains have received far less scrutiny. In their book, *Written in Water: The Life of Benjamin Harrison Eaton,* Jane E. and Lee G. Norris examine the significant contributions of this pioneer to the development of irrigation and farming in the Greeley area.

In a casually-written and readable style, the authors trace Eaton's early years in Ohio and his later migration as a young man to Iowa, where he purchased several acres of land from bankrupt farmers during the 1857 Panic. Leaving the farm under his brother's management, Eaton joined the 1859 gold rush to the Cherry Creek area of Colorado, only to share in the disappointment that thousands of other goldseekers experienced in finding mostly rumors and little of the precious metal. He and Jim Hill, who became a lifelong friend, wandered through much of Colorado prospecting for gold before stopping temporarily to work for Lucien Maxwell on his large farm and ranch south of Raton Pass in New Mexico. After briefly serving in that territory's Union Army regiment under the command of Kit Carson, Eaton and Hill returned to northeastern Colorado in 1864 to claim some land along the Cache La Poudre River to begin a farm and a ranch.

As one of the area's first White settlers, Eaton played a pivotal role in its economic and political evolution. In addition to leading one of the first longhorn cattle herds onto the region's grasslands, he built a small irrigation project based upon his experiences while working on the Maxwell farm, which employed the centuries-old Hispanic watering technology. Within a few years, Eaton, his second wife, and his son from his first marriage had successfully initiated an agricultural operation which served as a model for later arrivals.

With the assistance of Eaton, Nathan Meeker and other members of the Union Colony Corporation selected the confluence of the Cache La Poudre and the South Platte rivers to build the town of Greeley in 1870. Offering moral support and technical advice about farming and irrigation, Eaton helped the recent settlers from the Midwest and New York survive the initial years of dust and hardships in the arid West. Most importantly, he assisted in building a canal that irrigated the dry benchlands around Greeley, thereby laying the foundation for an agricultural economy and securing the survival of the community.

During the next thirty years Eaton financed the construction of several irrigation projects in this region of Colorado, playing a determining role in transforming dry land into one of the country's richest farming areas. In the process, he made several other contributions, such as instigating the creation of the communities of Eaton and Windsor, constructing Denver's first major irrigation project, encouraging the creation of a local sugar beet industry, and raising money for Greeley's normal school, which later became the University of Northern Colorado.

Eaton's leading role in the area's economic development enhanced his political career. After serving as a justice of the peace and on the school board and the county commission, he was elected to the territorial legislature. A deeply divided Republican party nominated Eaton for governor in 1884. He won the election and served for two years before retiring from politics. He continued to promote irrigation and agriculture until his death in 1904.

In writing this interesting biography, Jane and Lee Norris traveled to several places to gather information and to examine the physical legacies of Eaton's life. By taking a large body of information from secondary sources and some archival materials and shaping it into this account, the authors have contributed to a better understanding of how agricultural settlements developed along the Cache La Poudre and the South Platte rivers northeast of Denver.

While *Written in Water* is enjoyable to read and reflects the authors' dedication in researching their subject, a few problems limit its effectiveness as an historical work. The absence of footnotes makes it impossible to corroborate details and conclusions. While this creates problems for most historical studies, it is especially troublesome in this biography, for the authors often describe Eaton's actions and motives in romantic, highly idealistic terms. Since the bibliography contains only a few primary sources and no diaries, there is little to substantiate these judgments, thus eroding much of the book's credibility. In addition, the authors' descriptions of American Indians is highly ethnocentric and outdated.

Although the authors provide some extensive background information about the forces and people which influenced Eaton's life, they avoid examining a few

difficult issues. For instance, Eaton owned a large ranch in the northeastern part of the state where illegal fencing was a common practice, yet the authors never completely examine his stance on this issue of whether he participated in this activity, even though Congress vigorously debated it during his gubernatorial years. They take a similar approach with regard to irrigation when they fail to provide any analysis of the social, political, and environmental effects of the extensive watering projects that Eaton financed. The authors also gloss over the initial resentment of several cattlemen to the Union Colonists' farms and the opposition of many Greeley residents to the consequences of a growing sugar beet industry—pollution from the sugar factories and the arrival of German-Russian immigrants.

However, anyone interested in an initial understanding of Benjamin Eaton and the late nineteenth century development of the Greeley area will benefit from reading *Written in Water*. The authors have successfully proven that Eaton is a significant historical figure, but another, more historically rigorous account must be written to determine his place in history.

MICHAEL A. MASSIE
Wyoming Council for the Humanities

Casper Centennial, 1889-1989: Natrona County, Wyoming, 1890-1990: Featuring Also: Geological Record, Prehistoric Man, First Settlers. By Irving Garbutt and Chuck Morrison. Dallas, Texas, Curtis Media Corporation, 1990. Illustrated. Index. viii and 388 pp. Cloth $49.50.

Irving Garbutt and Chuck Morrison have put together a large and complex account of the history of Casper and Natrona County, Wyoming. Their book, vaguely reminiscent of Alfred J. Mokler's *History of Natrona County, Wyoming* (published in 1923), reflects in its content, writing styles, and format, the journalistic backgrounds of Garbutt and Morrison. Dividing the volume into five sections—topical, family, business, photographic, and index—the editors have compiled a collection of six hundred episodic articles that range in content from the geologic formation of Natrona County's land mass to the current real estate situation in the county. Each short article is signed by its author, with Garbutt being the most prolific contributor.

Casper Centennial has a number of strengths as an historical account. It contains informative and often spellbinding articles by a variety of Natrona County residents. Morrison's story about discovering the site of Robert Stuart's cabin (p. 21) and Betty Evenson's reminiscence about Hiland (pp. 108-109) are two examples of the finest and most fascinating writings in the book, as is Garbutt's detailing the careers of newspaper owner J.E. Hanway (pp. 76-78) and scrap-iron dealer Fred Goodstein (pp. 53-54). There are nearly five hundred family and business histories and eight hundred photographs, maps, and drawings, and these add considerably to the book's ability to cover many important events and personalities. The journalistic style so prevalent in the majority of the text reads easily and clearly and imparts a feeling of nostalgic folklore.

Casper Centennial is not without its flaws, however, The subjects included in the topical section lack a cohesiveness that would otherwise give the various topics a thematic unity. This problem makes it difficult for the reader to develop a sense of relatedness from the book's myriad tales. Also, the absence of a bibliography and the casual way of citing sources (whenever sources are cited) limit the book's usefulness as a verifiable accurate resource about Natrona County's past. Another dilemma is that in some instances the episodes provide too few details to satisfy a reader's desire to know the particulars of an event such as the murder of Barbara Alexander (p. 366). Garbutt and Morrison tantalize the reader with several grisly photographs, but tell very little about the outcome or significance of this incident. In other cases conclusions drawn in a story give an unreal sense of sentimentality. During a discussion of the existence of the Ku Klux Klan in Casper during the 1920s, for example, Garbutt portrayed the Klan as a frail organization easily eliminated because of a boycott of Klan members' businesses (p. 77). This explanation for the KKK's demise in Casper ignores a complexity of issues relating to the growth and eradication of the racist group in the Rocky Mountain West during that era.

Despite these faults the book should not be dismissed as an amateur's attempt to write local history. Garbutt and Morrison have been around Casper too long to be taken lightly. They are highly skilled journalists and have witnessed much of Casper's history for the past fifty years or more. Their ability to know interesting and influential people testifies to their reportorial abilities and gives their book a very broad base. Above all, *Casper Centennial* is an honest work created by observant people who have seen their communities weather all sorts of successes and failures such as blizzards, oil booms, cattle wars, depressions, bootlegging rings, and the creation of a first rate

college. The book deserves a place on anyone's shelf where the history of Wyoming and its counties and communities are found.

WALTER JONES
Salt Lake City, Utah

Atlas of American Indian Affairs. By Francis Paul Prucha. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Maps. Index. Notes and References. 191 pp. Cloth $47.50.

With a string of books and articles culminating in publication of *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (2 vols., University of Nebraska Press, 1984), Father Prucha is probably the leading scholar of the history of United States Indian policy. Some ethnohistorians (the present reviewer included) have complained that his work is heavy on policy and light in its attention to Indians, but none question the solidity of his research, the quality of his writing, or his stature in the field.

Prucha has now applied his deep knowledge of American Indian affairs to producing an atlas which will serve as a valuable reference work for historians in both their research and their teaching. The maps not only provide locations of Indian tribes and reservation communities, but also incorporate statistical data in graphics and diagrammatic insets.

Three maps in chapter one outline tribal and culture areas. Chapter two maps the size and distribution of American Indian population according to United States census figures from 1890 to 1980, reflecting population shifts during the last century and illustrating the growth of urban Indian populations. A collection of maps depicting land cessions shows the piecemeal erosion of the Indian territorial base, graphically dispelling the notion that the American frontier constituted a steadily advancing "line" of settlement. Case study maps portray land cessions by the "Five Civilized Tribes," the Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Crow, Blackfeet, Ute, and Teton Sioux. The chapter on Indian reservations includes tiny communities as well as the larger and better-known reservations, and provides populations breakdowns.

Another set of maps shows government trading houses, Indian agencies, BIA offices, government Indian schools, hospitals, and health facilities. Separate portfolios detail the situations in Oklahoma (Indian Territory) and Alaska. One of the longer chapters reflects Prucha's long-standing interest in the army and the Indian frontier. Prucha pinpoints the location of United States military posts from 1789 to 1895 on seven base maps from Erwin Raisz' *Landforms of the United States*. Thirteen other maps plot distributions of regular army troops. A miscellaneous collection shows battles and forts, the emigration and relocation of the southern tribes, and the evolution of the Navajo and Hopi reservations. A final portfolio presents a dozen of the maps produced by cartographer Rafael D. Palacios for Ralph K. Andrist's *The Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indians* (Macmillan, 1964), and depicts military encounters with the Indians in the post-Civil War west.

Unlike Helen Tanner's *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1987) or the epic and beautiful *Historical Atlas of Canada* (3 vols., University of Toronto Press, 1987—), this atlas has no color, no illustrations, no eye-catching features. Prucha's purpose is to convey information. His maps are not overloaded, and their black and white clarity and size, make them ideal for reproducing for classroom use. The maps are supported by endnotes and references, which also provide further data on Native American population and troop distributions.

Some quibbles are in order. The map showing historic tribal locations, as Prucha acknowledges, is incomplete and conveys an inaccurate impression of Indian North America as static. It is unfortunate the author does not provide a *series* of maps (as he does for troop distributions) to show that tribal locations also changed over time, instead of opting for one map which inevitably fails to convey complexity and omits some important groups. While census figures provide valuable and usable data, they are notoriously suspect in recording Native American numbers. Reliance on the 1980 census obscures developments occurring in the last decade. For instance, the 1980 census counted only twenty-four people on the western Pequot reservation in Connecticut, of whom only six were Indians; these figures can convey no indication of the dramatic resurgence that has occurred in the Mashantucket Pequot community since the tribe won federal recognition in 1983. The findings of the 1990 census will prompt modifications in the near future, of course. Fewer maps relating to the military frontier, and more maps, for example, depicting the impact of allotment on Indian landholdings would have given the atlas broader range and appeal.

On balance, however, like all of Prucha's work, the atlas makes an important contribution to the study of Indian affairs in the United States. It will be picked up time and again by teachers, students, researchers, and anyone who just enjoys poring over maps.

COLIN G. CALLOWAY
University of Wyoming

BOOK NOTES

The Cowboy at Work: All About His Job and How He Does It. By Fay E. Ward. Foreword by John R. Erickson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. Illustrated. Index. Maps. xx and 262pp. Paper $14.95.

Fay E. Ward was an active cowboy in the West for more than forty years. He envisioned this book "as an authoritative reference work for all those interested in the cowhand as he functioned in his job during the period when there was still plenty of open range for him to circulate in." Ward covers such topics as the evolution of the cowboy, roundups, branding, roping, cowboy clothing and jewelry, plus guns and equipment.

Malcolm S. Campbell: Wyoming 1888-1978. By Malcolm S. Campbell. Hill City, South Dakota: ARCI Associates, 1989. Illustrated. 172 pp. Paper.

In 1968 Malcolm S. Campbell completed the memoirs of his long life in Wyoming. In his autobiography he describes his growing up years near Laramie Peak, his marriage to Reta, his work at the Salt Creek oil field, the difficult times of the 1930s, his family's move to Story in 1943, and his many community involvements. Also included in the book is a genealogical history of Malcolm S. Campbell.

Following the Nez Perce Trail: A Guide to the Nee-Me-Poo National Historic Trail With Eyewitness Accounts. By Cheryl Wilfong. Corvalis: Oregon State University Press, 1990. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Appendices. Maps. xiv and 370 pp. Cloth $35.00. Paper $19.95.

From May through October, 1877, eight hundred Nez Perce traveled fifteen hundred miles through portions of Oregon, Idaho, Yellowstone National Park, and Montana, while being pursued by U.S. soldiers. The Nez Perce (Nee-Me-Poo) Trail has recently been designated a National Historic Trail. This book covers the history of the Nez Perce retreat by using eyewitness accounts of both Indian and Army participants, and provides a helpful guide for those who wish to follow the trail today. It includes sixteen maps of the route drawn specifically for the book.

On Time for Disaster: The Rescue of Custer's Command. By Edward J. McClernand. Introduction by Carroll Friswold. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Illustrated. Maps. 176 pp. Paper $6.95.

Lieutenant Edward J. McClernand was part of the Montana Column, commanded by General John Gibbon, which came upon the battlefield of the Little Big Horn the day after Custer and his men engaged the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Indians. McClernand helped bury the bodies and assisted in drawing a map of the battlefield. Included in this book is the journal McClernand kept from April, 1876, until October, 1876, as well as an expanded narrative, written fifty years later, which describes his life in the Second Cavalry during the first half of the 1870s.

Rocky Mountain Constitution Making, 1850-1912. By Gordon Morris Bakken. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987. Index. Bibliographical Notes. Notes. Tables. x and 184 pp. Cloth $37.50.

In this book Gordon Morris Bakken studies the constitutional conventions of eight Western states, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, and Nevada. The author looks at how the convention delegates in those states reflected the needs of their region, while still adhering to the fundamental principles laid down in the U.S. Constitution. He does this by analyzing such topics as water, woman suffrage, state institutions, labor and corporation articles, and taxation of mineral wealth.

Buffalo Days: The Personal Narrative of a Cattleman, Indian Fighter and Army Officer. By Colonel Homer W. Wheeler. Introduction by Thomas W. Dunlay. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Originally

published: Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925. Illustrated. Index. 369 pp. Paper $11.95.

Homer Wheeler, born and raised in Vermont, traveled to the West in 1868. His many experiences included stints as a freighter and a rancher, but most of his time in the West was as an army officer. The army offered him a commission in the Fifth Cavalry in 1875 after he had served well as a scout. Wheeler's greatest fame came as a commander of Indian scouts. Even though he talks about such people as Buffalo Bill and Jim Bridger, the strength of his account is in the description of his command of Indian scouts and his opinions about the Native Americans.

The Bridger Pass Overland Trail, 1862-1869: Through Colorado and Wyoming and Cross Roads at the Rawlins-Baggs Stage Road in Wyoming. By Louise Bruning Erb, Ann Bruning Brown, and Gilberta Bruning Hughes. Greeley, Colorado: Journal Publishing Company, Inc., 1989. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Maps. 231 pp. Paper $18.85.

The three authors in this book look at the Overland Trail which ran through northern Colorado and southern Wyoming during the 1860s. Studied are the forts and mail stations along the route, as well as the early exploration of the Bridger Pass country. Also studied is the history of the Rawlins to Baggs stage and freight road. The book contains many maps, documents, and photographs.

The Bozeman Trail: Historical Accounts of the Blazing of the Overland Routes into the Northwest and the Fights with Red Cloud's Warriors. Volume I. By Grace Raymond Hebard and E.A. Brininstool. Introduction by John D. McDermott. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Originally published: Cleveland, Ohio: A.H. Clark, 1961. Index. Illustrated. Maps. vii and 369 pp. Paper $11.95.

The Bozeman Trail: Historical Accounts of the Blazing of the Overland Routes into the Northwest and the Fights with Red Cloud's Warriors. Volume II. By Grace Raymond Hebard and E.A. Brininstool. Introduction by John D. McDermott. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Originally published: Cleveland, Ohio: A.H. Clark, 1961. Index. Illustrated. Map. ix and 281 pp. Paper $10.95.

In this two volume set the authors study the Bozeman Trail, one of the many trails which crossed the West during the nineteenth century. John Bozeman established the trail during the 1860s as a route to Montana's goldfields. However, the route Bozeman chose crossed the hunting grounds of the Sioux Indians, which led to violence along the trail. In the first volume, the authors look at the other western trails, and such topics as Fort Laramie, the Powder River Expedition, Fort Phil Kearny and the Fetterman Fight, which occurred on December 21, 1866. Volume II picks up the story with an account of the ride of John "Portugee" Phillips, descriptions of the other forts along the Bozeman Trail, and concludes with chapters about Red Cloud and Jim Bridger.

Weston County Heritage. By Weston County Heritage Group. Dallas, Texas: Curtis Media Corporation, 1988. Illustrated. Index. 950 pp. Cloth.

The Weston County Heritage Group compiled this history of one of Wyoming's northeastern counties. The general history of the county is explored as are the various towns, services, schools, industries, churches, cemeteries, and community organizations. Family histories, written by family members, comprise the majority of the book. The book's last chapter examines the current businesses in the county.

Blood on the Moon: Valentine McGillycuddy and the Sioux. By Julia McGillycuddy. Introduction by James C. Olson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Originally published: Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1941. Illustrated. xix and 291 pp. Paper $10.95.

Valentine T. McGillycuddy served in many capacities—as a contract surgeon for the army, a banker, an educator, and a public health physician—but he is most noted for his controversial tenure as agent at the Red Cloud Reservation from 1879 until 1886. During these years he built a boarding school and organized the Indian police, but he also feuded with Red Cloud and ruled the agency with an iron hand, resulting in his unpopularity among the Indians and their friends. Not only are these years covered, but also McGillycuddy's role as mediator in the 1890 Wounded Knee troubles, as well as his service as a doctor during the 1918 influenza epidemic.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor:

This letter relates to the lead article in the Fall 1990 issue of the *Annals,* "A New Centennial Reflection" by Roy C. Jordan. I was appalled by this example of "revisionist" history, wherein Mr. Jordan re-interprets history to accommodate and promote his 1990 prejudices.

The study of history should be one in which we strive to learn how human beings, in other times, responded to situations very different from those we know today. That requires an objective analysis of what and why they felt and acted as they did. It requires accepting their perspectives and not imposing our own.

When Mr. Jordan begins with the thesis that his peculiar perspectives from 1990 are enshrined in perfect correctness and then judges another age by how it measures up to these perfectly correct views, I don't believe this represents a study of history, as I understand that phrase. It is another process altogether, using that other time to impose moral lessons upon us today. George Orwell described such a use of "history."

I can appreciate the usefulness of employing another time to promote discussion of the moral challenges of our time. But that's the least of what Mr. Jordan did. He also engaged in an intemperate attack on my Wyoming heritage. His pronouncements were neither measured nor fair. They displayed contempt for a lot of brave people whose perspectives on life were as valid as Mr. Jordan's.

I understand that this article was offered in the hope that it might spur debate regarding Wyoming history. I'm sorry, but I can't accept Mr. Jordan's article as a legitimate agenda for a debate about Wyoming history

John W. Davis
Worland, Wyoming

Roy Jordan replies:

Mr. Davis finds that I have been engaged in that most suspicious of all academic pursuits, "revisionist" thinking, and I have had the temerity to update history. I even had the "intemperance" it seems, to have "displayed contempt for a lot of brave people." That's a heap of charges.

Perhaps my revisionism began when I mentioned those weathered reminders of past realities: "ghost towns, abandoned school houses, lonely homesteads, and faded false front businesses." Any concentration on implications of the past failures do run counter to an onward and upward, simpler and unbroken pioneer success story. Maybe it is the balancing of the story of history to include the lives of real people that is revisionism—if so, we need more of it, not less.

Was Mr. Davis "appalled" when I suggested that "we also can give Indian people a voice" in a more mature vision for Wyoming? When I challenged that Indian people are "not props nor are they relics" perhaps I intruded in Mr. Davis' view of history, if that's the case, I hope I did.

I undoubtedly revised his story again when I asked us all to look squarely at Wyoming's dismal social record—its "high suicide rate . . . high infant mortality rate . . . extraordinarily high teenage pregnancy rate . . . highest drinking rate . . . ." Perhaps it is that those who prefer complacent history are uncomfortable with the conclusion that there might be a connection between those statistics and the uniqueness of Wyoming's culture. That's what historians do—look for causes, make conclusions, even, heaven help us—search for interpretations.

Mr. Davis might have thought I was being too subjective and had a "peculiar perspective" when I stated that "part of Wyoming is a state of mind" and that "cultures are created" and are "changeable." Well, I'm guilty of that one. Human cultures *can* change, we can improve.

I could go further with this game of rebuttal, but I am sure that the crux of Mr. Davis' argument and the source of his discomfort is my perceived "attack on my [Davis'] Wyoming heritage." Well, he is probably right on that one.

It is not his history. History is not private property; it's not something one owns and then passes on to others who share our particular views. That makes it something less than history, it become merely interesting. Mr. Davis' view of personal possession is, unfortunately, not unique to him, it is widespread, and that is why I am replying to his frustration. If we perpetuate the idea that our state's history has been only one-sided, always heroic in actions and flawlessly upright in motives, we then pass on an impoverished legacy.

Contentment with "our" heritage doesn't allow for the essential reevaluation that our culture needs in order to stay alive and vibrant. Historians have an obligation to point to problems and ask questions, not to celebrate those myths which we have fashioned ourselves.

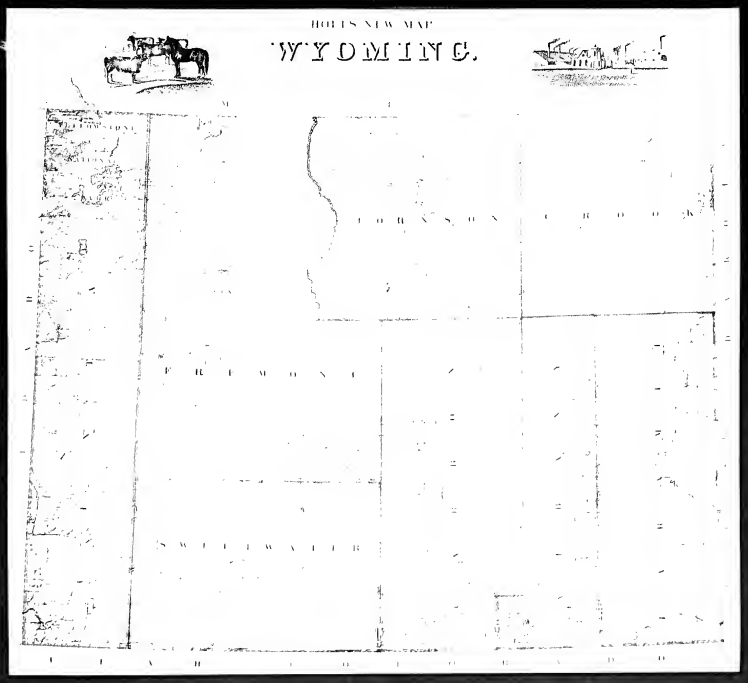
"Our" heritage—our history—implies that we should write with some sort of cosmic objectivity. That's not history. It will take courage to face the fact that there has been failure, injury, and deceit in the state's collective background as well as heroism, accomplishment and exuberant expansion. It takes courage to face our own flaws.

It is those elements which we exclude from ourselves which turn out to be devils. That applies, for instance, to Indian people, the federal government or to the Wyomingites on welfare rolls. Indians seem "devilish," the government is suspect and social problems are forgotten because they never have been included in the culture; they have not been part of "our" history.

The myths I mentioned are enormously useful basic belief systems, but only when they are examined in light of *today's* history. Every new era creates its own new myths—new ways to dispense cultural advice and the collective wisdom to cope with new problems. We've got new problems, we need a new mythology; don't deny history by making it sterile and useless—don't make it dead-ended—please don't make it only "yours."

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 63, No. 3 Summer, 1991



In 1895 the state of Wyoming established a department to collect and preserve materials which interpret the history of Wyoming. Today those duties are performed by the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources in the Department of Commerce. Located in the department are the State Historical Research Library, the State Archives, the State Museum, the State Art Gallery, the State Historic Sites, and the State Historic Preservation Office. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artwork and artifacts for museum exhibit. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts.

ABOUT THE COVER—"Holt's New Map of Wyoming" was the first map of Wyoming drawn from the official surveys in the U.S. Land Office. George L. Holt, one of Wyoming's early pioneers, arriving in Cheyenne during September, 1867, produced a number of Wyoming maps during the 1880s. The Holt maps are valuable historical documents because they contain such information as the locations of towns, forts, railroads (proposed and built), mining districts, roads, telegraph lines, post offices, and ranches. This map is located in the state's Historical Research Library.

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ANNALS OF WYOMING was established in 1923 to disseminate historical information about Wyoming and the West through the publication of articles and documents. The editors of ANNALS OF WYOMING welcome manuscripts on every aspect of Wyoming and Western history.

Authors should submit two typed, double-spaced copies of their manuscripts with footnotes placed at the end. Manuscripts submitted should conform to A MANUAL OF STYLE (University of Chicago Press). The Editor reserves the right to submit all manuscripts to members of the Editorial Advisory Board or to authorities in the field of study for recommendations. Published articles represent the view of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce or the Wyoming State Historical Society.

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ANNALS OF WYOMING is published quarterly by the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Membership dues are: Single $9; Joint $12; Institutional $20; Life $150; Joint Life $200. Current membership is 1,948. Copies of previous and current issues of ANNALS may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life.

SNAKE FRONTIERS:

The Eastern Shoshones in the Eighteenth Century

by Colin C. Calloway

COURTESY AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING (AHC)

A Shoshone warrior

On Sunday, August 11, 1805, Captain Meriwether Lewis saw his first Shoshone Indian. The warrior reined his pony to a halt and watched with mounting suspicion as Lewis advanced toward him. The captain made gestures of friendship and brandished trade goods for the Shoshone to see, but the Indian wheeled his horse around and vanished into the willows. In the next few days, however, the Lewis and Clark expedition did succeed in establishing contact with a member of the Lemhi Shoshone band of Cameahwait, who turned out to be the brother or cousin of their famous Indian companion, Sacajawea. More important, they gained access to the Shoshones' horses, without which further progress toward the Pacific would have been all but impossible.[1]

Most histories of the Shoshone or Snake Indians begin at this point. Subsequent chapters describe the Shoshone role in the Rocky Mountain fur trade, acknowledge their record of amicable relations with White Americans, and pay due respect to the statesmanlike leadership of their famous chief, Washakie.[2] Studies of other Indian tribes in the Plateau-Rocky Mountain region tend to follow a similar approach: they pay scant attention to historical developments before Lewis and Clark arrived, and an introductory chapter usually suffices to set an unchanging scene before the author proceeds to the main purpose of describing post-contact tribal history and U.S.-Indian relations.[3]

Anthropologists have devoted considerable attention to the eastern Shoshone,[4] but most historians ignore Shoshone history before Lewis and Clark. The people Lewis and Clark encountered had not been living in a vacuum. Sacajawea herself had been carried off from her homeland by a raiding party who took her to the Hidatsa villages on the Missouri River where Lewis and Clark recruited her. Atsina raiders hit Cameahwait's band just before the Americans arrived. Such events were part and parcel of Shoshone history in the century before Lewis and Clark; it was little wonder the Shoshones were nervous at meeting new strangers with guns and "with faces pale as ashes."[5]

Many reports described the Shoshones as a timid people whose Rocky Mountain homes provided refuge from powerful and predatory enemies. During the first decade of the twentieth century, anthropologist Robert H. Lowie spoke of their "natural timidity." A century earlier fur trader Alexander Henry wrote "The Snakes are a miserable, defenseless nation, who never venture abroad. The Piegans call them old women, whom they can kill with sticks and stones."[6] It had not always been so. For a time during the eighteenth century, the eastern Shoshones were a dominant power on the northwestern plains. Unfortunately, they found themselves on the cutting edge—or rather the receiving end—of successive frontiers of change and upheaval as waves of horses, germs, guns, and enemies buffeted their world. Their fluctuating fortunes mirror the changes other tribes experienced in this era and illustrate that plains and mountain Indian society before Lewis and Clark was anything but static and uneventful.

Cameahwait's people were a band of northern Shoshones, splintered from their relatives by Blackfoot pressure from the north. For the purposes of this paper, the term Snake refers primarily to the eastern Shoshone of Wyoming (who eventually settled on Wind River), but

1. Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, vol. 2 (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1904), pp. 329-331, 361, 366; James Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp. 139-140; John E. Rees, "The Shoshoni Contribution to Lewis and Clark," *Idaho Yesterdays* 2 (Summer 1958): 2-13.
2. e.g.: Virginia Trenholm and Maurine Carley, *The Shoshonis: Sentinels of the Rockies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); Brigham D. Madsen, *The Lemhi: Sacajewea's People* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers Ltd., 1979). On Washakie see Dale L. Morgan, ed., "Washakie and the Shoshoni: A Selection of Documents from the Records of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs," *Annals of Wyoming* 25 (July 1953): 141-188; 26 (January 1954): 65-80; 26 (July 1954): 141-190; 27 (April 1955): 61-88; 27 (October 1955): 198-220; 28 (April 1956): 80-93; 28 (October 1956): 193-207; 29 (April 1957): 86-102; 29 (October 1957): 195-227; 30 (April 1958): 53-89; and Grace Raymond Hebard, *Washakie* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1930).
3. e.g.: John Fahey, *The Flathead Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974); Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Cayuse Indians: Imperial Tribesmen of Old Oregon* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972); Francis Haines, *The Nez Percés: Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955); Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Nez Percé Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).
4. e.g.: Robert H. Lowie, "The Northern Shoshones," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 2 (January 1909): 165-307; D.B. Shimkin, "Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography," University of California, *Anthropological Records* 5; 4 (1947); Ake Hultkrantz, "The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area," *Annals of Wyoming* 33 (April 1961): 19-41; Omer C. Stewart, "The Shoshoni: Their History and Social Organization," *Idaho Yesterdays* 9 (Fall 1965): 2-5, 28.
5. Thwaites, *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 2, p. 361; vol. 4, pp. 74, 77; Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians*, pp. 133, 140, 142.
6. Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone," p. 171; Elliott Coues, ed., vol. 2, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799-1814* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897), p. 726.

the northern or Idaho Shoshone are also included in the term and feature in the story since they shared similar experiences in the era under consideration, and northern and eastern bands moved freely in and out of each other's territory.

The fashion for calling these people Shoshones stems from the nineteenth century. During the eighteenth century they were known as Snakes, and so-called by their Comanche cousins as well as by the Blackfeet, Atsinas, and others. The term Snake raises problems of identification: it may have referred to the Kiowas when they inhabited the Black Hills, to undifferentiated Shoshone-Comanche, or embraced almost all tribes living along the eastern slope of the central Rockies. Moreover, early travelers and chroniclers in the Rockies sometimes lumped Northern Shoshones, Bannocks, and Paiutes together under the name "Snake." The use of the snake movement in sign language may have referred to the old Shoshone practice of weaving grass lodges, or it may simply have indicated "enemy," since most western tribes metaphorically termed strangers and adversaries "snakes."[7]

The Shoshones originated in the Great Basin area of Nevada. More than five hundred years before Lewis and Clark, a great drought struck the area, triggering a series of population movements.[8] During the early sixteenth century groups of Shoshone-Comanche speakers were drifting across the Rocky Mountains and on to the northwestern plains. Once on the plains some groups pushed south along the front range, others north, so that by 1700 a continuous band of Shoshone-Comanche speakers stretched from southern Alberta to southern Colorado along the east slope of the Rockies. According to one account, when Cheyennes first encountered Shoshones during the late 1700s, they called them "Mountain Comanches."[9] While their Comanche relatives migrated out of the Rocky Mountains and drove the Apaches off the southern plains during the eighteenth century,[10] the Snakes expanded their hunting territories toward the headwaters of the Missouri River and established themselves on the plains of Wyoming and Montana.[11]

Documentary evidence indicates that Snakes were on the northwestern plains in numbers by the eighteenth century, and while the archaeological evidence verifying Shoshonean expansion on to the high plains is not conclusive, there are indications of Shoshonean occupation. Finds of a distinctive, flat-bottomed Shoshonean pottery in the Laramie Basin, a probable Shoshonean buffalo kill site in the same area, petroglyphs of possible Shoshonean origin in the Wind River Valley and southern Big Horn Basin, a bundle burial from south-central Wyoming, tools, trade fragments, campsites, and lodge remains point to a significant Shoshonean presence on the northwestern plains during the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods, and support migration rather than an *in-situ* explanation of their presence.[12]

7. George E. Hyde, *Indians of the High Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), p. 127n; Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," in D'Azevedo, *Handbook of North American Indians*, p. 334; Lawrence J. Burpee, ed., *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier De Varennes De La Verendrye and his Sons. With Correspondence between the Governors of Canada and the French Court, Touching the Search for the Western Sea* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1927), p. 21, 412n; Donald D. Fowler, "Cultural Ecology and Culture History of the Eastern Shoshoni Indians" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1965), pp. 46-49; Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Northern Shoshone and Bannock," in Warren L. D'Azevedo, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 11: Great Basin* (Washington D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, 1986), pp. 287, 305; Trenholm and Carley, *The Shoshonis*, p. 19.

8. Murphy and Murphy, "Northern Shoshone and Bannock," p. 284; Francis Haines, *The Plains Indians* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976), pp. 32-33.

9. Fowler, "Cultural Ecology and Culture History of the Eastern Shoshoni Indians," pp. 45, 56-57; Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," p. 308; Hultkrantz, "The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area," pp. 22-24; "The Shoshone Role in Western History," box 2, Virginia Cole Trenholm Collection, American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming; Ella C. Clark, *Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), p. 168, records as Indian tradition explaining the Shoshone-Comanche split as the result of a conflict between two hunters.

10. Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 8-10; Frank Raymond Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains (17th through Early 19th Century) Monographs of the American Ethnological Society* (1953), 30 ff; D.B. Shimkin, "Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations," *Proceedings of the Sixth Conference of the Pacific Science Association* (1940): 4.

11. Hyde, *The Indians of the High Plains*, ch. 6; Anthony Robert McGinnis, "Intertribal Conflict on the Northern Plains, 1738-1889" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1974), p. 69.

12. Fowler, "Cultural Ecology and Culture History of the Eastern Shoshone," pp. 55-56; George C. Frison, *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains* (New York: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 51, 64-67, 80-81, 246, 369, 405-410, 424; idem, "Shoshonean Antelope Procurement in the Upper Green River Basin, Wyoming," *Plains Anthropologist* 16 (1971): 254-284; Davis S. Gebhard, *The Rock Art of Dinwoody* (Santa Barbara: The Art Galleries, University of California, 1969), pp. 21-22; Davis S. Gebhard, and Harold A. Cahn, "The Petroglyphs of Dinwoody, Wyoming," *American Antiquity* 15 (1950): 219-228; Mark E. Miller and George W. Gill, "A Late Prehistoric Bundle Burial from Southern Wyoming," *Plains Anthropologist* 25-89 (1980): 235-246; Gary A. Wright, "The Shoshonean Migration Problem," *Plains Anthropologist* 23-80 (1978): 113-137.

Map showing the Native Lands of the Arapaho and Shoshone Indians.

Migration on to the plains brought the Snakes new sources of power and prosperity, but the transition to the buffalo hunting and tipi dwelling culture of the plains was neither sudden nor complete. Plains Snakes came to be distinguished from their relatives west of the Rockies by location, subsistence, and cultural adaptation, but Shoshone band organization was loose and the same family might be called "fish eaters" when they lived in the west, and "buffalo eaters" if they joined up with an eastern band. The eastern Shoshones themselves were differentiated between Buffalo Eaters and Mountain Sheep Eaters. Kiowa tradition remembers the Snakes as living in grass lodges when they first met them on the plains, and old people interviewed on the Wind River Reservation during the early twentieth century recalled "a period when they had no horses, when small game took the place of buffalo and the people lacked the skin-covered tepees of more recent times." The Snakes' western relatives remained poor, living in small family groups and subsisting on roots, fish, seeds, and berries. In 1849 the Indian agent at Salt Lake drew a distinction that, while not necessarily ethnologically accurate, nevertheless reflected the realities of life on different sides of the mountains:

> Among the Sho-sho-nies there are only two bands, properly speaking. The principal or better portion are called Sho sho nies, (or Snakes) who are rich enough to own horses. The others, the Sho-sho-coes, (or Walkers) are those who cannot or do not own horses.

Other observers drew a similar distinction between "the real Sho-sho-nes" who owned horses and hunted buffalo on the plains and the rest who kept to the mountains or lived by fishing.[13]

Shoshones in southern Idaho obtained horses by about 1700. Tradition says they got the horses from their Comanche kinsmen, although the Utes of western Colorado

13. Josephy, *The Nez Percé Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, pp. 60, 61n; Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," p. 309; Hultkrantz, "The Shoshones of the Rocky Mountain Area," pp. 21-25; Aubrey Haines, ed., *Osborne Russell's Journal of a Trapper* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), pp. 144-145; James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979 reprint ed.), p. 160; Clark, *Indians Legends from the Northern Rockies*, p. 168; Morgan, ed., "Washakie and the Shoshoni" 25 (July 1953): 146, 157; Stewart, "The Shoshoni and Their History and Social Organization," p. 5; Hiram M. Chittenden and Alfred T. Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J. 1801-1873*, vol. 1 (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905), p. 301; cf. Murphy and Murphy, "Northern Shoshone and Bannock," p. 284.

may also have supplied mounts. Comanche, Ute, and Kiowa middlemen passed horses west of the Continental Divide until they reached the Snakes. The Snakes in turn functioned as a "funnel," distributing horses throughout the Pacific Northwest and supplying directly or indirectly the Crows, Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Yakimas, Palouses, Nez Percés, Flatheads, Couer d'Alenes, Pend d'Oreilles, Spokans, Kalispels, and other Plateau neighbors.[14]

Early possession of horses, and a strategic location that facilitated continued access to southern horse traders, gave the Snakes a distinct edge over unmounted neighbors. Increasing numbers of Snakes filtered through South Pass on to the buffalo rich plains of Wyoming and Montana, and, by the third decade of the eighteenth century, they seem to have occupied an area from the Saskatchewan to the Platte. Indian raiders identified as Snakes terrorized tribes from the Saskatchewan to the Missouri and even clashed with Apache bands in western Nebraska and northeastern Colorado.[15]

Early conflicts between the Snakes and Blackfeet occurred on foot. Saukampee, an old Cree living with the Piegans, told fur trader David Thompson of a battle that took place sometime before 1730, in which Snakes and Piegans lined up in ranks behind large rawhide shields and engaged in an exchange of arrows that resulted in several warriors being wounded before nightfall put an end to the skirmish. Horses and guns soon put an end to this defensive warfare. Snake cavalry brought a new form of warfare to the northern plains and the unmounted Blackfeet long remembered their first encounter with the new weapon, when Snake warriors swinging heavy stone war clubs rode down on them as "swift as the Deer," killing many of their best men.[16]

Horses transformed the Snakes' ability to exploit the buffalo-rich plains. The Wyoming Snakes did most of their hunting in the region beyond South Pass, into the valleys of the Wind and Big Horn rivers, with winter camping grounds in the Green River region. Full utilization of the buffalo resource was limited by the herds' migratory habits, the foot requirement of the Snakes' horses, and the demands of almost continual warfare. The increased level of buffalo hunting also generated significant changes in Snake society. Hunting required collective organization and increased nomadism, and chieftainships developed to a new level as leaders emerged to coordinate the hunts, maintain order, and organize military responses.[17]

Horses, however, also served as a magnet for enemy attention and a resource around which conflict escalated. It was only a matter of time before neighbors adopted horses into their cultures and arsenals. Cayuse tradition recalls how they encountered Snake horsemen for the first time sometime before 1750. Hastening to make a truce with the Snakes, the Cayuses returned home with a pair of Spanish ponies as seed for their own herds. But it was easier to increase herd size by raiding than by breeding and Cayuse raiders were soon making regular visits to Snake horse herds. Learning the Cayuses had obtained horses from the Snakes, the Nez Percés sent a party south to trade for ponies. Flathead and Crow traders and raiders also turned to Snake horse herds, and by the second quarter of the eighteenth century the Blackfeet too had acquired their first horses. The Snakes soon lost their equestrian advantage.[18]

14. John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Culture, with Comparative Material from Other Tribes* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969 reprint ed.), pp. 6-7, 11; D.B. Shimkin, "Wind River Shoshone Geography," *American Anthropologist* 40 (1938): 415; Capt. W.P. Clark, *The Indian Sign Language* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, reprint of 1885 ed.), p. 338; Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist* 16 (1914): 13, 24; Frank Gilbert Roe, *The Indian and the Horse* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), pp. 126-128, 308; Francis Haines, "Horses for Western Indians," *The American West* 3 (Spring 1966): 12; idem., "The Northward Spread of Horses to the Plains Indian," *American Anthropologist* 40 (July 1938): 435-436; idem., *The Nez Percés*, p. 18; Fahey, *The Flathead Indians*, p. 17; Josephy, *The Percé Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, pp. 24-25; Trenholm and Carley, *The Shoshonis*, pp. 19-20.

15. Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains*, pp. 33; Hyde, *Indians of the High Plains*, pp. x, 117, 134.

16. Richard Glover, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962), pp. 240-242; John C. Ewers, "Intertribal Warfare as the Precursor of Indian-White Warfare on the Northern Great Plains," *Western Historical Quarterly* 6 (October 1975): 401.

17. Murphy and Murphy, "Northern Shoshone and Bannock," pp. 289-291; Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," p. 309. On the buffalo economy of the Wind River Shoshone see Shimkin, "Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography," pp. 265-268.

18. Ruby and Brown, *The Cayuse Indians*, p. 7 and fn, 14, 19; Josephy, *The Nez Percé Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, p. 28; Haines, *The Nez Percés*, p. 18; Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, pp. 16-18, thinks the Blackfeet obtained their first horses later than 1730 and in trade from other Plateau tribes rather than from their Snake enemies (cf. Oscar Lewis, *The Effects of White Contact on Blackfoot Culture: With Special Reference to the Role of the Fur Trade. Monographs of the American Ethnological Society* 6 (1942): 39; and Glover, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, p. 244n).

Nevertheless, direct trade into New Mexico and indirect trade via Comanche middlemen kept the Snakes the richest horse power on the northern plains well into the second half of the century. In order to enjoy continued supplies of horses, mules, and European metal goods from the south, they seem to have turned to bartering war captives, tapping into the Spanish-Indian slave trade that had developed in the southwest. The Snakes themselves often fell victim to Ute slave raids, and they now extended the slave-raiding frontier to the northern plains, raiding far and wide for captives. Archaeological finds of Shoshonean and Crow pottery together in the same campsites have been interpreted as evidence that one group was stealing women from the other, or at least trading them. Their slave raids "reinforced the polarization of all surrounding tribes toward the Snake as *the* enemy," and victimized tribes raided for vengeance as well as to acquire the horses they badly needed to compete with the mounted Snakes.[19]

When La Verendrye ventured on to the northern plains in 1743, the Snakes were regularly raiding eastern villages and the Frenchman's sons heard that the "Gens de Serpents" had destroyed seventeen Indian camps in the Black Hills just prior to their arrival. Infected by their Indian guides' fear, the French explorers turned for home without seeing more than a rumor of the dreaded Snakes. As historian George E. Hyde commented, Verendrye's report of these events "gives one the impression of a group of Frenchmen moving about, lost in a great smoke cloud through which dim shapes of Indian bands move, ghostlike."[20] On his journey to Saskatchewan as late as 1772, Hudson's Bay trader Matthew Cocking noted "The Natives in general are afraid of the Snake Indians," and the Snake threat may have been a major factor in prompting a loose alliance between the Blackfeet, Sarsi, Assiniboine, and Plains Cree.[21]

COURTESY WYOMING STATE MUSEUM (WSM)

Posed photograph of a Shoshone warrior.

However, the ascendancy of the "Gens de Serpents" was already in decline before Cocking heard of their prowess. The introduction of European firearms and the arrival of new people on the northwestern plains soon offset Snake wealth in horses. Saukampee related how, unable to cope with the Snakes' new mobility, the Blackfeet enlisted help from the Crees and Assiniboines. Ten allies came to their aid with guns. In a battle that probably occurred during the late 1730s, the Snakes had their first taste of firearms. The Snake warriors were on foot (which suggests the Snakes themselves were still in the process of building up their horse herds at this time) and lined up in traditional style. The Crees and Assiniboines unsheathed their weapons, gunned down some fifty warriors, and put the startled survivors to flight.[22] The new firearms became the key to victory in the new warfare of the northern plains and Rockies; access to firearms became the key to survival.

19. Hyde, *Indians of the High Plains*, p. 119; Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains*, pp. 22-24, 38, 47; Frison, *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains*, p. 67; idem., "Crow Pottery in Northern Wyoming," *Plains Anthropologist* 21 (1976): 29-44; William T. Mulloy, "A Preliminary Historical Outline for the Northwestern Plains," *University of Wyoming Publications in Science* 22 (1958): 199. On the Indian slave trade in the southwest see L. R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the South West* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961).
20. Burpee, ed., *Journals and Letters of Verendrye*, p. 21; Hyde, *Indians of the High Plains*, p. 131.
21. Lawrence J. Burpee, ed., "An Adventurer from Hudson Bay: Journal of Matthew Cocking, from York Factory to the Blackfeet Country, 1772-73," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, 2 (1908): section II: 103, 106, 112; Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns*, pp. 37, 47.
22. Glover, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, pp. 242-243.

From mid-century the Blackfeet and their allies enjoyed increasing access to supplies of guns, ammunition, iron arrowheads and axes, and metal knives, at the same time as they began to close the gap on the Snakes in terms of horse power. The French built trading posts on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers during the 1730s and 1740s. Cree and Assiniboine traders peddled guns from English posts around Hudson Bay until the westward movement of Montreal traders robbed them of their lucrative middleman role with the tribes of the western plains. Following the creation of the aggressive new Northwest Company in 1784, the Hudson's Bay Company itself began to push west, erecting a string of posts on the Saskatchewan River. By 1794 trading posts ringed Blackfoot territory.[23]

The Snakes and other western tribes were unable to get guns. The Blackfeet prevented traders in Canada from peddling firearms to the western tribes. Spanish policy forbade the sale or trade of guns to Indians, and southern plains tribes obtained insufficient supplies of firearms to trade northwards. In time, guns from the Cree-Assiniboine made their way west via the Mandan-Hidatsa villages and Crow intermediaries, but they were few in number and prohibitively expensive. When Lewis and Clark met the Snakes, they had Spanish articles of trade but only a few guns "which they had obtained from the Rocky Mountain Indians [Crows] on the Yellowstone River." In 1805, according to trader Antoine Larocque, neither the Snakes nor the Flatheads had been able to secure firearms, and Shoshone tradition recalled that, before Lewis and Clark, "We knew nothing about guns except their effects."[24]

The Snakes, Flatheads, and Kutenais learned to avoid pitched battles with the Blackfeet, resorting to guerrilla warfare against their gun-toting foes. Snakes still wore leather armor at the time of Lewis and Clark's visit, but coats of leather that would turn an arrow provided little protection in the age of gunfire. Guns also rendered obsolete the lance and the high-pommeled Spanish style of saddle (designed for a lancer) that the Snakes had adopted. Women and children continued to use these saddles, but warriors preferred a simple leather pad that allowed greater mobility.[25]

Guns and horses transformed Blackfoot society at the same time as they altered the balance of power on the northern plains.[26] Newly armed, the Blackfeet and their allies took the offensive against the Snakes. Even with horses the Snakes could not hold their own against the gun-packing Blackfeet-Cree-Assiniboine forces. They abandoned Red Deer Valley to the Piegans and retreated southwest.[27] The Piegans led the Blackfoot drive from the North Saskatchewan near the Eagle Hills to the South Saskatchewan.[28]

In 1781 smallpox hit the Snakes and the Blackfeet. The pandemic broke out in Spanish settlements in the southwest and spread north rapidly along well-established routes of communication. The same year a Piegan war party fell on a silent Snake village, but when they ripped open the tipis they found only dead and dying. Recoiling in horror from the scene, the Piegan warriors carried the disease back to their own village: as Saukampee said, "We had no belief that one Man could give it to another, any more than a wounded Man could give his wound to another." The Blackfeet lost between one-third and one-half of their population to the dread disease, and the war against the Snakes was interrupted for two or three winters as the survivors concentrated on searching for food: "Our hearts were low and dejected, and we shall never again be the same people," said Saukampee.[29]

Devastated, the Piegans considered making peace with the Snakes. The Snakes had been equally hard hit. Shortly

23. John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 23-28; Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), passim; David G. Mandlebaum, "The Plains Cree," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 37 (1940): 178, 182; Glover, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, p. 245; R. Cole Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plates 57, 60, 61, 62.

24. John C. Ewers, *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 24, 27, 38; Thwaites, *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 2, pp. 341, 347; vol. 3, pp. 19, 30; "Francois-Antoine Larocque's 'Yellowstone Journal.' " in W. Raymond Wood and Thomas D. Thiessen, eds., *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains: Canadian Traders Among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, 1738-1818* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), p. 220; Clark, *Indians Legends from the Northern Rockies*, p. 206. (On Crow-Shoshone trade see Thwaites, vol. 6, p. 103, and Wood and Thiessen, p. 170n).

25. Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains*, pp. 16-20, 53, 61-62; Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 3, p. 21; cf. Burpee, ed., "An Adventurer from Hudson Bay," pp. 110-111.

26. Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, passim, esp. 54 ff; Mark A. Judy, "Powder Keg on the Upper Missouri: Sources of Blackfoot Hostility, 1730-1810," *American Indian Quarterly* 11 (Spring 1987): 130 and passim.

27. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, p. 22; Fowler, "Cultural Ecology and Culture History of the Eastern Shoshone," pp. 50-51.

28. Lewis, *The Effects of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, pp. 13-14, 53.

29. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, pp. 28-29; Glover, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, pp. 49, 245-248.

after the epidemic, the Snake bands in the Bow River country withdrew south, leaving the area free for Piegan occupation. But when Snakes slaughtered five lodges of Piegans—and left snake heads painted on sticks as proof of their responsibility—the Blackfeet resolved to "revenge the death of our people and make the Snake Indians feel the effects of our guns." They began a relentless campaign that would drive the Snakes, Kutenais, and Flatheads from the plains. At the same time they began to capture and adopt Snake women and children to recoup their losses (medical studies indicate that women of child-bearing age were more susceptible to smallpox and suffered a higher mortality rate). The Snakes still needed war captives to sustain their southern trade, but found instead that they had become the targets of enemy slave raiders. During the late 1780s Edward Umfreville reported that all the Indians known by the Hudson's Bay Company crossed the Rockies every summer to raid the Snakes: "In these war excursions many female slaves are taken, who are sold to the Canadian traders, and taken down to Canada . . ."[30]

A Shoshone woman

In the face of the sustained Blackfoot onslaught, the Snakes relinquished their foothold on the plains of southern Alberta and northern Montana and retreated into the Rocky Mountain ranges in Wyoming and Idaho. Saukampee told David Thompson that all the lands held by the Blackfeet tribes in 1787 were formerly held by the Kutenais, Flatheads, and Snakes, but that those tribes were "now driven across the Mountains." Large war parties of mounted gunmen established and maintained Blackfoot dominance on the northern plains. A war chief named Kutenai Appe led 250 warriors on an expedition against the Snakes in 1787.[31]

By the end of the century the Blackfeet had pushed south more than four hundred miles and dominated the territory from the North Saskatchewan River to the northern tributaries of the Missouri. Some Snake bands probably remained on the Wyoming and Montana plains as late as 1790, but most had retreated west across the Rockies by the beginning of the new century. Trader Peter Fidler noted in his journal in 1792 that the Snakes used to inhabit the area around Eagle Hills, Saskatchewan,

> but since the Europeans have penetrated into these parts & supplied the surrounding nations with fire arms, those Indians have gradually receded SW wards, & at this time there is not a tent of that nation to be found within 500 miles.

Another trader on the Saskatchewan, Duncan McGillivray, described the Snakes in 1795 as "a tribe who inhabit the Rocky Mountains unacquainted with the productions of Europe, and Strangers to those who convey them to this Country." The Atsinas, under considerable attack themselves from the Crees, added to the pressure: McGillivray heard that Atsina and Blood warriors had killed twenty-seven Snakes that spring.[32]

30. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, pp. 29-30; Glover, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, p. 247; Judy, "Powder Keg on the Upper Missouri," pp. 136-137; Haines, *Plains Indians*, pp. 130-132; Edward Umfreville, *The Fur Trade of Hudson's Bay* (London, 1790), pp. 176-177, quoted in Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains*, p. 56.
31. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, pp. 172, 318; idem., "Intertribal Warfare," p. 403; Josephy, *The Nez Percé Indians*, p. 31; Glover, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, pp. 240, 258, 269.
32. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, p. 30; Judy, "Powder Keg on the Upper Missouri," p. 137; Glover, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, pp. 240, 254; Fidler quote is in Alice M. Johnston, ed., *Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1967), p. 274n; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 94, 98; Thomas F. Schilz, "The

The first years of the new century brought no relief to the Snakes. Smallpox ravaged the northern plains again in the fall of 1801, and war parties on the Saskatchewan continued to go out against the Snakes. During November and December, 1800, almost all the Blackfeet around Chesterfield House went to war "against their old enemies the Snake Indians," and the following February one hundred Fall (Atsina) Indians set off to war against them. The Piegans now scorned their once-formidable Snake enemies. According to Nez Percé tradition Nez Percé warriors wiped out a large Snake war party about this time. After the Snakes killed a peace delegation following the victory, the Nez Percé chief Broken Arm led a punitive expedition that netted another forty-two Snake scalps during September, 1805, before peace initiatives resumed.[33]

Mounting pressure from the Crows and Arapahoes helped push the Snakes off the plains by the end of the century and kept them off during the next. As the Snakes withdrew the Crows moved into the country of the Big Horn and upper Yellowstone, taking possession of one of the richest areas in the northern plains, and the Arapahoes moved west into the Green River Valley in the first years of the nineteenth century.[34]

By 1805, from fur trade accounts, all the Snake groups had been driven west of the mountains. They now resided in the mountain valleys of western Wyoming, Idaho, and southwestern Montana and ventured east only to hunt. They enjoyed occasional amicable relations with the Arapahoes and Crows, but any hopes of recovering their lands east of the mountains were gone. French-Canadian trader Antoine Larocque found twelve lodges of Snakes with the Crows in 1805, but they were only a remnant of a tribe that had been destroyed, desperate to open direct trade with the village tribes of the Missouri. But those tribes also warred on the Snakes: when Lewis and Clark traveled west they found the Hidatsas sending war parties to the Rocky Mountains against the Snakes, and were told the Arikaras had learned the art of bead-making from Snake captives.[35]

West of the mountains Lewis and Clark found that many of the Columbian tribes were also hostile to the Snakes.[36] The Snakes kept in touch with their Comanche cousins and with Spanish traders in New Mexico, but these contacts did not supply them with the guns they so desperately needed. Cameahwait blamed the Spaniards at Santa Fe for denying guns to his people,

> thus leaving them defenseless and an easy prey to their bloodthirsty neighbours to the East of them, who being in possession of firearms hunt them up and murder them without rispect to sex or age and plunder them of their horses on all occasions.

The Lemhis were compelled to remain in the mountains for most of the year, subsisting on fish, berries, and roots. Cameahwait, "with his ferce eyes and lank jaws grown meager for the want of food," said that if only his people had guns they could live in the buffalo country on equal terms with their enemies. The Snakes were desperate for the American trade Lewis and Clark offered: "They felt sure that the strangers were in league with our enemies and that together they were coming to attack us," but on the urging of their chiefs they resolved to "make friends with these strangers who are so terribly armed."[37]

In 1805 the Piegans prevented David Thompson from crossing the mountains and opening direct trade with the western tribes. A year later they attacked Lewis' party when the captain told them he planned to open trade with their enemies in the west. Thompson succeeded in breaching the Blackfoot dike the next year—although he had to buy off a 300-strong Piegan war party in order to reach the Kutenais—and the subsequent flow of firearms across the mountains transformed the balance of powers in the Rockies. But during 1808 Alexander Henry the Younger reported the Piegans were still raiding at will on the horse herds of the Snakes and Flatheads who had no firearms and were easy prey.[38] According to tradition, Blackfeet at-

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Gros Ventres and the Canadian Fur Trade 1754-1831," *American Indian Quarterly* 12 (Winter 1988): 49-50; Arthur S. Morton, ed., *The Journal of Duncan McGillivray of the North West Company, at Fort George on the Saskatchewan, 1794-1795* (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd., 1929), p. 69.

33. Johnson, ed., *Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence*, pp. 276, 278, 285, 294, 306; Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, vol. 2, p. 726; Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 5, pp. 24, 28, 106-107, 113; Haines, *The Nez Percés*, pp. 25-29.

34. Colin G. Calloway, " 'The Only Way Open to Us:' The Crow Struggle for Survival in the Nineteenth Century," *North Dakota History* 53 (Summer 1986): 26; Hyde, *Indians of the High Plains*, pp. 149-150, 195, 197-198; Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 1, p. 220; vol. 5, p. 270.

35. Hyde, *Indians of the High Plains*, pp. 156, 181-185, 195; Fowler, "Cultural Ecology and Culture History," p. 58; "Larocque's 'Yellowstone Journal,' " p. 220; Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 1, pp. 210, 249, 272; vol. 6, p. 103.

36. Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 4, pp. 331, 362; vol. 5, pp. 6, 24, 106, 270.

37. "Larocque's 'Yellowstone Journal,' " pp. 189, 220; Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 6, pp. 106-107; vol. 2, pp. 383-384; Clark, *Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies*, p. 207.

38. "Narrative of the Expedition to the Kootenae and Flat Bow Indian Countries . . ., by D. Thompson," mss. held by the Royal Commonwealth Society, London, n.p.; Glover, *David Thompson's Narrative*,

tacked Washakie's village when he was four or five, killing his father and forcing his family to take refuge with the Lemhi Shoshonis.[39] Recurrent raids by the Blackfeet, Atsinas, Assiniboines, and Hidatsas kept the Lemhis west of the Continental Divide. They only ventured into the high plains to hunt buffalo in company with Flatheads and Nez Percés who went regularly into the Three Forks country and the Yellowstone.[40]

The nineteenth century brought the Snakes more changes, but little respite. The American fur trade pushed its way into eastern Shoshone territory and the Snakes maintained their contacts with the tribes of the southern plains. In 1826, Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company met a group of "Plains Snake," and found them more showy in dress and appearance than the poor Snakes of his quarter, and well supplied with both Spanish and American goods.[41] Nevertheless, neighboring tribes continued to prey upon Snake horse herds and villages.

Hostilities with the Nez Percés and their Cayuse allies persisted through the middle of the century.[42] The Blackfeet continued to cross the Rockies to raid deep into

pp. 273, 277-279, 296-297, 305-306; Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 5, pp. 222-226; Coues, ed., *New Light*, vol. 2, p. 526; Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 20.

39. Morgan, ed., "Washakie and the Shoshoni," *Annals of Wyoming* 25 (July 1953): 146n; Hebard, *Washakie*, pp. 51-52.
40. Haines, *Plains Indians*, p. 133; Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 2, p. 374.
41. E.E. Rich, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-26* (London: Hudson Bay Record Society, 1950), p. 178. The Eastern Snakes were visiting the Comanche as late as 1860, Morgan, ed., "Washakie and the Shoshoni," *Annals of Wyoming* 27 (October 1955): 201. In 1821 Jacob Fowler camped with a great multi-tribal village on the Arkansas River of some four hundred lodges of Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowa-Apaches, and Snakes, possessing more than twenty thousand horses, but Fowler's "Snakes" may have been a band of Comanches. Elliott Coues, ed., *The Journal of Jacob Fowler* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1965), p. 55.
42. Josephy, *The Nez Percé Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, p. 55; Thomas R. Garth, "Early Nineteenth Century Tribal Relations in the Columbia Plateau," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 20 (Spring 1964): 48-51; "Remarks on the Countries westward of the Rocky Mountains . . . by D[avid] T[hompson], 1813," mss. in the Royal Commonwealth Society, London, n.p.; Frederick Merk, ed., *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 55.

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Shoshone tribal leaders sitting for a portrait. Washakie is in the center of the first row.

Snake territory, carrying off horses, women, and scalps.[43] Crows and Snakes clashed intermittently, although the two tribes increasingly became allies against common enemies.[44] As sources of game and buffalo became depleted, and displaced tribes drew closer together in competition for diminishing hunting grounds, the Snakes also found themselves in growing conflict with the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Teton Sioux who ranged the North Platte and even began to raid west of the Rockies.[45]

During the 1830s, trapper Zenas Leonard summed up the Snakes' plight:

> The Snake Indians, or as some call them, the Shoshonies, were once a powerful nation, possessing a glorious hunting ground on the east side of the mountains; but they, like the Flatheads, have been almost annihilated by the revengeful Blackfeet, who being supplied with firearms were enabled to defeat all Indian opposition. Their nation has been entirely broken up and scattered throughout all this region.[46]

By this time, however, the Snakes already were entering a new era of adjustment and change. American fur trade became an integral part of Snake life and American guns enabled Snakes to confront the Blackfeet, Crows, and Sioux on equal terms. Like other tribes pushed to the wall by more powerful enemies, they embraced growing American power in the west as an ally and, under the leadership of Mawoma and Washakie, enjoyed a period of renewed tribal vitality. Indian agents in the mid-century reported that Washakie's people ranged from the Wind River and South Pass as far east as the North Platte and Fort Laramie, though they went east to hunt only in the company of Bannocks or other allies.[47]

Change and challenge continued to confront the eastern Shoshones after their confinement on what became the Wind River Reservation. Disease continued to thin their numbers.[48] Sioux and other enemies continued to raid their homeland,[49] and Northern Arapaho presence and White American pressures demanded continued adjustment. That the Shoshones survived and adapted through these times of hardship and change is hardly surprising since their ancestors had experienced equally dramatic changes on the Snake frontier for more than a century before Lewis and Clark struggled into their territory to seek their help across the mountains.

43. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, pp. 124-126; Rich, ed., *Ogden's Snake Country Journals*, pp. 147, 149; Francis D. Haines, Jr., ed., *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831: John Work's Field Journal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 18, 58-59, 100; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1854, p. 194.
44. Kenneth A. Spaulding, ed., *On the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Journey of Discovery, 1812-1813* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), p. 98; Haines, ed., *Osborne Russell's Journal of a Trapper*, p. 70; Morgan, ed., "Washakie and the Shoshoni," *Annals of Wyoming* 26 (July 1954): 179; Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont* vol. 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970-1984), p. 222; Kate L. Gregg and John Francis McDermott, eds., *Prairie and Mountain Sketches. By Matthew C. Field* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 141; *Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), p. 26.
45. Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father De Smet*, vol. 3, p. 948; Gregg and McDermott, eds., *Prairie and Mountain Sketches*, p. 88; Jackson and Spence, eds., *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, vol. 1, pp. 462-463; LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *Life in the Far West by George Frederick Ruxton* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 76; John Stands in Timber and Margot Liberty, *Cheyenne Memories* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), ch. 9.
46. *Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard*, p. 25.
47. Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," p. 309; Morgan, ed., "Washakie and the Shoshoni," *Annals of Wyoming* 25 (July 1953): 150, 185; 27 (October 1955): 79, 86, 199-200; Stewart, "The Shoshoni," p. 3.
48. D.B. Shimkin, "Dynamics of Recent Wind River Shoshoni History," *American Anthropologist*, n.s. (1942): 451-462. The Shoshones and Bannocks said smallpox killed half their people in 1850, and measles claimed 152 lives—many children—among the Wind River Shoshones in 1897. Clark, *The Indian Sign Language*, p. 350; *Report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs*, 1897, p. 314.
49. e.g.: *Rocky Mountain News*, June 6, 1872, p. 2, c. 1; June 14, 1874, p. 4, c. 3; July 9, 1874, p. 1, c. 1; November 3, 1876, p. 1, c. 2.

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BONNEVILLE'S FORAY:

Exploring the Wind Rivers in 1833

by James R. Wolf

Captain Benjamin Bonneville

As they crossed the Continental Divide, thousands of California-bound travelers cast their eyes northward to "Frémont's Peak." They were remembering John C. Frémont, whose 1842 explorations of the Wind River Range were described in a widely-circulated official report.[1] The first high country explorer, however, was not Frémont. That honor goes to Captain Benjamin Bonneville, whose geographical discoveries of 1833 earn him the greatest respect. Ironically, the mountain that often went into emigrants' diaries under Frémont's name was one that had been climbed by the neglected Bonneville instead.

Wyoming was not entirely unknown when Bonneville headed westward in 1832. The country north of the Wind Rivers had been reconnoitered a few times in the first decades of the century. The gap at South Pass had been discovered in 1812. Publicized after Jedediah Smith's journey beyond the divide in 1824, it had become a familiar route of travel for the fur traders.[2]

No doubt the trappers rode high up the valleys in search of beaver, but their written records are sparse. Perhaps some climbed a Wind Rivers peak or two for sport, but one searches in vain for evidence of such alpine aspirations. The earliest good record is that of our subject.

Bonneville, though born in France in 1796, was raised in New York, where he attended the Military Academy at West Point. After graduation in 1815 he served many years at posts in the West—at Fort Smith, Arkansas; San Antonio, Texas; and elsewhere—achieving the rank of captain along the way.[3]

A spirit of curiosity and adventure led him to plan an expedition to explore portions of the Oregon Territory. Requesting a leave of absence, he explained:

> Observing, that our country men are daily becoming more desirous of understanding the true situation and resources of that portion of our territories, lying to the north of Mexico and west of the Rocky-Mountains, has determined me, to offer my services for the advancement of that object . . . I would there, by observations, establish prominent points of that country, ascertain the general courses &c of the principal rivers, the location of the Indian tribes and their habits, visit the American and British establishments, make myself acquainted with their manner of trade and intercourse with the Indians, finally, endeavor to develop every advantage the country affords and by what means they may most readily be opened to the enterprise of our citizens.[4]

The proposal was well received, with Bonneville authorized on July 29, 1831, to carry out his designs of exploring the country to the Rocky Mountains and beyond. During the next several months he obtained financial support from merchants in the fur business, hired dozens of trappers and other men, and purchased necessary scientific instruments. He also obtained wheeled wagons to carry the trade goods and other supplies the party would need—these wagons being the first such vehicles to cross the Continental Divide.[5]

The expedition traveled west along the Platte and Sweetwater rivers during the spring of 1832. After going through South Pass on July 24, they proceeded northwest to the Green River, near present-day Daniel, where they established a fortified camp. They later continued on to winter quarters on the Salmon River in Idaho, not returning to their Green River caches until July 13, 1833.[6]

During his first year in the Rockies Bonneville learned much about the fur trade, the Indians, and, not least, the geography of the country. The Wind River Mountains, he reported back to Washington, were said to be the highest in the country. "They are extensive and extremely difficult to be gone through, *and are always turned*."[7] This is a most interesting observation because it implies that the noted trappers he had encountered—Fitzpatrick, Bridger, and all the rest—knew nothing of the high country, or at least had never crossed the range there.[8] For an adventurer with an

1. The 1842 expedition is reviewed in James R. Wolf, "Frémont in the Wind Rivers," *Annals of Wyoming* 60 (Fall 1988): 2-11.
2. Merrill J. Mattes, "Jackson Hole, Crossroads of the Western Fur Trade, 1807-1829," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 37 (April 1946): 87-108; Philip Ashton Rollins, *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935); and Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953).
3. Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Edgeley W. Todd, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. xxii.
4. Bonneville to Maj. Gen. Alexander Macomb, May 21, 1831, quoted in Todd, *Bonneville*, p. xxv.
5. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. xxvi-xxviii, 46, 379-380. The controversy among historians regarding the "true motives" of the expedition is reviewed in William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire* (New York: Knopf, 1966), pp. 148-150; and Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. xxix-xli.
6. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 39-50, 72-79, 149. As Todd notes, other traders sometimes called the fort "Bonneville's Folly," but the fact that many later rendezvous were held in the vicinity argues for Bonneville's wisdom in choosing the site. Charles Larpenteur's recollection that Bonneville's men were on the Green River on July 8 is probably off by a few days. *Forty Years a Fur Trader* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley and Sons, 1933), p. 26.
7. Bonneville to Macomb, July 29, 1833, quoted in Todd, *Bonneville*, p. 388.
8. One early record for the range—between Union Pass and South Pass—is worthy of note. William Drummond Stewart's novel, *Edward Warren* (Missoula, Montana; Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1986), p. 202, mentions a crossing to "a tributary of the Popoagee,

explorer's bent, this must have seemed a challenge worthy of pursuit.

Bonneville wrote these words on July 29, while leading a party through South Pass and then northward to the head of navigation on the Bighorn River. There the furs obtained to date could be loaded on boats to be floated downriver to Saint Louis. His route took him past several identifiable landmarks, starting with "the great Tar spring," eight miles southeast of Lander.[9] He also transited a low pass in the Owl Creek Mountains as well as Bad Pass near the Wyoming-Montana border.[10]

After the furs were loaded Bonneville set out after more beaver. One of his parties was ambushed and suffered a loss of its traps. This misfortune threatened the success of the fall hunt. Even worse, he learned from some wandering Snake Indians that two bands of Crows were

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not at right angles with the great mountain line, but slanting towards the south collaterally." If this is factual, it would seem to refer to the North Popo Agie below the Cirque of the Towers. The description is so poor, though, as to belie personal observation. It may be that a mountain man had made the trip, discovering the hidden gap (Jackass Pass) that connects Big Sandy Lake with the Cirque of the Towers and this one nugget of the story found its way into the novel. *Edward Warren* was not published until 1854, so the information could have been conveyed to Stewart on any of his many summer trips to Wyoming between 1833 and 1843. Some corroboration can be found in another work by Stewart, in which the author describes a pass across the mountains to the Sweetwater, with "broken ground, torn up by torrents . . . on either side." *Altowan*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1846), p. 121.

A second account describes Old Bill Williams' travel in 1842 from Bull Lake westward over the mountains—which at first suggests a route through or near Hay Pass, south of Frémont Peak. W.T. Hamilton, *My Sixty Years on the Plains* (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing Company, 1905), pp. 81-86. But because the party crossed to the west fork of the Green River, not the New Fork, and because they then descended twenty-five miles to a beautiful place "to be awed by the lofty peaks," the route must in fact have been through Union Pass.

A trail across the mountains was familiar to the Indians, at least as of 1877, if not to the trappers. It is the path, now called the Washakie Trail, which crosses the Continental Divide at an elevation of 11,600 feet, connecting the East Fork River to the Little Wind River drainage. Hayden's men scouted it from the west, descending some distance on the Wind River side. Their account is the first reliable report of a feasible route over the range. F.M. Endlich, "Report on the Geology of the Sweetwater District," in F.V. Hayden, *Eleventh Annual Report of the U.S. Geological and Geographic Survey of the Territories* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), pp. 24, 59.

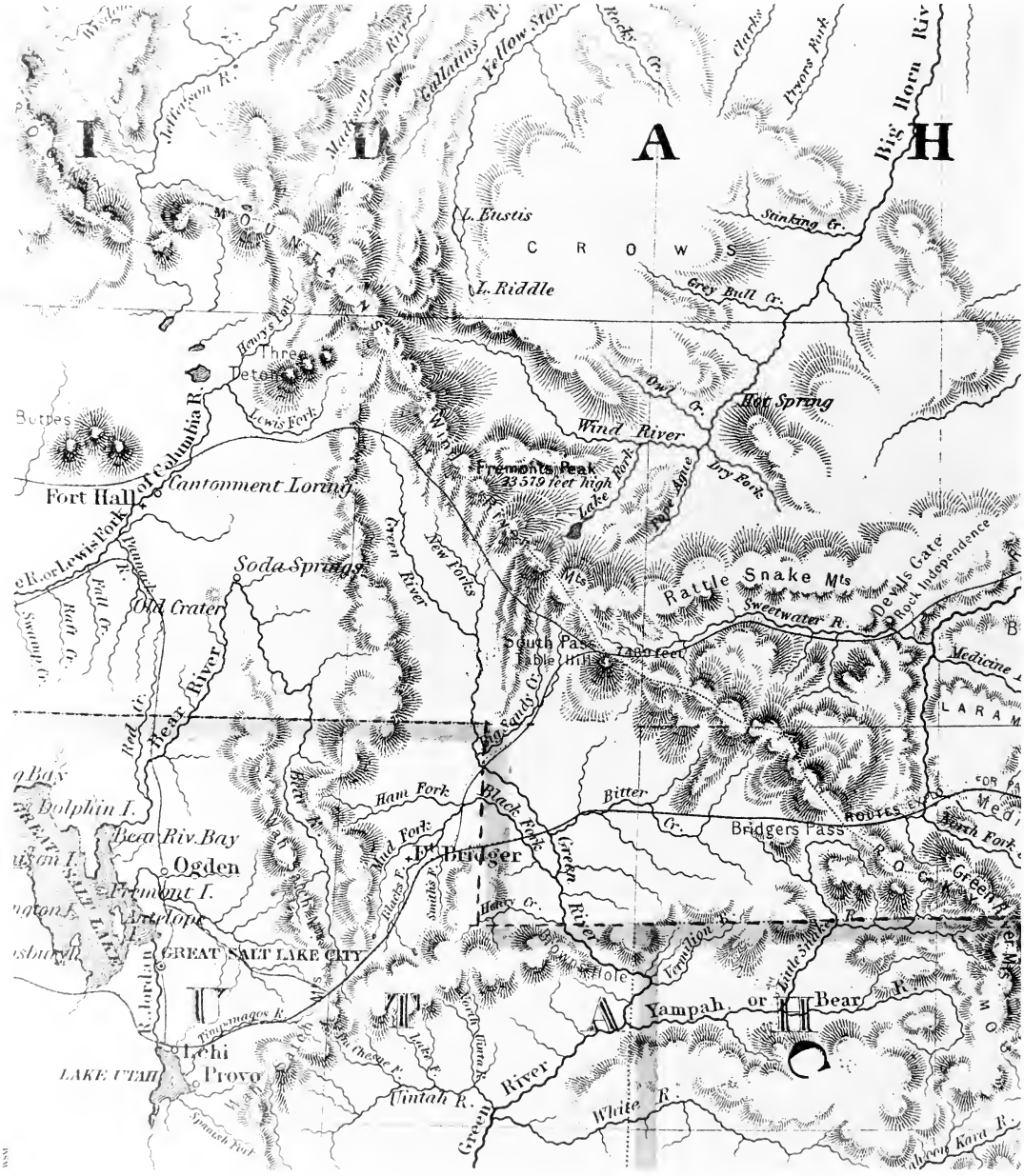
This tardiness in exploring the high country is understandable. After all, the mountain men had sought the lowest passes between beaver streams, not the highest peaks. They were not alpinists. So it may have been a simple truth when Charles Preuss described himself as a "more experienced mountaineer" than Kit Carson, Lucien Maxwell, or the others accompanying Frémont in 1842. Thelma S. Guild and Harvey L. Carter, *Kit Carson: A Pattern for Heroes* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp. 104-105.

Travelers along the Sweetwater rarely, if ever, left the well-worn path through South Pass. However, in an account written many years later, one emigrant of 1849 claimed to have taken a shortcut through "the highest mountains in the Wind River range." It is inconceivable that his party took their mules over Sioux Pass, fifteen miles southeast of Wind River Peak, but they could not have been close to Bonneville's route. Reuben Cole Shaw, *Across the Plains in Forty-Nine* (Farmland, Indiana: W.C. West, 1896), pp. 73-89.

9. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 172-173, and map opposite p. 154. According to the recollection of James Clyman, Jed Smith's party, including the narrator, discovered the great tar spring on a branch of the Popo Agie in 1824—"an oil springe neare the main Stream whose surface was completely covered over with oil." Charles L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman, Frontiersman* (Portland, Oregon: Champoeg Press, 1960), pp. 21, 310. A contemporary reference appears in Daniel T. Potts' letter of July 16, 1826, in which he describes "an Oil Spring [in the Wind River Valley], which discharges 60 or 70 gallons of pure oil per day." Donald McKay Frost, *Notes on General Ashley, The Overland Trail, and South Pass* (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Gazette, 1960), p. 58. Osborne Russell gives a good account of the spring in 1836, *Journal of a Trapper* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), p. 57. For a fuller description see Hayden, *Eleventh Annual Report*, p. 15. Harry Ptasynski, *Dallas Dome—Derby Dome Area*, in Wyoming Geological Association Guidebook to the Southwest Wind River Basin, 1957, pp. 127-131 (cited at Henry A. Kirk, "Sixty Days To and In Yellowstone Park," *Annals of Wyoming* 44 (Spring 1972): 12), reviews the history and geology of the area of the spring, now known as Dallas Oil Field.

10. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 174-177. The first pass, which Irving called "the gap of the Littlehorn Mountain," is about fifteen miles west of Wind River Canyon, which is between Boysen Reservoir and Thermopolis. "Lit. Horn Mountain" appears on the Bonneville map where the Owl Creek Mountains are located. The gap is at 6,244 feet, with rapid rises to higher elevations east and west; it later became the route for the Thermopolis-Lander road. N.H. Darton, *Geology of the Owl Creek Mountains*, Sen. Doc. 219 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), Plate I and p. 11.

    Irving also refers to a passage of the "Bighorn Mountains," which can be identified both by the text and Bonneville map as including today's Pryor Mountains. The boats could be loaded below the rapids of Bighorn Canyon, at the mouth of Grapevine Creek. The route through the Bighorn Mountains, bypassing Bighorn Canyon by way of Bad Pass, is described precisely by Nathaniel Wyeth, who was traveling in tandem with Bonneville. F.G. Young, ed., "The Correspondence and Journals of Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-6," *Sources of the History of Oregon*, vol. 1 (1899), pp. 207-209. Several prior trips over the same trail are recorded in the literature of the fur trade. Edwin C. Bearss, *Big Horn National Recreation Area* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1970), pp. 59-86; Dale L. Morgan, ed., *The West of William F. Ashley* (Denver, Colorado: Old West Publishing Company, 1963), pp. 126-130, 295-297; and Keith Algier, "The Wind-Big Horn River and the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade," *Annals of Wyoming* 55 (Spring 1983): 51-55.



An 1865 map of what is today western Wyoming, Idaho and Montana. In the center is the Wind River Valley.

"marching upon him" and could place him in even greater peril. To avoid a confrontation he turned south, past the Owl Creeks and into the valley of the Wind River.[11]

The return to the Wind River set the stage for the mountain exploration.[12] The practical problem facing the commander was the need for some more traps, to replace those which had been stolen. Bonneville selected three men to accompany him on his ride to get the traps—a hazardous expedition through the defiles of the Wind River Mountains to the caches at the fort on the Green River.[13]

The trip started with the ford of Wind River a little above its mouth. This is near Riverton, where the Wind and Popo Agie rivers join to form the north-flowing Bighorn.[14] The party then started up the Popo Agie, toward Lander. If they were to continue this way, and then around the range to South Pass, a great detour would be necessary. From the current location at 43° 00'N, they would have to drop down to 42°25' at the pass, and then return to 42° 55' at the Green River camp. If they could find a way through the mountains, they would need only travel an airline distance of eighty-five miles, a savings of some fifty miles compared to the ride otherwise required.[15]

Even today's Lander (42° 50') was too far south. Bonneville, therefore, led his party about due west, along the Little Wind River.[16] His precise location can be fixed by his reference to some "hot springs of considerable magnitude . . . one . . . about twenty-five yards in diameter, and so deep that the water was of a bright green color." This landmark, now called Washakie Hot Springs, is situated east of Fort Washakie, on the road to Ethete.[17]

11. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 178-185.
12. The only record of this exploration is Washington Irving's account. As editor of another mountain man's narrative, LeRoy Hafen asserted that the Irving book "is adequate as primary source material for the fur trade historian. It is impossible to determine what is historical fact based on Bonneville's now-lost diary, and what is Irving's literary elaboration." Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, rev. ed., (Denver, Colorado: Old West Publishing Co., 1983), p. 19. With respect to the ascent of the Wind Rivers, though, the facts presented here point to Bonneville's care in compiling information and Irving's absolute fidelity to the original document. Although there are some understandable gaps in the narrative, almost every textual statement by Irving is either verifiable or at least consistent with the topography examined by the author in 1988. (The sole exception is the remark that Bonneville at one point hung his coat on the bushes; at the indicated elevation, woody plants are too diminutive for this use). In a similar vein, Edgeley Todd concludes, *Bonneville*, p. xlvi, "that when Irving makes a statement [about geography and terrain] he should be heeded until certain evidence proves the contrary." Incidentally, the diary may yet turn up. The mystery of its disappearance has been reviewed carefully by John F. McDermott, in "Washington Irving and the Journal of Captain Bonneville," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43 (December 1956): 459-467.

    The authenticity of the map was confirmed in a letter dated August 24, 1857, at "Gila River, N.M." from Bonneville himself to Lt. Gouverneur K. Warren. According to Bonneville, the early editions of Irving's book contain "maps of my making." Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, vol. 2 (San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958), p. 159. Bonneville's cartography has received high praise. Todd, *Bonneville*, p. xlii.
13. Todd, *Bonneville*, p. 185. None of the captain's companions can be identified by name.
14. Our text follows Bonneville's own usage (in his letter of September 30, 1835, to Secretary of War Lewis Cass) as well as Irving's. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 172, 185-186, 391. The designation "Wind River" conventionally refers these days to the waterway extending another forty miles downstream to Wind River Canyon. This seems to have been William H. Ashley's concept in 1825. Morgan, *West of Ashley*, pp. 130, 296-297; Daniel Potts made the point more clearly in 1826, when he stated that the stream loses the name "Wind River" while it is running north, after discharging through a picturesque small mountain (the Owl Creek Mountains). Frost, *Notes on General Ashley*, p. 58. The confusion is evident on David H. Burr's 1839 "Map of the United States of America," reproduced by Morgan at p. 226, which records "Wind R." above the Popo Agie and "Big Horn River" below Bad Pass, leaving the name of the midsection ambiguous. See also Dee Linford, *Wyoming Stream Names* (Cheyenne: Wyoming Game and Fish Department, 1975), p. 33, "not clear where Wind River becomes the Bighorn."
15. Bonneville could determine latitude with the sextant he had acquired. Letter to Macomb, July 18, 1831, quoted in Todd, *Bonneville*, p. xxvi. But his skill in use of the sextant might be questioned, inasmuch as the latitudes indicated on his published maps were inaccurate. See Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. I (Stanford: Academic Reprints, 1954), p. 401.
16. Most geographic names used in this account are modern ones. Bonneville knew the Little Wind River, for example, only as a branch of the Popo Agie.
17. Todd, *Bonneville*, p. 187. Daniel Potts' letter of 1826 characterizes this spring as rising "to the south of the [Wind] river in a level plain of prairie, and occupies about two acres; that is not so hot as many others but I suppose to be boiling as the outer verge was nearly scalding hot." Frost, *Notes on General Ashley*, p. 58. The feature shows up again in Hamilton, *Sixty Years*, p. 60, as "one of the grandest and most romantic warm springs to be found on this continent." Endlich, locating it "two miles distant (west) from Camp Brown [now Fort Washakie]," measured it as 315 feet in length, 250 feet in width, with an average depth of 18 feet and a temperature of 108°. F.V. Hayden, *Eleventh Annual Report*, p. 55. No pond of any kind can be found at Endlich's reported location. It is puzzling, though, because his account matches the Bonneville map very nicely. Todd, *Bonneville*, map opposite p. 154. Another early description, placing Camp Brown correctly "on the right bank of Little Wind River, just above the mouth of its north fork," reports the 110° spring, with its remarkable properties for bathing, as lying on the river, "two miles below the post." William A. Jones, *Report Upon the Reconnaissance of Northwestern Wyoming* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875), pp. 10-11, and maps 13, 14.

A first effort to cross the range, by heading up the South Fork of the Little Wind, was unsuccessful, as "stupendous crags and precipices barred all progress."[18] The men therefore retraced their steps a few miles. They were still too close to the mountains to pick out a route, but they recalled having earlier seen a gentle slope that appeared to rise without any break to the snowy region. Since the stream channel was hopeless, Bonneville sought out this ridge, which his party soon began to ascend with alacrity.

According to the record the ridge rises to "the brink of a deep and precipitous ravine, from the bottom of which rose a second slope, similar to the one they had just ascended." From the top of this second climb the mountains ahead were "shagged by frightful precipices, and seamed with longitudinal chasms, deep and dangerous." We may infer from this description that the explorers rode up the ridge between Crooked Creek and Trout Creek. From the bottomlands this route does appear to be a gradual and unbroken way to the mountains. This is deceiving, though, because the ridge terminates abruptly at a high point, at 9,252 feet, bordered by steep escarpments. Frustrated when they encountered this obstacle, they backed off, descending eastward, "by a rugged path, or rather fissure of the rocks," to the valley of Trout Creek at 8,250 feet. Continuing up the second gradual slope they climbed to the 9,550-foot pass to the west of Bald Mountain. The prospects from there could not have seemed bright. Everywhere they looked in their intended direction of travel, steep-walled cirques blocked the way.[19]

Not yet willing to give up they turned south, spending the night in a "wild dell" which we can somewhat arbitrarily identify as Dickinson Park.[20] About all that is known about the next two days of the adventure is that they involved arduous climbing, sometimes along game trails "which, however, often took them to the brinks of fearful precipices, or led to rugged defiles, impassable for their horses." An educated guess can be made, though, since they ended up at an elevated valley where they found "two bright and beautiful little lakes, set like mirrors in the midst of stern and rocky heights, and surrounded by grassy meadows, inexpressibly refreshing to the eye."

The two little lakes are the keys that unlock the geographic puzzle. They are diminutive members of the group called the Deep Creek Lakes. They can be identified, in preference to their larger neighbors, because they are above timberline (their elevation is 10,900 feet) and because they sit in a fairly flat basin (surrounded by grassy meadows) rather than in cirques or ravines. They fit not only the description recited above, but they lie on a logical route Bonneville had selected, and—most important—they tie in perfectly with the mountain climb that follows.

While no doubt there were some false alarms along the way, we can picture the party traveling south from Bald Mountain. Each side valley they came to—Sand Creek, Ranger Creek, Dickinson Creek, Smith Lake Creek—ended in high-walled basins that blocked further progress. However, as they came around Dishpan Butte, the outlook improved. From there they could descend to the level valley of a large stream, with an unobstructed passage up the far side to the skyline; and they could hope for a similarly easy ride down the western slope of the range to the Green River.

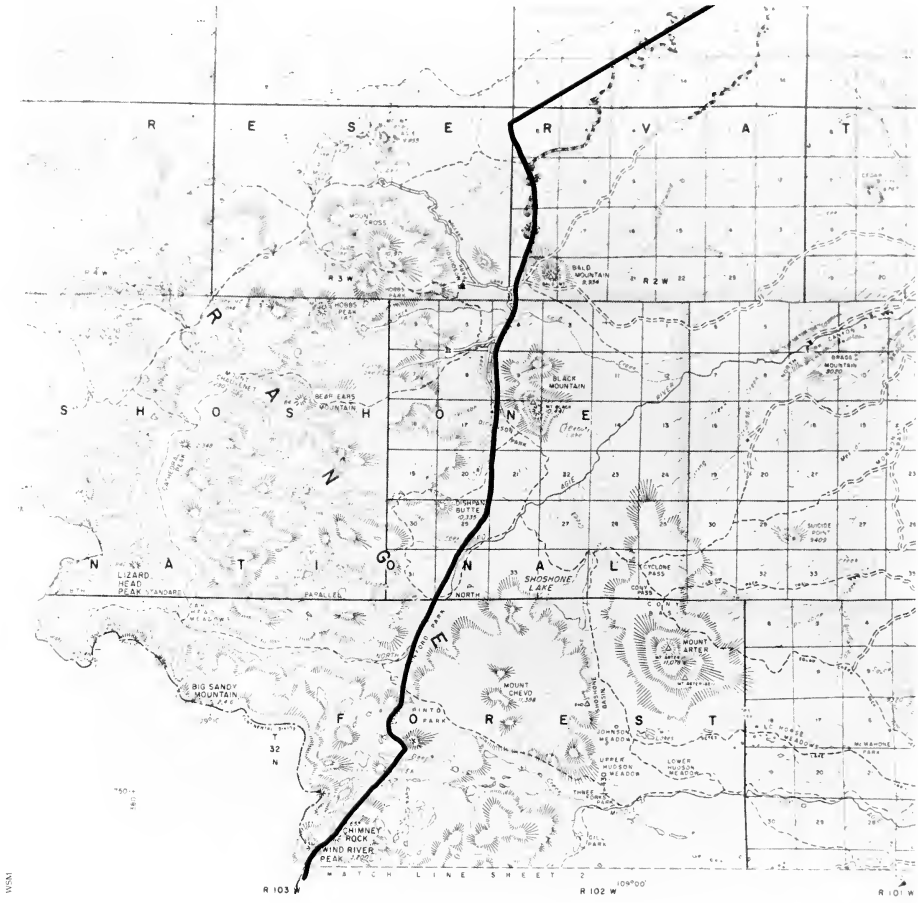
The valley below them was the North Fork of the Popo Agie, which they would have struck without difficulty—say, at an elevation of 8,750 feet. Turning upriver they rode

18. Todd, *Bonneville*, p. 187. "About three miles above the debouchure of the North Fork [of the Little Wind River] the stream [South Fork of the Little Wind River] is confined to a narrow defile hemmed in by steep debris slopes terminated above in vertical walls of Carboniferous limestone." Orestes St. John in F.V. Hayden, *Twelfth Annual Report of the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, Part I* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 251.

19. Todd, *Bonneville*, p. 188; U.S.G.S. Wind River Quadrangle (1952) and Moccasin Lake Quadrangle (1981); also, for the view west, the 15-minute U.S.G.S. Moccasin Lake Quadrangle (1937). The interpretation is also based upon careful examination of the view from U.S. 287 south of Fort Washakie. There is another prominent ridge, just to the north of Crooked Creek; it does not terminate at the brink of a deep and precipitous ravine, but rather on a knoll with a 250-foot drop to Pie Lake. Moreover, had the party gone that way and then climbed the next slope to Marys Lake, they would almost certainly have found the way over the range at Washakie Pass. Another alternative is the ridge south of Trout Creek. It does not lead to a steep-faced brink, either; nor would there be a second gradual slope on which to continue.

    They chose a good route. Today it is the access route to Moccasin Lake, except that the modern road contours at a lower elevation to Trout Creek. Irving noted that the first ridge was "covered with coarse gravel interspersed with plates of freestone." The gravel and shale are evident in the cuts along the road.

20. The "wild dell" might rather have been along Dickinson Creek or one of the narrow valleys leading westward. If they did not camp in Dickinson Park, they would have passed it the following day. From their perspective, an alternative route north to Moccasin Lake, instead of south to Dickinson Park, would not have seemed particularly promising, but had they scouted that option, they probably would have stumbled on the Indian trail to Washakie Pass.



The route Bonneville took to get to Wind River Peak.

southwest for three miles, past Sanford Park. Next they curved farther west toward the Cirque of the Towers. Their view of the cirque was largely obscured by the trees along the valley floor. What they could see, though, looked much like the other impassable cul-de-sacs; and, anyway, by this time the highlands farther south, as observed from Dishpan Butte, must have been their settled destination. This was a missed opportunity as there is a gap, known as Jackass Pass, that connects the Cirque of the Towers to the Pacific drainage. It is hidden until one reaches the head of the amphitheater. Had they proceeded up the valley and discovered a way over Jackass Pass, their venture would have been a great success.[21]

Bonneville and his men then climbed the ridge to the south, in forest, roughly on the modern Pinto Park Trail. They would have left that route after a mile (at 9,750 feet) so as to head more directly toward the nearby Continental Divide. Their path from that point, up a gently sloping valley in a southerly direction, is now part of the Ice Lakes Trail. After reaching the cluster of ponds called Bear Lakes, they would have ascended to the Deep Creek Lakes, with

21. Todd, *Bonneville*, p. 188. U.S.G.S. Dickinson Park Quadrangle (1981) or Moccasin Lake Quadrangle (1937).

COURTESY AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Smith Lake

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

View north from Wind River Peak

towering summits looming overhead, where they made camp at the tarns mentioned above.[22]

The climax of the expedition was Bonneville's hike, with one of his companions, "hoping to gain a commanding prospect, and discern some practicable route through this stupendous labyrinth." He succeeded in his first objective, as the mountain he climbed afforded as magnificent a view as might have been imagined.

The mountain was Wind River Peak, its summit at 13,192 feet, higher than any of its neighbors. To get there, Bonneville first passed Chimney Rock (12,653 feet), from which he beheld "gigantic peaks rising all around, and towering far into the snowy regions of the atmosphere." He "crossed a narrow intervening valley," the one hundred foot descent to the saddle connecting the knoll to the main summit. Scrambling over "eternal snows," the two men at length stood on the highest point. As Bonneville's chronicler commented, "he had undertaken a tremendous task; but the pride of man is never more obstinate than when climbing mountains."[23]

The captain looked off from "that dividing ridge which Indians regard as the crest of the world"—the Continental Divide. His stand commanded the whole chain which "may rather be considered one immense mountain, broken into snowy peaks and lateral spurs, and seared with narrow valleys." Lacking a barometer he could not determine the elevation. Still, it was his opinion that he had climbed to the loftiest point in North America. It was a fair claim, since the only higher peaks in the range lay far to the north, thirty-five miles away, too distant for exact comparisons.[24]

A small stream far below, almost at Bonneville's feet, dashed northward. He identified it as the source of the Green River, a rill that would cascade down to the plain where, expanding into an ample river, it would circle away to the south. This report turns out to be inaccurate. The error, though, is understandable. Bonneville did see a north-flowing headwater, but it was a branch of the Big Sandy River rather than the main stem of the Green River. The torrent, a full two thousand feet below him and which began in a small lake, promptly tumbled down a cascade where it lost five hundred feet of elevation, and then descended more calmly to Black Joe Lake, beyond which its course could only be surmised. Bonneville's guess was that it continued through a long valley between the Continental Divide and a parallel chain to the west, eventually reaching the plains and circling left in a hairpin bend. He apparently thought he saw the canyon through which the water carved its way north. The gap was not a canyon, though, but merely Jackass Pass, its form perhaps disguised by shadows. Bonneville may well have been working without any kind of optical instrument. If so, it is hard to criticize his judgment even though his conclusion was incorrect.

Bonneville drew the parallel mountains on his great map of the waters of the Colorado, Columbia, Platte, and Yellowstone in relation to the Wind River Mountains. A further intriguing feature of this map is that it shows not only the stream he identified as the Green River, but also

22. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 188-189; U.S.G.S. Dickinson Park Quadrangle and Sweetwater Gap Quadrangle (1953); Joe Kelsey, *Climbing and Hiking in the Wind River Mountains* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1980), p. 355. Minor variations are possible, such as following the Pinto Park Trail to its high point and then riding a mile southwest, over a ridge, to the Deep Creek Lakes. Irving's two beautiful lakes conceivably could be the uppermost Bear Lakes, but those would not offer the good pasturage mentioned in the account; nor would the party have been content to make camp there when a little additional ascent might show once and for all whether a passage over the mountains might be found. Another possibility is Deep Creek Lake, 10,577 feet, and its downstream neighbor, about 10,500 feet. These lakes, however, can hardly be said to be "surrounded by grassy meadows," and their separation makes it unlikely they would have been described as a pair of twins. A final consideration is that the later descent "down the ravine of a tumbling stream, the commencement of some future river," ties in better with a campsite at the higher ponds.

23. Todd, *Bonneville*, p. 189; U.S.G.S. Sweetwater Gap Quadrangle. The date was about September 11, 1833. The name of the mountain may go back to fur trade days. See the reference in T.D. Bonner, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1856), p. 285, to "winter quarters under Wind River Mountain, at the mouth of Po-po-on-che." But the narrator might well have had the entire range in mind. The feature labeled "Chimney Rock" on the map is not the summit historically referred to by that name—a much lower mountain due north of Wind River Peak and southwest of Ft. Washakie. The earlier Chimney Rock was climbed by Theodore Comstock in 1873. Judging from his account of the peak's being an isolated mass with an elevation of 11,853 feet, and a fine view to the northeast, it can be identified as the 11,841-foot Bears Ears Mountain of later maps. Jones, *Northwestern Wyoming*, pp. 89-91. In a dry season, such as 1988, patches of snow remain on Wind River Peak, but the summit can be attained by climbing solely on rock.

24. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 190-191; U.S.G.S. Sweetwater Gap Quadrangle and Temple Peak Quadrangle (1969). A remarkable aspect of Wind River Peak is its domination of its surroundings. Only 12,972-foot Temple Peak, three miles to the west, comes within five hundred feet of Wind River Peak's elevation. The Continental Divide National Scenic Trail will be routed over a high pass between Wind River Peak and Temple Peak. There was no barometer because Bonneville decided before setting out on the expedition that the instrument was "so Clumbsy [sic] and so easily broken." Letter to Macomb, July 18, 1831, quoted in Todd, *Bonneville*, p. xxvi. The highest point in the Wind Rivers is Gannett Peak, at an elevation of 13,804 feet.

a second stream which took a southward course, between the opposing chains, before escaping to the plains through a gap to the west. This is the Little Sandy, which threads its way through a narrow valley. Bonneville mislabeled it as the Big Sandy, but that was the consequence of his having called the one to the north the Green River. In his mind, since the Big Sandy was not going to the north, it must be the drainage to the south.

The west side of the divide in the vicinity of Wind River Peak is a continuous band of cliffs. Bonneville therefore was forced to abandon his struggle to find a way across the range. With regret, no doubt, he descended to his companions at the lakes. He would make a way down to the east and return to his supply base by circling around the mountains via South Pass.[25]

It was almost as difficult to extricate the party from the wilderness as it had been to penetrate it. The route followed a rushing torrent, which the riders had to cross and recross. Evidently they were proceeding down the ravine below the little lakes, then along Deep Creek to Three Forks Park, where the stream enters the Middle Popo Agie River. The waters assumed a more peaceful character on the second day of the descent, sometimes spreading out placidly in beaver ponds. Finally, on the third day, Bonneville reached the plains.[26]

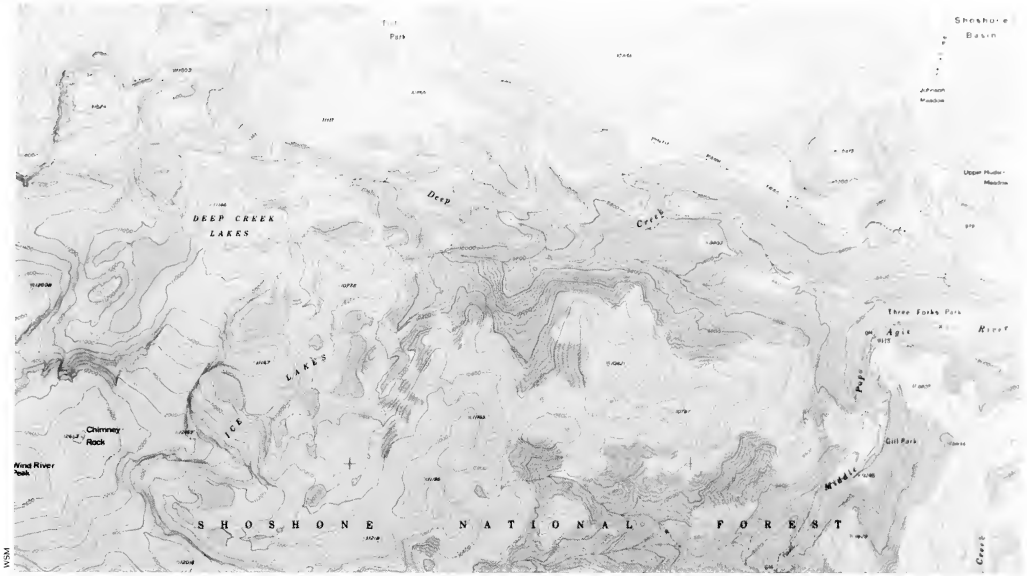
25. The analysis in the text is based on Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 190-194, and Bonneville's map opposite p. 154, together with the topographic maps cited above.

Other summits have been proposed as the site of Bonneville's climb. The first was Mt. Bonneville, which is mentioned by name, without description, in Hayden, *Eleventh Annual Report*, especially A.D. Wilson, "Map Showing the Primary Triangulation of 1877-78." According to C.G. Coutant, "explorations by the United States government resulted in the selection of this peak as the one Bonneville ascended and as this is official it serves my purpose." C.G. Coutant, *History of Wyoming*, vol. I (Laramie, Wyoming: Chaplin, Spafford & Mathison, Printer, 1899), p. 176. There is no evidence, however, that the peak was named under the impression that it was the one climbed by Bonneville, and there are many topographic objections to its being considered for the honor. In any case, Wilson's "Mt. Bonneville" is probably modern Raid Peak. Joe Kelsey, *Wyoming's Wind River Range* (Helena, Montana: American Geographic Publishing, 1988), p. 66. Both Mt. Bonneville and Raid Peak lie west of the Continental Divide. A successful climb of either would have been followed by a descent to the Green River.

Orrin H. Bonney and Lorraine Bonney effectively rebut E.H. Fourt's suggestion that Mt. Chauvenet was the mountain Bonneville

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Lake below Wind River Peak



After Bonneville abandoned his attempt to cross the range, he traveled along Deep Creek to Three Forks Park where the stream enters the Middle Popo Agie River.

climbed. (Although the name "Mt. Chauvenet" is attached to the modern Lizard Head on Hayden Survey maps, as Kelsey points out, Fourt clearly had today's Mt. Chauvenet in mind, as he described it as a "spur extending several miles north and east of the main range," accessible on horseback, and "just to the east" of Mt. Hooker. E.H. Fourt, "Scenic Conditions in Fremont County, Wyoming," State of Wyoming, Historical Department, *Quarterly Bulletin* 2 (July 15, 1924): 13-14.) The Bonneys also dismiss Wind River Peak as a candidate, for two reasons: first, that it affords no view of the Green River headwaters (but see text, above) and second, that it was too close to South Pass (but when Bonneville entered the range he was trying to traverse it farther north). They propose Gannett Peak, but give no plausible account of an approach route, nor do they explain how a couple of untrained explorers could have accomplished, without comment, an ascent for which the authors assert that "rope and ice axe experience is needed." Orrin H. and Lorraine Bonney, *Guide to the Wyoming Mountains and Wilderness Areas* (Denver, Colorado: Sage Books, 1960), pp. 92-93, 171. There has also been speculation that Bonneville climbed Frémont Peak, but the suggestion rests solely upon a questionable premise, that the mountain would give the impression of being the most majestic and massive of all. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *Frémont and '49* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1914), p. 88.

More than forty years were to pass before the next recorded climbs of Wind River Peak by the Hayden Survey in 1877 and 1878. Hayden, *Eleventh Annual Report*, pp. 21-23, 652-656 (applying the name "Wind River Peak" in 1878); Ernest Ingersoll, *Knocking 'Round the Rockies* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883), pp. 156-161 (the mountain "nameless" in 1877). No evidence of prior human presence was noted by the Hayden parties.

The question of optical instruments is an interesting one. Bonneville had "a Dolland reflecting telescope" with which to observe the moons of Jupiter (to establish longitude) and other astronomical features; but, unlike Wyeth who was reported to have used a "spy-glass," there is no proof that he carried any portable optical instruments on the expedition or on his climb. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 36, 57. The telescope would not have been taken to the summit; apart from optical considerations, the difficulty of transportation, and even the time required for setting it up, would have made such use impracticable. I.M. Nicollet, *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River*, H.R. Doc. 52 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1845), p. 104.

26. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 194-199; U.S.G.S. Sweetwater Gap Quadrangle (1953), and Fossil Hill Quadrangle (1953). The absence of any reference to The Sinks, where the river disappears into a mountain before reemerging half a mile downstream, implies that the party must have left the valley somewhere higher up. The route most likely took off a mile above Popo Agie Falls, which would have been noted as an obstacle, if not for its beauty. At this point it could be seen that the river was turning from southeast to northeast, so it would have been inviting to proceed up the low ridge on the right bank and cross over to Townsend Creek, at today's Frye Lake. One practicable course from there is the route headed southeast, labeled "Indian Trail" on modern maps, to the Little Popo Agie River and the plains; but it is more probable that Bonneville headed due east, as the account has him "regaining the plain to the eastward," from which he "made a great bend to the south."

The adventure ended with an uneventful trip back to the Green River. Circling around the range by way of South Pass, the explorers must have glanced often at their snowy peak. Later travelers would sometimes call it "Frémont Peak," thinking it to be the high mountain climbed by the noted pathfinder in 1842.[27]

Arriving at his camp on September 17, Bonneville found all his supplies in good order. Compulsively he set out the very next day, with the needed traps, to rejoin the men he had left in the Wind River Valley. This time he traveled over Union Pass, a defile to the north of the Wind Rivers, but that is another story.[28]

Both Bonneville and Frémont were brave men. While each tackled unknown wilderness, perilous to travel, the precipitous faces encountered by Bonneville on the eastern side of the range presented the greater obstacle. Frémont attained the higher and more difficult summit, but he tended to exaggeration in reciting the tale of his accomplishment. Considering the maps of the expeditions as they pertain to the Wind Rivers, Bonneville must be adjudged the superior cartographer on account of the excellent detail with which he depicted the mountains and streams and on account of the priority of their drawing. Frémont's map of 1842, on the other hand, contributed very little that was new.

Bonneville showed himself to be a good leader, with a keen eye, great imagination, narrative skills, and sharp intellect. He would someday achieve high rank in the army, deservedly so. Yet the fine September day he stood atop Wind River Peak in Wyoming was a glorious time—perhaps the most glorious time—in his long and eventful life.

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27. Among the mistaken later travelers were Heinrich Lienhard, *From St. Louis to Sutter's Fort 1846*, Erwin G. and Elizabeth K. Gudde, eds. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 91; and Franklin Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 61. Lienhard and Langworthy probably were referring to Wind River Peak, but positive identification is impossible. The confusion was so persistent that the regional maps in Jones, *Northwestern Wyoming*, placed the Frémont's Peak name on Wind River Peak. On a clear day, Frémont Peak might have been observed from South Pass, so some diarists' allusions may be accurate. In this respect, see the drawing by J. Goldsborough Bruff depicting a mountain with several snow patches. From roadside observations in the South Pass area, this seems to represent Frémont Peak, not Wind River Peak. Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, eds. *Gold Rush* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 61.
28. Todd, *Bonneville*, pp. 200-204; Mattes, "Jackson Hole," pp. 87-108.

MOVIE REVIEWS

Editor's note: Beginning with this issue, Annals of Wyoming *occasionally will publish reviews of movies dealing with Wyoming or Western history topics. Documentaries, movies made for television and films from Hollywood studios will be included. The reviewers will examine how the films interpret the past, compare them with other works on the same subject, determine if the movies show a thorough understanding of the past, and discuss how historically accurate the movies are.*

Dances with Wolves. Produced by Jim Wilson and Kevin Costner. Directed by Kevin Costner. 1990. TIG Productions.

This is a movie that contrasts White and Indian values at mid-nineteenth century. The protagonist is a young army officer, Lieutenant John Dunbar, played by Kevin Costner, who in 1863, through a brave act during the Civil War, finds himself able to choose his next assignment. The choice is any post on the frontier, which he wants to see, he says, before it is gone. Shortly Dunbar receives orders from an insane major to report to Fort Segwick, identified as the last outpost of civilization. Upon arriving Dunbar finds the fort abandoned, but true to his military training he remains at his station and in time becomes acquainted with his neighbors, a wolf named Two Sock and a band of Teton Sioux. Acquaintance leads to friendship and friendship leads to commitment. Dunbar gradually adopts the Indian way, finding the values he needs to build a new life.

What are those values? Writing in his journal, Dunbar notes that Sioux live in harmony, which of course contrasts with the ultimate White disharmony, the Civil War, that turned brother against brother. Several times Whites are shown killing animals for commercial gain beyond the need of their own survival or simply killing for fun. When the Sioux take human or animal life, it is to protect their families and homes or provide food. Finally, Dunbar has to decide between life in one world or the other, but circumstances make it impossible for him to enjoy either. In the end he leaves his Indian friends to return to his own culture, where he is hunted as traitor, to explain his actions and attempt to bring understanding concerning the true nature of the Native Americans.

Understandably, Sioux peoples rejoice in the film. The Lakota men and women are brave, wise, and trusting, and they act for the good of the whole group. The film is not pioneering in this sense, for Indian peoples have been sympathetically portrayed in previous movies, notably in *Cheyenne Autumn*, *Little Big Man*, and *A Man Called Horse*. However, *Dances with Wolves* is the first movie to use Indians to play each and every Indian part. When we remember that *Cheyenne Autumn* released in 1964, featured Ricardo Montalban and Gilbert Roland as Dull Knife and Little Wolf, with Dolores Del Rio and Sal Mineo playing the other two principal Cheyenne parts, and that Dame Judith Anderson had one of the featured roles in *A Man Called Horse*, we can see how far we have come. Including extras, four hundred Indians appeared in the film, not all of them Sioux. While all spoke Lakota, carefully coached by Albert Whitehat and Dianne Leader Charge, insiders were amused by the accents of some of the supposed members of the tribe. The film also pioneers in that Lakota is the language most spoken in the film. English subtitles are provided, marking another first.

The movie contains two egregious historical errors. Viewers are supposed to believe that the Sioux did not possess firearms of any kind in 1863, when in fact they were common among Plains Indians at least three decades earlier. The film also includes a scene of the devastating work of White hunters, who had just finished killing hundreds of buffalo for their hides, leaving the meat to rot. This practice did not really begin until the early 1870s.

A third major error results from changing tribes in transferring the story from novel to screen play. In the book, written by Michael Blake, the Indians who befriend Dunbar are Comanches, not Sioux. This works all right except in one of the last scenes, when Old Chief Ten Bears, played by Floyd Westerman, shows Dunbar a Spanish conquistador's helmet and passes on the tribal story of the first meeting with the Whites. For the Comanches contact with early Spanish explorers was possible, but not for the Teton Sioux, who were located in central Minnesota during the sixteenth century. Because Blake also wrote the movie script, the story throughout is the same except in a few minor details.

Whites may complain that they are unjustly portrayed in the movie, but at least Kevin Costner is a hero. The Indian enemy of the Sioux in the movie, the Pawnees, are the personification of evil, as stereotypically villainous as

any of their celluloid predecessors, and the killing of a Pawnee chief by Costner and his Indian comrades is one of the highlights of the film. As Indian reviewer Elmer Savilla recently said of the film in the *Lakota Times*, "The Sioux will love it, the Pawnee will hate it, and Orion Pictures will dance to the bank."

Beautiful pastoral scenes abound, especially views of fall, with cottonwood puffs coasting on the wind and leaves golden against the blue of the river. The film's greatest dramatic scene is a buffalo hunt, so magnificent in execution that one wonders how it could have been done. For this alone the movie is worth seeing.

The questions *Dances with Wolves* raises will keep the thoughtful viewer occupied for some time and might serve as a useful teaching tool in a course on the American West.

John D. McDermott
Sheridan, Wyoming

Come See the Paradise. Produced by Robert F. Colesbury, directed by Alan Parker. 1990. 20th Century Fox.

An accident of history made Wyoming a player in a dark chapter of American democracy during World War II. In early 1942, weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, growing war hysteria led to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's decision to clear the West Coast of everyone of Japanese ancestry as a national security measure. The rationale was that among them might be some spies and saboteurs. But since they could not be identified, all 115,000 men, women, and children—two-thirds of them native-born U.S. citizens—were ordered out of their homes at gunpoint and confined in jerry-built detention camps pounded together at county fairgrounds and horse race tracks in California, Oregon, and Washington.

Once the Japanese-Americans were locked up, however, no one was quite sure what should be done with them. The ultimate decision was to move them to more permanent camps in the interior. Since there were no such camps, sites large enough to accommodate anywhere from eight thousand to twenty thousand people had to be selected and facilities built on them.

There were certain minimum criteria for the sites. The land had to be federally owned, isolated from population centers, but with access to water and power. Two sites were found in the southern Arizona desert, one in California not far from Death Valley, another near the parched border between California and Oregon, one in the Sevier Desert of Utah, one in the sagebrush country of south-central Idaho, one near the Colorado-Kansas border which had been part of the Dust Bowl, and one in Wyoming.

The accident of history that made the Wyoming site suitable was the Shoshone irrigation project which had been started with high hopes. Water impounded behind Buffalo Bill Dam could make Bureau of Land Management benchlands between Cody and Powell productive, but the canal to transport the water had not been completed. Why not build the camp on the benches north of the highway (Alternate 14) and use inmate labor to complete the canal? That was done.

During the summer of 1942 virtually everyone in the Big Horn Basin who knew how to swing a hammer was employed to build a barracks town on the sagebrush flats. In late summer the first of the Japanese-Americans began to arrive by the trainload under military escort. By late fall Heart Mountain War Relocation Camp, with a population of nearly 11,000 people was Wyoming's third largest city. It's fundamental difference from other Wyoming communities was that it was surrounded by barbed wire, guarded by armed troops, and no one could leave or enter without permission.

Each morning crews left the camp to work on the canal. Each evening they returned to families waiting in one-room barrack apartments. Other crews stripped nearby benchland of sagebrush and leveled the soil in preparation for farming when the water became available. In the spring of 1943 crops were planted for camp use and watered from the completed canal.

When war ended in 1945 the inmates left. The now-irrigable land they left behind was opened to homesteading by war veterans. Today this section of Park County is a productive, stable farming area.

This chapter of history would seem to be raw material for a variety of compelling literary and dramatic efforts. There have been a number attempted, mostly with indifferent success. Perhaps the facts about this gross violation of the rights of its citizens by the United States are too stark, too unbelievable, too unpleasant to make good drama. Whatever the case, the latest effort is the movie, *Come See the Paradise*, starring Dennis Quaid and Tamlyn Tomita.

Driven out of New York for his union-organizing activity, Jack (played by Quaid) moves just before World War II to Los Angeles where he gets a job as a projectionist in a movie theater owned by the Japanese immigrant Kawamura family. Jack falls in love with the Kawamuras' thoroughly American daughter, Lily (played by Tomita).

They marry despite parental objections and California law which prohibits inter-racial marriages.

War comes. Jack is drafted. The Kawamuras, including Lily and her daughter, Mini, are hustled off to the rude comforts of a generic Japanese-American detention camp which could be Wyoming's Heart Mountain.

The movie reflects the fact that not everyone behind the barbed wire was a happy camper. The injustice of the evacuation and the unnatural camp life led to a buildup of tensions and anger, particularly when the U.S. government, in its wisdom, sought to determine the "loyalty" of the imprisoned by requiring them to fill out questionnaires, and then began to draft the camps' young men for military duty. Heart Mountain was not immune. Some sixty youths said they would obey Selective Service orders only when their civil rights were restored. In a mass trial in Cheyenne they were found guilty of draft resistance and sent to prison. But hundreds of others reported for military duty and served with distinction. The twenty-two Heart Mountain men who died in the service of their country are memorialized in a monument in a park at the campsite.

Unfortunately, the film fails to make clear why some of the inmates swallowed their resentment and chose to cooperate with their government while others rebelled, or why one of Lily's brothers volunteered for U.S. military service while another decided to abandon his country and seek refuge in a Japan he had never seen.

These are the profound, gut-wrenching realities of the Japanese-American story of which Wyoming was a part. Sadly, while the film is generally accurate in historical details, it touches on the real issues only superficially.

Does the film give the audience a better understanding of what actually happened? Yes and no. There are better efforts. One is *Farewell to Manzanar*, which covers the same general area, but with greater sensitivity. It was made some years ago based on the book of the same title by Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, and telecast nationally by PBS.

Come See the Paradise, whatever its assets (and there are some), cannot be recommended for classroom use because of its gratuitous profanity and obscenity. It is an indictment of the movie-making industry that the foul-mouth character is not essential to the story; he seems to have been inserted into the film simply because it is fashionable these days to have someone spouting four-letter words from the big screen.

But the best film by far for adults as well as classroom use is *Winter in My Soul*, an hour-long documentary produced by Bob Nellis a few years ago when he was with KTWO News in Casper. At the time it was aired, KTWO announced the video would be made available to schools and other interested groups. See it if you can for an understanding of a bit of American history that should not be forgotten.

Bill Hosokawa
Denver, Colorado

REVIEW ESSAY

Discovering Wyoming. By Robert A. Campbell and Roy A. Jordan. Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith, 1989. Illustrated. Index. Glossary. Maps. 178 pp. Cloth $21.00.

Wyoming: Courage in a Lonesome Land. By Randy Adams and Craig Sodaro. Carson City, Nevada: The Grace Danberg Foundation, Inc., 1990. Illustrated. Index. Glossary. Maps. 304 pp. Cloth $24.95.

The purpose of this review is to examine two history books which are designed to be used as texts in Wyoming's schools. As expected, each book contains certain strengths, as well as weaknesses, and these will be explored in order to assist teachers, school administrators, and others in the process of selecting the textbook best suited to meet their needs and the learning needs of their students. While most reviewers concentrate on the organization, content, and views expressed in a publication, our comments cover a wider range of issues due to the expected audience (children) and the nature of the books (textbooks).

The readability level of the Adams and Sodaro book appears to be more appropriate either for gifted fourth grade students or for those students in more advanced grades (junior high school). However, the fictionalized stories (shaded green), which are located throughout the book, are suitable for students reading at a fourth grade level. According to two readability inventories, the Campbell and Jordan book (*Discovering Wyoming*) is more appropriate for those students who read at or slightly above the fourth grade level.

Another matter of importance to teachers is the length of each book. If a school district only allots four months for the teaching of Wyoming history, the more concise Campbell and Jordan text (178 pp.) may better meet the needs of students than does the longer (304 pp.) and more detailed Adams and Sodaro book. Conversely, if a teacher is able to devote most of the school year to the study of Wyoming's history, then the Adams and Sodaro book becomes increasingly appealing. While the length of a book should not constitute the solitary reason for text adoption by a school district, it is a mitigating factor.

The overall organization of both books is generally similar in the sense that Wyoming heritage is presented chronologically beginning with the early Indian habitation and proceeding through the major happenings of the mid and late twentieth century. However, *Discovering Wyoming* also delves into Wyoming's distant past in a chapter on the geological development of Wyoming.

Both books paint Wyoming's history with broad brush strokes, and this is not unusual for textbooks designed for school-aged children. As expected, some treatment is given to significant nineteenth century topics as the roles played by fur traders and trappers, especially during the 1820s and 1830s, the activities of pioneers traveling along the trails crossing Wyoming during the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s, the arrival of railroads, the formation of governmental entities, the growth of the livestock industry, and conflict between various Indian tribes and the military forces of the United States.

Fortunately, both books also study the development of Wyoming during the twentieth century. Though the frontier aspect of Wyoming's history is appealing and romantic for some, the tendency has been to overly concentrate on this period of Wyoming's past to the near exclusion of major events occurring during more recent times. While school children should learn about the mountain men, overland emigrants, cowboys, pony express riders, and outlaws, they also must have some understanding of those forces which together forged twentieth-century Wyoming. *Discovering Wyoming* and *Wyoming: Courage in a Lonesome Land* offer adequate coverage on the impact of two world wars (World War I and World War II) and a national economic depression (1930s). Also explored are the bases of Wyoming's current economy—energy development (coal, oil, and uranium), tourism and recreation, and agriculture (ranching and farming).

Both books succeed in presenting complex issues and events in an understandable manner without overly distorting the valuable perspectives gained through a careful study of history. Fortunately, the authors of the books write as historically-minded individuals who realized that events do not occur in isolation, but are connected to previous happenings in ways not always easy to discern.

Because each of the books being reviewed possesses certain advantages, they must be examined independently. *Discovering Wyoming* by Campbell and Jordan touches on a number of important issues. The first two chapters deal with the Wyoming environment, the evolution of its land

forms, and the human use of its natural resources. The last topic, the use or abuse of natural resources, is a subject which has undergone considerable discussion and debate during the previous twenty years when energy development brought both boom and bust times to Wyoming.

Discovering Wyoming is crammed full of interesting questions which are posed to stimulate thinking about the information presented. These questions should generate discussion about a variety of pertinent issues. For example, what kinds of benefits does rapid growth bring? What kinds of problems? How did the people of Wyoming help win World War II? In what ways did the United States government break treaties with the Indians? What problems did immigrants face? How do the citizens help government do its job? Why did ranchers grow angry at the homesteaders? Hopefully, teachers will proceed beyond the factual information presented in the book in order to engage students in a discussion of the controversies and issues raised by Campbell and Jordan. After all, one reason for studying history is to explore the past for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of the present. The authors do a good job of drawing on the natural curiosity of children who are inclined to wonder about the "hows" and "whys" of historical episodes.

One asset of *Discovering Wyoming* is the study guide section located at the end of each chapter. This section contains a list of significant words used in the chapter and poses questions about or stemming from information presented in the chapter. Some questions solicit factual information while others are designed to engage the student in higher order thinking skills. These study guide sections are especially well written and valuable.

The photographs, drawings, graphs, maps, and other visual aids definitely add to the quality of *Discovering Wyoming*. Good visuals should complement the script and add to the reader's knowledge of the subject matter. Also, a good photograph, graph, or artist's rendering is easy to understand if properly placed on a page. For a photograph or painting to be effective, it should attract the reader's attention and not be so cluttered with detail or distractions that the reader ignores the image and information presented. Remember, the readers of this book are most likely to be fourth grade students. Most of the visuals in *Discovering Wyoming* would capture the attention of these young students.

A number of educationally useful features are found in *Discovering Wyoming*. Orange highlighted segments draw the reader's attention to brief biographical sketches, eyewitness accounts, charts, graphs, maps, and stories of special interest. Chapters are short (10-15 pp.) and are sprinkled with enough visuals to sustain the interest of young readers. Headings and sub-headings serve as effective guide posts, and information is packaged into brief clusters. Finally, many difficult but important words are pronounced and/or defined. A few such examples are heritage (HAIR-uh tij), glaciers (GLAY-sherz), and droughts (DROUWTS). The authors of *Discovering Wyoming* have not only produced a credible history of Wyoming (with very few factual errors), but they have presented this state's heritage in a way that creates a worthwhile educational experience for children.

One of the most effective features of *Wyoming: Courage in a Lonesome Land* by Adams and Sodaro is the incorporation of historical fiction into the theme(s) of each chapter. These stories are shaded green to set them off from the main body of information, and they succeed in adding a personal touch to the developments of various periods in Wyoming history. For example, one story is written as a diary account of an explorer visiting Wyoming in 1807-1808, while another one depicts the possible experiences of a fourth grade Japanese-American student at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in 1942-1943. These fictionalized vignettes are both enjoyable and informative.

Wyoming: Courage in a Lonesome Land includes a wide array of visuals. Almost every page contains a photograph or a drawing. A few maps are located throughout the book and are strategically placed, but the inclusion of more maps identifying the location of towns, railroads, mining activities, and important sites as Heart Mountain, the T.A. Ranch, and Devils Tower would be useful. However, teachers could supplement the book with a Wyoming highway map in order to teach map reading skills. While most of the photographs and artistic depictions included in the book are informative, some of them do not leave a clear message or are hard to decipher. For example, the Alfred Jacob Miller painting on page 26 is blurry because it is black and white while the original painting is in color. Some photographs are cluttered with almost indistinguishable detail (pp. 86, 164, 181 bottom, 192, 206, and so forth). Because these images are unclear, students may ignore them. Large pictures with obvious messages are preferred by young students.

In addition to those more obvious aspects of Wyoming's heritage, such as woman suffrage, homesteading, building of the first transcontinental railroad, the livestock and mining industries, Adams and Sodaro cover other themes and developments germane to the history of Wyoming. The twentieth century impact of the automobile

and its relationship to tourism is examined as are the effects of other technological wonders as the airplane, the radio, television, and the extension of electricity to rural Wyoming. Controversial issues as prohibition during the 1920s and early 1930s, the Teapot Dome oil scandal, the tough life of migrant-farm workers, the internment of Japanese-Americans at Heart Mountain during World War II, and the protest demonstrations of the 1960s are touched upon in *Wyoming: Courage in a Lonesome Land*. The book, as its title indicates, explores the triumphs and tragedies of those who possessed the courage, fortitude, and determination to "stick it out" and fashion a diverse society in a rugged and challenging environment.

Discovering Wyoming and *Wyoming: Courage in a Lonesome Land* offer teachers and students a good selection of history textbooks. Before making a decision to adopt a specific book, teachers should carefully examine the two books being reviewed and any other Wyoming history textbooks designed for school-aged children. They should ask themselves and be able to answer the following questions—How well is the history of Wyoming covered? How well do the authors use historical information? Is the book organized in a manner that contributes to the student's understanding of the flow of history? Are historical developments and personalities examined within a meaningful context, and is the intellectual level appropriate for young students? Do visual aids (photographs, charts, maps, and so forth) add or detract from the quality of the book? Finally, how does the book fit the overall learning needs of your students?

Both books effectively show how the present is an extension of the past. History is not a study of the "dead past" but allows us to share in the wisdom and foibles of the ages. Two thousand years ago Cicero uttered the following words: "To be ignorant of what happened before you were born is to be ever a child."

CATHY ELLIS
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Laramie County Community College

BOOK REVIEWS

Incident at Bitter Creek: The Story of the Rock Springs Chinese Massacre. By Craig Storti. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Notes. Map. xii and 193 pp. Cloth $21.95.

The history of Chinese immigrants in Wyoming has always been discussed in light of the 1885 "Chinese Massacre." Craig Storti's efforts to describe this tragedy broadens the discussion and provides a fresh perspective of the events which led to this calamity.

Storti begins his effort by informing the reader why the Chinese came to America and what they did once they arrived. He provides one of the best descriptions of why the Chinese came to Rock Springs. He discusses the reaction of mine workers to the arrival of the Chinese and the subsequent development of the Knights of Labor in Wyoming. Writing in a style that enlivens both the events and the principal players, Storti's work provides the background information needed to understand why "China town" was burned and twenty-eight Chinese residents killed on September 2, 1885.

One of Storti's greatest contributions is his discussion of the Knights of Labor in Wyoming and the role they played before and after the anti-Chinese riot which led to the loss of life and property at Rock Springs. While noting the miners in Rock Springs had legitimate problems, Storti provides an excellent description of why the labor union did not succeed. He writes: "The difficulty was that while their cause was as legitimate as ever, the miners had disgraced themselves by their behavior." Because the Knights of Labor were blamed for the tragedy along Bitter Creek, their labor strike would never be condoned. Storti clearly states this fact, and while he seemingly sympathizes with the union in Rock Springs, he condemns their actions. "While one sympathizes and may identify with the miners to a point," Storti writes, "their brutality forever leaves a bad taste."

The first thing that strikes the reader about the *Incident at Bitter Creek* is how well it is written. The author leads the reader through the various aspects of the events surrounding "The Chinese Massacre" with a well-organized account that is a pleasure to read. Storti masterfully portrays the life of the Chinese and White miners. His discussions of the military activities after the massacre are insightful. And for the first time a writer provides a detailed description of what the Chinese miners had to contend with when they returned to Rock Springs once the U.S. Army insured their safety. These details are all presented in a concise manner that causes the reader to want to learn more about the "Incident at Bitter Creek."

Storti is a craftsman with words and invites the readers into the story, but he fails to provide his guests with accurate details in a few places. For example, Howard Stansbury traveled through the Bitter Creek Valley in 1850, not in 1852 as noted in the text. Second, General John J. Pershing was Francis Warren's son-in-law. Warren was not Pershing's son-in-law as noted in the conclusion of the book. Third, the first coal mine in Wyoming was not opened by the Blair Brothers; this distinction belongs to overland immigrants, Jim Bridger, and possibly Judge W.A. Carter, who used coal in their blacksmith shops at Fort Bridger. Fourth, Storti contends the Panic of 1873 was "more severe than the Great Depression of the 1930s." A number of historians do not agree with this statement. Finally, the question of how many Chinese residents in Rock Springs lost their lives on September 2, 1885, is problematic. Storti claims "The final death toll was put at fifty-one, the highest ever for a race riot in American history." The most commonly quoted figure is twenty-eight, but it is difficult to know how many Chinese died. It will probably never be precisely known exactly how many Chinese miners lost their lives, and any figure used is open to question.

Storti's book is recommended reading for all who have an interest in Chinese history, Wyoming, railroad history, and labor relations in the West. It is an excellent effort that enlightens the reader and sheds new light on one of the most puzzling aspects of Wyoming's past.

DUDLEY GARDNER
Western Wyoming College

World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy. By Gerald D. Nash. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. Illustrated. Index. Notes. Bibliography. xii and 288 pp. Cloth $32.50.

Our contemporary American West began not in 1890 with the closing of the frontier, but during the years 1941-1945 by reconfiguring the economy as Americans fought World War II. During the war the American West grew up and grew out of the colonial status that once defined the region. Gerald Nash, Presidential Professor of History at the University of New Mexico, argues convincingly that before the war the West's undiversified economy relied upon the exportation of raw materials to the industrialized Northeast and Middle West and economic development of the region lagged. But by the end of the war the American West had become an economic pacesetter. Nash demonstrates that the economy was restructured in four years, a restructuring that would have taken forty years in peace time.

The restructuring of the West's economy hinged on several things. First, it relied heavily on technological innovation. This was especially true in the ship building and aircraft industries. Second, the restructuring, as radical as it was, continued to rely on competition rather than a managed economy. Third, there was a "decided determination to limit the deadening influence of pervasive bureaucracy." Despite the attitude toward bureaucracy a significant factor in the changing economy was the growth of federal spending, especially military spending.

Nash's work in twentieth century western history is well known. This book, however, is not simply a history. Nash is also trying to influence public policy. He believes the American economy in the late twentieth century is undergoing enormous changes and that there are lessons to be learned from the World War II experience of Western America. We should learn, he says, that "attitudes toward restructuring played a vital part in the mobilization process." Westerners had a "can do" attitude and believed in themselves. In addition, the federal government provided leadership and money to a mix of government, private enterprise, agriculture, and labor. Nash argues Americans should learn from this experience as they confront the future.

This book attempts to treat the West as a region. But are the conclusions applicable to Wyoming? It is becoming increasingly clear that there are several different Wests and that Wyoming does not fit the pattern of California or Arizona. Many of the trends the book describes simply do not apply to Wyoming. Did World War II cause the Wyoming economy to diversify? Did the federal government help to create a defense industry in Wyoming through its spending on military hardware? Wyoming is only mentioned on five pages of the book according to the index. The controversy over the Jackson Hole National Monument receives more attention than any other development in the state. Thurman Arnold, who left Wyoming for greener pastures, gets much more attention than the state as does Senator Joseph O'Mahoney. In both cases these men are discussed because they saw the problem of colonialism in Wyoming.

This is an excellent contribution to the history of the American West. Students of Wyoming history should read its conclusions with caution.

DAVE KATHKA
Division of Parks and Cultural Resources
Wyoming Department of Commerce

Astoria & Empire. By James P. Ronda. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Illustrated. Index. Maps. Bibliography. Notes. xiv and 400 pp. Cloth $25.00.

Frontier historians have long been appreciative of the pathbreaking establishment of Astoria as a fur-trading post on the Columbia River in 1811 and its short history as a pawn in international rivalries. James P. Ronda, well respected for his work on the Lewis and Clark expedition, presents in this book the first full-length study of Astoria to appear since Washington Irving's *Astoria* in 1836. The result is a fine work that is more significant than just a story of adventure in the Pacific Northwest or just one more account of a single aspect of the fur trade. It moves with a sweep and a dimension that places the little post on the banks of the Columbia in the vortex of world events, a pawn in games of international rivalry and chance. It should be required reading for all students of American history who wish to elevate their historical levels beyond pedestrian concerns and place them within a wider and more significant context.

Ronda describes carefully the efforts of John Jacob Astor, head of the Pacific Fur Company and several other business enterprises, to establish Astoria as the capital of his far western trading empire during the first decade of the nineteenth century. That effort moved from New York to Washington to St. Petersburg to Montreal to Canton as he manipulated international politics and appealed to personal desires. Astor, motivated by a quest for wealth but

fortified by a sense of national prominence, appealed to the expansionist-minded politicians of the United States to gain support for Astoria's creation. He was finally successful and in 1811 the site was settled by representatives of the Pacific Fur Company traveling in two contingents, one overland and the other by sea. For the next three years Astor and his lieutenants battled bureaucracy in several nations, international ambitions on the part of several countries, rival fur trading companies, and the economics of the business to keep Astoria in operation. They failed, and it succumbed during the War of 1812 only to become one of the British North West Company's posts for the next twenty years.

But *Astoria & Empire* is more than a recitation of the life and death of the American settlement. Although it is little more than a footnote in most history texts, if Ronda had limited his book to the Astoria's history irrespective of other events that affected it, I would have questioned the necessity of its publication. Instead, Ronda provides an excellent study in this history of international relations at several levels of governments and between private citizens. Astoria is, essentially, a case study in business and politics in an international setting. Ronda's work, moreover, is a social history. He uses some untapped historical materials to reconstruct life on the trips to and from Astoria as well as activities at the post. In so doing, he presents a very useful portrait of activities in an early fur trading establishment. He describes something of the interrelationships of cultures and allegiances between the Americans, the Indians, the French and British Canadians, the Russians, and the Hawaiians. This social portrait is especially welcome also as a glimpse of the diversity present during the early fur trading frontier.

Astoria & Empire is one of several refreshing books to appear recently on the development of the American West. It is a commendable work, and because of the skill of its author its 344 pages of narrative make interesting reading. One word of caution, however. This is not just western or frontier history, it is sophisticated analysis of several historical trends focused through the lens of Astoria. Present in it also is social history with business history and diplomatic history and probably some other types of history yet unnamed. Those seeking staid fur trade literature with the emphasis on minutiae will be disappointed. Those readers pondering broader vistas, however, will be rewarded by considering Ronda's work.

ROGER D. LAUNIUS
NASA Chief Historian

We Took the Train. Edited by H. Roger Grant. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1990. Illustrated. Index. Footnotes. xxx and 175 pp. Cloth $29.50.

We Took the Train is a collection of previously published railroad subjects consisting of twenty-one chapters covering a period of 146 years in railroading activities. The subjects are of a wide variety, are thought provoking, and remind the reader of various aspects or situations in the annals of America's fascinating railroad history.

The selection of the material chosen for the book is balanced, and no doubt the readers could close their eyes and imagine each of the situations described. While the snow blockade in New York is described well, one could certainly put himself in similar circumstances (or remember storms of the past) at many other locales throughout the United States or Canada.

Historically, chapter nine, titled "Nine Thousand Miles on a Pullman Train," is one of the most accurate accounts, since it appears to be original material from a diary. Having personally researched many Colorado railroad lines, this chapter became one of my favorites. Another enjoyable chapter is "Riding Freights to Jamestown in 1936." This describes a true experience of depression-era bumming on freight trains to seek employment in the wheat fields of North Dakota, only to be disappointed that the harvest was not quite ready, and finding hordes of others waiting for the same jobs.

Anyone who has had the experience of riding on trains, especially before AMTRAK, will enjoy recounting the novelty of the Pullman sleeping car, or the fine food served in the dining car, or possibly even the long trip on a doodlebug, traversing some remote line across rural America.

The illustrations are adequate for this type of book. Most appear to be publicity type photographs from railroad public relations files, and have been published previously.

This book is recommended to the general reader who enjoys a variety of railroad subjects, as well as the human interest aspect. The collection of articles brings to mind a picture of railroading that one fails to think about until reading the book.

JAMES L. EHERNBERGER
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First Ladies of Wyoming 1869-1990. Edited by Mabel Brown. Cheyenne: Wyoming Commission for Women, 1991. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. viii and 160 pp. Cloth $24.95. Paper $15.95.

A collective biography of the wives of Wyoming's governors is long overdue. The governors themselves have been the subjects of biographical portraits published in many forums including the short thumbnail sketches in the three volumes of the *Wyoming Blue Book*. The omission of sound historical scholarship about their wives finally has been rectified by this excellent series of word portraits ably edited by Wyoming historian Mabel Brown and published by the Wyoming Commission for Women.

Brown and a dozen other historians contributed the essays on wives of the eight territorial governors and the twenty-six state governors in Wyoming history (Helen Smith Warren counted twice—F.E. Warren was the last territorial governor and, briefly, state governor). As in any collective biography, the essays vary significantly as to length and detail. Many collective works suffer from uneven writing, but, fortunately, that is not a problem with *First Ladies of Wyoming*. The essays are consistently well written and indicate more than cursory historical research. Certainly, this reflects the crafting skills of the dozen writers, but it also indicates the importance of a dedicated, skilled editor (who, incidentally, also wrote many of the essays). Besides biographies, an interesting additional essay, written by Tim White, tells the story of the Historic Governors' Mansion, home to many of the first ladies until it became a historic site in 1977.

Many of the governors' wives led quiet lives away from the public eye. Consequently, biographical essays about them tend to be short histories about their husbands as much as about themselves. For instance, Ellen Elizabeth Moonlight, wife of Territorial Governor Thomas Moonlight, is identified as "a devoted homemaker." Of course, this is not a criticism of the book as much a comment on the roles Wyoming's first ladies played, particularly during the territorial period, as silent home supporters of their public spouses. Portraits of the first ladies indicate these qualities. Estella Wyland Chatterton is pictured as holding two of her children on her lap. (Portraits of all but one first lady are included in the book. According to editor Brown, an "intensive search" failed to turn up any photograph of Laura Spese Morgan, wife of Acting Territorial Governor E.S.N. Morgan.)

Certainly, many first ladies played active parts in cultural and civic organizations. Two became politicians themselves. The more famous example, of course, is Nellie Tayloe Ross, the only first lady who served also as governor. Another more recent former first lady made a name for herself in politics. Winifred Hickey, following the death of her husband, J. J. Hickey, in 1970, began a distinguished career in public service, first as Laramie County Commissioner, and later in the state legislature.

A few of the women seemed to have been victims of the times. As Cynthia Georgen Baskin points out in the essay about Eula Wulfjen Kendrick, Mrs. Kendrick was "no mere 'helpmate' or 'power behind the throne.' She wanted a measure of fame for herself and her husband's political office helped her attain that fame." (p. 64) One can only speculate where Eula Kendrick's ambitions may have driven her had she lived in another time.

As a few biographies indicate, some first ladies remained in the private sphere, but exercised significant power behind the scenes. Julia Freeman Carey, one of the most colorful individuals to occupy the governor's mansion, disdained the usual social obligations of the position, opting instead to take an active part in promoting legislation (the designation of Saratoga Hot Springs Park, for instance) and become involved in the political intrigues in the capital. Her mother-in-law, Mrs. Joseph M. Carey, also showed intense interest in political affairs. At one point she became so angry with "unfair tactics" of political opponents that she attempted to take them on verbally at a public rally until she was dissuaded by one of her husband's friends from making such a spectacle.

Most first ladies quietly fulfilled their social obligations and became well liked and admired by citizens throughout the state. Examples include several recent first ladies, Casey Herschler and Martha Hansen, for instance, but not all first ladies gained universal adulation. According to the Jamie Childs Ring essay on Julia Carey, to the public, she "appeared to be demanding and distant." Her mother-in-law, Louisa Carey, met with similar public reaction.

Taken as a group, the first ladies of Wyoming were a fascinating group and the book is filled with interesting anecdotes. Through these words and portraits, the women seem to come to life. Again, this is a tribute to the careful historical research and writing by more than a dozen historians and the able editing of Mabel Brown. These biographies of Wyoming governors' wives, some of whom have been almost forgotten, promise to delight and inspire Wyoming readers for years to come.

PHILIP J. ROBERTS
University of Wyoming

BOOK NOTES

Wounded Knee: Lest We Forget. By Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., Trudy Thomas and Jeanne Eder. Introduction by George P. Horse Capture. Billings, Montana: Artcraft Printers, 1990. Illustrated. Bibliography. Notes. Maps. iv and 60 pp. Paper $18.95.

The Buffalo Bill Historical Center in 1990 organized an exhibit about the events during December, 1890, at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. This catalogue supplements the exhibit. Included in the catalogue are a narrative by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. which explores the events leading up to the massacre and the significance of the event, a look at the Ghost Dance art style by Trudy Thomas, and Jeanne Eder examines the "contemporary Sioux peoples' own story of the Wounded Knee Massacre as recollected through oral tradition." The catalogue contains many illustrations, a good portion of which are in color.

Deer Creek: Frontiers Crossroads in Pre-Territorial Wyoming. By Glenrock Historical Commission. Casper: Mountain States Lithographing Company, 1990. Illustrated. Index. Map. Notes. 159 pp. Paper.

Bill Bryans, in this history sponsored by the Glenrock Historical Commission, studies the fur, transportation, missionary, Indian, and scientific frontiers present at Deer Creek Station before the creation of Wyoming Territory. Such topics as Deer Creek's role along the Oregon Trail, the Mormon mail station, Bissonette's trading post, the Upper Platte Indian Agency, the Lutheran mission, the Pony Express, the telegraph, and the military subpost at Deer Creek are examined.

Six Decades Back. By Charles S. Walgamott. Introduction by Leonard J. Arrington. Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1990. Originally published in two volumes: Twin Falls: Idaho Citizen, 1926 and 1928. Illustrated. Appendix. xviii and 358 pp. Paper $18.95.

Having traveled from Iowa, Charles S. Walgamott and a friend arrived at Rock Creek Station, Idaho Territory, in 1875. The friend remained only several months, returning to Iowa, but Walgamott stayed in Idaho for many years. During this time he mined, ranched, trapped, and served as a supplier to gold mining areas and as a hotel keeper. After spending several years in Montana, he returned to Idaho and realized that many of the new settlers did not know about the early history of Idaho Territory. Hoping to correct that, he set about writing his reminiscences. This book has fifty-five chapters on such topics as the discovery of gold in the Snake River, early mail and transportation, frontier justice, irrigation, and the relationship between Indians and Whites.

Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known. By Major General O.O. Howard. Introduction by Bruce J. Dinges. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. Originally published: New York: Century Company, 1908. Illustrated. xix and 364 pp. Cloth $28.95. Paper $9.95.

Major General O.O. Howard, whose military career spanned four decades, was a supporter of Native Americans. Known as the "Christian soldier," or "praying general," Howard, in his writings, "attempted to alert people in the East to injustices perpetrated against the western tribes." President U.S. Grant in 1872 sent Howard on a mission of peace to the western Indian tribes. Out of this experience came *Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known*. He met and wrote about Washakie, Cochise, Captain Jack, Sitting Bull, Red Cloud, Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé, and several Alaskan chiefs among others. In the introduction, Bruce J. Dinges writes that "Indians found in Howard a benevolent friend, sympathetic listener, and strong voice for fairness, humanity, and justice. Nowhere are these qualities more plainly and eloquently stated than in *Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known*."

Ten Tough Trips: Montana Writers and the West. By William W. Bevis. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990. Index. Select Bibliography. Notes. xv and 233 pp. Cloth $24.95.

William W. Bevis, a professor of English at the University of Montana, looks at "key issues of western identity" by exploring the works of ten Montana authors in *Ten Tough Trips*. The book is divided into three sections. Part I, "Treasure Islands of the West," includes four stories set in the nineteenth century by A.B. Guthrie, Andrew Garcia, and Nannie Alderson. The subject of Part II, "The Hearts of My People," is the Native American culture and literature and is explored through the writings of Frank Linderman, D'Arcy McNickle, and James Welch. Excerpts from the works of Richard Hugo, Ivan Doig, and Norman Maclean are found in Part III, "Making Certain It Goes On."

Wigwam Evenings: Sioux Folk Tales Retold. By Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa) and Elaine Goodale Eastman. Introduction by Michael Dorris and Louise Erdrich. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Originally published: Boston: Little, Brown, 1909. Illustrated. xii and 253 pp. Cloth $25.00. Paper $7.95.

In this book, Charles A. Eastman, a mixed-blood Sioux, and his wife, Elaine Goodale Eastman, during the first part of the twentieth century compiled a condensed sampling of the Sioux' values. "Sprinkled throughout *Wigwam Evenings* are the seeds of Sioux thought, legends of monsters, origin myths accounting for the presence in the world of war and strife." A better understanding of "Sioux cosmology, polity, and social intercourse" can be gained through these writings.

The Range. By Sherm Ewing. Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1990. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Notes. Map. xvii and 284 pp. Cloth $24.95. Paper $12.95.

Sherm Ewing, a rancher and past president of the Western Stock Growers' Association, interviewed forty-four ranchers, specialists, and land managers, in order to chart the evolution of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains in Canada and the United States from the home of buffalo to today's raising of cattle, sheep, horses, wildlife, and a few crops. The author uses excerpts of the first-person accounts to explore such topics as how the buffalo were saved from extinction, what type of grazing benefits livestock and wildlife, and why it's best not to plow the prairie.

The Gibraltar: Socialism and Labor in Butte, Montana, 1895-1920. By Jerry W. Calvert. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1988. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Notes. viii and 189 pp. Cloth $21.95.

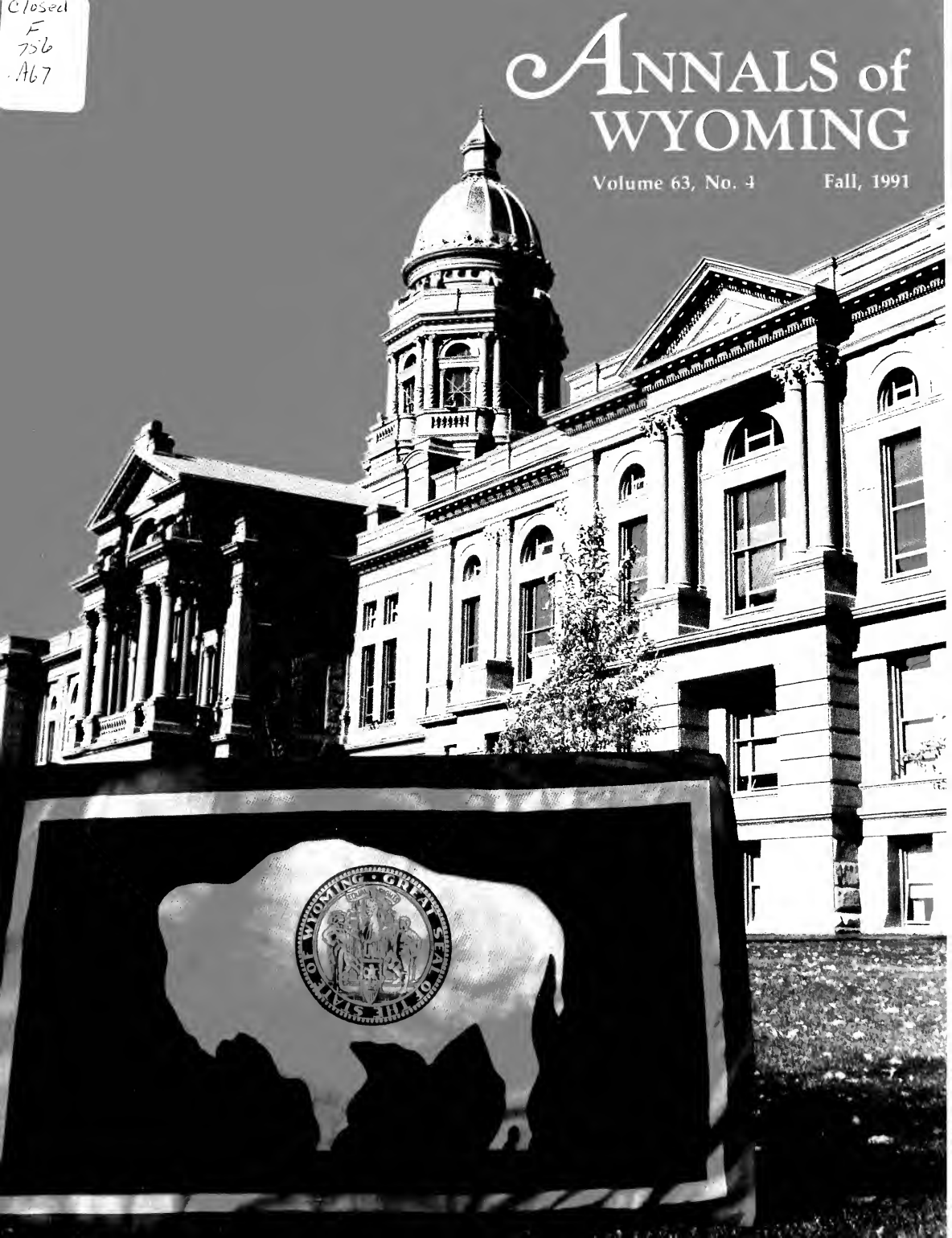
In 1911 the people of Butte, Montana, elected a socialist mayor. By this action, Butte became one of the largest cities in the United States ever to be governed by members of the Socialist Party. Jerry W. Calvert, in this book, examines the sudden rise, dominance, and then decline of the Socialists in Butte, a copper-mining community. He studies the bombing of the Butte Miners' Union Hall which occurred on June 23, 1914. To explain the violence the author studies the longtime tension between labor and management and the role that militant unionism and socialism played in that struggle.

The Benteen-Goldin Letters on Custer and His Last Battle. Edited by John M. Carroll. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. Originally published: New York: Liveright, 1974. Illustrated. Index. xxiv and 312 pp. Paper $9.95.

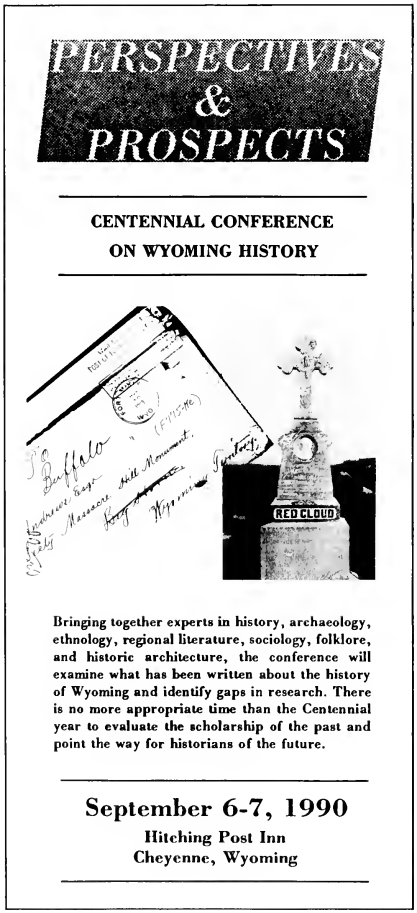
For five years (1891-1896) Captain Frederick W. Benteen, commander of Troop H, Seventh Cavalry, and Corporal Theodore W. Goldin, who fought in Major Marcus A. Reno's command at the Little Big Horn, exchanged letters. Only Benteen's letters survive, but in these are a record of the Battle of the Little Big Horn as well as Benteen's views of Custer and his wife, Libby, Reno, and Generals Terry and Miles. Also included in the book are letters from Goldin to historians E.A. Brininstool and Fred Dustin, as well as two accounts by Benteen about the Battle of the Little Big Horn. John M. Carroll does not find the letters filled with "historic truths," but does believe they are important historic documents.

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 63, No. 4 Fall, 1991



In 1895 the state of Wyoming established a department to collect and preserve materials which interpret the history of Wyoming. Today those duties are performed by the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources in the Department of Commerce. Located in the department are the State Historical Research Library, the State Archives, the State Museum, the State Art Gallery, the State Historic Sites, and the State Historic Preservation Office. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artwork and artifacts for museum exhibit. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts.



COVER PHOTOGRAPH courtesy Wyoming State Museum, Paul Jacques, photographer.

Historians from around the state gathered in Cheyenne during Wyoming's Centennial Year to examine the status of Wyoming history. The papers presented at the conference examined what topics have been studied, how well they have been studied, and what remains to be studied.

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 63, No. 4
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ANNALS OF WYOMING was established in 1923 to disseminate historical information about Wyoming and the West through the publication of articles and documents. The editors of ANNALS OF WYOMING welcome manuscripts on every aspect of Wyoming and Western history.

Authors should submit two typed, double-spaced copies of their manuscripts with footnotes placed at the end. Manuscripts submitted should conform to A MANUAL OF STYLE (University of Chicago Press). The Editor reserves the right to submit all manuscripts to members of the Editorial Advisory Board or to authorities in the field of study for recommendations. Published articles represent the view of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce or the Wyoming State Historical Society.

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ANNALS OF WYOMING is published quarterly by the Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Membership dues are: Single $9; Joint $12; Institutional $20; Life $150; Joint Life $200. Current membership is 1,975. Copies of previous and current issues of ANNALS may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life.

WYOMING HISTORY IN THE CENTENNIAL YEAR:

An Agenda for the Future

by David Kathka

In the fall of 1990 a group of historians interested in various aspects of Wyoming history met in Cheyenne to share their views about what has been accomplished in the telling of Wyoming's story, and what yet needs to be told as Wyoming moves into its second century of statehood. The conference received partial funding from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities, an independent, non-profit organization that receives grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and gifts from other sources and regrants these funds to projects that promote a better understanding of the humanities. The Centennial Conference was organized by John D. McDermott of Sheridan. Those of us associated with *Annals of Wyoming* believe the papers presented at this conference deserve a wider hearing and therefore chose to publish this special issue of the journal.

Most of the papers presented at the Centennial Conference are included in this *Annals of Wyoming*. We were unable to include all that were submitted for lack of space and some presenters were unable to provide them in an appropriate format. Mark Junge's presentation, for example, depended heavily upon a slide show. We do, however, believe that what is presented here is representative of the Centennial Conference and demonstrates how well its goal of assessing the status of Wyoming historiography was achieved. We hope our readers will find this interesting, but most of all we hope they will find topics to investigate and consequently to add to our knowledge of Wyoming history. If that happens, the goal of the conference and of *Annals of Wyoming* will have been achieved.

The introductory essay reviews the recommendations made at the Centennial Conference and the papers published here. I have tried to organize the recommendations somewhat differently than they were organized at the conference. For example, I have attempted to group all the recommendations for biographies together in my essay; I have attempted to highlight some of the common threads running through the essays and their author's recommendation for future research.

History depends upon people and there is a need for many biographical studies. Certainly, T. A. Larson notes, Francis E. Warren deserves a major biography as does Gale McGee, Teno Roncalio, and perhaps in future years Dick Cheney. There is a need for a number of studies of Indian leaders in Wyoming, not only those who led the Indian people in the nineteenth century, but also those who have assumed leadership in the twentieth century. Studies of Indian leaders' actions during times of peace are needed as well as studies of Indian war leaders. John McDermott points out a need for updated studies of famous mountain men Jim Bridger and Thomas Fitzpatrick, as well as new studies of the Sublette brothers, the Richard brothers, the Janis brothers, James Bordeaux, Joseph Bissonette, Joseph Knight, Sefrey Iot, and Big Bat Pourier. Military figures played a prominent role in the latter half of the nineteenth century and it is suggested that treatments of George Crook, Nelson Miles, C. C. Ord, Henry Carrington, and Ranald MacKenzie are needed. Much of the work done on European and Asian ethnic groups in Wyoming fails to develop individuals to any extent. Who were the leaders in Wyoming's Asian communities, both Japanese and Chinese? Who were the leaders in the Hispanic communities, the Jewish communities, the Germans from Russia? Efforts to study these groups are still in their infancy, but as they develop we should remember that biographies might be very useful in understanding many elements of the group's history. The essays of Katherine Jensen and Sherry Smith emphasize that through the study of individual women may emerge larger understandings of families in Wyoming and other social

and cultural relationships. Perhaps the heads of state agencies and institutions during critical periods are worthy subjects. Others who might be worthy of biographical study include Frank Barrett, Clifford Hansen, Milward Simpson, Joe Hickey, Lester Hunt, John Kendrick, Joseph O'Mahoney, Malcolm Wallop, and Alan Simpson.

Historians of the American West have been engaged recently in debate about what is important in the West and the historians who participated in the Centennial Conference are themselves, implicitly and explicitly, part of that debate. Paul Fees of the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, whose paper about Intellectual History in Wyoming is not published here, argued that the new western historians might be attempting to replace the myths of the West, but myths, he argues, are "irreplaceable in helping us to define what kind of people we have been." Historians, he believes, must continue to consider the myths of the West in attempting to understand Wyoming culture. Other historians at the conference argued that the questions dealing with cowboys and the myths of "self-reliance" and "rugged individualism" are no longer valid questions. In fact, Roy A. Jordan's essay, "Water and Wyoming's Culture," argues that concentration on western myths has led historians and other students of Wyoming's culture to ask the wrong questions. There are numerous indications that many Wyoming historians are acknowledging the need to ask new questions—some of which have been raised by the new western historians—while not directly engaging in the debate.

The conference raised many questions about ethnicity in Wyoming. There are opportunities to study group prejudices. What has been Wyoming's response to racism? This should be looked at in terms of emigrant groups as well as Arapahoe and Shoshone. We need to examine the experiences of all the ethnic groups and we need to have studies that compare ethnic groups. What differences existed between and among various ethnic, rural settlements? How did the experiences of ethnic groups engaged in mining coal differ? How did the Chinese in Wyoming contribute to the making of this state; certainly there is more to the experience than the Chinese massacre. We hope Dudley Gardner's study in progress will help us to better understand the Asian experience in Western America. Don Hodgson suggests that there are questions to be answered regarding the transition of Germans from Russia as migrant beet workers to renters and landowners and the same sort of question could be asked about most groups. Women have frequently been left out of Wyoming history except in the stories surrounding the "tea party," Elinore Pruitt Stewart's homestead, and Nellie Tayloe Ross' election as first female governor. There is room for much more including the fundamental examination of Wyoming as "The Equality State." Katherine Jensen's essay suggests many questions that need to be answered about women and work in Wyoming. What also have been the experiences of women in Wyoming who represent different cultures?

The study of Wyoming history has not, according to most of the historians at the conference, suffered from a lack of sources. Indeed, most of the papers noted there are many rich sources of Wyoming history yet to be touched. John McDermott notes that the enlisted man's experiences in Wyoming can be reconstructed with the use of six important serial publications that have not been fully used. T. A. Larson notes that the F. E. Warren letterbooks await the biographer of Warren. Don Hodgson suggests that the naturalization records provide information that might be studied using quantitative techniques to reveal much about the Germans from Russia. This would of course be true for other ethnic groups as well. Robert Righter promotes the use of the Wyoming State Archives for the official records of governors as well as various state agencies. His study of Grand Teton National Park would have benefited, he says, from an examination of the State of Wyoming's perspective. Colin Calloway also points to the Wyoming State Archives as one repository of valuable sources on Indian history.

There are a number of other topics that need to be examined. T. A. Larson wrote a brief overview essay about the Wyoming Legislature as an introduction to the Centennial edition of the session laws. A study of the Wyoming legislature is needed. The recent reorganization of Wyoming State Government was carried out with little reference to or understanding of past reorganizations. Perhaps, even though a history would not benefit this current attempt, a study of state government reorganization over the past one hundred years would be helpful for the next time. Wyoming continues to be considered a colonial state while many other Western states escaped that status by mid-twentieth century. Wyoming and a few other Western states still continue to struggle with the perception—internally and externally—that they are dependent on outside corporations and the federal government. We need a thorough study. We also need histories of the executive branch of state government—the various agencies as well as the governors. We need to look at how Supreme Court decisions have influenced the state's development. Water may be a good example.

There are tremendous opportunities for learning more about Wyoming's history presented above and in the pages that follow. We at *Annals of Wyoming* urge our readers, whatever their training, to look into some of these areas, to share their feelings, and to leave future historians new studies and new interpretations to challenge and enlarge their understanding of Wyoming.

WYOMING HISTORY:

An Overview

by T. A. Larson

Turn our eyes in any direction and we find Wyoming history—coffee tables, libraries, archives, museums, historical societies, genealogical societies, the Wyoming Council for the Humanities, oral history, school rooms, and the news media. Never before have people been so involved in Wyoming history.

Our library shelves fifty years ago were not nearly as well stocked with Wyoming history books as they are in this Centennial Year. Some of the better known standbys were books by Hubert H. Bancroft, Charles G. Coutant, Ichabod S. Bartlett, Frances B. Beard, and Alfred J. Mokler. Frederick Jackson Turner and Walter Prescott Webb taught us the significance of the frontier and the Great Plains. Cecil J. Alter told us about Jim Bridger and LeRoy R. Hafen about Fort Laramie. Edward E. Dale, Ernest S. Osgood, and Louis Pelzer covered the cattlemen. All the school children read Grace Raymond Hebard's books, *Civics, History and Government of Wyoming*, and *Pathbreakers from River to Ocean*. Cora A. Beach's two-volume work, *Women of Wyoming*, was popular.

The U.S.S.R. gave Wyoming history a boost in 1925. Labor troubles in that year were blamed on communistic ideas, which had to be rooted out. To ensure right thinking, the Wyoming Legislature passed a law that mandated instruction "on the essentials of the United States Constitution and the Constitution of this State, including the study of and devotion to American institutions and ideals." One way or another, some Wyoming history instruction has been, ever since, a part of our curricula from the fourth grade to college-level.

During the 1930s Wyoming history got another boost, this one from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Writers Project, which produced *Wyoming, A Guide to Its History, Highways, and People*. Noteworthy also is Marie H. Erwin's *Wyoming Historical Blue Book 1868-1943* (Denver, 1946). In 1974 Virginia Cole Trenholm edited and re-issued Mrs. Erwin's ponderous book in two volumes and updated it in a third volume. In 1990 a fourth volume is in progress.

Early in the century some of my professors distinguished between current events and history. What happened in the most recent fifty years was considered current events, not history, because too many transitory influences made sound, reliable judgments impossible. By 1990, however, few historians draw such a line. Indeed, most people seem to get their history from the news media, which normally blend events of the day with those of yesterday and times past. And Wyoming historians are frequently consulted by the media for background information. Likewise, tourism promoters involve historians through pleas for voluntary assistance.

A new State Department of Commerce has been established in 1990. It has three divisions, Parks & Cultural Resources, Tourism and State Marketing, and Economic & Community Development. Thus the old Archives, Museums and Historical Department (AMH) has been folded into the Department of Commerce, with a new name, Cultural Resources. And Dr. David Kathka, head of the eliminated AMH Department becomes director of the Parks and Cultural Resources Division. Kathka retains his position as State Historical Preservation Officer (SHPO)

COURTESY WYOMING STATE MUSEUM (WSM)

T. A. Larson

and Executive Secretary of the State Historical Society. Ivory tower historians may mutter about strange bedfellows in the new Department of Commerce. If they do, some legislator surely would say something about "the real world."

Some of us will miss the AMH Department. It has ancient roots, but a rather recent year, 1953, stands out in its evolutionary development. That was the year when Lola Homsher, a great lady, led a drive to take the position she held, state historian, out of politics, and to create the Archives and Records Management division. In the same year she led in organizing the Wyoming State Historical Society which, with its now twenty-two chapters is flourishing in 1990. One of its standout achievements is building History Day activities, which in the past eleven years has involved hundreds of middle school and high school students and their teachers. Noteworthy too are the state society's popular annual treks and its recent decision to publish annually four issues of *Annals of Wyoming*, instead of two. In the past twenty years the state society has increased its membership from thirteen hundred to eighteen hundred, almost 40 per cent. Curiously, in the same twenty years, the Western History Association, which is now thirty years old, has fallen in membership from twenty-four hundred to 1,612, about 33 per cent.

Much local history has been collected in connection with the work of the State Historical Preservation Officer (currently Kathka) and the State Recreation Commission established in 1966. National Register recognition has been obtained for several hundred places. Meanwhile, museums, also under Kathka's jurisdiction, multiply, contrary to my opinion that we would be better served by fewer and better museums.

Significant among history-related projects in recent years, under various auspices, are restorations at Fort Bridger and South Pass City, state acquisition of Independence Rock, development of the world-class Buffalo Bill Historical Center, and the restoration of the Territorial Penitentiary at Laramie. The restored prison, dating from 1872, is projected to be the center of an ambitious theme park, with segments presenting Natural History, Indians, the Rush for Riches, Settlement, Transportation, Economic Development, Government and Politics, and the Military. Developing all too slowly is Fort Laramie, Wyoming's No. 1 historic site. The state purchased the famous 214-acre site in 1937 and donated it to the federal government, which designated it first as a National Monument and later as a National Historic Site.

There is more interdisciplinary activity than formerly. History students who once minored in literature, economics, political science, sociology, and foreign languages, now get further assistance from geography, women's studies, Black studies, anthropology, and archaeology. Perhaps two hundred professional archaeologists work where fifty years ago there were very few, and significant sites multiply.

In the realm of historical collections management, David L. Baker replaced Gene Gressley two years ago as director of the American Heritage Center (AHC) at the University of Wyoming. Director Baker reports among recent changes, the appointment of Tom Wilsted as associate director, and the acquisition of computer equipment with which to enter collection information on a national database. Abstracts of nine thousand collections have been prepared and are now available in the AHC Reading Room and at the Coe Library Reference Desk. Also, Baker adds that the AHC has been opened to the public and Saturday use of the reading room has been scheduled for the first time. The ground-breaking ceremony for the new

nineteen million dollar American Heritage Center and Art Museum is scheduled for October 8, 1990.

Professor David S. Danbom in a review essay on "The State of State History," published in the April, 1990, issue of the *Annals of Iowa*, declares that "The practice of writing histories of states, widely predicted to be doomed as late as two decades ago, has undergone a renaissance in recent years." He attributes the renaissance to publication of the W. W. Norton set, one for each state, to local pride, to a growing interest in searching for our roots, and to a belief that state history "is one of the few subjects remaining about which scholars in an increasingly professionalized and desiccated discipline can say anything that interests intelligent lay people." In Wyoming the Centennial Celebration has certainly stimulated statewide interest, and so has the excellent instruction in our seven community colleges, none of which even existed fifty years ago. Not to be overlooked are the fine teachers in the fourth grade required course and the excellent textbooks which some of them have written.

I first joined the University of Wyoming history department to teach courses for which I was well prepared—Medieval History, Renaissance and Reformation, English History, Constitutional History of England, European History—but history department needs made me add History of Wyoming to my repertoire. I knew nothing about it except what I had learned during four delightful summers working in Yellowstone Park. When I taught my first Wyoming history class in 1939 I had no textbook. With only fifteen students I was able to place various books on reserve for all to read. Teaching twelve hours a week, I slighted preparation for my other courses in order to read extensively in Wyoming history. I investigated in many directions, doing what amounted to rather shallow research all over the place, even publishing a few articles. I was also the university's tennis coach and was learning fly fishing and skiing.

When the war reduced the university's enrollment to six hundred in January, 1943, I accepted a recruiter's offer of a commission in the Navy and got a leave of absence. On my way out, the history department head, Laura White, urged me to plan on writing a book when the war was over, relating the war's impact on the state, and the state's contribution to victory. After the war, Dr. White lived only long enough to see me well launched on the war history project, but it took me until 1954 to complete it. The slow progress made it possible to exploit many academic and government publications which would not have been available earlier, and permitted a final accounting of Wyoming's 1,095 war dead.

Sad to say, the book, titled *Wyoming's War Years, 1941-1945*, had to be subsidized. The university trustees put up fifty-five hundred dollars, and I kicked in $840. It was a four hundred-page volume, beautifully printed and hard-bound by the Stanford University Press. I had to handle the marketing. It took me six years to sell the fifteen hundred copies printed, and recover our money. While I got good reviews and the trustees gave me a dinner party, I made up my mind that I would never again subsidize and market a publication. It is too bad that so many books, in the nation as well as in Wyoming, must be subsidized. Most of the fifty thousand books published in the United States last year had only one printing and were remaindered.

With the war history behind me, I was still not free to zero-in on an area of research specialization. I saw a need for a one-volume history of the state that would have broad appeal for adult readers and would also be appropriate for university-level textbook use. Burdened with heavy teaching and administrative responsibilities, I required eleven years for the task. The University of Nebraska Press published it in 1965, 619 pages, with a price tag of only $6.95 hardback, then published without hesitation my anthology of Bill Nye's Western Humor. A few years earlier no press would touch the Nye book without a subsidy.

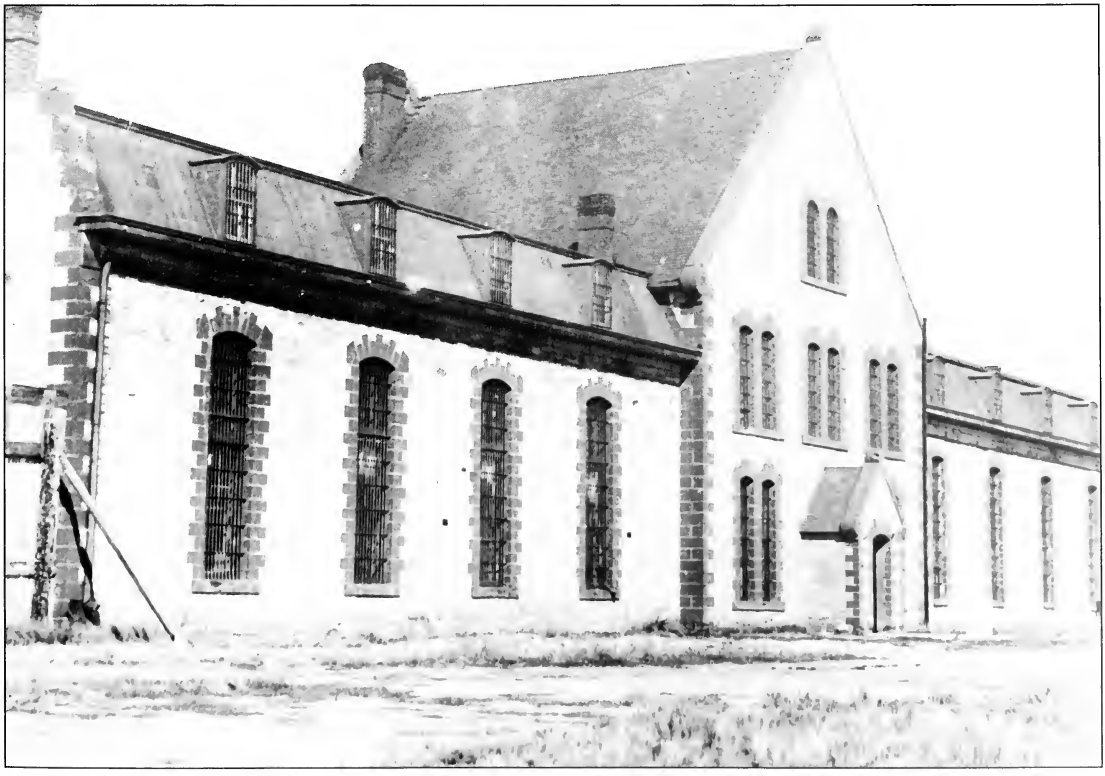
Another roadblock threatened. President G. D. Humphrey, who was retiring after a twenty-year reign, wanted me to write a history of the university, probably expecting me to focus on his contributions. Anticipating problems, I managed to dodge that chore. Finally, then, in 1965 I had a chance to concentrate on a major special interest, the woman suffrage movement in Western America. I envisioned a magnum opus. Ten of the first eleven states to give women suffrage were in the West. Wyoming was first of the ten. Why was the West out front? What were the interstate relationships? In 1953 I published my first article about the subject in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*. In 1966 I read a paper on the subject at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians. Supplying my own travel funds, most of the time, I pursued the answers in twenty libraries, mainly in western states, but also in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the libraries of Smith College and Radcliffe College. I published ten suffrage articles in six scholarly journals. I left my work in California partially unfinished, waiting for a doctoral candidate at Santa Barbara to complete her dissertation, which she failed to do. Also I waited for a Yale student to complete her somewhat overlapping study in

the Northwest. The Yale University Press hired me to critique her study before publication.

I planned to round out my suffrage manuscript after retirement in 1975. Two university presses were seeking publication rights. Then Governor Ed Herschler came to Laramie and convinced me to run for the state legislature, something that had never entered my mind. No UW faculty member, active or retired, had ever served in the legislature. It was a fateful decision because the legislature took much more time than I had anticipated, and my eight years on the appropriations committee gave me so much interest in contemporary problems that woman suffrage seemed dull by comparison. Updating my state history book also took time. Meanwhile, I accepted an invitation to do the Wyoming volume in the Norton set of state histories. Later, when I chose to retire from the legislature at age seventy-four, the American Association of Retired Persons persuaded me to take on a four-year lobbying assignment.

Now at age eighty I find writing much more difficult for me, and activities which I give higher priorities take all my time. Moreover, the suffrage states whose campaigns I studied acted with so much independence that tying them together in one package makes less sense than I anticipated. So, almost certainly, the magnum opus will remain on the shelf, unfinished, and anyone who wants my story will have to look for it in the ten articles and several books in which I have presented it piecemeal.

In his invitation to speak here, Jack McDermott indicated that I might, if I wished, say something about topics that need to be investigated in Wyoming history. I hesitate to say that anything really *needs* to be studied, except contemporary problems, but I shall offer some topics that might attract my attention if I had another lifetime ahead of me.



WSH

Wyoming's Territorial Prison is today a state historic site.

Drawing on geography, sociology, government, and economics, I would like to study the positive and negative aspects of the interrelationship between the metropolis, Denver, and its hinterland in Wyoming since 1868. I have found stimulating insights in a new book by J. M. S. Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities, and Identities in Canada Before 1914*, published by the University of Toronto Press, Toronto, in 1989.

Doing a biography of Francis E. Warren has looked like a good idea to me ever since 1940 when I hauled the first installment of Warren's letterbooks from Cheyenne to Laramie. I used some of the letterbooks in writing my *History of Wyoming*. Four of my M.A. students depended mainly on them when they wrote their theses in the late 1940s. Lewis L. Gould made much use of Warren's early letterbooks in writing his excellent book, *Wyoming, A Political History, 1868-1896*. Beginning in the 1960s a University of Illinois doctoral candidate, Duane Rose, spent twenty or more summers in Laramie reading all the letterbooks. Rose retired from his teaching job at Slippery Rock State University in Pennsylvania last year. He wrote to me recently: "I expect to have more time available in the future for my protracted study . . . ."

U.S. Senator and Ambassador to the Organization of American States, Gale W. McGee, would be an appropriate subject for a biography after he completes his memoirs, on which he is now working. After a few more years, former President Ford's Chief of Staff, Dick Cheney, who is now President Bush's Secretary of Defense, might well have the stature warranting a biography.

Although there have been many studies of water, water law, and reclamation, that general area offers opportunities for further study. The Wind River and Bighorn Basins are in the forefront in 1990. Wyoming oil and gas, trona, uranium, and coal all offer attractive opportunities for comprehensive studies.

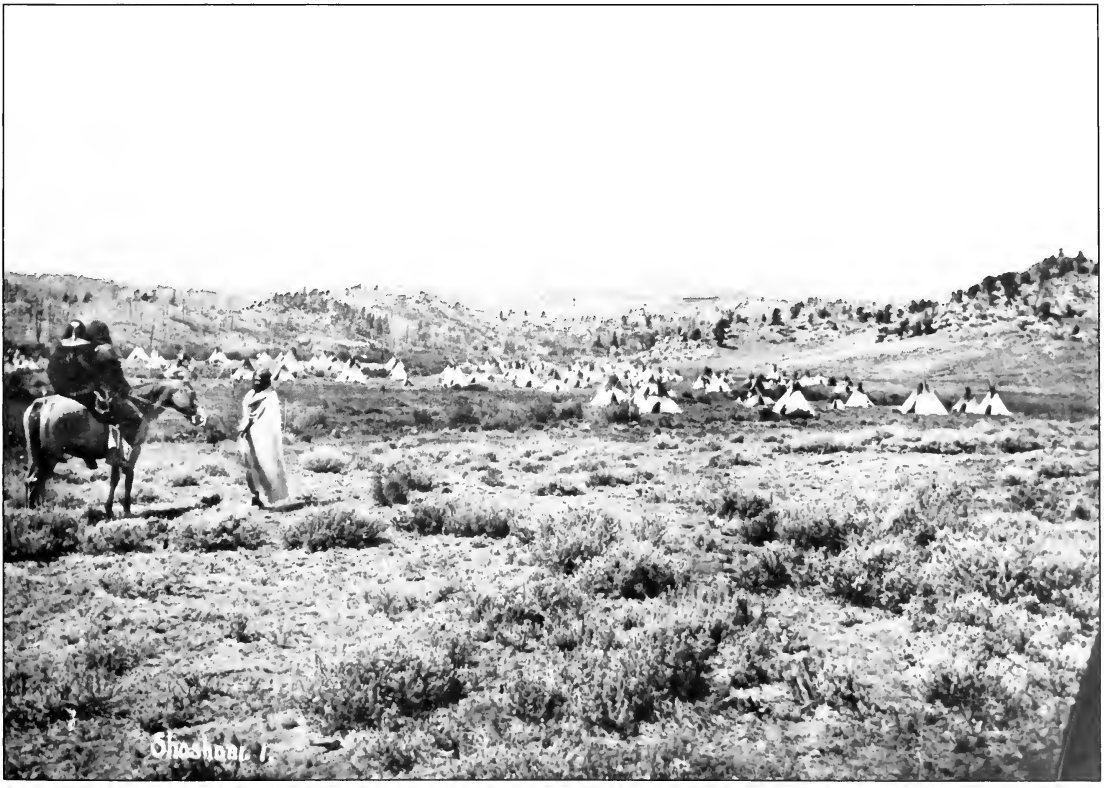
Computer storage, retrieval, and word processing potentials now available are overwhelming. Had they been available fifty years ago, scholars of my generation could have written better books and twice as many, although marketing such an output might have been impossible.

In conclusion, I want to thank Jack McDermott and the Wyoming Council for the Humanities for organizing this Conference. I do not recall a previous history conference like it in Wyoming.

INDIAN HISTORY IN WYOMING:

Needs and Opportunities for Study

by Colin G. Calloway



COURTESY SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Washakie's band and encampment, Wind River Mountains, 1870.

Long before I moved to the United States, I felt I would spend my life studying Plains Indian history. When I came to the University of Wyoming I thought this was my chance to get into some serious research on the northern plains. But aside from a couple of articles about the Crows and a piece about the Eastern Shoshones that I wrote for the *Annals*, my time and efforts in recent years have been pretty well monopolized by the Abenaki Indians of Vermont. I have been away from Wyoming for more than a year doing more research on *eastern* Indians, and with the Abenakis about to bring suit for the return of Vermont and New Hampshire, I look set to be spending the *next* several years caught up in that area. So I feel a little out of touch, perhaps even uniquely *un*qualified to survey the current state of Indian history in Wyoming. However, as a Yorkshireman masquerading as an Indian historian, I long ago learned to make a virtue of necessity and to stress the importance of an outsider's viewpoint in attaining balance and objectivity. In that vein, I would like to try and sell you these comments as a global, rather than a worm's eye view of Indian history in Wyoming. Or I could just call my talk: "Things that need to be done even though I'm not doing them myself."

Wyoming has some major advantages for the study of Indian history. The Wind River Reservation is one of the largest reservations in the country, home to the Eastern Shoshones and Northern Arapahoes, who found themselves reluctant neighbors in the 1870s at the dictates of government policy but who, despite persistent differences, have conducted their affairs in the twentieth century through a Joint Business Council. The Northern Cheyenne and Crow reservations lie just across the border. Crows, Cheyennes, Shoshones, Kiowas, Comanches, Gros Ventres, and Lakotas have all entered the region's history at one time or another. The American Heritage Center (AHC) at the University of Wyoming, the Plains Indian Museum in Cody, and the State Archives in Cheyenne all contain valuable sources regarding Indian history. The Western History Collection of the Denver Public Library, the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Wind River Agency Files in the Denver Branch of the Federal Archives and Records Center, and the BIA records at Fort Washakie are all within reach. Farther afield, there are materials about Wyoming Indians in the Graff and Ayer collections of the Newberry Library in Chicago, in the Western Americana Collection at Yale (we have microfilm copies of much of that collection at the university's Coe Library), and of course in the National Archives and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The opportunities for studying the Indian history of Wyoming are considerable, to say the least.[1]

However, to judge by the titles one sees in Wyoming bookstores and the interests of many of my students, historians have made little headway in dispelling the notion that Indians are warbonneted warriors who lived in the last century. We have more books about the bloody and atypical moments of the Fetterman battle, the Wagon Box fight, the siege of Fort Phil Kearny, and Fort Laramie's role in the Indian wars than about all of the other ten, twelve, or however many thousand years Indian people have lived in Wyoming.[2] "Indian wars" continue to dominate popular thinking, perpetuating a distorted view of Native American historical experiences.

There are some useful books about Wyoming's Indian past and present. Virginia Cole Trenholm's study of the Arapahoes and her jointly authored (with Maurine Carley) book about the Shoshones provide standard narratives of Wyoming's two tribes.[3] But they concentrate heavily on tribal relations with the United States Government after the arrival of Lewis and Clark and before the twentieth century. Lewis and Clark entered an Indian world that was already in flux, yet we know little about the experiences of Shoshones, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Crows, and other Indian peoples in Wyoming prior to their arrival.[4] More recently, Loretta Fowler has written a prize-winning study of *Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978*.[5] Fowler's book has, in some circles, attained the status of being "the book" on Wyoming Indian history, which is unfortunate. One good book

1. For one printed collection of the kind of documents available see Dale L. Morgan, ed., "Washakie and the Shoshoni: A Selection of Documents from the Records of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs," *Annals of Wyoming* 25 (1953): 141-188; 26 (1954): 65-80, 141-90; 27 (1955): 61-88, 198-220; 28 (1956): 80-93, 193-207; 29 (1957): 86-102, 195-227; 30 (1958): 53-89.
2. There are, nonetheless, some fine studies of these subjects; for example, Paul L. Hedren, *Fort Laramie in 1876: Chronicle of a Frontier Post at War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988). George C. Frison, *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains* (New York: Academic Press, 1978), provides a valuable introduction to the pre-contact history of the region.
3. Virginia Trenholm, *The Arapahoes: Our People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970); and Virginia Trenholm and Maurine Carley, *The Shoshonis: Sentinels of the Rockies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).
4. Colin G. Calloway, "Snake Frontiers: The Eastern Shoshones in the Eighteenth Century," *Annals of Wyoming* 63 (Summer 1991): 82-92. The best study of Lewis and Clark in Indian country is James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
5. Loretta Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978: Symbols in Crises of Authority* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

on General Custer has never discouraged other aspirant biographers, and Fowler's study should be regarded as an example of the kind and quality of work that can be done, not the last word on the subject. Like many products of field work, the conclusions offered may well be subject to the "it depends on whom you talk to" qualification. It should be noted that Fowler, Ake Hultkrantz, Demitri Shimkin, and others who have published extensively on the Arapahoes and Shoshones are anthropologists. We historians have some catching up to do.[6]

To do so, we need to incorporate an ethnohistorical approach in our work, reconstructing Native American history with sensitivity to Native American cultural values, motivations, and how they understood their experiences. I do not advocate that historians of the Indian past should retrain as anthropologists or force anthropological theories on to the historical data, only that they consider anthropological and native perspectives in order to ask new questions and derive new meaning from the same old sources.[7]

For many people—historians included—there are only two identifiable Indians in Wyoming history. Both Sacajawea and Washakie are celebrated for their "contribution" to the region's "development," that is for assisting White Americans.[8] We need to view their actions in the light of their own culture, situation, and experience, considering not so much Washakie's contribution to White settlement of the state, but rather his contribution to the survival of his own people. A simplistic response to this suggestion would be to say: Washakie helped the Whites so, from an Indian point of view, he must have "sold out." But such a response neglects the diversity of tribal situations and motivations that made it logical, even necessary, for some Indian people to ally with the United States.[9] Washakie's stereotypical portrayal as a "good Indian" obscures the fact that he played a role common in Indian dealings with Whites: an intermediary for his people in difficult times. Accommodation and cooperation were important strategies of survival and sometimes more effective than conflict and resistance. We need to follow Loretta Fowler's lead in presenting a fuller picture of leaders like Black Coal, Medicine Man, Friday, and Sharp Nose of the Arapahoes, how they functioned as intermediaries, and how they were perceived in their own societies.[10] We need to get beyond Sacajawea and begin to reconstruct the historical experiences of Native American women in Wyoming.

Despite the voluminous literature on the subject, Indians and Whites in Wyoming were not fighting all of the time.[11] What were they doing between battles? Peaceful interaction and coexistence may not be as colorful and dramatic as violent confrontation, but they are a significant part of human history, even in Wyoming.

The fur trade is an obvious area for study. Rocky Mountain fur trade historiography has long been dominated by the "mountain man" and we have no sophisticated analyses of Indian-White relations to match those done in Canada, nor of the process by which arrangements of initial mutual benefit worked to reduce Indian economies and societies to ultimate dependence.[12] There is

6. In addition to Loretta Fowler's work, see for example: Alfred L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 18 (1902-1907), reprinted Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983; Henry Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," in Ralph Linton, ed., *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), pp. 207-255; Ake Hultkrantz, "The Indians in Yellowstone Park," *Annals of Wyoming* 29 (October 1957): 125-149; idem, "The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area," *Annals of Wyoming* 33 (April 1961): 19-41; and the essays collected or listed in Christopher Vecsey, ed., *Belief and Worship in Native North America by Ake Hultkrantz* (Syracuse University Press, 1981), esp. pp. 308-310; Demitri B. Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," in Warren L. D'Azevedo, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, 11: Great Basin* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986); idem, "Dynamics of Recent Wind River Shoshoni History," *American Anthropologist* n.s. (1942): 451-462; idem, "Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography," *Anthropological Records* 5, no. 4 (Berkeley: University of California Publications, 1940-1947), pp. 244-292.

7. Cf. James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), esp. p. 245.

8. Grace Raymond Hebard, *Washakie* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1930 (is still the standard biography of the Shoshone chief, although Peter Wright's essay in R. David Edmunds, ed. *American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 131-151, offers a more up-to-date appraisal.

9. Cf. Colin G. Calloway, "The Only Way Open to Us: The Crow Struggle for Survival in the Nineteenth Century," *North Dakota History* 53 (Summer 1986): 24-34.

10. Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics*, chapters 1-2. Cf. Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the U.S. Army, 1860-1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

11. James G. Murphy provides a more balanced study of "The Place of the Northern Arapahoes in the Relations between the United States and the Indians of the Plains, 1851-1879," *Annals of Wyoming* 41 (1969): 33-61, 203-259.

12. See for example: Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Arthur J. Ray and Donald B. Freeman, *"Give Us Good Measure:" An Economic Analysis of Relations Between Indians the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Sylvia Van Kirk,

room for much more work on what role Indians played in the fur trade in Wyoming and what role the fur trade played in Indian history. How did Euro-American trade fit into existing patterns of Indian trade? How did the Shoshone rendezvous function as well as the Wyoming portion of the vast Indian trading network that reached across almost two-thirds of the continent and tied the Indians here into indirect contact with the markets of Europe and the Orient?[13] In 1801 a party of "Tattooed Indians" (Arapahoes or possibly related Gros Ventres) turned up at the Hudson Bay Company post on the Saskatchewan after traveling forty-five days to get there.[14] What might the Hudson Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg reveal about such long distance trading ventures by Wyoming Indians? How did Shoshone power revive with the American fur trade and how did the Shoshone economy adjust to the demise of the trade? A thorough study of Shoshone-trader relations would be a significant contribution to Wyoming history and to fur trade literature: travelers reported numerous mixed families of White trappers and Shoshone Indians as early as 1837.[15] There are plenty of traders' journals, letters, and account books, some in manuscript, many in print. We need to work through the haystacks looking for the needles that will add to our picture of early contacts, help trace the ebb and flow of Indian life and peoples in early Wyoming, and perhaps give evidence of the impact of European diseases in the area.

The fur trade was not the only area of non-violent interactions. Recent works on the Oregon Trail have provided more sensible discussion of Indian-emigrant relations to dispel the "circle-the-wagons" image of encounters.[16] But is it not also possible to piece together from records and reminiscences a fuller picture of relations at the grass roots level, where Indians worked alongside Whites as trappers, laborers, and ranch hands, or lived with them as neighbors on the reservation? The Laramie Loafers may seem an unexciting group in contrast with Crazy Horse and Custer, but they have their story also. In later years, Wyoming's Indian cowboys and cattle ranchers merit further study.[17]

It is time to discard the notion of an "Indian/White frontier" as our framework for studying either Indian history or Wyoming history. Instead of suggesting that all Indians lined up on one side, all Whites on the other, we might think instead of a kaleidoscope in which Crows, Arapahoes, Shoshones, Cheyennes, Lakotas, English, Scots, French-Canadians, Anglo-Americans, Mexicans, and immigrants from half a dozen European countries and the Orient met and mated, competed and cooperated, adapted and adjusted to each other's presence and the environment they shared.

Perhaps more than anything else we need to move the study of Indian history in Wyoming into the twentieth century. The Crow warrior Two Leggings avoided discussing the painful period after his people were confined to the reservation by saying: "Nothing happened after that. We just lived . . . . There is nothing more to tell."[18] Generations of historians have done little to disprove Two Leggings despondent assertion. But the reservation era, which so often signals the end of popular narratives of Indian history, represents the beginning of a new era of adjustment and struggle for Indian people and a new era of documentary wealth for students and scholars who are interested in examining how Indian people "just lived." The federal government generated enormous quantities of paperwork and statistics about its Indian "wards" and these data—which are mostly available on microfilm—can be mined, computerized, and quantified for information

"Many Tender Ties:" Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983); Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); and Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

13. See the map in W. Raymond Wood, "Plains Trade in Prehistoric and Protohistoric Intertribal Relations," in W. R. Wood and Margot Liberty, eds., *Anthropology on the Great Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 98-109.
14. Alice M. Johnson, ed., *Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1967), p. 298. On identification of Arapahoes in early records, see Hugh Lenox Scott, "The Early History and the Names of the Arapaho," *American Anthropologist* 9 (July-September 1907): 545-560.
15. Aubrey L. Haines, ed., *Journal of a Trapper by Osborne Russell* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 113-114. William R. Swagerty, "Marriage and Settlement Patterns of Rocky Mountain Trappers and Traders," *Western Historical Quarterly* 11 (1980): 159-180, provides an example of the kind of analysis of fur trade relations that can be gleaned from the records.
16. John D. Unruh, *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), chapter 5.
17. Cf. Paul B. Wilson, *Farming and Ranching on the Wind River Indian Reservation, Wyoming* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Lincoln-Nebraska, 1972).
18. Peter Nabokov, ed., *Two Leggings: The Making of a Crow Warrior* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1967), p. 197.

Scene at Fort Washakie, ca. 1890.

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on a variety of aspects of Indian history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: family life, band size, changes in leadership and politics, economic life, persecution and persistence of tribal culture, the workings of the BIA machinery on Wind River, and so on. We need to be asking new questions, applying some new techniques, and doing more Indian "social history" to produce a view of historical experiences that comes from Indian communities rather than from Washington.[19]

The reservation era witnessed a sustained assault on tribal life via allotment, missionaries, and education. All of these topics merit full length scholarly studies. As elsewhere in North America, we need to consider the complexities of what is too often glossed over as "conversion." When Arapahoes became Catholics and Shoshones became Episcopalians, did they jettison their traditional beliefs? If the evidence from elsewhere in the country is any guide, the answer is probably not. The Reverend John Roberts Collection in the AHC may contain some clues; the St. Stephens Mission files probably offer others, but the most insightful answers probably will come from collecting oral history among the people at Wind River, which requires patience and a sensitivity on the part of the researcher. When a Shoshone threw a hatchet at Ake Hultkrantz back in the 1950s to discourage him from attending a religious ceremony, he probably did so as a last resort, more subtle measures having failed to dissuade the persistent Swede.[20] Probing other peoples' religious beliefs may well be "none of your business." Fred Voget has shown how the Sun Dance was reintroduced among the Crows from the Shoshones in the 1940s, but there is room for other studies of cultural suppressions, survivals, and revivals.[21] The history of education of and by Indians in the state, and of language decline and survival are equally important issues up to the present day.

Other aspects of twentieth century Indian history that deserve full-length studies include the Indian New Deal and the Depression. What was life like on the Wind River

19. Cf., for example: Melissa L. Meyer and Russell Thornton, "Indians and the Numbers Game: Quantitative Methods in Native American History," and James Riding In, "Scholars and Twentieth Century Indians: Reassessing the Recent Past," in Colin G. Calloway, ed., *New Directions in American Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), pp. 5-29, 127-149.

20. Vecsey, ed., *Belief and Worship in Native North America*, p. xiii.

21. Fred Voget, *The Shoshone-Crow Sun Dance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984).

in the 1930s and why did the tribes reject John Collier's IRA?[22] Likewise, what were the experiences of Indian people in and from Wyoming during the crucial periods of termination and relocation. The following quotation, from a letter from Governor Lester C. Hunt to Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (March 30, 1945) illustrates the kind of thinking the Indians were up against in the years after World War II. The government, said Hunt, should stop being a "wet nurse" to the Indians. The Indian had "lost his glamour as a showman" and Hunt advocated terminating federal services and dividing up tribal lands so that the "Indian as we know him today would soon lose his identity and would rapidly acquire the American way of living." The Indian reservations "are surrounded by the highest types of civilization, and how or why they have been retarded in their advancement as much as they have is a mystery to me."[23] How Wyoming Indians fared in such a climate merits close consideration.

Today, questions of economic development and competition for water, mineral, and energy resources are high on the agenda throughout Indian country and on the Wind River in particular as tribes try to assert control of their resources or at least get what they consider a fair share of the revenue. The struggle over these resources is not new.[24] The Wind River tribes spent the first half of the century (1908-1947) battling to get control of the money they got from their oil and to cancel unfavorable oil leases. And the struggle goes back into the previous century. In 1872 gold miners who were operating illegally on the southern part of Wind River demanded the land be opened, prompting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis A. Walker to announce: "It is the policy of the government to segregate such [mineral] lands from the Indian reservations as far as may be consistent with the faith of the United States." Walker justified such a policy as being in the Indians' best interests: the miners were going to invade the mineral-rich lands anyway so the best way to protect the Indians from being disturbed was to take these lands away from them![25] Not until 1938 did the Supreme Court rule, against the assertions of the federal government, that minerals on the Wind River were "constituent elements of the land itself" and thus owned by the tribes.[26] A study of the long struggle over the energy resources of Wyoming's Indian lands would be a valuable case study in these days when the pressures on Indian resources intensify.

These are just a few areas where historians can enrich Wyoming's history by adding a fuller picture of Native American life and experiences. To do the job effectively, however, demands a certain amount of reeducation and a commitment to interdisciplinary study. We await a full-length history of the Wind River Reservation and the peoples who made it. One could write an administrative history by using government records, but the author of the book we need must not only be at home in the National Archives. He or she must be adept in archaeology, grounded in anthropology, a skilled practitioner of enthnohistory, and familiar with the Arapaho and Shoshone languages. If he or she is not a member of the Wind River communities, they must earn credibility on the reservation and conduct extensive interviews there.

Few of us live long enough to amass such expertise and few institutions can provide the necessary multidisciplinary training. But I think the University of Wyoming has the potential. Several colleges have departments or programs in Native American Studies. UW has neither. Dartmouth College where I taught last spring has one of the most prestigious Native American Studies programs in the country. The faculty consists of someone half-time from history, someone half-time from anthropology, someone half-time from English. UW by contrast has people with expertise in Native American history, archaeology, anthropology, literature, language, and art, and departments that are committed to maintaining those positions. The Coe Library is as good as most in Indian materials. Dartmouth may have advantages in finances, resources, and reputation, but it does not have the AHC, it does not have the Wind River Reservation within the state, and it does not have George Frison. I think that UW can, with a minimum of administrative chaos, offer students a rigorous program in Native American Studies. The Cowboy State could then assume its proper place, center stage, in the national effort to teach and research a better Indian history than that which has limited Wyoming's view of its past for so long.

22. Fowler discusses these questions briefly, but given the existence of WPA interviews in Cheyenne and the oral history of that period as yet untapped, the subject can hardly be exhausted.
23. Quoted from the Joseph C. O'Mahoney papers at the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, in Marjane Ambler, *Breaking the Iron Bonds: Indian Control of Energy Development* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), p. 8.
24. On water rights see Michael A. Massie, "The Cultural Roots of Indian Water Rights," *Annals of Wyoming* 59 (Spring 1987): 15-28; and Daniel McCool, *Command of the Waters: Iron Triangles, Federal Water Development and Indian Water* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
25. Ambler, *Breaking the Iron Bonds*, p. 48.
26. Ibid., p. 35.

FUR TRADE AND MILITARY HISTORY:

Wyoming Historiography and the 19th Century

by John D. McDermott

My interest in the fur trade generally centers on Southeast Wyoming and my recommendation will specifically concern that area. Hiram Chittenden's two volume study, *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, was the first attempt to do a general history, to create a context for further research. In the 1940s came the exciting narrative histories of Bernard Devoto, *Year of Decision* and *Across the Wide Missouri*, focusing on the drama of the experience and forcefully stating the prejudices of their author. In the next generation came the revisionists, like David J. Wishart—*The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807-1840*—who saw the fur trade as almost wholly an exploitive process. These two strains—the romantic view and the revisionist view remain in juxtaposition, which should lead to some lively debates and prompt further research. On the one hand, we have such volumes as Winfred Blevins, *Give Your Heart to the Hawks*, and Bill Gilbert's *The Life of Joseph Walker, Master of the Frontier*, and, on the other, William Swagerty's recent contextual essay in the Smithsonian's North American Indian Handbook series.

In recent decades, fur trade scholars have also welcomed more specific studies, such as Fred Gowan's *Rocky Mountain Rendezvous, 1825-1890*, and John E. Sunder's *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865*, the latter for the first time showing evidence of broad research in primary sources in the papers of the American Fur Company at the New York and Missouri Historical societies, the Chouteau Papers in St. Louis, and other manuscript repositories. In the mid-1960s the ten-volume series of fur trade biographies, LeRoy Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, provided a great deal of information on fur trade participants in Wyoming and, perhaps just as importantly, identified the location of many new sources for further research. In terms of historiography, perhaps the most significant volume published during this period was John E. Sunder's *Bill Sublette, Mountain Man*, which used hitherto untapped state and municipal records to trace the career of one of the most significant of Missouri's fur trade entrepreneurs.

Surprisingly enough, one of the greatest needs in fur trade history in Wyoming is a study of Fort Laramie from 1834 to 1849. The first study of the post, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West*, by LeRoy Hafen and Marion Young, is a curious volume in that its authors did not use basic fur trade records to write the first part nor basic military records to write the second. The same may be said of the two histories that followed it, Remi Nadeau's *Fort Laramie and the Sioux Indians* and David Lavender's *Fort Laramie and the Changing Frontier*. Hafen and Young relied mostly on diaries of the period and secondary studies of the region, while Nadeau and Lavendar basically regurgitated the work of their predecessors, with a few new facts thrown in here and there, utilizing their considerable writing skills to improve the package. The only extended treatment of

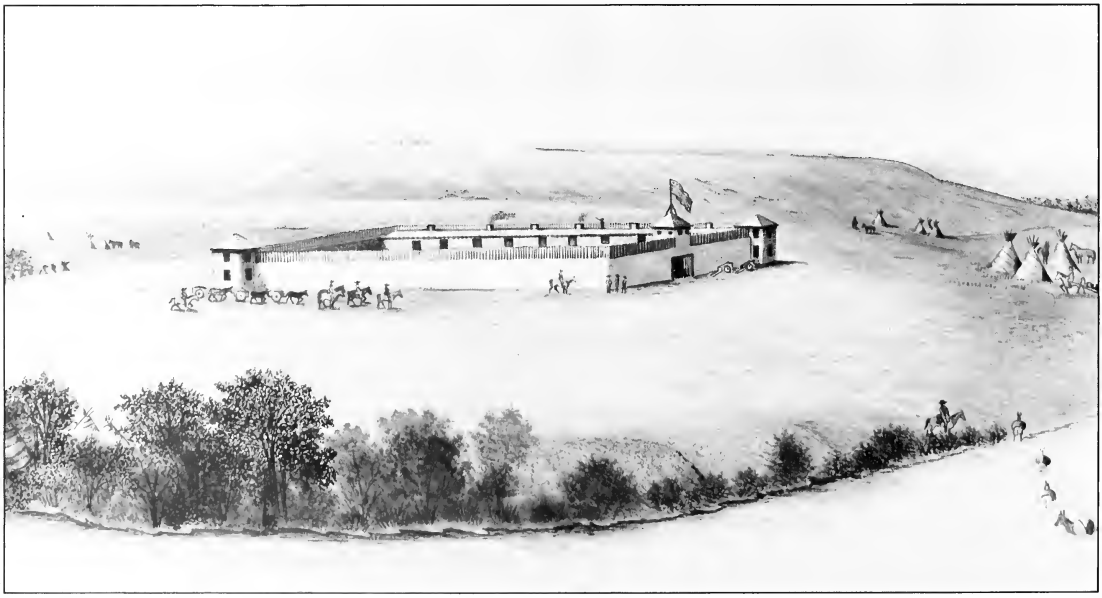
Fort Laramie to use primarily primary sources is Paul Hedren's *Fort Laramie and the Sioux War of 1876*, published last year, and, of course, it is limited to a single year in the post's long history.

Probably the greatest opportunity for historic site archaeology in the state awaits the National Park Service at Fort Laramie National Historic Site. In 1988 a magnetometer survey revealed a large rectangular pattern not too far from the bank of the Laramie River in the vicinity of the 1876 Iron Military Bridge. The survey showed ground disturbance to depth of ten feet. The site is the one named by John Hunton, the last post trader at Fort Laramie, as that of Fort William, the first Fort Laramie built of cottonwood logs by William Sublette and Robert Campbell and immortalized by the brush of Alfred Jacob Miller. During the winter of 1867, Hunton roomed with Jim Bridger who was the co-owner of Fort William in 1835, so one can assume the source of his information. The site is a mile away from the military complex, so exploration and development will not compete with the existing interpretive program. However, the National Park Service has voiced skepticism concerning the location, and its Denver Regional Office has indicated that archaeological testing has a low priority in the immediate future. It is very difficult to understand the NPS' position in view of the significance of Fort William in the history of Wyoming and the need for the state to increase its tourism in a time of economic difficulties.

While attention has been focused on Fort Laramie, there were many other trading establishments in the area, including Fort Bernard, the location of which remains in doubt. Much needs to be done to document these commercial outposts, which cover the fur trading and emigration periods. George Zeimen's work on the Bordeaux Trading Post shows what can be learned from archaeological investigation.

Another undisturbed fur trading post site that promises to yield considerable information is the so-called Portuguese Houses site in north central Wyoming, about eleven miles east of Kaycee. Established in the 1830s by Antonio Mateo, the privately owned site is clearly seen from the air, covering an area of about 85 by 110 feet.

The Sublette brothers, the Richard brothers, the Janis brothers, James Bordeaux, Joseph Bissonette, Joseph Knight, Sefrey Iot, and Big Bat Pourier all came from St. Charles, Missouri. All of these men played important roles in the early history of southeast Wyoming, forming individually and occasionally collectively, the main opposition to the American Fur Company in the region. We need to know more about their activities and interrelationships,



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Fort Laramie

utilizing the rich early business and legal records of St. Charles, which are available in French. It is more than fifty years since the biographies of Jim Bridger and Thomas Fitzpatrick, and new studies are needed.

The greatest need in fur trade research, in my opinion, is a general history of this activity in the state: one that would link east and west; locate important sites, including trappers' smaller establishments; and identify the players, utilizing the many manuscript and business papers in Missouri repositories, government documents, and the files of the newspapers of Missouri border towns, which reported in great detail the comings and goings of traders and trappers through interviews and reprinting of letters received by townsfolk from those engaged in trading activities in the West. Add to this a gleaning and consolidation of the great wealth of information assembled in biographies prepared for Hafen's many-volumed *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, and a comprehensive study would be possible.

In looking at military history in the nineteenth century, it is possible to find even a greater disparity between what has been published and what are the needs. Some recent general works have been helpful. Robert M. Utley's two volumes, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865*, and *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1890*, provide a context and basic facts concerning military strategy and campaigns on the Northern Plains. Robert Athearn's *William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West* and Paul Hutton's *Phil Sheridan and His Army* explicate high-level army policy as it is related to the Rocky Mountain region. The new volume by Robert Wooster, *The Military and United States Indian Policy, 1865-1903*, discusses western strategies and explains their failure.

While much has been written on individual military-Indian conflicts in Wyoming, little has been based on a thorough examination of the documents. Dee Brown, for example, did not use official army correspondence in preparing his history of *Fort Phil Kearny: An American Saga*, reprinted as *The Fetterman Massacre*, but depended on the two reminiscences by the Carrington women for most of his information—*Absaroka, Home of the Crows* by Margaret, and *My Army Life and the Fort Phil Kearny Massacre* by Frances. Brown's book ends on January 23, 1867, when Colonel Henry Carrington leaves Fort Phil Kearny in disgrace and does not treat the remaining year-and-a-half of the post's history before abandonment.

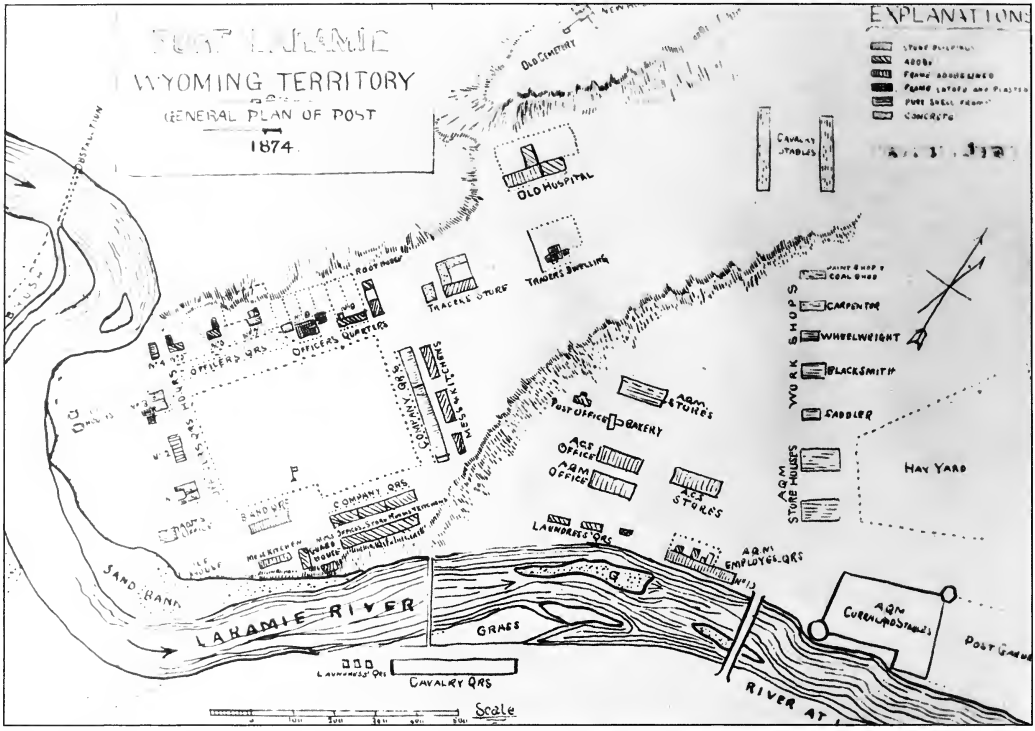
It is also true that too much of what has been written in modern times rearranges earlier unsubstantiated work. An example is the treatment of the Platte Bridge Fight of July 25, 1865, by J. W. Vaughn. His account, *The Battle of Platte Bridge*, relies heavily on Alfred J. Mokler's *Fort Caspar* and *History of Natrona County Wyoming, 1881-1922*. Since Mokler did not footnote his work, we have no way of evaluating his sources.[1] While Vaughn did make use of several newly discovered eyewitness accounts and evidence gathered with a metal detector, he still used Mokler as his major authority. That Vaughn missed a great deal in his documentary search is evidenced by the voluminous material unearthed by John Maxon of Arleta, California, which he recently donated to the Fort Caspar Museum, where scholars might make use of it to write a much better account of the fight and the fort.

One of those who has pioneered in the use of the primary sources in writing Wyoming military history is Robert A. Murray. In his *Military Posts on the Powder River, 1865-1894*, he not only utilized the military groupings known as post records, quartermaster records, district and departmental records, and records of the advocate general's office, but he approached the subject from a military frame of reference, dealing with the material topically in terms of supply, armament, logistics, and tactics. In a booklet titled *Military Posts of Wyoming*, Murray was the first to attempt a sketch of total military activity in Wyoming.

What are some of the present needs? We lack a solid military history of Fort Laramie. We need a study of military posts along the Union Pacific similar to Robert Athearn's *Military Posts on the Upper Missouri*. In terms of biography, we do not yet have a volume devoted to George Crook or a scholarly treatment of Nelson A. Miles, the two most proficient Indian fighters on the Northern Plains. Others needing biographies are C. C. Ord, Henry Carrington, and Ranald MacKenzie. We do not have a history of the Department of the Platte or any of its subdivisions, which guided military policy and logistics in Wyoming. Conspicuously absent is scholarly treatment of the events of 1865 including the Connor campaign. Finally, we need a full treatment of military activities within state boundaries, which includes thorough site identification.

In the field of military, social, and intellectual history, some progress has been made. Three especially useful volumes are Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898*, Sherry

1. Mokler's research notes survive in the hands of a relative, so some day this evaluation may be possible.



General plan of Fort Laramie, 1874.

Smith, *The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians*, and Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*. Solidly based on extensive research in manuscript and printed materials, they do much to elucidate the every day lives and opinions of those who served in the frontier army.

There are some sources, however, that have not yet been thoroughly mined, especially with regard to the enlisted man. Most important are six serial publications: the *Army Navy Journal*, the *Army Navy Register*, the *National Tribune*, the *Journal of the Military Service Institute*, *United Service* magazine, and *Winners of the West*. The most used of the group are the *Army Navy Journal* and *Winners of the West*, the former being a New York-based newspaper begun in 1862 and running into the twentieth century and the latter a monthly flourishing in the 1920s and 1930s and devoted solely to the Indian Wars. Virtually unused is the *Army Navy Register*, a Washington D.C.-based newspaper which first appeared in 1878, running like its competitor, the *Army Navy Journal*, well into the twentieth century. Both the journals depend on letters from men in service to fill most of their pages. While both have a general index, one must sift through page-by-page to get at the meat of them. There you will find letters written by deserters about why they deserted, complaints about living conditions by army wives, suggestions on how to fight Indians, and so on, a marvel of information and opinion. The two professional magazines of the period are the *Journal of the Military Service Institute* and *United Service*, both begun in the late 1870s and continuing into the 1900s. Scholars occasionally cite articles from these publications, but only sporadically, obviously depending upon inadequate indexes to locate the appropriate material.

The last of the indispensable serials is the *National Tribune*, a newspaper begun as the official organ of the Grand Old Army of the Republic. In the 1890s, as Civil

War veterans began to disappear from the scene, Indian Wars veterans began to publish their diaries and reminiscences, some filling a column or two and some numbering a hundred pages. This newspaper is not indexed. I have copied about 150 accounts from the *National Tribune*, the majority of them coming from enlisted men and many of them dealing with happenings in Wyoming.

The greatest opportunities for research in military history lie in elucidating the Indian side of the story. It is especially important to identify the military geography of the Sioux, Crow, Northern Arapahoe, Shoshone, and Northern Cheyenne, just as we have identified those sites occupied or utilized by the United States Army. As a corollary, we need to identify Indian positions at various battlefields and begin to develop self-guiding trails that reflect the view looking in at military posts rather than always representing the view looking out. Foremost, we need to develop a detailed history of Indian locations, movements, groupings, strategy, and tactics, utilizing newspaper sources, which contain much information in the form of letters from travelers to and from Indian camps, sources overlooked, for example, by George Hyde in his histories of the Sioux, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians* and *Spotted Tail: A History of the Brúle Sioux*.

Another gap in White-Indian relations concerns histories of Indian agents. A series for them akin to Hafen's biographical series on mountain men would be greatly welcome.

In summary, while much has been written about the fur trade and a great deal written about military history, especially the Indian wars, much of it is based on secondary sources and inadequate research. Perhaps just as important is the fact that it has been written by non-historians, who while often bringing new perspectives and new talents to the job, do not approach the subject in the manner of those trained in the discipline. Perhaps the best example of this is the much-lauded study of the westward migration across Wyoming by John D. Unruh, Jr., titled *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-60*. While hundreds of books had been written on the Oregon/California/Mormon Trail previously, Unruh was the first to apply the trained historian's approach to the subject, namely, research in the official documents of the period, the contemporary newspapers, and other primary sources, and the book now stands alone as the best in the field.

The principal question, then, becomes whether the writing of nineteenth century Wyoming history will remain largely in the hands of writers like Stanley Vestal and John Francis McDermott, who were English professors; Alfred J. Mokler, Bernard DeVoto, and Bill Gilbert, who were newspapermen; Remi Nadeau, who was a public relations director for United Airlines; Carl P. Russel, who was a naturalist; Mari Sandoz, Helena Huntington Smith, and Dorothy Johnson, fine writers, but not trained in history; Jack Gage, who was a politician; J. W. Vaughn, who was a lawyer; Mark Brown, who was a rancher and former military intelligence officer; Dee Brown, who was a librarian; and E. A. Brininstool, who was a columnist.

ETHNICITY IN WYOMING

by Carl V. Hallberg

Since the 1970s, western historians have recognized ethnicity as an integral part in the settlement of the trans-Mississippi West. Although much work has been accomplished, any attempt at understanding ethnicity overall on the Great Plains of the Rocky Mountain West is still presumptuous, because of the various methodologies employed and, for many areas, the lack of basic research.[1] In Wyoming, the latter is a valid critique. With the possible exception of some recent projects, historians have not given careful consideration to Asians, Blacks, Europeans, and Hispanics in the development of the state.

The delay in ethnic research is no fault of the historical record. The arrival of immigrants and non-Whites did not go unnoticed, because race, dress, or speech singled them out as being culturally different to anglicized residents. In turn, public comments were transplanted into the political arena where officials voiced their support or criticism as circumstances dictated. All these observations reflected the changing composition of society and how commentators saw their state. But race or nationality did not have to trigger emotional reactions. To fill space newspapers printed brief notices about emigrant trains, organizations, or activities by anonymous individuals with references only to race or nationality. A person's race and nationality was sometimes required as part of a public record.

Physical geography did not isolate immigrants from ethnic centers. Roads, postal lines, and railroads served as a kind of cultural lifeline. Communication with friends, family, and institutions fostered a personal sense of cultural identity. National, religious, and educational leaders used similar information lines to make contacts and to bring residents within the fold of the ethnic community at large. The effectiveness of these networks in Wyoming would be determined by who used them and the frequency of use.

What was the composition of Wyoming's ethnic population? The answer is not a simple one. Europeans, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics comprised 40.5 percent of the total population in 1870, 29.6 percent in 1880, 26.1 percent in 1890, 21.6 percent in 1900, and 22.5 percent in 1910.[2] But census figures are only numerical abstracts. Within each group there is a diversity, since no one group is composed of uniform individuals. Differences abound due to occupation, class, education, religion, settlement patterns, residency, and age. Wyoming's cultural environment—economics, social infrastructures, and population density—would also have different effects upon each individual.

After considering these factors, there emerges a far from simple account of economic success and cultural assimilation. The ability of residents, collectively and individually, to cope with circumstances around them determined how and to what extent ethnicity would manifest itself, local perceptions and attitudes of race and ethnicity, and how well immigrants adjusted to cultural life in Wyo-

1. Frederick C. Luebke, "Ethnic Minority Groups in the American West," in Michael P. Malone, ed., *Historians and the American West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), pp. 388-413; Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), pp. 138-156; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities," in Frederick C. Luebke, ed., *Ethnicity on the Great Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 1-18; and Carlton Q. Qualey, "Ethnic Groups and the Frontier," in Roger L. Nichols, ed., *American Frontier and Western Issues* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 199-216.

2. *Compendium of the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880), Part I* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), pp. 60, 332-333; *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890: Part I—Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), pp. 47, 469; and *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Vol. III: Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 1115.

ming. For example, a Swedish farm in Crook County and a Swedish railroad worker in Rawlins may share a common nationality, but they also might contrast in their perceptions of their adopted society, their ability to interact in the social and economic circles, their participation and acceptance in local matters, and their personal participation in their cultural heritage. But the individual account is just one perspective. In agriculture, Huntley (Jewish), Germania (Germans), and Lindbergh (Swedish) are rural settlements in title alone. A closer examination will reveal comparative differences, but in what way? Were these due to the character of the land, the ability of the farmers themselves, economics, or a combination of the above? Dudley Gardner and Verla Flores report that coal companies, particularly the Union Pacific, hired various ethnic groups to work mines, to prevent the organization of unions and to populate remote regions.[3] Did this intentional intermingling of people fulfill the corporation's labor objectives? Was the melting pot in effect? Was ethnic life in the coal towns different from other towns?

In summary, ethnicity has played a role in the settlement of Wyoming. Some generalizations can be made from this statement. Where there was a large ethnic community and community hegemony was strong, there arose support institutions—churches, fraternal orders, and businesses. In other places the paucity of population resulted in greater ethnocultural interaction and quicker assimilation. The difficult task for historians is not merely to identify, but to understand how ethnicity and Wyoming's cultural landscape affected each other.

National historians have been slow to rediscover or at least acknowledge an ethnic presence in Wyoming. Previous conceptions of what constituted western history and what constituted ethnic history have made a union of ideas almost prohibitive. Marcus Lee Hansen, the dean of immigration history in the 1920s and 1930s, led the way. Although he was a staunch advocate of thorough research, he based his book, *The Immigrant and American History*, upon midwestern and eastern studies. Some of his generalizations cannot be proven because of the lack of documentation. Other statements are wrong. For example, Hansen wrote that at the time of the adoption of women's suffrage, Wyoming's population was nearly 100 percent native-born; in actuality foreign-born residents comprised more than 29 percent of the total population.[4] When Hansen's book was posthumously published in 1940, the Rock Springs Massacre was already recognized nationally as a prime illustration of radical nativism.[5] Acts of western nativism always break the mold of an Anglo-Saxon West.

A balanced national portrait of ethnicity still remains far removed. To their credit, immigration historians have admitted that their attempts to document the national picture were hardly definitive, partly because of the lack of scholarship from which to draw upon and partly because of the immensity of the task before them. At the same time philosophical orientations, from Carl Wittke's *We Who Built America* (1939) to John Bodnar's *The Transplanted* (1986), would but preclude any serious consideration of ethnicity in the plains or mountain west states.[6]

The failure of national historians is reflective, to some extent, upon the activities of historians at the state level. Considering the breadth of historical research done to date, ethnicity in Wyoming represents a comparatively small portion. The main reason is again one of perceiving what constitutes ethnicity based on eastern studies instead of understanding ethnicity within the context of Wyoming. Thus, for some, ethnicity as a theme is sometimes seen as a quixotic novelty incompatible with traditional themes and popular images of Wyoming's past. For others, melting pot analogies hint at an heterogeneous population, but stop short of exploring the meaning and relevance of the melting pot concept in Wyoming.

A thorough historiographical analysis of ethnicity in Wyoming history is beyond the scope of this paper. However, one general observation is that popular themes have

3. A. Dudley Gardner and Verla R. Flores, *Forgotten Frontier: A History of Wyoming Coal Mining* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989), pp. 83, 112-114.

4. Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*, ed. by Arthur M. Schlesinger (New York: Harper & Row, 1940), p. 92; Luebke, *Germans*, p. 143; Peter Kvisto, "Ethnicity and the Problem of Generations in American History," in Peter Kvisto and Dag Blanck, eds., *American Generations and Their Immigrants: Studies and Commentaries on the Hansen Thesis after Fifty Years* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), p. 2; and 1869 census, Secretary of State Records, Wyoming State Archives, Division of Parks and Cultural Resources, Department of Commerce. The exact percentage of foreign-born residents cannot be determined due to missing pages and blank entries.

5. Paul Crane and Alfred Larson, "The Chinese Massacre," *Annals of Wyoming* 12 (January 1940):47-55; 12 (April 1940): 153-161; and Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1939), p. 462.

6. Luebke, *Germans*, pp. 138-156.

prevailed. The historiography of Wyoming along with Colorado and Montana has been described as being dominated by the spectacular and sensational.[7] This statement should not be interpreted as demeaning the credibility of frontier studies. But at the same time many authors, particularly those for early *Annals* articles and Wyoming history books, failed to explore ethnicity as an element within a theme or considered respective individuals or groups as colorful illustrations or sidelight within a story. Ethnicity was a passive rather than active element. This trend continues. Most ethnic displays in the capitol for the capitol centennial in 1988 and the state centennial in 1990 offered a quick overview through artifacts, photographs, and biographies of notable people. Modern county histories focus on the pioneer experience, but ignore how a person's cultural background affected his or her social life. On the other hand, in order to make ethnicity visible, some authors promote rather than interpret. They seek a dual purpose of pride and continuity with the past, a style of writing that has been called empowering, filiopietistic, and transparent.[8] Wyoming historians need to balance the pendulum from swinging too far one way or the other.

The first scholarly study of ethnicity in Wyoming appeared in 1977 under the title of *Peopling the High Plains: Wyoming's European Heritage*.[9] The book represents a major development in Wyoming historiography and gave Wyoming a place in immigration history. Its essays vary in style, methodology, and perspective, but the book provided a starting point for further work. More importantly, the settlement of Wyoming is now viewed as part of the continuum of ethnicity on the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain West.

But the momentum behind *Peopling the High Plains* was shortlived, and ethnicity quickly diminished as a serious topic of study. *Peopling the High Plains* is not the end all,

7. Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931), p. 454; and Eugene H. Berwanger, "The Absurd and the Spectacular: The Historiography of the Plains-Mountain States—Colorado, Montana, Wyoming," *Pacific Historical Review* L (November 1981): 445-474.

8. Luebke, *Germans*, pp. 138-139; Walter O. Forster, "The Immigrant and the American National Idea," in O. Fritiof Ander, ed., *In Trek of the Immigrants: Essays Presented to Carl Wittke* (Rock Island: Augustana College Library, 1964), pp. 157-158; and David Thelen, *History-Making in America: A Populist Perspective* (David Thelen, 1991), p. 6.

9. Gordon Olaf Hendrickson, ed., *Peopling the High Plains: Wyoming's European Heritage* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, 1977).

COURTESY SWEETWATER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Carl Carlson, son of Swedish immigrants who settled in Rock Springs. Photograph was taken in 1915.

even on its own topics, for ethnic history in Wyoming has a long way to go. Surveys on Jews, rural Blacks, Hispanics in World War II, and nativism have been done and still offer areas of research while other groups such as Swedes, Finns, Japanese (not just Heart Mountain), and Chinese (not just the Chinese Massacre) remain to be documented.[10] Eastern case studies require western counterparts. Western literary and film genre deserve scrutiny in their portrayals of ethnic groups. The ethnic perspective need not stand alone but should be regarded as part of social, economic, and labor history. The avenues of ethnic research advocated by Hansen in the 1930s still offer possibilities for investigation in Wyoming.[11]

Speaking before the 1937 National Conference on Social Work in Indianapolis, Marcus Lee Hansen stated that the opportunity for discovering the ethnic past was readily available and should be written. "To accommodate that task, while memory is fresh and documents still preserved, is the most challenging duty now facing American historians."[12] Even today, Hansen's point—to document the ethnic heritage of a place—remains valid. It is also a challenge. Memories have faded, communities have evaporated, and some documents have disappeared. Nonetheless, the task is a necessary one. Wyoming historians have their work cut out for them.

10. Carl V. Hallberg, "Jews in Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming* 61 (Spring 1989): 10-31; Todd R. Guenther, "At Home on the Range: Black Settlements in Rural Wyoming," (Master's Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1988); Todd R. Guenther, " '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," *Annals of Wyoming* 61 (Fall 1989): 20-40; William L. Hewitt, "Mexican Workers in Wyoming During World War II: Necessity, Discrimination and Protest," *Annals of Wyoming* 54 (Spring 1982): 20-33; and Lawrence A. Cardoso, "Nativism in Wyoming 1868-1930: Changing Perceptions of Foreign Immigrants," *Annals of Wyoming* 58 (Fall 1986): 20-38. For a comparative study, see Barbara Jo Guilford, "Ethnic Comparison of Agricultural Units in Goshen and Washakie Counties of Wyoming," (Master's Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1974).
11. Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*, pp. 191-217.
12. Marcus Lee Hansen, "Who Shall Inherit America?" in Peter Kvisto and Dag Blanck, eds., *American Immigrants and Their Generations: Studies and Commentaries on the Hansen Thesis after Fifty Years* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), p. 204.

CHINESE EMIGRANTS IN SOUTHWEST WYOMING 1868-1885

by A. Dudley Gardner

The central focus of articles and books written about Chinese history in Wyoming has been the Chinese Massacre that took place on September 2, 1885. As a result of this tragedy, twenty-eight Chinese died in Rock Springs, and most of the north side of town was burned to the ground. This tragedy was preceded by seventeen years of Chinese emigration into Wyoming Territory. However, it has been the Chinese Massacre, not the emigration, that has most often been discussed and written about by historians.[1] Asians rarely receive recognition as important players in the development of Wyoming.

The fact that Asian history in Wyoming receives little attention is not due to a conscious policy by historians to avoid ethnic groups from the Pacific Rim, but is more the result of not being able to find readily primary source material about Chinese emigrants in Wyoming. Currently, the amount of available primary materials is increasing and a broad view of the Chinese role in Wyoming is beginning to merge. It is now possible to discuss briefly the Chinese contribution to Wyoming during the territorial period. Here we will briefly review the role the Chinese played in Wyoming prior to 1885.

In the years between 1868 and 1885, the Chinese contributed much to the development of southern Wyoming. They were also the victims of racial prejudice. While contributing to the growth of the territory, the Chinese were viewed as a problem. Prejudice was a fact rarely hidden or apologized for in the territorial newspapers.

The first newspaper to print "anti-Chinese" articles was the *Frontier Index*. In 1868, Legh Freeman, the editor of the *Frontier Index*, called his newspaper an anti-Black, anti-Indian, and anti-Chinese newspaper. Freeman headed his editorial column with the words, "The Motto of this Column: Only White Men to be naturalized in the United States. The RACES and SEXES in their respective spheres as God Almighty created them."[2] The Cheyenne newspapers were no kinder to emigrants. By the late 1870s, when anti-Chinese sentiment was at a fevered pitch throughout the West, the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* led off one of their stories by saying ". . . We are being ruined by Chinese thieving."[3] Throughout the West, there was widespread prejudice aimed at Chinese emigrants. For example, in 1866, the *Montana Radiator* reported that the "Mongolian hordes" were preventing "Helena women from making a living washing clothes."[4] People in Wyoming Territory viewed the Chinese much like other "Westerners" and perceived them as a threat to their jobs and economic well being.

In Wyoming the first Chinese emigrated to become railroad workers. The 1870 United States census records show that in southwest Wyoming, specifically Uinta and Sweetwater counties, all the Chinese listed were employed as laborers at either railroad stations or section camps. At the time, both Uinta and Sweetwater counties ran from the Utah and Colorado borders to the Montana border. Within these two counties, there were ninety-six Chinese "laborers." No other occupation is listed nor were there any Chinese females living in these two counties.[5] As laborers in railroad camps, the Chinese all worked for the Union Pacific Railroad.

The Union Pacific Railroad initially recruited Chinese laborers to work on their mainline. After 1874, when labor unrest developed in their coal mines, Union Pacific Railroad also began hiring Chinese workers to extract coal at their various mines throughout southern Wyoming. Employing Chinese miners or railroad workers was a matter of both convenience and economics. In 1870, Union Pacific's auditor, J. W. Gannet, wrote to Oliver Ames, the president of Union Pacific, that "The difference between Irish and Chinese as to expense appears small. Utah having as many Chinese on a 5 mile section as Platte [division] has of Irish on a 6 mile section. This, however, may be unnecessary as I am told that an irishman performs no more labor than a Chinese. . . ."[6] Grenville M. Dodge, after the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869, planned to discharge the "Irishmen" and replace them with Chinese workers, "a move he thought would cut labor costs in half."[7]

Employing Chinese railroad workers was a profitable venture for Union Pacific. At remote section camps, such as Red Desert in Sweetwater County, the majority of the residents were Chinese. In 1870 there were twenty inhabitants at Red Desert. Of this number, twelve were Chinese. Of course, the Chinese at Red Desert were all laborers. The section foreman at the camp was an American.[8] Red Desert's counterpart, located to the east, was called Washakie. At Washakie there were twenty-three residents. The section foreman was an American and the crew foreman was Irish, but the thirteen laborers were all Chinese.[9]

1. Examples of works which have discussed the Chinese Massacre in some detail include: T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 2nd ed., rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978); Dell Isham, *Rock Springs Massacre 1885* (Master's Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1967); Issac Hill Bromley, *The Chinese Massacre at Rock Springs Wyoming Territory* (Boston: Franklin Press, Rand, Avery and Company, 1886); Robert Rhode, *Booms and Busts on Bitter Creek* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Press, 1987). In addition to these books and the thesis, several pamphlets and articles have been published dealing specifically with the Chinese Massacre. Among the articles published are two pieces by Paul Crane and T. A. Larson, "The Chinese Massacre," *Annals of Wyoming* 12 (January 1940): 47-55; and 2 (April 1940): 153-161. A pamphlet has also been written by Henry F. Chadey, *The Chinese Story and Rock Springs, Wyoming* (Green River, Wyoming: Sweetwater County Historical Museum, n.d.).
2. *Frontier Index* [Green River City, Wyoming], August 11, 1868. The capitalization of the words are as they appear in the original column.
3. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, May 6, 1879.
4. *Montana Radiator* [Helena, Montana], January 24, 1866; John R. Wunder, "Law and Chinese in Frontier Montana," *Montana the Magazine of Western History* 30 (Summer 1980): 18-31.
5. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872).
6. J. W. Gannett to Oliver Ames, August 27, 1870, UPRR Collection, Office of the President, MS 3761, SG2, Box 6, Nebraska State Museum and Archives, Lincoln.
7. Maury Klein, *Union Pacific: The Birth of a Railroad, 1862-1893* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1987). p. 238.
8. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870.*
9. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870.*

In the various section camps along the Union Pacific mainline in southwest Wyoming, Chinese workers outnumbered all other nationalities. In 1870 Sweetwater County had seventy-nine Chinese residents. This figure represents roughly 4 percent of the county's entire population. However, this population was concentrated into isolated areas with no Chinese residents reported at Green River or Rock Springs, the largest towns along the Union Pacific mainline in Sweetwater County.[10]

Throughout the decade of the 1870s the number of Chinese living in southwestern Wyoming steadily increased. What is more important is that while the population increased, so did the diversity. At Rock Springs, where most of the Chinese residents of Sweetwater County lived in 1880, there were Chinese miners, laborers, and cooks, along with a barber, gambler, and a priest. The fact that Rock Springs had a resident priest is of some interest, as he is seemingly the only one in the territory and possibly served a wider community.[11] The person employed as a professional gambler probably helped provide recreation for more than just the Chinese residents of Rock Springs.

Throughout Sweetwater County in 1880, the majority of the Chinese residents either worked on the railroad or in the coal mines, but some were also involved in a variety of occupations. At Green River, there was a Chinese doctor. At Miners Delight, Atlantic City, and Red Canyon, Chinese gold miners were employed. At Fort Washakie and Green River there were Chinese servants and waiters. A number of places had Chinese wash houses. A few communities also had Chinese cooks. However, throughout Sweetwater County there were only thirteen cooks and two wash house attendants employed. The majority of the 193 Chinese residents living in Sweetwater County in 1880 were either working in the mines or for the railroad.[12]

Both Rock Springs and Green River had Chinese women living in their towns in 1880. Although small in number, all of the female residents were employed outside the home. In Green River two women worked as servants, whereas the only woman in Rock Springs was a cook.[13] While the female population was a relatively small proportion of the total Chinese population, it is significant because folklore surrounding the Chinese Massacre often

10. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870.*
11. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883).
12. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880.*
13. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880.*

Lock Long Choong, known as Mormon Charlie, sold vegetables in Evanston, Wyoming.

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puts forth the idea that there were no Chinese women living in Rock Springs in the years prior to 1885. Overall, there were only three Chinese females in Sweetwater County and the Chinese emigrants only represent 7.5 percent of the county's entire population. Yet what is worth noting is the fact that this small percentage of the population was concentrated in areas where their numbers were extremely visible. In Rock Springs, for example, the Chinese represented 16 percent of the town's population. At railroad camps, such as Washakie Station, they represented 58 percent of the 1880 population.[14]

As the number of Chinese living in Wyoming began to increase, the states' newspapers devoted more and more time discussing whether Asians should be allowed into the United States. The newspapers also published articles describing the day to day activities of Chinese in Wyoming. While most newspapers published the recurring theme "the Chinese must GO," they provided information about the Chinese living in Wyoming. (In the newspapers of the nineteenth century, emphasis was always given on the verb go, and it was often capitalized in the newspaper print).

In 1882 "a newly appointed attache to the Chinese embassy at Washington [D.C.]" visited Wyoming. Chang Tsung Liang took the opportunity to criticize the press for not portraying the Chinese in a favorable light. He accused the newspapers of creating the nationwide anti-Chinese sentiment that existed at the time. Chang also reported about conditions he had encountered in Wyoming. The attache, according to the *Cheyenne Daily Leader*,

> [E]xpressed his pleasure at the prosperous appearance of Cheyenne as compared with other towns he had passed along the route, inquired after his countrymen here and if they were "comfortable" and mentioned, evidently with hurt feelings, the very rude manner in which some loafers had behaved at Rock Springs as he passed through there, in calling him "bad names" "not like gentlemen and very rude."[15]

In another article, the *Leader* interviewed a Chinese merchant, who was passing through Cheyenne on business. The merchant, named Ah Lun, was a prosperous businessman. Often even the positive articles about Chinese emigrants were written somewhat "tongue in cheek," but these articles at least provided a different viewpoint. For example, the Chinese merchant Ah Lun, was described as follows:

> This celestial gentleman speaks good English and is quite social, freely imparting the course of his journey in a business, offhand way, and taking part in general conversation. He was attired in the conventional Chinese garments, but of very fine material, largely black silk and satin. Someone wondered (audibly) how he could keep his white stockings so clean, and a German friend suggested that he "put on a clean pair efry day aind dat so?" And Ah smiled assent.[16]

Chinese merchants and attaches, while both holding respected positions, were not shown the respect extended to Americans or Europeans who held the same positions.

Throughout the West the Chinese were viewed as second class citizens. Companies in Wyoming Territory, like those in neighboring territories, often viewed the Chinese as if they were property or chattel, rather than employees. A contract dated December 24, 1875, between "Beckwith, Quinn, & Co. and Union Pacific Railroad Co.," illustrates the fact that Beckwith and Quinn, not the Chinese miner or railroad worker, decided the conditions under which they were to be employed. The contract for "Chinese labor and etc. Sale of Supplies, Rent of Warehouse Rock S." reads as follows:

> *Agreement* made and entered into, this 24th day of December A.D. 1875, between *Beckwith, Quinn & Co.*, of Evanston Wyoming Territory of the first part, and the *Union Pacific Railroad Co.*, of the second part, —Witnesseth:—
>
> *The parties of the first part*, hereby agree to furnish to the party of the Second part, all the Chinese laborers requisite for the complete working of their several coal mines on the line of the Union Pacific Railroad, at the same prices and on the same terms and conditions as stated in a certain Contract for similar service made by Sisson Wallace & Co., for and in behalf of Chinese laborers, with the Rocky Mountain Coal & Mining Co., a copy of which is hereto attached, and made a part of this agreement.
>
> The said parties of the first part further agree to furnish to the said party of the Second part, upon a reasonable notice from their Gen'l. Superintendent, a sufficient number of Chinese laborers for the repairs of the track of the Union Pacific

14. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880.* The point about Chinese women living in the United States is somewhat complex. Stacy A. Flaherty, in his article "Boycott in Butte: Organized Labor and the Chinese Community, 1896-1897," *Montana the Magazine of Western History* 37 (Winter 1987): 41, gives the following insight. "Most Chinese men left their wives and families in China while they sojourned in the United States. They sent money to their families or saved money to buy passage for their wives. Traditionally, a respectable Chinese woman did not leave home even with her husband. . . . The U.S. Government excluded wives from coming with immigrant Chinese laborers, but wives of merchants were allowed to enter the country." For more on Chinese families see Stanford M. Lyman, "Marriage and Family Among Chinese Immigrants to America, 1850-1906," in *The Asians in the West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970), pp 27-31.

15. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, June 16, 1882.

16. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 6, 1881.

> Railroad, or such portion thereof, in addition to that which is now being worked by Chinamen, as the party of the Second part may require. . . .[17]

The attached service contract stated:

> Chinamen agree to mine the coal, load it in Pit cars, and deliver it at the mouth of the room free from slack and rock, and assorted, either lump, small or mixed as directed, at Seventy Four (74) cents coin per ton of Twenty Two Hundred and Forty (2240) pounds, from all places, either rooms, levels or air courses.
>
> All cars or coal sent out of the mine in which there is slack or rock, will be docked half of their weight, and if men disobey their Foreman, or persist in sending out slack or rock, after being docked, they will be discharged.
>
> All men are to commence and stop work by the whistle.
>
> Company are to furnish tools, do the blacksmithing and repairing, furnish mules, harness and pit cars, and supply of water for the men.
>
> Company are to deliver coal at the houses of all the laborers, for which the Chinamen are to pay 50 Cents per man per month.
>
> Company are to furnish houses for the Chinamen to live in at $5, per month for each house.[18]

The Chinese, like their American counterparts, labored in the coal mines under extremely harsh conditions. When the Almy mine first exploded in 1881, thirty-eight miners died. Of this number, thirty-five were Chinese and three were what the newspapers of the time called "white men."[19] This was the first coal mine explosion in Wyoming history. It would not be the last time emigrants would lose their lives mining coal in Wyoming.

The problem of prejudice, added to the problems of working in a hazardous job, made the Chinese emigrants lives all that more difficult. The fact that they were contracted laborers was not much different than what other workers in the nineteenth century experienced, but the contract Wyoming Chinese miners had with Beckwith and Quinn differed from the contract the "white miners" received. While a White miner might be forced to sign a rent contract for company housing, there was no middle man with whom the American miners had to deal. Beckwith and Quinn first received the Chinese workers' wages.[20] Under the 1875 contract, Union Pacific paid Beckwith and Quinn; Beckwith and Quinn, in turn, paid the Chinese miners. With this arrangement there was always the possibility that Beckwith and Quinn would profit from Chinese workers wages.

Faced with seemingly insurmountable challenges and even in the face of prejudice, the Chinese who lived in Wyoming Territory developed a full fledged ethnic community that maintained close ties to their homeland. They maintained traditional dress, as is pointed out in the article about the merchant visiting Cheyenne. The Chinese also practiced their own religions. The 1880 census states that a Chinese priest lived in Rock Springs. Bill Nye, "the humorist," in one of his columns made light of the "celestial Josh." While his article makes light of this "bass wood diety," he pointed out that Chinese religions and traditions were being practiced in Wyoming. Nye's criticism of the diety states:

> I do not wish to be understood as interfering with any man's religious views: but when polygamy is made a divine decree, or a bass wood diety is whittled out and painted red to look up to and to worship, I cannot treat that so called religious belief with courtesy and reverance. I am quite liberal in all religious matters. People have noticed that and remarked it, but the Oriental god of commerce seems to me to be greatly overrated.[21]

Nye, in his much noted satiric wit, provided a glimpse of fact. The Chinese did indeed set up Joss Houses and bring in notions of gods that could help them prosper. The hope of prospering is why they came to Wyoming.

The newspapers of the nineteenth century often commented on the fact "white men" were losing their jobs to Chinese workers.[22] The problem was simple and straightforward. While many blamed the Union Pacific for bringing the Chinese into Wyoming, most workers vented their frustrations against these Asian emigrants. The newspapers of the late nineteenth century recorded this frustration. The newspapers also grasped the basic reason behind why the Chinese chose to work in railroad camps, gold mines, and coal mines, but they failed to perceive the basic economic, social, and cultural reasons behind why the Chinese chose to emigrate to Wyoming. Only recently have

17. "Contract for Chinese Labor & etc., Sale of Supplies, Rent of Warehouse Rock S," December 24, 1875, p. 1, Beckwith, Quinn, and Company and Union Pacific Railroad Co., U.P. Coal Box 3, Union Pacific Archives, Omaha, Nebraska (hereafter cited as UP).
18. "Contract for Chinese Labor & etc., Sale of Supplies, Rent of Warehouse Rock S," December 24, 1875, p. 3, UP.
19. A. Dudley Gardner and Verla R. Flores, *Forgotten Frontier: A History of Wyoming Coal Mining* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989), p. 42.
20. "Contract for Chinese Labor & etc., Sale of Supplies, Rent of Warehouse Rock S," December 24, 1875, p. 1, UP.
21. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 22, 1884.
22. e.g. *Wyoming Tribune* [Cheyenne], May 14, 1870.

historians, such as Henry Tsia, begun to discuss the complexities of why the Chinese came to America.[23] Comprehending why the Chinese came to Wyoming in the late 1800s was of little interest to most newspaper editors. The prejudice of the last century is obvious; with newspapers and state and territorial laws reflecting this fact.[24] The Chinese Massacre tragically revealed the depth of this prejudice. What is sometimes lost in discussing and describing the Chinese experience in Wyoming is that they contributed much to the development of the territory and later the state.

Chinese emigrants contributed to the development of the territory in many ways. The contributions came during Wyoming's early years and continue to the present. During the territorial years the Chinese worked as coal miners, railroad repairmen, cooks, waiters, servants, barbers, doctors, priests, merchants, wash house attendants, and proprietors. They often served in roles traditionally relegated to females in the nineteenth century. This caused a few problems, most notably in Helena, Montana, where there was a protest against Chinese laundries. But in Wyoming, where most of the Chinese lived in remote towns and section camps, Chinese cooks, waiters, laundry men, and servants found ready employment. In towns like Rock Springs where the ratio was almost four men to every one woman, the Chinese filled an important niche. Performing services that were often seen as demeaning, or of lesser status, the Chinese contributed much to the welfare and well-being of miners, railroad workers, and even the people in the surrounding agricultural communities.

Within the mining and railroad industries, the contributions of the Chinese to Wyoming are even more obvious. By 1885 the number of Chinese living in Rock Springs had increased to five hundred residents,[25] most of whom were coal miners. On the average, in 1885, the coal miners at Rock Springs produced "450 cars per week." The coal mines at Rock Springs were "the largest in the west"[26] and the Union Pacific Railroad depended on the Rock Springs coal miners for the bulk of their coal supply. To illustrate how important the Chinese miners were to Union Pacific's ventures at Rock Springs: in October, 1885, one month after the Chinese Massacre, the Rock Springs No. 3 mine produced between 245 and 280 cars per week. *The Cheyenne Daily Leader* stated: "About 200 Chinamen were working in No. 3 . . . . . There are no white miners . . ." underground.[27] Only two other mines were being operated by Union Pacific in late October 1885. Number 1 mine had 130 Chinese and only twenty-five White miners underground. Union Pacific No. 4 had thirty Chinese and four White coal miners employed. [28] In light of the fact these Chinese miners were working with the charred remains of the once sizeable Chinatown right at their doorstep, their contribution to the continued operation of the Union Pacific Railroad is worth remembering. In spite of great adversity, the Chinese workers of the last century contributed much to the future state of Wyoming. This contribution is yet to be fully understood. As more efforts focus on the various jobs and services the Chinese actually performed in Wyoming, our view of the Asian experience in the state will be more complete.

23. See Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1983).
24. *Laws of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: H. Glafcke; Leader Steam Book and Job Print, 1876), chapter 64. This law was "An Act to Prevent Intermarriage between White Persons and those of Negro or Mongolian Blood."
25. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 4, 1885, p. 3.
26. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 4, 1885, p. 3.
27. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 25, 1885, p. 3.
28. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 25, 1885, p. 3.

THE OTHER GERMANS IN WYOMING

by Don Hodgson

In 1911, at the age of thirty-eight, with a wife and five children, August Beierle immigrated to the United States from southern Russia. A well-built, sturdy, bear-like man with a prominent mustache, he moved his family to a small farming community in North Dakota. After two years he loaded his belongings and family into a wagon and went to southeastern Wyoming where he took up a homestead on the treeless prairie north of Torrington. During the next few summers the family worked as seasonal beet workers in Colorado to bring in money. Beierle soon left the homestead to become a tenant farmer, or renter, on several farms in the North Platte Valley. Finally, in 1928, he was able to buy his own farm.[1]

August Beierle's life can be used to extract the story of the "other Germans" who settled in Wyoming and became an important part of the early sugar beet industry in the state. Beierle had come to the United States at the peak of the immigration of Germans from Russia. Like other Germans from Russia, he had settled on the Great Plains, raised a large work-oriented family, and eventually owned his own farm. By the time he died in 1940, he was a naturalized citizen, had given up some of the old ways, spoke English, and was well within the community's social mainstream. Moreover, because of his influence among the local German farmers, his advice was sought by local sugar company officials who respectfully referred to Beierle as "The Kingpin."[2]

From territorial days, German people had achieved status and prosperity in Wyoming. Often lauded for their energy and business acumen, they organized their own fraternal groups such as Cheyenne's Turnverein Society and the Maennerchor Society, a men's singing group in Laramie.[3] Termed the Reichsdeutsche, they traced their ancestry to the various principalities in the German empire.[4]

After 1900 their numbers were added to by another German people, who spoke the same language (although with marked differences), practiced German customs, and perceived themselves as German. Yet, their homeland was Russia. These Germans from Russia (sometimes referred to in the literature as German-Russians or Russian-Germans) can be termed with Volksdeutsche, or more simply, the "other Germans."[5] They identified with the German culture, were proud of being German, but came from areas outside the German principalities. Since they had come from Russia they were often called "Rooshins," which instinctively injured their pride and aroused their anger. If they felt degrees of prejudice in this country, they also found that the Reichsdeutsche looked down upon them as inferior. Their assimilation process took longer than their German counterparts, and despite being thought of as Russians, they found themselves discriminated against during World War I.

While living in Russia, they held to their German heritage, deliberately separating themselves from their Russian neighbors. From about three hundred mother (original) colonies, they had grown to thirty-three hundred colonies and a population of 2.7 million by World War I.[6] Although they shared in being German, there were important differences among themselves in Russia that had

1. Interview with Rose Abel, Torrington, Wyoming, August 15, 1990.
2. Donald Hodgson and Vivien Hills, "Dream and Fulfillment: Germans in Wyoming," in *Peopling the High Plains: Wyoming's European Heritage*, ed. Gordon O. Hendrickson (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, 1977), p. 48.
3. Ibid., pp. 41-42.
4. Timothy J. Kloberdanz, "Volksdeutsche: The Eastern European Germans," in *Plains Folk: North Dakota's Ethnic History*, ed. William C. Sherman and Playford V. Thorson (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1986), p. 119.
5. Ibid.
6. Theodore C. Wenzlaff, ed. and trans., "The Russian Germans Come to the United States," *Nebraska History* 40 (Winter 1968): 380-381.

a bearing on their later settlement in America. Some differences stemmed from their origins in the different German principalities, denoted by a variety of dialects.[7] Religion was the most conspicuous difference. An 1897 Russian census indicated that 76 percent of the Germans in Russia were Lutheran, 13.5 percent Catholic, 3.7 percent Mennonite, and the remainder from different sects. Moreover, their villages were exclusively Catholic, Lutheran, or another sect.[8] Contacts were limited, and intermarriage between religious groups almost nonexistent.[9]

The authoritative works that treat their migration into Russia from Germany, location of settlement in Russia, social and family life, religious practices, and economic conditions can be found in such books as Karl Stumpp's *The German Russians: Two Centuries of Pioneering*; Richard Sallet's *Russian German Settlements in the United States*; Adam Geisinger's *From Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans*; James W. Long's *From Privileged to Dispossessed: The Volga Germans, 1860 to 1917*; and Fred Koch's *The Volga Germans: In Russia and the Americas, from 1763 to the Present*. Since there were two regions of heavy German settlement in Russia, the Volga and the Black Sea, historians have drawn distinctions between those two groups which are important in discussing their settlement in the United States.

Russian-German immigrants August and Elizabeth Beierle came to the United States in 1911 and settled in the Torrington area in 1926.

The Black Sea Germans settled on the northern Great Plains, in the Dakotas and Canada, while the Volga Germans went to the central Great Plains.[10] Hence, of North Dakota's nearly seventy thousand first and second generation Germans from Russia in 1920, some 97 percent traced their origins to the Black Sea region.[11] In addition, in states such as North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas, their communities reflected their religious affiliation; and even their home communities in Russia.[12]

Their high birth rates in Russia led to a population that outstripped the availability of farm land. Black Sea Germans responded by buying lands from Russian landholders, but Volga Germans were fixed to a village system, the mir, which periodically redivided the land among the male inhabitants of the village, resulting in smaller landholdings.[13] As economic pressures built, the Russian government shifted its policies toward its German colonists in the second half of the nineteenth century. Since they had enjoyed certain privileges since coming to Russia, they were alarmed at the changes. Catherine the Great had issued manifestos in 1762 and 1763 promising free land, freedom of religion, exemption from military services and taxes, interest-free loans, and other benefits. Historian Fred Koch, however, contends that from the beginning of their settlement in Russia, the Russian government failed to honor its promises. The culmination of Russia's mistreatment of its productive German minority reached tragic proportions under communist rule and Stalin's policies which destroyed the German villages and culture through dispersal and deportation of German peoples.[14]

7. Kloberdanz, "Volksdeutsche," p. 165.
8. Richard Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements in the United States*, ed. and trans. by Lavern J. Rippley and Armand Bauer (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1974), p. 13.
9. Kloberdanz, "Volksdeutsche," p. 127.
10. Ibid., p. 91.
11. Ibid., p. 138; Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements*, p. 110.
12. Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements*, p. 91.
13. Adam Giesinger, *From Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans* (Battlefield, Saskatchewan: Marian Press, 1974), p. 55.
14. Fred C. Koch, *The Volga Germans: In Russia and the Americas, From 1763 to the Present* (University Park: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1977), pp. 173-189.

The erosion of German privileges in Russia occurred at the time the high plains of the American West were being opened, thus offering the prospect of cheap land to immigrants. The expansion of the railroads which were eager to sell their government granted lands, accompanied by low passage rates on ships and the railroads, proved a strong attraction to the German people in Russia. Historians disagree in explaining the causes of the German from Russia emigration. Sallet asserted that conscription was the initial impetus for these people moving to Canada, the United States, Brazil, and Argentina during the 1870s.[15] Richard Scheurerman and Clifford Trafzer, who focused on their movement from the Great Plains region of the United States to the Pacific Northwest, agreed with Sallet, but placed more emphasis on a combination of causes, including a Pan-Slavic movement.[16] North Dakota anthropologist and historian Timothy Kloberdanz rejects conscription as the primary cause, except for the Mennonites and Hutterites. Kloberdanz argued that ". . . the primary reason for moving to the New World was land hunger."[17]

The numbers of Germans from Russia in Wyoming did not approach the numbers or percentage of the population found in other states, such as the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Washington, Oklahoma, Michigan, or Wisconsin.[18] Yet, because of the state's small population, the Germans from Russia assume a degree of importance in Wyoming. The 1910 census recorded 763 foreign-born from Russia in Wyoming, and 1,482 ten years later.[19] According to Sallet's estimates, nearly all were Volga evangelicals.[20] Their numbers remained at approximately thirteen hundred foreign-born in the 1930 and 1940 census.[21] The importance of the Germans from Russia went beyond numbers in respect to the early growth of the sugar beet industry in Wyoming. Their families provided the necessary labor, and upon farming for themselves, became recognized beet farmers, known for hard work and thrift. In that beets were grown later in Wyoming than Nebraska and eastern Colorado, the Germans from Russia had already lived for several years in other states before settling in Wyoming, an important fact to consider in studying their assimilation. They came into the Big Horn Basin, often from Colorado or Montana when factories were built at Lovell and Worland, and irrigated lands were available for growing beets. They moved up the North Platte Valley from the Scottsbluff area to Lingle and Torrington about the same time.[22] Based on a review of 105 obituaries in the *Torrington Telegram* of Germans from Russia who had settled in Goshen County, the majority had been born between 1870 and 1900 in Russia, had come to the United States between 1900 and 1915, and entered Wyoming primarily from 1920 to 1940. With few exceptions, they had resided at least ten years in other places before coming to Wyoming.[23]

In order to gain a more complete picture and profile of the Germans from Russia who settled in Wyoming, an analysis of the naturalization records could be undertaken. Immigrants seeking to become citizens filed a declaration of intention followed, usually several years later, by a petition for naturalization. These two documents, along with depositions from supporting witnesses, should enable some quantitative studies to be made. The data should permit us to know with greater certainty the home region of Wyoming's Germans from Russia (testing the assumption that most were Volga Germans), size of families, average length of residence in other states prior to entering Wyoming, when they came in significant numbers, and the length of time before attaining citizenship.

Other states are ahead of Wyoming regarding research about the Germans from Russia. Numerous articles chronicle their settlement in Kansas, and one of the best models for explaining settlement patterns within a state is Kloberdanz's chapter on the Germans from Russia in *Plains Folk:*

15. Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements*, p. 65.
16. Richard D. Scheurerman and Clifford E. Trafzer, *The Volga Germans: Pioneers of the Northwest* (Moscow: University Press of Idaho, 1985), pp. 91, 93.
17. Kloberdanz, "Volksdeutsche," p. 130.
18. Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements*, pp. 110-111.
19. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Abstract of the Census with Supplement for Wyoming* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), table 14, "Foreign Born Population by Country of Birth for the United States and Divisions, 1890-1910 and by States 1910 and 1900," pp. 204-207; U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), table 73, "Country of Birth of Foreign Born Populations by Divisions and States, 1920," pp. 306-309.
20. Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements*, p. 112.
21. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 7, Utah-Wyoming* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), table 14, "Foreign-born White, by Country of Birth, by Sex, for the State, Urban and Rural: 1940 and 1930," p. 714.
22. Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements*, p. 52.
23. *Torrington Telegram*, 1907-1976.

North Dakota's Ethnic History. Nebraska was fortunate in having Hattie Plum Williams as a first-hand observer and researcher in the early 1900s. Her 1916 doctoral dissertation was a social study of the Germans from Russia in the Lincoln area. Based on her early notes the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia in 1975 sponsored the publication *The Czar's Germans*. In recent years, Professor Frederick Luebke has carried out a good deal of scholarly research on the Germans in Nebraska. Colorado, which became the nation's leading beet-producing state by the 1920s, has received a good deal of attention in various articles. The novel, *Second Hoeing*, by Hope Williams Sykes, used the Fort Collins area as the setting to reveal life among the Germans from Russia. It tells of a young girl struggling to gain identity among her own people, and her relationship with a domineering father. An excellent overview of historians who have written about the Germans from Russia can be found in Nancy Holland's article "Our Authors and Their Books," in the Fall, 1980, issue of the *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*.[24] That publication, along with the *Heritage Review*, published by the Germans from Russia Heritage Society (formerly the North Dakota Historical Society of Germans from Russia), are invaluable for research efforts.

The ground breaking work about the Germans from Russia in Wyoming appeared in the 1977 *Peopling the High Plains*, edited by Gordon O. Hendrickson. It includes a chapter by this author and Vivien Hills describing the social behavior and contributions of the Germans from Germany and the Germans from Russia, and relates the differences between the two groups.

The elevation of work over education, characteristic of those people while living in Russia, was also evident among the families in Wyoming in which the parents had come from Russia. Various interviews with the children of such families substantiated the devotion to work at the expense of education.[25] The children were routinely kept out of school to do field work or household chores, and it was normal for the youngsters to miss a month of school in the fall for beet harvest.[26] None of August Beierle's twelve children went past the eighth grade. While many children accepted the necessity of work, others felt a sense of resentment at being deprived of an education.[27]

While the work ethic was deeply ingrained in family members, changes were becoming evident in the households of Germans from Russia prior to World War II, during the late stages of assimilation. German gradually gave way to English in the home, particularly when the children went to school. The father's autocratic discipline mellowed. The size of families declined. "American" foods replaced German foods, and customs were dropped. There remains a need for oral history interviews to document these and other changes. The status of women, treatment of children, prejudices, family roles, work habits and customs are some of the topics for further investigation.

Another productive means of studying social change would be to review the records of churches in Wyoming which were either German or had a high percentage of German members. Although some three-fourths of the Germans from Russia were Lutheran in Russia, many became affiliated with the Congregational Church in the United States. One authority estimates that approximately one-third of the evangelical Germans from Russia became affiliated with the Congregational Church in this country.[28] They found themselves confused by the variety of Lutheran synods in the United States; were attracted by the doctrine of "the priesthood of all believers" in Congregationalism; were given local autonomy; and received the support of the Congregational Church.[29] This occurred in Torrington's First United Church of Christ, formerly the First Congregational Church. It had been organized in 1934 as the Evangelical Lutheran-Reformed St. John Church. Unable to work out differences with the Lutheran Evangelical Synod, the church went over to the Congregational denomination, receiving recognition from the Colorado Conference of German Congregational Churches in 1935.[30]

Services at this church were held in German until 1944 when some members wanted to use English in the service.

24. Nancy Bernhard Holland, "Our Authors and Their Books," *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia* 3 (Fall 1980): 19-28.

25. Interview with Rose Abel, Torrington, Wyoming, August 15, 1990; interview with Gertrude Beierle, Torrington, Wyoming, August 15, 1990; interview with Henry Heckman, Jr., Torrington, Wyoming, August 20, 1990; interview with Christina Keller, Torrington, Wyoming, August 18, 1990; interview with Elizabeth Schlagel, Torrington, Wyoming, August 17, 1990; and interview with Lillian Weglin, Torrington, Wyoming, August 18, 1990.

26. Interview with Rose Abel, Torrington, Wyoming, August 15, 1990.

27. Interview with Christina Keller, Torrington, Wyoming, August 18, 1990.

28. Koch, *The Volga Germans*, p. 120.

29. Ibid.

30. *History of Ev. Lutheran-Reformed St. John Church: (later) First Congregational Church; (later) First United Church of Christ, Torrington, Wyoming*, July 22, 1934 to June 1, 1952. Unpublished records and minutes translated from German to English by W. W. Hiller. First United Church of Christ, Torrington, Wyoming.

The issue of whether and when to use English divided members, resulting in a compromise of two services on Sunday, one in German and one in English. Other changes can be detected in the minutes, which were recorded in German from 1934 to 1952. At a May, 1946, meeting, the board approved the attendance and participation of women at the business meetings of the church, but had to reapprove the same measure at its August meeting, possibly an indication of resistance.[31] Since the church was organized, a series of thirteen permanent and interim German ministers served the church, with the first non-German minister being appointed in 1986. Only recently was a woman elected to the church board.[32]

Gertrude Beierle, a member of that church, and a daughter-in-law of August Beierle, recalled how she and her new husband John shocked the congregation when the two sat together during a church service. It had always been customary for the women to sit on one side of the church and the men to sit on the other side during services, a practice reminiscent of Russia. Afterward, other couples, she remembers, started sitting together.[33]

The ability of the Germans from Russia to acquire land and become accepted in the social mainstream contrasts with Mexican-Americans who by the 1930s were replacing the former as beet labor. The appearance of Mexican workers in Wyoming's beet fields was actually quite early. When the Christian Welsch family came by train from Lincoln to the Lingle area to work beets in the spring of 1919, the father would not allow his family to share overnight accommodations in a railroad car with Mexican families. Not only had the Great Western Sugar Company recruited Welsch's family and other Germans from Russia, but it had also recruited Mexican workers.[34]

After the Great Western Sugar Company built a sugar factory in Lovell in 1916, it actively recruited Mexican workers for beet work, and to ensure a more stable, permanent supply of labor, established company houses for a Mexican colony in the community.[35] Noting that the Germans from Russia had been able to rent and buy land in the Lovell area, Augustin Redwine stated that many Mexican beet workers were able to do the same.[36] However, Dennis Valdes in the Spring, 1990, issue of *Great Plains Quarterly*, asserted that Mexican migrant beet workers were not able to emulate the Germans from Russia in acquiring land.[37] According to Valdes, the sugar companies had been willing to extend loans, provide factory jobs, and give general assistance to the Germans from Russia, but failed to do the same for Mexican workers. Sugar company officials saw the latter as migrant workers uninterested in becoming permanent landowners.

Further research in respect to Wyoming might assess the transition of Germans from Russia as migrant beet workers to becoming renters and landowners. What were the differences in labor patterns and problems faced by the Germans from Russia in comparison with those confronting Mexican workers? To what degree is Redwine correct regarding Mexican workers ability to gain lands; or does Valdes' view prevail in Wyoming? Were Germans from Russia who had become landowners and farm managers sympathetic toward Mexican workers in the beet fields? Additional research about the early growth of Wyoming's sugar beet industry should afford insights into the relationship of both the Germans from Russia and Mexican people to that industry's expansion.

As with other ethnic or racial groups in Wyoming, only passing attention has been given to the Germans from Russia. Often, inferences must be made based on the writings about these people's settlement in other states. There is a need to document their experiences in Wyoming, and to understand the late stages of the assimilation process, which in Wyoming was more individualistic. Further inquiry could be directed at determining patterns of settlement in Wyoming, relations with natives, social consequences of World War I, and the contributions of the Germans from Russia to the state's economy and social milieu.

31. Ibid.
32. Interview with Howard Campbell, Torrington, Wyoming, August 17, 1990.
33. Interview with Gertrude Beierle, Torrington, Wyoming, August 15, 1990.
34. Christian Welsch, "A Voice from the Past: A German Russian Life," *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia* 4 (Spring 1981): 52.
35. Augustin Redwine, "Lovell's Mexican Colony," *Annals of Wyoming* 51 (Fall 1979): 27-35.
36. Redwine, "Lovell's Mexican Colony," p. 32.
37. Dennis Nodin Valdes, "Settlers, Sojourners, and Proletarians: Social Formation in the Great Plains Beet Industry, 1890-1940," *Great Plains Quarterly* 10 (Spring 1990): 110-123.

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR WYOMING WOMEN'S HISTORY

by Sherry L. Smith

When I began research on nineteenth century army officers' attitudes toward Indians, I assumed the result would be a story about men. To my surprise, I quickly realized that even military history—a field long believed to be the province of male scholars studying male subjects—involved women too. To see this, one only had to read the record and be open to the fact that women's experiences and points of view have importance.

Many officers' wives accompanied their husbands to western posts, including those of Wyoming. They wrote about their experiences, leaving a rich source of records concerning their interactions not only with other Anglo-Americans, but also with Indians, both males and females. Sometimes they wrote about native people in ways that surprise. For example, nineteenth century Indian women, so often presented in stereotypical (and often dehumanized) terms in contemporaries' and historians' works, become multi-dimensional human beings in some army accounts. While evidence exists of officers seducing and exploiting helpless captives, other evidence reveals relationships between Indian women and military men built upon mutual respect and affection. Further, army officers' wives and Indian women found common ground in the rigors of child-bearing and rearing. Sometimes they helped one another through difficult moments (the birth of a child, the death of a child) and, at least for a moment, put aside assumptions about civilization and savagery, racial superiority and inferiority, conquerors and conquered.[1]

Recognizing that women constituted a part of this history and realizing that gender plays a significant role in historical analysis, I asked several questions of my material—questions that more and more historians are asking in all aspects of research on western history. Does incorporation of women alter our view of history and, if so, how? Does inclusion of women raise new questions, and new areas of scholarship that traditional approaches neglect? Do men and women experience and perceive life in different ways? Is there a woman's culture that transcends race, ethnicity, or class? I found no simple, easy answers to any of these questions. But one thing was clear: restoring women to the Indian Wars chapter of western history resulted in a more humanized and a more complicated view of army-Indian relations in the nineteenth century. The same is undoubtedly true of *all* aspects of history.

Believe it or not, much more can be done in western military history. Traditional topics are being reconsidered, with revisionists turning to insights offered by anthropologists and Indian and women's historians. Hopefully, the day has arrived when it is no longer tenable to write about an Indian Wars battle without consulting Indian sources as well as army ones. Further, women's and social history has had its impact on military history, providing fresh insights. Edward Coffman's *The Old Army*, Shirley and William Leckie's biography of Benjamin Grierson (really a study of the Grierson family), and Shirley Leckie's *The Colonel's Lady* (a collection of Grierson family letters) all involve women in a substantial way.[2] None of these works addresses Wyoming specifically. Yet, the Leckies

1. Sherry L. Smith, *The View From Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990).

2. Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); William H. Leckie and Shirley A. Leckie, *Unlikely Warriors: General Benjamin H. Grierson and His Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); and Shirley Leckie, ed., *The Colonel's Lady on the Western Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

work on the Griersons could serve as a model for a similar study on the Carringtons of Fort Phil Kearny. Wyoming's frontier posts played host to a number of articulate women who left fascinating diaries and letters which deserve closer scrutiny—and integration into our understanding of the army in the West.[3]

Beyond adding women to traditional areas of inquiry, however, it is also clear that consideration of women leads to new issues, concerns, and questions. The recognition that women have a history reminds us that human experience goes well beyond the "public spheres" of politics, business, or military campaigns. Private spheres, home and family, play equal if not more significant roles in peoples' lives. These are the domains where, historically, women's authority and experiences proved especially important. In fact, this may be the area where women's history makes its most noteworthy contributions. Historians only recently have come to understand what anthropologists have long known. The day-to-day life of ordinary people and the dynamics of their family relationships are worthy of study and reveal much about a culture. According to historian Susan Armitage, "even the most heroic people lead ordinary lives 99 percent of the time—and that is what we are looking for, to construct a realistic western history."[4] Women's sources—especially diaries and letters—prove to be among the most important resources historians have at their disposal to investigate domestic issues. Here, women's voices are often the strongest. They were the people most inclined to write about family.

Two recent studies of Anglo-American families in the American West demonstrate some of the new questions historians are raising with respect to family, questions raised because historians are starting to look at women's sources. These two studies are interesting because they come to very different conclusions about the consequences of migration and settlement on family stability. In *Far From Home: Families of the Westward Journey,* Lillian Schlissel, Byrd Gibbens, and Elizabeth Hampsten stress the disintegrating effect westward migration had on Anglo families. As Lillian Schlissel says of the Malick family of Oregon, "On the frontier, they learned not to be family, but strangers." The authors conclude, "discontinuity marked the frontier families . . . dislocation altered—and sometimes shattered the families who struggled to redeem America's promises."[5]

On the other hand, Elliot West's *Growing Up With the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier* offers a more optimistic assessment of frontier family life. He finds that "far from disintegrating under the pressures of the day, [the family] proved flexible and strong."[6] While he does not deny abuse and violence occurred in some families, he does not see these episodes as more characteristic of frontier families. West concludes that the companionate family and idealized views of children actually flourished on the western frontier.

These books rely upon personal documents—the kinds of letters, diaries, photographs you may have in trunks in your own attic. Whatever you may think about their respective conclusions, both books nicely demonstrate the immense value of family case studies and they demonstrate ways in which any family's history can illuminate larger patterns of western and American history. Family focused investigations are relatively new (although the scholarly study of women in western history is hardly "old" since most of the work has been accomplished in only the last decade). Much needs to be done and certainly studies of Wyoming families can add to the discussion. We need to read and analyze whatever documentation family members left behind. We should collect oral interviews. Most important, we must compare these personal written and oral reminiscences with more public records (birth, marriage and death certificates, land transactions, court records). Most useful will be those efforts which link individual families with broader themes, which go beyond the specific in order to say something about the kinds of issues raised, say, in the Schlissel and West books.

I recently completed a Wyoming "family case study" dealing with Elinore Pruitt Stewart, author of *Letters of a*

3. Potential sources include: Margaret Carrington, *Ab-sa-ra-ka: Land of Massacre* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1868), recently reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press; Frances C. Carrington, *My Army Life and the Fort Phil Kearny Massacre* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1911); Ada Adams Vogdes' journal from the 1860s, including time spent at Fort Fetterman, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Luther Bradley Papers at the U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. These papers contain correspondence between Bradley and his fiancee/wife, including letters written from Fort C. F. Smith.

4. Susan Armitage, "Through Women's Eyes: A New View of the West," in Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, eds., *The Women's West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), p. 14.

5. Lillian Schlissell, Byrd Gibbens, and Elizabeth Hampsten, *Far From Home: Families of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989), pp. 102, 242.

6. Elliott West, *Growing Up With the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), p. 156.

Woman Homesteader.[7] Like many other readers of that book, I was impressed with Elinore's story. So, when I was working at the University of Wyoming, I nominated her homestead cabin to the National Register of Historic Places. While completing the research for that nomination, however, I discovered several surprising, yet very interesting, things about Stewart. Based upon her account I had assumed that Elinore was a single woman homesteader. I also assumed she proved up on her homestead. Research in the land records, however, revealed that she married one week after applying for a homestead as a single woman. Further, she relinquished her homestead and her mother-in-law immediately took it up, eventually proving up on the property.

I have concluded the Stewart case reveals less about Wyoming's single women homesteaders and more about how many homesteaders operated in the context of family. Elinore's prose emphasized her determination to acquire this homestead on her own. But the story that emerges from an investigation of the public land records indicates this is also a story of family, a flexible and strong one on the Elliot West model. The land transactions of the entire family (husband, wife, mother-in-law in this case) played a key role in explaining how they managed to make a successful ranching operation in southwest Wyoming. It provides insight into the complex strategies western men and women devised in the process of homesteading. It suggests men and women (whether husband and wife, or sister and brother) often cooperated to assure themselves—as family—a part of the public domain. Focusing on one woman's experience led me into a family study and away from the traditional, Turnerian emphasis on individualism. Incorporating women into an investigation of homesteading alters our view of the entire homesteading experience as we increasingly realize that turning grasslands into productive ranches often involved all family members.

So far my examples have focused on middle class, Anglo-Americans. Clearly, much more work remains to be done on Wyoming and western women of all racial and ethnic groups as well as economic classes. In addition, much remains to be done on twentieth century developments. Indians, Hispanics, Asian Americans, Blacks, Mormons, and working class men and women, of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, deserve attention. What impact did *northward* expansion have on Mexican-American families who found their way to Wyoming? What impact did outsiders, who moved into Wyoming from all directions, have on Indian families who considered this their homeland? Of course, many people who make up these groups did not leave the kinds of written documents historians traditionally rely upon. Their experiences are recorded in other ways, however. Census records, folklore, material culture, oral traditions, city directories and court records, to name a few, all provide information that can help historians reconstruct at least some aspects of these men's and women's lives.

Addressing factors such as race, gender, and class undeniably complicates the story of the West. It certainly challenges some historians' interpretations of the region as a place which always nurtured American notions of democracy and equality. In fact, some western historians argue that the one thing which binds together women, people of color, and the working class is their shared experience of *inequality*. Others argue that recognition of class and ethnic diversity challenges assumptions about women's universal experiences. Class and racial considerations undercut gender as a unifying factor in women's lives.

Finally, as far as the twentieth century is concerned, so little has been done on this state's last one hundred years, that the possible topics are endless. Among the questions that interest me about the post 1890s include: What kinds of active roles have women played in shaping Wyoming's politics *since* 1869 and how does that compare to other states? Is Wyoming's slogan, "The Equality State," borne out by twentieth century experiences? What has the reservation experience meant for the Indian women of Wind River of the last one hundred years? What has been the impact on their families, on their roles within the family, and on their positions of power within the tribe?[8]

Whether examination of women's history leads to a reconsideration of traditional topics or to the introduction of new issues into historical discourse, one thing is certain: we are moving toward a more inclusive, complicated—and consequently—more complete understanding of Wyoming's past.

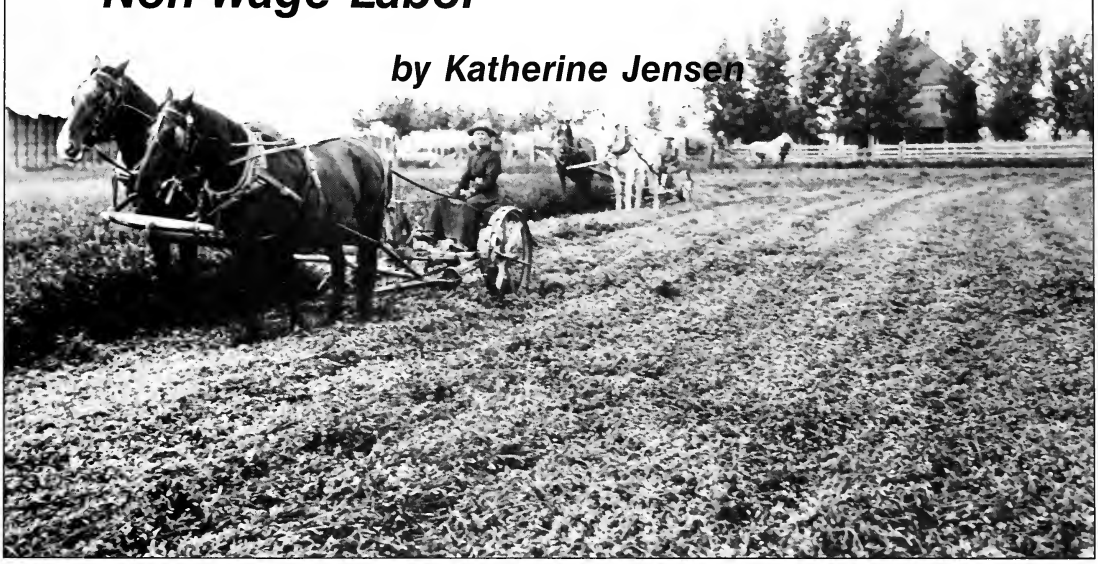
7. Sherry L. Smith, "Single Women Homesteaders: The Perplexing Case of Elinore Pruitt Stewart," *Western Historical Quarterly*, XXII (May 1991): 163-183.

8. For an example of a study of twentieth century reservation-based Indian women see Marla Powers, *Oglala Women* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

RURAL WOMEN WORKING:

Naming and Evaluating Women's Non-Wage Labor

by Katherine Jensen



Cutting Alfalfa near Wheatland in 1903.

The history of women and work in Wyoming begs for concerted research attention. The kind of work women in Wyoming have done does not fit handily into any of our favorite categories. The pioneer experience is tied to fascination with the Overland Trail and homesteading—temporary and marginal phenomena for even our famous cases, such as Elinore Pruitt Stewart. The theme of women's equality is tied to our political "firsts." Neither labor history nor social history, the foundation for much of women's history, have received much attention in Wyoming history circles, nor, in fairness, do they necessarily provide automatic templates for the kind of work many women in Wyoming do.

That is where an interloper like me sneaks in. Since there is yet no women's history position at the University of Wyoming (the best hope has been that someone in some slot defined by period or region will know something about women), in recent years much of women's history has been left God forbid, to sociologists and women's studies faculty who think it is too important to be neglected. But neither sociology nor women's studies has until recently paid much attention to rural women either. I am hoping that my disparate credentials (as a ranch daughter from the Black Hills doing research on women in the Third World) and a rural sociology based on feminist theory may provide some ideas for research on the history of women's work in Wyoming.

One of the first major projects of the Women's Studies Program, when it was still a voluntary organization of the Susan B. Anthony Women's Center, was a Wyoming women's oral history project. In 1979, playing the Humanities Council angle to the hilt, and depending entirely on its funding, the project was called "Wyoming

History and Contemporary Values," not even mentioning the dreaded word, "women," in its title.[1]

The research from interviews taken in four diverse counties in southeast Wyoming produced a road show of public programs which traveled the state, featuring dramatizations of women's issues and a photo exhibit, portraits of the interviewees.[2] Vignettes, drawn from recurring themes in the interviews, focused on health and reproduction, World War II, school teaching, and voluntary organizations; all addressed women's work in its informal as well as formal aspects, traditional women's work as well as "frontier" exigencies, work for pay as well as "helping out" on the farm or ranch. This project, inspired by one directed by Corky Bush in Idaho, spawned a similar one and a forthcoming book edited by Mary Rothschild and Pam Hronek from Arizona women's experiences, titled *Doing What the Day Brought*, a reflection of the ambiguity of women's work.[3] But since none of the principal participants in the Wyoming project were western historians, only now is that material being used by scholars in western women's history.

Ten years later, now that even traditional historians are considering oral history sources as worthy of evaluation as written material, and women's studies has been mainstreamed into Arts and Sciences General Education, Honors programs and University Studies, it is easier to be both straightforwardly supportive and honestly critical of this early work. The limits and possibilities of oral histories have been important to me, as a sociologist trained in the scientific method, with concerns (not to mention collegial evaluation of my work) based on questions of representative sampling, reliability, and validity of conclusions.[4] Even though I had always been a resister in the discipline, I knew that there were real problems in talking only to the survivors and the enthusiasts, that memory changes the shape of historic events just as the passion of a diary's moment does. My mother can now be romantic about the cookstove in our mountain cabin while she was not when it was her only source of heat for cooking, hot water, and a warm kitchen; and I probably could not have been as diligent an egg gatherer in early childhood as I remember being.

At the same time, however, I knew that traditional sociological categories did not fit the descriptions I was hearing. Women do not necessarily have "multiple roles," for their work is intertwined into one thing called ranch wife or farm wife; rural families do not think of themselves as "dual career," or even "dual-worker" families, for those designations tend to be defined by wage labor. And farming or ranching are not even "two-person careers," where a spouse supports and vicariously identifies with (her) partner's position *a la* "dean's wife," for there is much more sense of joint enterprise and joint success or failure. An example from Carol Rankin's project in western Wyoming reflects this complexity, ambiguity, and identification with family enterprise.

> We ran a saw mill in the Basin and I snaked the timber; I had my gall bladder out in October, I think it was, and the next spring I started snaking logs. I've done the off-bearing at the mill, and have scars all over my legs where the darn logs have fallen on me, but I can snake logs, I'll tell the world! . . .
>
> I remember one year in the spring when we hauled the manure from the corral to build up the dikes and dams for irrigating. For many days my daughter and I shoveled and hauled thirteen wagon loads of manure a day with a team of horses. Oh boy, we were tired. Then we went home to cook supper and milk all the cows. You just can't quit because you get tired. I wouldn't trade those years for anything.[5]

1. We were probably not overly shy. On the strength of our initial success, we submitted a proposal for a second project, titled straightforwardly, "Feminism, Environmentalism, and Technology." We were turned down—and in a burst of disappointed creativity fitting the time, hatched an alternative proposal called the "Susan B. Anthony Breeder-Reactors."

   I served as project director of the funded oral history project, but Bernice Harris, now a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Tulsa, Melanie Gustafson, Visiting Assistant Professor of History at the University of Maine, Patricia Hale, and Linda Putnam did much of the field work and performance.
2. The original interviews were transcribed and deposited, along with archival quality reel-to-reel tapes, in the Historical Research Library, today part of the Department of Commerce, the Albany County Public Library, and the American Heritage Center.
3. Mary L. Rothschild and Pamela Claire Hronek, *Doing What the Day Brought: An Oral History of Arizona Women* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press); also a widely used video production from the original project, still a popular Arizona Committee for the Humanities program. All three projects are described in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, special issue, "Women's Oral History Two," VII (1983), in the section titled "Three Generations of an Oral History-Readers Theater Project: 'Telling Our Life Stories,' by Corky Bush, 'Woman as Subject, Oral History as Method,' by Katherine Jensen, and 'Using Oral History to Find the "Common Woman," ' by Mary Rothschild."
4. Katherine Jensen, "Can Oral History Contribute to Quantitative Studies?" SIROW Working Paper #11, November 1981, revised for *International Journal of Oral History* 5 (November 1984).
5. Carol Rankin, "Spoken Words of Four Ranch Women," slide/tape production, Wyoming Council for the Humanities.

I think some of the issues raised early in feminist scholarship remain to be answered. One of the most fundamental is the naming of women's activities and experiences. In 1983 I published an article called "Mother Calls Herself a Housewife but She Buys Bulls."[6] I was trying in that piece to deal with a number of issues, including the socialization of rural girls to be economically and technologically competent, the theoretical vs. the real relationship of women to machines, but also the difficulty rural women have in naming the work they do. They tend to describe long hours of relatively regular toil as "helping out."

Surprising even to me is the extent to which this theme has persisted in my work to the present. In the last five years I have worked on the same problem of accounting for labor contributions in the radically different context of women working in Egyptian intensive agriculture.[7] A few examples will illustrate remarkably familiar stories.

While much of our current attention to the history and sociology of international women is aimed at understanding cultural, political, and social diversity, I have been more struck by commonalities in women's lives, especially among women in agricultural occupations. My colleagues and students have difficulty believing that I find little difference in the gendered division of labor and relative status of farm women in rural America and rural Egypt. The terrain, the cropping, the appearance of farmers seem utterly dissimilar when comparing the spacious rural American West to the fifteen thousand villages crowded along the Nile Valley and the Delta. Islamic beliefs in women's distinct roles contrast sharply with the ideology of the Equality State in particular. But patterns of women's work and the acknowledgment of that work function in similar ways.

One aspect of the similarity is in the naming of women's activities. Like their North American counterparts, women are rarely themselves called farmers unless there is no male in the household to claim that title. In Egypt, if there is no husband, there is very likely a father, an uncle, brother, or son present to represent the "farm widow" if not "farm wife," even though most Egyptian farm women own some land of their own.[8] Muslim women are assumed to be secluded in the house, spending long hours preparing food and taking care of children, which they do. Their agricultural work is, like American farm women's, called "helping out."[9]

This helping out has always been considerable. The available statistics on numbers and proportions of Egyptian women working in agriculture vary wildly, but analysis of tasks which include female participation reflects not only the extent of their involvement, but remarkably few agricultural tasks which are not done by women. Women are most heavily involved in the demanding seasons of planting and harvesting. They do most of the milking, marketing, and processing of milk and milk products, with some assistance from their daughters and less from their sons. More women than men participate in cleaning the animal fold and feeding and watering the animals. Women and girls predominate in taking care of all kinds of poultry and animals used in transportation.[10]

At issue is not so much accounting for women's particular labors, but the more fundamental *naming* of women's work in the interesting conjunction of Western feminist assessment and emic definitions. In Egypt, taking care of livestock is not considered agricultural, but rather household work. Whether that work is "housework" because women do it, or because the animals live in the house, remains an issue. Nevertheless, even the tasks of loading the manure into baskets and leading the loaded donkey to the field each morning are not unambiguously farm labor. They are in part "cleaning house."[11]

In addition to seasonal cropping tasks and livestock work, Egyptian women are heavily involved in agricultural storage: drying the wheat on the roof, taking it to the mill, storing flour, storing the straw for fodder, drying the maize

6. In Jan Zimmerman, ed., *The Technological Woman* (Praeger, 1983).
7. I did research in Egypt during four periods between 1985 and 1989, on Women in Development grants through the Consortium for International Development, a Fulbright at the American University in Cairo and the Desert Development Center, and research leave from the University of Wyoming. This paper owes much, however, to the helpful suggestions of both Audie Blevins and Erika Iverson.
8. Under Islamic law women are entitled to inherit land, although only half as much as their brothers. Most retain title to their land, in part because of the precariousness of Egyptian marriages and great differences in age of marriage partners, hence the necessity of a woman to support herself should she be divorced or widowed.
9. Lucie Wood Saunders and Soheir Mehenna, "Unseen Hands: Women's Farm Work in an Egyptian Village," *Anthropological Quarterly* 55 (July 1986): 105-114.
10. Yeldez Ishak, Zeinab El-Tobshy, Naima Hassan and Coleen Brown, "Role of Women in Field Crops Production and Related Information," EMCIP Publication 91 (July 1985): 11-15.
11. Katherine Jensen, "Getting to the Third World: Agencies as Gatekeepers," in *Women, International Development and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire*, in Kathleen Staudt, ed. (Temple, 1990), p. 257.
12. Sonja Zimmerman, *The Women of Kafr Al Bahr* (Leiden University, 1982), chapter 4.

stocks for fuel, and shucking the corn cobs. Some, but not all of these are related to food preparation, but again, these *traditional* female jobs, even in a country focusing much attention on its food shortage, are not considered directly related to agricultural production in general, but as the female responsibility of post-harvest storage.[12] The naming of women's farm work suffers not only from the surprising indistinct sexual division of labor, but the lack of clear demarcation between consumption and production activities experienced by all women whose work is not remunerated with wages.[13] In addition, like most women worldwide, they engage in many domestic activities related to child care and food preparation at the same time they are farming.

"Helping out" also applies to the collaborative work traditionally claimed to be strictly men's work, but which requires significant female participation. A good example is plowing. Men typically guide the plow pulled by a draft animal, but the women go to the field to guide the animal and feed it *berseem* while it is pulling the plow. *Berseem*, the lush green annual clover, must be consumed only a little at a time, so the *gamoosa* eats during the process of plowing to avoid wasting valuable time or risking animal bloat. Girls and women run alongside the *gamoosa* with the loads of *berseem* they have cut and carried to the field being plowed. Also, because even the *gamoosa* lacks the turning radius to plow to the very edge without ending up in the

13. Elise Boulding and others who have done task analysis research demonstrate these phenomena among North American farm women as well. See "The Labor U.S. Farm Women: A Knowledge Gap," *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 7 (August 1980): 261-290.

COURTESY AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

A portion of a wall in the tomb of Sennedjem, the chief architect to Ramses II. It depicts the deceased and his wife working in the fields of Iaru.

irrigation ditch, the women plow the ends of the field by hand. These two traditional tasks explain why even in 1979 Abou-Seoud and Farag found 40 percent of women reporting participation in plowing even though it is still widely held in official reports that women never plow.[14]

Beyond women's traditional, if indeterminate, responsibilities in farming, contemporary Egyptian women do more farming than ever. The migration of Egyptian males to other Arab states, reaching a peak of 3.5 million in 1985, has produced a widely recognized impact on farm families.[15] The very poorest persons in the village may have difficulty migrating, but a considerable number of landholding peasants migrate. One study found that the rate of migration was relatively high among those who farmed two to five acres (or about three *feddans*, the average size Egyptian farm), but low among the small number with five acres or more.[16] When men leave to take wage jobs, women take on even more farming responsibilities.

Even mechanization has not relieved the burden much. One of the great ironies of arguments about gender based divisions of labor, especially in physical work such as farming, is that while the rationale for traditional work assignments is usually based on differences in physical strength, when machinery which lessens the muscle requirement is introduced, it hardly ever becomes the province of women. Most noticeable cases of this general pattern are found in West Africa, when women's horticultural enterprises shifted to mechanized cash crops controlled by men.

A most striking example of contemporary Egyptian task assignment in mechanized agriculture appears in a segment from a video tape of unstaged footage of women working in the fields. One shot showed a self-propelled combine harvesting wheat, an Egyptian man in western dress at the wheel. On the back stood one Egyptian woman in her village *galibaya* filling fifty kilo sacks with grain. When they were filled and tied, she lifted the sack to the head of another woman who carried it out of the field.[17] Mona Abaza reported that "while a child of twelve years of age can drive a tractor to plough land, women are never seen operating any type of machine (water pumps, tractors, cars, bicycles)."[18] These machines seem not to improve the lot of the increasing proportion of farmers who are women. Adding to the growing disproportion of heavy labor falling to women is the insult that it is less valued. Abaza goes on: "Manual agricultural tasks which are performed by women or old males are socially devalued. Wages paid to women are the same as for children."[19] And, of course, when women work on their own land, they receive no wages at all, nor are they likely to be recognized as farmers.

While Egypt has long had professional women from the upper class, rural women are much more likely to be illiterate or barely schooled than are rural men. Rural women also still have a very high birth rate, averaging more than six live births. And Egyptian women do, for the most part, still experience strong proscriptions against wage work which will put them in the company of men from outside their families. These characteristics all differentiate them from North American farm women, and those in Wyoming in particular.

When Audie Blevins and I recently reviewed quantitative research on women's wage labor participation in family farming through the farm crisis of the 1980s in Wyoming, we found some remarkable similarities and interesting variations on the balance of wage work and farm work to sustain farm families. We also encountered some of the same problems in accounting for the value of women's labor contributions.

Agricultural economic trends for Wyoming are not unlike those for the nation as a whole. In Wyoming and surrounding states the number of farms/ranches continued to decline in the early 1980s while farm/ranch acreage has

14. Khairy Abot-Seoud and Flora Farag, "The Role of Women and Youth in Rural Development with Special Emphasis on Production and Utilization of Food," (unpublished, 1979).

15. Ann Mosely Lesch, "Egyptian Labor Migration: Economic Trends and Government Policies," *UFSI Reports* [University Field Staff International] 38 (1985).

16. Ann Mosely Lesch, "The Impact of Labor Migration on Urban and Rural Egypt," *UFSI Reports* 39 (1985): 7. Audie Blevins and I found a similar phenomenon among Wyoming ranchers experiencing the farm crisis of the mid-1980s. The men of small operations took wage jobs to help support their ranches while larger operators were less likely to. Audie Blevins and Katherine Jensen, "Farm Women's Contributions to Agricultural Operations," *Great Plains Research* (Fall 1991). Lesch reports that some women migrate as well, including several thousand employed as teachers in the separate girls' schools in Saudi Arabia. In addition to working in the professions of teaching and nursing, half are in service jobs as maids and nannies. However, it appears that the total female migrant population, including both wives accompanying husbands and women migrating alone, is under 10 percent of the total.

17. "Women in Egyptian Agriculture," video produced by the Women's Committee of the Egyptian Major Cereals Improvement Project, a joint Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture/USAID project on which I worked in 1985 and 1986.

18. Mona Agaza, "The Changing Image of Women in Rural Egypt," *Cairo Papers in Social Science* (American University in Cairo), 10 (Fall 1987): 75.

19. Ibid.

remained relatively constant. Wyoming agriculturalists, like other United States farmers and ranchers, have been adversely affected by low crop and livestock prices, by declines in farm land values, and by high farm credit costs. Furthermore, Wyoming farmers and ranchers were not spared the ravages of nature: a severe late spring snow storm in 1984 and a drought in 1985. All these factors combined to increase the financial stress of ranchers and farmers in Wyoming.

Wyoming also experienced substantial growth of both its urban and rural areas during the 1970s. Wyoming's population expanded by more than forty percent with population increasing from 332,000 to 471,000. Rural and small town growth continued but at a slower rate during the early 1980s, and since 1984 population for the state has begun to decline, substantially for some counties. Wyoming's growth in the 1970s, as in much of the Middle East, was due to the massive development of its mineral and energy resources, particularly coal, oil, and natural gas resources.[20]

Ranching/farming operations were likely affected by changes in both population and economic growth rates, including off-farm employment opportunities and greater availability of farm labor, as well as the necessity of off-farm labor to maintain the farm operation.[21] We wanted to examine the impact of these changes on the allocation of women's labor. But the first difficulty was in determining which women were farm/ranch independent operators, as well as those who worked in partnership with their husbands, those who worked at jobs off the land, and those who seemed truly to be "housewives" uninvolved with farm or ranch activities. Careful evaluation of each questionnaire was necessary to determine time allocations, income and other indicators which were more telling than the simple labels women gave themselves or their husbands assigned them in responding to the questionnaire.

In Wyoming the allocation of farm labor is not simply that women pick up where men go to town, for Wyoming women are nearly as likely to take wage jobs off the farm as are men. The most important issue for men is the size of their agricultural operation, with a clear inverse relationship between the size of the farm and the likelihood of working away from it. Like their Egyptian counterparts, men are less likely to work elsewhere if they have sizeable landholdings.[22]

Compared to men's 1.41 jobs, women reported holding 1.35 jobs, including their farm or household job. However, perhaps reflecting their lack of perceived centrality to the farming enterprise, the decision of women to take work off the farm is not strongly or consistently based on farm size, but is related to personal and life cycle variables of education, age, and presence of children.

Education has been shown almost universally to have an effect on paid labor force activity, and this may be the greatest distinction between Egyptian and Wyoming farm and ranch women. As a group, Wyoming farm women have a high median education, at 13.01 years, and the higher the level of education the more likely these "farm" women will also work away from the farm, with "housewives" showing the lowest median education, at 9.88 years.

Even so, women are more likely than men to be employed in traditional "female" occupations (jobs with low pay and prestige). White collar workers were most often teachers or bookkeepers; blue collar workers were usually school bus drivers or cooks. Other women tended to be employed in "pink-collar" jobs such as nursing, dental hygiene, library, and secretarial/clerical work. Neither the white collar "female" jobs nor the blue collar employees tended to be in high paying jobs, despite these women's relatively high levels of education. Age is also related to the likelihood of off-farm employment. For example, the median age for women who work off the farm is forty-four years, and the younger they are, the higher the probability of holding a wage job. Those who farm have a median age of fifty-six years, and the median for

20. Audie Blevins and Edward Bradley, "Rural Turnaround in Wyoming: Implications for Community Development," *Journal of Community Development* (1988).

21. I do not differentiate between farms and ranches in Wyoming, for while there are some operations engaging solely in crop production and some which run only livestock, most counties in Wyoming reflect the state-wide average of 88 percent of agricultural sales coming from livestock, and most people who farm do so to support a ranching operation. Farming, however, is the generic term in American agriculture and its analysis.

22. Using several different kinds of statistical analysis, including both regression analysis and analysis of variance, we found a strong inverse relation between four categories of farm size and men's off-farm employment. In Wyoming, because of the great variability in the productive capacity of land, we used an indicator of farm size and productiveness called Animal Unit Months, incorporating in one measure the size of farm, type of land, and number of animals in the operation. While overall, in a sample of 237 males, they held an average of 1.41 jobs (including their farm or ranching job), job holding was more prevalent among those on agricultural operations of less than 1,000 AUMs, where 1.63 jobs were reported, and less prevalent for operators on large agricultural holding with AUMs of 10,000 or more, where only 1.19 jobs were reported.

homemakers, with a bi-modal distribution, is fifty-three years. Except for the group of homemakers in the thirty to thirty-four age group, homemakers are a much older group. Sixty-three percent of them are more than fifty years of age, including 26 percent who are more than sixty, while women who work off the farm include only 26 percent over the age of fifty.

Although not a statistically significant relationship, women with children at home are less likely to work for wages. While we do not have data on ages of children (which would likely strengthen the relationship) among homemakers under fifty, the largest group are between thirty and thirty-four years of age, the prime childrearing years. Indeed, every homemaker in this age group has children at home, averaging 2.4 per family. An even larger proportion of women wage-earners fall in the thirty to forty-nine age groups (71 percent of the total), but they also have fewer children on the average and are more likely to have no children than are homemakers.

Independent women farmers (operators) are usually thought to be worse off financially than women on other farms or single male operators. Our data fail to support this hypothesis. When reported adjusted gross income was examined, female operators (20) showed a median income of $20,500, while households headed by a male with spouse reported as a homemaker had a median of $14,104; households where the female worked off-farm reported a median income of $11,600; households comprising single males reported a median income of $9,230, and the lowest median income was reported by households where both male and female members engaged in farm labor ($4,150). Caution must be used in evaluating these data since only 156 of the respondents reported usable information.

We know that in general these female agricultural operators are old-timers. Their mean age is sixty years, and noting that four have dependent children in their homes, the median is an even older sixty-two years. They average more than thirty-three years of residence at their present address. They also run sizeable operations. They own an average of 2,954 acres, and the twelve who rent more land from individuals or the government average an additional 2,030 acres. And they have a nearly average amount of education for Wyoming citizens, at twelve years. Ten have completed between nine and twelve years of schooling, while eight have thirteen to sixteen years of education.

The four women household heads with dependent children average forty-four years of age; all have had twelve or thirteen years of schooling and have spent an average of 27.5 years on the ranch they operate. They have larger acreages than the group as a whole, owning an average 5,037 acres and renting an additional 3,425 acres. Two of them have off-farm incomes as well, and two more, including a widow with seven children, have teen-age daughters who work part-time for wages. But they are among the most vociferous about their commitments to farming. One said, "I feel it's the most honest way to make a living and a good place to raise my kids." Another divorced and remarried household head asserted, "I will do anything to keep ranching."

While different factors affect the choice of men and women farmers to engage in off-farm wage labor, the comments by respondents shed some light on the impact of their decisions for one or both partners to seek jobs off the farm in order to save the farm. A look at families in which both spouses farm exclusively provides an interesting comparison of the logistics of commitment to farming. Of the thirty-seven families in which both farm, thirteen simply answered yes to the question about their expectation of being in the farm business five years from now, but twenty-five explained themselves, fourteen more with positive answers, seven with negative, and five with uncertain hopes or doubts. They speak of it as a life commitment: "It's what we wanted to do all of our lives, and would like to continue if we can make a living," or "I was born here and would like to ranch the rest of my life if I can keep from going broke." Even the most positive reflected the difficulty of their situations. One said "I need to ranch, I want to ranch. I like the outdoors and the animals. I would like a little more money though." Another reported, "If I had my choice of any job in the world I'd work the ranch, but with better weather, better prices and more time off."

Among those families who have found or chosen off-farm employment, the commitment to farming is little different, if their solutions are more varied and complicated by work schedules and distances. Of the twenty-seven male farmers with employed wives, only twelve suggested that their spouses' work had an important impact on the agricultural operation, and they were equally divided on the positive and negative effects. Several mentioned her having less time to help or having to hire help or scheduling ranch work around job schedules, while one described a fairly typical situation in the sparsely populated West, where the wife and children kept a house in town during the school week, leaving "no one to cook or keep house . . . no help with the ranch work" except on weekends. Others said simply, "We couldn't make it without her income," or "it helped to pay the bills this dry year as we

had no income from the farm." Only one made the assessment simply in terms of life satisfaction: "She enjoys teaching."

Even when both spouses work off the farm, male "heads of household" who answered the questionnaire seemed relatively comfortable with the idea of their spouses' wage work. Thirty-nine of fifty-six in the category reported no effect on the farm operation. Of those seventeen who did think there was an effect, thirteen saw negative impacts, mostly related to "things not getting done," while the positive comments relate economic realities: "Very, very poor prices cause absentee ownership and, to a certain degree, management. The ranch, successful as it is, could not during the past decade handle debt retirement and overhead without major outside employment."

The thirty-nine men who saw little impact of their wives' off-farm work were more likely to feel the negative impact of their own off-farm labor. Although slightly fewer than half (16) said their wage work had an impact, fourteen thought it to be a negative one. They describe very specifically, "feeding after work and fencing and haying on weekends—always a patch job, a hurry-up job." Several described death losses during lambing or having to sell the cows because calving time was bad. And they found themselves in a double bind: "It's hard to do all the things at the farm that I need outside income to do, but I need the outside income first," or, more simply, "Nothing gets done when I'm gone, but the income sure helps." Only one, who had described his commitment to farming by saying, "I want to feed the world, but I deserve a fair return on my investment," described his off-farm work positively: "It actually helps by keeping me informed with government programs and what is happening county-wide."

These combinations and variations on farm and wage work point not only to the difficulties of farm families in maintaining a lifestyle to which they are committed, they also point to the continued difficulty in accounting, either privately or scientifically, for the economic contributions of women. In Wyoming, women's wage work seems somewhat more likely to be positively credited as a contribution to the maintenance of the farm (echoing past tax and inheritance laws), even though their absence often will be considered an inconvenience and necessitating extra weekend and evening farm work. In Egypt women have less education, more children, and greater difficulty working in the public, so their farm labor is both unquestioned and uncredited. In both places, men's off-farm labor is perceived as changing the nature of the farm operation, without acknowledging that it may be the complex work responsibilities of *both* partners that makes farm work so difficult at the same time that it makes keeping the farm possible.

WATER AND WYOMING'S CULTURE

by Roy A. Jordan

Wyoming is one of a tier of western states celebrating their 100th birthday in 1989-90. There is as much dissimilarity as uniformity among them, but they all seem to be enduring their celebrations rather than commemorating them. There is a sense that they are at a point of decision, that it is one of those climacteric watersheds. We can use a water metaphor because when each of our separate characteristics is unraveled, water is at the base.

The one, probably the *only* distinctive quality that makes the western states western, is their common lack of water, their aridity. The West is defined by its resources and water is the most fundamental element of all. Wyoming structured its water law and regulations to give encouragement to the fastest possible development and to allow for the private advantage which that would provide.[1]

However, all of Wyoming's efforts and all the federal government's money have not been able to legislate nor engineer dryness out of our condition. There just is not enough water, and there never will be.

John Wesley Powell was one of those giants to whom state governments and national politicians should have listened. He knew that there was only enough water for a fifth of the West. In vain he implored the states and Congress to settle their boundaries on watersheds and the natural contours of the land rather than use straight survey lines.[2] The availability of the federal government's subsidized water and subsidized grazing lands conspired to build up in us a reluctance to accept the real limitations of the land.

Wallace Stegner had it right when he admitted that the West was a quest for the "Big Rock Candy Mountain" where the bluebird sings to the lemonade springs. Stegner, in a "reckless" moment, once said that the West was a "geography of hope." He no longer is so sanguine about that. "The West is no more the Eden that I once thought it."[3]

This is a geography of limitations and Stegner proposes that we in the West need to gain satisfaction from narrower expectations. Once the West has settled down from its over development and over settlement, "when the agribusiness fields have turned to alkali flats and the dams have silted up, when the waves of over populations have receded," then we can "get on with the business of adaptation."[4]

This dilemma of too much farming and too many people has resulted from the blank acceptance of the myth of western abundance. This over extension of humanity in the West has been, as Stegner puts it, "growing to the limits of their water and beyond."[5]

Historians generally have been too captured—co-opted, as it were—by the romantic heritage of a simple pioneering. Few, if any, have related to the constricting Wyoming culture which allowed us to get into this irreducible water, land, and people crunch.

The now and forever controversy over Indian water on the Wind River Reservation brings out in raw relief Wyoming's traditional distrust of Indian culture and lack of understanding of Indian identity. Some preparatory scholarship is essential to understand this case; Michael Massie has written convincingly of "The Cultural Roots

1. Gordon Morris Bakken, *The Development of Law on the Rocky Mountain Frontier: Civil Law and Society, 1850-1912* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983).
2. John Wesley Powell, *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States*, House Executive Document, no. 73, serial 1805 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878).
3. Wallace Stegner, *The American West as Living Space* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987), pp. 64-66.
4. Ibid., p. 86.
5. Ibid., p. 24.

of Indian Water Rights,"[6] and the legal articles by Mark Squillace of the University of Wyoming's College of Law and, of course, Frank Trelease, should be required reading.[7] They set out the boundaries of Wyoming water law and meandering appropriation rights, transfers, and in-stream flows.

I believe, however, that this particular confrontation does not turn on the fine points of law. This is still a cultural showdown. It is what Arizona Governor Bruce Babbit has called, "the gunfighter ethic of litigation that has dominated western law."[8]

The questions the state of Wyoming asks: who has jurisdiction over whom, and whose sovereignty is at risk, is an old-style response to a newly recognized situation. The Indian tribes need to be seen as the state's partner in the federal framework of national government.

This state has not developed an investigative, reflective historical tradition. There is little appreciation of history as literature. Historians may have agreed upon clustered memories: the buckskinned mountain man, the free riding cowboy, and the Slovakian hardrock miner may be seen as signatures of our culture. We have not yet, however, acquired the habit of agreeing on the pursuit of just what that culture really is.

We in Wyoming have been brought up with the "West as success story" myth. We have cut our scholarly teeth on the wrong myth. We have been nurtured on Wyoming nationalism to the extent that we have not sufficiently looked at the transience of our people and the fraility of our culture.

The natural gas "boom" that is certain to come to Wyoming will surely not be any more equitable nor far reaching nor long-lasting than the past coal and oil booms.

We now have a "lite" world economy. Peter Drucker says, "the raw material economy has thus come uncoupled from the industrial economy."[9] The world may never again hold Wyoming's resources as preciously as it has in the past. Meanwhile, that other traditional buttress for Wyoming, the federal government, has lost its inclination to fund more reclamation projects. The "go to hell, go to hell, give us more money" psychology that has energized Wyoming since the earliest days may well have run its course.

The Wind River Reservation disputes indicate that there will be more tenacity, more strength, more legitimate demonstrations of Indian power and sovereignty. In Wyoming, that means water. Gretel Ehrlich had the image right when she said, "water is the sacristy at which we kneel."[10] That is probably truer for Indian people than it ever was for non-Indians.

The tribes on the reservation are going to *expand* the uses of the water for which the 1989 U.S. Supreme Court confirmed their primary and best rights. For Indian people this assertion of water and land sovereignty is a way of healing a sacred identity. Water, like a ceremonial dance, makes the sacred visible. That is a cultural and political truth that Wyoming needs to face.

For Indian people water has come to mean place. For non-Indians water is a resource, a piece of movable real estate. Water is the bedrock of farmers' anxiety and it affects their angle of vision, but it is still a commodity.

The contention over water is only a small part of a larger struggle for Indian cultural preservation. Reserved Rights Doctrine and Prior Appropriations Doctrine are colliding. Indian reserved rights are federal rights and predate state water rights; they are legally superior to appropriations made under state law.[11] The state's doctrine of prior appropriations is looking fragile.

Winters rights, guaranteeing Indians sufficient water to develop their reservations, exist outside the state appropriation system.[12] The National Water Commission's report to the President and to Congress said, "when the reservation is located on lands aboriginally owned by the Indian tribe, their rights may even be said to have existed from time immemorial."[13] This state sees itself as mandated by its own constitution to challenge directly those assertions. I believe that what is viewed here as a legal argument is actually a cultural persuasion.

The state still does not want to recognize the fact that since the *Sporhase* case in 1982, water has been ruled to be

6. Michael A. Massie, "The Cultural Roots of Indian Water Rights," *Annals of Wyoming* 59 (Spring 1987): 15-28.
7. For a complete bibliography for Frank Trelease, see *Land and Water Law Review*, 22 (1987); Mark Squillace, "A Critical Look at Wyoming's Water Law," *Land and Water Law Review* 24 (1989); and "Water Marketing in Wyoming," *Arizona Law Review* 31 (1989): 865-904.
8. Bruce Babbitt, "The Future of the Colorado River," in *New Courses for the Colorado River: Major Issues for the Next Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), p. xii.
9. Ed Marston, "Global Economy Turns 'Lite,' " in *Reopening the Western Frontier*, ed. Ed Marston (Washington, D.C. and Covelo, California: High Country News, 1989), p. 65.
10. Gretel Ehrlich, *The Solace of Open Spaces* (New York: Viking, Penquin, 1985), p. 76.
11. John D. Leshy, "Water and Wilderness/Law and Politics," *Land and Water Law Review* 23 (1988): 389-417.
12. Carla J. Bennett, "Quantification of Indian Water Rights: Foresight or Folly?" *Journal of Environmental Law* 8 (1989): 267-285.
13. Ibid., p. 270.

The state experimental farm near Torrington, ca. 1930.

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an article of commerce and thus subject to the authority of federal interstate commerce; this makes legal fiction out of state laws and constitutions such as Wyoming's which claim state ownership of all its waters.

It very well may be that it is Wyoming's water system itself that bears re-examination. The old, familiar doctrine of "first come, first served" may no longer be useful. Prior appropriations law was first developed in response to a situation in which there was no law. Mining camps gave precedence to whomever staked out their claim first.[14]

Priority of claim does not imply efficient use nor even equitable use; it simply determines which farmers receive water and which ones do not. Equal needs have not been the legal consideration for water management in Wyoming. Appropriations doctrine is one of those guidepost ideas that define a culture. Its re-examination can also serve as a landmark in the evolution of our state's maturity.

Historians need to give less acceptance to the presumption that it has been the logic of physical geography and not human urges that has dictated the evolution of western water law. Our culture created our water laws not the imperatives of nature; neither environment nor aridity forced us to adopt a system that institutionalizes combat. And, when it becomes an ethnic face-off, it has immediate importance.

State government and even well-intentioned newspaper editorials have edged their rhetoric into the dangerous language of "quantification" of Indian water rights.[15] The governor finally mentioned the word in an intemperate open letter to the state while lashing out at a reporter who had the courage to chide the state engineer for not enforcing federal law.[16]

Perhaps the governor is not aware that quantification is perceived as code language for what Indians today fear most—the loss of their reservation altogether, forced assimilation into non-Indian society and another and perhaps final diaspora. Indian people know that if they allow state quantification—state determination—of federal rights Indians will then be subjecting their water rights to ordinary state appropriation rules and to state jurisdiction.[17] Joint authority over water can be seen as the first

14. Donald J. Pisani, "Enterprise and Equity: A Critique of Western Water Law in the Nineteenth Century," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (January 1987): 15-37.

15. Editorial, "Try Joint Authority for Wind River," *Casper Star-Tribune*, August 5, 1990, p. A6; "Sullivan, State Role Needed in Flow Issue," *Casper Star-Tribune*, August 1, 1990, p. A1.

16. Mike Sullivan, "Melynkovych column went round the bend," *Casper Star-Tribune*, August 3, 1990.

17. Bennett, "Quantification of Indian Water Rights."

step toward loss of authority over their land, loss of their sovereignty, and finally, loss of Indian identity.

Water transfers—selling your water right separated from the land—and water marketing seem to be the mark of a new era; if there is no more new water to be engineered, then the opportunities of scarcity can be exploited. Selling water rights so that somebody survives may well be a part of a new age solution to an age old problem of dealing with a dry landscape.

Throughout our history, nature has been used as an explanation and an excuse for human actions. We have blamed our great suicide rate on the ever present dry wind; the family violence and death rates are attributed to the lonely spaces and long distances; vaulting rates of teenage pregnancy, infant mortality, and alcoholism are due to the demands of an unforgiving, inhospitable landscape. Blaming the non-human world is too simplistic; in doing so we allow ourselves to trivialize nature's real impact on us as individuals.

Wyoming has celebrated its past but has not acknowledged it. The rigid memory of a heroic innocence has served as a protective barrier to a cultural understanding. Wyoming never can be fully mature as a distinct place until we seriously face the romance of the past with which we still live.

The collective memories that are Wyoming also hold racism, bloodshed, sexism, personal defeats, community bankruptcy, self-interest, and relentless boosterism. Our dismal social statistics reveal that repressed cultural memories activate themselves in undesirable ways. Historians need to define better the actual limitations of nature as well as true human motivations in order to deal with the culture of this marginal land.

SAME DECISION, DIFFERENT RESULTS?

Indian Water Rights and the Wind River Case

by Michael A. Massie

During the past century American Indians have overcome numerous obstacles in their struggle to survive in a changing world while retaining as many traditions and as much of their land as possible. While many problems persist on modern reservations, the Native Americans' successes have been remarkable, especially since they have been compelled to operate, for the most part, in a world of White-man's laws.

Initially, the federal government assumed the role of guardian of the tribes' interests, promising to preserve their resources to further the goals of acculturation and economic self-sufficiency. However, Indians soon learned that the government served the desires of the White majority and watched as apparent legal and legislative victories benefitted only non-Indian interest groups. By taking a more active role in protecting their own interests, many Native Americans are now in a better position to identify and take advantage of their legal rights.

The history of Indian water rights illustrates this point, particularly when comparing the results of a 1908 Supreme Court decision, which established the legal precedent for these rights, with the court's recent ruling concerning the Wind River. While the issue of Indian water rights is certainly one of the least researched aspects of Wyoming's history, the ramifications of the "Wind River" decision may influence the future of the state more than any event that has occurred during the centennial year.

The court case that transpired earlier in this century involved two tribes and the state of Montana.[1] Soon after the formation of the Fort Belknap Reservation in north-

central Montana in 1873, the resident Gros Ventres and Assiniboines experienced the consequences of that era's American Indian policy. Demonstrating a lack of understanding of the area's arid environment, government officials insisted that the tribes forsake their previous lifestyles, centered around the pursuit of the bison, and farm small tracts of land. Most of the reservation's agents thought that agriculture would teach the Indians "civilized" values and fuel the acculturative process. This belief later formed the foundation of the 1887 General Allotment Act. During the following year, an executive agreement with the Fort Belknap tribes stipulated that the Indians would receive farming equipment in exchange for relinquishing title to some of their land.

Many factors hampered the agents' efforts in converting the Gros Ventres and Assiniboines into farmers, including the desire of many of the men to raise stock rather than till the soil. Whether farming or ranching, agricultural operations suffered consistently due to the dry environment. Seeking to correct this problem, the agents convinced Congress to appropriate twenty thousand dollars biannually to Fort Belknap for the construction of an irrigation system. Four watering projects were initiated by 1903, with the hope that farming and stock raising would benefit from irrigation and thus stabilize the tribes' economy.

However, a shift in American Indian policy around the turn-of-the-century undermined the tribes' ability to profit from this development. Some of the country's influential politicians, scientists, and anthropologists were disappointed that American Indians had not made as much progress as had been anticipated toward acculturation during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Failing to recognize the cultural biases and false premises that formed the foundation of this philosophy, most of the "experts" insisted that it would take decades for the Indians to learn the tools of civilization. At the same time, leaders in Western states and territories lobbied the federal government to remove the reservation lands that the tribes were not farming and make these tracts available to non-Indian settlers.[2]

To meet the Westerners' demands and to reflect the growing pessimism of the Indians' ability to acculturate, political leaders and reservation agents urged non-Indians to lease, or purchase in some cases, tribal lands and resources. The desired results of this policy were to enhance the western economy while maintaining the goal of acculturation. Ideally, Whites exploiting tribal resources would now serve as examples of the benefits of "civilization" for their Indian laborers.

By the mid-1900s the Fort Belknap agents leased large tracts of the reservation lands to non-Indian grazers and sugar beet growers and actively sought corporations to build a sugar refinery. Of course, the attractiveness of these leases depended upon irrigation. When the Milk River, which forms the reservation's northern boundary, dried up in 1905, the hopes of Indians and Whites on the Fort Belknap Reservation were suddenly dashed.

Lured by the nation's homestead laws which promised cheap land, ranchers had settled along the Milk River above the reservation throughout the 1890s. Like the reservation's residents, the newcomers depended upon the river to irrigate crops and hay meadows. Due to a few years of drought, the river's flow dwindled until these ranchers' diversions prevented any water from reaching the reservation. Insisting that the state possessed the right to regulate water use within its boundary, Montana refused to recognize the tribes' water rights and condoned the situation.

Faced with the destruction of the reservation's economy, agent Logan requested that the Justice Department sue the ranchers to force them to allow water to flow to the reservation. The department complied and after years of litigation and appeals, the U.S. Supreme Court rendered its decision in 1908.

Winters v. *United States* proved historically significant for two reasons. First, the justices set the precedent for Indian water rights by determining that the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboines had preserved their water rights in the 1888 Executive Agreement. Even though this right was not specifically written in the accord, the United States and the tribes "implied" that adequate water must accompany the grounds that formed the reservation or the land would be worthless and uninhabitable. Since the tribes possessed the earliest (senior) water rights to the Milk River, their needs must be met before those of the other diverters of the river.

The judges further ruled that the Native Americans could utilize this water for beneficial purposes, primarily for agriculture at this time, and the amount of water that the tribes could divert may increase in the future to account

1. This paper's account related to the Fort Belknap Reservation and the Winters decision is a summary of the information contained in the author's previous article, "The Cultural Roots of Indian Water Rights," *Annals of Wyoming* 59 (Spring 1987): 15-28.
2. For a detailed account of this era in American Indian policy, refer to Frederick Hoxie's, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

for the expansion of the reservation's population. This "future use" clause distinguishes Indian water rights from those acquired under the laws of prior appropriation which most Western states recognize.

The judges' decision not only established the precedent for the Indian's rights to water, but it raised several questions which continue to plague this issue. How would the Indians' right be quantified? Could non-agricultural use of the water be considered "beneficial?" Since the Fort Belknap Reservation was formed by executive order, does the Winters decision apply to Indian reserves created by treaty or a legislative act? Must the water be of a certain quality? Can the Indians sell or lease their rights? Does the reserved quantity include groundwater or just surface water? During the past eighty years, courts have addressed some of these questions but have failed to provide precise answers.

What occurred on the Fort Belknap Reservation in the decades that followed the Winters decision is just as significant as this judicial case. Given the United States' Indian policy of the era, the court's verdict benefitted the Whites more than the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboines, for the reservation's agents used the guarantee of water rights to lure more non-Indian lessees onto the tribes' lands. By 1925 non-Indians controlled 58 percent of the reservation's irrigated land, paralleling the loss of other tribal resources, particularly coal and timber. Water was even funneled off the reservation to neighboring landowners and corporations. Because the Indians exerted little control over the reservation's resources, land, and laws, they were not in the position to take advantage of the rights defined in the Winters decision.

This was unfortunate, for the federal government not only failed to protect the Indians' water claims at Fort Belknap, but it has been one of the biggest violators of Indian water rights during the past eighty years. During this time, non-Indian politicians and administrators have generally been the decision-makers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is part of the much larger Department of Interior that manages much of the Western public lands. Consequently, it is not surprising that federal water policies through the past century have overwhelmingly favored large, publicly-funded water development projects that have served western cities and non-Indian interests at the expense of the tribes' water rights.

Listing all of the federal court decisions and government-financed projects that have preempted Indian water rights is well beyond the scope of this brief paper. The Bureau of Reclamation has perhaps been the most frequent violator of the Native Americans' "Winters" rights. Its dams have created flooding and water quality problems on reservations, and the agency has sold the tribes' water to non-Indian ranchers, farmers, power plants, and cities. As Senator Kennedy quipped: "Reclamation might just as well be the cavalry all over again."[3]

The history of the Wind River Reservation reflects the federal government's abuses of Indian water rights. In signing the 1905 Land Cession, the United States promised the Arapaho and the Shoshone tribes that the proceeds from the sale of the ceded land would be used to acquire water rights and build an irrigation system for the reservation. Due to the inabilities of the local White-owned irrigation company and the less-than-expected response from the settlers in purchasing homestead tracts around Riverton, the promised ditches were never completed. Furthermore, Arapaho landowners were assessed fees whether or not they used the irrigation ditches that were built. When they could not pay the bills, they were compelled to sell or lease their land. Forced to seek employment with the government, many of them subsequently worked on the very ditches that precipitated their predicament, and several never received the wages that they were promised.[4]

In the 1930s the Bureau of Reclamation built the Midvale Irrigation Project, diverting much of the Wind River just before it enters the reservation and funneling it to nearby non-Indian farmers and ranchers. As the 1989 Supreme Court decision confirmed, much of this water belonged to the Indians.

The bureau appeared in the 1960s with another plan to encourage the development of non-Indian resources by using tribal water. In order to spur the development of coal in northeastern Wyoming and southeastern Montana, the agency advocated diverting water from several nearby reservoirs, including the one at Boysen. Since much of the water in Boysen Reservoir belonged to the Shoshones and Arapahoes, this scheme would have robbed the tribes of their ability to develop the reservation's economy. This project was eventually scrapped, primarily due to the protests from conservationists over the environmental costs of the undertaking, not because of any concern over the illegal use of the Indians' water.[5]

By the 1970s Indians throughout the country were in a better position to begin reversing decades of lost water

3. Marjane Ambler, *Breaking the Iron Bonds: Indian Control of Energy Development* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), p. 215.
4. Loretta Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978: Symbols in Crises of Authority* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), p. 130.
5. Ambler, *Breaking the Iron Bonds*, p. 208.

rights. In addition to winning some key court decisions that confirmed treaty rights, some tribes had formed organizations, such as the Native American Rights Fund (NARF), that provided important legal assistance. Now, many Native Americans aggressively pursued protection of their resources rather than depend upon White administrators and politicians to safeguard tribal claims. While NARF won several legal battles, federal courts indicated that Indian water rights possessed some limits and urged the tribes to attempt to settle their differences over water issues with Western states through negotiation or initially in the state court system.[6]

Using federal funds offered by the Carter administration, the Wind River Reservation tribes conducted a study to determine the history, quantity, and extent of their water rights. After negotiations failed, Wyoming and the tribes embarked upon a series of legal battles in 1975 that culminated in the Supreme Court decision in 1989.

Generally confirming the findings of the "Winters" court, the justices determined that the Shoshones' and the Arapahoes' water priority dated to the establishment of the reservation in 1868 and awarded the tribes approximately five hundred thousand acre feet, or a little less than one-half of the flow of the Wind River and its tributaries that rise on Indian lands. Like their predecessors at the turn-of-the-century, the 1989 court did not specify for what purposes the water could be employed or whether the Indians could sell or lease their claims. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court confirmed the tribes' rights to water that some non-Indians had been using for generations.

Even though the rulings in these cases were similar, the results will be quite different. While the Fort Belknap Indians failed to benefit from the "Winters" decision at that time, today's Shoshones and Arapahoes have more control over their resources than their counterparts of eighty years ago. They have the ability, knowledge, and probably the clout to make this court decision stick in order to use their water as they wish. Within the last year they have utilized their rights to restock fisheries, to maintain a minimum stream flow, and to lease some of the resource to the state for local non-Indian landowners. While the court's decision and the tribes' use of the water continue to generate controversy, the tribes appear to have the power to determine how approximately one-half of the Wind River will be utilized.

6. Mary Wallace, "The Supreme Court and Indian Water Rights," in *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Vine Deloria, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 197-220.

The "Wind River" decision has already exerted a significant influence in the West. Wanting to avoid the long, expensive court battle that Wyoming experienced, Colorado recently reached an agreement with the Southern Utes and the Mountain Utes on water rights, and Idaho has struck a similar accord with the Fort Hall Shoshones. For now, many Western tribes are asserting their "Winters" rights, becoming a major player in determining water ownership and use in the arid West.[7]

For several decades, the study of Indian water rights was primarily undertaken by lawyers and legal experts. While their works have identified important questions and provided a great deal of research concerning this issue, the resulting articles often lacked historical perspective and context. Now, historians, anthropologists, and other professionals are beginning to examine Indian water rights in relationship to tribal histories, federal Indian policies, and other Native American resource topics. Works particularly worth noting are Daniel McCool's *Command of the Waters: Iron Triangles, Federal Water Development, and Indian Water*; Marjane Ambler's *Breaking the Iron Bonds: Indian Control of Energy Development*; Loretta Fowler's *Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978: Symbols in Crises of Authority*; and Donald Worster's *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*. Of course, a brief bibliography of water rights would not be complete without noting the many significant contributions of Norris Hundley, Jr., specifically his article, "The Winters Decision and Indian Water Rights: A Mystery Reexamined," in Peter Iverson's edited book, *The Plains Indians of the Twentieth Century*.[8]

As western inhabitants have known for centuries, water plays a determining role in the evolution of this arid region. Due in part to the "Winters" and "Wind River" decisions, the American Indians have become influential players in the future course of the West. Hopefully, the adaptability that the Indians have demonstrated in adjusting to changes during the past century will characterize the future decisions that Western inhabitants will make toward the use of the region's most precious resource.

7. *Rocky Mountain News*, March 27, 1990, p. 43.

8. Fowler's and Ambler's works have been previously cited; Daniel McCool, *Command of the Waters: Iron Triangles, Federal Water Development, and Indian Water* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Pantheon Press, 1985); Norris Hundley, Jr., "The Winters Doctrine and Indian Water Rights: A Mystery Reexamined," in *The Plains Indians of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Iverson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 77-106.

REFLECTIONS ON ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY AND WYOMING

by Robert W. Righter

Recently historian Donald Worster wrote that "environmental history deals with the role and place of nature in human life. It studies all the interactions that societies in the past have had with the nonhuman world, the world we have not in any primary sense created." I find that last phrase particularly significant: "the world we have not in any primary sense created." That takes in the lion's share of Wyoming. We should not ignore it.

The state of Wyoming has a rich history of conservation. Much of it, however, remains to be written. When reflecting on the environment and conservation we may all consider special places and notable events. Wyoming is a state where the hand of man has touched lightly, and a whole world which he did not create is always evident. There are, however, some definable Wyoming "firsts" which we may credit to people acting in a positive, preservationist way. In 1872 Congress established the first national park—in Wyoming. Some twenty years later President Benjamin Harrison proclaimed the nation's first forest reserve—in Wyoming. Then in 1906 that stalwart conservationist, President Theodore Roosevelt, signed an executive order creating Devils Tower as the nation's first national monument. These "firsts," however, are only the most obvious of a multitude of events and processes which attract the environmental historian.

My own research centers on Grand Teton National Park, a park which celebrates some of nature's most spectacular mountain scenery. Man, of course, had nothing to do with its creation, but he has had much to do with its preservation. Therein lies the controversy which continues in various forms to this day. The Grand Teton National Park story proved a wonderful opportunity to examine a local issue of national importance. Although David Saylor's book, *Jackson Hole, Wyoming*, had covered the park controversy, much remained to be said. It proved a fascinating topic because it lasted for an excruciatingly long thirty-five year period. But the struggle over northern Jackson Hole importance does not reside in its length so much as the central issues which were raised. It underscored such themes as national purpose versus local and state concerns, Eastern wealth pitted against the struggling homesteader and rancher, and the whole broad issue of states rights and the public lands. From the perspective of environmental history the park fight raised concerns regarding space, solitude, wildlife, water development, and utilitarian conservation versus preservation—all issues still evident today.

Since the publication of *Crucible for Conservation* in 1982, I have thought often about the weaknesses of the book. I suppose no one knows the shortcoming of a work better than the author. If I was to do it over, more time would be spent with state sources, especially the Wyoming State Archives. I should have dug into the records of the governors involved and sifted through the various state agencies' records: records which would have provided a very different perspective than those of the federal agencies. Furthermore, more interviews would have enhanced the book, especially with persons with a special relationship to Jackson Hole. Quite frankly, I am not a great believer in reliance on oral history. The memory is a faulty faculty. Yet interviews with more Wyomingites would have surely provided spice to the narrative and perhaps meaningful environmental observations.

The strength of the research is in the use of federal documents found in the National Archives in Yellowstone, Denver, and particularly in Washington, D.C. I mention that fact because some Wyoming historians feel that they can get the story without a trek to Washington. Perhaps in some fields, but surely not in environmental history. As we know, title to some 47 percent of Wyoming land resides with the federal government. Approximately 75 percent of mineral rights are reserved to the federal government. Whether we investigate records of water, wildlife, soil conservation, air quality, ranching, mining, or timber, the federal government is involved. Furthermore, most federal agencies have left a reasonably good "paper trail" of its activities and decisions. Since my work on Grand Teton National Park, I have returned to the National Archives at least three times. The wealth of material available to the Wyoming researcher is impressive.

Since the publication of *Crucible*, my work in national park history has diminished. One spin off from the book was an article in the *Western Historical Quarterly* (August 1989) titled "National Monuments to National Parks: The Use of the Antiquities Act of 1906," which presented the thesis that presidents often created a national monument when Congress proved unwilling to create a national park. The creation of Jackson Hole National Monument by President Roosevelt proved the best example, but the "monument to park" political process occurred in Grand Canyon, Zion, Bryce, Olympic, and other prominent national parks.

I should also mention that just this past summer I edited a volume titled *A Teton Country Anthology*. The anthology features early writings about Jackson Hole and the Teton Range which I found particularly enjoyable or significant. The book is intended as an appreciation of that very beautiful corner of Wyoming.

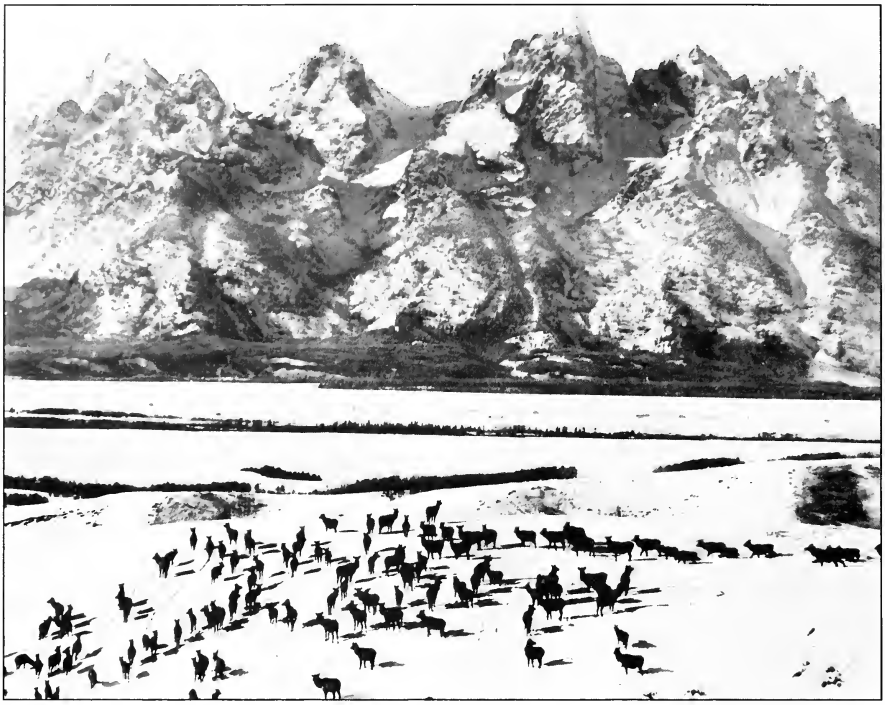
Other environmental research touches on Wyoming. For far too long now I have been working on a history of wind energy in America: Not the water pumpers that dot the Wyoming landscape, but rather the electrical generating types. Ranchers called them "wind chargers" and their use was quite widespread before rural electrification. One result of that work was an article published in the *Annals of Wyoming* titled "The Wind at Work in Wyoming." However, thus far neither the article nor the subject has excited much interest. However, they should. In the past we humans used natural, renewable sources of energy such as wood, water, and wind for our needs. Even the ubiquitous, infamous "buffalo chip" provided heat. No one would dare suggest that our energy crisis will become so desperate that Wyoming people will be gathering cow chips in the next century, but it is likely that we will resort to historic energy sources. Resources that are considered valueless today will bolster the economy tomorrow. After all, who in the nineteenth century could foretell the value of uranium ore in the twentieth? One day the Wyoming wind will become a valuable energy resource. The demise of the large wind turbines at Medicine Bow should not be considered the final word. The next one hundred years will see Wyoming continue as an energy state, by developing our abundant resources in sun and wind, rather than oil and uranium. The pre-petroleum age was not far in the past, and the post-petroleum age is fast approaching.

One other project is related to environmental history and Wyoming. Some years ago a student of mine named Sandy Oliver did an excellent Master of Arts thesis on Ferdinand Vandiveer Hayden in Wyoming. Many of you will recall that it was the 1871 Hayden Survey which conducted the first scientific assessment of the Yellowstone region. Furthermore, Hayden is given considerable credit in the successful campaign to create Yellowstone National Park the following year. Sandy intended to write a full biography on Hayden for the Ph.D. dissertation, but that never happened. I was disappointed. A couple of years ago the University of Oklahoma Press called for proposals for a new biography series. I proposed Hayden. To make a long story short, this interest resulted in a contract to do a biography of this rather enigmatic man who was so central to the scientific exploration of the Rocky Mountain region. I look forward to the challenge and I expect that I will call on many of you for assistance within the next few years.

I have talked far too much about my own interests and work. Let me now make a few observations regarding the opportunity for environmental history on Wyoming.

First, historians should look more closely at agencies which serve as stewards to that extensive part of the state that humans did not create. There are the federal agencies which day to day wrestle with issues of land, air, and water. How much do we know of the Soil Conservation Service, the old Grazing Service, the Bureau of Reclamation, or the Fish and Wildlife Service, all federal agencies which are dedicated to conservation practices in the daily application of their charge. Many of the records of such agencies are routine, but there are gems among the rough stones which the environmental historian can polish with meaning.

There are also important state agencies that deserve our attention. The Wyoming State Game & Fish Commission comes to mind. From my somewhat uninformed view



COURTESY DIVISION OF TOURISM, WYOMING DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Elk herd near the Grand Tetons.

the commission has an admirable conservation record. What other state can boast as many antelope as people? Something must have happened because we know that at the turn-of-the-century the antelope was scarce indeed. Some work has been done on the commission, but there is still ample opportunity for new assessments of this influential agency.

Another state agency particularly deserving of study is the Wyoming Land Board, the administrative agency of many thousand acres of Wyoming land. Generally the western centennial states received sections 16 and 36 of each township when they entered the union one hundred years ago. Many of our neighboring western states sold off their land for a pittance, but Wyoming retained most all of this land largesse. Today the land board manages this property and its decisions regarding environmental questions are most worthy of examination and interpretation. Just this past year the board has struggled with the question of whether to sell off a section of land near Jackson known as Boyle's Hill.[1] In the debate central questions of growth, of land values, of wildlife habitat, and the whole question of the future direction of the state have been addressed. These little microcosms of environmental debate offer the historian unique opportunities to interpret the past and the present.

One could enumerate many other Wyoming arenas open to the field of environmental history. Most all of the past activities related to land, air, water, and natural resources can be examined. Most Wyoming historical writing, after all, has been about people, not the environment. It has been largely the story of men and women, their struggles, failures, and successes, with the physical environment merely serving as a back drop.

The new field of environmental history does not insist that nature take center stage, but it does seek to acknowledge the importance of nature in the world of man. It seeks to gain "equal time" for our physical environment. Thus far the state has had no James Malin, an historian who many years ago concentrated his interest on grasslands and ecological change in Nebraska. With the exception of a cultural geographer or two, no one has chosen to put the land and resources on center stage. I am not

1. The Boyle's Hill section has been auctioned off and is now in private hands.

suggesting that we must all return to the university for education in botany, geology, or zoology. However, I am suggesting that future writing in Wyoming history must reflect the interaction of man and nature. We should look closely at the manipulation of natural resources by man. We should contemplate and interpret the quotation on the Engineering Building at the university. "Strive On! The Control of Nature is Won, not Given." Is our relationship with nature to be competitive or cooperative?

We should also contemplate one of my favorite sayings: "Nature has blessed Wyoming here and there, but not everywhere." Does nature bestow its blessings unevenly, or is the judgment one of human perception? Also, I suggest that we might substitute "human action" for "nature," thus reading "Human action has blessed Wyoming here and there, but not everywhere." Within that phrase is a theme for a new approach to the Wyoming past. It is particularly significant because in another hundred years—when the state is celebrating the bicentennial—historians will like measure our generation's success by its ability to preserve rather than exploit.

Certainly in recent years Wyoming history is being written with more attention to the environment. Partly this is a response to public interest and concern, and partly it is a result of legislation. The National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) 1970, mandated Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) on federal projects. Broadly interpreted, most projects and construction activities in Wyoming fell under that category. One portion of the EIS has been "Cultural Resources," which allowed some hungry historians to find employment. Equally significant, these historians became more aware of the activities of the botanist, the anthropologist, and the geologist. History became just a little more multi-dimensional.

Another fascinating activity has been the rephotography projects evident in Wyoming and elsewhere. Historians examine the work of early photographers within the state, such as William Henry Jackson, and then do their best to rephotograph the scene today. Not only do such projects reexamine the built environment created by our forefathers, but they visually track the environmental change (or environmental stability) in the natural areas of the state.

I must admit that the EIS' I have used have not always been written in the most tantalizing fashion. However, environmental history can be interesting, and surely it is significant. Environmental questions will not disappear, and therefore, historians have some obligation to examine the roots of such issues. For instance, consider the Yellowstone National Park wolf reintroduction controversy. At present there is no history of the relationship of the wolf and man in Wyoming. Of course we know that our predecessors exterminated the wolf between 1890 and 1930, but why? Did it have to do with overpopulation of the species? Was it because of excessive killing of livestock? Was it simply that Wyoming man possessed the technology to impose his idea of order on the land? Or was it that more intangible, mental encounter in which man's perceptions, ideologies, ethics, laws, and myths dominated the dialogue with nature and the fate of the wolf? As politicians and interest groups struggle with the wolf reintroduction issue, the environmental historian cannot provide answers, but he or she can provide perspective.

In closing, let me reiterate that there is much work to be done in environmental history. Wyoming people had nothing to do with the natural beauty created within the state, but it does fall on them to understand and protect this beauty. To return to Donald Worster's phrase, environmental history studies the interactions that human societies "have had with the nonhuman world, the world we have not in any primary sense created." We certainly cannot ignore that world in Wyoming, so let us incorporate it. Certainly our function as historians is to study man's past activities, but in so doing let us consider sharing the stage with nature. An increased knowledge of the interactions of our forefathers and the natural world they encountered can only enhance our understanding and our ability to deal wisely with current and future issues.

THE PRESERVATION OF WYOMING'S VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

by Rheba Massey

"The United States ought to build a barbed wire fence around the whole state of Wyoming. Declare it a national treasure and allow only five hundred thousand visitors a year . . . Declare it a national park and treat it as such."[1] These statements are from the book *Centennial*, and James Michener reiterated these acclamations in his June, 1990, Centennial discussion at the Wyoming State Capitol. What is this "national treasure" that should be declared a "national park" and treated as such?

First, as a historic preservation professional, I believe a significant part of this "treasure" is our heritage reflected by the buildings, structures, objects, and sites still present in Wyoming. Wyoming's heritage consists of several categories of sites and buildings, but I believe the most significant architectural resource which reflects "our distinctive western character" is vernacular architecture. Second, I interpret Michener's message as a challenge to see effective ways to preserve the historic buildings that reflect our history. Therefore to provide for future historic preservation needs in Wyoming, information and attitudes about Wyoming's vernacular architecture need to be explored.

The first step is for Wyoming historians and other professionals to define Wyoming's vernacular architecture. *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, provide the following explanations of vernacular architecture in their introduction. Vernacular is "fundamentally a humanistic study" that involves the linkage of several disciplines: the historian, the architectural historian, the folklorist, the anthropologist, the geographer, and other colleagues who are concerned with the remains of our vernacular past and the people who created them. "It is the architecture that groups of people make or have made for their daily use."[2] Upton and Vlach suggest there are four categories to consider in determining vernacular architecture: "Construction; Function; History; and Design and Intention." Wyoming professionals need to explore this and other definitions as they pertain to Wyoming's architecture and include this topic within our academic history discussions.

Once we have come to some consensus on *our* definition, we need to discuss philosophically whether Wyoming's architecture *is* truly a part of that "national treasure" which Michener alludes to in his book *Centennial*. Since Wyoming does not have numerous examples of "high style" architecture which reflect basic architectural categories such as Classical, Romanesque, Gothic, or Queen Anne, can we say that vernacular architecture is the *most* important historic architectural resource we have that embodies our "distinctive western character?" Most recently, due to Grand Teton National Park's plan to demolish or move many of its homesteads and dude ranches, the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) has recognized vernacular architecture as our most threatened resource. Many professionals and Wyoming residents do not recognize vernacular architecture's aesthetic contribution to our magnificent cultural landscapes. Do we not need to devote serious consideration and study to developing effective historic research methodologies for this part of history, and protect it as a reflection of our ethnicity and traditions?

I recently toured Holland and investigated their national historic preservation program. Holland has determined that all buildings built before 1850 are historically significant and should be protected. Seeing the results of this

1. James A. Michener, *Centennial* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1974), p. 901.

2. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), p. xvi.

"blanket determination" caused me to daydream about this possibility in Wyoming. What if Wyoming determined that all buildings built in Wyoming's early settlement period (before 1900) were historically significant and should be protected? What if Wyoming's historians began to gather primary source information about the vernacular resources associated with their area of expertise, such as ranching and mining, so we could proceed to describe the types of vernacular architecture present in the state? I believe if we as professionals made this a goal, the "treasure" we have would soon become apparent to Wyoming residents and encourage the development of Wyoming's "heritage tourism."

To accomplish this goal we would need to explore the types of primary and secondary source information accessible for documenting the "Construction; Function; History; and Design and Intention" of vernacular architecture. Secondary sources such as state or general histories are usually written in a chronological order based on events concerning the economic and political development of the state. The people involved in these events are frequently mentioned, but the lives of these people and the structures associated with the people and events are not often revealed. Local histories record the memories of local residents that sometimes reflect important events or more often their memories of how they lived within a certain era. Sometimes these local histories mention structures associated with the local residents. All of this is vital information, but in terms of historical research for writing historic contexts or determining the historical or architectural importance of buildings, structures, objects, or sites, the information is insufficient.

The professional historians in the State Historic Preservation Office find the National Register of Historic Places' nomination forms to be our first and most important secondary source of information. Historic contexts have been developed for these properties which include photographs and vital information on the architecture of the structures. Since most of our architecture within the state is vernacular, the architecture of these properties has usually been evaluated within the context of historic themes—mining, ranching, and so forth.

Wyoming's Certified Local Governments have performed surveys of buildings and sites representing the historic themes of ranching, education, and community development. The survey forms for these buildings are in the SHPO and the communities' planning offices and libraries. They provide an excellent beginning point for researching vernacular architecture. The historic contexts for these surveys actually become a local history. Four recent surveys of Sublette County's ranches and schools have been incorporated into a book and is now available for purchase. Local histories still remain an important secondary source for historic preservation research. Cultural resource professionals have often wished there were more local histories of Wyoming's communities.

Our office also uses the cultural resource survey reports and historic site forms which are available at our Cultural Resource Records Office, University of Wyoming, Laramie. This information is based on project specific surveys performed to meet Section 106 requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (amended 1980). These surveys are performed by professional historians and archaeologists to determine significant historic resources and types of impacts to resources within a defined project area. However, these valuable survey reports, which include well developed historic contexts and overviews, are filed by project number and therefore are difficult to use for general historic research. A bibliography of these reports and a synthesis of this information is crucial in determining the significance of the vernacular architecture in Wyoming.

The National Register nominations and all of our survey forms need to be reviewed and organized according to historic contexts, specific property types, and time periods to determine the number of surviving examples. For example, what types of architecture represent mining within the state and are these types different within regions or communities or Wyoming or the United States? Much data has already been collected; more than forty thousand historic sites are documented in our cultural resource inventory. One of the main purposes of the *Wyoming Comprehensive Historic Preservation Plan* is to organize this data for future research. However, this will take the invested time of professionals and graduate students in history. Currently, the SHPO is trying to address this issue by recording every site according to its historic theme, time period, and geographic area. Therefore, in the future it will be easier to run an inventory sheet, for example, of all the ranching sites in Wyoming and have the site forms pulled for comparative analysis. This, however, will require the addition of more SHPO staff to fulfill these types of requests. Hopefully, historians will also recognize this as a "gold mine" for a public history project.

In addition to the information generated by the SHPO, primary source information for vernacular architecture is found in the local library, museum, or collections of historical societies. The local resource offices of federal

COURTESY STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

A Rock Springs "Shotgun House," an example of mining architecture.

agencies, such as the Forest Service or Bureau of Land Management, have important records and maps concerning local history and land use development. The information usually consists of old photographs, Sanborn Insurance Maps, oral interviews, topographical maps, GLO plats, newspapers, and information derived by site inspections of the structures and their historic artifacts. Information concerning the craftsmen who constructed buildings, ethnic building patterns, plans used for construction, or the buildings' function in the cultural landscape of the community is not readily available. Due to lack of funds and staff, much of this information in libraries, museums, and federal agencies has not been archivally organized for easy access. The cultural resource specialists for the Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, and F.E. Warren Air Force Base have identified this as a critical need. Those resource areas of the federal agencies which have attempted to organize their historic information have different methods for managing and accessing historical information. Consistent methods need to be devised by Wyoming historians to aid the federal agencies in managing their historic records. We also need to define the types of information used in research for historic architecture, and inform local libraries, museums, and federal agencies of our needs.

In conclusion, research in the field of Wyoming historic preservation has been approached by only a few historians. There is a "crying need" for Wyoming historians to participate in this field. Significant historic sites are being evaluated by archaeologists who have not been trained in the methods of historical research. Determinations of eligibility often are based only on a site inspection. Most of us in the State Historic Preservation Office have not been able to address methodology or synthesize data due to persistent time deadlines associated with the bureaucratic historic preservation process. A book on Wyoming's architecture, now being written by the SHPO architectural historian, Eileen Starr, will be a major time contribution by our office to this research. Hopefully, in the future, more academic historians will join us in this fascinating pursuit.

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