# Annals of WYOMING

The Wyoming History Journal
Volume 2020 Vol. 92, No. 1

# "Winter on Lodge Grass Creek"

*1914*

*The cover painting was done by Wyoming's famed "cowboy artist," E. W. "Bill" Gollings.*

*Born in Idaho in 1878, Gollings and his family moved to Chicago when he was ten years old. He studied drawing in school there and after a series of odd jobs, he returned west in 1896. For more than five years, he rode the range as a cowhand for Montana and Wyoming cattle outfits. He continued his drawing in his spare time. Just after the turn of the century, he returned to Chicago and attended the Academy of Fine Arts.*

*In 1909 he built a studio in Sheridan and worked on Sheridan area ranches while he painted commercially. Gradually, his works gained favor with critics and collectors.*

*Four years after completing the painting appearing on this cover, Gollings received a commission for four paintings to be hung in the Wyoming State Capitol where they may be viewed today.*

*He died on April 16, 1932, in Sheridan.*

*The painting is from the Sherry Nicholas collection housed at the University of Wyoming Art Museum. This painting is part of a special exhibition of Gollings' work to be on display at the Art Museum until the end of April.*

The editor of *Annals of Wyoming* welcomes manuscripts and photographs on every aspect of the history of Wyoming and the West. Appropriate for submission are unpublished, research-based articles which provide new information or which offer new interpretations of historical events. First-person accounts based on personal experience or recollections of events will be considered for use in the "Wyoming Memories" section. Historic photo essays for possible publication in "Wyoming Memories" also are welcome. Articles are reviewed and refereed by members of the journal's Editorial Advisory Board and others. Decisions regarding publication are made by the editor. Manuscripts (along with suggestions for illustrations or photographs) should be submitted on computer diskettes in a format created by one of the widely-used word processing programs along with two printed copies. Submissions and queries should be addressed to Editor, *Annals of Wyoming*, P. O. Box 4256, University Station, Laramie WY 82071.

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# Symbolizing the Scottish-American Connection:

## The Statues of Robert Burns in Denver and Cheyenne

By Ferenc M. Szasz


Western History Department, Denver Public Library

*Robert Burns statue in City Park, Denver*

Cultural Resources Div., Wyoming Parks and Cultural Resources Dept.

*Robert Burns statue in Cheyenne*

Visitors strolling through Denver, Colorado, or Cheyenne, Wyoming, are often startled to run across towering statues of Robert Burns in both cities' downtowns.

Although statues of famous writers adorn many a British park, they are much rarer in the United States. When western cities do erect such monuments, they usually honor national political figures like Abraham Lincoln or long-forgotten local dignitaries from the late-nineteenth century. For Denver and Cheyenne to commemorate a Scots poet who lived only 37 years (1759-1796) and never set foot on North American soil is very unusual.

These two monumental statues of Robert Burns, however, reflect three central themes of the western Scottish-American experience. They acknowledge the crucial role that Scots immigrants played in shaping the Intermountain West; they reveal the émigrés' desire to forge a distinct Scottish-American identity; and they illustrate the universal appeal of Scotland's most famous poet.

From the early nineteenth century forward, Scots immigrants were exceptionally prominent on the western frontier. On the High Plains and in the Rocky Mountain West, Scots served as explorers, traveling botanists, fur traders, miners and missionary educators.[1] In Colorado and Wyoming, the Scots dominated late-nineteenth-early twentieth century cattle and sheep ranching. For years Murdo Mackenzie managed the Matador Land and Cattle Company from a base in Trinidad, Colorado, and Lyulph ("Lord") Ogivily, who once ranched in the Greeley area, earned fame as the *Denver Post*'s first agricultural writer. Scotsman's John Clay managed the powerful Swan Land and Cattle Company from Wyoming while Alan Patterson and Robert Taylor each owned herds of 100,000 sheep in the region during the fin *de siecle* years. Taylor spent much effort in cross-breeding the flocks to produce lambs that could withstand the challenge of Wyoming range life.[2]

Simultaneously, these Scots tried to forge a distinct Scottish-American identity. Fiercely proud of Caledonia, they had become fiercely loyal Americans as well. Thus, they sought out various ways to celebrate this dual heritage.

Initially, early Scottish immigrants seized on St. Andrew's Day (November 30) as the main day for such festivities. Celebration of a saint's day was hardly unusual for immigrants from the British Isles: the Welsh had St. David's Day (March 1); the Irish, St. Patrick's (March 17); and the English, St. George's (April 23). Similarly, mid-nineteenth-century Scots utilized November 30 as a day to commemorate Scotland with traditional foods, dancing, piping and a variety of toasts to heroes on both sides of the Atlantic. "You do not have much to do with St. Andrew in Scotland," a Wisconsin Scot reminded his Aberdeen readers in 1864, but it was different with Scotsmen abroad. The day was necessary here, he noted, to nourish "that noble pride which every Scotchman feels in his ancestral glory and living fame."[3]

But Abraham Lincoln's 1863 proclamation of a national day of Thanksgiving in late November eventually crowded out St. Andrew's Day. It was not long before Robert Burns's birthday (January 25) replaced it. Perhaps the celebration of a saint's day rang foreign to American ears; or perhaps mid-winter provided a better time to stage a gala celebration. At any rate, by the turn of the century, the celebration of Robert Burns Day had emerged as the major disseminator of Scottish culture and "the garb of old Gaul" throughout the region. Numerous reminiscences recall the childhood agony of sitting though yet-another-lecture on Robert Burns.

The "Burns ethos," however, harmonized especially well with the American western ethos. The mock heroics of his ballads meshed nicely with western cynicism, and Burns's mild skepticism about religion (Holy Willie) made him free of sectarian bias. Almost Jacobean in outlook, his great poems celebrating democracy ("a man's a man for a' that") and denouncing hypocrisy ("O wad some Power the giftie gie us/to see ourselves as ithers see us") made Burns universally acceptable.

Abraham Lincoln proved one of Burns's greatest admirers. He could quote him by the hour and on January *25,* 1865, he wrote to a Burns committee in praise of the poet's "generous heart and transcendent genius."[4] This respect was shared by a great many others. "I have hope for the human race so long as they celebrate the birthday of Robert Burns," said radical Denver Con-

[1] I treat this in detail in my *Scotland and the North American West, 1790-1917.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press [forthcoming]).

[2] See John Clay, *My Life on the Range* (New York: Antiquarian Press, Ltd. [1924], 1961); *Denver Post Empire Magazine*, May 23, 1971; Harmon Ross Mothershed, *The Swan Land and Cattle Company, Ltd.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); Edward Norris Wentworth, *America's Sheep Trails* (Ames: The Iowa State College Press, 1948).

[3] "Wisconsin Scot" letter, *Aberdeen Free Press,* December 14, 1868, Special Collections, University of Aberdeen Library, Aberdeen, Scotland.

[4] Philip B. Kinhardt, Jr., et. al. *Lincoln* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1992), 263.

gregationalist minister Myron W. Reed, about 1893. "I hate to be cruel but think of celebrating the birthday of [railroad magnate George] Pullman."[5]

By 1906, more than 60 American cities celebrated January 25, including San Francisco, Denver, Albuquerque, Cheyenne, Seattle, and Lander, Wyoming. A number of Burns's verses were also parodied anonymously (John Alcohol, my foe, John), the highest form of flattery. 6 It was not long before the Burns festivities assumed a more or less standard form. The day demanded a wide variety of special foods: shortbread, haggis ("great chieftain o' the puddin-race"); "howtowdies wi'drappit egge"; "thairums, pies and porter"; and "parritch and milk."

The men donned kilts while the women joined in reels and Highland flings. Bagpipes and occasionally hompipes proved essential, as singing and music dominated the affair. The songs included: "The Land of Burns," "Warrior Bold," "When the Swallows Homeward Fly," "Within a Mile 0' Edinburgh," "Farewell My Home," and "Tam O'Shanter." "The Cotter's Saturday Night" and "Auld Lang Syne" rounded out the festivities.[7]

Writing in 1896, Peter Ross described the Burns Day celebration as "generally the most thoroughgoing Scotch affairs in the world."[8] In 1901, the *Scottish American* offered advice on "How to Organize a Scottish Society," with a Burns Day at the core.[9] "It was a real important thing for the Scots," recalled one early Idaho pioneer. When Burns Day celebrations first began in her area (1903), few "non-Scots" attended.[10] By the turn of the century, most large western cities boasted some form of Scottish-American organization.

The Caledonian Club No. 1 of Denver was one of these important regional groups. Around 1900 the Denver Scottish-Americans decided to honor the 150th birthday of Burns by donating a statue of him to their adopted city. The local Denver city government was delighted, since the always scarce city funds had been earmarked for more pressing needs. Thus, the Caledonian Club contracted with A. Grant Stevenson of Edinburgh to sculpt the statue.

A noted sculptor, Stevenson's first large statue of Burns formed the centerpiece of the Kilmarnock Burns Memorial and Museum in Scotland. He modeled the face of these monuments on the famous Naysmith portrait of Burns. The project took several years to complete but in early 1904 Stevenson shipped the statue to New York, where it traveled by rail to Denver. It stood 10 feet, 10 1/2 inches, atop a 16-feet 4-inch, red-and-granite base, designed by Denverite William J. Higman, and prepared locally. The total cost reached $10,000, a considerable sum for the day. It was entirely subscribed by the Scottish-American community of the region.[11]

The inscription by Isabelle Crane Knox read:

BURNS A POET PEASANT BORN WHO MORE OF FAME'S IMMORTAL POWER UNTO HIS COUNTRY BRINGS THAN ALL HER KINGS.

On Independence Day 1904, the Caledonian Club formally unveiled the monument in Denver's lush city park. A pipe band, chorus, and several solos provided the musical accompaniment. Denver Mayor Robert W. Speer accepted the statue on behalf of the city, noting that Burns "belongs to us all."[12] Then William B. McGilvray, Chief of Caledonian Club No.1, delivered a lengthy address that was covered in detail by the local press. Noting Burns's link with America's Fourth of July, McGilvray said that Burns's poetry was "imbued with the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence and whose outspoken sympathies with the young republic could not be restrained."[13] After the ceremony, the crowd of about 20,000 listened to a Cook Drum Corps concert, and when dusk fell enjoyed an evening of fireworks. In the eyes of the audience, Robert Burns, Scotland, and the essence of America had merged into one.

The second statue of Burns was not dedicated until 1929, but the passage of a quarter of a century did not alter the sentiments. Like Colorado, Wyoming housed a number of Scottish-American organizations. For years Cheyenne residents Andrew and Mary Gilchrist had hosted a gala Burns Dinner celebration on January 25, to which it was considered an honor to be invited. Unlike Denver's Burns statue, however, the funds for the Cheyenne monument came, not from the entire Scottish community, but from a single person, Mary Gilchrist.

Mary and Andrew Gilchrist arrived in Colorado soon after their 1866 Glasgow wedding. Following a stay in

[5] Myron W. Reed clipping file, Western History Department, Denver Public Library.

[6] Carolyn Wells, ed., *A Parody Anthology* (New York: Dover, 1964; 1967), 46.

[7] Herbert N. Casson, "The Sons of Old Scotland in America," *Monsey's Magazine* 34 (1906): 600.

[8] Peter Ross, *The Scot in America* (New York: Raeburn Book Company, 1896), 1901.

[9] *Scottish American*, September *25,* 1901.

[10] Betty Hitt, typescript interview, Idaho Historical Society, Boise, Idaho.

[11] *Denver Daily News*, July 5, 1904.

Greeley, they moved to Cheyenne in 1877 where they engaged in ranching, counting themselves among the largest landholders in the region. Later, Andrew helped found the Stock Growers National Bank, amassing a considerable fortune before his death in the early 1890s.[14] Mary donated land for Gilchrist Park in Cheyenne in his honor, and continued to live in their elegant city home, interspersed with trips back to her native Scotland.

In 1927, Mary, then in her early 80s, decided to honor her adopted city by erecting a monument to Robert Burns. She said that a statue of the poet in downtown Cheyenne "would exert a tendency to direct thought in the community to wholesome consideration of his sweet gentle philosophy."[15] Thus, she designated a committee to carry out the complex negotiations. The committee wrote first to W. Grant Stevenson, but discovered that Stevenson had died several years earlier. His widow directed them to Henry S. Gamley, a pupil of Stevenson's brother (also a sculptor), and they quickly agreed on terms.[16] W.J. Higman, who had constructed the pedestal for the Denver statue, oversaw the building of the Cheyenne pedestal as well.

Gamley sculpted the Burns image in clay in his Edinburgh studio and then sent it to his Paris studio to be cast in bronze. Unfortunately, just after he finished the final touches in 1928 he died, adding a bit of poignancy to the eventual dedication ceremony.

Henry Gamley's Burns proved almost the equal of Stevenson's. Weighing 1726 pounds, it stood six and a half feet tall on a base about 20 feet high. The cost was $20,000, entirely paid for by Mary Gilchrist.

The inscriptions remained simple. One side of the base acknowledged the generosity of the donor, while the other carried verses from Burns's popular "The Cotter's Saturday Night":

FROM SCENES LIKE THESE OLD SCOTIA'S GRANDEUR SPRINGS THAT MAKES HER LOVED AT HOME REVERED ABROAD: PRINCES AND LORDS ARE BUT THE BREATH OF KINGS AN HONEST MAN'S THE NOBLEST WORK OF GOD.

Although the initial plan was to dedicate the Cheyenne statue on January 25, 1929, delays postponed the ceremony until summer. As with the 1904 Denver unveiling, the Cheyenne Scottish-Americans selected a national holiday for this occasion: Armistice Day, November 11, 1929.

The large crowd that gathered included a number of dignitaries, such as the mayor of Cheyenne, several judges, and numerous prominent Wyoming Scots. The keynote speaker was the governor, Frank C. Emerson. Emerson noted that since the statue was given to Wyoming's capitol city, it was, in essence, a gift to the entire commonwealth of Wyoming. "In honoring her distinguished countryman," the governor said of Mary Gilchrist, "she honors all of us in America."[17] Once again, the speakers successfully merged Robert Burns, Scotland, and the essence of America.[18]

Over the course of the century, the two Burns statues have gradually faded from public memory. Periodically, Denver reporters comment on their Burns statue, and while most Colorado readers recognize the poet's name, few can recall why he appears in City Park.[19]

The monument in Cheyenne has fared even worse. Gilchrist Park gradually fell into ruin and the city did not restore it until the late 1970s.[20] Today, many Cheyenne residents are uncertain about its location. It is at the intersections of Pioneer, Randall and 26th Street.

But things were different in the early twentieth century. In those days, Scottish-American fervor ran high, and the Scots formed a successful, highly visible minority in the Intermountain West. Proud of both their homeland and their adopted nation, they celebrated this union in a variety of ways. The most enduring of these, the Robert Burns statues in Denver and Cheyenne, still echo the western Scottish-American connection.

[12] *Denver Republican*, July 5, 1904.

[13] *Denver Republican*, July 5, 1904; *Rocky Mountain News*, July 5, 1904.

[14] *Wyoming State Tribune and Cheyenne State Leader*, November 10, 1927.

[15] *Wyoming Eagle*, July 25, 1982.

[16] Letter, H. S. Gamley to M. S. Reynolds, n.d., vertical files, Cultural Resources Division, Wyoming Parks and Cultural Resources Department, Cheyenne.

[17] "Address of Governor Frank C. Emerson upon occasion of unveiling of Robert Burns Memorial Statue," vertical files, Cultural Resources Division, Wyoming Parks and Cultural Resources Department, Cheyenne.

.[18] "Address of William A. Riner at presentation of Bums's memorial," vertical files, Cultural Resources Division, Wyoming Parks and Cultural Resources Department, Cheyenne.

[19] *Denver Post*, February 2, 1965; *Rocky Mountain News*, April 2, 1965; *Rocky Mountain News*, January 2, 1963.

[20] *Kilmarnock Standard* [Scotland], October 1, 1982, vertical files, Cultural Resources Division, Wyoming Parks and Cultural Resources Department, Cheyenne.

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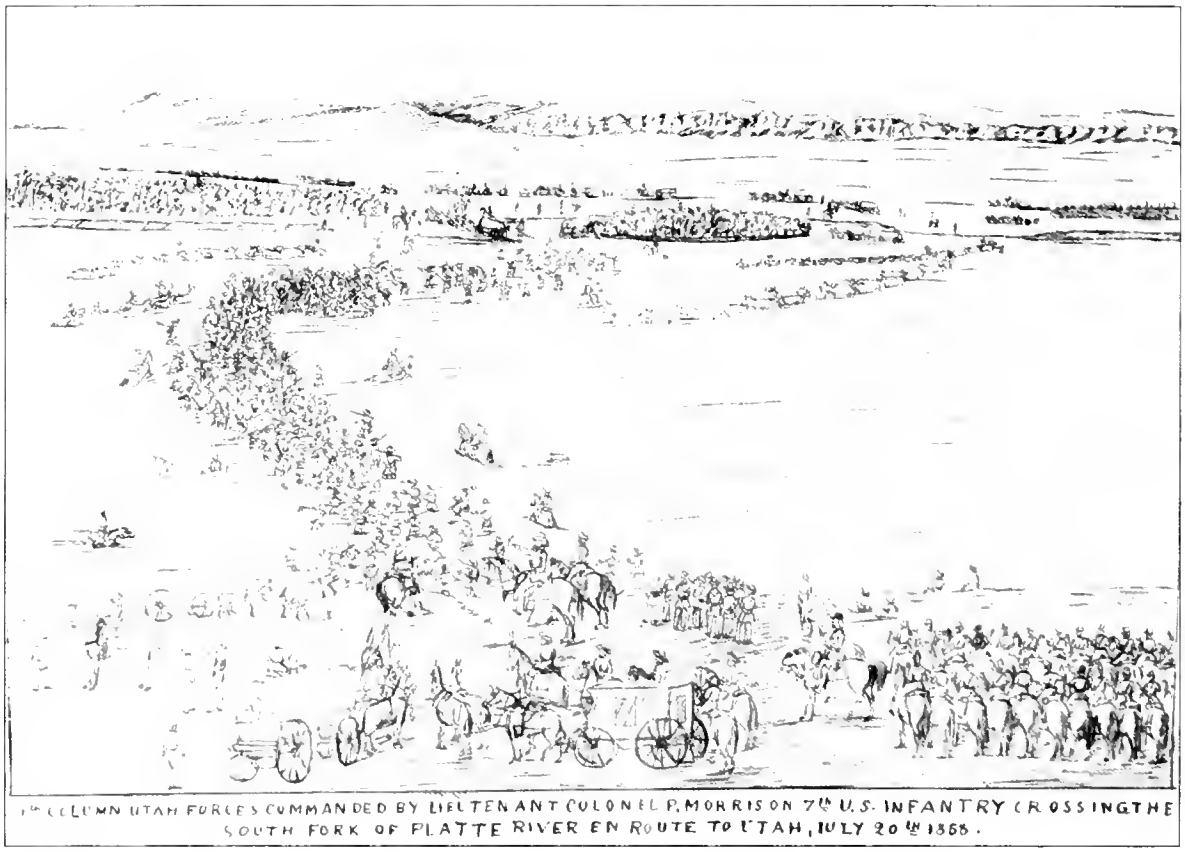
# THE WYOMING SOJOURN OF THE UTAH EXPEDITION, 1857-1858

**By Murray L. Carroll**




Utah State Museum of Fine Art

*7th Infantry Regiment crossing South Platte, July 20, 1858*

"The movement of the army to Utah is without parallel in military history." It was certainly the largest concentration of United States' troops to take place between the Mexican and Civil Wars.

Shortly after his inauguration on March 4, 1857, President James Buchanan decided to replace Brigham Young as governor of Utah Territory, and install an entirely new set of federal officials. Young's term expired in 1854 and, at that time, President Franklin Pierce had been unable to find a suitable non-Mormon replacement. Therefore, Young continued to serve in an interim capacity.

President Buchanan faced the same problem as had President Pierce; his first choice, Ben McCulloch of Texas, declined the appointment. The search continued through May and into June. Finally, Alfred Cumming of Georgia accepted. Secretary of State Lewis Cass did not send Cumming his commission until July 13. This delayed Cumming's departure for his new post, past the desirable date to assure the best traveling season to Utah.

President Buchanan, in consultation with Secretary of War John B. Floyd, decided to send a large military escort with the governor and the other newly-appointed officials. This force not only was to escort the officers, but was to establish a permanent garrison in Utah to protect the trails, and serve as a *posse comitatus* if necessary.[1] Since Congress was not in session, its approval and support was not sought prior to undertaking the operation. Buchanan and Floyd acted quickly and in secrecy, hoping to have the expedition organized and underway without too much publicity in the East, and without alerting Brigham Young and the Mormons.

On May 28, the commanding general of the army, Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, issued orders for the 2d Dragoons, 5th Infantry, 10th Infantry, and Phelps' and Reno's batteries of the 4th Artillery to assemble at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas Territory, under the command of Brevet Brigadier General W. S. Harney. This force totaled 2,500 men out of a total army strength of about 16,000. With teamsters, contracters and other civilians, the force was expected to total some 5,000 persons.[2] The Army Quartermaster General, with some exaggeration, stated, "The movement of the army to Utah is without parallel in military history."[3] It was certainly the largest concentration of United States troops to take place between the Mexican and Civil Wars.

Scott objected strongly to the operation. He felt it was too late in the season for the force to organize, get underway and reach its destination safely. It presented a logistical nightmare as well. It would be necessary to procure all the necessary supplies, rations, forage, ammunition, clothing, tentage, and to establish the essential transportation and resupply support structure. Also, the expedition could not move until the new governor and the other territorial officials were appointed, received their commissions and were ready to leave. General Scott additionally observed that the Mormons could mobilize and field an army of 4,000 men immediately, with shorter, and less vulnerable supply lines. Secretary of War Floyd overruled Scott, and ordered the operation to proceed. General Harney also opposed the operation. He expressed the opinion that there would be no advantage in trying to move an army so late in the season.[4]

The reasons for the expedition were complex and are still not completely clear. Anti-Mormon prejudice, political problems that were part of the prelude to the Civil War, economic interests of War Department contractors, and biased advice given to President Buchanan and his cabinet members, all played a part in the decision.

Utah was established as a territory by the Utah Act, one of the five measures comprising the Compromise of 1850, passed by Congress and signed by President Millard Fillmore on September 9, 1850.[5] Brigham Young was appointed first territorial governor and superintendent of Indian affairs.[6] These political appointments, combined with Young's position as head of the Mormon church, essentially, if unintentionally, confirmed Utah as a theocracy, as visualized by Young and the Mormon hierarchy when they originally organized the State of Deseret in 1849.

Although the non-Mormon federal officials appointed to Utah at various times tended to be political hacks, even those with ability and the best intentions could not function within the shadow of the ghost state of

[1] The use of military troops in the capacity of *posse comitatus* was legal at this time, but was prohibited by the provision of Army Appropriation Act for 1879, commonly called "The *Posse Comitatus Act*." "*The Posse Comitatus Act*" was repealed in 1956, and its substance included in Section 1385 of Title 18, United States Code.

[2] "The Utah Expedition," *House Executive Document* 71, 35th Congress, 1st Session, 4-5.

[3] "Report of the Quartermaster General for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1858," *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1858* II, 797. (National Archives, Microcopy No. 997, Roll No. 11.)

[4] Otis G. Hammond, ed. *The Utah Expedition 1857-1858. Letters of Capt. Jesse Gove, 10th Inf. U.S.A., of Concord, N. H., to Mrs. Gove, and special correspondence of the New York Herald.* (Concord: The New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928), 7. [Hereafter cited as "Hammond."]

[5] George Brown Tindall, *America, a Narrative History.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 579-586.

[6] Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 26-28.

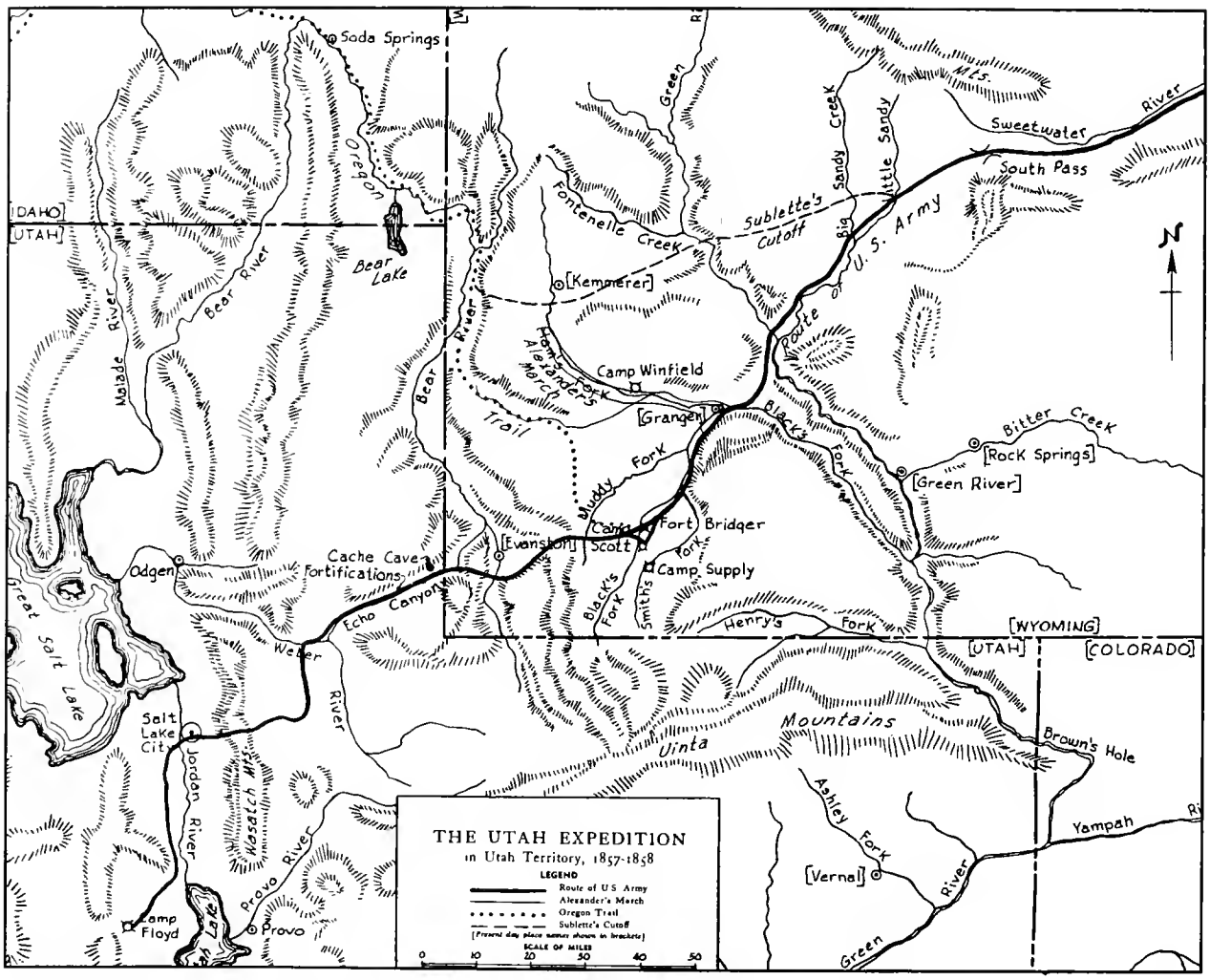
Deseret controlled by the Mormon church hierarchy and, therefore, they did not stay in Utah very long. One of the worst, W. W. Drummond, was appointed by President Pierce in 1854 as one of the territorial supreme court justices. Drummond was especially distasteful to the Mormons. He left his wife and children behind when he came to Utah, while his mistress, a prostitute from Washington, accompanied him. Frequently she joined him on the bench during trials. He was also a heavy drinker, and violently anti-Mormon. Drummond's letter of resignation of March 30, 1857, was virulent in his accusations of Mormon perfidy and disloyalty to the United States. He stated that "The officers are insulted, harassed, and murdered for doing their duty, and not recognizing Brigham Young as the only law-giver and law-maker on earth."[7]

Another equally virulent letter came from the pen of William M. F. Magraw, a personal friend of President Buchanan, who had lost a United States mail contract to a Mormon, Hiram Kimball, and eventually to the "Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company," also known as the "Y.X. Company."[8] Both letters were widely reprinted in the Eastern press.

Another factor was the scent of rebellion that was in the air. The tensions between pro-slavery and anti-slavery advocates in Congress were acted out in actual physical clashes between abolitionists and pro-slavery forces in Kansas. These quarrels already required the deployment of a large number of federal troops to keep order. The one common idea that Southern and Northern Democrats and the Republicans all shared was a strong antipathy toward the Mormons. The press was calling for "prompt and decisive action to dethrone

[7] LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *The Utah Expedition 1857-1858, A Documentary Account of the United States Military Movement Under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, and the Resistance by Brigham Young and the Mormon Nauvoo Legion.* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1958), 366.

[8] W. Turrentine Jackson, *Wagon Roads West.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 175.

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'King Brigham' and emancipate his subjects from their abject bondage."[9] Robert Tyler, son of ex-President John Tyler, and an intimate friend and advisor of President Buchanan, suggested in a letter to Buchanan, that the "eyes and hearts of the Nation may be made to find so much interest in Utah as to forget Kansas!"[10]

General Scott, in his instructions to General Harney, gave as the official reason for the expedition [that] "The community and, in part, the civil government of Utah Territory are in a state of substantial rebellion against the laws and authority of the United States."[11] From the military point of view, that view, coupled with the fact that Utah sat astride all the major land routes of communication between the Atlantic seaboard and the Pacific states and territories, served as ample justification for military action.

As General Scott had predicted, the expedition would be late in the season getting organized and underway. General Harney and the 5th Infantry were on duty in the Seminole War in Florida. The 5th Infantry initially was held at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, to allow for the recovery of the sick and wounded. The 10th Infantry was in Minnesota. Only a part came to Fort Leavenworth, and it was at less than half strength. The rest of the unit was to join the column en route. One squadron of the 2nd Dragoons, from Fort Randall, Dakota Territory, was decimated by desertions and scurvy when it reported to Fort Leavenworth.

The first unit to get underway was the element of the 10th Infantry, which left Fort Leavenworth on July 18. The two artillery batteries left on the 19th, and the 5th Infantry on the 22nd. Due to desertions and sickness, all of the units were well below expected strength, totaling just 1,200 men.[12]

Kansas Governor Robert J. Walker requested a *posse comitatus* to restore order in Lawrence and other areas of conflict. Seven companies of the 2nd Dragoons under Lt. Colonel Philip St. George Cooke were detached temporarily from the Utah expedition for this purpose. President Buchanan granted a further request from Governor Walker that General Harney himself be retained at Fort Leavenworth permanently. Thus, the balance of the expedition, together with many of its supply trains and 2,000 head of beef cattle, was on the road to Utah without its commanding officer, or any officer designated as interim commander, and without mounted troops to protect the line of march.

The senior officer with the column was Colonel Edmund B. Alexander, commanding officer of the 10th Infantry. He was a weak and indecisive officer whose subordinates referred to him as "the old woman." Alexander made no effort to assume command of the column, and exercised little control over his own regiment, usually riding in an ambulance in the middle of his regimental column, rather than leading it on horseback.[13] In short order, the troops and supply trains were scattered along the length of the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to South Pass.

Somewhat belatedly, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, commanding officer of the 2nd Cavalry Regiment, stationed in San Antonio, Texas, was ordered to the War Department. On August 28, he was ordered from Washington to Fort Leavenworth "in anticipation of orders to be issued placing you in command of the Utah Expedition."[14] He was given six companies of the 2d Dragoons "to escort you and the civil authorities to Utah."[15] Thus, Johnston inherited the confusion and lack of a clear plan of operation for an expedition whose leading elements were some thousand miles west of him, nearing Fort Laramie; other elements were with him; and still others were somewhere between Minnesota and the Oregon Trail.

The supply trains and cattle herds ranged from some actually being ahead of the column, while the logistical tail itself just organizing in Leavenworth City. Russell & Waddell held the contract for the delivery of one year's supply of cattle on the hoof to the troops in Utah. Because of the disorderly nature of the line of march, one of the herds was attacked by Cheyenne Indians and several hundred head were lost. Other rations procured and shipped consisted of three months' supply for use in transit, and one year's supply from the expected time of arrival in Utah.[16]

Lt. Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, with companies A, B, C, F, G and I of the 2nd Dragoons, comprised the rear guard, and also the escort for the governor, the other new Territorial officials and their wives.[17]

[9] Kenneth M. Stampp, *America in 1857, A Nation on the Brink*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 200-202.

[10] Robert Tyler to President Buchanan, April 27, 1857, Buchanan Collection, cited in Stampp, 201.

[11] "The Utah Expedition," 7-9.

[12] Hafen and Hafen, 34.

[13] Hammond, 19.

[14] "Annual Report of the War Department, 1857. Documents Accompanying the report of the Secretary of War, No. 1. Reports on the Utah expedition." *House Executive Document 2, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, Volume II*, pp. 23-24. [National Archives Microcopy Number 997, Roll Number 11.] Hereafter cited as *Annual Report of the War Department, 1857*

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] "Annual Report of the Commissary General, 1857," *Annual Report of the War Department, 1857*, 161-162.

[17] Companies D, E, H, and K of the 2nd Dragoons remained in Kansas as a part of General Harney's peace-keeping force.

Together with their support and baggage trains, they departed Fort Leavenworth on the afternoon of September 17. Earlier the same day, Colonel Johnston, with an escort of 40 dragoons, left Fort Leavenworth intent on reaching the head of the column as rapidly as possible. He expected to make the journey in 35 days, and be in the Salt Lake Valley by about October 20.[18]

Captain Stewart Van Vliet, Assistant Quartermaster General, was ordered to Salt Lake City ahead of the expedition to determine the availability of supplies and provisions. In addition, he was to assess the attitude of Brigham Young and the Mormon leadership in respect to a military presence in Utah.[19] VanVliet was an excellent choice for the task. He was well-known among the Mormons, having employed many from the Winter Quarters while stationed in the area. Brigham Young spoke of him as "—always free and frank, and a man who wishes to do right; no doubt he would do justice to all, if he had the power."[20]

In spite of the friendly welcome VanVliet received, Brigham Young made it quite clear that there would be no rations, forage, building supplies or other support available to the army; that any effort on the part of the army to enter Salt Lake Valley would be met with armed resistance; and, that a scorched earth policy would be followed in respect to Salt Lake City as well as all other settlements and farms in the valley. Van Vliet visited many Utah families whom he had known at Winter Camp. Without exception, they expressed the fear that the movement of troops to Utah meant the beginning of another religious persecution. Van Vliet noted in his report that it was already snowing in the Wasatch Mountains and the Ham's Fork area. He recommended that rather than try to move into Utah as planned, the army should take over Fort Bridger and Fort Supply from the Mormons and winter over until spring.[21]

No sooner had Captain VanVliet left Salt Lake City than Brigham Young sent a letter to Colonel Alexander, who, with his regiment was bivouacked on Ham's Fork, addressed "To the Officer Commanding the Forces Now Invading Utah" in which he stated that by virtue of his authority as governor, he issued a proclamation, forbidding the entrance of armed forces into Utah Territory. He granted Alexander the choice of withdrawing from Utah Territory, or remaining encamped for the winter on Black's Fork or the Green River, provided that he deposit his arms and ammunition with Lewis Robinson, Quartermaster General of

[18] Johnston to McDowell, September 16, 1857, *Letters Sent*, Department of Utah, Records of the War Department, National Archives.

[19] "Report of the Secretary of War." *Annual Report of the War Department, 1857*, 8-9; "Report of Captain Stewart Van Vliet," *ibid.*, 24-27; "Orders to Captain Stewart Van Vliet, Assistant Quartermaster, Fort Leavenworth, K.T., from A. Pleasonton, Captain, 2nd Dragoons, Asst. Adjutant General, Headquarters of the Army for Utah, Fort Leavenworth, K. T., July 28, 1857, 27-28.

[20] *Deseret News*, September 23, 1857, quoted in Hafen and Hafen, 36.

[21] "Report of Captain Stewart Van Vliet," *Annual Report of the War Department, 1857*, 24-27.

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*General Albert Sidney Johnston*

the Territory, and leave as soon as possible in the spring.[22]

Major Lot Smith,[23] of the Mormon Navoo Legion, commanded by General Daniel H. Wells, commander of all of the Mormon forces, was asked by Wells to take a few men, and either turn back or burn the Federal supply trains. With 44 men, he moved parallel to the California-Oregon Trail, outflanked the federal column, and came up in its rear. The first supply train he came to was a large ox-train under a wagon master named Rankin. Smith ordered him to turn his train around and return east. He did so, but immediately turned back west as soon as Smith was out of sight. He met up with troops and was unloaded before Smith could strike again. Smith then divided his meager force into two sections, and sent Captain H. D. Haight with twenty men to try to capture the 10th Infantry's mules. He took the remainder and went hunting for supply trains. Alexander left a 35-mile gap between his 10th Infantry and the 5th Infantry. In this gap, Smith's scouts spotted a train moving on the old Mormon trail along the Green River, near Sandy Creek. They reported it was a 26 wagon train. Since the train was without a military escort, Smith calculated that with bull-whackers and extra hands, he would be dealing with about 40 men. If he moved after dark, he expected no trouble. To his surprise, when he moved on the train, he discovered it actually was two trains each of 26 wagons, parked side-by-side. He disarmed the teamsters, took what he and his men needed from the wagon trains and fired the wagons and cargo.

The following day, he intercepted another train on the Sandy, consisting of 26 wagons under wagon master Lewis Simpson.[24] Smith had a great deal of admiration for Simpson. He said he was the bravest man he met during the campaign. He left him with two wagons and their oxen, and the necessary supplies for his bull-whackers, before he burned the rest of the train.

(William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody claimed that, as a thirteen-year-old boy, he was a member of the Simpson train, an employee of Russell, Majors & Waddell, and wintered with the army after the train's destruction.[25] According to Cody, James B. "Wild Bill" Hickok was an employee on the train as well, and was Cody's self-appointed protector.)[26]

In burning the three supply trains, Smith destroyed 72 wagons and their cargoes of 300,000 pounds of supplies, primarily food--ham, bacon, beans, flour, coffee, sugar--enough rations to feed all of the troops in the Utah Expedition for several months.[27] The foodstuffs were required to support the force through the winter and could not be replaced until after the spring thaws. In addition to the military trains, three wagons belonging to Mr. Perry, the sutler of the 10th Infantry, were burned.

Harold B Lee Library, Brigham Young University

*Major Lot Smith, Mormon guerilla leader*

[22] "Letter, Brigham Young to the Officer Commanding the Forces Now Invading Utah Territory, September 29, 1857," *Annual Report of the War Department, 185*", 32.

[23] Lot Smith, at the age of sixteen, served as a private in the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican War, under the command of then Captain Philip St. George Cooke. See Norma Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion, U.S. Army of the West, 1846-1848.* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 29, 266, 328.)

[24] Lewis Simpson was Alexander Major's son-in-law. Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels, The Story of Russell, Majors and Waddell.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 67.

[25] William F. Cody, *The Life of Buffalo Bill* (Hartford: Frank E. Bliss, 1879), 64-80; Colonel Henry Inman and Colonel William F. Cody, *The Great Salt Lake Trail.* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898), 382-396.

[26] Cody, *382-396.* Joseph G. Rosa, *They Called Him Wild Bill: The Life and Adventures of James Butler Hickok.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 22. Although Rosa mentions this, he states he was unable to find supporting evidence.

[27] Norman E. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 109; Hafen and Hafen., 162-163.

Stung into action by the loss of the unguarded supply trains and Brigham Young's ultimatum, Colonel Alexander finally understood he was at war. On October 9, he notified the Adjutant General of the Army that he was assuming command of the troops of the 5th Infantry and Phelp's and Reno's batteries of the 4th Artillery, all of which were now encamped together with his 10th U.S. Infantry on Ham's Fork. He named this encampment Camp Winfield in honor of General Scott. It was located about 15 miles from the junction with Black's Fork, and about 30 miles northwest of Fort Bridger.[28] He met Van Vliet returning from Salt Lake City on September 21. Van Vliet warned him that the Mormons would not permit the column to enter the Salt Lake Valley, but that he could probably winter safely at Fort Bridger and Fort Supply.[29]

Colonel Alexander was now intent on entering the Salt Lake Valley. He decided the Echo Canyon route was not a viable choice, nor did he plan on wintering over on Black's Fork. Instead, in his letter assuming command he laid out his own plan:

> After much deliberation, and assisted by the counsel of the senior officers, I determined to move the troops by the following route: up Ham's fork about eighteen miles, to the road called Sublette's cut-off; along that road to Bear river and Soda Spring, on arriving at Soda Spring two routes will be open—one down Bear River valley, towards
>
> Salt Lake, one to the northwest towards the Wind River mountains—where good valleys for wintering the troops and stock can be found.
>
> The adoption of one of these will be decided by the following circumstances: if the force under my command is sufficient to overcome the resistance I expect to meet at Soda Spring, I shall endeavor to force my way into the valley of the Bear river and occupy some Mormon villages, because I am under the impression that the Mormons after a defeat, would be willing and bring provisions for sale. The supplies on hand will last six months; and if I can get possession of a town in the Bear River valley, I can easily fortify it and hold it all winter.[30]

Two messengers who had carried dispatches from Fort Laramie to Colonel Alexander stopped at Colonel Johnston's camp at Three Rivers Crossing of Sweetwater on their return. They had a message from Colonel Alexander to Lt. Colonel C. F. Smith, Executive Officer of the 10th Infantry, to protect the remaining supply trains behind the main column.[31] Smith commanded the two companies of the 10th Infantry that left Minnesota after the rest of the regiment, and were now trying to catch up to the main column. Alexander thought that Smith was closer than he was, and stronger. Smith, whose command was a day ahead of Johnston's party, only had 22 men. He left 47 at Fort Laramie to augment the governor's escort. They, together with two companies of dragoons, and 25 dragoons of Colonel Johnston's escort that were left behind at Fort Laramie to recuperate, were four days' march behind Colonel Johnston.

Following this element was the balance of the 2nd Dragoons. The other four companies, D, E, H, and K, remained in Kansas as part of General Harney's force. Johnston ordered the troops four days behind him to move forward as quickly as possible and reinforce Colonel Smith, while he planned to catch up with Smith by the evening of the following day.

The messengers also informed Colonel Johnston of Colonel Alexander's plans to move on Salt Lake City. Johnston was astounded. In report to army headquarters in New York City, he wrote:

> The expressman says Colonel Alexander would attempt to reach the valley of Salt Lake by the Bear river; it is much further than by the usual route, and why he selects it I could not learn, unless from the probability of the grass being burned by the Mormons on the direct route. These men say that it is certain they will burn the grass on the route they are about to pursue. Under these circumstances, if I could communicate with Colonel Alexander, I would direct him to take up a good position for the winter on Ham's Fork. The road is beset between this and Ham's Fork by companies of Mormons, so it is doubtful whether I shall be able to communicate with Colonel Alexander.[32]

On October 11, Colonel Alexander put his plan in motion. The total column was nine miles long. Colonel Alexander sent Captain Randolph Marcy and his company on patrol to intercept the Mormon guerrillas, with orders not to fire unless fired upon. Marcy found Lot Smith and surrounded him. However, Smith managed to escape. On their way back to join the main Mormon column, two of the guerrillas, Major Joseph Taylor and his adjutant, entered Marcy's camp under the mistaken impression it was that of Col. R. T. Burton, commander of one of the other Mormon guerrilla parties. They were taken prisoner. While Colonel Alexander was not impressed by Taylor's exaggerated statements of Mormon strength, he was impressed by the orders Taylor was carrying from General Wells,

[28] *Annual Report of the War Department, 1857*, 29-31.
[29] *Ibid.*; Hafen and Hafen, 220-246.
[30] *Annual Report of the War Department, 1857*, 29-31.
[31] *Annual Report of the War Department, 1857*, 34-35.
[32] *Ibid.*

dated Cache Cave, Headquarters Eastern Expedition, October 4, 1867, to "burn grass, stampede animals, alarm camps, cut down logs across the road, destroy fords—If the troops have not passed, or have turned in this direction, follow in the rear, and continue to annoy them, burning any trains they may leave. Take no life, but destroy their trains and stampede or drive away their animals at every opportunity."[33]

The column had advanced some 35 miles from its starting point. The trail was becoming increasingly rough, and forage was scarce, and Alexander now realized that Lt. Colonel Smith with the balance of the troops were too far behind to reinforce him. The effect of these factors and General Wells' order, was further exacerbated when a violent blizzard struck the column on October 18.

Again, Alexander seemed to be paralyzed. After a conference with his subordinate officers, he decided to turn the column around and go back to Camp Winfield and establish winter quarters there. For some inexplicable reason, he stayed where he was for another ten days. Captain Jesse A. Gove, one of the 10th Infantry company commanders, expressed his feelings, and probably those of the rest of the officers when he wrote, "Under the circumstances, and the number of days time lost, he is compelled to the best thing that could be done. Such childlike conduct is disgraceful to the service, and he is eternally disgraced."[34]

Using the services of Eli Dufor, one of Alexander's couriers, Colonel Johnston decided to try to get an order through the Mormon guerrillas to Alexander, assuming command of the column, and trying to forestall what he felt was a serious error on Alexander's part. On October 16 he dispatched the following order:

COL. E. B. ALEXANDER

Comd'g the advance of the Army of Utah

Sir: Colonel Johnston wishes to concentrate the command with the view of wintering in an eligible spot already selected. To effect this, and not cause suspicion of the intention, he wishes you to proceed by slow marches moving your camp short distances, and gradually working your way by Sublette's road to or near the mouth of Fontenelle Creek, so that he can join you about eleven days hence with this command and all the trains now in your rear. The route has been indicated to the bearer, DuFour.

Although I enclose the order of Colonel Johnston assuming command he wishes you to give all necessary orders, and to treat as enemies all who oppose your march, molest your trains, appear in arms on your route, or in any manner annoy you.[35]

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*Philip St. George Cooke*

On October 20, Colonel Johnston's instructions reached Alexander. Alexander continued his withdrawal for two more days, then sent a messenger to Colonel Johnston, pointing out that joining forces at Fontenelle Creek would require him to march some 40 miles out of his way, and that any further move after that would be difficult, if not impossible with his exhausted animals. He decided to stay camped where he was until he received additional orders from Colonel Johnston. On October 26, he received orders to move to Black's Fork and meet Colonel Johnston, who was waiting at South Pass for the balance of the troops and supply trains, except for Lt. Colonel Philip St. George Cooke's dragoons, to catch up with him.

[33] "Order, General H. D. Well, Headquarters Eastern Expedition, Camp at Cache Cave, October 4, 1867, to Major Joseph Taylor." State Department, *Utah Territorial Papers, 1853-18~3.* [National Archives, Microcopy M-12, Reel 1.]

[34] Hammond, 80.

[35] Hafen and Hafen, 151-152. Eli Dufor was an expressman (messenger) with Alexander's column who was returning after carrying dispatches east.

Heavy snows delayed the rear elements and the supply trains. On October 26 the column was organized, and moved out to meet Alexander. The forces joined on November 3. For the first time since the campaign started, all the troops, except Lt. Colonel Cooke's dragoons, were in one place under one command.[36]

All thoughts of trying to enter that Salt Lake Valley before the spring of 1858 were abandoned. Originally, Colonel Johnston planned on wintering on Henry's Fork, about 20 miles southeast of Fort Bridger, near the present Wyoming-Utah border. In his October 18 report to General Scott he stated, "It [the valley of Henry's Fork] is a commanding position and accessible two months earlier for re-enforcement and supplies by Cheyenne Pass than any other, and will enable me to march by Fort Bridger and on the most direct route to Salt Lake City as soon as practicable in the spring"[37] This is the first consideration of the Cheyenne Pass-Bridger Pass trail as a potential military supply route.[38] .

Johnston changed his plan, deciding to move on Fort Bridger, displace the Mormons holding it, and establish his winter quarters there. Fort Bridger was located in a sheltered valley, had ample forage and water, and would provide shelter for the troops through the winter. He could still use the Cheyenne Pass-Bridger Pass road for early supply and re-enforcement and Fort Bridger would provide an excellent logistical base for a spring campaign against the Salt Lake valley.

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*Capt. Randolph B. Marcy*

The animals in Alexander's column were in bad shape and the men were short of food and other supplies. Colonel Johnston took two days to reorganize the column, recruit the animals, and distribute supplies. The two days proved critical. On November 6 the column began its advance on Fort Bridger in a blizzard of freezing rain and snow. Captain Jesse Gove wrote his wife, "I got in camp nearly frozen, a more disagreeable day's duty I never experienced."[39] The column, in as close an order as it could safely travel, occupied thirteen to fourteen miles of road. Since this exceeded its daily rate of travel, by almost double, the end of the column could not start its day's march until the head had already gone into camp. The vanguard of the train essentially was a day ahead of the rear guard..

On November 9, Captain Gove wrote, "Today is our 2d day's march, made about 7 miles, animals lying along the road about every rod, almost, and daily and hourly are dying—hundreds of animals die every 24 hours."[40] The column moved at a snail's pace. A season of migration and freight traffic, and now the huge military column, had depleted the forage along the road. The animals were not only faced with intense cold but with a lack of food and water as well. So many draft animals died, the remaining ones had to be sent back to retrieve wagons abandoned along the trail. The only fuel available to the troops was the sparse sagebrush found on the hills, buried in the snow and ice.

The head of the column reached Fort Bridger November 17; it had taken nine days to travel 35 miles. Lt. Colonel Cooke and the 2d Dragoons closed on Fort Bridger two days later. They still had 144 of their horses, and had lost 134. Colonel Cooke described the last part

[36] Charles P. Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston, Soldier of Three Republics.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 193-195; Hammond, 82-89.

[37] Hafen and Hafen., 156.

[38] The Cheyenne Pass-Bridger Pass Trail was used by Captain Howard Stansbury, U.S. Topographical Engineers, on his return trip from mapping the Salt Lake Valley in 1849-1850. Jim Bridger was his guide. The route was further mapped, explored, and improved by Lieutenant Francis T. Bryan, U.S. Topographical Engineers, during two expeditions in 1856 and 1857.

[39] Hammond., 90.

[40] Hammond., 92.

of the trip from South Pass in the following terms:

> Much of the loss has occurred much this side of the South Pass, in comparatively moderate weather. It has been starvation. The earth has a no more lifeless, treeless, grassless desert; it contains scarcely a wolf to glut itself on the hundreds of dead and frozen animals which for thirty miles nearly block the road with abandoned and shattered property; they mark, perhaps beyond example in history, the steps of an advancing army with the horrors of a disastrous retreat. [41]

While encamped at Pacific Springs, just west of South Pass, the thermometers of the 2d Dragoons read -13 degrees. The next day, all of the thermometers were found to be broken. The only fuel was sagebrush, buried under two feet of snow. The surviving horses, too weak to be ridden, were mostly led. There was no forage available, and the last grain was fed on November 13.[42]

The troops arrived to find a burned-out shell. The Mormons withdrew from Camp Supply, some ten miles south of Fort Bridger, and Fort Bridger, in late September, and set fire to both on October 2.[43] General Johnston moved two miles up Black's Fork from Fort Bridger and established his headquarters with his staff and the majority of the troops. This post was named "Camp Scott," after the General-in-Chief.

The new Utah territorial officials and their wives and servants lived in a separate encampment a short distance away, which was named "Ecclesville," after Delana R. Eccles, the new chief justice of Utah. This encampment was also home to the supply trains that survived Lot Smith's raid, the regimental sutler's wagons, and the wagons of private contractors, bound for Utah, that were intercepted by the army.

The Mormons had built a protective wall of mortared cobblestone at Fort Bridger. This was further fortified, and facilities built to store the remaining supplies. Two companies of infantry were assigned to man the post. Lt. Colonel Cooke and the 2d Dragoons, together with the civilian herdsmen, were sent to Henry's Fork with between 6,000-7,000 head of cattle, mules, and horses to winter pasture in the valley.[44]

Colonel Johnston took inventory of the remaining supplies and livestock. The loss of the three wagon trains, and the cattle lost to the Indians, the Mormons, and the weather, demanded that immediate steps be taken if the more than 2,500 soldiers and civilians in the camp were going to survive the winter. On November 27, Captain Randolph Marcy of the 5th Infantry, together with 40 enlisted men, all volunteers, and twenty-four civilian volunteers, including the mountain men, Tim Goodale and Jim Baker as guides, set out for Fort Massachusetts, New Mexico, 634 miles southeast of Camp Scott. Marcy already had a reputation as an outstanding leader and was a noted western explorer.[45] Jim Bridger advised against the enterprise, but Marcy was undeterred. He moved south to Henry's Fork, then crossed the Uintah Mountains. He passed through the Colorado Rockies in deep snow. The last of their rations were issued on January 1, 1858, and they then subsisted on their mules. On January 18, they marched into Fort Massachusetts, having lost one man, Sergeant William Morton, who died of over-exertion and exposure.

Marcy started his return trip from Fort Union in early March with 1,100 mules, 200 horses, 100 oxen and 1,700 sheep accompanied by a force of 250 men. They crossed Raton Pass, then proceeded up the front range on the Taos-Fort Laramie trail. At Pueblo, they were intercepted by a messenger with instructions to wait for Colonel W. W. Loring and reinforcements consisting of one company of the Mounted Rifles and two companies of the 3d Infantry from Fort Union. Colonel--now Brevet Brigadier General--Johnston[46] was informed by a prisoner that the Mormons intended to intercept and capture Marcy's herds so he requested the reinforcements. Since Colonel Loring did not arrive until April 28, Marcy lost 35 days of travel time. The entire company, now under Loring's command, continued up the Taos-Fort Laramie trail. After crossing the Cache la Poudre River, they followed the Cherokee-California trail (Evans' 1849 route) across the Laramie Valley to the Medicine Bow River and its intersection with Lieutenant Bryan's road; they went

[41] Hamilton Gardner, "March of the 2d Dragoons. Report of Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke on the March of the 2d Dragoons from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Bridger in 1857," *Annals of Wyoming* 27 (April 1955), 57.

[42] General Samuel W. Ferguson [C.S.A.], "With Albert Sidney Johnston's Expedition to Utah, 1857," *Kansas Historical Collections*, Volume XII, 1911-1912, 309.

[43] Fred R.Gowens and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Bridger, Island in the Wilderness.* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 99.

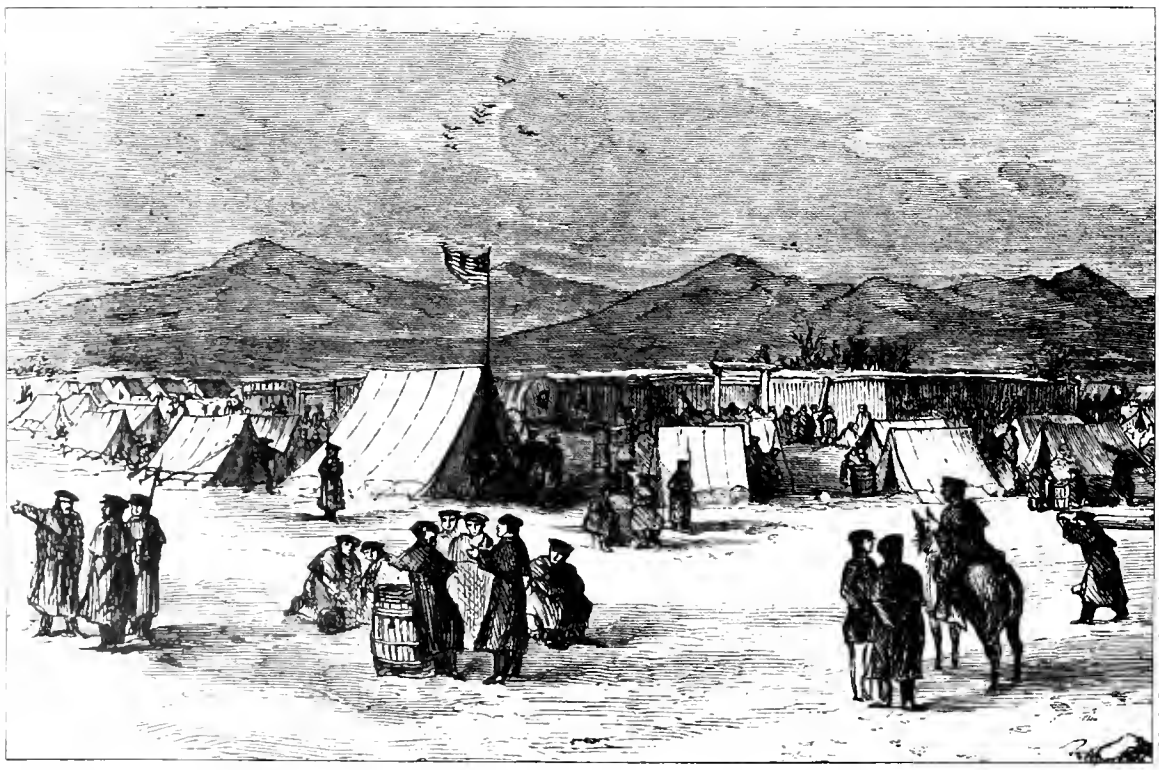
[44] Gardner, 60; Ferguson, 310.

[45] W. Eugene Hollon, *Beyond Cross Timbers: The Travels of Randolph B. Marcy.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955). His guide book, *The Prairie Traveler*, was published by Harper Brothers in 1859, and is considered to be one of the most accurate and informative books of its kind.

[46] Colonel Johnston was promoted to Brevet Brigadier General November 18, 1857 for "meritorious conduct in the ability, zeal, energy and prudence displayed by him in command of the army in Utah." Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 1: 557-558.

Author's collection

*Fort Bridger, winter of 1868, engraving published in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, July 10, 1858.*



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*Fort Bridger, winter of 2857-1858. The headquarters tent is in the left center with the flag staff in front. Since all of the tents in this picture are wall tents rather than Sibley tents, they could be for supplies rather than troops.*

east at the Platte River, missing Bridger's Pass; then by way of Bitter Creek and the Green River to Fort Bridger and Camp Scott, arriving on June 10, having traveled a distance of 741 miles from Fort Union to Camp Scott. Marcy estimated that without the wait for Loring, he could have made it in 55 days, arriving at Camp Scott about May 5.[47]

On December 5, nine days after Marcy's expedition left for New Mexico, Johnston dispatched another expedition to the northwest under the command of Benjamin F. Ficklin.[48] Ficklin was an engineer on the Department of Interior's project to build a wagon road from Fort Kearney to Honey Lake under the superintendency of William M. F. Magraw. Magraw offered his 61 men and eighteen wagons and mule teams to Johnston. Forty-one of the 61, including Ficklin, volunteered for military service.

Ficklin left Camp Scott with a party of ten men, twelve horses, six mules, thirty days' rations, and four gallons of whisky with instructions to go to the Flathead country and try to buy 500 head of cattle for delivery to Camp Scott by April 1, 1858. In order to avoid Mormon guerillas, he traveled up Ham's Fork to the California Trail and followed it to Soda Spring. He then went straight across the mountains to the Snake River. He traveled to the headwaters of the Missouri, the Flathead valley. He contracted with some mountaineers for delivery of 300 cattle and 100 horses.

Both the mountaineers and the Indians were afraid of the Mormons. The mountaineers backed out of their contract, and both the Indians and mountaineers told him that in the spring they planned to move their stock to Fort Walla Walla out of the reach of the Mormons. After a long and arduous trip through snow, rain and cold, he returned to Camp Scott on April 15, 1858, empty-handed.[49]

A third expedition left Camp Scott on December 1 to explore the practicality of using Stansbury's route from Fort Bridger via Bridger Pass and Cheyenne Pass to Fort Laramie. Johnston was interested in it as an alternative to the South Pass route for three reasons: it might take some of the pressure off the South Pass route, particularly in respect to the three essentials, fodder, water and fuel; it might be passable earlier in the spring; and, it might be safer than the South Pass route from Mormon guerrilla interdiction. Chosen for this expedition were John Bartletson, a now unemployed Russell,

[47] "Affairs in Utah," letter, Captain Marcy to Major Porter. *Annual Report of the War Department, 1858*, Volume I, Part II, No. 88, pp. 187-195; No. 92, letter, Captain Marcy to the Secretary of War, 220-221. [National Archives Microcopy Number 997, Roll Number 11.)

[48] Benjamin Franklin Ficklin, a graduate of Virginia Military Institute, was a veteran of seven battles in the Mexican War. He was associated with many western transportation activities, both before and after the Civil War. During the war, he was Virginia State Quartermaster General, a blockade runner, and a Confederate purchasing agent in Europe.

[49] *Annual Report of the War Department, 1858*, 68.

Courtesy of the author

*Capt. Randolph B. Marcy and his expedition arrived at Fort Massachusetts on January 18, 1858.*

Utah State Historical Society

*Regimental band, Camp Scott, 1857-1858*

Majors and Waddell wagon master who had joined the volunteer battalion,[50] and Antoine Janis [Jeanise], one of Johnston's guides. An expressman left Camp Scott for Fort Laramie via the South Pass road at the same time. Bartletson and Janis arrived at Fort Laramie on December 21, three days after the expressman who went via South Pass. Bartletson told Major Lynde, Commanding Officer of Fort Laramie, that it would take 200 men twelve months to make the road tolerably passable. Lynde sent the detailed trip diary back to Johnston's headquarters. In turn, Johnston forwarded it to army headquarters in New York City.[51]

Major Fitz John Porter, Colonel Johnston's adjutant, and Jim Bridger examined Bartletson's journal, compared it with Stansbury's, and concluded that Bartletson and Janis had, in fact, deviated materially from the route taken by Captain Stansbury's party in 1850 under Bridger's guidance. Bridger assured Colonel Johnston that the Stansbury route, *via* Bridger Pass and Cheyenne Pass could be made passable with very little cost and could be used earlier and was shorter and safer than South Pass. Colonel Johnston, in a February 13 letter to the Adjutant General of the Army, passed on this information, and requested that the route be readied for use in the spring. He was particularly interested in securing the mail from Mormon interdiction.[52]

On November 13, Johnston had sent a dispatch to Major Hoffman, commanding Fort Laramie, requesting him to send forward a pack-train of 30 mules, each loaded with about one hundred pounds of salt. On November 26, Brigham Young sent two emissaries and 800 pounds of salt to Camp Scott. His letter stated, "Being reliably informed that your command and the men belonging to the merchant trains, are much in need of salt, I have taken the liberty to at once forward you a load—." He also noted that he had Colonel Alexander's white mule in his stables, "subject to your order; but should you prefer leaving it in my care during the winter, it will probably be in better plight for your use upon your return to the east in the spring."[53]

Johnston angrily refused the salt. He did not send Brigham Young a written reply, but told his emissaries to inform Young not to try and communicate with him, except under a white flag, or he would hang any further emissaries as traitors.[54] The obvious fact that the contents of his dispatches back east were known in Salt Lake City as fast, or faster than they were by the person for whom they were intended, greatly troubled Johnston. He increased the security in and around his camps, and despite the weather, he sent out far-ranging patrols to try and intercept Mormon patrols. As far as he was concerned, his force was on a full, war-time

[50] Colonel Johnston enlisted many of the members of the wagon train crews, as well as members of the Department of Interior road crew, in a special battalion of "volunteers" under command of Captain Bernard E. Bee, 10th U.S. Infantry. Bee, later a Brigadier General, C.S.A., was killed at Bull Run.

[51] *Annual Report of the War Department, 1858,* 48.

[52] *Ibid.,* 52.

[53] Hafen and Hafen, 167-168.

[54] Hammond, 103.

footing, and only the weather prevented open conflict.

The troops settled in for the winter with the remaining supplies under cover and under guard in the fortified remains of Fort Bridger; the command headquarters at Camp Scott; and, the remaining livestock pastured on Henry's Fork under the watchful eyes of Lt. Colonel Cooke and his 2d Dragoons. Fortunately, the wall tents, Sibley tents, Sibley stoves,[55] and troop bedding were in the wagons of the various commands, not in the wagon trains burned by the Mormon guerillas. The tents, augmented with log and dirt lean-tos, provided adequate shelter for the troops. In his February 5, 1858, report to Army Headquarters, Colonel Johnston stated that the health, discipline and efficiency of his troops was entirely satisfactory.[56]

In Washington, in the meantime, both the fate and the future of the Utah Expedition were the subjects of some concern. On January 11, 1858, Army Headquarters Circular Number 1 was issued. It established the reinforcements to be sent to the Utah Expedition in the spring. In addition to 850 recruits and 44 officers required to bring the units in the expedition up to full strength, the entire 1st Cavalry, two more companies of the 1st Dragoons, ten companies of the 6th Infantry Regiment, ten companies of the 7th Infantry Regiment and two light companies of the 2d Artillery Regiment were ordered to join the expedition. This would bring the total strength of the expedition to 251 officers and 5,335 men. At the same time, the aggregate strength of the entire army was only 17,000 officers and men.[57]

The troops were to rendezvous at Fort Leavenworth as early in the spring as possible. They were to be fully equipped and carry with them three months' rations for consumption en route and a full years' supply for the entire expedition. An additional eight months' supply was to be sent forward to Fort Laramie prior to winter. The troop columns included nine traveling forges, 22 ambulances, 29 light wagons, 988 baggage wagons, 6,447 mules and 254 horses. The supply support was expected to require 3,956 wagons and carriages, and 53,430 draft animals.[58]

[55] The Sibley tent and Sibley stove were inventions of Captain Henry H. Sibley. Sibley ultimately attained the rank of Brigadier General in the Confederate army. The tent was conical in shape, the stove, too, was conical, and was placed in the center of the tent. It was an effective winter shelter, and continued in use until after the turn of the century.

[56] *Annual Report of the War Department, 1858*, 48.

[57] *Ibid.*, 31.

[58] *Ibid.*, 797.

Utah State Historical Society

*Wood detail, Camp Scott, 1858*

In reporting on the expedition in his annual report, Secretary of War John B. Floyd said:

> The conduct of both officers and men attached to the army of Utah has been worthy of praise. The commander, Brevet Brigadier General A. S. Johnston, who joined his command at a time of great trial and embarrassment, with a calm and lofty bearing, with a true and manly sympathy for all around him, infused into his command a spirit of serenity and contentment which amounted to cheerfulness, amidst uncommon hardships and privations which were unabated throughout the tedious and inclement season of the winter.[59]

While the War Department planned to increase the size of the expedition, the Utah question became a matter of congressional debate. With so much of the regular army already engaged in the Utah expedition, and such a much larger force required by spring, the President Buchanan and Secretary Floyd asked Congress to authorize an increase in the size of the army. On January 21, Senator Jefferson Davis, Senate Committee on Military Affairs, reported Senate Bill Number 79 which would increase the military establishment by five infantry regiments, 6,000 men. The increase in military strength and the resolution of the "Utah Question" became inextricably intertwined in a debate that extended through almost the entire following month.

Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia raised the question of the President's power to take action. He stated, "As to the Mormon war, it is not yet a fact. Congress, which alone has the power to make war, has not spoken; and it is very certain, unless our country has undergone a silent revolution, that the President cannot make that war."[60] Senator John Bell of Tennessee questioned the reasons for the expedition, as well as the humanity of it, opposing both an increase in the strength of the army and the continuation of the expedition. Ironically, Senator Alfred Iverson of Georgia stated that it was not a war "in the technical sense of the term"-- but that it was a rebellion and it was necessary on the part of the government to crush it.[61]

One of the strongest congressional opponents to both the increase in the strength of the army and the Utah Expedition was Senator Sam Houston of Texas. He expressed the opinion that for humanitarian reasons it would be a serious mistake to pursue the invasion of Utah. Further, in military terms, because of the scorched earth policy employed by the Mormons in the Bridger Valley, and promised for the Salt Lake Valley, it could be a catastrophe of the magnitude of that suffered by Napoleon in Russia.[62]

With various amendments, the bill voted upon on February 25 called for the President to call for volunteers for no more than twelve months' service. With the total force not to exceed 3,000 officers and men. The bill was defeated by a vote of 35 to 16.[63]

There was a certain amount of suspicion on the part of some Northern congressmen and newspapers that Secretary of War Floyd, a known Southern sympathizer, and others in both the Congress and the administration, wanted to get as much of the regular army moved into the western theatre in order that the troops would be unavailable for immediate employment in the event of a conflict between the northern and southern states. A few, like Senator Sam Houston, felt that while the "Mormon problem" must be resolved, the approach taken by President Buchanan could only exacerbate the situation, not resolve it. Still others advocated the use of state militia troops, or, as in the case of the final measure, short-term volunteers, primarily out of opposition to a large standing army. The message sent to President Buchanan and the administration was that the Mormon question would have to be resolved, but with the resources currently available.

A possible solution came from an unexpected source. Thomas L. Kane, an attorney from Philadelphia, while not a Mormon, had long been interested in them. He spent time with them after their expulsion from Nauvoo, Illinois, and after his return to Philadelphia, wrote a book about his experiences. Kane approached President Buchanan with the proposition that he would be willing to serve as an envoy to try to resolve the problem in a peaceful manner. Buchanan approved of Kane's approach, but would not officially appoint him or endorse his effort. Kane went to Salt Lake City at his own expense-- by steamer to Panama, steamer to Los Angeles, then by horseback to Salt Lake City. He left New York City January 5, 1858, and arrived in Salt Lake City February 25, traveling under the alias of "Dr. Osborne."

After several consultations with Brigham Young and other Mormon officials, Kane left Salt Lake City for Fort Bridger with a Mormon escort. The escort left him

[59] *Ibid.*, 7.

[60] *The Congressional Globe: The Debates and Proceeding of the First Session of the Thirty-fifth Congress; also of the Special Session of the Senate,* 407.

[61] *Ibid.* Later, Senator Iverson was one of the most out-spoken secessionists in Congress. His son, Alfred, Jr., was a lieutenant in the U.S. 1st Cavalry Regiment, and attained the rank of Brigadier General in the Confederate cavalry.

[62] *Ibid.*, 873-874.

[63] *Ibid.*, 876.

about ten miles from Fort Bridger. He entered the defense perimeter through Captain Gove's company. After some difficulty over his identity, he was escorted to Governor Cumming.[64] In a March 24 report to Secretary of State Cass, Cumming wrote:

> A highly respectable gentleman arrived in this camp from Great Salt Lake City. Whilst there he had frequent conversations with Brigham Young and other prominent persons—The gentleman referred to has written fully to another in Washington—His letter which will go in the present mail will be exhibited to you.
>
> The weather is becoming more mild. The snow will soon cease to be an impediment to travel on the mountain road. It is my personal intention to visit the City in a short time when I will have an opportunity of communicating with the people before the army shall have moved. I hope that the proposed arrangement will meet your approval. Other civil officers will await my return.[65]

The "highly respectable gentleman" was Thomas Kane. Kane was coldly received by General Johnston and the military, who suspected that he was, at the very least, a spy. Kane brought an offer from Brigham Young to Johnston to supply the army with needed rations. Johnston curtly refused. From his attitude toward Kane, and reports to the War Department, there was a strong suspicion on the part of Kane and Governor Cumming that Johnston intended to take the Salt Lake valley by force. It was also reported that Kane's Mormon escort to Fort Bridger, under Lewis Robinson, was fired on by Johnston's troops. Kane felt it was incumbent upon him to return to Salt Lake City, tell Brigham Young that Governor Cumming was willing to enter without the army, and that Colonel Johnston seemed intent on military action.

Cumming's decision to enter Salt Lake City ahead of the army was the first overt evidence of his growing rift with General Johnston. When Kane returned to Fort Bridger, he and Governor Cumming left Fort Bridger on April 5, and arrived in Salt Lake City on April 12. He met parties of armed Mormons in several places before Echo Canyon, and all saluted him and acknowledged him as the governor. His escort commander told him they would pass through Echo Canyon at night. His initial reaction was that they wished to conceal their fortifications. Instead, he found the entire route and hillsides illuminated with bonfires in his honor.

On his arrival in Salt Lake City, he found all the Federal records, books, and other property to be present and in perfect order. He also noted that Salt Lake City, all of the northern settlements and farms were being evacuated, and the population were moving south in anticipation of the army's arrival. "'Going South' seems sufficiently definite for most of them—but many believe that their ultimate destination is Sonora."[66] The majority of the population seemed convinced that Johnston and the army intended to subject them to the same treatment they received previously in Ohio, Missouri and Illinois. They intended to retreat out of reach and leave the Salt Lake valley, their farms and settlements a useless, scorched ruin.

At army headquarters in New York, the War Department in Washington, and Fort Leavenworth, the designated mobilization center, the plans for the reinforcement and resupply of the Utah Expedition continued. The basic plan called for the troop units and supply trains to move forward in echelons so that the fuel, forage, and water resources of the trails would not be overtaxed and congestion reduced. On April 27, 1858, Lt. Colonel George Andrews, commanding the 6th Infantry Regiment, received orders to proceed to Fort Bridger *via* the Cheyenne Pass-Bridger Pass route. He was instructed that "[instructions]—in regard to your route, shall be kept secret until they develop themselves to your command as you progress." In keeping with General Johnston's request, the route was chosen "for the objective of having your forces early with the force now in Utah, and to get it out of the way of troops that will follow on the route."[67] Lieutenant Francis T. Bryan, Topographical Engineers, who had explored, mapped and improved the trail the two previous years, was selected to serve as engineering advisor to the column. He had Company A, U.S. Army Engineers from West Point, and a detachment of 24 men under Lieutenant William P. Carlin, 6th Infantry, to make up the pioneer party to move ahead of the column and prepare and mark the trail. The command reached Fort Bridger on August 5.[68]

On April 7, at the same time the army was preparing its invasion of the Salt Lake Valley, President Buchanan appointed Lazarus W. Powell, Senator-Elect from Ken-

[64] Hafen and Hafen, 270-271.

[65] Letter, Alfred Cumming, Governor of Utah, to the Honorable Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, March 24, 1858. *Utah Territorial Papers, 1853-1873.*

[66] Letter, Alfred Cumming to Lewis Cass, May 2, 1858, *Utah Territorial Paper, 1853-1873.*

[67] "Order, Major D. C. Buell, Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters Utah Forces, St. Louis Missouri, to Lt. Colonel George Andrews, Commanding 5th Infantry, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, April 27,1858." *Annual Report of the War Department, 1858*, 104.

[68] *Ibid.*, 215.

tucky, and Ben McCulloch from Texas, as commissioners to go to Salt Lake City to try to resolve the problem without the use of arms. The expedition was becoming both too expensive and too embarrassing for Buchanan, and the civilian casualties resulting from an invasion of Utah would be impossible for the administration to explain.[69]

The two commissioners carried a signed proclamation of pardon from President Buchanan to the people of Utah, to be used at the commissioners' discretion. The commissioners left Fort Leavenworth on April 27 and arrived at Camp Scott on May 29. General Johnston was still awaiting the arrival of Captain Marcy with the replacement livestock, and a train of 156 wagons, 1,400 animals, two companies of cavalry and two companies of infantry under Brevet Lt. Colonel William Hoffman, 6th Infantry, commander of Fort Laramie. Hoffman, who had been back East serving on a court-martial, left Fort Leavenworth February 28 and arrived at Fort Laramie April 12. Here, he combined his command with four supply trains of Russell, Majors and Waddell and proceeded on to Camp Scott, arriving on June 9, the same day Captain Marcy and Colonel Loring arrived from New Mexico. They arrived in the middle of a raging blizzard, and Johnston's troops were living on quarter-rations of jerked beef.[70]

The political situation, in the meantime, became somewhat complex. Kane and Governor Cumming left Salt Lake City for Fort Bridger on May 13. Kane went on to Washington by land, accompanied by a Mormon escort, carrying dispatches to President Buchanan and Secretary of State Cass from both Governor Cumming and Brigham Young.

The relationship between Governor Cumming and General Johnston had deteriorated to the point where they communicated with each other only by written message. Cumming wrote to Johnston on May 21 that "there is at present no organized armed force of its inhabitants in any part of this Territory." He requested that mail service and wagon traffic into and out of Salt Lake City be allowed to resume.[71] The same day, General Johnston replied that, "—the troops under my command will oppose no farther the obstruction to the carrying of the mails, or to the commercial pursuits, or to a free intercourse of the inhabitants of the territory."[72]

Governor Cumming immediately returned to Salt Lake City with what he believed was the promise of General Johnston that he would not enter the Salt Lake Valley with his troops until after June 20, and then upon Cumming's invitation. General Johnston figured that it would take that long for Captain Marcy and Colonel Hoffman to arrive, and for him to then remount the 2d Dragoons and organize his troops and wagon trains for the move.

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*Alfred Cumming of Georgia, appointed governor of Utah by President Buchanan*

Cumming immediately composed his own message of amnesty to the people of Utah to establish his position as governor before General Johnston and the troops entered the valley. He forwarded a copy of it to Secretary of State Cass on May 23, but actually did not deliver it in Salt Lake City until June 14.[73]

The Peace Commissioners, L. W. Powell and Ben McCulloch, arrived in Salt Lake City on June 7. They, together with Governor Cumming, held a series of meetings with Brigham Young and other leaders of the

[69] Hafen and Hafen, 329-332.

[70] George A. Root, "Extracts from Diary of Captain Lambert Bowman Wolf," Kansas Historical Quarterly 1 (1931-32) [Kansas Historical Collections 18], 105-209.

[71] Letter, Cumming to Johnston, May 21, 1858, *Utah Territorial Papers*, roll 1.

[72] *Ibid.*, Letter, Johnston to Cumming, May 21, 1858.

[73] *Ibid.*, Letter, John Hartnett, Secretary of Utah, to Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, May 23, 1858, w/inclosure, Proclamation, "Governor Cumming to the Inhabitants of Utah."

Mormon Church. These meetings confirmed to the presidential commissioners the willingness of the citizens of Utah, including the leaders of the church, to accept the new administration under Governor Cumming. The commissioners then issued the President's proclamation of pardon.

The presence of the army in Utah was the final difficulty in the negotiation. The Mormons were assured that the major role of the army was to be the protection of the settlements and trails from the Indians, their persons and property would be safe and that there would be no military interference or persecution in respect to their religious beliefs. As a result, the Mormons finally accepted presence of the army as a necessary condition.

General Johnston almost derailed the process. Based on Cumming's communications with Johnston and the plans as understood by the Commissioners, Brigham Young was informed that the army would depart the Fort Bridger area no earlier than June 20, and then only with the governor's approval. The Marcy-Loring command and Colonel Hoffman arrived earlier than expected, so General Johnston issued his orders without either notifying Cumming or awaiting his approval. He started his march from Fort Bridger to Salt Lake City with the first elements leaving Fort Bridger on June 13. The early move of General Johnston was an embarrassment to Governor Cumming and the Commissioners, and aroused the suspicions of Brigham Young and the Mormon leadership as to Johnston's intentions and in respect to the good faith of the negotiations.[74]

It irritated Cumming that General Johnston offered no explanation for his early departure and for not waiting for his message. He and the Commissioners finally were able to allay the Mormons' suspicions.

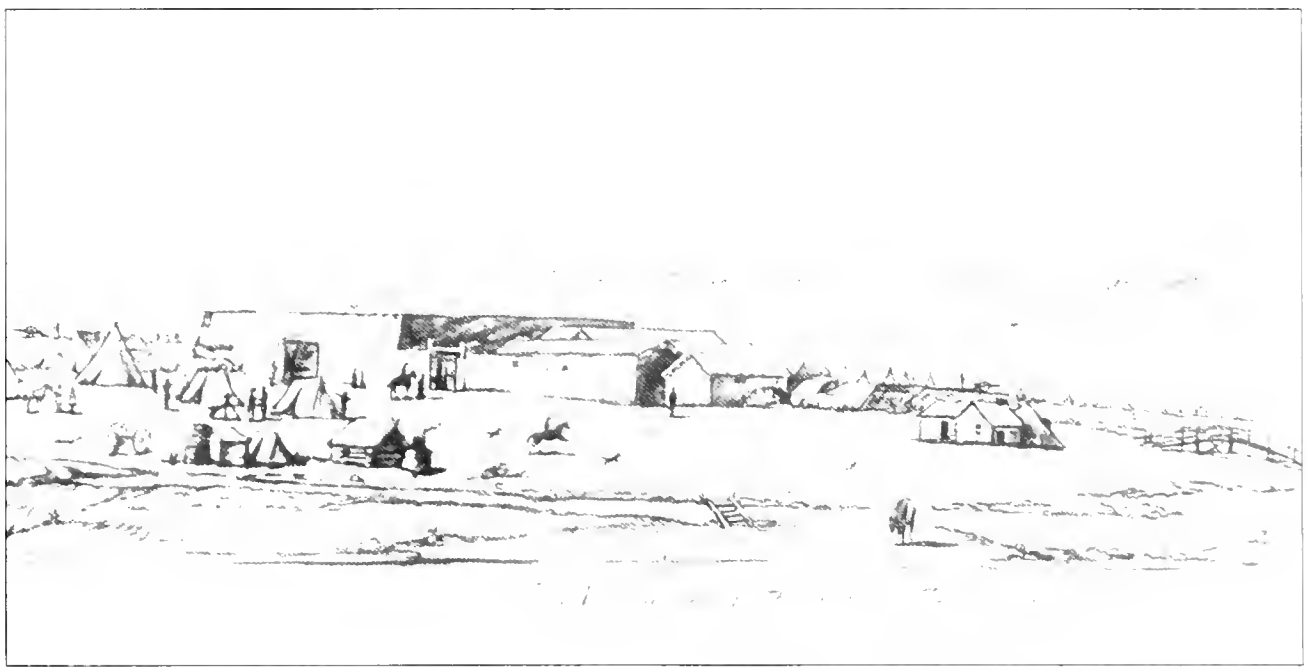
The army passed into the Salt Lake Valley and arrived at--and passed through--a still largely deserted Salt Lake City on June 23. It was neither resisted nor received by the population. General Johnston wrote to the commissioners on June 14, "I learn with surprise that uneasiness is felt by the people as to the treatment they may receive from the army."[75]

It is likely that Captain Gove's letter to his wife of June 17 more accurately expressed the feelings of the majority of the officers, including General Johnston, "—so you see we will have to give them a sound whipping, hang about 100 of them, and then the rest will submit. They have accepted only to gain time."[76]

Despite Governor Cumming and the amnesty, the population of Utah was still ready to scorch the earth of the valley and move south at the slightest indication that the arrival of the army might signal a repeat of Mormon experiences in Kirtland, Ohio, in Missouri, or in Nauvoo, Illinois.

After extensive surveys of possible sites, General

[74] *Ibid.*, Cumming to Cass, June 18, 1858.
[75] Hafen and Hafen, 345.
[76] Hammond, 175.





*Fort Bridger from the northeast, June, 1858. Camp Scott is in the distance.*

Johnston decided on a fort location in the northern end of Cedar Valley, on the west side of Lake Utah, about 36 miles southwest of Salt Lake City, near the settlement of Fairfield. It was close enough to the major population centers and trails that troops could be moved quickly if needed, yet far enough away to prevent friction with the civilian population. The installation was named Camp Floyd, after the Secretary of War.

Fairfield soon became a typical military base community. Known as Frog Town or 'Doby Town by the troops, it was the antithesis of any normal Mormon settlement. The Mormons called it the Sodom and Gomorrah of the Great Basin.

The Mormon War--the war that never was a war--was over. There were no battle casualties on either side; there were no military engagements and neither victory nor loss for either side. The only casualties resulted from the bitter winter weather. Alexander Cumming assumed the governorship in the omnipresent shadow of Deseret, Brigham Young, and the Mormon hierarchy. While the facade of civil obedience existed, the Mormon Church remained the final arbiter.

The differences between General Johnston and Governor Cumming became increasingly acrimonious. New frictions over policy developed also between the governor, Chief Justice Delana R. Eckels and U.S. Marshal Peter Dotson. Brigham Young ordered the refugees who had gone south to return to Salt Lake City, their farms, and the other communities they had abandoned. While the presence of the army was resented, it provided a badly needed infusion of hard cash into Utah's previous largely barter-based economy. Building materials, labor, fuel, forage, and food to build and support Camp Floyd were obtained locally, and paid for in cash. Even Frog Town with its saloons, bordellos, and casinos made its contribution to the cash flow.

Part of the troop units were reassigned immediately. The Sixth Infantry was assigned to Oregon and the 2d Dragoons were sent to California. The troops that had not left Fort Leavenworth were reassigned to other posts, and those en route were returned to their original posts. Immense amounts of supplies accumulated at Fort Kearny, Fort Laramie, and Fort Bridger.

Fort Bridger became a permanent military establishment. General Johnston garrisoned it with three companies under the command of Major (Brevet Lt. Colonel) William A. Hoffman. By the end of 1858, Hoffman completed the reconstruction of the post with permanent buildings. William A. Carter, who arrived with the 2d Dragoons, remained at Fort Bridger as the post sutler. Ten years later, Wyoming Territory and ultimately the State of Wyoming benefitted because largely due to the political influence of Carter, Fort Bridger and the adjoining land constituting the northeast corner of Utah was added to Wyoming Territory.

While the 6th Infantry under the command of Lt. Colonel George Andrews, guided by Lt. Francis T. Bryan, Topographical Engineers, was the only unit of the expedition to use the Cheyenne Pass-Bridger Pass road, ultimately a portion of it became the basic route of the Overland Mail stages. Later, almost in its entirety, it was the route selected for the Union Pacific Railroad and the transcontinental highway system.

While neither the United States nor Utah won or lost this armed test of wills, there was a major loser. Ironically, Russell, Majors, and Waddell, the provider of the expedition's supply trains and the principal freight carrier on both the Oregon-California Trail and the Santa Fe Trail, was the loser. Its losses in support of the Utah Expedition were 14 freight trains and 1,906 oxen, with a value of $230,208.20; the wages of the teamsters and agents stranded at Camp Scott in the winter of 1857-58 amounted to an additional $35,167.15, for a total $265,375.35. They also filed further claims against the government for $228,378.26 for expenses over and above their contract agreement. This total of $493,772.61 was submitted to Congress for payment in February, 1860. None of it was ever paid, and this loss was a major contributing factor to the firm's bankruptcy and ultimate demise in 1861.[77]

[77] Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, "The Early Careers of William Bradford Wadell and William Hepburn Russell: Frontier Capitalists," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, (Winter, 1960), 378.

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# Diary of Laramie's First Resident: The Diary of John F. Crowley


## Transcribed and Edited by Miriam Crowley McCue


*The following entries are from a diary kept by John F. Crowley, starting January 1, 1868 to May 8, 1868. Born in Prescott, Ontario, Canada, in 1841, he completed elementary schools there and then moved to Ogdensburg, N. Y., at the age of 16 to apprentice as a wheelwright. He enlisted in the Union Army at the beginning of the Civil War, becoming a musician in General Slough's Brigade Band, U. S. Volunteers. He participated in the battles of Antietam, Chancellorsville and served in the ambulance service at Gettysburg. He was in Alexandria, Virginia, at the time of Lincoln's assassination and he became a member of the guard of honor at Lincoln's funeral. He returned to Ogdensburg, stayed briefly and in the spring of 1867, traveled West to Dakota Territory. In April, 1867, he arrived at Fort Sanders, south of present-day Laramie, where he was government wheelwright. The diary begins after he left government service at Fort Sanders nine months later.*[1]

*The entries were written in pencil and transcribed in 1987 by Miriam Crowley McCue, Lexington, Mass. The transcribed copy was loaned to Annals of Wyoming through an arrangement between Crowley family members and Maria Madigan, Laramie resident and long-time member of the Albany County Chapter, WSHS. The original diary remains with the Crowley family.*

*According to the transcriber, some words were smudged and the transcriber could not read them. Where Crowley seemed to use a capital letter, the transcriber did so. With some letters, she could not be sure. Crowley seldom used a period to separate sentences, but the Annals editor added full stops for ease of reading. Otherwise, the transcriber tried to copy as he wrote and Annals attempted to maintain the original style.*

*The transcriber wrote: "Because my typing cannot be guaranteed perfect, I occasionally inserted (sic) to show that I copied as he wrote. After his last full day's entry (on May 8) several pages show lists of purchases or expenses, which I have copied as well as I can (but most are not included in this article). What is missing, he did not write down."*

**Jan. 1, 1868 [Wednesday]:** Just got Discharged from Government Service by reason of an order from Washington. Discharging all employees at Fort Sanders DT [Dakota Territory]. Did not enjoy myself very much today but had to do the best I could in this part of the Country. Went to hear a Serenade in the evening at General Gibbon's Quarters. It was a great treat for me. Weather Cold and Clammy. Kept in the House Most of the time. Concluded it about the best place to be.

**Jan. 2:** Went to work to help to put up a barber Shop. Got it done and then the man found out he had no Money to pay us. felt a little vexed about it. Worked some on a Meat House and quit for the day. Weather Cold and a heavy snowstorm raging and everything looks very dismal. Received a letter from B. A. Jackson, Madrid, N. Y.[2] Glad to hear from him but thinking of old times made me feel very lonesome.

**Jan. 3:** Another Change in affairs, our cook got discharged and started for Cheyenne, so we have to cook for ourselves, rather tough but we have got to stand it. Worked hard all day fixing up my clothes ready for a tramp. have not concluded where to go yet but expect to go to Medicine Bow[3] as soon as we get our guns from the States. expecting them every day. Weather continues Cold and Stormy.

[1] Biographical information is drawn from a biography in Sharon Lass Field, ed., *History of Cheyenne, Wyoming* II (Dallas: Curtis Media Corp., 1989), 251-252. Crowley is listed in Saltiel as a "blacksmith" living on Thomes between 16th and 17th Streets, Cheyenne, in 1868. E. H. Saltiel and George Barnett, *Directory to Cheyenne, 1868.* (Reprinted, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 45.

[2] References to correspondence with Jackson appear in a number of entries. The relationship between the two men is unknown although, likely, they had been childhood or military friends.

[3] The Medicine Bow reference is to the stage station near present-day Arlington, an important stop on the overland stage route just to the east of Fort Halleck. The present town of Medicine Bow, some 20 miles north of Medicine Bow Station, was founded in 1868 when the railroad was built through the area. For references to Medicine Bow Station, see John S. Gray, *Cavalry and Coaches.* (Fort Collins: Old Army Press, 1978).

*Group of construction officials of the Union Pacific at their headquarters, Laramie, 1867-68, about the taime the diarist was writing these entries. American Heritage Center photograph*

**Jan. 4:** Weather Cold and Stormy. not much excitement in Camp. everything very dull and I am beginning to get discouraged. Think some of going back to the States to try a civilized life once more. Went to see about a contract to get out Rail Road ties. did not like the price so would not go into untill i [*sic*] looked around a little more.

**Jan. 5 [Sunday]:** Did not pass a very pleasant day. most of the boys has left and our quarters are very lonesome without them, wont stay here much longer. Got a job to finish a house on the Little Laramie. expect to go up there tomorrow Morning and I am very glad of it for I am tired laying around here and want a change. do not know how long we will stay up there. Heard that we were to be hired again at this post by Government do not know how true it is.

**Jan. 6:** Got up very early and started for Mantils[4] Ranch on the Little Laramie River to finish a house. Had a very Cold ride of it but finaly arrived all right. Made a bargain for the Job. Commenced it but did not do a great deal as the weather cold to work out doors. Laid on the flor [sic] of the ranch but being tired out slept sound.

**Jan. 7:** Worked on the building and got the roof on but the Weather was so cold we had to quit. About sick of the Job but determined to stick to it untile done. hard to work such cold weather but do not want to stay long in this dismal looking place and the look of the place is not anything to the mode of living at a Ranch on the prairie.

**Jan. 8:** Had another rough day of it. frose one of my ears. did not like that very well but it would not do to sit in the house for that would not do the work.

**Jan. 9:** Had some letters sent from Sanders to me, one from L. T. Bray and one from A. O. Hibbard. Heard that all of the carpenters at Sanders was ordered to leave their quarters. rather rough on the boys. Weather colder than ever, no signs of it going to Moderate

**Jan. 10:** Another hard days work is over and now I can enjoy the pleasure of sitting in the ranch amongst all Kinds of Mountain men, Hunters, Miners, Teamsters, etc. all spinning their old yarns and relating their adventures in the mines and among the Mountains fighting Indians & Bears. Weather a little warmer and I am glad of it for I was about dead with the cold.

**Jan. 11:** Welcome Saturday night for I am tired out. got along first rate with our Job so far and think we

[4] According to the record, Philip Mandel was the first settler on the Laramie Plains. He located his ranch in 1859 and made one of the first homestead entries for the Dakota Territory in 1864. Later, he managed the stage station and sold hay to the government at Fort Sanders. Robert H. Burns, A. S. Gillespie, W. G. Richardson, *Wyoming's Pioneer Ranches*. (Laramie: Top of the World Press, 1956), 13, 14. See also, Amy Lawrence, "Overlook: Old Miller Ranch, Lawrence Ranch and Overland Trail," in *Wyoming State Historical Society Trek (brochure)*, 1999, 11.

will make it pay. expect to get done with this I think I will take it easy for the rest of the winter

**Jan. 12 [Sunday]:** Got tired sitting in the house. got a gun and went hunting. seen plenty game but could not get a shot. tramped around until I was tired out and then started for the Ranch. Weather very pleasant for a Wonder and I enjoyed it very much.

**Jan. 13:** Worked in the house but the wind was very high and it made it very disagreeable. Heard that my gun was in Cheyenne. expect to get it soon. very glad of for I am anxious to get it. Wrote to Capt. Metcalf [5] by one of the old boys that was going to the Fort.

**Jan. 14:** Awful storm raging. thought the best place would be in the ranch. did not work any. afraid of being blown away so stuck close to the house

**Jan. 15:** Weather moderated a little so that we could do a little work but not a great deal. heard from the boys at the post. Most of them going to the black hills[6] to hunt. would like very much to be with them

**Jan. 16:** Worked on our shebang. Weather very pleasing. good day to work. Fraser, one of my old chums, arrived here from Fort Sanders on his way to the Mountains.[7] going to see what kind of a chance there is up there for to work.

**Jan. 17:** Another very pleasant day. got along first rate with our Job. very anxious to get it done for camping among all sorts of Men is played out. Ranch Crowded. some drinking, some smoking, and between them all, one is almost suffocated but I think I can stand it for a few days longer.

**Jan. 18:** Weather getting cold again. do not like that very well. Some of the old carpenters arrived here from Sanders on their way to the Mountains, times dull down there. all of the boys are leaving

**Jan. 19 [Sunday]:** Another day of rest and I am glad of it. Man we are working for wanted us to work but we "could not see it." hard enough to work all the week Wrote to Jackson & L. T.Bray. Weather very pleasant. warmer than it has been for a long time

**Jan. 20:** Got one room in the house done. Moved into it and had a good bed to lay on. Fraser passed here on his way to the fort. sent some letter by him. Weather very pleasant.

**Jan. 21:** Weather somewhat colder but have got an inside job so don't mind it much. worked some in the evening so as to get done as soon as possible.

**Jan. 22:** Nothing new to day on the docket. Still working on our Job. expect to have it ready to open tomorrow. hope so for we will stand a chance to get something different to eat. Weather very windy.

**Jan. 23:** Got the dining [room] in the house finished and had supper in it. quite a difference between it and the ranch. had a gay supper and it went first rate after living on meat & potatoes for a long time. Wind still blowing very hard and cold.

**Jan. 24:** Weather Moderated a little but still very cold. getting our work about done. Nothing of any importance transpired around the Ranch today.

**Jan. 25:** Another week is over and I am tired out and glad that another day of rest is near. working on the last of our Job. Making some bedsteds expect to finish in a few days. had a snow storm but did not last long.

**Jan. 26 [Sunday]:** Went hunting but did not kill anything seen some Game but it was so wild we could not get near it it was so wild [sic]. Indians reported at pine bluff [8] but have not seen any around here yet. Weather pleasant.

**Jan. 27:** Worked part of the time on the bedsteds and then commenced on a counter and shelves for the ranch. about the last of the work unless something else starts up. Weather somewhat colder. Wind blowing very hard.

**Jan. 28:** Weather very cold again. wind blowing a perfect gale and the snow flying all sorts. rather cold to do much work but managed to do a little on the counter and shelves

**Jan. 29:** Weather beginning to get warmer. hope it will last until we get done. times very dull. not many travellers on the road

**Jan. 30:** finished the work in the store but they found some more work for us at the house. no telling when we will get done. Weather warmer. A party of men arrived from the Mountains with the body of a Man named Fred Miller that was killed by the falling of a tree. buried him near the ranch.

[5] Metcalf likely was the man who was a partner of Charles H. Hutton, squatting on the east side of the Laramie River in 1864 near the stage crossing. Hutton contracted to furnish meat to the army at Fort Sanders in 1868. Later, Hutton and Tom Alsop worked on a grading contract for the Union Pacific Railroad. The two men became partners in 1868 on the site of the Bath Ranch, west of Laramie. It is not known what happened to Metcalf. Burns, Gillespie and Richardson, 212. See also Marge Richardson, "Richardson's Overland Trail Ranch," *Wyoming State Historical Society Trek* (brochure), Albany County Chapter, 1999, 8; and J. H. Triggs, *History and Directory of Laramie City*, (Laramie: Daily Sentinel Printing, 1875).

[6] The name was applied to today's Laramie Range, east of Laramie. The reference is not to the presently named "Black Hills" in northeast Wyoming and western South Dakota.

[7] Reference to "the Mountains" is not clear although at this time, gold mining activity in the South Pass area still held considerable interest. See Saltiel, 103, for example, noting that the Sweetwater Mines' "fame has spread far and wide."

[8] The reference likely is to the bluff just southeast of the present town of Rock River as distinguished from Pine Bluffs, the town in eastern Laramie County on the Nebraska border.

**Jan. 31:** Had something new today in the shape of a horse race. quite a treat out here. it was not much of a race but anything for a change. Weather very pleasant. Made a cupboard for the kitchen. hope to get done soon.

**February 1, 1868:** Weather warm _____ for spring it makes everyone around here feel good. one of the old boys from the Fort passed here on his way to [*Spragues?*] Mill. All of the Carpenters ordered off the reservation gone to the black Hills and Mountains.

**Feb. 2 [Sunday]:** Had another day hunting. got some game but the wind was so high did not stay out long. everything very dull today and I am very lonesome and am glad that Sunday is near over for it is a very lonesome day out in this country. No church to go to nor any place else but the ranch or the broad prairie. about tired of this kind of life.

**Feb. 3:** Another pleasant day. Got near all the work done. will finish in another day. expect to go to Fort Sander [*sic*] to look after my gun and some other things. do not know which way I will strike after that.

**Feb. 4:** Got our job done at last and glad of it. expect to go to Sanders to morrow If the weather is not to [*sic*] stormy. very windy this evening. hop [*sic*] it will stop blowing before morning.

**Feb. 5:** Left little Laramie Ranch for Sanders. had good luck. got a ride to the Big Lara [*Laramie*]. arrived at the fort Sanders about sundown. found some of the old Boys there. Got a letter from Uncle Newman and one from cousin Mack [*?*]. Weather rather cold.

**Feb. 6:** Left Fort Sanders for the Tye City in the black Hills.[9] arrived there noon. found some of the boys and had a good time. got my riffle [*sic*] and tried it. it shoots first rate and I am very much pleased with it. Boys want me to stay with them but have not made up my mind yet what I will do. Weather cold.

**Feb. 7:** Got through visiting at the black hills. started for Sanders again. walked a part of the way then got a ride to the post. practiced some with my gun. rather cold to stay out long. got a letter from L. T. Bray. Weather moderate

**Feb. 8:** Remained at Sanders do not know how long I will stay. figured on an Ice house for Lowry and Beal. do not know whether I will get it or not. hope so for it will help me through the winter. Weather getting cold again.

**Feb. 9 [Sunday]:** Nothing new about the post and everything dull and lonesome. hop [*sic*] time will soon get lively. Wrote a letter to L. T. Bray and forwarded same to him and E. H. Lewis. Weather very cold. Kept close to the house all day.

**Feb. 10:** Commenced to work for O'Neils engineering party. Worked all day making stakes for to lay out a new town. Weather cold. wind blowing very hard.

**Feb. 11:** Got a job to work on a new Ice house. with Fraser started for the Laramie river[*?*]. arrived all right but tumbled off the wagon on the road which sure hurt myself. Weather somewhat warmer.

**Feb. 12:** Worked on the Ice House. got it all ready to raise. do not expect to be here long and do not want to for we are all crowded into one tent and it is not very comfortable. puts me in mind of the days when I was a Soldiering. Weather very pleasant.

**Feb. 13:** Weather warm. feel good but am bothered a good deal about getting lumber to finish the building. Blackburn arrived from little Laramie with my tool chest.[10] had to sleep out doors. tent crowded.

**Feb. 14:** Got two loads of lumber near enough to finish. expect to get done in a day or two. put up a large tent for a dining and sleeping Room. I guess it will be better than sleeping outdoors. Weather very warm.

**Feb. 15:** Weather pleasant. do not think it will last long. Indians reported at Rock Creek after ponies and Pale faces, none seen around here yet. got our ice house near done. run out of lumber. got a good place to sleep, not quite so much scratching [*underlining is writer's*]

**Feb. 16 [Sunday]:** Went up to Sanders and spent the day. seen some of the old Boys there. had a very good time. left there in the evening for the Laramie to finish our job. Weather very warm just like spring.

**Feb. 17:** In trouble about lumber. had to lay off waiting for it to come from the mill. do not like that very well but cannot help it. expect to get some this evening. If not think of leaving the Job. Indications of a storm Weather not quite so pleasant

**Feb. 18:** Did not get the lumber but left the Job and went to Sanders. left there about noon and commenced another Ice house on the Laramie. took a tent along and camped out. Weather colder and wind blowing.

**Feb. 19:** Got up early and felt rather stiff from laying on the ground. got our breakfast and felt better. worked digging seller [*sic*]. rather hard work but it is better than loafing. bound to do something. Weather pleasant again.

[9] "Tye City" [Tie City] was located along the Union Pacific tracks southeast of Laramie in the "Black Hills" [Laramie Range]. Although not located on the present site of Tie Siding, the "town" had a hotel and other structures which later were moved to various area ranches and to the present Tie Siding site.

[10] "Blackburn" likely refers to pioneer merchant Roland Blackburn who operated a meat market and coal business in Laramie in the 1870s. See Burns, Gillespie and Richardson, 268, 284.

**Feb. 20:** Still working at the seller [*sic*] and back is awful sore from the efects [*sic*] of it but am determined to finish it, got near all of the logs for the building on the ground. expect to finish it soon but will have some heavy work on it. Ice most all gone out of the river. if it continues to be warm weather, we will not get enough to fill the house.

**Feb. 21:** Three hearty cheers. got done digging the seller [*sic*] and I am glad of it for it was very tough work and I got enough of it. do not think I will take another Job of the Kind. Weather still pleasant.

**Feb. 22:** Could not do much at our house as our tools were at the p[*ost?*]. got our sills done and all ready to commence to put up the logs. felt tired. glad it is Saturday night. Weather not quite so pleasant. Wind blowing very hard.

**Feb. 23:** Went up to Sanders for some grub. Wrote a letter to Uncle Newman. did not stay there long. everything looked dull around the post. Wind blowing hard and very cold. got back to camp in the afternoon.

**Feb. 24:** Commenced to log up the ice house. got along very well but it is very heavy work. do not think much of putting up log houses. Weather getting pleasant again.

**Feb. 25:** Got the walls of our building up after some hard lifting. will have to wait for some material for roof. think of commencing a Cabin for ourselves to live in. Got tired of camping under a Wagon Cover. rather cool nights. Weather pleasant in the day time.

**Feb. 26:** Commenced our Cabin. got it about half up when the roof stuff came along. went to work on it. got some lime for plastering. expect to try my hand at it tomorrow. Weather very pleasant.

**Feb. 27:** Went to work plastering. got along very well but it come very hard not being used to it. Capt. Metcalf came down here to see us. brought very bad news about the state of affairs in Washington, but hope it will be all right. Would like to be in the States to night. Weather warm.

**Feb. 28:** Sitting by the camp fire after a hard day's work. got the Ice House near done. think we can finish it tomorrow. Weather beautiful and I enjoy it very much. hope it will last. hard sight for Ice. river almost clear.

**Feb. 29:** Got our Ice House ready for the Ice. expect to commence to fill it soon if the Ice gets good. Weather getting colder. hope it will so that we can get good ice. Went down the river on a little foraging expedition and it proved successful. got back rather tired.

**March 1, 1868:** Made my regular trip to Fort Sanders. heard considerable talk about the discovery of gold at dale City.[11] good deal of excitement about it at the post. do not take much stock in it myself. seen several of the old Carperters. Most of them loafing. times dull. Weather cold and Windy. Got back to camp all right.

**Mar. 2:** Got everything ready for putting in the Ice. commenced and got along very well for green hands at the bus *[abbreviation for business?]* but it is very rough work. do not like it very well. Weather beginning to get warm again and that is bad for Ice.

**Mar. 3:** Worked on the ice till noon and had to give it up for a bad job for it spoiled as fast as we got it out of the water. rather bad for us for we wanted to finish the Job and get our stamps but we must take the weather as it comes and not grumble. Weather warm but wind blowing hard.

**Mar. 4:** Commenced operation on our Cabin again and got it all ready for the roof. expect to get into it soon and then we will feel better for we have had a rough time Camping out and we expect to have a great deal of Comfort in our Cabin by the Laramie. Weather not quite so warm. wind blowing hard.

**Mar. 5:** Home at last-- got the roof on our Cabin at last and commenced to live. find a great deal of difference between it and our wagon cover tent. do not have quite so much dirt to eat but we can get along without that luxury or we try. our stove smokes some but we do not mind trifles. Wind still blowing hard. Indications of a storm.

**Mar. 6:** Went up to Sanders to get a grate for our stove. had to make one myself. Came to the conclusion that I was not a very good blacksmith. Times dull up there. expect lively times when building commences at Laramie City. Got back home with the grate. it worked first-rate. getting our Cabin fixed up in good shape. Heavy snow storm raging all day.

**Mar. 7:** Living in good shape. enjoy our Cabin very much and find that we can live far more comfortable that we could at the post—and a great deal cheaper. nothing like having a home if it is a log cabin on a prairie. Weather cold and stormy. Went up to Sanders after some suplies [*sic*] and got back to our town all right.

**Mar. 8:** Did not go out much for our Cabin was so comfortable we thought it best Sunday to stay and en-

[11] Dale City had a brief but rowdy existence in the late 1860s when it served as the home base for workers constructing the Dale Creek trestle for the transcontinental railroad. Some 45 log cabins, a dance hall, three hotels and assorted other buildings made up the "town." See Mae Urbanek, *Wyoming Place Names*. (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Co., 1967), 53; Mary Lou Pence and Lola M. Homsher, *Ghost Towns of Wyoming*. (New York: Hastings House, 1956).

joy it. first Sunday that we enjoyed outselves since we were on the plains and it seemed like home. we had no one to bother us and could read and write at our leasure [*sic*]. Wrote to B. A. Jackson. Weather Moderating. some wind. not blowing quite so hard.

**Mar. 9:** Nothing to do. was not in a hurry getting out of bed and had a good comfortable place to sleep. Fixed a targate [*sic*] and practiced some with my rifle. Made some very good shots for a green hand. Capt Metcalf and Jimmy Vine visited us today.[12] did not stay long. Weather getting pleasant again.

**Mar. 10:** Had a good time today targate [*sic*] shooting. Beat them all. think a great deal of my gun. some talk of going to work filling the ice house. do not think we can get any ice. don't care much about going at that kind of work again. Weather pleasant.

**Mar. 11:** Commenced to work on the ice again. do not like the work much but have got to finish it. will be glad when it is done. Got considerable in today but it is not quite as thick as I would like it. best we could do. don't think I will want any more ice Jobs in [*mine?*]. Weather warm and pleasant. spring has opened at last and if the ice was in, I would hail it with Joy.

**Mar. 12:** Worked all day on the Ice. got good Ice and put up a good lot of it. begin to feel a little better about the Job. Family quite large now. got 5 men helping us and they all board with us. Weather cool and frosty.

**Mar. 13:** Worked hard and finally got all of the Ice in. felt good about it but rather stiff from hard work and getting wet. commenced to cover it with saw dust. do not think I will look for any more Ice Jobs. Men all tired of it. Weather cold. Got a letter from L. T. Bray

**Mar. 14:** Got all the Sawdust on the ice and wound it up. gave 3 cheers when it was finished for I never got at a Job that I hated as bad as I did that. Made very little on it but that does not trouble me much as long as it is done. Weather very cold and stormy.

**Mar. 15 [Sunday]:** Got up and looked out at the storm and made up my mind that I would not go out much today for it was rather cold. read some papers and then wrote some letters, one to L. T. Bray, A. B. Hunt and one to cousin Annie Mc. quit at that and had a smoke and got ready to tumble in to bed. Weather awful cold and stormy.

**Mar. 16:** Did not have much to do today so I took a trip up to Sanders to see how things looked up there. found everything very dull. all waiting for the new town to commence. think they will sell lots soon. Some talk of a new post going to be started at North Platte crosing [*sic*]. hope they will for I would like to go up there to work. Weather rather cool.

**Mar. 17:** "Saint Patrick's Day in the Morning." Went up to Sanders for a "walk." found things somewhat livelier. Paymaster there paing [*sic*] off the troops. plenty Money flying around and lots of the soldiers on a spree. all seem to feel well. Got a job from blackburn [*sic*] and expect to go to work at Laramie tomorrow morning. Weather cold and stormy.

**Mar. 18:** Commenced working for Blackburn[13] at the new town of Laramie. did not do much as the wind was very high. heard that the company was going to commence selling lots soon. I hope that they will for that will make evry [*sic*] thing lively. Weather rather cold and very high Wind but there are indications of fine weather. hop [*sic*] it will come.

**Mar. 19:** Worked half of the day at Laramie framing a house. business beginning to look a little brighter and I think times will soon be good. If not, there will be a grand "Skidaddle" from this part of the Country for people are getting discouraged about this place. The R R Company are waiting for a permit from Washington to sell lots. expect it soon. Weather cold and windy.

**Mar. 20:** Working at Laramie but if they do not soon commence to sell lots, will run out of a job. hope they will soon begin for I do not want to lay around much. [*Plenty?*] houses ready to go up, if the town was ready. Weather a little more pleasant but windy.

**Mar. 21:** Sweet Saturday has arrived again and having worked hard all day, I feel like having a little rest but having a little business to attend to at Sanders, I was obliged to walk up there. Got back about tired out. Weather warmer. received a letter from Uncle Newman.

**Mar. 22 [Sunday]:** Did not do much travelling for I was determined to enjoy this sweet day of rest. remained at our "Cottage by the Laramie" all day and had a very pleasant time of it and got well rested. all ready for another week's work. Weather warm and pleasant. hope it will remain so.

**Mar. 23:** Got up early and had breakfast by sun rise all ready for work. started for the town feeling well worked all day. no lots sold yet, evry one getting impatient about it. some talk of moving it off of the reservation.[14] Wish they would do that or something else to make business lively. Weather warm but wind raising with indications of a Storm.

[12] Jimmy Vine (b. Isle of Man, 1836, d. Laramie, 1907) was employed to build the officers' quarters at Fort Sanders. Later, he owned a furniture store in Laramie. He served on the city council and as Albany County commissioner. His "ranch" was located north and east of Laramie, approximately four miles from town. Burns, Gillespie and Richardson, 212, 213.

[13] See footnote 10.

[14] Reference is to the Fort Sanders Military Reservation.

**Mar. 24:** Now we have got it. another violent snowstorm. Could not go out to work, therefore I've had to stick close to our Cabin and found it to be a good institution in a storm. the other Carpenters that are in tents and shake ups must have a "bitious" time of it. I Pity them poor Cusses.

**Mar. 25:** Storm continued to rage fearfully all day. Kept close by the ranch and did not mind it much, but come near being snowed under. it beats anything that I ever seen in my life and I do not care about seeing any more storms like it. Cannot see any thing out of doors 10 feet from the house.

**Mar. 26:** Weather moderated considerable and we managed to get out of our hut, but had a good deal of shoveling to do first. sun come out fine and made things look better. Went up to Sanders, had a very hard walk of it through the snow. Nothing new up there. Got back all right but felt rather tired.

**Mar. 27:** Went to work at Laramie and got the frame dug out of the snow. it was rather mean work but it had to be done. Lots not on market yet, all waiting anxiously for them to be sold. heard that they were going to begin shooting last night at the town. false report, no one shot. Weather quite pleasant.

**Mar. 28:** Got near[15] all done that we can do until the lots are sold. heard that the [*town?*] was going to be removed to the Little Laramie Crossing. hope they will do that or something else to make the times better. Weather very pleasant.

**Mar. 29 [Sunday]:** Another day of rest has arrived and I enjoyed it very well. did not go far from the ranch. read all day and was well rested. had a call from A. O. Hibbard. remained with us all day. had a very pleasant day and enjoyed it very much.

**Mar. 30:** Finished up what work I've had to do on the fram[*e*] so we will have to wait until the lots are sold before we can do any more to it, hard telling when that will be. if not soon, then good by Laramie plains [*plans?*]. Weather getting a little cooler.

**Mar. 31:** Nothing to do so I went up to Sanders to see what was going on there. Monthly inspection made some stir but aside from that, everything was very dull. Wrote a couple of letters, one to E. Newman and one to the Omaha Bank. got some paper and returned to Camp. Weather warm and pleasant.

**April 1, 1868:** Started on a hunt to the Black hills but a snow storm commenced and we had to put back for our Cabin and remained there the rest of the day. Storm continued all day.

**April 2:** Weather still stormy. Oh, what a place for wind and storms and I hope I will not have to stay here next winter, everything looks dismal and nothing doing. Went out with a party hunting. Chased some antelope black-tailed deer but they were so wild we could not get near them. got some sage hens and came home.

**April 3:** Felt so tired after yesterdays hunt I concluded not to leave home today. got a book and read all day and got well rested ready for another expedition. Nothing doing at Laramie. no lots sold yet. Weather Moderating.

**April 4:** Weather fine again. Practiced some with my rifle. Then started for Lossons ranch and from there, went to fort Sanders. every thing dull there. did not stay long. Got home all right and found a new "boarder" there. Fraser's Cousin Mr. Ross just from North Platt[e].

**April 5 [Sunday]:** Staid at the Cabin all day and read most of the time. enjoyed myself very well in that way. Fraser and the rest of the boys went to the fort. had the house all to myself. Weather pleasant.

**April 6:** About tired laying idle but cannot help it for there is not anything to do. No lots sold at Laramie yet and we can not go to work until they are. Heard that Gen. Sheridan and Angus [*Augur?*] was expected at Sanders and Angus had the town papers with them.[16] I hope it is true. Went up to the post and got my "dog." Weather warm but wind rising.

**April 7:** Practiced a little with my gun and made some very good shots. did not go a great way from the ranch. Got a letter from C. Girring [*or Girving?*] and answered it. he wants me to go where he is but I do not think I will just yet. Wind blowing hard.

**April 8:** Came near having a fire. our "wooden" stove pipe took fire, but I soon put it out. seen Blackburn. Think of going to Cherry Creek on a hunting expedition. must do something to keep up our spirits. Wind blowing very hard.

**April 9:** Weather pleasant. Started after some Wild Geese, but it turned out a wild goose Chase. Waded the Laramie and found it awful cold. no more of it for me until the water gets warmer.

**April 10:** Went up to Sanders. found business as usual. very dull. No lots sold at Laramie yet. do not think that they ever will be sold. Almost made up my mind to leave this place. receved [*sic*] a letter from 1st National Bank of Omaha. Weather getting colder and Wind Rising.

**April 11 [Sunday]:** Remained at home all day and Kept house, while the rest of the boys were up to the

[15] Transcriber's note: "near" is written over word "all."

[16] Reference apparently is to Col. C. C. Augur. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army* I (Washington: GPO, 1903), 175.

post— found it very lonesome, but managed to pass away the time reading. Getting awful sick laying idle so much. Weather cold and windy.

**April 12:** Great time at the Cottage. had four visitors for dinner got up a fancy feast. I was put in Chief Cook. All well pleased with the dinner had a very good time and the day pased [*sic*]off very pleasant. Weather stormy, so we enjoyed our Cabin and feast all the better.

**April 13:** Weather cold and windy so I staid at home and kept house. Got a letter from B. A. Jackson. Some talk of going hunting tomorrow if the Weather Moderates. expect a good time going to the black Hills.

**April 14:** Got up early and started for the hills. Weather fine when we started but after we got there, it was very stormy and could not hunt much. got about 3 miles from our camp and made a fire. sat there untill the storm abated a little and started for Camp. Met two large Bears and had a glorious hunt after them and finally made "bruin" give up the ghost, but had a tough time of it before we killed them. left them and got to Camp, proud of our days work. put in a rough night. it was so cold.

**April 15:** Took the Mules and started for our Bars had some fun getting them on the Mules' Backs but was near frose in the operation. got back to camp with them and started for home. Could not stay any longer the weather was so cold. Got home all right but rather tired.

**April 16:** Dressed our Bears and cooked some. found it first rate Meat. Going to tan the hides. Think I will keep mine for to remember my first bear hunt. Wrote to R.[*B.?*] A. Jackson. Weather cold and windy. Heard that the lots at Laramie were to be sold on next Monday. hope it is so.

**April 17:** Went up to Sanders to see the sights. found everything dull. did not stay long. tramped back to Camp. Weather Cold. Got a letter from Uncle Newman

**April 18 [Sunday]:** Three cheers. Great preparations for building at Laramie lots to be sold on Monday next, sure pray. everyone feels good about it, no more loafing I hope for this reason for I have got enough of. Weather getting warmer.

**April 19:** "All quiet on the Laramie" but think there will be stirring [*?*] times this week. remained home all day very lonesome. Weather plesant [*sic*].

**April 20:** Lots at Laramie sold and everything looks like business and building is commencing at a fast rate. hope it will continue so all summer wages will be good. Weather fine and warm.

**April 21:** Had to go up to the post so I did not commence work but expect to tomorrow. people flocking into Laramie very fast. expect that they will commence shooting soon. Heaps of gamblers and pickpockets arriving daily. Weather Comfortable.

**April 22:** Commenced to work on Freeman and Wright building.[15] Worked all day and at night felt better by far than if I had loafed. quite a lot of foalks [*sic*] in town and all sorts of outfits coming in every hour. buildings going up very fast. Weather warm.

**April 23:** Had a chance of another job but had plenty of work without it. Got Freeman's frame put and getting along well with it. Heard of an Indian raid on some graders at rock creek.[16] did not hear all the particulars. Weather a little cooler

**April 24:** Commenced work in the morning but was stopped by a snow storm. had to quit untill noon worked the rest of the day. Seen a fight in town. they came near shooting but was stopped but do not think it will be long before someone is killed.

**April 25:** Weather very pleasant worked all day and was glad when night came for I was tired. cars expected here in a short time. Then look out for [*biz?*]

**April 26 [Sunday]:** Welcome sweet day of rest. Went to town to see what was going on. seen a great many drunken Men and a good many wanted to fight, but they did not make it out. some drew their revolvers but did not use them. Oh, it is a horrid place. nothing thought of a sunday excepting gambling, and fighting Weather very warm

**April 27:** Laramie increasing in size very fast. buildings going up in every direction and every indication of it being a lively place for some time to come. Working every day and feel first rate. got the building near done. Weather Lovely.

**April 28:** Thought I was gone up to day but thanks to providence, I was saved. was working in the second story of the building when a "tornado" struck it and down she went. I managed to jump before it fell. there was one man hurt but not very bad. Wind high. Cleared away the ruins. ready to go to work again.

**April 29:** Commence to put up the building again. Got along very well but things were badly mixed. would sooner build a new one than work at the old one. every thing full of nails. Weather pleasant. Got a letter from L. T. Bray.

**April 30:** Got our building near up again and glad of it. had some heavy work at it. Another week [*sic*] whirl wind came along and upset another building. did not hurt ours this time. Town flourishing.

[15] Charles Wright operated a Laramie tannery in the early 1870s. His tannery is noted in the *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, Nov. 5, 1870. His obituary is the *Sentinel*, June 5, 1875.

[16] Heitman lists an army encounter with Indians at Rock Creek on April 3, 1868. Heitman II, 430.

**May 1, 1868:** Got our building as far along as it was when it blew down. will soon have it done. More Indian trouble at Rock Creek. several men scalped by them. none here yet. Weather warm. worked all day.

**May 2:** Wind blew very hard. did not work but of a day. Met Cap. Metcalf and went electioneering for "City" officers for Laramie but it did not amount to much as the General declared it null and void. Laramie is in full blast and every thing is Moving lively. Cars expected here tomorrow or next day.

**May 3:** Cars in sight but will not get in to day short of [ ? ]. Hardy, the prize fighter, was shot at Laramie to day by the deputy sherrif [*sic*]. not dead yet but cannot live. town filled up with Gamblers Pickpockets and robbers. Weather plisant [*sic*].

**May 4:** Started for Wyoming[17] to see about starting a wagon shop there. had to walk all the way and I got enough of it and I came to the conclusion that as a "walkist" I was not a sucess. stoped with Jimmy Vine. do not like the appearance of the place. Weather pleasant. Cars running in to town.

**May 5:** Very heavy snow storm raging. cannot work very much this day. have to keep close to the house. Two companies of Cavalry arrived from Rock Creek and had to camp out in the storm. rough on the Soldier Boys. think less of Wyoming than I did yesterday.

**May 8:** Went to work on [*Wanless or Wardens?*] building with Cap Metcalf to help him [?]. a fine day but had a hard time to keep to work and felt very unwell. Caught a severe cold up the Country. Weather pleasant.

**May 9:** Laid up. Could not go to work but such things cannot be helped. Commenced doctoring myself and by evening felt much better. another day's rest will make me feel all right again. Weather warm.

**May 10:** [No entry-- page blank]...[18]

**May 28:** Commenced working for Government once more on the wagon shop (in?) Fort Sanders. do not think much of old wagons, but it is better than loafing. Laramie about played [out]. Weather warm but wind blowing hard.

[*Blank pages*]

**June 6** (*at top*): McGonnigle followed by list of figures (probably dollars and cents)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **June 7** | six " green Peas | two hams |
| 25 dried apples | 1/2 " Mustard Six cans | two bottles Chow |
| one case tomatoes | damsens | 1 " |
| six cans Lima | " " Peaches | Worcester sauce |
| Beans | " " Strawberries | |

*No entries until July 13 which has a line through it and very faint, perhaps of no significance but perhaps to show the listing has nothing to do with the date:*

Steel *[? not quite C.O.D. but could be U.C.O.]* to J.F. Crowley

January 20th to filing and setting wood saw .75
Feb 10th to putting in threshold in store 1-50
March 17th to filing and setting Saw and fixing saw frame 1-50
April 15 to filing saw
May 25th to filing and setting saw .75
October 18 *[?]*

*[this and the last three or four entries are smudged or erased or possibly, water got onto the page]*

**July 14:** *[page contains the following entries]*

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov 13th to filing saw | 50 |
| Nov 24th to filing saw | 50 |
| to Making Wheelbarrow wheel | 3-00 |
| to work on Buggy | 12-00 |
| Nov 29 filing saw | 50 |
| Dec 12th to work on Wagon | 5-00 |
| cash | 1-50 |
| Cash | 5-00 |
| Dec16 filing saw | 50 |
| Dicks saw | 50 |

*[Pages blank until September 3 page where a list of numbers is added and totalled].*

*Rest of the diary contains lists of products and prices.*

[17] "Wyoming" was a railroad water stop, telegraph station and post office located about ten miles north of Laramie along the main line of the Union Pacific. J. W. Brady is listed as the postmaster there in 1869. See Marie Erwin, *Wyoming Blue Book*. (Cheyenne, 1943), 631.

[18] On May 13 page Cash receved of Mac

Cash for (?) 2.00
Cash 3.00
Cash 16.00
Cash 10.00

Pages for May 14 and 15 torn out Page for May 16 torn, wrinkled but with list:

Money Paid out for Wagon

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 set | $5.50 |
| 1" hubs | 2.25 |
| 1 " filloes | 2.50 |
| 1 " spokes | 4.00 |
| 1 fifth Wheel | 3.50 |
| Old Buggy | 5.00 |
| pole Tip | .75 |
| freight and expresage | 3.25 |
| axles and leather | 12.50 |
| (faint word expres?) | |
| Shaft tips | .75 |
| | 40.00 |

May 19 page: Cash on hand may 3/

$3200
checks 1431-59
?word? 350-00
Cash 1420-00
3201-59

Wyoming Memories

# Seventy-five Years with the First State Bank

By Mabel E. Brown

On August 14, 1924, the following editorial appeared on the front page of the *Newcastle News Letter:*

NEW BANK FOR NEWCASTLE

Several weeks ago the NEWS LETTER stated that we had little sympathy in efforts that were being made to re-organize the banks of this city and our opinion was that a new bank with new capital, etc., was the solution to our banking problems.

This week we announce the formation of a new bank for Newcastle to be known as the First State Bank of Newcastle and with a capital of $15,000.

H. G. Weare, President of the leading bank of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, capitalized at $1,000,000 and also connected with the First National Bank of Deadwood, South Dakota, with banks at Spearfish and interested in banks at Sundance, Hulett and Moorcroft is the principal stockholder in the new enterprise and associated with him are R. Hurtt, W. E. Dickey, John H. Nason, and M. C. Roberts of this city.

Hurtt, of Hulett will be cashier and quarters will be in the Weston County Bank Building. Weare is an old-time cattleman of the Black Hills country and at present is associated with L.A. Brown in the cattle business in Crook County. The combination looks like a good one and it is planned to increase the $15,000 capitalization to $75,000 when business warrants it.

It will be a relief to our people to have a bank at which they can do business and while for a time a great deal of caution is apt to be exercised in dealing with any bank, we predict confidence in the new situation will be such that business will return to practically normal, very shortly.

We understand that a charter has already been issued and that the institution will probably be open for business within a week or ten days.

On August 28, the *News Letter* commented:

Friday morning of last week, Newcastle's new banking institution, The First State Bank of Newcastle, opened for business and from the very start it was apparent that the people were taking kindly to the idea of again having a banking institution in the town and county.

The first five days have seen more than $23,000 deposited in the bank and this together with their capital gives them a footing of about $38,000.

Eighty-six persons and business firms have opened accounts in the new bank and more are coming in daily and we are told that practically every business house in this city now has an account at the bank.

In 1923, there had been three banks in Newcastle and one at Osage. By summer, 1924, there were none. "Once bit, twice shy," people of the area were more than a little dubious about depositing their hard-earned money in a bank of any kind. "I'll put mine in a tin can and bury it," one old fellow declared.

"What if someone steals it?" he was asked.

"If it was stolen, wouldn't be no different than losing it in a bank and I'd know what happened anyhow!" he replied.

This was a typical reaction of many who had lost savings in the closing of banks. It took some time to restore the faith of these people in banking institutions.

The records at the First State Bank of Newcastle show that the bank was opened on August 22, 1924, with a capital of $15,000 as stated in the *News Letter* account. There were 150 shares at $100 per share. Weare was the major stockholder and the first president of the bank.[1]

The bank was incorporated to do business for a period of fifty years, and started business at a time when many banks and other businesses throughout the state and the nation were failing or being suspended.

In 1925, ninety-six banks reported their condition with total aggregate resources of $66,495,000 with capital of $7,808,000 and deposits of approximately $48,000,000.

In 1926, there were ninety-three banks and they had slightly increased their resources to $67,204,000 with capital of $7,751,000 and deposits of $49 million. In the year ending June 30, 1925, (the year in which the First State Bank was born and shortly after the death of

[1] W.E. Dickey later lived at Spearfish, South Dakota. At the time the bank was founded, Nason's address was Colony, Wyoming. Following his death, his widow moved to Spearfish, where R. Hurtt and his wife Margaret also made their home.

the other Weston County banks), there were four bank suspensions with liabilities of $600,000. In 1926 there was only one suspension, its liabilities being $15,000.

Outside of banks, the commercial failures in Wyoming in 1924 were fifty-one; in 1925, fifty-eight; and in 1926, fifty-six. For the year ending June 30, 1929, there were 86 banks reporting. On June 30, 1930, there were 83. The aggregate resources were $71,341,000 with deposits approximately $56 million — fewer banks but stronger financially.[2] It shows the conditions in the state with which the new bank must contend.

Business gained slowly but surely. Many of the homesteaders who had rushed to the area just after World War I, either dried out and moved away or stopped trying to raise crops and adapted their resources to the production of cattle or sheep — and got jobs to support the homesteads. Some went to work in the oil field at Osage and the nearby patches; others worked at Cambria in the mines.

The mines, too, were in trouble, and were not hiring many men. The Cambria difficulties did not affect the First State Bank to a great degree as most of the Cambriaites "traded with" the Security State Bank, which had been organized some time after the First State went into business. The Security State Bank was owned by Walter Schoonmaker, longtime employee of the Cambria Company, who was actively interested in all that transpired at the mines.

In April 1926, the total assets of the First State Bank were $362,902.74. Stockholders and directors remained about the same as in the beginning except that part of the Weare stock had been transferred to Mrs. Weare.

On May 16, 1926, a tall, blonde, young man with a slow smile and a serious manner assumed duty as bookkeeper at the bank. Andy Hansen stayed with the bank for many years, later serving as president of the institution.

In August 1930, the First State Bank purchased the Security State Bank and moved across the street into the building later occupied by the Newcastle Men's Store. (The building which first housed the First State Bank became a cafe.)

Records show that in 1930 the J.C. Penney Company rented its home from the First State Bank. The building was still owned by Mrs. Dickey, wife of one of the original directors of the bank.

A number of new stockholders also appeared on the record about this time. They were George Hunter, partner in Fisher and Hunter, Deadwood, S. D.; R. E. Driscoll, Lead, S. D., (who later became head of the National Bank of the Black Hills with banks throughout the Black Hills region); Walter Cunningham, Belle Fourche, S. D.; Dr. Frank S. Howe, Deadwood, S. D.; C. L. Wood of Alzada, Montana; and Andy Hansen of Newcastle.

On February 20, 1931 the total assets of the bank were $702,533.69. Charles Dow had purchased stock and been elected to the board of directors. He was elected as president to fill the vacancy left by Weare's resignation. Weare's health was failing badly.

In December of 1931, Hugh Updike of Osage was elected a director. Harry P. Ilsley of Sundance was elected to the board of directors at the January 11, 1932, meeting of the bank stockholders. Dow remained as president, Hugh Updike became vice-president, Rueben Hurtt continued as cashier, and Andy Hansen was assistant cashier.

The Board proceedings show that on February 3, 1932, the total assets of the bank had declined considerably form $702,533.69 to $433,031.05. (This was in the midst of the Great Depression.) These proceedings also show that a note of condolence was sent to the family of Charles Dow. He had died suddenly. It was also decided not to elect a new president at that time, but to continue on with the current officers. This was out of respect to Dow's memory.

At the January 1933 meeting, George Hunter was elected to the Board of Directors. It was at this time that young Andy Hansen first became a member of the board. Other bank board members were H. P. Ilsley, M. C. Roberts, and R. Hurtt, original stockholders.

George Hunter, the Deadwood businessman, was elected president of the board. Hugh Updike resigned from the board and moved to California about this time.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected to the Presidency of the United States in November, 1932. Immediately on taking office in March, 1933, he began a series of economic reforms. On March 4, the President declared a "bank holiday" to be in effect from March 4 through 18. During this time the doors of banks throughout the nation were closed. Their financial stability was checked and only sound banks were permitted to re-open. Intended as a protection to the people, this action actually worked a hardship in Newcastle. Not a few people who had somehow managed to "get by" and make a scanty living despite the depression and who had never before accepted charity of any kind, were forced to ask for relief even though they had wages (in check form) to purchase what they needed. Until

[2] The above statistics were reprinted from a statistical abstract which appears in "Wyoming-Territorial Days to the Present" by Mrs. Francis Beard, (1933). For specifics on the bank failures of the 1920s, see T. A. Larson, History of Wyoming. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 413-414.

the Holiday was over, businesses were reluctant to give credit which in the case of wage-earners, who did not own property, could not be secured. (After the Holiday, the check might not be good.)

Wyoming banks fared better than some in this instance. In 1925, when Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross was Governor of the State of Wyoming, she told the Legislature:

> Next to tax reduction, the subject that is now of most absorbing interest to the people of Wyoming is the banking situation. The large number of bank failures during the past few years had emphasized the need of a complete revision of our banking laws, both for the purpose of protecting the depositors as fully as possible and for the purpose of restoring the confidence of the public in banking institutions.[3]

On this recommendation the law pertaining to the duties of the state examiner was thoroughly revised, particularly with regard to the duties in the inspection and regulation of state banks. By a schedule of fees in the law, each bank was required to pay from fifty to ninety dollars for each periodical examination of its books. The Legislature did not act on the governor's suggestion regarding a guarantee fund, but did amend the laws providing that the deposits of public money by county, state, or school district treasurers should be secured by guarantee bonds, and a similar act was passed requiring that banks which were depositories of state funds should also be secured by similar bonds.

The total assets of the First State Bank after re-opening following the Bank Holiday were $381,723.52, still going down from previous years.

A letter to the First State Bank from A.E. Wilde, State Examiner, dated August 5, 1933, explained the new Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation which was a government insurance on all bank deposits. Only sound banks could qualify for the insurance and only banks which qualified by January 1934 could continue to operate. (The First State Bank, as is evident, qualified).

Clarence Hansen and A. H. (Arch) Dixon became stockholders in January 1934. Directors remained the same. M. C. Roberts was elected president of the board: Harry P. Ilsley, vice-president; R. Hurtt remained cashier and Andy Hansen, assistant-cashier.

Weare died in 1934 and the Weare interests are shown as stock of the Weare estate; total assets of the bank were up a little in 1934, showing $552,506.31. Walter Cunningham was elected to the board of directors in 1935; officers continued as before. Daniel Reed, a long time Newcastle businessman became a member of the board of directors in January of 1937, replacing Ilsley who had resigned from the board. Reed was elected vice-president in January 1938, but resigned April 9, 1938. He was succeeded on April 11 by Walter Cunningham.

On April 8, 1940, the First State Bank opened its Savings Account Department. The financial picture had improved somewhat, the drought had broken and there were more jobs, wages, and more money to be saved. The total assets on Dec. 18, 1940, was $882,941.78.

The account of the January 11, 1943, meeting shows Mrs. R. (Margaret) Hurtt replacing Dan Reed on the board of directors. A note in the July proceedings told of the illness of Roberts who was in a hospital in Denver. He died shortly afterward. In October 1943, Arch Dixon was elected to the board of directors and Walter Cunningham was elected president. A resolution concerning the death of Arch Dixon was included in the July 8, 1946, board minutes. Wallace Smith, a nephew of R. Hurtt, replaced Dixon on the Board. Hurtt resigned as cashier and Andy Hansen was elected to that position. On January 13, 1947, Mrs. Elizabeth Mary Roberts, widow of M. C. Roberts, replaced Mrs. Hurtt as director. Wally Smith became assistant cashier.

On October 4, 1947, the total assets of the bank were $3,197,354.90. Newcastle had been experiencing an oil boom. (Walter Winchell in one of his famous broadcasts had predicted that Newcastle would become another Tulsa. It didn't make it!)

All during the war years the bank had contributed toward the national defense effort. When in 1941 a Savings Bond Drive was begun, Andy Hansen was elected as chairman of the committee. (They called them War Bonds then, remember?) Andy was a successful chairman and has continued in that office to the present time. He has received a number of "commendations" for his work in this field.

On January 12, 1948, Clyde D. Roberts, son of M.C. Roberts, replaced Wally Smith as director.

An interesting statement appears in the 1949 proceedings — the First State Bank of Newcastle was authorized to celebrate its 25th anniversary as "time and duties permit." There is no record of the celebration. Everyone was just too busy!

Affairs continued "as usual", officers and directors remained the same. The January 9, 1950, record shows that L. E. Mackler, an employee of the bank since 1948, was made assistant cashier.

On November 6, 1951, the controlling interest in the First State Bank was sold to Jack Devereaux of Judith

[3] House Digest, 17th Wyoming State Legislature, Governor's Message (1925).

Gap, Montana. His father, Harry Devereaux, well known Rapid City banker, was a member of the new board of directors, as were Earl Kellar of Rapid City, S. D., Clyde D. Roberts of Sundance, and Andy Hansen. Jack Devereaux was elected president, Harry Devereaux, vice-president, and Andy Hansen, cashier.

In 1954 a fine new and modern building was constructed and on November 29, 1954, the First State Bank moved in to luxurious new quarters.

In 1957 William Haines joined the bank staff as assistant cashier. He also sold insurance. He remained with the bank until 1962 when he moved to Longmont, Colo. Later, he lived in Denver.

Robert E. Caudel took over the job vacated by Haines, in 1962. Caudel was full of advertising ideas. A scrap book of ads during the time he was with the bank would show that many of them were excellent.

William Nefsy, of the First Security Bank and Trust of Miles City, Montana, purchased the controlling interest in the First State Bank of Newcastle on September 16, 1963. Nefsy was a member of one of the very early families who pioneered in both Crook and Weston Counties. The town of Osage is built on the Nefsy townsite. The first teacher in what is now Weston County was taught by young Frank Nefsy back in the days when Weston was still a part of Crook County. William Nefsy graduated from Newcastle High School and in addition to his Montana banking and ranching interests, had other business interests in Wyoming.

Elmer Mohl, who later moved to Norfolk, Nebraska, became president and Andy Hansen, executive vice-president and cashier.

Less than a year later, in March , 1964, the Schnitzler Corporation of Froid, Montana, purchased the Nefsy interest. The Schnitzler Corporation was founded in 1910 by John W. Schnitzler, who for many years was a state senator and Republican chairman from Montana. The corporation was primarily in the wheat and cattle business in northeastern Montana. Schnitzler was a printer of a small town weekly newspaper who later became a banker, then a large scale dryland wheat farmer. He died in an airplane accident in 1932. He was one of the first private pilots in Montana and once owned a sister ship of the "Spirit of St. Louis." After his death, the agricultural interests were managed by his widow, Catherine and later by his daughter, Helen Schnitzler Hornby. Mrs. Hornby was president and manager of the corporation.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Hornby represented the Schnitzler Corporation on the board of directors of the First State Bank. Mrs. Hornby was chairman of the board. William H. Hornby, a native of Montana. was an executive with the *Denver Post*. The Hornbys lived in Denver.

In December, 1966, Gordon Swanson came to Newcastle from Montana and became executive vice-president. Mohl left on January 1, 1967, to fill a position with a Norfolk, Nebraska, bank and Andy Hansen became president of the firm which he had so faithfully served for what was then 48 years.

Donal Howell joined the staff in 1965. In 1967 he became cashier and Dale Newlin, assistant-cashier. Both men are well known in the Newcastle area. Donal Howell later was associated with the National Bank of Newcastle. Newlin was born and reared in Rapid City, S. D., but had lived in Newcastle since 1940. He worked for Craig Chevrolet Company and Sioux Oil Refinery before joining the First State Bank. Dale's wife Annette was a daughter of the Batista Farella family who were well known area ranchers. The Newlins had two sons, Dennis of Upton and Doran of Newcastle.

Don Jording came to the First State Bank as executive vice president in 1970 from Wheatland where he had been associated with the Stock Growers Bank for 15 years, advancing to the office of executive vice president. In Newcastle, he participated in school affairs, city council and Lions club.

Donn Ross joined the present staff in 1971 as cashier. Although born in Nebraska he was raised and educated in the Greeley, Colo., area. He worked part time in a bank while still in high school and received his degree in banking and business from the University of Colorado. Before coming to Newcastle, he was assistant vice-president of Cheyenne National Bank for ten years.

Dave Denke joined the staff as an officer trainee. He grew up on a ranch north of Wall, S.D., and received a degree in Business Agriculture from South Dakota State. His wife June was the art teacher in the Newcastle High School.

Board of Directors of the bank then included Mr. and Mrs. Hornby, John Sullivan, Mrs. Hornby's son, Clyde Roberts, whose father, M.C. Roberts was an original stockholder, Don Jording and Andy Hansen.

The First State Bank performed many services for the people of the town. The bank sponsored the annual 4H leaders work with young people throughout the years and the annual banquet in their honor. The banquet was begun during Jack Devereaux's tenure.

Other services include donations to the Anna Miller Museum and Weston County Stock Growers Association and numerous local "drives".

The First State Bank grew from capital of $15,000 on August 22, 1924, to total assets of $15,213,937.41 to June 30, 1974.

An item in the 1949 First State Bank proceedings authorized it to celebrate its 25th anniversary "as time and duties permit." There is no record of the celebration. Evidently everyone was just too busy![4]

Twenty-five years later the bank celebrated its fiftieth anniversary of incorporation and what a celebration it was!

The event was held at the Weston County Fairgrounds with some 2200 people participating. A free barbecue catered by the Newcastle Volunteer Fire Department was served at noon. Organ music was provided by Rhonda Sedgwick, a PRCA musician and a former Miss Wyoming Rodeo, finalist in the National Miss Rodeo America contest. The Newcastle Unit of the Wyoming National Guard parked cars and served as ground patrol.

The afternoon program got underway in front of the grandstand with the introduction of guests at 2 p.m. Bank president, Andy Hansen, introduced the employees of the bank and the present and former directors. Former directors introduced were Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Hurtt and Mr. and Mrs. Walter Dickey of Spearfish, S.D.; Mr. and Mrs. Jay Durfee of Sundance, WY. Present directors introduced were Clyde Roberts, Sundance, Mr. and Mrs. William Hornby of Denver, CO; John C. Sullivan, Livingston, Montana; Don Jording and Hansen both of Newcastle. Also introduced was Robert Miracle of Casper, President of the Wyoming Bankers Association.

There was a drawing of ten prizes for checking and savings account customers. A $100 reward was offered for the oldest First State Bank check. Mrs. Fred B. Campbell of Edgemont, S.D., was recipient of the reward.

Two hours of professional entertainment was provided for area folk. Featured were Johnny Matson, comedian and musician, the Colorado Gold Musical Combo, the Ding-a-ling Family (a unique bell ringing attraction) and Mike Pickering performing a comedy trampoline act. Arch Jeffries excited the crowd with his magic.

A dance was held Saturday evening at the new Fairgrounds building. The evening before the celebration a banquet and reception was held in honor of Andy Hansen who has been with the First State Bank for some 48 years. The affair was attended by bank officials and employees introduced at Saturday's celebration plus members and friends of the Hansen family from throughout the Black Hills area, Ohio, Nebraska, Colorado, Gillette, Lusk, and Riverton, Wyoming, and Sun City, Arizona.

The *Newcastle News Letter Journal* reported the following week that some 2,200 people attended the First State Bank's Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration.[5]

Soon after the fiftieth anniversary of the First State Bank, Andy Hansen became chairman of the board of directors and Don Jording moved up to bank president.

Many changes occurred during Jording's tenure in office. When the old Berry Hotel was torn down, the First State Bank purchased the vacant lot and transformed it into a landscaped parking area. The bank building itself underwent extensive remodeling and another addition was constructed.

The history of the bank has been one of steady growth. When Jording became president in 1974, bank assets totaled approximately $15 million. In 1999, they were nearly $75 million.

The week before Christmas 1998 was a time of tragedy for the town of Newcastle. Fire ravaged the historic business area, destroying businesses and also apartments above the stores. People turned out in droves to help evacuate the structures and salvage what property they could. Both the First State Bank and the Security Bank were among those helping.

Recently, the First State Bank purchased property at the head of Main Street. Townspeople long had hoped someone would purchase the land and "do something with it." That's what the bank has done. They are building a park similar to the one adjacent to the bank. (It's interesting to note that one of the early bank presidents, Charles W. Dow, operated the Dow Garage on this land for many years.) With so much rebuilding going on in the town it was not possible to complete the bank's project in time for a seventy-fifth anniversary. In fact, Jording says he is not sure just when the celebration will take place. Maybe, like the item in the early News Letter, "when time and duties permit"!

[4] The actual date of incorporation of the First State Bank was August 28, 1924, but the anniversary celebration was held September 14, 1949.

[5] "75th Anniversary Article," *Newcastle News Letter Journal*, September 19, 1974. All of those participating in the event received a booklet, *Fifty Years with the First State Bank (1974)*, adapted and updated from *Forty-Five Years with the First State Bank*, and used with permission of Mabel Brown, *Bits and Pieces* 5, #8 (1969).

*The author is one of Wyoming's best known historians. She was founder and publisher of Bits and Pieces magazine and served as president of the Wyoming State Historical Society. In 1999, she was recognized as one of Wyoming's outstanding citizens of the century.*

# Recent Acquisitions to the Wyoming State Archives Collections

Provided by Curtis Greubel, Research Supervisor

### Cheyenne Light, Fuel and Power, 1879-1997

The company is a public utility supplying electricity and gas to southeast Wyoming. Organized in 1900, CLF&P took over two local utilities, Brush-Swan Electric Light Co., and Cheyenne City Gas Co. CLF&P operated as a local utility until it became part of Northern Colorado Power Company in 1906, Western Light and Power Company in 1914 and Public Service Company of Colorado in 1.923, where it remained until 1963 when it became an independent entity.

The collection consists of records pertaining to operations of the company, including annual reports and monthly and operating reports for electricity, gas and steam. Of special interest are photocopies of public records about the Brush-Swan Company and an 1879 letter about the future outlook for electricity. Newsletters from Public Service Company of Colorado revel much about early Depression-era and post-war utility developments. A large collection of photographs was placed in the historical photograph collection.

11 cubic feet, arranged alphabetically.

### Quota Club of Cheyenne (1962-1994)

Founded in 1919, Quota International is an organization of professional and business women for fellowship and community service. The Cheyenne chapter was organized about 1949, although the earliest record in this collection is from 1962. Among the records are minutes of monthly meetings and yearbooks listing membership and social activities.

.5 cubic feet.

### Wyoming Association of Consulting Engineers and Surveyors (1955-1994)

Organized in 1960, the association promoted professionalism among its members. Records include minutes, correspondence, newsletters and committee reports. Topics include state rules and regulations, professional and employment issues, national engineering organization records, engineering scholarships and membership lists. Included are records of the Wyoming Association of County Engineers and Road Superintendents, Wyoming Public Works Council and Wyoming Association of Practical Engineers and Surveyors.

4 cubic feet, arranged alphabetically.

### Wyoming Democratic Party (1991, 1998)

Campaign literature from state party candidates, platform from the state party and national Democratic Party platform, general literature. 1 file folder.

### Wyoming Peace Initiative (1983-1995)

The collection documents organized anti-nuclear missile efforts in Wyoming. A grassroots organization active from the late 1980s to the early 1990s, the Wyoming Against MX sought to prohibit the placement of MX missiles in southeastern Wyoming. Later, the group changed its name to Western Solidarity and later, to Wyoming Peace Initiative, and broadened its focus to include opposition to nuclear testing and proliferation.

1 cubic foot, arranged alphabetically.

# Book Reviews

Edited by Carl Hallberg

**Portraits of Basques in the New World.** Edited by Richard W. Etulain and Jeronima Echeverria. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1999. *xvi + 305 pp. Illus., notes, bib., index. Cloth, $31.95.*

*Portraits of Basques in the New World* is a collection of thirteen biographies which detail the Basque impact on the New World, particularly the American West, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The essays address issues of immigration, assimilation, entrepreneurship, and cultural revival for one of the West's most influential ethnic minorities. Editors Richard W. Etulain and Jeronima Echeverria add their essays to those of other specialists in Basque culture. This is the first volume in the Basque Series edited by William A. Douglass.

The biographies are divided into three chronological sections. The first includes chapters showing Basque influence in Spanish America through the figures of Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Don Juan de Oñate, and Juan Bautista de Anza, both father and son. A common theme is the interaction between officials of the Crown and the Church - often showing how individuals struggled with their divided loyalties over such issues as the expulsion of the Jesuits. The section ends with a transitional essay on brothers Pedro and Bernardo Altube who left the Pyrennes for Argentina and eventually settled in California during the gold rush. Carol W. Hovey traces their entry into the cattle business in the early 1850s and ultimately their development of a cattle ranch in northeastern Nevada.

The second section consists of four essays with varying formats--a photographic essay about five families shows agricultural and mining scenes, while a diary by a sheep rancher's teenage son relives the nightmare of a sleet storm in eastern Montana. An essay by John Bieter details the quintessential success story of Basque immigrant, John B. Archabal. In a concluding essay William A. Douglass traces the journey of a father and his four sons to the West. Santi, the youngest, demonstrates how a family can become Americanized and still keep its Basque heritage alive.

The third section of five essays emphasizes the revival of Basque culture by the second generation. In "Lyda Esain: A Hotelera's Story," Jeronima Echeverria explains how the *ostatua* or boardinghouse provided services to new immigrants similar to those of an ethnic community. Female Basque immigrants found jobs there as maids and waitresses, often meeting their future husbands who stayed as boarders. These *ostatuak* not uncommonly became family businesses, and continue to offer Basque hospitality to western travellers today. Other essays detail the lives of Nevada's former legislator and secretary of state, Pete Cenarusa; western journalist and novelist, Robert Laxalt; and Idaho's "Jay" Uberuaga Hormaechea who revived authentic Basque dances. William A. Douglass writes a contemplative, concluding essay on ethnic identity and its meaning for future generations.

Several themes emerge from these essays. Basque immigrants left their impact wherever they settled. Many came via Argentina, where a glance at the names of public figures over the last hundred years reveals significant Basque influence. While the majority of Basques in the American West appear to have entered the cattle and sheep businesses, other worked in quarries, logging, mining, or the service sector. Basques showed remarkable economic mobility within one or two generations, which calls for a comparison with Germans from Russia who showed similar mobility as sugar beet farmers. Several essays note Basque qualities of frugality, hard work, and honesty as well as their networking for jobs, endogamous marriages, and cooperative financial ventures. To what degree did they face ethnic harassment? Newspapers occasionally referred to Basques in pejorative terms and children were taunted with "dirt black Baskos." (p. 195) As immigrant historians increasingly turn their attention to the West, these are all areas for further exploration.

In this volumes the editors have succeeded in providing an important work which helps correct the "lonely Basque shepherd" stereotype by showing the richness and breadth of Basque influence. The carefully sequenced essays are well-documented, often with explanatory footnotes. Both scholar and aficionado of immigration and western history will find this highly engaging and informative collection rewarding.

**Janet E. Worrall**
**University of Northern Colorado**

**American Indians & National Parks.** By Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. *xxii + 319 pp. Maps, illus., index. Cloth, $40.*

Are American Indians "natural' environmentalists? Should they be? Are national parks something other than "Indian land"? Why? What happens when interests, perceived or real, of Indian peoples come into conflict with National Parks Service objectives and, to add spice to this soup, with the activities of businessmen and environmental organizations?

These are just a few of the questions addressed in *American Indians and National Parks*, a wonderfully informative and readable volume by Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek. Their purpose is to offer an introduction to this important topic, and indeed to bring to light an issue not well understood by scholars of American Indian history, environmental historians, or the public at large: namely, that Indians and national parks share a history but it is a relationship characterized as much by misperception and conflict as understanding and meaningful compromise.

In a very real sense, this is a book about interactions. The authors remind us that both the National Park Service and Bureau of Indian Affairs are housed in the Department of the Interior and have jurisdiction over lands administered or "reserved" by the federal government. Tellingly, when the nineteenth century artist and chronicler of Indian life George Catlin proposed the creation of "a Nation's Park" (p. 19), he envisioned preserving plains Indian lifeways along with the natural environment. For Catlin then, as for many Americans today, Indians are part of the environment, existing away from and before the corruption of human civilization.

But that idealized relationship is the stuff of legend, movies, and New Age spiritualism. Nevertheless, myth also lies at the heart of relations between parks and tribes. "The oldest habit of conservationist and Park Service thinking," the authors point out, "has been to overlook tribal welfare" (p. 18), and in the course of eleven well-written chapters they proceed to document this complex relationship. Beginning with Lake Superior Chippewas of Red Cliff and Bad River Indian Reservations working out a landmark agreement restricting the expansion of the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, Keller and Turek take us on a tour of selected parks and Indian communities, all in the west save one exception. Along the way, we encounter Navajos and the Grand Canyon, Seminoles and the Everglades, Utes and Mesa Verde, myths about historical relationships of Indians to Yellowstone, and the manifold complications concerning tribes and Olympic National Park in Washington. Through it all, the authors document a situation where idealized Indians are used to draw well-heeled Americans to parks, particularly at Glacier and the Grand Canyon, while actual Indian communities must struggle to continue living on their lands, lest they destroy its natural state. Along the way, we find that environmentalists, who also have employed images of Indians in public relations campaigns, have no use for real native peoples and, ironically, the much-maligned Bureau of Indian Affairs emerges as the most consistent and effective advocate for tribal interests.

None of this should suggest that relationships across time and place are of one kind. Keller and Turek are careful to distinguish between productive compromise and continuing bitterness, all the while offering a sense that historical specifics matter. The Supai camp near the Grand Canyon, for instance, demonstrates a mode of interaction between Indians and the landscape far different from that observed by the Makahs in Olympic National Park, and the abysmal treatment of Indians in and nearby Yosemite did not prove the model for future interactions. In fact, one senses that Indians have become more adept at protecting their rights over time, even if their victories sometimes come at the expense of environmental preservation. This describes another irony certainly but also the developing effectiveness of tribal legal action and all that entails.

In all, this is a satisfying volume. Wyoming natives and those interested in the history of Yellowstone National Park will find the authors' careful deconstruction of the myth that Indians feared geysers and thus avoided the park particularly interesting and important. On the other hand, environmentalists may object to the authors' characterization of their movement's objectives and leaders' activities for in the end "doctrinaire environmentalists" (p. 112)--and long-time Sierra Club president David Browder -- come off particularly badly. That this may amount to less than a fair characterization suggests one weakness in the book: the authors sometimes take sides. But if they tip their hand, they generally do so gently. More often, *American Indians & National Parks* is a balanced, satisfying read that leaves the reader wanting more--in this case a similar treatment of the many sites not covered in this volume. The authors consider their work a first step, a prologue in a way, and one hopes this is true.

**Brian Hosmer**
**University of Wyoming**

**La Gente: Hispano History and Life in Colorado**. Edited by Vincent C. De Baca. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1999. *xx + 294 pages. Illus., notes, bib., index. Paper, $21.95.*

The organization of this anthology is based upon "La Gente: Hispanos in Colorado," a permanent exhibition at the Colorado History Museum in Denver. Thus, three essays relate to the theme "Settlement in the North, 1800-1900," four others to "Displacement and Adaptation, 1900-1945," and the final four to "Growing Diversity, 1945-Present." The editor, Vincent C. De Baca, characterizes the collection as a "major step toward explaining the dynamic experience of *La Gente* in Colorado" (p. viii), and hopes that it will lead to the writing of a general history of Hispanos in Colorado (p. viii).

Both the characterization and the hope are laudable, but the essays are too limited in scope and uneven in quality to support such an ambitious project. The first three articles are illustrative. Deborah Mora-Espinosa's brief sketch about the colorful life of Teresita Sandoval, a *mestiza* settler of early Pueblo, is based on a solid foundation of secondary sources. The memoir of Elfido Lopez, recalling his life as a cowboy in the Purgatory River Valley, benefits from a graceful translation of his colloquial Spanish by Richard Louden, who has enriched Lopez's account with abundant notes and documentation. The translation of the memoir of Pablo Cabeza de Baca is accompanied by the text of the Spanish original but is badly in need of explanatory notes

Elsewhere in the anthology, the same imbalance occurs between scholarly, well-documented essays and pieces of an informal, popular variety. The first include M. Edmund Vallejo's "Recollection of the Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914" and Tanya W. Kulkosky's "Mexican Migrant Workers in Depression-era Colorado," whereas Jose Aguayo's "*Los Betabeleros* (the Beetworkers)" focussed upon the Ortega family, immigrants to Texas then Colorado during the Mexican Revolution, lacks both notes and a bibliography. Some of the essays, including a few of the more popular ones, are worthwhile for their disparate points of view. Katie Davis Gardner's study of a make-work program instituted during the Depression, the Valdez Rug Project, praises its underwriter, the Rockefeller-owned Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, for its "progressive approach to employee services" (p. 144). Vallejo's portrayal of the CF&I notes, by contract, its notorious hostility to employee grievances and to unionization. Similarly, the piece by George Rivera, Jr., and others on Denver's Westside Coalition, formed to preserve a Chicano neighborhood from misguided Urban Renewal initiatives, deals in part with the Coalition's opposition to Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzalez's much more militant Alliance for Justice. The essay on Gonzalez by Ernesto Vigil is an excellent, unabashedly sympathetic survey of the Alliances's rise and decline.

Another study, more popular in character, is an admiring profile of Diana Velazquez, a *curandera* or practitioner of traditional folk medicine. The most impressive scholarly contribution to the collection is Devon G. Peña's study, "Cultural Landscapes and Diversity," which argues convincingly on behalf of Hispanic village patterns of land use and acequia-based irrigation techniques in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado and against such agribusiness-driven practices as center-pivot irrigation.

The scholarly essays in the anthology appear to be adequately supported by secondary and some primary materials pertinent to their topics. The omission of such standard works on Hispanic Colorado as Frances Leon Swadesh's *Los primeros pobladores* and Morris Taylor's award-winning study of early Trinidad is puzzling.

**David B. Adams**
**Southwest Missouri State University**

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**Wilderness By Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service**, by Ethan Carr. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. *vi + 378 pages. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $45.*

National parks always seem to be embroiled in conflict between the competing desires to preserve and develop nature. On one side stand the pristine waterways, landforms, vegetation, wildlife and air that contribute to the parks' essential wilderness qualities. On the other side loom the irrepressible human threats: resources extraction, farming and ranching, urbanization, concessionaires, road construction, crowds of visitors and their vehicles. Indeed, this basic human-nature conflict apparently lies embedded in the very mission of the National Park Service. The 1916 act that created the service mandates that the agency both conserve nature and provide for its enjoyment. It is an impossible task: how are the rangers to reconcile bison and snowmobiles, meadows and asphalt, mountain peaks and RVs?

Yet, Ethan Carr compellingly argues that preserving and developing nature is precisely what the early national parks were supposed to achieve. Landscape architects, who guided the creation of the parks, believed that development -- artfully designed roads, trails, buildings and other structures and sties -- were essential to the preservation of the wilderness scenery. Development would open the parks to people, giving them a common aesthetic experience that would unify the republic, foster park appreciation and attract tourist dollars -- and thus justify scenic preservation against logging, mining, grazing and other forms of resource extraction. At the same time, sensitive development would allow access in such a way that the crowds would not destroy what they had come to see. Thus to landscape architects, preservation and development were not antithetical but complementary.

Carr sets this largely forgotten story in the context of landscape architecture in the United States. In the nineteenth century, Frederick Law Olmsted and other landscape architects borrowed the picturesque aesthetics of English estate design and applied them to New York's Central Park and other urban retreats. Their purpose was to create parks based on the land's inherent natural forms. Curving roads and walks, rustic wood and stone bridges and other structures, ponds and lakes, glades and meadows typified these areas and set them apart from the rigid geometry of the nineteenth century metropolis. Olmsted and like-minded architects then adapted this basic urban "landscape park" design to Yosemite and other western national parks. Eventually, the National Park Service and its landscape architects, inheritors of the Olmsted vision, extended the principles of the landscape park to encompass buildings, villages and even highways.

The National Park Service rejected the ideals of the landscape park in the 1960s, when the agency returned to ecological models of land use in which humans had no place. "Ecology" killed the idea that preservation and development were complementary objectives. One might question Carr's criticism of this policy change. Although most parks were not created with ecological concepts in mind, these marvelous places do in fact have ecological value. And no matter how well designed, park facilities can accommodate only a limited number of people and vehicles.

But in highlighting the role of landscape architecture in the national parks, Carr makes an excellent point. They are human constructs as well. A park based on an ecology that sets humans in opposition to nature, as intruders in a natural setting, denies the parks human origins and purposes and thus makes it far more contradictory than the older landscape park. Olmsted and his followers could not have anticipated the growing importance of ecology or the pressures from motor vehicles. Yet their ideals were consistent and honest. In sorting out the problems of our national parks and our competing impulses to preserve and develop them, we would do well to read Ethan Carr's insightful history and consider its lessons.

**Mark Fiege**
**Colorado State University**

**American Forests: Nature, Culture, and Politics.** Edited by Char Miller. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997. *Notes, index. xiv + 290 pp. Cloth, $35; paper, $17.95.*

Part of the Development of Western Resources Series, *American Forests* offers "an interdisciplinary collection of essays that explores the impact of forestry on natural and human landscapes since the mid-nineteenth century"(p. ix). Char Miller seeks to present arguments about human-forest relations and to depict troubling aspects in this relationship. He divides the fourteen previously published essays into five parts.

Part I, "Roots of Forestry," emphasizes the origins of forest management before 1900. Donald Pisani, president of the American Society of Environmental History, explains that late nineteenth century scientists observed the environmental degradation of industrializing American and rallied around the "fall of nations" theme linked to landscape destruction. Sportsmen-conservationists also sought forest preservation to increase wildlife populations according to John Reiger, a scholar of George Bird Grinnell. Harold Sheen, a long-time director of the Forest History Society, traces the 1870s and 1880s political arguments which ultimately led to the Forest Reserve Act (1891) and the Organic Act (1897).

The second part, "First Cuts," describes the early development of the Forest Service's timber sale policy. Native American Studies professor Richmond Clow recounts Timber Case No. 1 (1898) in which Gifford Pinchot convinced the Homestake Mining Company to allow government sustained-yield management in the Black Hills. This case foreshadowed the marriage of the Forest Service and timber industry which Congressional Research Service scholar Robert Wolf addresses in his essay. Wolf concludes that the Forest Service never has found a way to manage forests satisfactorily and make them pay.

This theme of problematic management pervades

Part III, "At Loggerheads." Hal Rothman, editor of *Environmental History*, portrays the loss of forest land to the National Park Service in the 1920s and 1930s as the Forest Service initially failed to compete in politics. Meanwhile, citizen activities, i.e., Sierra Club members, worked amiably with the Forest Service until disputes in the 1950s over logging in the Sierras caused strained relations still apparent today explains Susan Schrepfer of Rutgers University. University of Alaska's Stephen Haycox characterizes Forest Service policy resulting in the 1947 Tongass Timber Act as indicative of the valuation of money over socio-environmental rights. Simultaneously, the post-World War Two timber demand spawned maximum timber cut with clearcutting referred to as the "Hard Hat" era in an essay by the late dean of the University of Montana's School of Forestry, Arnold Bolle.

Part IV, "Multiple Uses," proves less critical of the Forest Service. Brigham Young University environmental historian Thomas Alexander applauds the slow but steady scientific bureaucratization of forest management. William Robbins of Oregon State University praises the Forest Service which sought to stabilize local communities with its sustained-yield-unit program. David Clary, former chief historian of the Forest Service, elucidates Robbins' essay by explaining that although the Forest Service established the sustained-yield-unit program of the 1940s and the 1950s with good intentions, the program ultimately failed due to corporate resistance and citizen anti-government sentiment. Dennis Roth, another Department of Agriculture employee, commends the Forest Service for its role in the passage of the 1964 Wilderness Act.

The theme of Forest Service performance continues into Nancy Langston's epilogue. Langston, editor of *Forest Dreams, Forest Nightmares* (1995), portrays the agency as being caught in the middle between environmentalists and timber interests. She claims that the Forest Service possesses beneficial ideas but needs to go beyond timber management to forest health.

This book best serves as a reader for those interested in the history of forest issues. Future editions would benefit from more recent essays and the inclusion of essays from affiliates of the timber industry to balance the arguments. Also, a timeline or chronology of major forest-related developments would prove most helpful. Nonetheless, this books adds well to the Department of Western Resources Series.

**Ken Zontek**
**University of Idaho**

**Frontier Soldier: An Enlisted Man's Journal of the Sioux and Nez Perce Campaigns, 1877.** Edited by Jerome A. Greene. Helena: Montana Historical Society, 1998. *181 pp. Illus., maps, index. Cloth, $32; paper, $15.95.*

Campaigning on the western frontier during the Indian Wars of the 1870s, from the common soldier's viewpoint, was an amalgamation of drudgery, boredom, and hardship punctuated by sporadic and sometimes sustained fighting. The written record about those campaigns is largely the work of officers who were generally the only participants able to write lucid accounts but who ignored the commong soldier's experiences and feelings, except for occasional acts of bravery. Most enlisted personnel left no written memorabilia reflecting their experiences, hardships and fears. Filling this void is *Frontier Soldier*, the journal of Second Cavalryman William F. Zimmer about his observations and experiences during the Sioux and Nez Perce Campaigns of 1877.

Zimmer, a German immigrant, probably had very little formal education, but his account is very readable. His entries provide an insightful look from an enlisted man's perspective about life in the field during an arduous eight month campaign, including detailed descriptions of the Lame Deer fight and the battle of Bear's Paw Mountains which ended the Nez Perce War. Regrettably Zimmer omits any reference to his participation, experiences, feelings or fears in those engagements which would have enhanced the historical value of the journal.

His daily recitals of setting up and taking down camps and the availability and suitability of water, wood, and grass tend to become as tedious to the reader as they probably were to the soldier in the field. The monotony is relieved by descriptions of the topography and flora and fauna along the campaign trail. One cannot help but wonder how Zimmer acquired a detailed knowledge about plant and animal life in Montana.

Life and death of the soldier was dependent on the well-being of his horse and mule. Zimmer's diary belies the modern notion that the American cavalryman took better care of his horse than he did of himself. Officers seemed to give little thought to the suitability of the next day's route of march or campsite, for entry after entry reports little or no grass or bad water. At one point, forage and supplies were so low that the troops were advised to be ready to eat horsemeat if supplies did not arrive in two days. Zimmer tersely remarked that after supplies had arrived, worn out horses and mules were

abandoned to their fate on the prairie. While Zimmer reports bringing back his horse in good condition, he observed that many other soldiers wore out three or four animals, and probably only 50 percent of the horses returned to the fort at the end of the campaign.

Hollywood's romantic notions about the American cavalryman on the western frontier are somewhat tarnished by Zimmer's anecdotes of reality. Some troopers were unceremoniously dumped by their horses into icy waters of the Yellowstone River. Others were thrown, not shot, from their saddles during the charge on Muddy Creek. Pay day invariably produced drunken brawls and shootings.

National Park historian Jerome A. Greene edited and annotated the journals, correcting Zimmer's poor spelling, and in some instances inserting or correcting punctuation for the sake of clarity. The syntax, vocabulary, and choice of subject matter remain as originally written by Zimmer. In addition, Greene's notes are thorough and informative, with succinct biographical material about officers and enlisted alike and historical explanations of Zimmer's oblique references to earlier skirmishes at various sites and his details about steamboats ferrying soldiers on and across the Montana rivers.

*Frontier Soldier* is a valuable addition to the available materials about the Great Sioux War and the end of the Nez Perce conflict. It is too bad that Zimmer did not write more about his military experiences. If other writings are ever found, I hope that Jerome Greene will edit and annotate those as well.

**V. Rodney Hallberg**
**Cheyenne, Wyoming**

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**Massacre at Cheyenne Hole: Lieutenant Austin Henely and the Sappa Creek Controversy**. By John H. Monnett. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1999. *Illus., map, bib., index. Cloth, $22.50.*

This book concerns one of those minor albeit bloody engagements of the Indian Wars that occurred in western Kansas in April 1875 when a small detachment of the 6th U.S. Cavalry tracked and ultimately attacked a band of Southern Cheyennes camped on Sappa Creek, a tributary of the Republican River. The Cheyennes had recently left Indian Territory after an uprising at the Darlington Agency and were fleeing north in an attempt to find shelter among the Northern Cheyennes. Most of the Indian participants, including women and children, were killed when the warriors apparently chose to fight rather than surrender to soldiers. The village was then burned. Lieutenant Austin Henely, the officer in command, admitted the inadvertent deaths of non-combatants in his report. The encounter was quickly forgotten and remained so until the early years of the 1900s when massacre allegations first surfaced and were subsequently sparked into raging controversy amid the surge of revisionism that overwhelmed American historical scholarship and western history, in particular, during the 1960s and beyond.

In this meticulously researched work the author's goal is to arrive at a balanced judgement of the events of that day and to do so by sifting through and evaluating all known primary and secondary sources. The book is logically divided into two parts. The first part deals with the background of the clash of cultures on the Great Plains in the years preceding the battle plus the circumstances and details of the battle itself. The second part examines the Sappa Creek sources and the controversy and provides the author's interpretation and conclusion.

Monnett's effort is indeed hard to fault. This is a slim volume of fewer than 150 pages, but is complete as it stands. It is rewarding to find an author who does not equate verbosity and redundancy with conciseness and clarity in scholarly writing. It is particularly refreshing to find one who openly deplores the moralizing selective sourcing agenda based research and political correctness which forms so much of the pejorative, revisionist scholarship predominant in western history in recent years.

In the second section, the author makes a convincing case that the Sappa Creek controversy that persists today is based upon flawed or inconclusive evidence at best. Indeed, for decades after the battle the details as described in the book were not contested by either side. The exceedingly sparse primary source material is scrutinized as is each pertinent secondary source including those from the Indian side. Few secondary materials stand up under this careful examination. Two flagrant examples suffice for this review. Monnett shows that many of the assertions about the Sappa Creek incident and much of the gruesome evidence cited by Mari Sandoz in her influential, revisionist book *Cheyenne Autumn* appears based upon flawed sources plus her own imagination and embellishment. Gene West writing for *Real West* in 1963 simply invents dialogue to profile Lt. Henely as a psychotic killer. Previous efforts by historians such as G. Derek West to demonstrate the lack of proof for the massacre assertion have proven futile. In summary, the author convincingly argues that the actual events at Sappa Creek will always remain a mystery because no original evidence exists

to show that a deliberate massacre occurred. Sadly, modern Cheyennes have fully accepted the flawed accounts and have woven them into their tribal history, but the author does take pains to explain the Indian views of the cultural conflict and concedes that the two sides will probably never agree.

Monnett's work merits full marks and is a welcome example of unbiased research. Graduate student and young scholars would do well to use this book as a guide when analyzing source credibility. This book clearly belongs in academic libraries.

**J.B. Neal**
**Fort Collins**

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**Holding Stone Hands: On the Trail of the Cheyenne Exodus.** By Alan Boye. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. *xiv + 347 pp. Cloth, $29.95.*

On September 9, 1878, an hegira of unimaginable suffering began as nearly 300 Northern Cheyenne led by Dull Knife and Little Wolf slipped the shackles of Army control and fled from Fort Reno, Indian Territory to their homeland in Montana. They had landed in Indian Territory as a result of the Army's mopping up following Lieutenant Colonel George Custer's defeat two summers earlier. In this foreign barren plain, hunger and disease plagued the Cheyenne who cast a nostalgic eye to the north where, said Little Wolf, they "were always healthy" (p. 26). Pleas from the Cheyenne to return north, garnished with promises of peace, fell lifeless at the feet of government officials struggling with an ill-advised policy to consolidate all Indians, of every hue and stripe, into Indian Territory. On the evening of September 9, despairing and desparate, the Northern Cheyenne slipped into the darkness as unsuspecting Army guards watched over empty tepees and flickering, unattended fires.

Over the next six weeks embarrassed soldiers pursued the Cheyenne across Kansas and Nebraska. The group split in two: one band led by Little Wolf, the other by Dull Knife. Eventually, Dull Knife's group surrendered to imprisonment at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. Told they would be returned to Indian Territory, they broke out of their barracks prison in January 1879 only to be hunted down and killed or recaptured. Meanwhile, Little Wolf's group evaded capture and surrendered peacefully at Fort Keogh, Montana in April 1879. The nation's outrage over the treatment of Dull Knife's people and the admiration engendered by the success of Little Wolf's band won for the Northern Cheyenne a reservation in the Montana homeland, where Dull Knife died in 1883.

In 1995 Alan Boye, a professor of English, climbed out of his brother's car parked on the roadside in central Oklahoma, strapped on a backpack, and began a pedestrian journey taking him over the route of Dull Knife's Cheyenne exodus. Usually traveling alone but frequently joined by Cheyenne descendants, Boye experienced an odyssey of personal discovery. In *Holding Stone Hands* he recounts his experiences interwoven with the history of the Cheyenne flight. The result is a wonderfully sculpted story of today and yesterday, of the of the timeless human capacity to survive through dogged determination, to suffer loss without loss of will, and to forgive but not forget the unforgivable.

On Boye's canvas time evaporates. The pursing soldier, the beleaguered Cheyenne, the Nebraska farmer, Boye, and his traveling companions all stand together on the wind-swept plains. The place, the people, the events are all connected -- the when is irrelevant. Time doesn't heal all. The pain of then is felt now.

The inseparability of then with now is captured in the title. One day one of Boye's Cheyenne companions found a stone that he picked up and walked with the rest of the day. He said it felt like he was holding a small child's hand, and he remembered the many small children's hands held by the Cheyenne adults during the exodus. "So today," he told Boye, "I was holding one of those child's hands too" (p. 248). You will believe he was.

Readers will find some faults with this book. Historians like indexes and there isn't one. Crazy Horse was stabbed to death, not shot (p. 295). I abhor the word "squaw," but Boye uses it (see pp. 278, 289, and 291, for examples). Any reprints of this volume should have that word exorcised. However, such failings do not detract from the overall story. For anyone with an affinity for Native Americans, their history and culture, the Great Plains, and journeys of self-discovery, this book is a page-turner.

**Larry C. Skogen**
**Cheyenne, Wyoming**

**Errata:**
An error was made in typesetting the author's name of a book reviewed in the last issue. The book, **Take Two and Hit to Right: Golden Days on the Semi-Pro Diamond**, was written by Hobe Hays.
A credit line was omitted from the map appearing on page 29. The map was courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

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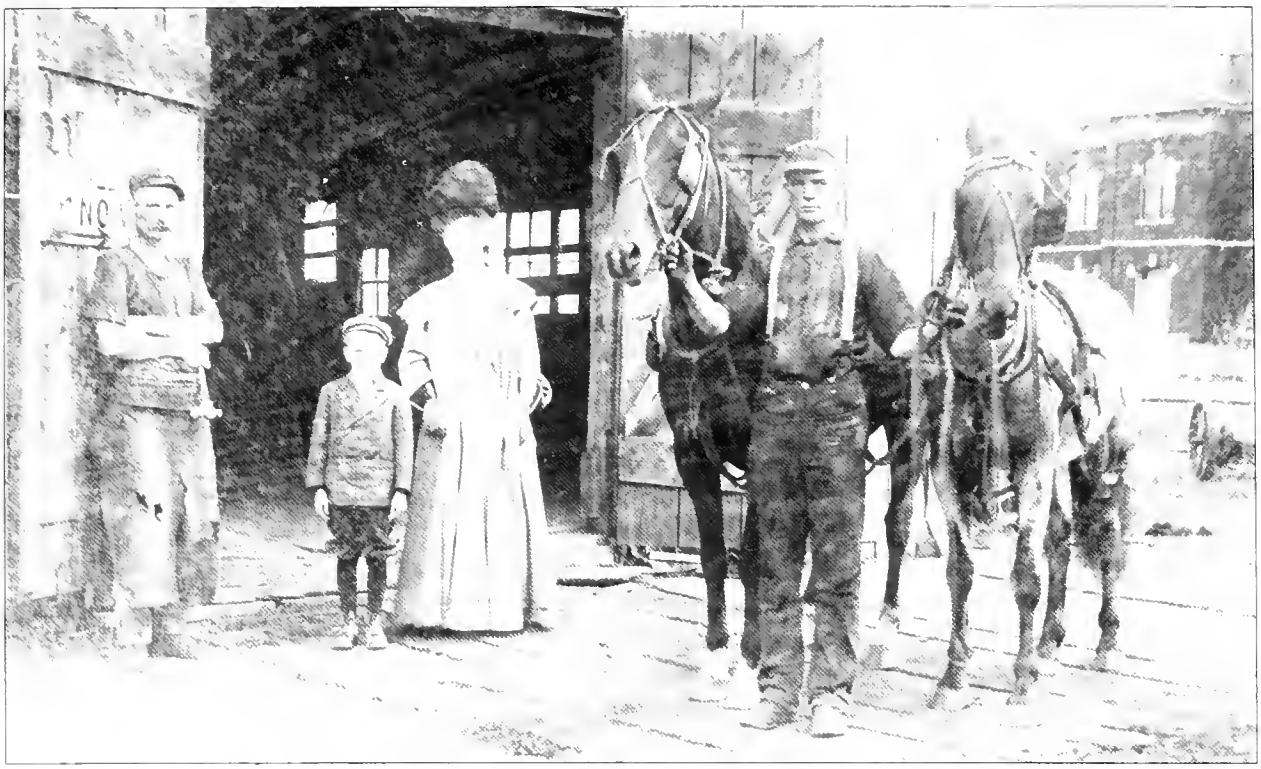

*Resting the horses at a livery stable in Sundance. The old Crook County Courthouse is shown in the right background. Pictured are: Ed Laffer, an unknown person, Kate Hawkin, and Lester Mauch.*

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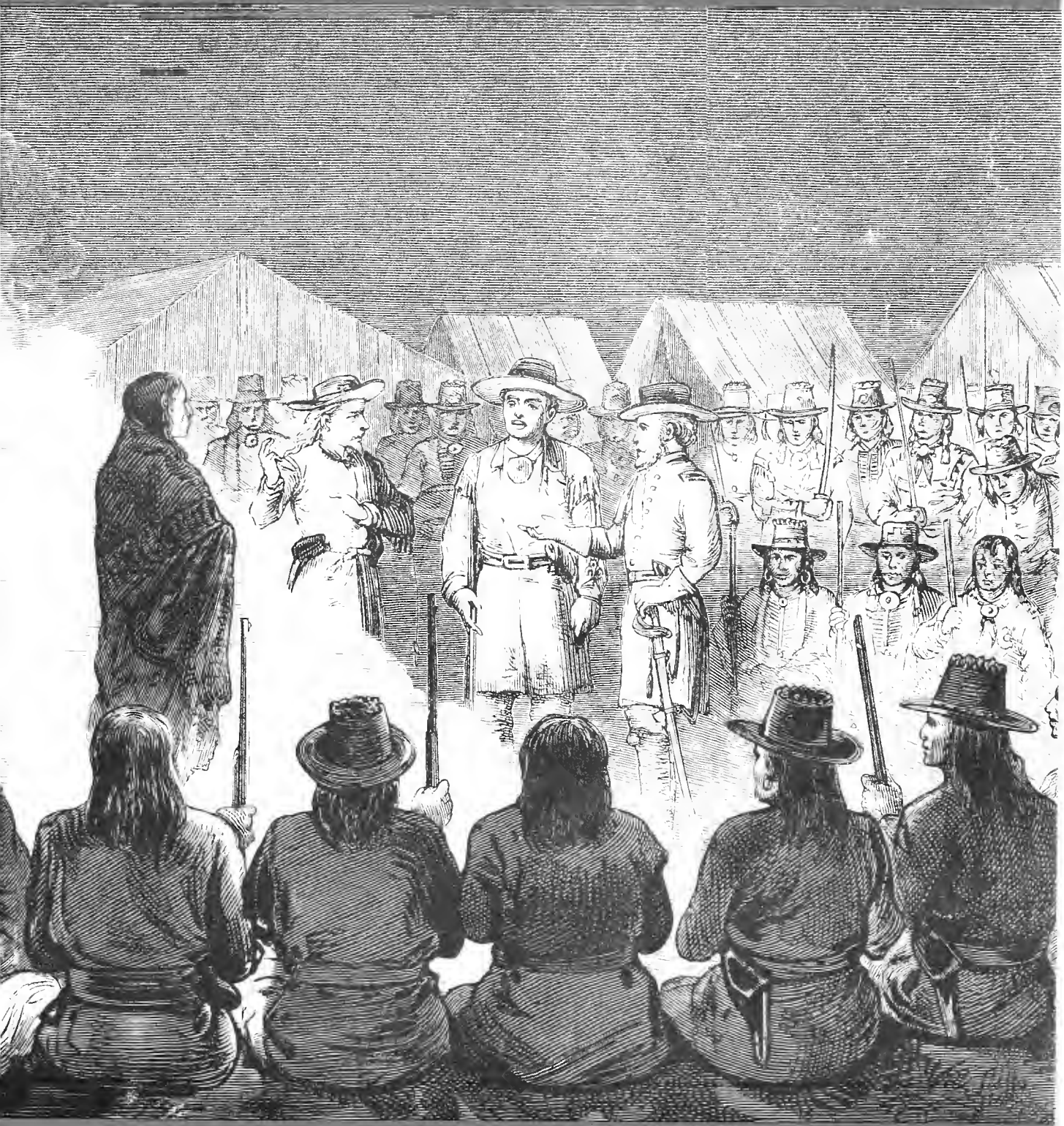
# Annals of WYOMING

ring 2000 The Wyoming History Journal Vol. 72, No. 1



# On the Cover

## *"The Grand Council Held at Crook's Headquarters on Goose Creek, June 15, 1876"*

*The engraving on the cover appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper on Sept. 2, 1876. The drawing accompanied a long story, written by "our correspondent in Wyoming territory," about General George Crook's Rosebud campaign.*

The editor of *Annals of Wyoming* welcomes manuscripts and photographs on every aspect of the history of Wyoming and the West. Appropriate for submission are unpublished, research-based articles which provide new information or which offer new interpretations of historical events. First-person accounts based on personal experience or recollections of events will be considered for use in the "Wyoming Memories" section. Historic photo essays for possible publication in "Wyoming Memories" also are welcome. Articles are reviewed and refereed by members of the journal's Editorial Advisory Board and others. Decisions regarding publication are made by the editor. Manuscripts (along with suggestions for illustrations or photographs) should be submitted on computer diskettes in a format created by one of the widely-used word processing programs along with two printed copies. Submissions and queries should be addressed to Editor, *Annals of Wyoming*, P. O. Box 4256, University Station, Laramie WY 82071.

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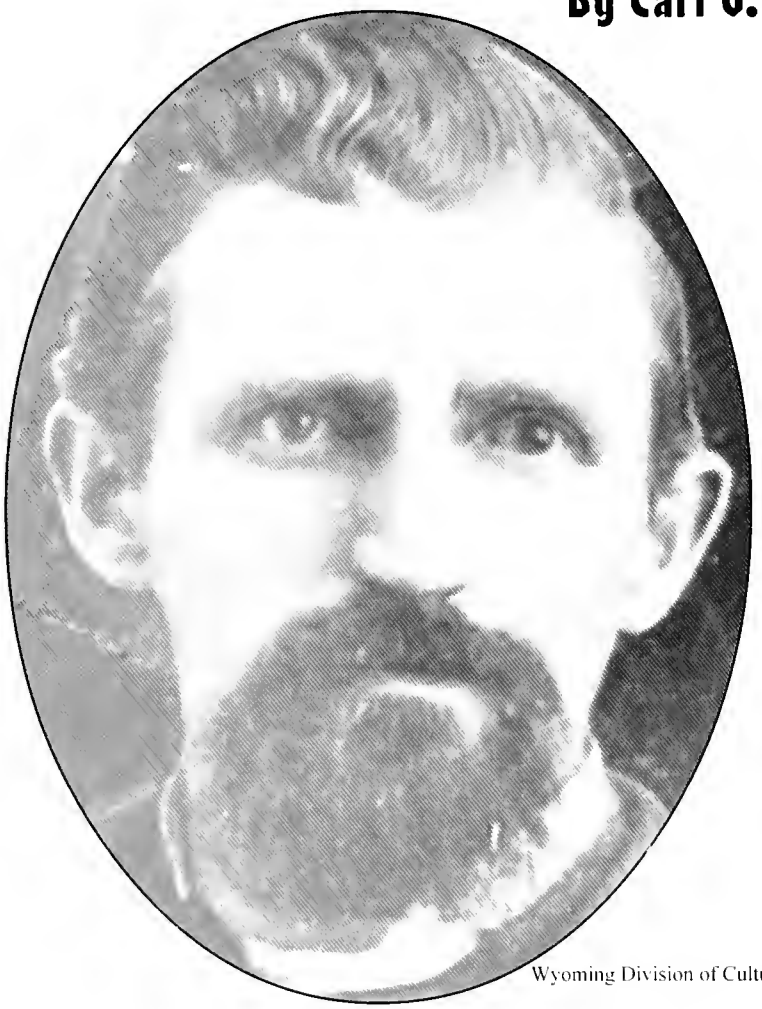
# Finding His Niche: F.W. Ott, A German Publisher

**By Carl U. Hallberg**



Wyoming Division of Cultural Resources

*Frederick Wilhelm Ott, 1886*

From the time he moved to Columbus, Nebraska until his death in Laramie, Wyoming, Frederick Wilhelm Ott, a German immigrant, balanced his life between his German heritage and the cultural landscape of his adopted communities.

In general his life was similar to that of his fellow countrymen. He usually settled among other Germans in order to adapt to his new surroundings. In business he was industrious and bent on becoming successful. But Ott was far from being a typical immigrant. He desired not merely to be a resident but become a leading citizen and ideally a guiding force withn a community, mainly as a newspaper publisher. Ambitious by nature, he was invariably optimistic about his journalistic endeavors and his future role in society.

Only two pictures of this aspiring individual exist. They show a handsome man with penetrating eyes framed by thick, dark hair and a goatee. His portraits were obviously staged, but they captured the look of a self-assured, intelligent man. Yet, there was much more to him than the camera could see. Various personality traits churned underneath his dignified facade, making him a complex, sometimes difficult person to understand. For the most part, he was outgoing, amicable, and determined, but he could be devious, unscrupulous, and very temperamental.

For the historian, Ott is an enigmatic figure. He left no personal papers and copies of many of his newspapers do not exist. Local histories have either ignored him or treated him as a curious footnote. Facts about Ott's early life have also fallen into obscurity. His obituary has been anything but helpful. It appeared in the *Laramie Boomerang*, *Laramie Republican*, and the *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, and only minor editorial changes differentiate one text from the other.[1] Waldemar or Wally Ott, Ott's only son, who had some journalistic experience and who knew his father very well, probably authored the initial piece. The problem is that some statements are more fanciful than factual. Impressive references to graduating from Heidelberg University, fighting in the Franco-Prussian War, and being a principal in Columbus, Nebraska, can not be confirmed or are embellished or erroneous. Even his place of birth is disputable. He was born in 1855, but various public records do not agree as to whether he was born in New York or Germany. This inconsistency was perhaps the result of Ott's efforts to shape how others would see him. It is also possible that Ott was a product of dual migration - immigrating to the United States, returning to Germany, and then returning back to the United States. Whatever the case, references to Germany outnumber those to New York. He was naturalized in Laramie, Wyoming, on March 20, 1889.[2]

The earliest account about Ott dates from the early 1870s when he lived in Nebraska. He claimed to have worked for several years in Omaha in the land office of the Union Pacific Railroad.[3] What kind of life he lived cannot be determined with certainty. Not until November 1876 when he moved to Columbus, Nebraska, did Ott first emerge in the public light. Located 84 miles west of Omaha, Columbus was settled in 1856 by German and Swiss immigrants. By 1876, it was the county seat of Platte County, had a population of nearly 1900 people, and was emerging as a center of agriculture and light industry. Germans played significant roles in the city's social, political, and economic life, so much so that the *Columbus Era* reported "A knowledge of the German language is not only necessary to a successful business in this western country but is also of the greatest advantage in our social circles."[4]

Ott arrived in Columbus as the new director and sole instructor of a private German school. How the German community learned about him and what discussions ensued are unknown. Apparently, he sold himself very well, for he was often referred to in the local newspaper as "professor." The *Columbus Journal* affirmed the selection of Ott. Ott was "undoubtedly a good German scholar, and being an agreeable gentlemen," the *Journal* reported, "those who attend his classes may expect not only pleasure but profit."[5] The *Columbus Era* echoed this assessment and described him as "one of the most successful teachers of this language that this country offers."[6] Whatever his background, Ott had overwhelming public approval. Throughout the rest of his life, he tried to maintain a scholarly reputation and would usually be known as "Professor Ott."

The German school opened for business on November 20, 1876. Given the publicity, community support, and Ott's impeccable credentials, the school's future seemed assured. However, it could not be his only means of financial support, and Ott undertook various jobs to augment his income. He briefly taught classes in telegraphy and bookkeeping. Later he briefly tried his hand at selling real estate. He then opened a general store, which proved to be his main source of bread

[1] *Laramie Republican*, July 6, 1909; *Laramie Boomerang*, July 6, 1909; *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, August 10, 1909.

[2] *Daily Boomerang*, March 21, 1889; U.S District Court Journal, Vol. 2 [?], 269, Albany County District Court.

[3] Letter from F.W. Ott to Governor William A. Richards, April 9, 1895, Appointments, Governor William A. Richards Records, Wyoming State Archives. Hereafter, Wyoming State Archives will be referred to as WSA.

[4] *Columbus Era*, November 18, 1876.

[5] *Columbus Journal*, November 15, 1876.

[6] *Columbus Era*, November 18, 1876.

and butter. Among his specialty items were accordions and German books and periodicals.[7]

In social circles, Ott managed very well. His outgoing personality served him well and won him many friends. At some point in the parade of events, he met and fell in love with Erdmuthe Schroeder, the daughter of Charles Schroeder, a prominent businessman and community leader. On August 16, 1877, Ott and Erdmuthe were married.[8] To this marriage would be born three children, one boy and two girls.

Within a month after arriving in Columbus, Ott decided to exert his newfound popularity in a most extraordinary way. German cultural life was very prevalent in private and social circles, but it could be so much more, or so Ott thought. In December 1876, Ott announced that he would publish a German newspaper. Such a bold step suggests that he had some past experience in journalism. The *Columbus Journal* expected to see an issue in February 1877 but instead found itself waiting for one byline of print.[9] While the *Journal* initially encouraged Ott, it soon doubted the future of Ott's enterprise. It was already in competition with three other newspapers and wondered whether the community could support a fifth one. "If this enterprise succeeds," the *Journal* commented, "...Columbus will be renowned for its support of newspapers."[10] But Ott saw the situation from a different and unique perspective. Technically, he would not be in direct competition with the English papers, and his energies would be targeted toward Germans only. More important, he felt that there was an untapped cultural market that only he could fill. If his paper succeeded, it would become a barometer of German culture in Eastern Nebraska, and Columbus would no longer stand in the shadows of Omaha or Lincoln.

Ott's timetable proved to be very premature, for the *German Advertiser* did not debut until two years later, in December 1878. Ott expected to publish his paper on an occasional basis.[11] Yet, for all the planning and waiting, the life of the *Advertiser* consisted of just one issue. Several references have asserted that another German newspaper, the *Columbus Wochenblatt*, was already in publication. This idea is problematic. No one is quite certain when or if the *Wochenblatt* was published. There are no public statements about its existence in the English language newspapers at the

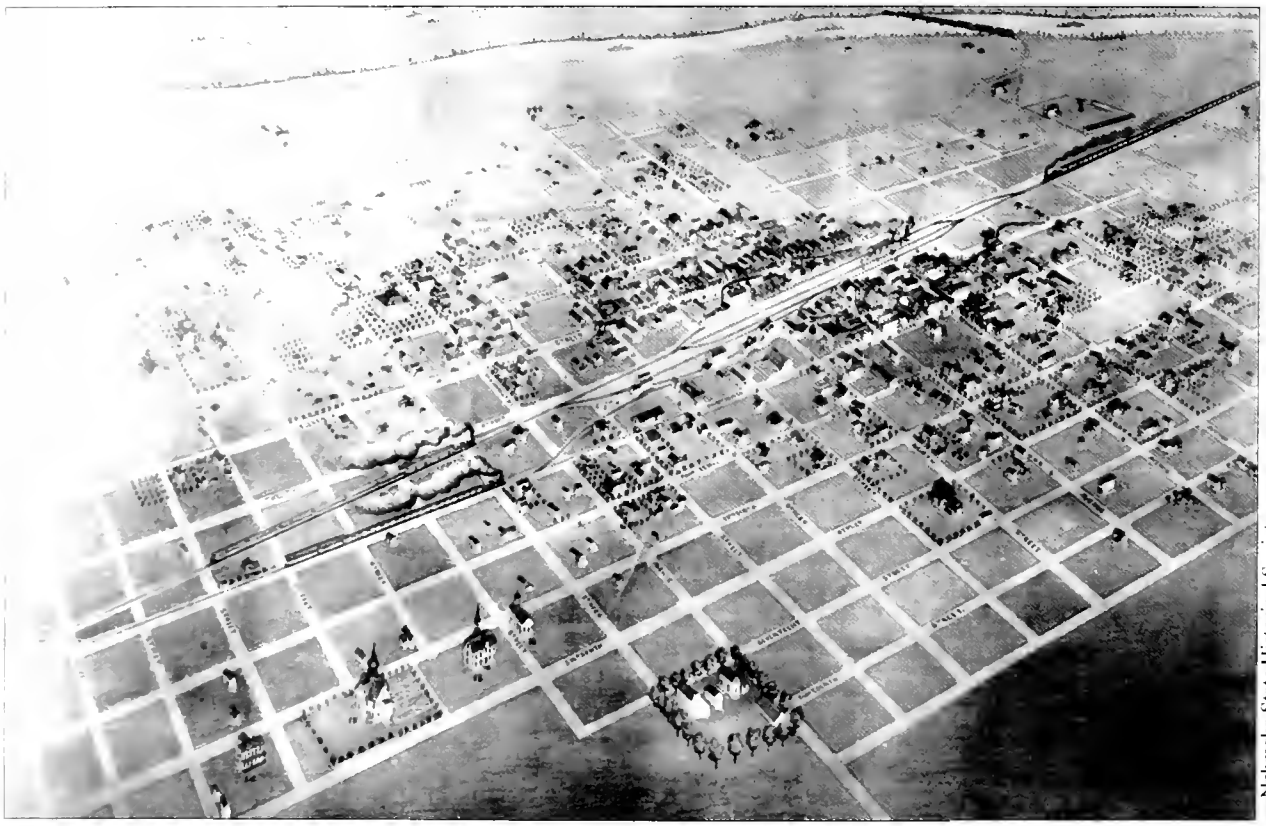
[7] *Columbus Era*, May 19, 1877; *Columbus Journal*, November 21, 1877

[8] Platte County Marriage Book, Vol. 1-B, 282.

[9] *Columbus Journal*, December 20, 1876.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, December 18, 1878.



Nebraska State Historical Society

*Birdseye view of Columbus, Nebraska, c. 1880*

time Ott was in Columbus. The appearance of two German newspapers at the same time is also very unlikely, since Ott would not have gone out of his way to be a competitor. Two rival papers would have divided rather than united the German community.

If there was an explanation for the short life of the *Advertiser*, it undoubtedly lay with Ott. He may not have had the financial backing necessary to operate it. He may have inflated the sense of demand for the paper in order to justify what he wanted. He may have also been too optimistic that his paper would become a voice of German life in Columbus, Platte County and Northeastern Nebraska when German newspapers published elsewhere filled that need.

After the first printing Ott lost any zeal he had in managing the paper, because he had found more promising opportunities in Colorado. Glowing reports flowed from the mining camps, where discoveries of silver had resulted in a mining boom. So appealing to Ott was the prospect of quick riches that greed quickly replaced ethnic pride as a motivating work force. Convinced that his fortune lay westward, Ott announced in January 1879 that he was moving to Denver. He had nothing to lose. The German School, which had long since disappeared from the pages of the local newspapers, was either dead or a minor sidebar of German life. His store was going well, but it was hardly a means for attaining status in the community. To Ott, Colorado was where he could make a name for himself.

After a brief stay in Denver, Ott moved to Leadville, Colorado. Silver mining had begun in Leadville in 1876 and would continue strong for the next few years. By the time Ott arrived, the city was in its glory. It had the air of a modern, cosmopolitan city and boasted a population of more than 14,000 people from various backgrounds and nationalities. Local newspapers reported in sensational detail how residents profited from the area's mineral wealth and enjoyed a wide variety of cultural amenities. Ongoing and new mining operations and promising prospects for the future were topics of popular conversation, but some people were also discussing new ideas of silver politics, worker's rights, and socialism.

Ott hoped to reap his share of riches (his occupation in the 1880 census is stated as a prospector) but his attention was soon directed to Leadville's German population. The *Leadville Democrat* estimated that the German population numbered 5000 people and would soon double.[12] This statement was a gross exaggeration, even if it included other Germanic peoples, but it reflected the visibility of Germans on the social landscape.[13] Leadville's German population did rank second in the state behind Denver. German-owned businesses, subscribers to Denver's German newspapers, and German organizations, including a republican club, two turnvereins, and a *Mannerchor* (men's choir), signaled that German culture was alive and well in Leadville.[14] As in Columbus, Ott made himself well known in social circles and was a founding member and elected treasurer of the Carbonate Lodge IOOF.[15] He may have been acquainted with a young German businessman, future Colorado millionaire and philanthropist, Charles Boetcher.[16]

At the time Leadville's German population was well known to readers of Denver's German press, which graciously gave it some publicity and prestige second, of course, to Denver. As in Columbus, Ott thought that through a newspaper, he could guide the cultural life of the German community. Premiering in February, 1880, his new paper was aptly titled *Leadville Deutsche Zeitung* (*Leadville German Newspaper*). Denver's *Colorado Post*, a German weekly, was privileged to receive a first issue and wished the *Zeitung* luck.[17]

Because German cultural life in Leadville was markedly different from that in Columbus, Ott sensed that his success in the publishing field was assured. Indeed, he seemed to be at the right place, at the right time. Though no issues of Ott's paper have survived today, it is very likely that the *Zeitung* became a vehicle for galvanizing and promoting German culture. Jealous of its new competitor, the *Leadville Democrat* hired a German reporter of its own. The *Colorado Post* sarcastically wondered if the *Democrat* was lifting news form the columns of the *Zeitung*.[18] As further evidence of the *Zeitung*'s good fortune, Leadville's German citizens successfully petitioned the city to publish city ordinances in the *Zeitung* for their benefit.[19] Ott

[12] *Daily Democrat*, January 17, 1880; *Colorado Post*, January 21, 1880.

[13] According to the 1880 census, the foreign-born population numbered 3918 people in Leadville and 7088 people in Lake County. (US Department of Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 447, 499.

[14] For example, see *Leadville Democrat*, February 1, 1880, and February 28, 1880; *Colorado Post*, January 10, 1880.

[15] *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado* (Chicago: O.L. Basken & Company, 1881), 274.

[16] The Boetcher Collection at the Colorado Historical Society contains information about Boetcher's life after Leadville.

[17] *Colorado Post*, February 11, 1880.

[18] *Colorado Post*, March 6, 1880.

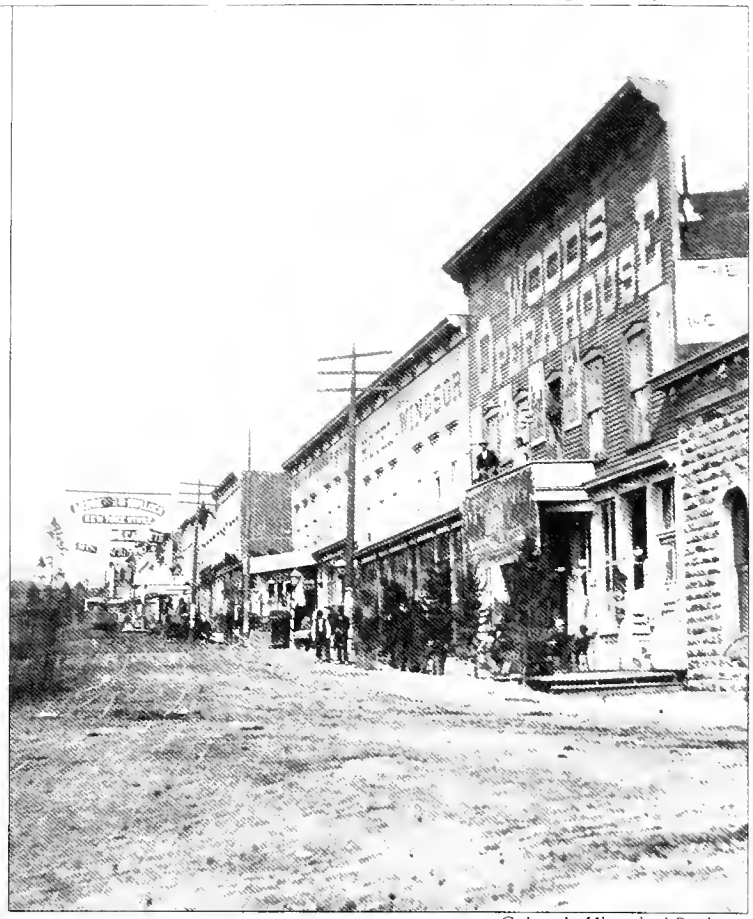
managed the paper until November, 1880, when he sold it to two local men, probably his employees.[20]

Ott's brief tenure seems surprising at first. The paper had good readership base that supported a staff of six people. Ott had managed the paper through good times and weathered it out through bad times. Near the end of 1880, Leadville was thriving, and emigrants were still flocking to the area. According to city directories, the *Zeitung* continued to exist first as a newspaper then as a general printing business until 1882. In 1881, a promotional publication, pretentiously titled *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado*, noted that the *Zeitung*, like some other, short-lived newspapers, had "successfully dropped out of sight."[21] The book was blunt in its assessment and failed to take into account the cultural significance of the *Zeitung*.

The reason Ott sold his paper for was the one that had brought him to Leadville - greed. The silver boom had brought prosperity to Colorado. Wealth was visible all around him, but more so in Denver, where real estate and business were skyrocketing. Here Ott moved his wife and newborn son, and for the next two years he was engaged in real estate. Denver offered attractive opportunity both socially and economically. More importantly, Denver's German community was numerically larger and socially and politically more significant. Ott probably toyed with the prospect of getting his foot into the social scene here as he had done in Columbus and Leadville. If nothing else, Ott did establish business and social contacts that would last throughout the rest of his life.

From 1883 to 1885, Ott's movements are a mystery. Eventually the family moved back to Columbus where Erdmuthe returned to the general store. Despite familiar surroundings and family support, times were hard, and the business barely managed to keep afloat. By the latter part of 1884, she was in financial trouble and was unable to satisfy claims of her creditors, then amounting to more than $2000. After three months of legal fighting she was forced to sell out.[22]

Ott may have reluctantly returned to Columbus with his family. If so, he likely faced personal embarrassment for a far-off gamble. Although he had a good relationship with his well-to-do in-laws, he would have resumed living in their shadows and soon would have realized that his social and financial prospects in Columbus were limited. In late 1885 or early 1886, Ott moved to Wyoming.




Leadville, Colorado, c. 1880. Colorado Historical Society

Ott settled in Cheyenne where he taught foreign languages in the public schools.[23] Due to the paucity of records, it is not known how he sold himself to the school district, but apparently, as in Columbus, he did so very well. In addition, he quickly became acquainted with Cheyenne's Germans and became a familiar fixture at their social activities. He was a member of the Cheyenne *Mannerchor* and was probably an active member of the Turnverein.

In February 1886, Ott took fate into his own hands and organized a juvenile band. It quickly received rave

[19] Leadville City Minutes, August 17, 1880, Vol. 2, 10.

[20] Bill of Sale, Lake County Transfer Record, Vol. 51, 448-449.

[21] *History of the Arkansas Valley*, 256.

[22] Platte County district court civil case file 929, C.S. Goodrich & Company vs. E.W. Ott; Platte County district court civil case file 945, E.W. Ott vs. Augustus Lockner, Assignee; Assignment, E.W. Ott to Daniel Kavanaugh, sheriff, Miscellaneous Record, Book C, 165-166.

[23] *Directory of Laramie and Albany Counties...* (New York: U.S. Directory Publishing Company of California, ca. 1886), 96, 126.

reviews from the public and the press. Then a strange event occurred. Near the end of February, following a concert to raise money so that the band members could pay for their instruments, Ott gathered up some of the instruments and absconded with the concert proceeds. According to the *Cheyenne Sun*, the hero of the day was Stephen Bon, Jr., who spotted Ott at the depot and prevented him from boarding the Denver train. In its account, the *Sun* inferred that Ott had committed a crime, but Ott was never arrested. In truth, Bon merely attached, in the legal sense, Ott's baggage, because Ott owed him money. Seeing that Ott was about to leave the territory, Bon had him detained and brought before the justice of the peace. Justice was meted out swiftly in Bon's favor. What then transpired is vague. According to the *Sun*, Ott, seeing his predicament, worked out some kind of deal and then departed from the city.[24]

The matter of the band money, however, was never resolved. While Bon got what he wanted, the band did not retrieve its money or pledge list. Band members asked Ott to explain his actions and reveal how much money was taken at issue. He gave no explanations for his eccentric behavior. He confessed not to taking any money but to losing the pledge list from the concert. His reply brought little consolation to his accusers. There was only one thing they could do. They fired him and named another musical instructor in his place.[25]

The juvenile band episode tarnished Ott's credibility in Cheyenne. The *Sun* called him a "pseudo teacher of languages" and "check rustler" who had withheld money from band members and "left a number of unsettled accounts behind him."[26] Equally critical, the *Democrat Leader* reported that with Ott's departure "some of our citizens mourn a few dollars worth."[27]

Not long after he left Cheyenne, Ott surfaced in Rawlins and later, Laramie, where he worked on plans for financing and publishing a Wyoming newspaper, *Wyoming and Its Future*. With some minor exceptions, he would make Laramie his home for the rest of his life and would set his sights on becoming a strong journalistic voice in the locality and territory.


In June 1886 the first issue of *Wyoming and Its Future* appeared. A four-paged paper published weekly, it promoted the commercial and natural resources of the territory and was intended to become the barometer of development and progress. The articles were naturally optimistic in tone, informative, descriptive, well written, and sometimes sensational. Ott hoped his paper would be widely read and supported. If it became successful, it might become the leading voice for promoting and marketing the territory. If nothing else, it would catch the eyes of prominent government and businessmen who would guide him in other directions.

[24] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, February 11, 1886; February 20, 1886; February 26, 1886; March 4, 1886. S. Bon v. Prof. F.W. Ott, civil case 208, Cheyenne Justice of the Peace civil docket, v. 2, 216, WSA; *Democratic Leader*, February 27, 1886.

[25] *Democratic Leader*, February 26, 1886.

[26] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, March 4, 1886.

[27] *Democratic Leader*, March 5, 1886.

ognized Ott as an experienced journalist and saw an ambitious man bent on establishing a leading paper. Laramie's *Daily Boomerang* soon observed that Ott was "making a host of warm friends wherever he and his paper go."[28] Not so impressed with the first issue was the *Carbon County Journal*. It saw the new paper as "a rehash of Cheyenne's *Tribune*." In the *Journal*'s eyes, advertisers "would receive more on their investment" with the *Tribune* than with *Wyoming and Its Future*.[29] Many people thought otherwise. Eventually, the paper's circulation peaked at about 850 readers.[30] Four months after the paper's debut, Ott's family left Columbus and moved to Laramie.[31]

Fortune soon proved fickle, and Ott faced a difficult time in selling *Wyoming and Its Future*. By October, the *Boomerang* viewed Ott's paper as "dead weight" and its irregular publication and dubious future were the consequences of Ott's temperamental character, which expressed itself in a combination of English and German. In line with journalistic standards of the time, the *Boomerang* had no qualms about poking fun at Ott. It laughed at how Ott's ranting were "the instrument the professor uses in beating people and breaking up the English language" and how Ott's "mouth contains all of his brains." The *Boomerang* suggested instead of faulting Laramie for not supporting him that he ought to work on "the charitable subscription Professor Ott calls a paper."[32] And that he did. By February 1887, Ott had his "second wind" and through the help of his friends, the paper was back "on a sound basis."[33]

While trying to make himself well known across the territory, Ott sought to secure his situation in Laramie with the publication of a local newspaper, the *Laramie Times*, in 1888. The weekly paper peaked with a readership of less than 1000 subscribers by 1898.[34] With the *Times*, Ott was now in direct competition with the *Boomerang*. From its standpoint, the *Boomerang* had little to fear. It knew how Ott operated and how to play him. Instead of seeing a formidable competitor, the *Boomerang* described the *Times* as merely "a patent inside half sheet."[35]

Managing the *Times* proved difficult. Its circulation remained small, and its financial situation was periodically unstable. In February 1889, for example, Ott temporarily halted its publication because he did not have the money to operate it. To make matters worse, he was indebted to a man named John Quann, whom Ott had no intention of paying. Soon after Quann filed a lawsuit against Ott, two of Ott's employees, George Sheren and Ed Lacy, saw Ott packing his equipment as if he was planning to leave the city. After he had loaded his goods, Ott told them that he was going to town to get their money, probably to pay their wages. He failed to return, and the two men believed that Ott had boarded a westbound train. Ed Kelly, a drayman, also testified that the business looked like it was closed. He knocked several times on the door until Martha, Ott's five-year-old daughter, answered. Though probably told beforehand not to give away her father's actions, she failed to exhibit the mature discretion required of the situation. Instead, she reported that her father could not come to the door because he was sleeping. "Why is he sleeping?" Kelly asked. Martha replied frankly, "Papa has been up all night packing boxes, for we are going away." Ott denied the allegations but failed to convince the court. Having discovered his ruse, the court attached his property for the benefit of Quann.[36] The *Times* would surface again.

At the same time Ott was publishing the *Times*, he tried to redeem himself in Cheyenne for his juvenile band debacle. He traveled frequently to Cheyenne to participate in various activities, reunite with old acquaintances, and cement new contacts. Miffed, the *Boomerang* believed that Ott's civic loyalty leaned in favor of Cheyenne. It caustically concluded that Ott was "evidently willing to do all he can for Cheyenne except move his paper there, and it is a pity he wont [sic] do that."[37]

Not surprisingly, Ott quickly found solace among Laramie's Germans. The *Daily Boomerang* described them as industrious working class sort of men, "men of little means, yet they form a strong and beautiful element in our population."[38] Ott did not share such a humble stance. To him, German industry and work ethic were integral part of his heritage. Speaking in 1907 at the 25th anniversary of the Laramie *Mannerchor*, Ott said that Germans were not merely hard working but progressive-minded.[39] In reality, in Laramie represented

[29] *Carbon County Journal*, May 1, 1886.

[30] *American Newspaper Directory . . . Twentieth Year* (New York: George P. Rowell & Company, 1888), 761; *N.W. Ayers and Sons American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayers & Sons, 1888), 909.

[31] *Daily Boomerang*, October 14, 1886.

[32] *Daily Boomerang*, November 26, 1886; January 27, 1887; February 10, 1887.

[33] *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, February 12, 1887.

[34] *American Newspaper Directory . . . Thirtieth Year* (New York: George P. Rowell & Company, 1898), 1019.

[35] *Daily Boomerang*, February 21, 1889.

[36] John Quann v. F.W. Ott, Laramie Justice of the Peace civil docket, v. 7, 55 and case file, WSA.

[37] *Daily Boomerang*, January 17, 1889.

[38] *Daily Boomerang*, December 8, 1887.


*Laramie Mannerchor* American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

the span of economic classes as they did in Leadville and Columbus. A German Lutheran church and a *Mannerchor* hall, both of which Ott was an active member, were visible signs of German culture in the city. The German populace was also active in political circles. In 1906, Ott ran for Laramie justice of the peace for the Socialist Party, a party dominated in Albany County by Germans.

As he had done elsewhere, Ott eventually turned his publishing eyes to Laramie's German community. Here was a special social market, and like Columbus and Leadville, Ott no doubt believed that with him as publisher, the newspaper would become a standard for perpetuating German culture and molding opinion in Laramie and possibly Wyoming. After acquiring a German press in Denver, he issued a new newspaper, the *Wyoming Staats Zeitung* (*Wyoming State Newspaper*) in October 1890. The *Laramie Weekly Sentinel* claimed that it was "typographically one of the cleanest and neatest gotten up papers in the state."[40] A complementary copy was probably sent to Denver's German press as well.

The *Zeitung*'s did not survive beyond the first issue. Maybe Ott had overestimated the market to sustain his enterprise. German cultural life in Wyoming for the most part was confined to private and religious circles. Also, German immigration to Wyoming had slowed greatly, and most Germans had been acculturated to American society. Economics may also have been a factor. Ott's endeavors were not always established on strong economic foundations, and in this case, he may have stretched his sources thin. In December 1890, Ott once again found himself before the justice court for having an outstanding debt for paper and supplies. The court's decision against Ott resulted in the loss of his property.[41] This incident was but one of many factors that contributed to the *Zeitung*'s abrupt end.

By 1891, Ott cast his eyes about for new opportunities elsewhere. Earlier in July 1890, before the *Zeitung*, he intended to start a newspaper in coal mining town of Carbon.[42] After the *Zeitung* failed to meet its expectations, Ott moved to Carbon and published its first newspaper, the *Carbon Black Diamond*. Here he was unchallenged and had a market all to his own. For the

[39] *Laramie Boomerang*, January 7, 1907.

[40] *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, January 10, 1891.

[41] Carpenter Paper Company vs. F.W. Ott, Laramie Justice of the Peace civil and criminal docket, Vol. 14, 159, WSA.

[42] *Daily Boomerang*, July 31, 1890.

[43] *Ibid*., February 26, 1892.

next year, his paper was very successful. The *Black Diamond* reported fully about the community's social, civic, economic, and political events. Because Ott was no longer a competitor, the *Boomerang*, now saw him in a new light and gave him glowing praises for his entrepreneurial and journalistic skills and for his service to the community. "No one can take hold of such things and make a success of them better than Mr. Ott," applauded the *Boomerang*.[43]

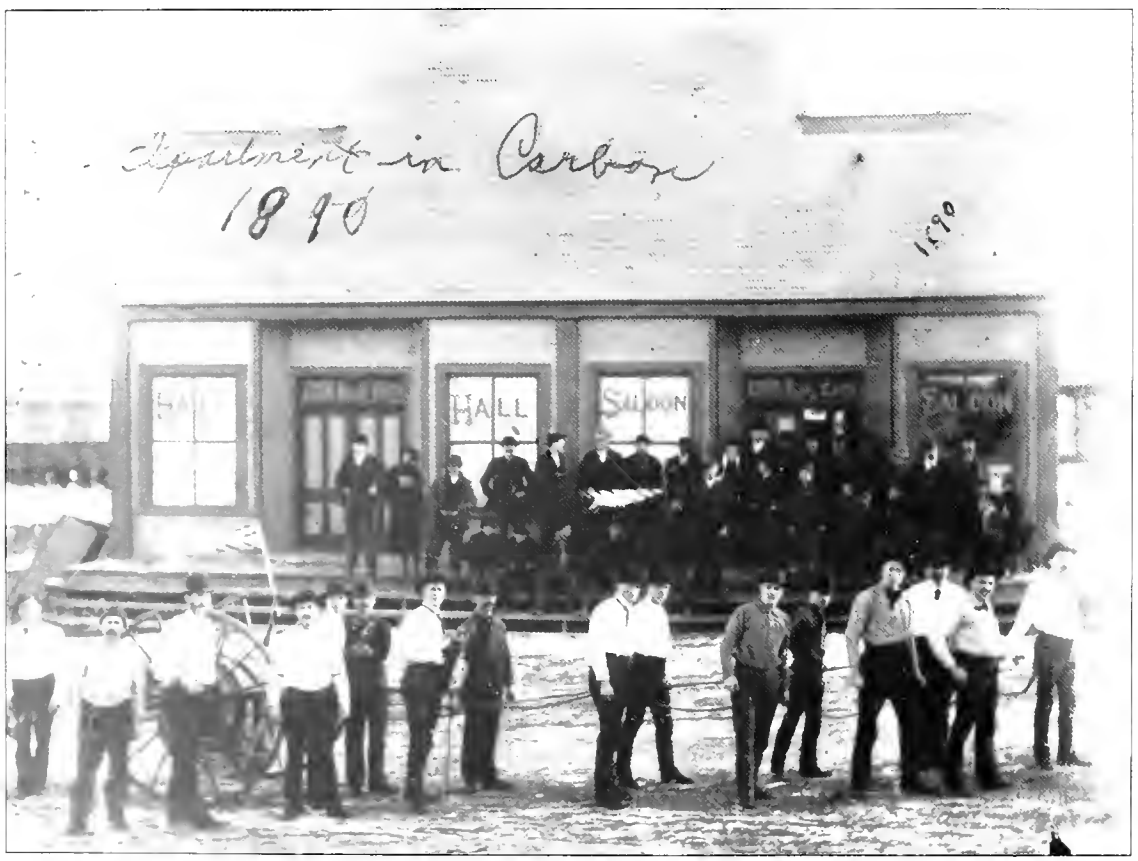
One of Ott's promotional efforts was to have a U. S. commissioner for Carbon who would assist the U. S. Attorney in Cheyenne in adjudicating civil disputes, land claims and criminal actions. Ott not only asked Senator Francis E. Warren for such a person but sought the appointment himself. Warren, E. A. Slack and other Republican men were well aware of Ott's political loyalties and concluded that he was the man for the job. However, for reasons known only to himself, B.F. Fowler, U. S. Attorney for Wyoming, thought differently and denied Ott's appointment.[44]

While Carbon was good to Ott, Laramie continued to exert a special attraction on him. His family remained in Laramie, and Ott frequently traveled from Carbon to Laramie and back. No matter how good the opportunities presented themselves in Carbon, Ott saw Laramie as the place where he wanted to make his name. In November 1891, just as the *Black Diamond* was getting settled in, Ott resurrected the *Laramie Times*. Surprisingly, the *Boomerang* welcomed Ott back into the field. Whereas it had been very critical of Ott's character, the *Boomerang* now pictured him in a positive light and saw his newspaper as symbolizing integrity in journalism.[45]

In 1893, Ott left Carbon and the *Black Diamond* and returned to Laramie to work on the *Times*. In March 1895, he found himself again in court for failing to pay a balance of $43.66 on his equipment and other goods he had received as early as 1891. Ott contended that he had paid part of the charges, had not received some of the property in question, and denied responsibility for the other property. In the end, Ott's credibility was found fallible, and judgment was found against him.

[44] Letter, F.W. Ott to Louis Kirk, March 24, 1891; letter, F.W. Ott to F.E. Warren, March 31, 1891; letter, F.E. Warren to B.F. Fowler, April 3, 1891, all in US Attorney for Wyoming Records, WSA.

[45] *Daily Boomerang*, November 28, 1891; December 11, 1891; January 27, 1892.




Wyoming Division of Cultural Resources

*Carbon Fire Department, 1890.*

The result was the loss of his stock and trade.[46]

Being in debt and going to court because of his debts were nothing new to Ott. Financial difficulties constantly dogged him, but they were all the result of the business in which he was engaged and how he managed his affairs. Between 1886 and 1906, Ott often mortgaged his property in order to finance his business. In many cases, he met his obligations, but sometimes he let payments slide. When the latter happened, Ott found himself before the justice of the peace. Confidently challenging the claims brought against him, he often acted carelessly at his expense.

If economics did not get him in trouble, his temper did, as the *Boomerang* had noted. Easily riled, he occasionally let his passions speak for him. For example, an argument between Ott's son and the son of Thomas Gray soon involved both fathers. Before long, tempers gave way to fists. What began as a petty dispute between two boys ended up as a criminal charge against Ott for assault and battery. In the end the case was dismissed.[47] In 1895, a fire occurred at the home of John Glover, Ott's neighbor. Glover claimed that Ott had dumped ashes against his house, and the evidence verified this. Yet, the amount of damage was less than $50 on the structure, but $500 to the furniture. Strange, the *Boomerang* noted, that the building was not insured. Ott suffered no personal or financial repercussions.[48]

Even family members could experience his temperamental side. In 1903, Ott sued his brother-in-law, Walter Schroeder, for failing to pay room and board as previously agreed upon. It was one of the few civil cases he won.[49]

Throughout most of his time in Laramie, Ott tried to augment his publishing income by working at a variety of other jobs. As *Times* editor, he served notice that he was a notary public who would make documents and examine real estate titles. He was employed in the signal corps in 1888 and as a census taker in 1900. Ott frequently contacted Senator Francis E. Warren for any political job. Ott's requests were not those of a sycophant but of a loyal supporter of Warren and the Republican Party. Warren knew this and was genuinely appreciative. Warren described him as "a pretty sturdy old fellow" who deserved a reward for his loyalty.[50] For his part, Warren recommended Ott for several federal positions but succeeded in getting him only a few temporary appointments.

Ott briefly sought assistance from Governor William A. Richards and Superintendent of Schools Estelle Reel. Richards did not respond to Ott's appeal, but Reel tried to bolster Ott's future. Unable to give him an unspecified appointment, Reel did acknowledge his contributions "in advertising and building up the state." Sadly, she remarked, she had promised the position to someone else, but she would keep him in mind for the future.[51] As it was, Ott found he had to make his own future.

Ott's personal tribulations were also political in nature. A staunch Republican, Ott used the *Times* to promote the party and its candidates. In return, Ott hoped that Laramie party leaders would reward him with public printing jobs or possibly a political job. Such was not to be. In 1888, in order to bolster his standing within the party, Ott attempted to blackmail of C.P. Organ, a congressional candidate. The details are unknown, but it did not work. As a result, no political candidate of either party wanted Ott's endorsement. Seeing through Ott's ruse, the *Boomerang* slandered Ott's paper as being "without any standing whatever" and libeled Ott as a "proprietor of patent bowels."[52] Despite his political bumbling, Ott remained loyal to the Republican Party, but his faith was beginning to wane.

Eight years later, in January 1896, he severed his political allegiance altogether. Frustrated with the city fathers for not patronizing him with any print jobs, Ott went out on a ledge by preparing a statement on the city's finances and then asking for payment for his service. Somewhat sympathetic, the *Boomerang* portrayed Ott as "a diligent if not a consistent worker in the republican political organization" who had "hundreds of times submitted passively to political indignities and lack of reward."[53] But this time he had submitted an unauthorized report. Once again, his efforts to force political events in his favor failed, and he was made a laughing stock instead of being taken as a serious, astute political supporter. The council was right in denying payment for a report it had not authorized. That should have been the end of the matter. Surprisingly, the *Boomerang* took Ott's side and called into ques-

[46] The Western Newspaper Union v. F.W. Ott, Laramie Justice of the Peace civil and criminal docket, Vol. 13, 23, WSA.

[47] State of Wyoming v. F.W. Ott, Laramie Justice of the Peace criminal docket, Vol. 4, 15 and case file, WSA; *Daily Boomerang*, November 4, 1893; November 10, 1893.

[48] *Daily Boomerang*, December 9, 1895.

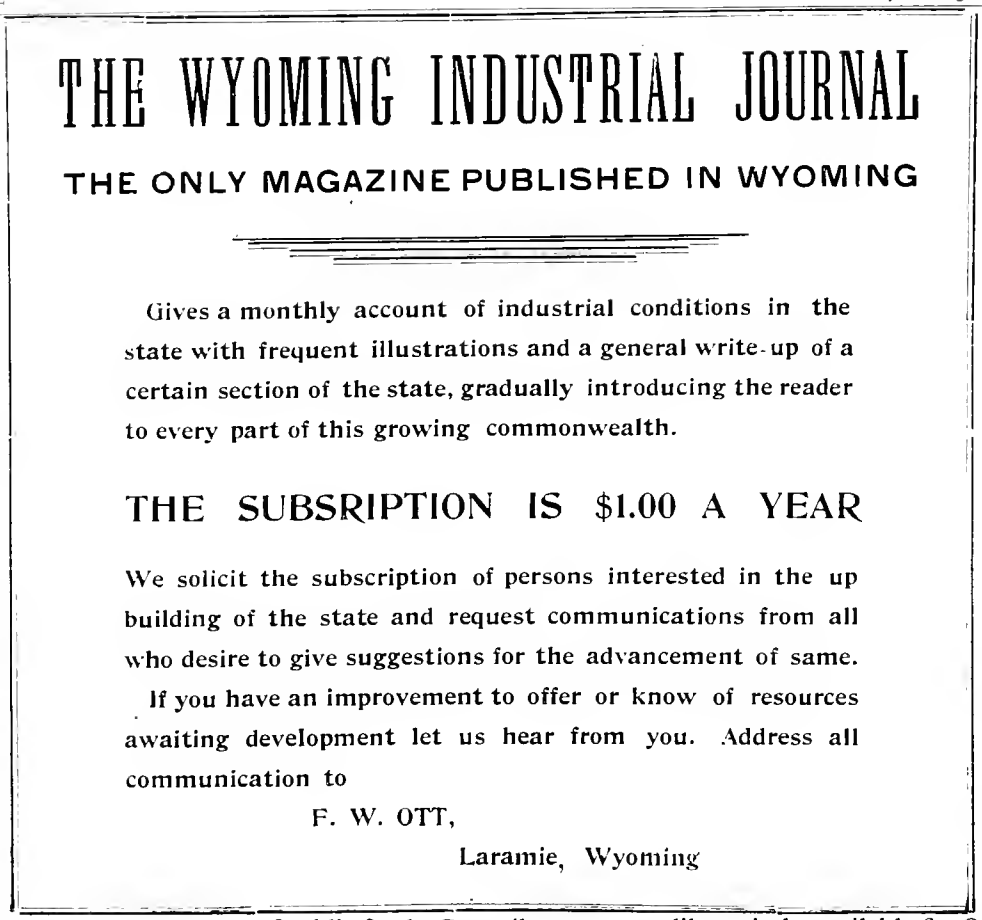
[49] Frederick W. Ott vs. Walter H. Schroeder, Laramie Justice of the Peace civil docket, Vol. 7, 55, WSA.

[50] Letter, F.E. Warren to F.W. Mondell, March 20, 1899, letterpress vol. 22, 698, Collection 13, Francis E. Warren Papers, American Heritage Center.

[51] Letter, F.W. Ott to Governor William A. Richards; Letter, Estelle Reel to F.W. Ott, April 11, 1895, letterpress book, vol. 1, 366, Education Department Records, WSA.

[52] *Daily Boomerang*, October 20, 1888.

[53] *Daily Boomerang*, January 8, 1896.



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F. W. OTT,

Laramie, Wyoming

*"House ad" from the Wyoming Industrial Journal when Ott was owner and editor, June, 1907.*

tion the mismanagement of public funds. Council members became further enraged by the *Boomerang*'s insinuation of impropriety. They singled out Ott for their woes and made him *persona non grata.*

In March, Ott attempted one more time to get paid. Although he knew his efforts would be for naught, he calmly and in a dignified manner appealed his cause, failed to sway the council, and then left the building.[54] With that act, he turned his back on the Republican Party and took up the banner of the Populist Party. By the turn of the century, Ott was actively involved with a labor union and with the Socialist party in Laramie. Not surprisingly, the *Boomerang* characterized the *Times* as a socialist weekly.[55]

With Laramie now politically alienated, Ott began to look elsewhere for his future and found it southwest of Laramie in Walden Colorado. Located then at the western part of Larimer County, Walden sat in the middle of rich ranching and forest country. Tentative mining ventures in the area in its early years coupled with ongoing mining developments in southern part of Albany County hinted at a promising future. With that knowledge, Ott headed south, and on July 31, 1896, he issued the first edition of the *North Park Union*, Walden's first paper. The *Union* became a booster for the North Park area, and the heart of North Park was readily entirely available for Ott. He became the voice of the community and took an active hand in civic and political endeavors.[56]

As publisher of the town's only newspaper, he kept a close watch on city government and local events. His son, Waldemar occasionally assisted his father as a reporter. Dispirited over his past bad experiences with the Republican Party, Ott took up the banner of populism and supported William Jennings Bryan.

Walden would not hold Ott's attention for very long because the economic center of North Park was Laramie. The major road to Walden went north to Laramie, and Laramie was the major shipping and distribution point for freight and goods to and from North Park. Walden was also politically isolated. The county seat of Larimer County was in Fort Collins, nearly 80 miles east and over the mountains. Not until 1909 would Walden come into its own with the formation of Jackson County. Lastly, Ott still longed to be a strong voice in Laramie, where he still published the *Times*. His

[54] *Daily Boomerang*, January 8, 1896; January 13, 1896; January 22, 1896; February 5, 1896; March 5, 1896.

[55] *Laramie Boomerang*, January 1, 1902; July 4, 1902; September 11, 1904.

[56] Walden City Minutes, May 7, 1897, vol. 1, 114; March 23, 1898, vol. 1, 120; March 21, 1905, vol. 1, 341.

family lived there, and he traveled frequently between Laramie and Walden. On January 27, 1899, he sold the *Union* to J.O. Mosman and Sons, a prominent family, but he did not forget Walden entirely. For several years thereafter he would travel to Walden to participate in or observe civic affairs.

In December 1904, Ott purchased the *Wyoming Industrial Journal*. Established in 1899, the *Journal* was a booster publication similar to *Wyoming and Its Future*. Because of its format, the *Journal* was not in competition with the *Boomerang*. Subsequently, the *Boomerang* found something praiseworthy to say, claiming the *Journal* was "well up to the standard set by Editor Ott."[57] Like *Wyoming and Its Future*, Ott intended that the *Journal* advertise "to the world the resources of the commonwealth" and "to be informative and reliable." He claimed to have 2,000 subscribers.[58]

As in other endeavors, Ott seemed to find his journalistic niche. The *Journal* was more like a magazine with mixture of long and short articles about Wyoming cities, counties, people, and natural, agricultural, and industrial resources. The writing was descriptive and expressive, and the pages were well illustrated. Sometimes state and local personalities authored main articles.

For his part, Ott tried to cater to a wide range of interests, and occasionally traveled across the state to obtain information about existing and new developments. Many editors applauded his new publication, and his promotional efforts were well in line with those advocated by state officials and agencies desirous of attracting industry and emigrants to the state. For the next four years, Ott's future seemed promising. With the success of the *Journal*, Ott became less of a mockery and emerged once more as a respectable publisher. Among Wyoming editors and publishers, "Professor Ott" now gave way to "Editor Ott" In 1908, he moved the job plant to Cheyenne, because he could not find suitable quarters in Laramie, and because he felt that being in Cheyenne would be better for business.[59]

Ott's future with the *Journal* was to be all too brief and less than hoped for. In 1908, a hernia operation and other unspecified ailments left him in constant pain and ill. He traveled to Denver for medical help and to Columbus for rest and relaxation. In 1909, he was diagnosed with Bright's disease, an infection of the liver. Unable to work effectively, he was forced to sell the *Journal* in June 1909. His health quickly deteriorated, and he died at Denver's St. Joseph Hospital on July 4, 1909.

With his death, Ott attained a new height of notability and respect. As is characteristic of eulogies, Ott's past improprieties were forgiven or overlooked for what was perceived to be his overall character. In most newspapers, he was remembered as a model citizen. The *Boomerang*, Ott's friend and foe, hailed him as "a leading and respected citizen since 1885."[60] Less sensational, the *Laramie Republican* called him an optimist. His management of the *Journal*, "was more suited to his liking and ability than the running of a local newspaper" and that Ott "did his part toward the upbuilding of the commonwealth."[61] His own paper applauded him as patriotic and enthusiastic citizen. Denver's *Colorado Herald*, a German weekly, gave him a special tribute: "Mr. Ott was a man of much energy and enterprise and he had contributed much to the flowering of Wyoming."[62]

All of these compliments captured the quintessential man. Although inherently sentimental, they reflected Ott's primary aspiration when he was alive, whatever he tried, wherever he lived. In truth, his actions did not always mirror those befitting a successful man, his time in the limelight in any one community was comparatively brief, and his enduring contributions were not always quantifiable. But Ott lived for the moment and was tenacious in finding his place in society. Confident in his own abilities, he was constantly on the lookout for new opportunities, particularly where he could make his mark in society, whether it was promoting German culture, civic life or the resources of an entire state. Overall, the life of Frederick Wilhelm Ott was a remarkable one, revealing the perseverance of German culture and the creativity and industry of a German publisher in the American West.

[57] *Laramie Boomerang*, January 29, 1905.
[58] *Wyoming Industrial Journal* (December 1904), 1.
[59] *Laramie Boomerang*, June 15, 1908.
[60] *Laramie Boomerang*, July 7, 1909.
[61] *Laramie Republican*, July 6, 1909.
[62] *Colorado Herald*, July 6, 1909.

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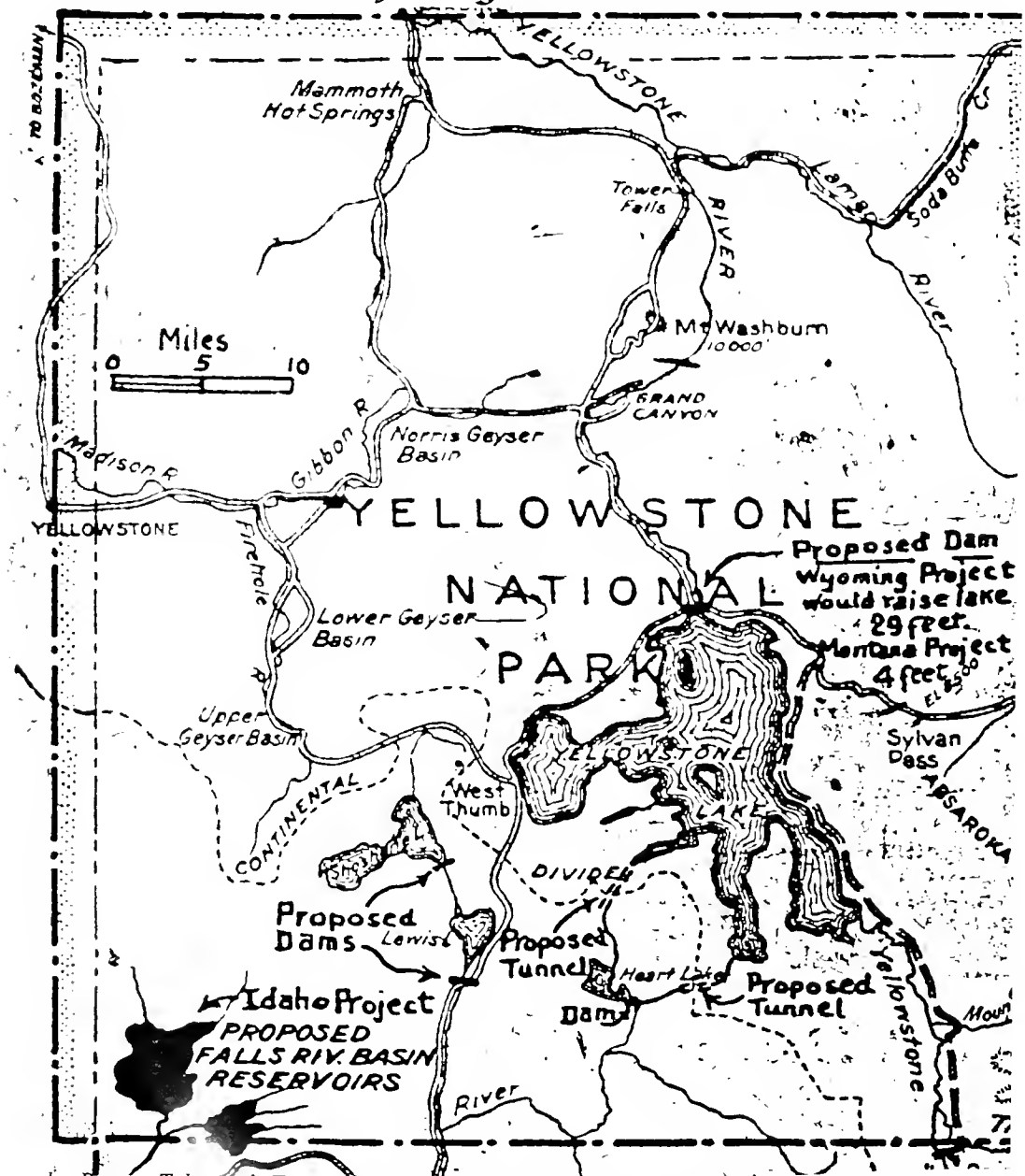
# FIGHTING OVER THE CASCADE CORNER OF YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, 1919-1935

By Hugh T. Lovin




*From the Boston Telegraph Transcript, April 17, 1920. Clipping from scrapbook, "Irrigation and Dam Problems, 1920-21," Yellowstone National Park Research Library, YNP, Wyoming*

Among the grandest initiatives that were proposed for hastening human usage of the nation's western reaches early in the twentieth century, one proposal called for reclamation of the West's arid land. Supporters of this program included government planners, developers, farmers, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt and his disciples, and certain other activists in the country's new conservation movement. They promised to make western deserts "bloom" by means of irrigation. Consequently, few sources of western water escaped the notice of these reclamationists because the least sanguine of them recognized that west of the hundredth meridian, potentially irrigable land was plentiful but water resources were significantly more finite.

This quest for water placed reclamationists at odds with a band of conservationists who wanted to shape the West's destiny in different ways; in this camp, the most forceful people were idealists, among them naturalist John Muir's followers, whom scholars today sometimes differentiate as preservationists. Unlike the economic-oriented reclamationists, such elements focused on saving the West's superlative scenery, natural wonders, and resources such as wilderness and wildlife from ruination at human hands. Moreover, clashing between the sides intensified when reclamationists eyed water and darn sites within the national park system.

The National Park Service and supportive lobbies of conservationists added new fury to the fray. For instance, the sides fought many battles in the 1920's and 1930's because Montana and Idaho farmers coveted Yellowstone National Park's lakes and streams for irrigation purposes. Characterizing these irrigationists as "looters," critics even alleged that the irrigationists cared not if they "decimate[d]" the nation's natural treasures and would "pawn" the country's finest "heirlooms."[1]

Eventually, this struggle over Yellowstone water and dam sites embroiled so many forces that it fitted historically into the mold of intrastate, interstate, and state-federal clashing that so often pervaded water conflicts in the West. An important facet of this conflict revolved around the ambitions of a single group of Idahoans residing in Fremont and Madison counties. Occupying heartland in the state's Upper Snake River Valley, the Fremont-Madison group sought access to Cascade Comer, a mountainous and little known sector in the southwest extremity of Yellowstone National Park. There the group hoped to impound enough water at two reservoirs to meet their needs and later to expand wet farming beyond the two counties. The fight over Cascade Corner raged from 1919 to 1935.

A farmer-owned institution, the Fremont-Madison Reservoir Company unveiled its first blueprints for irrigation works at Cascade Corner in 1919. The company expected to utilize the Fall River so that its waters saved thousands of acres of potato and sugar beet crops that required late-summer watering for maturation. Tributaries of this stream rose deep within Cascade Corner, gathered there into a river before emptying beyond the boundaries of Yellowstone National Park into the Snake River Valley and finally flowing into the Snake River. To save the river's spring runoff of water for summertime irrigation, the company intended that its main reservoir submerge the Belcher Meadows section of the Corner; also by its plans, a smaller catchment for water would be constructed by damming the mouth of Mountain Ash Creek, a Fall River tributary also situated within Cascade Corner.[2] Claiming to have $1,000,000 in their coffers and the capability of raising more tunds, Fremont-Madison Company officials promised to build this reservoir system on federal terrain at no cost to the government.[3]

Fremont-Madison Company officers extolled their plan on several grounds. First, they claimed, the company's scheme served the public's vested interests in bettering wet farming. Water delivered to farmers from the Belcher and Mountain Ash reservoirs would ensure that their crops matured and provide them with new insurance against droughts. Drought had happened again to these farmers in 1919; reportedly, it caused $10,000,000 in losses within the Upper Snake River

[1] John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Resources for the Future, Inc., by the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), 312; Donald C. Swain, *Wilderness Defender Horace M. Albright and Conservation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 122; Emerson Rough, "Pawning the Heirlooms," *Saturday Evening Post* 193 (September 25, 1920), 12, 13. See also, Merrill D. Beal, *The Story of Man in Yellowstone* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1949), 259, Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park* (2 vols.; Yellowstone Park, Wyoming: Yellowstone Library and Museum Association/Colorado Associated University Press, 1977), v. 2, 331.

[2] Ise, *Park Policy*, 308; John J. Cameron, "Proposed Irrigation Projects within Yellowstone National Park," typescript, (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1937), 15, Yellowstone National Park Research Library, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming.

[3] *Hearing before the Committee on Public Lands, House of Representatives, on H. R. 12466, A Bill Authorizing the Granting of Certain Irrigation Easements in the Yellowstone National Park*, March 20, 23, 1920, 66 Cong. 2 Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 6; R. M. McCracken to Em G. Eagleson, July 22, 1919, Ernest O. Eagleson Papers, Idaho State Historical Society, Boise.

Valley in this year.[4] Second, the Fremont-Madison group argued, federal authorities had already validated their irrigation scheme on technological and economic grounds. John Wesley Powell, head of the U.S. Geological Survey endorsed damming the Fall River within Cascade Corner late in the 19th century. He estimated that by placing catchments here, irrigationists could procure water at less than twenty cents per acre-foot.[5]

Subsequently, the U.S. Reclamation Service bettered the case for irrigationists patting their waterworks at Cascade Corner. Created in 1902, its mission to hasten the reclamation of arid land, the agency judged the Corner capable of yielding at least 350,000 acre-feet of water yearly for irrigation purposes. Alone, by the same reckoning, the Belcher Meadows site would provide reservoir space for 256,000 acre-feet of water in most seasons. Civil engineers in private practice confirmed the assessment, one group of them calculating the Belcher site's capacity for water storage at 263,000 acre-feet annually. Reclamation Service director Arthur Davis relied on such findings to predict "future development" of irrigation works at Cascade Corner.[6]

Fremont-Madison forces wondered at first whether interstate complications would bedevil the transfer of Cascade Corner's water out of Wyoming into Idaho. Historical events caused such concerns. In the past, Wyoming state authorities and Jackson Hole residents had always scowled when water was emptied from Wyoming's biggest lake in Jackson Hole, Jackson Lake, and used downstream for irrigation of Idaho land; such storage of water at Jackson Hole resulted in environmental damages to the lake and its environs.[7] However, Wyoming Governor Robert Carey reassured the irrigationists in 1919. Carey indicated that although he intended to "scrutinize" schemes like that of the Fremont-Madison Company, he would allow groups outside his state to utilize any water that "cannot be applied to irrigation in Wyoming." None of Cascade Corner's water appeared to be of use on Wyoming's land. Hence, as did many observers, Fremont-Madison irrigationists concluded that Cascade Corner water was theirs to exploit short of Carey somehow devising ways of tunneling through the Continental Divide and transferring the Corner's water to places like Wyoming's Green River Basin.[8]

At the same time, the Fremont-Madison Company attempted to leverage its plan at the expense of its opponents at the National Park Service. An agency within the Department of the Interior to which Congress assigned the job of managing the national park system beginning in 1916, the Park Service deplored the Fremont-Madison plan from the outset. According to Stephen Mather, director of the Park Service, irrigation works at Cascade Corner would be "absolutely contrary" to national park purposes. He told a supporter of the Fremont-Madison plan that he would not "stand for anything which attempted to, in any way, commercialize any part of the [Yellowstone] park."[9]

Countering Mather, the Fremont-Madison Company and its supporters argued that Cascade Corner was remote geographically, and because it was difficult for humans to penetrate the Corner's mountainous terrain, dense forests, and many swamps and bogs, the area could never sustain national park activities like entertaining tourists and providing outdoors recreational experiences for the park's typical visitors. A Reclamation Service official pointed out that Cascade Corner was "roadless" save a "wagon trail" that permitted human access only by horseback. Findings of experts like engineer F. T. Crowe confirmed many of these characterizations.[10]

Bad-mouthing Cascade Corner for its non-park quali-

[4] Horace M. Albright (as told to Robert Cahn), *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-33* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985), 100.

[5] J. W. Powell, *Eleventh Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889-90, Part II-Irrigation* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 191.

[6] *Second Annual Report of the Reclamation Service, 1902-03,* Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey, House Document 44, 58 Cong. 2 Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), Plate 34 between pp. 264-265, pp. 285-286; J. G. Camp, "Parks—and Homes in [the] Snake River Valley," *New West Magazine,* 11 (December 1920), 43; H. V. Carleton, "The Great Dubois Project in Idaho," *New West Magazine,* 10 (June-July 1919), 8-9; *Hearing...Irrigation Easements,* 5-6 (qtn.).

[7] T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 358, 420; David J. Saylor, *Jackson Hole, Wyoming: In the Shadow of the Tetons* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 155-156.

[8] *Cheyenne* (Wyoming) *State Leader,* September 28, 1919, 1 (qtns.); *Seattle* (Washington) *Times,* October 1, 1919, clipping in "Irrigation and Dam Problems, 1920-1921" Scraphook, Yellowstone National Park Research Library.

[9] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1920 and the Travel Season 1920* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 28; Idaho Commissioner of Reclamation [Warren Swendsen] to John Pincock, December 26, 1919, David W. Davis Papers, Idaho State Archives, Boise.

[10] *Hearing...Irrigation Easements,* 6-7 (qtns.), 9; Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 351. By one account, the Fremont-Madison Company intended to submerge 8000 acres of "swamp land, which is remote from travel and never visited or seen by the tourist, but only by a few trappers and fishermen." P. S. A. Bickel, "What the Fall River Bill Means," *New West Magazine,* 11 (November 1920, 8.

ties paid dividends for the Fremont-Madison Company. Idaho state government officials endorsed the corporation's judgments about the Corner.[11] Arthur Davis, director of U.S. Reclamation Service, used the same opinions about Cascade Corner to convince Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane that irrigation works could fit suitably into the Corner's environment. Beyond accepting this premise, Lane even ordered his subordinates at the National Park Service to be supportive of the Fremont-Madison plan.

The Park Service leaders rebelled, dallying with Lane's commands to the point of insubordination until Lane finally left the government for other reasons in 1920. Meanwhile, Lane helped to ensure that Congress responded favorably to the Fremont-Madison plan. Legislation authorizing irrigation reservoirs at Cascade Corner worked its way through congressional hearings and past several other hurdles. On April 6, 1920, the Senate passed such a bill with few expressions of opposition to it.[12]

Different evidence suggested that the Fremont-Madison Company and its allies pictured Cascade Comer erroneously in order to better the case for situating reservoirs at Belcher Meadows and Mountain Ash Creek. In 1878, surveyor Edward Hayden described many of the scenic waterfalls that were scattered along the Fall River and its tributaries, noted the diversity of wildlife habitats at the Corner, and discussed other natural features that also fitted the Corner into the national park system. Crowe alluded, in 1909, to the Corner's "beauty spots" that made it especially appealing to "nature lover[s]."[13]

Nonetheless, Mather and his subordinates were unprepared to defend Cascade Corner from the Fremont-Madison forces' depiction of it. By their own admission, Mather and his superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, Horace Albright, knew little about the Corner's geographical features and natural environment. Furthermore, the latest mapping of the area, completed in 1883-1885, seemed unreliable to park authorities, especially because it labeled Belcher Meadows a swamp; according to C. H. Birdseye, an U.S. Geological Survey engineer, the mapping was so faulty that Cascade Corner should be "completely resurveyed." Nearly a year elapsed before Albright finally traveled by horseback into the region to ascertain for himself the truth about Cascade Corner's physical geography.[14]

Despite knowing so little about Cascade Corner, Mather attempted to block the Fremont-Madison Company. First, he demanded that neither Lane nor Congress decide the fate of the Corner until its scenic virtues, wildlife resources, and unique features like Colonnade Falls were assessed. Moreover, Mather charged that in any event, irrigationists deserved no place at the Corner lest their presence at this spot create dangerous precedents; in his words, concessions to commercialism at the Corner would become a "camel's head" in "the tent" by which others could justify their demands to exploit different parts of Yellowstone National Park.[15]

Mather argued his case credibly. At this time, Montanans and different Idahoans hoped to erect their own waterworks at Yellowstone Lake and nearby at two smaller bodies of water. Cheyenne-based civil engineer Charles Carlisle would accommodate them. By Carlisle's offer, he would dam the outlet of Yellowstone Lake to hold water in reserve for Montanans, drive a tunnel through the Continental Divide, and deliver water from Yellowstone Lake to Idaho. Carlisle projected that he would lower the level of Yellowstone Lake by 29 feet in each year.[16] An Idaho congressman dismissed Carlisle's plan as far-fetched; thereupon he accused Mather of seizing on Carlisle's proposal to create a "scarecrow" against the Fremont-Madison Company.[17] But by reiterating his contentions about keeping the camel's head from the tent, Mather prodded more conservationists outside the government to action on his side.

Discussing Mather's allies, the Fremont-Madison Company's supporters classed them as principally "highbrows," idealistic college professors, and sometimes wealthy easterners whose private agendas included seizing western water for their own "summer

[11] Minutes of Governor's "Cabinet," August 5, 1919, Davis Papers.

[12] Swain, *Defender*, 121-122; Bartlett, *Yellowstone*, 352; Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Park Service* (2nd ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), 213-214, Cameron, "Irrigation," 16-34.

[13] *Report of the Director... Park Service* (1920), 24-25, Bartlett, *Yellowstone*, 351.

[14] *Hearing ... Irrigation Easements*, 19; C. H. Birdseye to Stephen Mather, September 13, 1921, cited in Cameron, "Irrigation," 29; Swain, *Defender*, 128-129; for assorted letters and reports by Albright about his trip to Cascade Corner, see Horace Albright Papers, Yellowstone National Park Research Library.

[15] *Report of the Director ... Park Service* (1920), 34.

[16] "Franklin K. Lane Project [of] One Million Acres in Southern Idaho...," n.d. (typescript), William E. Borah Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; M. M. Galbraith and others, *Report on [the] Proposed Project for Flood Control and Irrigation in the Yellowstone River Valley...* (Livingston: Yellowstone Irrigation Association, 1921), copy at Montana Historical Society, Helena; Cameron, "Irrigation," 16.

[17] Addison T. Smith to D. W. Davis, May 11, 1920, Davis Papers.

resorts and fishing reserves."[18] However, Mather also gained support from many nationally-prominent figures, among them New Jersey manufacturer William Gregg. An activist in the National Parks Association and the Audubon Society, Gregg plunged astride a horse deep into Cascade Comer to photograph waterfalls, Belcher Meadows terrain, and other scenery. His photographs, he claimed, proved that the Corner could "take care of the increasing throngs of camping motorists" certain to arrive at Yellowstone National Park in the coming years. Subsequently, much of his photography and writings appeared in publications with national circulation.[19]

Mather's new supporters included naturalist and *Field and Stream* editor George Grinnell, the publisher of *Saturday Evening Post,* and landscape architect Frederick Olmstead. Olmstead was a founder and officeholder of the New England Conference for the Protection of National Parks, an organization that spoke for 18 scientific and conservationist groups. Another of Mather's best allies was J. Horace McFarland, head of the American Civic Association and, in the eyes of a critic, "a crank on the subject of preserving the West in its natural state."[20]

McFarland believed that accepting any of the proposals from irrigationists would imperil Yellowstone National Park environmentally. Moreover, he echoed Mather's thinking that allowing them to build waterworks at Cascade Corner would prove an "entering wedge toward the wholesale exploitation" of the park's "water resources." He even asserted that the Fremont-Madison Company's "ultimate design includes the use of Yellowstone Lake as an irrigation reservoir."[21] Accordingly, McFarland needled forces like the National Parks Association and American Automobile Association until the groups played bigger roles in holding the irrigationists at bay. He spread a wide net among American scientific and professional societies and brought even the Arnold Arboretum at Boston aboard his bandwagon. McFarland lobbied Pennsylvania's 37 U.S. congressmen to bar irrigationists from Cascade Comer; in lobbying western congressmen for the same ends, he argued to them that they could not consistently support the Fremont-Madison plan after having already pledged themselves for political reasons to protect the national park system.[22]

Helping these activists, America's fourth estate participated in indicting nationally the Fremont-Madison Company's plan. If the company succeeded, a Pennsylvania and an Ohio newspaper charged, the result would be a "despoiling" and "profaning" of Yellowstone National Park.[23] Calling all of them evil, many journalists lumped together the Fremont-Madison Company and the different Idaho and Montana forces that wanted to their own waterworks elsewhere in the same national park. A Boston journalist accused the Fremont-Madison Company of encouraging the others to demand "their portion of the plunder" at Yellowstone. Another writer claimed that "Western ranchers, businessmen and irrigation engineers" conspired with the others "to grab Yellowstone Park."[24]

For opponents of the Fremont-Madison plan, the odds improved for them to scuttle the plan in 1920. The irrigationists' best ally in the government, Secretary Lane, resigned his post early in this year, and his successor, John Payne, opposed the plan. Payne, a congressman asserted, was "impervious" to all arguments on behalf of the scheme.[25]

Despite this clamoring from the Fremont-Madison Company's enemies, in April 1920, the U.S. Senate approved a bill granting the company its wishes. However, the House of Representatives might reject similar legislation, the so-called Smith bill, in the face of opposition that Payne, Mather, and groups like the American Civic Association would predictably exploit. Hence, Congressman Addison Smith of Idaho, namesake of the House bill, attempted to minimize the consequences of such resistance. He asked the House to consider the bill immediately under a special suspension of the rules.[26] Smith's maneuver failed, giving op-

[18] *Rigby* (Idaho) *Star,* April 29, 1920, 1; *Bingham County* (Idaho) *News,* December 1, 1920, 1.

[19] William C. Gregg, My *Business Career: Family Letters and Records* (Hackensack, New Jersey, 1933), xi; "The Fight for Yellowstone's Waters," *Literary Digest,* 67 (October 23, 1920), 91; Gregg, "Cornering Cascade," *Saturday Evening Post,* November 20, 1920, and Gregg, "Who Owns America's National Parks?" *American Motorist,* December 19, 1920, clippings in "Irrigation and Dam Problems" Scrapbook.

[20] Addison T. Smith to D. W. Davis, May 11, 1920, Davis Papers.

[21] J. H. McFarland to Congressman Frank Mondell, April 13, 1920 (copy), Davis Papers.

[22] Ernest Morrison, J. H*orace McFarland: A Thorn for Beauty* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1995), 236-239; John C. Miles, *Guardians of the Parks: A History of the National Parks and Conservation Association* (Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Francis, 1995), 33.

[23] *Harrisburg Patriot,* April 19, 1920, and *Columbus State Journal,* April 27, 1920, clippings in "Irrigation and Dam Problems" Scrapbook.

[24] *Boston Evening Transcript,* April 17, 1920 (1st qtn.), and *Rochester* (New York) *Herald,* October 1, 1920 (2nd qtn.), clippings in "Irrigation and Dam Problems" Scrapbook.

[25] Addison T. Smith to D. W. Davis, May 11, 1920, Davis Papers.

[26] Addison T. Smith to D. W. Davis, March 27, 1920, Davis Papers.

ponents of the Smith bill new opportunities to challenge it.[27]

During new fighting over the Smith bill, Smith still hoped to prevail with help from the House leadership, notably from majority party leader Frank Mondell of Wyoming. Smith presumed that Mondell, earlier a namesake for important federal legislation that furthered the use of western land for agricultural purposes, sympathized with the Smith bill. Smith also relied on Mondell for another reason. Mondell positioned himself publicly as a special friend of irrigation development in Wyoming.[28]

Mondell surprised Smith. Echoing the outlooks of Payne and Mather, Mondell held that irrigationists should never commercialize any part of a national park. As for the Fremont-Madison Company, Mondell told Smith that neither should the corporation be allowed to disturb "moose and wild game" populations at Cascade Corner nor "take" the Corner's "water out of Wyoming."[29] Mondell stood his ground, ignoring the opinions of Wyoming State Engineer Frank Emerson and direct appeals to him from Governor Carey. Carey and Emerson tried to persuade Mondell that Fall River water could never be used for irrigation within their state.[30]

In opposing the Smith bill because it would remove water from Wyoming, Mondell expressed sentiments that resonated across this state—best it was to exercise caution in allowing others to appropriate Wyoming's underutilized water lest Wyoming never recover it for its own irrigation purposes in coming times. Such caution was essential, even State Engineer Emerson argued, because only by more irrigation could Wyoming realize its "greatest agricultural development." Carey also vented the same ideas publicly although he continued to disagree with Mondell about the disposing of Fall River water.[31]

Mondell had likewise listened to conservationists within his in-state constituency. This group deplored the Fremont-Madison Company's plan and similarly decried the proposals of others to install their waterworks at Yellowstone Lake. At Cheyenne, a newspaper accused the company of trying to "grab" Cascade Corner and later claimed part of the credit for stopping the corporation. The Business and Professional Women's Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and several different organizations at Cheyenne, the Delphian Club at Riverton, and chambers of commerce at Sheridan, Casper, Basin, and Douglas all opposed the placing of any irrigation facilities at the Corner.[32] At the instigation of the same conservationists in 1921, Natrona County legislator J. W. Johnson proposed that the state legislature memorialize Congress to protect the Corner. According to Johnson's measure, Congress barred any "artificial lake or reservoir" or works that "raise[d] the water level of any natural lake or stream" within Yellowstone National Park.[33] However, the legislature never passed Johnson's memorial. The measure "got lost in the shuffle" when fighting over taxation and the state budget preoccupied the legislature.[34]

By the end of 1920, little chance remained for the Smith bill to pass. The National Park Service and its allies had convinced many that Cascade Corner deserved preservation as parkland. Gregg's photographic material continued to attract attention to the Fall River system's 40 waterfalls and cascades.

The case for the Corner remaining parkland also revolved around the part of the Fremont-Madison Company's plan to build its grandest reservoir at Belcher Meadows. Placing a reservoir there, the company's foes argued, would ruin forests and meadows that were habitat for 500 moose and herds of elk and deer. Beyond calling for saving forests, meadows, and wildlife on its own merits, the same forces reiterated old contentions that Belcher would in an untouched state become in coming days a "Campers' Paradise" of

[27] Ise, *Park Policy*, 311.

[28] *Riverton* (Wyoming) *Chronicle*, October 15, 1920, *Torrington* (Wyoming) *Telegram*, n.d., and *Sheridan* (Wyoming) *Post*, October 26, 1920, clippings in Frank W. Mondell Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie; Address of Frank W. Mondell, Orpheum Theater, Sheridan, Wyoming," August 4, 1922 (typescript), John B. Kendrick Papers, American Heritage Center.

[29] Addison T. Smith to D. W. Davis, May 11, 1920, Davis Papers.

[30] "Wyoming Governor Approves Use [of] Fall [River] Reservoir in Idaho," April 6, 1920 (typescript), "Irrigation and Dam Problems" Scrapbook; *Idaho Register* (Idaho Falls), April 6, 1920, 1.

[31] *Fifteenth Biennial Report of the State Engineer to the Governor of Wyoming, 1919-1920* (Laramie: Laramie Republican Company, 1921), 15, 17-18; *The Journal of the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth State Legislature of Wyoming* (Laramie: Laramie Republican Company, 1919), 20.

[32] *Cheyenne State Leader*, December 10, 1920, 1; *ibid.*, undated clipping in "Irrigation and Dam Problems" Scrapbook; *Dam Across [the] Yellowstone River: Hearing before the Committee on Irrigation, United States Senate, on S. 4529, A Bill for the Erection and Maintenance of a Dam Across the Yellowstone River in the State of Montana [Wyoming]*, 66 Cong. 3 Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), 176-180.

[33] "Senate Joint Memorial No.3," n.d. (typescript), Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne; *Cheyenne State Leader*, January 27, 1921, 2.

[34] F. L. Babcock to Frank W. Mondell, February 6, 1921, printed in *Dam...Yellowstone*, 120 (qtn.); *Casper* (Wyoming) *Daily Tribune*, February 12, 1921, 1; February 17, 1921, 1.

"beautiful meadows, over which horses can be galloped freely, [and] interspersed with pleasant woods and bordered by one the most remarkable and lovely series of waterfalls in any of the National Parks."[35]

Rebutting its foes, the Fremont-Madison camp particularly challenged the prescriptions of conservationists for Belcher Meadows. By putting a reservoir there, irrigationists argued, what was mainly swamps would be transformed into "a beautiful mountain lake." By this side's estimates, about 50 instead of 500 moose would be displaced by the reservoir, only for such wildlife to survive splendidly by migrating to a different part of Cascade Corner.[36]

In public hearings, Congressman Smith also helped the Fremont-Madison Company to better its case. Smith extracted admissions from Gregg and *Saturday Evening Post* writer Gilbert Pearson that contrary to their findings, putting reservoirs at Belcher and Mountain Ash Creek would harm neither Colonnade Falls, one of the Corner's natural wonders, nor several other waterfalls and cataracts.[37] But when such defenses persuaded too few, the Fremont-Madison Company acknowledged its defeat.

To the National Park Service's dismay, the Fremont-Madison and its allies regrouped for another fight. (Also to the Park Service's consternation, beating this company in a water war had not discouraged others from petitioning again to put a reservoir at Yellowstone Lake.) Accordingly, Park Service administrators became more vigilant. One of them suggested that in the upcoming round of fighting over Cascade Comer, the Fremont-Madison Company might win; in that case, its irrigation project would be "Yellowstone's Hetch Hetchy," a reference to incidents at Yosemite National Park where commercial elements had intruded nearly a decade earlier.[38]

This administrator fretted for good reasons. Already certain rationales, similar to the Fremont-Madison Company's reasons for saying that Cascade Corner was suited to commercial penetration, had provided pretexts for others to enter different national parks. Citing geographical factors, the municipality of San Francisco justified its commandeering of Hetch Hetchy for commercial purposes, and federal reclamationists used Sherburne Lake in Glacier National Park for agricultural ends in the Milk River Valley.[39]

In readying itself for new trouble with Fremont-Madison Company, the National Park Service expected to rely heavily on old evidence demonstrating that Cascade Comer was essential park terrain; hence, the company deserved no foothold there. Albert Fall, Secretary of the Interior in the Harding administration in 1921-1923, upheld this view at Mather's urging.[40]

Outside the government, conservationists likewise mobilized for new battles to preserve Cascade Corner as parkland. They recruited new followers. In 1921, Gregg claimed that 28 organizations had "loosely federated together" to defend Yellowstone National Park. Among them were groups ranging in power from the American Automobile Association to wildlife protective associations, women's clubs, and societies of scientists, foresters, and artists. Particularly in the eastern press, journalists clamored again for the Corner to be parkland. Assessing his foes, an irrigationist counted more than a dozen magazines with national circulation that resisted his irrigation proposal.[41]

At the same time, conservationists better documented Cascade Corner's parkland qualities. Gregg devoted two more summers to collecting facts about the Corner's natural features. U.S. Geological Survey engineer Birdseye recorded new observations of the Corner's "far-flung meadowlands, fine forests and streams, and some of the most exquisite waterfalls and cataracts in the entire national park system." Birdseye also remapped the Corner. His new map, published in 1921, deleted labels on earlier maps that classed Belcher Meadows a swamp and reflected Birdseye's other perceptions of the Corner's topography.[42] To gather even more proof of the Corner's park qualities, conserva-

[35] Ise, *Park Policy*, 310; Swain, *Defender*, 128-129; New England Conference for the Protection of National Parks, "Facts Against the Smith Bill," n.d. (leaflet), copy in "Irrigation and Dam Problems" Scrapbook.

[36] Cameron, "Irrigation," 10; Camp, "Parks," 44; Fred B. Reed, "'Desecrating Yellowstone Park," *New West Magazine*, 11 (November 1920), 7-8.

[37] *Fremont County News* (St. Anthony, Idaho), January 12, 1921, clipping in Davis Papers.

[38] Albright, *Birth*, 100.

[39] For an account of how commercial forces invoked geographical conditions to justify their entry at Hetch Hetchy, see Alfred Runte, *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 80.

[40] Swain, *Defender*, 145.

[41] W. C. Gregg, "Cascade Corner of Yellowstone Park," *Outlook*, 129 (November 23, 1921), 476; *Livingston* (Montana) *Enterprise*, December 12, 1920, 4.

[42] Yellowstone National Park Boundary Commission, *Message from the President Transmitting the Final Report of the Yellowstone National Park Boundary Commission...*, House Document 710, 71 Cong. 3 Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), 169-170; *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1921 and the Travel Season 1921* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), 19; *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1922 and the Travel Season 1922* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), 111.

tionists continued to explore the region for the rest of the 1920's. Using the new material, they again publicized the best of the Corner's scenery and, for the first time, alluded to its values for camping and other forms of outdoors recreation.

For different reasons, too, conservationists demanded that commercialism never disturb the Corner. Eleanor Thurman, an officer of the American Civic Association who camped outdoors at Belcher Meadows after a long trek by horseback to the spot in 1926, urged keeping Belcher in its natural state so that people could always "spend a few days of quiet and peace away from the honk of automobiles, the noise and smoke of trains, and the hue and cry of the typical tourist."[43]

The National Park Service and its allies chided the Fremont-Madison Company additionally for wanting reservoirs at Cascade Corner when the same waterworks could be built on Idaho's streams. Birdseye located three sites for such reservoirs. But the company commissioned its own engineering survey in which the sites were judged unsuitable on engineering and economic grounds.[44] Nonetheless, conservationists continued to denounce the company for the same reasons. In Wyoming, in 1926, the state division of the Izaak Walton League complained that the corporation still attempted without good reasons to situate its reservoirs at the Corner.[45] For the most part, conservationists believed that the company's reservoirs belonged in the Teton River Basin.[46]

Simultaneously, resistance to releasing any of Cascade Corner's water to the Fremont-Madison Company rooted more deeply in Wyoming's political, farm, and commercial circles. There, such opposition grew, even after Governor Carey still declared the Corner's water to be unusable in his state, because beliefs persisted that for some unforeseen reasons the same water could be consumed in Wyoming at a later date. Carey's successors encouraged this notion. For instance, Governor Nellie Ross alluded tacitly to such a possibility when she noted that agricultural developments historically "come in waves—a period of progress, then a period of reverses." State Engineer Emerson remarked, in 1926, that even at this early date, Wyoming had found so many new uses for its "water resources" that it was becoming "an important agricultural State." Governor of Wyoming in 1927-1931, Emerson continued to urge the expansion of wet farming in order to spur the state's economic growth.[47]

Thomas Cooper, president of the Wyoming Wool Growers Association, protested: "Wyoming is being used for a place to store snow for water for surrounding states. We would like to use some of the resources for the benefit of the people" of Wyoming.[48] Or, at the least, a western Wyoming dude rancher held that resources like Cascade Corner's water should never "go outside the state unless the State of Wyoming makes the other State pay for it."[49]

Meanwhile, National Park Service leaders and park defenders outside the government had new reasons for anticipating worse trouble with the Fremont-Madison Company. From 1921 to 1923, dry times during cropping seasons hampered Fremont-Madison waterusers, and they demanded relief when drought depleted their water supplies long before harvest time in 1924. Without water from Cascade Corner reservoirs in the summer, the users believed, their distress probably would worsen. A journalist called such catchments: "a farmers' insurance policy against a water shortage."[50] Accordingly, the Fremont-Madison Company vowed to build such reservoirs without more delay. Rejecting pressures to create a new reservoir system in the Teton River Basin, the company still claimed that storing water at Cascade Corner was the most economical alternative.

Idaho state officials speculated that, perhaps, the Fremont-Madison Company could be helped at this juncture by dusting off an old plan of theirs to "amputate" the Belcher and Mountain Ash reservoir sites from Cascade Corner. This plan, as embodied in state-level legislation enacted in 1921, established a Fremont Game Preserve containing 64,000 acres of state-owned land situated alongside the Idaho-Wyoming boundary. In this sanctuary, an area adjoining the western perimeter

[43] Boundary Commission, *Final Report*, 119-131; Eleanor Thurman, "Coveted Corner: The Endangered Meadows in Yellowstone Park," *Outlook*, 144 (December 1, 1926), 435.

[44] *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 17, 1920, clipping in "Irrigation and Dam Problems" Scrapbook; Cameron, "Irrigation," 26.

[45] "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention Held at Yellowstone Park, Wyoming," August 24-25, 1926, 14 (mimeographed), Izaak Walton League, Wyoming Division Papers, American Heritage Center.

[46] Boundary Commission, *Final Report*, 37-51; Cameron, "Irrigation," 26; *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 4, 1931, clipping in Wyoming State Engineer Papers, Wyoming State Archives.

[47] Nellie T. Ross to Hubert Work, September 16, 1926, Nellie Tayloe Ross Papers, Wyoming State Archives; "Article for [the] Wyoming State Tribune," January 16, 1926 (mimeographed), Frank C. Emerson Papers, American Heritage Center (2nd and 3rd qtns.).

[48] Boundary Commission, *Final Report*, 86.

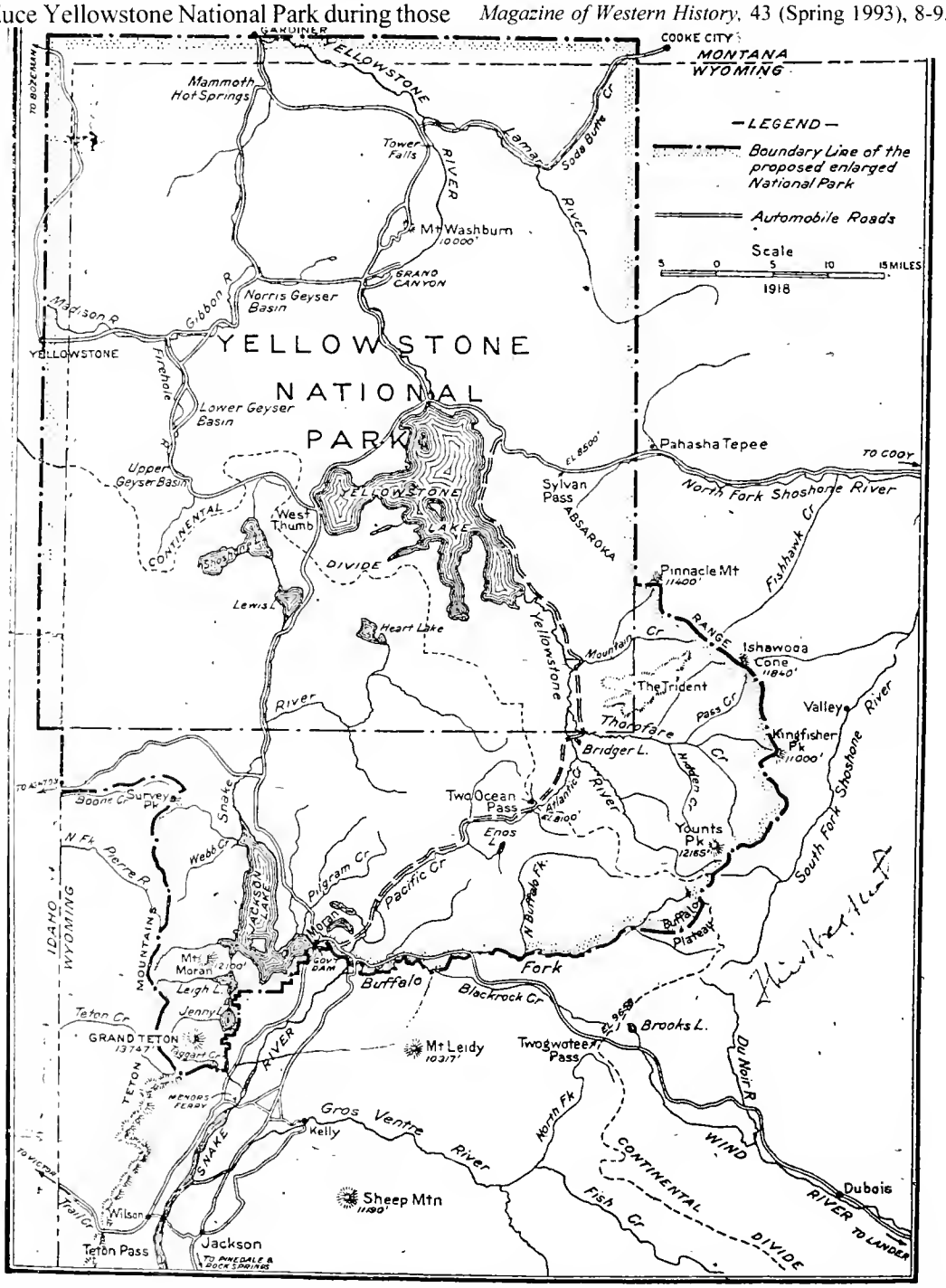
[49] *Ibid.*, 93.

[50] C. C. Moore to Addison T. Smith, November 25,1925, Charles C. Moore Papers, Idaho State Archives; *Rexburg* (Idaho) *Standard*, October 21, 1926, clipping in Addison T. Smith Papers, Idaho State Historical Society.

of Yellowstone National Park, the park's wildlife could safely find additional space and forage. However, the game preserve would remain non-functional until federal authorities reciprocated by opening Cascade Corner to the Fremont-Madison Company and deleted the reservoir sites, plus some adjacent terrain, from the national park system.[51]

Because Mather refused to bargain over Cascade Corner, nothing had happened in the years 1921-1926. In fact, the National Park Service tried to expand instead of reduce Yellowstone National Park during those years. The bureau mostly wanted to "adjust" the park's southern boundaries by extending its jurisdiction to the

[51] *Idaho Daily Statesman* (Boise), August 9, 1921, clipping in "Irrigation and Dam Problems" Scrapbook; Ise, *Park Policy*, 311-312; Cameron, "Irrigation," 9. Were the Fremont Game Preserve functioning, it might interest the National Park Service. At this time, the agency's policies encouraged the expansion of the national park system's herds of large mammals. This animal population required plenty of space and foraging terrain. Richard West Sellars, "Manipulating Nature's Paradise: National Park Management under Stephen T. Mather, 1916-1928," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*, 43 (Spring 1993), 8-9.




*Wyoming State Journal (Lander), September 24, 1920, clipping in "Irrigation and Dam Problems," Scrapbook.*

Teton Mountains, part of Jackson Hole, and several hundred thousand acres of rugged but scenic land situated beyond the park's southeast limits.[52]

Finally, in 1929, Congress placed 150 square miles of Teton land in a newly-created Grand Teton National Park. U.S. Senator John Kendrick of Wyoming masterminded this outcome so that Wyoming's loss of territory to the national park system would be minimal.[53]

By 1926, five years had elapsed in which the National Park Service continued to evince no disposition to bargain away any of Cascade Corner in return for the Fremont Game Preserve becoming functional. Hence, the Fremont-Madison Company was no nearer to fulfilling its pledges to build reservoirs at the Corner without any new dallying. Social unrest escalated across the Fremont-Madison district. At its extreme, pressures mounted among farmers, the local press, and commercial establishments for the company to build its reservoirs at the Corner over objections from the National Park Service and conservationist lobbies. An Idaho Chamber of Commerce officer remarked: "I believe in these [national park] playgrounds," but they should be accommodated to the needs and necessities of the people" of the West.[54]

Idaho Gov. Charles Moore reacted to the new unrest by initiating another battle over Cascade Corner. Invoking his predecessor's scheme to "amputate" the Corner from the national park system, Moore demanded that Congress at least remove 12,000 of the Corner's nearly 18,000 acres from Yellowstone National Park. By Moore's plan, which amended the Fremont-Madison Company's old blueprints in another way, the company would create a single but grander reservoir at Belcher Meadows so that water withdrawn from it over the summer provided "supplemental" water supplies for at least 170,000 acres.55

Without a doubt, one of Moore's subordinates predicted, the governor's proposal would cause conservationists to protest. It invited blocking from the National Park Service if Congress attempted to remove Cascade Corner from the park system,[56] Congressman Smith agreed with this view and designed a strategy for sidestepping the pitfalls. In Congress, he hoped to secure legislation implementing Moore's proposal by exploiting the National Park Service's impulses to extend Yellowstone National Park in many directions. Hence, Smith introduced a bill by which 12,000 of Cascade Corner's acres were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Park Service to the U.S. Forest Service. The latter saw no sin in building waterworks on federal land and presumably would not impede the Fremont-Madison Company from finally establishing a reservoir at Belcher. In return for the Park Service losing control of the control of the better part of Cascade Corner, Smith's bill incorporated the Idaho-owned Fremont Game Preserve of 64,000 acres into Yellowstone National Park.[57]

Smith also attempted to tantalize conservationists and exploit the National Park Service's greed in another way. By presenting his proposal to Congress in the form of an amendment to a different bill, Smith hitched his proposal to legislation that added several hundred thousand acres of Wyoming land to Yellowstone National Park. Also to Smith's delight, the presidential administration of Calvin Coolidge endorsed the last measure. Subsequently, Wyoming Senator Kendrick suggested that the two proposals be repackaged so that altogether Yellowstone National Park grew by 264,000 acres (64,000 acres within Idaho and 200,000 in Wyoming). Moore endorsed Kendrick's new arrangement.[58] In Wyoming, a journalist speculated that Kendrick's scheme might win acceptance in his state even though earlier federal schemes to add Wyoming land to Yellowstone National Park had been "overwhelmingly opposed" across the state. The newspaperman reported: "...since the proposed additions [of Wyoming soil] have been cut down to include practically no lands now used for grazing livestock," the opposition to expanding the national park by carving land from Wyoming was no longer "particularly rampant."[59]

Smith's machinations inspired the Fremont-Madison Company and Idaho state officials to draw up new blueprints for a grand reservoir at Belcher without waiting for congressional action on Smith's bill. The plans prescribed a dam towering 45 feet above the land; behind

[52] *Cody* (Wyoming) *Herald*, September 1, 1919, clipping in Mondell Papers; Horace M. Albright to William B. Ross, January 26, 1923, William B. Ross Papers, Wyoming State Archives; Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, v. 2, 321; Robert W. Righter, *Crucible for Conservation: The Creation of Grand Teton National Park* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1982), 32-35.

[53] Righter, *Crucible*, 38, 40-41.

[54] *Idaho Falls* (Idaho) *Post*, March 19, 1926, and *Teton Peak Chronicle* (St. Anthony, Idaho), March 25, 1926, clippings in Smith Papers; Cameron, "Irrigation," 39.

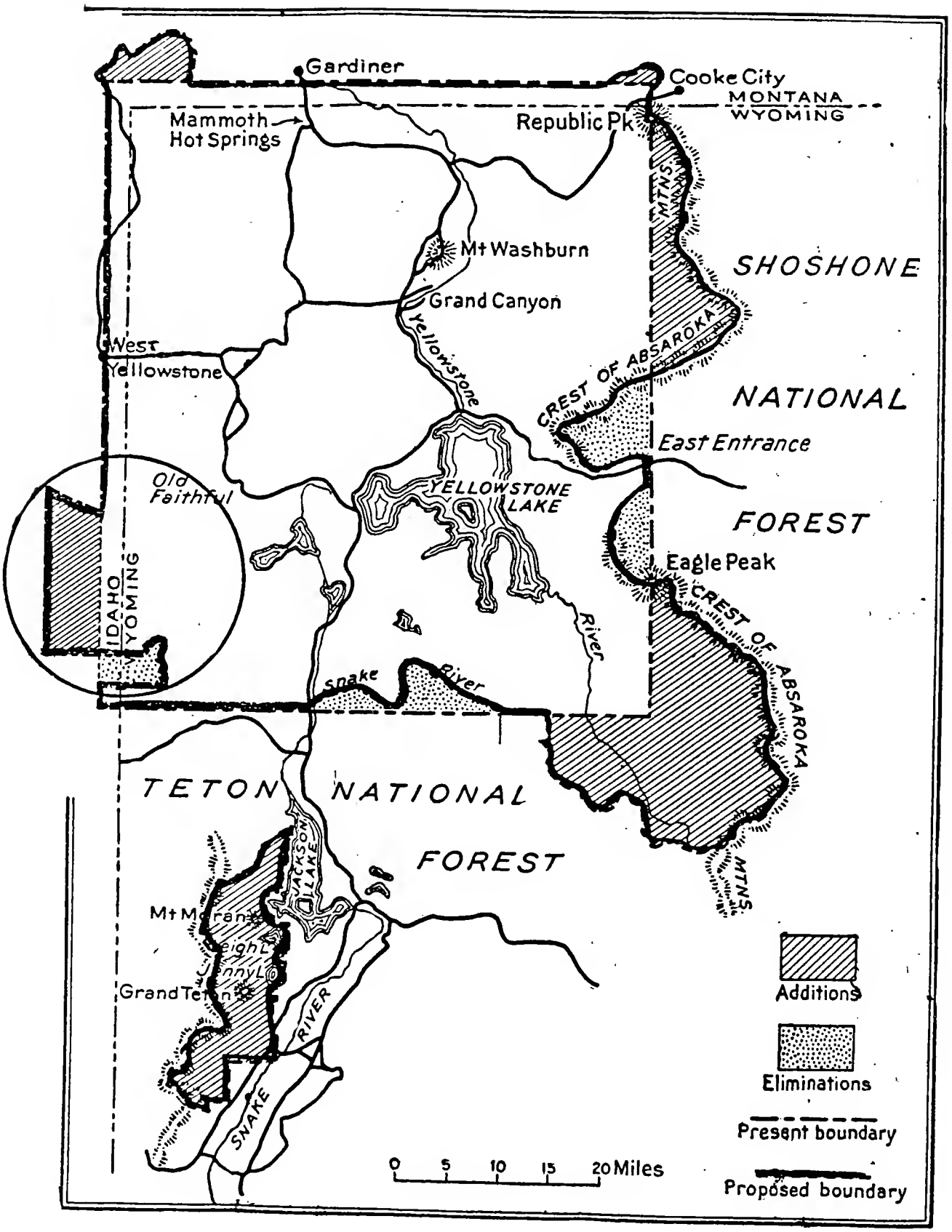
[55] C. C. Moore to Addison T. Smith, February 4, 1926, copy in Cameron, "Irrigation," 37-38.

[56] W. G. Swendsen to H. G. Fuller, August 3, 1926, Moore Papers.

[57] Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, v. 2, 344-345; "Re: S.B. No. 3427," May 1, 1926 (typescript), Moore Papers; Cameron, "Irrigation," 9-10.

[58] C. C. Moore to John B. Kendrick, August 10, 1926, Moore Papers.

[59] *Jackson* (Wyoming) *Courier*, April 1, 1926, clipping in Smith Papers.




*Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), May 16, 1926, page 5, Section 2.*

*Robert Carey (left) and John B. Kendrick, both Wyoming politicians involved in the Cascade Corner issue. American Heritage Center photograph*

it, 175,000 acre-feet of water would cover 5500 acres at the reservoir's high-water mark. Moore remarked that the reservoir would convert "what is now a swamp into a lake."[60] By one calculation, building such irrigation works would cost about $2,000,000.[61]

The Smith-Kendrick scheme backfired, triggering a nastier conflict over Cascade Corner. Second in big wars over the Corner in the 1920's, the new fight lasted from 1926 to 1930. Mather and his subordinates reportedly were tempted at the outset to accept the 264,000 acres that Smith and Kendrick dangled before them, but other forces compelled the Park Service leaders to resist rather than write off 12,000 acres at the Corner. Their boss, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, preferred to preserve the Corner on its merits as parkland. The Park Service's conservationist constituencies generally opposed any surrendering of the Corner's turf and Mather dared not offend many of them. Among those stalwarts were leaders of powerful groups, especially heads of the American Civic Association and the National Parks Association, that had always been mainstays during fights with the Fremont-

[60] Cameron, "Irrigation," 36; "Re: S.B. No. 3427," May 1, 1926 (typescript), Moore Papers *(qtn.)*.

[61] Boundary Commission, *Final Report*, 49.

Madison Company. For its part, *Outlook* accelerated its own drive to preserve what it termed "the integrity of Yellowstone National Park." *Outlook* publishers claimed that their campaign generated plenty of new sympathizers who condemned any bartering away of land at Cascade Corner.

Resistance to the Smith-Kendrick proposals also mounted in other circles. For instance, at their annual convention in 1926, state game and wildlife department officials in 11 western states characterized the Smith-Kendrick measures a "perverting" of Cascade Corner's "natural advantages to commercial uses."[62]

In the new fighting, the sides duked it out in the press; additionally, their battlegrounds ranged from forums within federal and state government agencies to congressional hearings from which U.S. Senate and House of Representatives subcommittees drew opposite conclusions. Such proceedings were held before the Yellowstone National Park Boundary Commission. An agency that Congress established on February 28, 1929, the boundary commission was instructed to render judgments on the fate of Cascade Corner and settle several other controversies about realigning the boundaries of Yellowstone National Park.

In these forums, the fighting over Cascade Corner revolved mainly around old issues that were undecided after almost a decade of debating, among them: did the physical geography and plant and wildlife ecosystems of the Corner qualify the area to remain parkland? Were the Corner's natural attributes like waterfalls grandiose enough that the area deserved to be classed as national park terrain? To what extent was the Corner potentially a new haven for tourists and users of the outdoors? How could one fairly characterize Belcher Meadows and assess the environmental and social consequences of situating a reservoir at this place? Could preservation and commercialism ever coexist at the Corner? Could there be found a middle ground between the dogmatism of irrigationists and the self-assurance of National Park Service leaders and the conservationist forces to whom those government officials listened? Were interstate differences between Idaho and Wyoming a roadblock to ever deciding the disposition of the Corner's water resources?

Breaking no ground, the Fremont-Madison side again referred to Belcher Meadows as a swamp and pointed out that nobody ever ventured there save "a few sportsmen" who fished Cascade Corner's streams. Davis, former director of the U.S. Reclamation Service, claimed that Belcher and its environs contained "no scenery." In 1927, the U.S. Senate's subcommittee on public lands weighed in on the same side, holding that the Belcher sector "has no particular or unusual scenic values."[63] Conversely, said landscape architect Harold Caparn, he had "ridden and walked" over the Belcher sector "always on the lookout for swamps" but "was unable to find a single wet place."[64] A House of Representatives subcommittee likewise classed Belcher as scenic and habitable by humans. Reiterating his old perceptions of Belcher, Albright described it "forest-dotted meadows."[65]

Discussing her observations of Belcher during a visit to the area in 1927, an officer of the General Federation of Women's Clubs reported:

> Every opening in the trees revealed to our eyes some delightful surprises. Of brilliant rainbow-tinted waterfalls there seemed no end, and lovely wooded islands, with the river forming cascades on either side, were an added charm. And all of these scenes were so fresh, so unspoiled by contact with man that it seemed as though they had been newly created.[66]

The sides also disagreed about the environmental consequences of damming at Belcher. The National Park Service and its allies condemned such damming because it would destroy what the Fremont-Madison side deemed unworthy of preservation. Aside from deploring losses to a Belcher reservoir of scenic vistas and habitat and forage for wildlife, conservationists objected that such a reservoir would submerge waterfalls at Duranda, Silver Scarf, and Ouzel. Moreover, the same resisters held that any dam at Belcher would be so ugly and disharmonious with its surroundings as to mar the region's environment permanently. By this mind-set, it mattered not that the Fremont-Madison Company offered to build an earthen dam and to camouflage the face of the structure with plant-life that was indigenous to Cascade Corner. Neither could the sides agree on whether damming at Belcher would unrea-

[62] Miles, *Guardians,* 64; Saylor, *Jackson,* 172; Boundary Commission, *Final Report,* 121-142, 167-179; "To the Looters of Yellowstone Park, Hands Off," *Outlook,* 144 (October 20, 1926), 230; "The Yellowstone Grab: A Lesson in Geography," *Outlook,* 144 (November 26, 1926), 394.

[63] Addison T. Smith, "Wanted: A Reservoir," *Outlook,* 145 (January 19, 1927), 78; Cameron, "Irrigation," 38, 41; *Pocatello* (Idaho) *Tribune,* July 28, 1928, clipping in Smith Papers.

[64] Boundary Commission, *Final Report,* 124.

[65] Cameron, "Irrigation," 38; Horace M. Albright, "Yellowstone's Chief Describes Belcher Basin," *National Parks Bulletin,* 8 (December 1926), 6-7.

[66] Boundary Commission, *Final Report* 119-120.

sonably disturb the Corner's ecosystem of native plants, fish, birds, and mammals.[67]

Many conservationists stressed what they deemed to be the most compelling of all reasons for blocking reservoir-building at Belcher—preventing unsightly views and worse environmental damage that could arise from the lowering and raising of the proposed reservoir's water level. Formerly an U.S. Senator from Idaho but a New York resident in 1926, Fred Dubois encapsulated those concerns by pointing to what would almost inevitably happen were the Belcher reservoir constructed. In his words, the shoreline of the man-made lake would be scarred by "blackened stumps, dead trees, mud banks, [and become] a home for ravens and buzzards" when irrigators drew down the reservoir each summer.[68] For proof, conservationists averted to the same conditions which already existed at Jackson Hole's grandest body of water, Jackson Lake, when the farmers of southern Idaho drew down the lake for irrigation purposes. Because of sights such as Jackson Lake's debris-littered shoreline and smelly mud flats during the summer, critics maintained, the lake had become a permanent "eyesore."[69]

In reply, the Fremont-Madison side minimized evidence that environmental costs could be expected from operating a new reservoir at Belcher. However, this side rested its case largely on a theory that the social and economic values of damming at Belcher should be paramount in deciding the outcome of this fighting over Cascade Corner. According to the Fremont-Madison Company's estimates, operating the proposed reservoir allowed as much as 200,000 acres of farmland to be watered adequately; then the economic benefits of improving farming in this way would filter down and be translated into new social well-being for 30,000 residents of the Fremont-Madison district.[70]

The opposite side rejected all suggestions for compromising away the pristine values of Belcher. The group equated putting a reservoir at Belcher with surrendering priceless terrain to suit a handful of farmers. Furthermore, Mather and Albright renewed their old vows not only to treasure Cascade Corner's scenery and resources for social, environmental, and ecological reasons. Any "nibbling" by the Fremont-Madison side at the Corner, Albright declared, invited others to sever different territories from the national park system.[71] Etched in Mather and Albright's memory were the National Park Service's setbacks at Hetch Hetchy in California and Sherburne Lake in Montana, and they took no chances that developments at Cascade Corner could help to precipitate similar reverses.

Important forces in Wyoming similarly arrayed themselves against the Fremont-Madison side. J. T. Scott, president of the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission, even claimed that when the Yellowstone National Park Boundary Commission held hearings at Cody and Jackson in 1929, people from Wyoming "voted" almost in unison at the sessions "against giving Belcher Meadows over to any commercial or irrigation project." Embroidering this view, Scott added that across his state, nobody supported the Fremont-Madison crowd except "a few who have been influenced by personal interests or misinformation."[72]

Emphasizing notions common to conservationists, a Laramie newspaper decried the Fremont-Madison Company's new designs on Belcher. On July 12, 1929, the Washakie County Sportsmen's Club resolved that all of Cascade Corner should be reserved as parkland so that in the future, it could be a new haven for tourists. The Wyoming division of the Izaak Walton League, an organization with 11 active chapters scattered across the state, called for no encroaching on national parks to impound water "for any commercial purpose."[73]

Sometimes for parochial reasons instead of high-minded conservationist convictions, Wyoming electors also dissented. The companion proposals of Smith and Kendrick galled them the most; they especially disliked the proposals because in order for the Fremont-Madison Company finally to establish itself at Cascade Corner when 12,000 of the Corner's acres were removed from the National Park Service's jurisdiction, 200,000 acres of Wyoming's terrain must be transferred into Yellowstone National Park. Still heading Wyoming's Game and Fish Commission in 1930, Scott complained about the proposed transactions:

[67] "The Yellowstone Grab," *Outlook*, 145 (January 19, 1927), 73; Bartlett, *Yellowstone*, 353.

[68] Cameron, "Irrigation," 6 (qtn.), 39; *Pocatello Tribune*, August 14, 1926, clipping in Smith Papers; *Idaho Daily Daily Statesman*, May 16.1926, 5, sec. 2.

[69] Righter, *Crucible*, 9-10; Garet Garrett, "The Tale of Uncle Sam's Voyage in an Irrigation District," *Saturday Evening Post*, 197 (January 17, 1925), 9, 119; Saylor, *Jackson*, 155.

[70] Cameron, "Irrigation," 22; Smith, "Wanted," 78.

[71] Cameron, "Irrigation," 39-41.

[72] J. T. Scott to Senator John B. Kendrick, January 16, 1930, printed in Boundary Commission, *Final Report*, 162.

[73] "'To the Looters of Yellowstone Park, Hands Off!' An Editorial from the Laramie, Wyoming *Republican-Boomerang* of October 23, 1926," *Outlook*, 144 (November 10, 1926), 333-334; Boundary Commission, *Final Report*, 147; "Items Abstracted from [the] Third Annual Convention, Wyoming Division, Izaak Walton League," August 47-18, 1927 (typescript), and "Report of [the] Fourth Annual Convention, Izaak Walton League of America, Wyoming Division," December 11-12, 1928 (mimeographed), 9, Izaak Walton League, Wyoming Division Papers.

> The absolute injustice of the proposal [to expand Yellowstone National Park] is that the southwestern portion [12,000 acres of Cascade Corner] is to be taken out of the park and given to Idaho for reclamation and that Wyoming must give up about 200,000 acres to compensate for the loss, and we are not to receive any benefit whatsoever but rather to suffer permanent and enormous losses in the years to come.[74]

Among many groups in Wyoming, the state's Izaak Walton organizations believed that Wyoming contained no terrain to barter away. Instead, this state should retain control of the 200,000 acres that would be lost under Kendrick and Smith's schemes in order for Wyoming authorities to guarantee that the region remain in "primeval status."[75]

Battling over Cascade Corner continued to rage inconclusively but with more bitterness partly because two congressional committees had differently assessed the suitability of Belcher and its immediate environs to remain national park domain. Decision-making passed to the Yellowstone National Park Boundary Commission in 1929. Finally, on March 6, 1930, the Commission handed down decisions that stunned the Fremont-Madison Company. Exercising its power to rule on disputes such as the controversy over Cascade Corner, the commission decided that neither this company nor its allies had "demonstrated [a] public necessity" for severing any part of the Corner from the national park system.[76] Moreover, the Commission struck hard at the economic and engineering premises by which the Fremont-Madison Company had always claimed that its reservoirs belonged within the Corner. According to C. A. Bock, the Commission's consulting engineer, the Teton River Basin contained a site entirely within Idaho that compared favorably to the Belcher location on all counts. There, Bock's calculations showed, the company could establish a new reservoir as economically as putting the same waterworks at Belcher. Furthermore, he reported, the company could impound larger amounts of water at the Teton site than could ever be accumulated at Belcher.[77]

Congress accepted the Boundary Commission's verdict, and observers concluded that the fight for Cascade Corner had ended on Mather, Albright, and the conservation movement's terms. But they misjudged the power of ideas and the tenacity of Fremont-Madison district farmers who had recently replaced the Fremont-Madison Company with a new, government-sanctioned Enterprise Irrigation District. Because of water shortages at the start of the 1930's and heavy losses on account of drought in 1934, those farmers revived the old plan for putting a reservoir at Belcher from which to draw extra quantities of water. The U.S. Geological Survey encouraged the agrarians to petition again for Belcher waterworks on the grounds that a catchment there would at least "relieve" their water shortages "materially."[78]

On petitioning newly for Belcher waterworks, the Fremont-Madison farmers' pleas fell on deaf ears in Congress and the U.S. presidential administration of Franklin Roosevelt that came to power in 1933. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes warned farmers that Roosevelt and his New Dealers intended to bar "water developments" at all "lakes and streams" within the national parks.[79] Because of the New Dealers' "blind prejudice" on this score, an U.S. Bureau of Reclamation official speculated, water-taking from Yellowstone National Park could never happen. His prediction was accurate. New Dealers never blinked in the face of more pressure to allow irrigationists a new reservoir at Cascade Corner. However, Ickes at the last maneuvered to deflect Fremont-Madison farmers from continuing to agitate for Belcher waterworks. Ickes provided $4,000,000 in Great Depression-relief money so that those farmers could build themselves a new irrigation reservoir at Island Park.[80] Island Park was situated on the north fork of the Snake River.[81]

The long fight over Cascade Corner ended in 1935. Only a tiny faction of Fremont-Madison holdouts even dared to think of reviving their old fight. But when, in 1937, they unveiled another proposal to establish a res-

[74] J. T. Scott to Congressman Vincent Carter, January 27, 1930, printed in Boundary Commission, *Final Report.*

[75] "Report of [the] Proceedings...," December 11 - 12, 1928, 9 (qtn.), and "Items Abstracted from the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention, Wyoming Division, Izaak Walton League," August 20-21, 1929 (mimeographed), Izaak Walton League, Wyoming Division Papers.

[76] Boundary Commission, *Final Report,* 9.

[77] *Ibid.* 37-51.

[78] *Idaho Falls* (Idaho) *Post-Register,* July 28, 1932, 4, November 16, 1934, 1; W. G. Hoyt, *Water Utilization in the Snake River Basin,* U.S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, Water Supply Paper 657 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), 174.

[79] Congressman Compton I. White to R. W. Faris, July 24, 1933, Idaho Reclamation Records, Collection AR-20, Idaho State Archives.

[80] E. B. Debler to R. W. Faris, July 17, 1934, Idaho Reclamation Records; Hugh Lovin, "Yellowstone National Park, Jackson Hole, and the Idaho Irrigation Frontier," *Idaho Yesterdays,* 43 (Winter 2000), 17.

[81] For the Yellowstone National Park Boundary Commission's reservations about putting a reservoir here, see Boundary Commission, *Final Report,* 51.

ervoir at Belcher, U.S. Senator William Borah of Idaho persuaded them to desist. He warned the holdouts that because of fights over the Corner in the past, the struggles had forever "aroused the scenic apostles all over the country," and working in tandem with the National Park Service, those forces could mount "enough organized opposition" to defeat any new proposal.[82]

One and a half decades of fighting over Cascade Corner pointed out there were broad differences among the philosophies and social motivations of those Americans who were behind several grand initiatives for shaping the 20th-century West's destiny—reclamation of arid land by irrigation, establishing an excellent system of national parks, and preserving the West's natural heritage. Such conditions invited the practice of western irrigation politics at its ugliest, ensured that resolving disputes was extraordinarily complicated, and dictated no speedy resolution of such controversies. When the cauldron boiled again, the same conditions prevailed in struggling over Cascade Corner that engaged quite a horde: many federal officials; congressional leaders; influential conservationists who dominated the American Civic Association and like-minded organizations; Wyoming's political captaincy and many constituents; Idaho's state government leaders; important segments of the nation's fourth estate; and the Fremont-Madison Company and an assortment of local forces that championed the corporation's interests. Little was certain from the outset of this fighting except that given the balance of power among so many interests, probably the Fremont-Madison Company was the loser.

The sides dragged out the fighting by not settling on any middle ground. They never counted Cascade Corner's moose, elk, and deer populations to the satisfaction of both groups. The sides failed to agree that by common sense principles, probably Belcher Meadows was intrinsically scenic, all the more so because of the area's riverine environment and forest-covered ridges that towered above a meandering river valley, but the river's bottoms usually were swamp and alive with mosquitoes for a part of the year. Poles apart, the sides continued to judge it either maudlin or principled to think of Cascade Corner as parkland.

If federal power and property rights figured in the decision-making, the National Park Service enforced federal supremacy to its advantage. As for interstate issues separating Idaho and Wyoming, the sides seized on disputes over Cascade Corner to perpetuate their ancient fights over water that arose in one state and crossed the boundary between them into the other; only long afterwards, the two states put to rest some of those old conflicts in an interstate compact of 1949. But nothing in the new detente applied to the Fall River and its parts straddling Idaho and Wyoming.

Ultimately, deciding Cascade Corner's fate involved more than political jockeying among U.S. presidents, secretaries of the interior, the National Park Service, Congress, the Yellowstone National Park Boundary Commission, two states, the conservation movement, and the Fremont-Madison Company. Common sense suggested that probably by the preponderance of the hard evidence about the Corner that conservationists amassed over the 1920's, the Corner belonged in the national park system. Despite the rhetorical excesses of Mather, Albright, and conservationists outside the government like Gregg and McFarland, the Corner's physical geography qualified it by their evidence to remain parkland. Such a conclusion followed even though the Corner lacked geological wonders like geysers, and its terrain tended to inspire less awe than many parts of Yellowstone National Park. At its best, the Corner contained beautiful spots like Colonnade Falls, snow-capped mountains, picturesque canyons, unique escarpments like Batchelder Column, abundant forests, and lots of wildlife.

Furthermore, those facets of the Corner's natural setting underscored the region's potential for someday satisfying the needs of hordes of urban tourists and city-based dudes of outdoors recreation. No wonder that, in the end, the reservoir sites at Belcher Meadows and Mountain Ash Creek escaped the clutches of Fremont-Madison farmers.

[82] William E. Borah to R. W. Fans, June 28, 1937, Idaho Reclamation Records.

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# Highway Construction over the Summit: The Cheyenne Pass-Telephone Canyon Road

By John E. Walter

Wyoming Highway Department photograph

*Telephone Canyon road, east of Laramie, 1920s.*

Native Americans had used a particular canyon for centuries going forth and back on their hunting and warring expeditions to pass over what the first white men to explore the area called variously the Black Hills, Laramie Hills, Sherman Mountains, and finally, Laramie Mountains.

The first documented use of the canyon and pass by white men was in Captain Howard Stansbury's report to Col. John James Abert, Chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, Washington, D.C., relative to his reconnaissance of the 40th parallel for a possible railroad location.[1]

Jim Bridger had been hired at Fort Bridger to guide Captain Stansbury from Fort Bridger east. While enroute, Bridger met an old Sioux Indian chief who had the proud name of Chief Buffalo Dung. The chief gave Bridger directions to the canyon and what he called Cheyenne Pass, which the party reached September 27, 1850.[2] With Bridger's knowledge of the pass and Stansbury's report, which outlined his use of the pass, it soon became a popular route for traverse.

Westbound emigrants began using it in the late 1850s. It was popularly called the Emigrant Road and later maps called it the Salt Lake Road. Overland travelers used the pass and canyon as an alternate route.[3]

Telephone service between Cheyenne and Laramie became a reality in 1882 with the construction of a phone line from Cheyenne, up Lodgepole Creek, over Cheyenne Pass and through the canyon, which soon began to be called Telephone Canyon. Prior to the Cheyenne-Laramie phone line, phone service could be had over the Union Pacific's signal line between the two cities.[4]

Perhaps the New York to Paris automobile race, which passed through Wyoming in March, 1908, alerted the Albany County Commissioners to begin preparing for automobile traffic.[5] In any case, the County Commissioners at their May 18, 1910, meeting established a right-of-way 66 feet in width for a county road beginning at the east end of Grand Avenue in Laramie through Telephone Canyon to the Cheyenne Pass Road on the Summit.[6]

Z. E. Sevison, who had been Albany County surveyor for four years, became State Highway Engineer after the creation of the Wyoming Highway Department in April, 1917, and soon arranged a joint venture between Albany County and the Highway Department for improvement of the Lincoln Highway from Laramie east.

At their July, 1918, meeting, the Albany County Commissioners adopted the following resolution: "After careful consideration by this Board and the State Highway Department of all proposed routes for the Laramie-Cheyenne road, it appears the most feasible and practical route is that commonly known as the "Telephone Canyon Road," the estimated cost of which is $17,280.00."[7]

Preliminary surveys had been made of four different routes and the Telephone Canyon Route shortened the distance 7.5 miles over the existing route.

In 1918, Ames and Braisted, Laramie contractors, were hired to construct eight miles of 16-foot roadway beginning 2.16 miles east of the east city limits of Laramie, extending through the Canyon and onto the Summit.

Labor shortage and the "flu epidemic" prevented the work from being completed in 1918, but it was finally finished in 1919 at a total cost of $12,583.05. Albany County furnished $7,052.50; the State Highway Department, $4,530.55; and Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph, $2,000.[8]

As traffic increased through the Canyon, it was necessary in 1920 to establish a two-man maintenance station on the east side of Cheyenne Pass. This was near a spring that still exists. The maintenance men were kept busy dragging the road to hold down "wash-boarding," clean up slides, and do as much improvement work as possible. This station was in use until 1926, at which time the Forest Service requested it be moved to what was known as Cold Spring. This would be on the north side of what is now Interstate 80 at milepost 321.50.

1 Capt. Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, including a Reconnoissance of a New Route through the Rocky Mountains.* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1852), 266.

2 *Ibid.*, 266.

3 Richard G. Beidleman, ed., "The 1859 Overland Journal of Natualist George Suckley," *Annals of Wyoming* 28 (April 1956), 74.

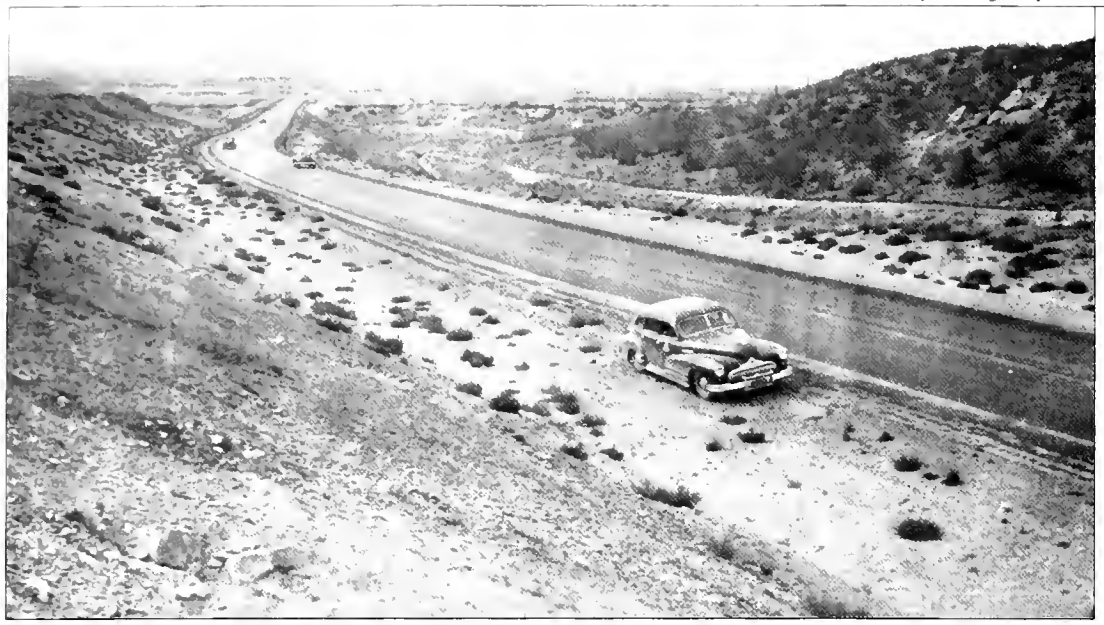
4 For the telephone information, see Marie Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Archives and Historical Dept., 1974), 661. There was a mild attempt to name it Happy Jack Canyon as a continuation of the Happy Jack Road, but it didn't catch on.

5 See Emmett D. Chisum, "Crossing Wyoming By Car in 1908: The New York to Paris Automobile Race," *Annals of Wyoming* 52 (Spring, 1980), 34-39.

6 Commissioner Proceedings of County Commissioners, Albany County Clerk records, Record Group 1052, Wyoming State Archives, Parks and Cultural Resources Dept., Cheyenne.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Highway Commission Minutes, Wyoming Highway Commission and Department Record Group 45, Wyoming State Archives, State Parks and Cultural Resources Department, Cheyenne. Later references to bid amounts come from official commission minutes and reports.



*Telephone Canyon, 1948. Below, the same location in 2000. Author's collection.*

In 1923 the Highway Department requested bids for a 3.94 mile project, beginning 2.16 miles east of the east city limits of Laramie, to reconstruct the existing 16-foot roadway to a 24-foot width with 18 feet of gravel surfacing. A 22-foot reinforced concrete bridge over Canyon Creek was also included. The cost of this project was $57,641.87 of which $37,265.46 was federal aid.[9]

In 1925 this 3.94 miles plus 2.16 miles from the west end of the project to the Laramie city limits was selected as one of two projects in the state to be "oiled." The "oiling" on this project cost $3,402.65. The remainder of the canyon was reconstructed to a 24-foot width during 1924-1926. The total cost including "oiling" was $31,700.84.[10]

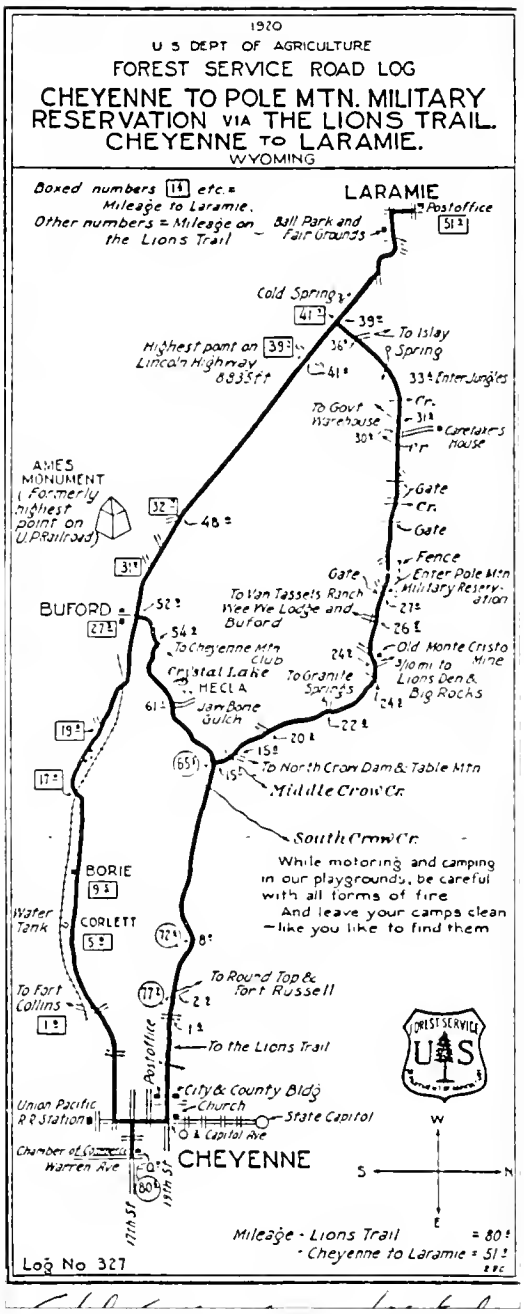
Except for maintenance, no further surfacing was done in the canyon until 1931-1932 during which time, after some widening and reconstruction, a 20-foot wide oil mat was constructed at a total cost of $67,238.73. At the completion of the foregoing, the maintenance station at Cold Spring was discontinued and all maintenance work in the canyon was done by the Laramie crew. No further improvements were made in the canyon until after World War II.[10]

One man, Gardner Manfull, should be recognized for his years of service with the Wyoming Highway Department and his engineering involvement with Telephone Canyon. He began working in Laramie April 18, 1923, as an instrument man, soon became resident

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Z. E. Sevison, "Bituminous Treatment of Crushed Rock and Gravel Surfaces," *Wyoming Roads* 2 (November, 1925), 3-5.

*John King, the highway maintenance man on the Lincoln Highway for many years, poses in this 1950 photograph with his wife in front of the Kiwanis fountain, built in 1925, near the summit. Author's collection.*




*Right, U. S. Forest Service mileage map showing the Cheyenne-Laramie route, 1920.*


Author's collection

*Lincoln Highway sign on the summit east of Laramie, 1920s, incorrectly asserting that the highest point on the transcontinental highway was the "continental divide."*

engineer, and spent his entire career spanning 40 years, retiring September 30, 1963, in the Laramie area.

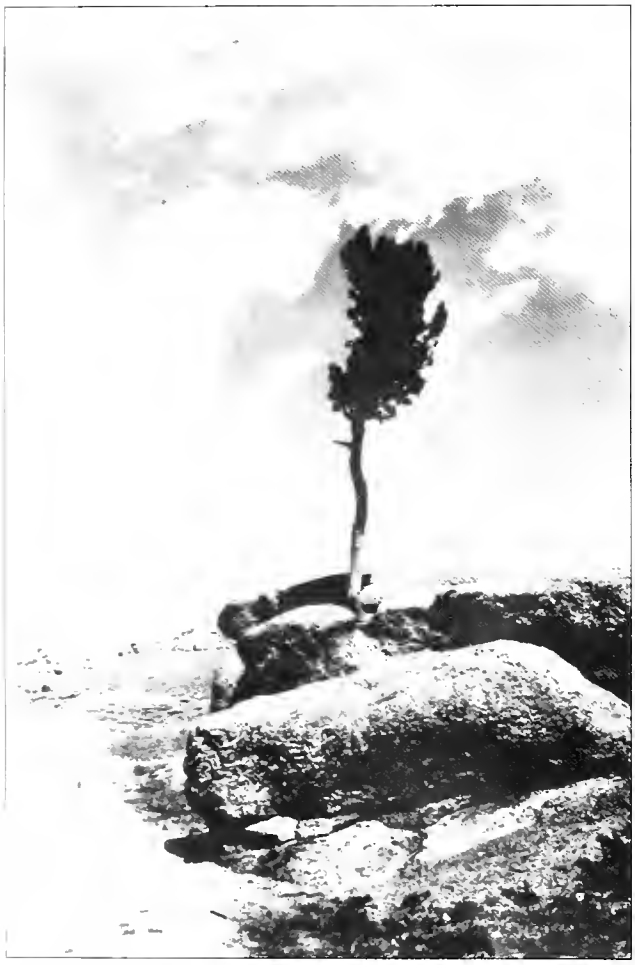
"Gard," as he was known, worked under the guidance and supervision of George W. Marks, district engineer for District 7, which included Albany County.[11] Marks' association with the canyon ended February 1, 1935, after the canyon had been "oiled" and no further construction was done there until after World War II.

During 1946-1947, 4.485 miles was reconstructed to a 32-foot width extending from the east city limits of Laramie east into the canyon. This was followed in 1952-1953 by 5.067 miles of four-lane undivided high-

[11] Marks was a 1905 graduate from the University of Michigan and began working for the highway department in May 1919.

State Parks and Cultural Resources Department, Cheyenne

*Family picnic on Cheyenne Pass, July 4, 1919*



Author's collection.

*Lone Tree, the "tree in the rock" along the highway east of Laramie, photographed about 1920..*

way through the canyon at a bid price of $674,983.25, the most expensive project in the canyon at that time.

The first Interstate project extending into the canyon was 1.945 miles in length, four-lane undivided, beginning at the proposed location of the East Laramie Interchange, east at a cost of $655,779.45.

August 18, 1965, 3.355 miles of four-lane divided highway through the canyon was awarded to Husman Brothers of Sheridan at a bid price of $2,144,009.06, the most expensive project at that time.

Due to increased traffic on 1-80, a large part of which was trucks, the Highway Commission approved a complete reconstruction of 1-80 through the canyon and the approaches at either end of 5.114 miles to five lanes, the fifth lane being added east bound. This was awarded to E.H. Oftedal and Sons, May 2,1996, at their bid price of $16,066,610.49. Compare this to the first 8-mile project let in the canyon and its approaches 80 years previous, the total cost of which was $12,573.05.

Thus, after slightly more than 148 years, the canyon to Cheyenne Pass has become a state-of-the-art five-lane highway known as Telephone Canyon.

*Author John E. Walter began work with the Wyoming Highway Department in 1932 and retired on April 1, 1976, as the department's secondary roads and state aid engineer. With the department, he was stationed at several places including Medicine Bow, Laramie, Basin (district engineer there from 1949-62), and Cheyenne.*

# Book Reviews

Edited by Carl Hallberg

**Remembering Heart Mountain: Essays on Japanese American Internment in Wyoming.** Edited by Mike Mackey. Powell: Western History Publications, 1998. *xii + 240 pp. Illustrations, index, notes. Paper, $16.95.*

Fifty years after the end of World War II, we are still piecing together the story of Japanese American internment through the substantial and growing body of literature, including numerous dissertations, books, plays, poetry, films, and videos. With this anthology, Mackey has brought us a valuable new resource focusing on the internment camp at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, one of the largest and best known of the ten camps.

The book grew out of the proceedings of a May 1995 symposium organized by Mackey and Northwest College history professor Steven Thulin. Twelve articles are revised conference papers and four are solicited essays. The contributors come from a wide range of backgrounds and experiences--from former internees, WRA staff, and area residents to scholars, researchers, and archivists-- and this gives the book a well-balanced perspective. In addition, the organization of the text into seven sections furnishes readers with a detailed overview about the camp.

The first section of the book outlines the historical context of Japanese American internment in general. The two essays in Part II offer a rare and interesting look at Heart Mountains's economic impact on Wyoming, reflecting views from politicians, journalists, farmers, businessmen, and ordinary citizens. Among the most fascinating in the collection are the three essays in Part III focusing on *Heart Mountain Sentinel* newspaper, Heart Mountain High School, and Heart Mountain Hospital, the three key institutions in the camp.

In the fourth section Frank Inouye's essay on the Heart Mountain draft resistance movement may be the most provocative in the book. By now most informed readers should have learned something about the 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regiment. But draft resistance, a taboo subject for obvious reasons, still represents one of the hidden and most dramatic incident in camp history. What is more, Sam Fujishin's personal story as a Nisei soldier, and Ben Kuroki's controversial "home mission"of Part IV successfully establish an intertextual dialogue on the key issue of loyalty for the Nisei generation. Part V goes on to a cross-section of public reactions to Heart Mountain from area residents, an often-neglected dimension of internment literature. And in Part VI, both Lane Hirabayashi's historical essay and Eric Bittner's introduction on archival sources are illuminating pieces for future research. Finally, two essays on the long-term impact of interment, from two very different angles (mental and political), round out the collection very nicely.

Although Mackey has created a strong anthology, a few suggestions might sharpen the work. Hirabayashi's call for multi-camp research is very sound. In developing future agendas (Mr. Mackey is currently working on a new anthology on Amache camp in Colorado), more emphasis should be placed on the comparative dimensions among WRA camps. For the book to be more useful as a classroom text, a brief introduction at the beginning of each section outlining themes and critical questions would be very helpful. Also general camp data on Heart Mountain (some of which appears throughout the text), such a s chronology, demographics, camp structures, and key administrators, might become even more helpful gathered together in the appendixes.

**Jun Xing**
**Colorado State University**

**American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation Among the Menominees and Metlakatlans, 1870-1920.** By Brian C. Hosmer. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999. *xiv + 310 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $35.*

The media coverage about tribal casinos seems to assume that Indian entrepreneurship is novel and unusual. Some stories have even featured Indians who say that the pursuit of wealth is inconsistent with Indian traditions. Thus, it would probably surprise many people to learn that Indian business ventures are nothing new. According to Brian Hosmer, associate professor of history and adjunct professor of American Indian studies at the University of Wyoming, "the fact that some [Indians adapted to market forces] represents a

significant, if seldom studied, aspect" of Native Americas' history. Hosmer's book is a laudable effort to shed additional light on that aspect of history.

The book focuses on two groups of Indians who had enterprising responses to the economic troubles that came with non-Indian domination. Menominee Indians, grouped on a timber-rich reservation in Wisconsin, took up logging and eventually operated a commercial sawmill. Meanwhile, some Tsimshian in British Columbia collected around Methodist missionary William Duncan, who encouraged them to strive for self-sufficiency through a variety of market-oriented undertakings. These Indians, Hosmer argues, understood that market capitalism encouraged conduct at odds with traditional values such as kin group solidarity. They accepted economic "modernization" anyway, not in capitulation to the non-Indian system but in hopes of preserving their tribal life and independence.

In successive accounts, Hosmer shows clearly how the Menominee and the Metlakatlans did preserve tribal life, despite community members' increasingly "individualistic" economic pursuits and despite the consequent factionalism and stratification that strained tribal ties. Both groups regarded some resources as tribal and distributed the proceeds of those resources to all tribe members. They did not oppose economic development and private enterprise, but they valued tribal unity over personal profit.

On the other hand, these are not accounts of long-term economic success. Although both groups enjoyed periods of relative prosperity, neither was able to create a self-perpetuating economy. For both tribes, "modernization" meant mainly the extraction and export of local natural resources. Both were dependent on outsiders for capital and were subject to the arbitrary and discriminatory power of colonial governments. In both communities, non-Indians assumed the management of key enterprises and were reluctant to relinquish control even after Indians learned the businesses.

Hosmer presents the results of thorough research in lucid prose, although details threaten to obscure his argument in places. His analysis has weak spots. It is vague about the meanings of such key terms as "capitalism," "individualism," and "culture." For information about aboriginal economic culture, it necessarily depends on ethnographers who had different questions in mind. The result is some unclarity about changes in thinking that Indians made as they moved into the market system.

Rather than supporting bold new theories, Hosmer's case studies illustrate and support points that other scholars have made. Nevertheless, this book accomplishes something important and the points it illustrates deserve attention. It confirms that Indians of the nineteenth century could perceive and react rationally to changing economic realities. It shows that "Indian cultures had and have the power, indeed the flexibility, to adapt to market capitalism, and in a way that stops short of outright disintegration or loss of a sense of cultural distinctiveness." As Hosmer says, Indians' own values have "'managed' change," and adaptation *is* an Indian value. This book is, thus, a useful antidote to Americans' (even scholars') tendency to equate change in Indian societies with a loss of Indian identity.

**Alexandra Harmon**
**University of Washington**

**Dakota: An Autobiography of a Cowman.** By W.H. Hamilton. Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society, 1998. *xxx + 173 pp. Paper, $15.95.*

Early in 1884, 20-year-old William H. Hamilton left his boyhood home in West Virginia bound for the opportunities of the western frontier. Stopping first in Iowa and then in western Nebraska to raise some money by farm work, he traveled to Deadwood, Dakota Territory in December of the same year and began his career as a homestead farmer in Butte County and later became a rancher in Harding County in the extreme northwestern corner of what today is South Dakota. Seventeen years later, in 1901, he reluctantly sold out all his holdings in South Dakota and moved his family to Fulton, Missouri, so that his children could obtain a proper education.

Some thirty years later Hamilton wrote this autobiography about his farming-ranching experiences in South Dakota. It first appeared in Volume 19 (1938) of the *South Dakota Historical Collections.* At the suggestion of his granddaughter, Virginia Hamilton Baldwin, the South Dakota State Historical Society has republished it with the addition of some family photos, a map and a helpful introduction by Thomas D. Isern. As a result, we have access to a remarkable first-hand account about the evolution of agriculture on this far western Dakota frontier. It is a story about men and women struggling to make a living and a life in an environment of vast distances and isolation, prairie fires, gumbo, mosquitos, rattlesnakes, wolves and most of all, hostile weather.

Within a few weeks of his arrival in the northern Black Hills, Hamilton became, as he put it, "a full fledged farmer" when he bought a homestead claim for $150

and rented a farm next to his uncle's. He planted crops and gradually developed a herd of cattle that he grazed on the public range. But as the public land was being "taken up," the cattle had to be moved further and further out. Finally, in 1889 the family located a ranch site well beyond homesteaders on Jones Creek on the sough side of South Cave Hills. There they filed on a homestead, built a dugout, proceeded to fence their claim and developed a cattle ranch using the public range around them for hay and pasture. Hamilton spent the rest of his time in South Dakota going back and forth between his farm near Belle Fourche and the ranch at Cave Hills.

Hamilton's cattle ranching was generally successful due to careful management and a lot of hard work. Unlike the big cattle outfits that had wintered their cattle on the open range and were pretty much wiped out by the hard winter of 1886-87, Hamilton always put up prairie hay in the summer and moved his cattle off the open range and into fenced pasture during the winter. He also invested in good quality Hereford and Shorthorn stock. By the end of the century, homesteaders were encroaching on the open range around his ranch, and Hamilton decided it was time to give up ranching. In the years just before moving to Missouri, Hamilton developed a small but successful cattle and hog raising operation at his farm on the north side of the Belle Fourche River.

There is much here about the environment and probably more words are given to describing the weather than any other topic. There was the isolation of long winters on the ranch, the gumbo that when wet would become impassible by wagon, horse or on foot and mosquitos that at times were nearly unbearable to both humans and horses. There were plenty of rattlesnakes, but a greater threat to cattle were wolves that took cows and especially calves in considerable number. When wolves proved too smart to eat poisoned bait, Hamilton brought in tracking hounds, greyhounds and elkhounds which pretty well eliminated that threat to cattle. But it is the weather that was the constant element of life on this frontier and few pages go by without his commenting on it and the challenges it presented to humans and animals alike.

Those interested in getting not just an understanding but a feeling for what was like to be a farmer and rancher on the late 19th century far western Dakota frontier will want to read this very readable autobiography.

**Gary D. Olson**
**Augustana College, Sioux Falls, SD**

**Doc Holliday: A Family Portrait.** By Karen Holliday Tanner. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998. *xxx + 338 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $28.95.*

John Henry "Doc" Holliday is one of the great legendary figures of the Old West. Something about this emaciated, consumptive, alcoholic dentist from a southern aristocratic family caught (and still catches) the American imagination. In two particularly graphic recent examples, Val Kilmer's and Dennis Quaid's portrayals of Holliday in *Tombstone* and *Wyatt Earp* repeatedly threatened to overshadow other nominally more central aspects of those movies.

Biographies of western legends are notoriously problematic. This is especially true of Holliday. Like Billy the Kid, his legend transcends historical fact and detail. In both cases, because there was so little factual information available, myth-makers were unusually free to use their imaginations. Even the most recent accounts about Holliday's life remain filled with errors and unsubstantiated speculation.

Karen Tanner's *Doc Holliday* is a welcome exception. The primary significance of her book lies in its almost completely original description about Holliday's early life in Georgia. Tanner is a descendant of the Holliday family and had access to surprisingly detailed and informative family records and reminiscences about John Henry's pre-West years. Born in 1851, he overcame a life-threatening birth defect (a cleft palate) to live what was in many ways a fairly typical childhood in a moderately well-to-do southern family. After the Civil War he matriculated from dental school in Philadelphia and had begun practice in Atlanta when he was diagnosed with tuberculosis (which had killed his mother when he was fifteen). In 1873, at age 22, he left Atlanta for the drier, healthier climate of the American West, added serious gambling to his increasingly intermittent dental practice, and entered western mythology.

Holliday was involved in some of the most notorious incidents of western history, including, of course, the running feud in Tombstone that culminated in the mythic gunfight at the OK Corral. In a peripatetic 14 years, he also appeared at many other famous hot spots of western history: Dallas, Fort Griffin, Denver, Cheyenne, Dodge City, Deadwood, Leadville and Las Vegas, New Mexico, to mention just a few examples. He became a personal friend of the Earp brothers, knew many gamblers, gunfighters and lawmen of western lore, and had a long term relationship with Mary

Katherine Harony, who as Katie Elder became a western legend in her own right.

Tanner's book is less groundbreaking in dealing with this aspect of Holliday's life, but even here she has some new information, and her research and judgments are thorough and solid. The overall effect of her work is to substantially demythologize the Holliday of legend. Time after time she finds previous accounts to be based on exaggeration, rumor, or complete fabrication. Holliday appears in a generally favorable light in Tanner's book. She occasionally writes like a loyal family member defending a famous ancestor. This is to some degree a necessary corrective to previously sensationalized accounts. Still, presented with a most likeable and innocuous character, one is left to wonder about the sources of Holliday's pervasive reputation as a cruel, efficient, and cold-blooded killer. Can Tanner really have captured the whole story?

Robert K. DeArment writes in the foreword that this book "will be considered the definitive Holliday biography and will supplant all previously published works on the man's life *(xx and jacket cover)*. I would not go that far. There are still too many mysteries, too many unexplained aspects about Holliday's life and personality to think that we have arrived at the final word. But faced with an almost impenetrably tangled web of half-truth and invention, anyone interested in the legendary Old West should welcome Tanner's book. It is now *the* place to begin in understanding the extremely enigmatic legend of Doc Holliday.

**Kent Blaser**
**Wayne State College**

**Empowering the West: Electrical Politics Before FDR.** By Jay Brigham. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. *xii + 211 pp. Tables, appen-dices, notes, index. Cloth, $35.*

Jay Brigham has a number of points to make in *Empowering the West*. First and foremost, he emphasizes that the question of public verses private power was a political - not a technological - one; that the issue was rooted in progressive-era antitrust and natural resources concerns; and that the issue was a live one at both the local and national levels during the 1920s. He further argues that public power advocates never wanted to do away with private power, they just wanted a yardstick with which to measure the fairness of its costs. He also notes that many observers believed that electricity was essential to the good life and to economic development, and that its relative cheapness made public power the preferable means to those ends.

If one doesn't know these things already, then he or she might find the book valuable, but most scholars with even a passing knowledge about the early twentieth century are well aware of the vitality of the private v. public power issue at both the state and national levels, and they are aware, as well, of several of the implications of the issue which Brigham laboriously draws out.

Still, there is something to be said for a familiar story well-told. Unfortunately, Brigham doesn't give us that, either. His discussion about the struggle between public and private power advocates takes on a simplistic, good guys v. bad guys coloration, as if George Norris, Gifford Pinchot, or some other self-appointed defenders of "the people" were whispering in his ear. His examination of the sources of Congressional support for public power demonstrates, through tedious statistical analysis, that elected representatives in a democracy generally reflect the attitudes and wishes of their constituents. And his discussion about the relationship between public power and electrical modernization is riven with dubious assumptions leading to more dubious conclusions. For example, he uses the presence of radios as an index of electrical modernization, ignoring such factors as population density and availability of broadcasters and failing to note that battery-operated radios needed no external source of electricity at all. Likewise, he assumes that declining appliance sales in the early 1930s indicated low levels of modernization, when in fact it probably showed there was a depression going on.

One very puzzling aspect of this book is why it is entitled *Empowering the West*. Much of it is about national issues, such as the development of holding companies in the public utilities field and the future of Muscle Shoals, which became the basis for the Tennessee Valley Authority. Even Brigham's examples of local power fights are drawn mainly form such places as Wisconsin and Missouri, hardly "western" from the perspective of Wyoming.

Finally, two-thirds of the way through the book, Brigham gets to the west with chapters on public v. private power in Seattle and Los Angeles. Brigham does a nice job with these case studies, demonstrating how and why two very different cities, with very different power resources and needs, embraced public power as a means to material abundance and economic development.

These chapters, from which one can learn a great deal about Seattle and Los Angeles, almost make *Empowering the West* worthwhile, but they are too little, too

late. Most readers will find this book unenlightened, plodding, frequently wrongheaded, and gracelessly written to boot. In short, they will not find it worthy of their attention.

**David B. Danbom**
**North Dakota State University**

**Frontier Children**. By Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. *176 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $24.95.*

*Frontier Children*, the most recent work by Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith, provides an overview about children on the American frontier between the 1840s and the first decade of the 1900s. A strong focal point of this book is its visual and written images of children of various cultures - Native American, Hispanic, Asian, black, and white. At times, the authors insightfully compare and contrast frontier children's experiences. They remind us that "migration was a given" for many Plains Indians but a historic event for settlers' children. They describe how youngsters often blurred the boundaries between work and play, and at the same time the authors make their own connections with children's play across cultures. For example, photographs in the text reveal that Native American girls played "house" and enjoyed their dolls just as girls from other cultures did.

*Frontier Children* offers nearly 200 illustrations of nineteenth and early twentieth century youngsters from diverse backgrounds. These visuals are a rich feature of this book. Peavy and Smith combed 61 repositories for photos, with the greatest number coming from Montana sites. The authors tell us that extensive photographs appeared in the last half of the nineteenth century. Only five percent of the pictures came from 1870 or before; the majority represent children between 1880- and 1915. Almost one-third of the photos are not dated.

Peavy and Smith observe that "historians have begun to reconstruct the stories of childhood in the West" *(p. 5)* through diaries, letters, reminiscences, photos, and contemporary accounts describing children. But the authors do not define what they mean by "the West," "the American West," or "the American frontier." They insert photos and stories about children from Iowa, Missouri, and the Dakotas as well as the western states and the Pacific coast. The term "trans-Mississippi West," which the authors also use in the text, more accurately reflects the book's contents.

The text is not a scholarly work since it contains little original research from primary documents. Peavy and Smith often quote secondary sources that refer to primary accounts. Most of the primary sources from which the authors quote are published reminiscences.

The text also contains a few inaccuracies. The authors state that the reference by Florence Weeks (p. 43) is a diary, when it is a reminiscence the pioneer child inserted within her mother's travel diary.

Peavy and Smith also lack depth in Mormon history and culture. This was a weakness in *Pioneer Women* and continues to be so in this book. Most nineteenth century Mormons did not practice polygamy, yet that is the impression readers may get. The authors state that Mormon children "grew up in a theocracy, a world in which there were no secular activities" *(p. 66)*, yet they describe Mormon children singing, dancing (an activity banned by some religions of the day), and attending theater.

The publishers of *Frontier Children* could have made the inserted information more reader friendly *(e.g., see "The Trail of Tears," p. 16)*. Without a border around the page or other identifying features, the reader can become confused with the information that is separate from the regular text.

In spite of these minor criticisms., this well-illustrated overview of children on American frontier should intrigue readers to delve into scholarly works and primary documents to learn more about nineteenth and early twentieth century youngsters who lived on the trans-Mississippi frontier.

**Rosemary G. Palmer**
**Boise State University**

**The Invasion of Indian Country in the Twentieth Century: American Capitalism and Tribal Natural Resources**. By Donald L. Fixico. Niwot: University of Colorado Press, 1998. *xxiv + 258 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, appen-dices, bibliography, index. Cloth, $39.95; paper, $22.50.*

Capitalist America has repeatedly considered Indian land a source of cheap natural resources and has aggressively sought to harvest them. Pressured by corporations, politicians, and citizens eager to cash in, the Interior Department deliberately devised policies that assaulted Native American concepts of family, clan, society, and spirituality in order to leave Indians confused, off balance, and unable to develop protective strategies. Native Americans who spoke little or no English, for example, were left to confront slick lawyers

and smooth-talking con men alone, without the support of tribal or clan leaders. Council authority eroded, and factions arose pitting pro-assimilation mixed bloods and whites against full bloods and other conservatives. Historian Donald L. Fixico, known for his insightful research into federal Indian policy, accurately argues that capitalist interests have and continue to lust after Indian resources, and government policies remain the same. Perhaps even worse, unchecked exploitation currently threatens to destroy the entire globe.

Part one of *Invasion* reveals through six well-written case studies how a century of corrupt, self-serving federal policy has impacted specific tribes and individuals. Lest some readers dismiss such tactics as products of the past, the final case study traces the continuing Lakota and Cheyenne struggle through Congress and federal courts to regain possession of their sacred Black Hills. A chilling study examines the 1921-1923 Osage reign of terror, during which seventeen people — most from a single family — were brutally murdered near Pawhuska, Oklahoma. A three-year federal investigation and numerous trials unraveled and convoluted plot to usurp Osage land allotments and oil rights. But more commonly, Fixico maintains, oil-rich Osages simply squandered wealth on expensive Pierce Arrows, diamonds, and other luxury items revealing a world view disrupted by outsiders and an inability to cope with white material culture. Although the author's argument is absolutely sound, one need not look too far to find men and women of all racial and ethnic groups destroyed by sudden wealth. Unfortunately, several of the case studies seem to reveal poor individual choices or factional in-fighting rather than the results of corrupt government policies, suggesting not that the contention is incorrect but that the causal connection is not always well drawn.

Part two contains five chapters, which effectively explore various aspects of natural resource development on Indian land and how leaders have learned to use courts, organization, and environmental issues for their own ends. Fixico aptly notes, however, that developing protective strategies against exploitation has forced Indian leaders to adopt corporate tactics and embrace land-use assumptions that are by nature white, not Native American.

Particularly noteworthy is a chapter on the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), an intra-tribal organization established in 1975. Despite federal interference and some Indian opposition, CERT has successfully renegotiated coal, oil, uranium, and pipeline leases on reservations and allotments, provided technical and financial expertise, advocated energy-related careers for Native American youth, and initiated important environmental and conservation legislation. Ironically, CERT was once scorned by U.S. oil corporations as "Indian OPEC."

Fixico correctly contends that despite the repeated assault on traditional values, many fundamental beliefs still survive and even offer alternatives to the unbridled exploitation that today threatens out planet. Overall, *Invasion* makes a thought-provoking contribution to the growing, but still comparatively small body of literature dealing with Native American natural resources. Given recent hearings on the BIA/Interior Department mismanagement of billions of dollars in Indian funds, it is also quite timely. This book is well suited for the college classroom, particularly courses in Native American or environmental history/studies.

**Kathleen P. Chamberlain**
**Castleton State College**

**William Henry Jackson: Framing the Frontier.** By Douglas Waitley. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1998. *vi + 218 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $36; paper, $22.*

William Henry Jackson is perhaps best known for his work during the survey of the American West led by geologist Ferdinand V. Hayden from 1870 to 1890 when Jackson photographed the scenery of the frontier, that nebulous territory on the western edge of the North American continent. His images, along with work competed during Jackson's solo expeditions, offered the viewing public the first glimpses of such rugged places as the Garden of the Gods near Colorado Springs, the Anasazi ruins of the southwestern United States, and the geysers of Yellowstone National Park.

Jackson's work stirred the imaginations of Americans enraptured with the idea of westward expansion, as well as cautioned this same audience to tread carefully in the newly conquered land. While popularizing the scenic views of the West and ultimately encouraging expansion and tourism (for instance, one of his photographic commissions came from the Union Pacific Commission in 1869, when he was charged with capturing images of the railroad's success), his photographs were also used as evidence in arguments made before Congress to preserve the pristine environment of the western landscape.

The basic facts and details surrounding the Hayden survey and Jackson's photography are well known and were recounted by Jackson himself in *Time Exposure: The Autobiography of William Henry Jackson*. However, Jackson's adventures were so numerous and his photography so prolific that it would be difficult to exhaust the topic in even a dozen books. Historian Douglas Waitley offers the most recent consideration of Jackson's photographic explorations in *William Henry Jackson: Framing the Frontier*, a sound addition to the history of American photography.

The title might suggest an analysis of Jackson's manipulation of the frontier via the lens and frame. However, Waitley does not dwell on the merits and uses of Jackson's photographs, but instead has produced a strong narrative peppered with excerpts from Jackson's journals to demonstrate the personality of a vital American explorer. Romantic notions of the wild, wild west are clearly evident in both Jackson's diary and photography, and Waitley does an excellent job at preserving Jackson's enthusiasm for adventure, romance, and danger.

In addition to being a photographer Jackson was an accomplished sketch artist and painter , claims that are clearly supported by the illustrations included in the book. Although Waitley spends little time theorizing about the formal structure and cultural impact of Jackson's photographs, he has included an abundance of photographs that demonstrate Jackson's photographic style. Also included for the reader's benefit are several maps showing the routes of exploration taken by Jackson. Even if the stories about Jackson's tenure as bullwhacker (he first went west as an experienced teamster) or his tenacity as a photographer (he once spent the night on a mountaintop with no food or blankets in order to photograph the Mount of the Holy Cross at sunrise) are not enough to hold the reader's attention, the photographs and sketches make this book well worth a good look.

*William Henry Jackson: Framing the Frontier* is a valuable tool for understanding the motivations behind Jackson's photography of the American West. Waitley has produced a well-written story of adventure and exploration, giving the reader the opportunity to experience the romance of the unknown as felt by one key player in the game of westward expansion.

**Susan Johnson-Roehr**
**Indiana University**

**Buffalo Bill: Myth and Reality**. By Eric Sorg. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1998. *xiv + 119 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography. Cloth, $19.95; paper, $10.95.*

The history of the American West has long followed two paths: those of academic historians and those of history buffs. Academic historians look for broad patterns by doing such things as studying the lives of ordinary individuals, analyzing tax and land records, or reading old newspapers. Their interest in the West tends to follow traditional historical patterns including economic history, community history, social history, and biography. History buffs, on the other hand, tend to be more interested in the Old West and its heroes. They want to know everything there is to know about legendary figures like Wild Bill Hickock, George A. Custer, Belle Starr, and Wyatt Earp. History buffs sometimes participate in historic re-creations and mock gun battles to get a better "feel " for the lives of their heroes. Eric Sorg's *Buffalo Bill: Myth and Reality* falls somewhere between these two paths.

Written primarily for the lay reader, *Buffalo Bill: Myth and Reality* tries to show the history buff that there is more to the story of Buffalo Bill than the classic image so often portrayed in the Wild West shows, in movies, and on television. In that sense, the book serves well as a first entree for those readers looking to move beyond traditional popular histories and classic westerns. At the same time, academics well versed in interpretation, the New Western History, and deconstruction will find this book too basic for their purposes.

Sorg's main argument, and the central organization of this book, is that there existed two Codys: Buffalo Bill, the myth, and William F. Cody, the reality. In the first half of the book, Sorg follows the creation of the myth of Buffalo Bill by examining the basic facts of his life, the origins of the Buffalo Bill dime novels and stage shows, the evolution of the Wild West show, and the treatment of Cody in popular books. Throughout this section, Sorg does a good job of placing the story into the basic historical contexts of Gilded Age America, the literary tradition of the frontier including Leatherstocking and Daniel Boone, and the American theater.

The stronger, second half of the book, "The Reality: William F. Cody," examines Cody's family life, business ventures, and day-to-day operations of the Wild West show during its heyday and decline. This section also focuses on the debate over three specific

often-mentioned criticisms of Cody: Buffalo Bill's relationship to Indians, his buffalo hunting, and his drinking. Sorg discusses the roots of Cody's troubled marriage and many of his failed business dealings. Another strong point of this section is his look at the everyday business life of the Wild West show. The author explains the great costs and profits made by the show as well as its troubled final days. In the section that analyzes Cody's historical critics, Sorg concludes that Buffalo Bill was a heroic character who did not exploit Indians, was not a drunkard, and did not single-handedly exterminate the buffalo.

*Buffalo Bill: Myth and Reality* is one of those books that falls between traditional audiences. Although it presents a basic history about William F. Cody, its assumes that the reader already knows most of his life stories. At the same time, the book does not provide enough documentation or analysis for others to use it as a starting point for further work. The result is good basic history but not the evidence to support Sorg's claim that "Cody was an enlightened egalitarian who lived a classically tragic life." With those criticisms aside, I would recommend this book to the general reader of the American West wanting more than the usual good guys and bad guys story.

**Michael A. Amundson**
**Northern Arizona University**

**Many Wests: Place, Culture and Regional Identity**. Edited by David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997. *x + 370 pp. Notes, authors' biographies, index. Cloth, $45; paper, $19.95.*

Since the emergence, a century or more ago, of the first academic histories about the American West, its "winning" and its development, the questions of what defines the West and whether it is one region or many have never been settled to general satisfaction. Progressive-era writers predicted the approaching disappearance of the West as a distinct entity within the larger national culture, paralleling such displays of precocious nostalgia as "wild west" shows, Owen Wister's western novels and James Fraser's elegiac bronze, "The End of the Trail."

Those who believed that the days of the West as a distinctive region were numbered might today be surprised by the persistence of a regional identity - or, rather, several regional and subregional identities - which owe less to senses of loss or decline than to the forming influences of place, economy, ethnicity and aesthetics. In 1897, Frederick Jackson Turner posited the existence of not one but four "Wests" - the Prairie, the Rocky Mountain states, the Pacific Slope and the Southwest - and later termed sectionalism the inevitable sequel to the "frontier." The fourteen essays in *Many Wests* develop and refine this perception of diversity. They approach the American West as an assembly of locales and populations with discrete, distinctive self-definitions based on topography, economy, imagination and spirit. One might ask if the persistence of regional or sectional identity matters, given the increasingly cosmopolitan culture associated with the American West. These essays answer in the affirmative as they outline a baker's dozen of western cultures and identities.

Editors Wrobel and Steiner contribute a useful survey about the shifting tropes of regional interpretation, identifying two crucial questions: how are regions and subregions formed, and how is regional consciousness formed? Thirteen subsequent essays, ranging in length from fourteen to thirty-five pages, are thematically arranged in four sections. The first emphasizes environmental and economic matters, discussing transportation, extractive industries and tourism as shapers of the images of the Pacific Northwest, the Great Basin, the Rockies and the Northern Plains. The second section examines the construction of varied "Aesthetic" Wests. These essays consider such elements as Southern Plains houses, the lives and writings of three Montana women, as well as the literature of the Snake River country of southern Idaho as responses to and products of distinct regional settings.

Essays in the third section discuss "Race and Identity." Under this rubric are examinations of northern California and its relationship with San Francisco, the genesis of the "Mission myth" of southern California (which romanticized the Spanish colonial life while conveniently omitting Mexican and Mexican-American traditions) and the development of topographically-associable and ethnically distinct subcultures in Texas. *Many Wests*'s final section, "Extended Wests," looks toward Alaska and Hawaii, British Columbia and the transnational "enchanted lands" of the culturally multilayered Southwest. Noting that both New Western historians and more traditional Turnerians have discussed the contrast between East and West and the debated boundary between the two, the editors assert that "it is difficult to imagine a more substantive marker . . . than the edge of a continent." (p. 276) What to do, then, with locales that lie north,

south or west of the West as it has been customarily defined? This section's essays add fresh ingredients to the western definitional mix.As befits a work charting regional definitional diversity, *Many West*'s essays vary in scope and depth. Some are broad and inclusive, while others focus on smaller areas and cultural specificities. Several are distinctively personal in voice and structure. One such is Mary Murphy's look at the mythos of "the last best place," suggesting the difficulty of finding stability in early Montana by examining the lives of three women: a novelist, a poet and a rodeo rider. In another, Paula Gunn Allen's musings on the cultural constructions of the Southwestern borderlands are informed by anecdotes of food, folklore and family. Other essays, such as Anne Hyde's compact analysis of the Rocky Mountains' extractive industries and Glenna Matthews's chapter on San Francisco and northern California's cultural relationship, rely less on personal narratives than on broader surveys of economics, demographics and environment. Several contributions are notable for their understated wit, particularly John Findlay's examination of the recent identification of salmon within the Pacific Northwest subregion. Far from being a folk tradition, Findlay suggests, the salmon is only one (though perhaps the most potent) of several iconic elements embraced by regional inhabitants in order to "naturalize" a synthetic regional identity. Salmon's historic status as an oft-overexploited extractive resource makes this choice an ironic one.

Although the essays vary in tone and depth of documentation, they are generally informative, solidly researched and readable. The authors bear lightly the burden of scholarliness and readers are the beneficiaries. No bibliographies as such are appended, but most of the essays include extensive and useful notes. For those who seek a boarder understanding of the complex social structure of what can no longer be seriously described as "the" West, *Many Wests* is an up-to-date and highly accessible starting point. By summarizing recent scholarship and thinking on the region's constituent populations, it compliments other studies of western diversity such as Wyckoff and Dilsaver's *The Mountain West* and William Riebsame's *Atlas of the New West*. Provocative and engaging, *Many Wests* mirrors the complexity of its topic and will afford readers a heightened sense of what Elliott West has termed "a longer, grimmer but more interesting story."

**David Ware**
**Bryan, Texas**

**Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926**. By Steven Conn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. *313 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $32.50.*

The late nineteenth century ushered in an era of institution building in this country, during which large museums, such as the Field Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Smithsonian, were established. Universities were intellectually stagnant, but museums were seen as the logical place for the production and storage of knowledge. The twentieth century brought a shift in scholastic production. By the late 1920's museums were no longer thought of as contributing current scientific information or performing cutting edge research. Universities now became and remain the place where knowledge is developed.

In his book Steven Conn examines this changing the role of the American museum from the Centennial of 1876 to the Sesquicentennial of 1926. According to Conn, late nineteenth century Americans believed in the power of "the object." American's felt objects could tell stories when properly displayed in the correct context, free from distracting text. What better place to let the power of the object speak to the masses than the museum. Americans utilized this belief to support the building of museums across the country.

Conn emphasizes the importance early museum placed on object display and labels this notion as "object-based epistemology." He explains how late nineteenth century museums selected and exhibited the objects in their collection, how early museums constructed their epistemology, and what the categories of knowledge meant for the fate of these museums fifty years after their birth.

To accomplish his task, Conn takes the reader on a journey through the establishment of several of the country's most influential museums. Each chapter examines early museums according to five subjects- natural history, anthropology, the commercial industry, history, and art. These subjects are taken from an essay written by George Brown Goode, a prominent museum professional of the period. As assistant secretary of the Smithsonian, Goode felt that museums should be separated into categories of knowledge in order for the objects to express their inherent and scholastic importance. Looking at the categories, Conn explains how each type of museum changed over time. As technology changed, knowledge could not be classified into a specific category as easily as before.

Conn demonstrates that museum builders placed too

much value on "object-based epistemology. Their overconfidence resulted in the decline in the importance of the American museums and coincided with a shift in knowledge production from museums to universities. Museums soon found it difficult to keep up with advances in scientific research, which no longer emphasized a need for the actual "object."

Conn's well-written account is a must read for the scholar interested in examining the history of the museum in this country. As Conn reminds us, the museum's role has always been in a state of flux. After reading his book, one can recognize the museum as a symbol both of prosperity and decline. As museums attempt to expand their importance in the next century, it will become necessary to examine their past role in society. Conn's book will aid in this examination. He writes with a grace that makes these past institutional struggles seem all the more relevant today. Not only is it an excellent contribution to the field of museology, but it also gives the reader a look at the past and the future of the museum field.

**Amy Stroh**
**Sweetwater County Historical Museum**
**Green River, Wyoming**

**Telling Western Stories: From Buffalo Bill to Larry McMurtry**. By Richard Etulain. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999. *224 pp. Illustration, notes, index. Cloth, $35; paper, $17.95.*

This essay collection is the latest from the prestigious Calvin Horn Lecture Series. Richard Etulain, a leading scholar of Western literature and culture, probes the evolution of western stories through fiction, movies, and historical writing. This compact overview selects some of the most popular authors and influential writings to chart the gradual shift from the "wild west" stories of the late nineteenth century to recent works which feature more complex themes and emphasize the West as a place instead of a frontier.

Etulain selects about twenty subjects organized into four categories. The first chapter, "Creation Stories," describes the genesis of the frontier genre. Rooted in the imagery of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show and fueled by a bumper crop of potboiling dime novels, these early accounts established the themes of the frontier which endure today. They were long on action and featured stereotypical white heroes, viscous outlaws, and vulnerable women. These fictional themes were buttressed by the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner and his preoccupation with the settlement process and western exceptionalism.

Most intriguing is the second chapter, "Untold Stories." Etulain provides examples of authors whose work contrasted sharply with the creation stories. He examines the novels of Mary Hallock Foote, the domestic life of Calamity Jane, the reminiscences of Geronimo, and the stories of Morning Dove. These accounts featured details of everyday western life and the painful effects that the settlement process brought to women and minorities. While they offered a richer and more complex view of the region in the nineteenth century, they remained largely unknown in their day and failed to deflect attention from the standard frontier-action dramas.

In the third chapter, Etulain returns to the themes of the creation stories but follows them into the twentieth century. The towering influence of Owen Wister's *The Virginian* established the pattern for future works. Walter Nobel Burns, John Ford, and John Wayne all contributed mightily to the popularity of the frontier-action genre in the mid-twentieth century, and Louis

L'Amour became the most popular creator of western stories. Until the 1960s, these romantic tales reinforced the stereotypes of chiseled heroes and outlaws in a rough and tumble West.

Finally, the fourth segment, "New Stories," charts the dramatic changes in western narratives over the last generation. Etulain cites Wallace Stegner's *Angle of Repose*, which he calls the best novel about the region, as the bellwether for a new form of western story. Loosely following the life Mary Hallock Foote, *Angle of Repose* explores the connections between the frontier West and the East as well as the continuities between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These themes have become important analytical tools for the latest generation of historians. The historical work of Patricia Nelson Limerick and the fiction of Leslie Marmon Silko further challenged the preoccupation with the frontier West. Finally, Larry McMurtry's *Lonesome Dove* used a standard frontier setting (a cattle drive) but the characters were rich, complex, and lacked clear moral distinctions between one another. It represents a new, "gray" western story, a term Etulain uses to denote a blending of the traditional and newer themes. The new stories also reflect a deeply flawed region and are far removed from the triumphant tone of the creation and traditional stories.

These are engaging and elegantly written essays which provide a balanced assessment of the works under study and offer many subtle insights. For example, he

offers a caution to writers of women's history of the West not to overlook the way nineteenth-century women such as Foote and Calamity Jane embodied feminine virtues and cherished their roles as mothers and wives. This is a judicious overview of western literature, and Etulain selects his samples well. This is recommended reading for anyone interested in the culture of the West and is accessible to a wide audience. It will likely send readers heading for the shelves for copies of Silko's *Ceremony* and Stegner's *Angle of Repose.*

**Richard D. Loosbrock**
**Chadron State College**

**The Roar and the Silence: A History of Virginia City and the Comstock Lode.** By Ronald M. James. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998. *xxiv + 355 pp. Illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, $27.95.*

In his extensively-researched and abundantly-illustrated history of Virginia City and the Comstock Lode, Nevada's state historic preservation office Ronald James examines the whole history of the community, from its discovery in the 1850s up to its present existence as an attraction for tourists and gamblers. James divides his work into twelve chapters. The first three chapters deal with the district's physical setting, discovery, and development. The next two cover the district's ups and downs in the period from the mid-1860s to the great fire of October 26, 1875. In the following five chapters James considers topics such as labor issues and class differences, ethnic diversity, and the moral realms of "sinners" and "saints." James concludes this book with chapters examining the era of depression from 1877 into the mid-twentieth century, and Virginia City's revival through tourism since World War II.

One of the outstanding features of this study is its interdisciplinary approach. James draws from folklore and archeology to reveal some of Virginia City's secrets lost to the written word. He makes good use of those best friends of the nineteenth century urban historian, the Sanborn maps, and census data to discuss the composition and functions of Virginia City's neighborhoods.

James draws upon folklore in the form of oral histories, because he believes that Virginia City was and is a product of its location, of the people who founded, developed, and now preserve it, and of its own myths and legends. He effectively uses the archeology and physical history of the district as a check upon the excesses of its myths and legends, both oral and written. James could have used these non-traditional sources more assertively, as they can sometimes produce unique insights. It testifies not only to the wealth and importance of the Comstock but also to the efficacy of the new transcontinental railway system when archeology reveals that Comstock residents dined on Atlantic as well as Pacific oysters. Each historical source has its strengths and weaknesses, but James usually does well blending them together to produce an alloy much stronger than its components.

Several of the author's topical chapters fit patterns of contemporary scholarship which the reader will recognize. One chapter deals with labor relations and issues on the industrial Comstock, another with questions of class. In still another we find "ethnicity celebrated," as well as race. Gender does not receive a separate chapter; women as a subject appear topically throughout the book. In his discussion about ethnicity, James examines various racial and ethnic groups, discussing their histories on the Comstock, lauding their accomplishments, and noting instances of ethnic conflict and coexistence. White people who did not immigrate are classified as "North Americans,"" notable chiefly for their intolerance.

James divides the people of the Comstock into "sinners and saints" as a literary device to discuss the social life of the distinct. He believes that "the cliche of saints and sinners is integral to the myth of the West," but does not support his assertion. Sinners and saints is, of course, a false dichotomy, which the author all but acknowledges. It is hard to imagine any of their contemporaries including nineteenth century dentists among the saints. The chapter on "sinners" examines the traditional mining camp litany of crime and vice for fun and profit, while the "saints" chapter is something of a hodge-podge, covering everything from family life to medical practices to circus performances.

Two of the book's best chapters are its concluding ones. It has been a practice, even when writing the history of those mining districts which have survived, to cover the period up to the end of the glory days in great detail, then add a short coda to acknowledge the district's often lengthy history after the boom times. James pays considerable attention to both the depression era of the Comstock's history and to its more recent period of revival. He uses graphs effectively throughout the work but especially to examine demographic differences between Virginia City in bonanza and borrasca.

The author's final chapter about the district's conversion from mining metals to mining tourists raises some important points about the differences between history as a factual undertaking an history as a commodity - an amalgam of fact and myth. As one example, the popularity of the television show *Bonanza* in the 1960s and 1970s moved Comstock residents to transform the facades of their buildings to mimic those of television's mythical Virginia City. James is also conscious of the final irony of tourist-mining centers: many merchants and preservationists who now inhabit them find the idea of renewed mining abhorrent and potentially destructive to their newer, more reliable extractive industry.

*The Roar and the Silence* does many things well, but it attempts to do too much. James tries to write both a chronological history of the district for a general audience and a more scholarly topical treatise. Readers new to the subject may be left with unanswered questions about some basics of Comstock history because even the chronological chapters skip around quite a bit. Specialists may find themselves visiting ground previously worked and also asking what larger questions the history of Virginia City and the Comstock might answer. That said, *The Roar and the Silence* is a superior work, and it is in many ways a model for the comprehensive examination of a mining community.

**Eric L. Clements**
**Western Museum of Mining and Industry**
**Colorado Springs, CO**

**Yellowstone Place Names, Mirrors of History.** By Aubrey L. Haines. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1996. *318 pp. Paper, $17.50.*

Aubrey Haines is considered to be the preeminent historian of Yellowstone National Park His *Yellowstone Story*, first published in 1977 and revised in 1996, is the most comprehensive history written about the first national park However, *Yellowstone Place Names, Mirrors of History* comes several years after the comprehensive publication *Wonderland Nomenclature* (1968) and eight years after *Yellowstone Place Names* (1988), both by Lee Whittlesey.

In the introduction, Haines discusses various individuals who were responsible for compiling the first inventories of the Park's features and their names. In 1957, Haines was asked to review a place names manuscript by Dr. Max Bauer but nothing more was done with it. He concludes "With passage of more than three decades, a wealth of additional information has been accumulated and this - with the legacy of past efforts - is now presented in a form that should make Yellowstone's place names both useful and interesting." Haines makes no mention of the existence of *Wonderland Nomenclature* nor does he even cite it in his bibliography. This oversight is a major concern.

The introduction also provides background on how names are applied to geographic features. With personal knowledge of how the naming of features in Yellowstone has worked and how names are applied today, I found this section convoluted and confusing. Again, Whittlesey's publications provide a clearer explanation of this process.

As stated, the focus of this place names book is the "story content of the place names of Yellowstone." Haines goes on to say that an attempt to include all the places names "would result in a meaningless clutter." It bothers me that a historian would not see the importance of discussing all of the names in a region. His decision results in a weaker publication.

Haines has selected what he considers to be the most significant names bestowed upon Yellowstone's features and discusses them in great detail. Each chapter covers names from a particular source: Native Americans, fur traders, prospectors, explorers, surveyors, National Park Service officials, concessionaires, and visitors. While such an arrangement works for a history book, it is not useful as a guidebook. Perhaps that was not the goal. There is a comprehensive index in the back of the book, but that requires flipping continually through the book when you are trying to find out about all the names in one vicinity.

While I found the history interesting, I did not find this work terribly useful. In looking up names of interest to me, there was little information provided, if the name was even listed. The book is also fraught with inconsistencies and either outright mistakes or typographical errors. For example, on page 89 Haines says there are three active names remaining with "devil"in them. Then on page 192, he says there are six. Which is it? Another example if from page 115. Here Haines states that "A.C. Hamilton built his new bathhouse in 1916." This is incorrect in two ways. First, it should be C.A. Hamilton, and second, the Henry Brothers built the bathhouse in 1914.

This book is a disappointment. It will be useful to the tourist who spends a minimal amount of time in the Park. It is a pleasant read for someone who wants

a broad overview of Yellowstone's history and does not want to read the two volumes of *The Yellowstone Story*. However, for the serious scholar studying Yellowstone, it is redundant, hard to use, and full of errors.

**Tamsen Emerson Hert**
**University of Wyoming**

**You Are Respectfully Invited to Attend My Execution: Untold Stories of Men Legally Executed in Wyoming Territory.** By Larry K. Brown. Glendo: High Plains Press, 1997. *Illus., bibliography. Cloth, $24.95; paper, $11.95*

Seven men "danced on the air" in legal executions while Wyoming was a territory (1868-1890). This books tells of their crimes, trials, and hangings.

The first was John Boyer. Believing that two men had raped his mother and sister, he shot and killed them at a "hog ranch" (a whorehouse and tavern that also offered gambling) near Fort Laramie in October 1870. Women were on the Cheyenne jury which found him guilty, and he went to the gallows in 1873. William Kensler made his 1874 date with the Cheyenne hangman when he put a bullet into an amatory rival at the same hog ranch used by Boyer. A jury convicted John Donovan of the hammer murder of a barber in Rock Springs in May 1883. A scaffold in Rawlins claimed Donovan in January 1884. In 1884 George Cooke took his place as number four on the list after murdering his brother-in-law in Laramie. The hangman roped John Owens in Buffalo in 1884 two years after he hatcheted an elderly former employer. When Ben Carter bullied and killed a fellow cowpoke, he sealed the fate of two men and dropped through the trapdoor in Rawlins in 1888. The last story tells how George Black and an accomplice murdered a man of 60 and burned his body. Later, in the same building where George Cooke died, Black dropped into eternal darkness.

This book is a valuable addition to Wyoming's historical record and will probably be definitive on its narrow topic. It accomplished the purpose set for on page xiv: to preserve the stories of the circumstances of these seven executions. The chronological presentation is commendable, as is the "Sources Cited" section at the end of each chapter--except that an accurate title would have been "Sources Used." An introduction of 17 pages provides background and context. Bare facts on each case appear in an appendix. Appropriate photographs and drawings add to the book's appeal.

Despite these positives, some errors and omissions are disappointing. Citations for every quotation in the introduction would have been better. Knowledgeable readers will be surprised that the "Jacksonian era of 'President Andy'" began three years after he became President (p. xiv), and the federal court system is in Article II of the Constitution (p. xxii). Four different days, months, or years are cited for Ben Carter's hanging.

While the book's aid is to be narrative rather than analytical, there are places where interpretive effort would make it better. For example, Brown might have tried to tell why there was almost a ten-year gap between the two executions that occurred in or prior to 1874 and the five that occurred from 1884 onward.

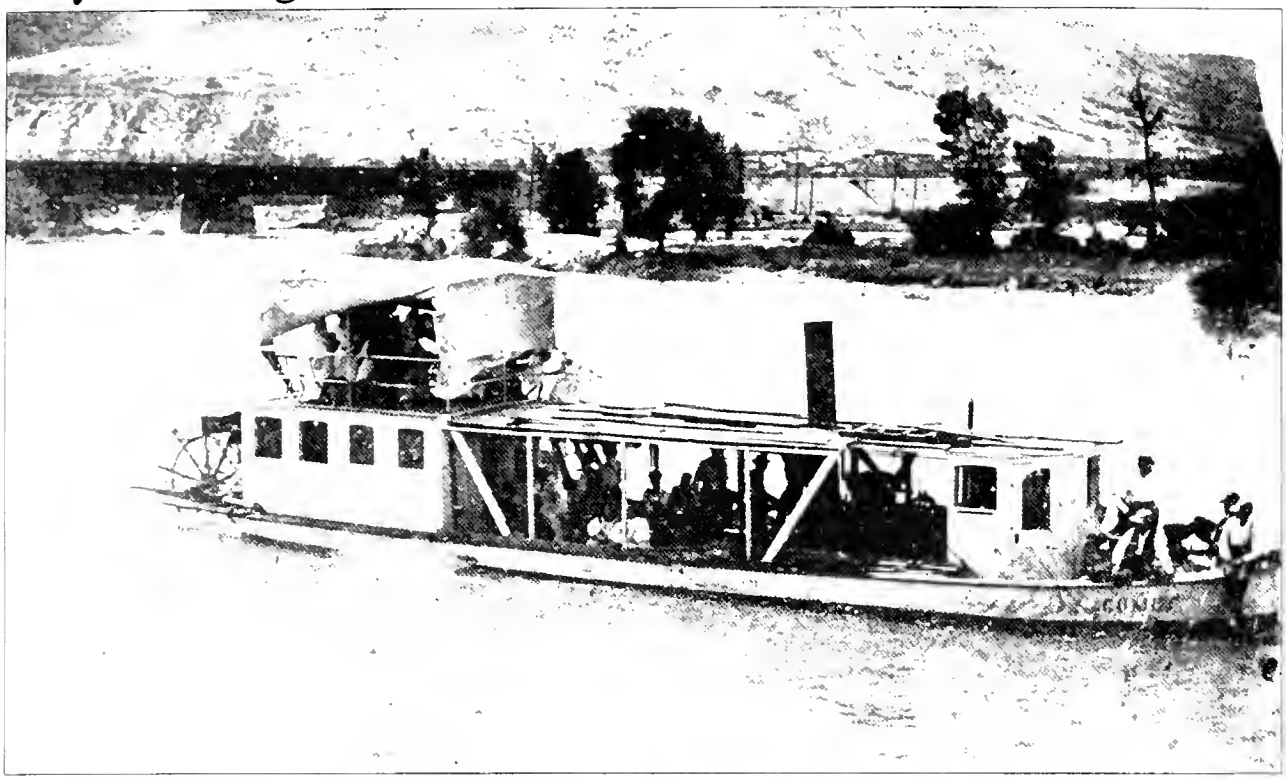
Why is lynching defined in the introduction for the years 1832-1845 when its nature had largely changed by the time Wyoming was a territory? By then, the mere corporal punishment aspect of lynching had faded and most people understood lynching to be deadly.

Brown mentions (p. xiv) that about 34 people were lynched in Wyoming during 1882-1903 and compares that to the seven who were legally executed during 1868-1890. A more valid comparison would involve the lynchings of only the latter era. National and state-by-state lynching statistics were not compiled prior to 1882, which is perhaps why Brown began with that year.

Nevertheless, the substantive content of this book is solid and interesting. Larry Brown and the reading public might profit if he will next provide a book about lynching in Wyoming.

**Norton H. Moses**
**Montana State University**

# Wyoming Picture



*The Comet was launched at Green River on the Fourth of July, 1908. It was the third steamboat on Wyoming waters and the first on the Green River. Businessmen from Green River, Wyo., and Linwood, Utah, organized the navigation company that operated the Comet. On the first downriver trip on July 7, 1908, the boat occasionally hung up on the shallows in the river. Passengers had to help the crew free the boat. The Comet made several other trips on the river but the problems with the initial voyage recurred. The company reluctantly decided navigation on the Green River was impractical. The Comet was tied up at Green River, used only as an excursion boat on occasion in the general area of the town. Eventually, it was stripped and the hull sank into the river. Department of Parks and Cultural Resources Department photograph*

# Join the Wyoming State Historical Society.... and your local historical society chapter

The Wyoming State Historical Society is a confederation of more than 20 local chapters located in every area of the state. Members enjoy the frequent gatherings of their local groups and participate in programs and activities that preserve and interpret their communities' history. Several times each year, members from all across Wyoming come together for major events where they celebrate common historical interests.

Membership in the society is open to everyone. Member benefits include a subscription to *Annals of Wyoming: The Wyoming History Journal*, a quarterly journal devoted to broader public understanding of all aspects of Wyoming history; and *Wyoming History News*, the society's newsletter, which is published ten times each year. Membership dues also provide support for a comprehensive awards program that recognizes people who are doing something to preserve and interpret local and state history; for Wyoming History Day, which allows thousands of Wyoming students to participate in history projects and to compete at district, state and national history day events; for research grants that support the study and publication of Wyoming history; and for a variety of special projects which help preserve and interpret the state's rich history.

If you are a member of the Wyoming State Historical Society, we solicit your continued interest, involvement and support. If you are not a member, or if you know of other non-members who share an interest in Wyoming history, we urge you (and them) to join. Contact a member of your local historical society, or write to the

Wyoming State Historical Society
PMB #184
1740H DELL RANGE BLVD
CHEYENNE WY 82009-4945.

Membership dues are: $20 (single); $30 (joint); $15 (student, under 21 years of age); $40, (institutions). For those who wish to support the society in a more substantial way, participation at one of the following levels is appreciated: contributing member ($100-299); sustaining member, ($250-499); patron ($500-$999); donor ($1,000 and more). In addition to all benefits of regular membership, participation at these levels are recognized in *Wyoming History News*.

# Annals of WYOMING

The Wyoming History Journal
Summer 2000 Vol. 72, No. 3

# Special Issue:
# Articles from AHC Collections

*This special issue contains three articles by faculty members of the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. The research materials used in the preparation of these articles are held in the AHC collections. The work is showcased here to demonstrate both the wide variety of materials held at AHC and the versatility of the center's capable staff. Our thanks to Rick Ewig, acting director, and archivists Ginny Kilander and D. C. Thompson for their contributions to this issue. Also thanks to Carol Bowers, head of the reference department, photographic archivist Dan Davis and his successor, Leslie Shores, and photo technician Rick Walters for their assistance. -- The Editor*

## The Cover:

"Second Street, Casper"

*c. 1915*

*The postcard on the cover is from the Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard collection, University of Wyoming. It is one of eight postcards in a folio apparently purchased by Hebard at the time of her 1915 historical site marking tour, described in this issue. Other postcards in the set include one of the Midwest Building; the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad depot; "Gateway to the Oil Fields,"; the Federal building; the Natrona County Court House; the "Chicago and Northwestern Depot and the Monument" (pictured on page 14); and the Masonic Temple.*

The editor of *Annals of Wyoming* welcomes manuscripts and photographs on every aspect of the history of Wyoming and the West. Appropriate for submission are unpublished, research-based articles which provide new information or which offer new interpretations of historical events. First-person accounts based on personal experience or recollections of events will be considered for use in the "Wyoming Memories" section. Historic photo essays for possible publication in "Wyoming Memories" also are welcome. Articles are reviewed and refereed by members of the journal's Editorial Advisory Board and others. Decisions regarding publication are made by the editor. Manuscripts (along with suggestions for illustrations or photographs) should be submitted on computer diskettes in a format created by one of the widely-used word processing programs along with two printed copies. Submissions and queries should be addressed to Editor, *Annals of Wyoming*, P. O. Box 4256, University Station, Laramie WY 82071.

# *Annals of* WYOMING

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Wyoming Picture.....Inside Back Cover

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# Amalia and Annie:

## Women's Opportunities in Cheyenne in the 1870s

By D. Claudia Thompson

*Amalia D. Post*
*Wyoming State Archives, Department of Parks and Cultural Resources*

In the spring of 1870 Amalia Post wrote a letter to her sister in Michigan describing her life in Cheyenne, Wyoming. After lamenting her own poor health and detailing the family news, she concluded: "I suppose you are aware that Women [sic] can hold any office in this territory[.] I was put on the Grand Jury. I am intending to vote this next election [which] makes Mr[.] Post very indignant as he thinks a Woman has no rights."[1]

It seems likely that Amalia overstated her husband's objections, or at least that the couple agreed civilly to disagree, for the marriage lasted until Amalia's death in 1897, and Amalia remained an active Republican throughout that time, while Morton E. Post was a staunch Democrat.[2] Amalia's letter, however, reflects the long road from innocence to bitterness which her life had taken and the pleasure she took in the power which the circumstance of her residence in Wyoming Territory gave her.

Annie Kilbourne, Amalia's niece, who came to live with her aunt in Cheyenne in 1873, reflected a different view of a woman's life in Wyoming in the 1870s. Annie was young and pretty and a little spoiled. In Cheyenne she had her choice of several young men who pursued her, yet she chose to marry one who "[did] not believe that a woman ought to be bothered with her husband[']s business."[3] Both Amalia and Annie perceived promise and opportunity in Cheyenne, but of very different kinds.

It has been debated in women's studies and recent Western history whether or not the experience of Western women gave them, or led them to desire or expect, expanded opportunities and roles in society.[4] It is not the purpose of this article to engage in this broader debate. The purpose of this article is merely to examine the attitudes of two women who lived in the West and whose personal letters survive to give some insight into their thoughts.

Amalia Barney Simons was born January 30, 1826, in Johnson, Vermont. The family later moved to Michigan, and Amalia married W. T. Nichols of Lexington, Michigan, in 1855.[5] By 1858 the couple lived in Nebraska Territory, and there, in September, 1858, Amalia's only child, a daughter, was born.[6] This child's death a little over a year later desolated the mother, causing her, not unusually, to seek solace in the consolations of the church.[7] In the spring of 1860 Walker Nichols left his wife in Omaha, apparently for a short business trip. "[H]ow much I do want to see him..[,]" Amalia wrote. "[Y]ou do not know how much I think of him since the death of the baby...[W]e think more of each other than we did."[8] Amalia fretted, but she remained without news of her husband until, seven weeks later, she learned his whereabouts from a traveler returning from Denver. "Walker has gone to the mines,"[9] she wrote distressfully. "I did not know that he was going...[H]e left me without any money all alone among strangers...but I suppose that he has done what he thought best[.]"[10]

Nichols occasionally sent money back to Omaha, but Amalia apparently survived that winter by borrowing money from her father to enable her to return to the family in Michigan.[11] In May or June of 1861 she traveled to Denver to be reunited with her husband. Denver, in the newly-formed Colorado Territory, was only a little over two years old, but it had "five or six large Hotels[.] very large stores & some beautiful dwelling houses[.] Ladies in the Street dressed like Ladies in Chicago." In spite of this urban sophistication, Amalia was not very pleased with her new home. Some of the well-dressed ladies, it turned out, were former acquaintances of whom she did not approve, and the general moral tone offended her sense of respectability. "[I] don[']t know who is married nor who is not[,]" she complained. "[T] here is no such thing as chastity[.]" Her reunion with Walker, however, was a happy one. He "was beside himself with joy to see me [and] says [we] never shall be separated again[.]"[12] she assured her sister.

The details of what happened next are obscure. If Amalia ever wrote down the specifics, the letters have been lost. In April of 1862 she wrote to reassure her family that rumors of trouble in her marriage, which had reached Michigan, were untrue.[13] A year later she wrote an unusually cheerful letter detailing her lucrative business ventures in money-lending, chicken-raising, and livestock speculation: the latter in partnership with a man who "has always boarded with us [and] has been just like a Brother to me through all of my trouble," and added, "Don[']t tell any person anything about my affairs."[14] Finally, in September, Amalia wrote that she wished to sell out and come home, but, she admitted,

[1] Amalia to sister, April 4, 1870, Morton E. Post Family Papers, 1851-1900, Accession No. 1362, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, hereafter cited as Post Family Papers.

[2] Cora Beach, *Women of Wyoming* (Casper: S. E. Boyer & Co., 1927), 172.

[3] A.J.P. to Annie, January 2, 1879, Post Family Papers.

[4] Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 238-270.

[5] Beach, 170-171.

[6] Amalia to Ann, May 185[9]], July 8 [1859], Post Family Papers.

[7] Amalia to Sister Ann, February 19, 1869, Post Family Papers.

[8] A.B. Nichols to sister, March 4, 1860, Post Family Papers.

[9] This has reference to the gold rush excitement along Cherry Creek and into the Front Range of the Colorado Rockies, which was at its peak in 1860. See Stanley W. Zamonski and Teddy Keller, *The '59er's: Roaring Denver in the Gold Rush Days* (Frederick, Colo.: Platte 'N Press, 1983).

[10] Amalia to Ann, April 8, 1860, Post Family Papers.

[11] Amalia to father, June 14, 1860, Post Family Papers.

[12] Amalia to sister Ann, June 14?, 1861, Post Family Papers.

[13] Amalia to sister Ann, April 13, 1862, Post Family Papers.

[14] Amalia to father, April 20, 1863, Post Family Papers.

> I hate to have them know that Walker & I are separated...The death of friends is nothing compared to change of feelings, deceit, treachery where you loved & trusted, & that one a husband,...disgrace[,] abuse[,] all sorts of meannesses[,] living with another when you was living with him[,] steal[ing] your clothes for a Strumpet. [T]hink I have been called to pass through all of this[,]...think how he treated me, the one he had sworn to love & cherish above all others[.][15]

Shame, or a new-found sense of independence, kept Amalia in Colorado. In October, 1864, she married Morton E. Post, a Denver acquaintance fourteen years her junior.[16] "Gentlemen here marry women ten or twelve years older[,]" she told her sister. "['T]is just as common as the other way."[17]

Economic constraints and Post's involvement in a freighting business kept the couple apart much of the time, which unquestionably put a strain upon the marriage. Nor did Amalia wish to make a permanent home in Denver.[18] In the summer of 1867 Morton Post relocated to yet another brand new town: Cheyenne, Wyoming. He began building a store in partnership with George Manning and made plans for Amalia, who was visiting in the east, to join him again;[19] but the building went slowly, society in Cheyenne was "very rough," and money was unusually tight.[20] The reunion was put off to the following year. By summer, Morton was so discouraged with the country and the state of his business that he wrote longingly of selling out, but Amalia was determined to end their separation. She demanded money for her expenses, got on the train, and arrived in Cheyenne sometime in July of 1868.[21]

There is no proof that the existence of female suffrage in Wyoming influenced Amalia Post's decision to settle in Cheyenne; but certainly if she had not wished to make her home in a rough new town "about like Denver in '59 and 60,'"[22] she need not have. Morton was quite willing to go east again. Amalia, however, settled down firmly in Cheyenne, took an active interest in politics and women's rights, and achieved a degree of financial success sufficient to allow her to send money home to support her father and sister.[23] In a brief letter, undated but probably written in March of 1871, Amalia expanded on her experiences as one of the first women ever to serve on a jury:

> I was Foreman of the Jury, & the man was condemed [sic] & sentenced to be hung[. W]e found him guilty of murder in the first degree as found in indictment[. H]e is to be hung on the 21(?) of April[.] I as foreman had to reply in ans[wer] to the judge ["A]re you all agreed?[" "W]e are[."] & hand in my report. There is no fun in sitting on a jury where there is ]sic) murder cases to be tried[. T]his one that is to be hung killed two[.][24]

The condemned man was John Boyer, and the trial began on March 21, 1871. Five other women, "wives of some of the leading citizens of Cheyenne," served on the same jury.[25]

Amalia had become extremely active in the cause of women's suffrage. In January she traveled to Washington, D.C., to represent Wyoming at the National Woman Suffrage Convention, where she addressed an audience of more than 5,000 people, including Victoria Woodhull and Susan B. Anthony.[26] "I was made more of than any other Lady in convention," she boasted. "Mrs Beech Hooker offered to pay all my expenses if I would stay another week to besiege congress. I refused to do so...I received calls from the first people in the United States."[27] Amalia is also credited with making a successful personal appeal to Governor Campbell to veto the bill to repeal women's suffrage, which was introduced in the second Wyoming Territorial Legislature, and with working to secure the votes necessary to prevent passage of the bill over the governor's veto.[28]

By 1872 Amalia Post was settled into a life of comfort and reasonable contentment in Cheyenne, although she still looked forward to occasional visits with her family in Michigan. "I am coming home in the fall, soon as our election is over," she assured her sister. "We expect a pretty lively time here[.] Post is as good as can be possible[,] never speaks a cross word[. G]ot my house fixed over[,] everything nice & some beautiful plants in blossom."[29]

[15] Amalia to Sister Ann, September 5, 1863, Post Family Papers.

[16] Beach, 171; Virginia Cole Trenholm (ed.), *Wyoming Blue Book, Volume 1* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, 1974), 286.

[17] Amalia to Sister Ann, April 13, 1862, Post Family Papers.

[18] Amalia to Sister Ann, May 28, 1866; Amalia to sister, August 23, 1866, Post Family Papers.

[19] Morton E. Post to wife, August 4, 1867.

[20] Morton to wife, September 14, 1867; unsigned to wife (incomplete), October 30, 1867; Morton to wife, November 1, 1867, Post Family Papers.

[21] M.E. Post to Amalia, June 18, 1868; M.E. Post to wife, July 5, 1868, Post Family Papers.

[22] Unsigned to wife (incomplete), October 30, 1867, Post Family Papers.

[23] Amalia to sister, April 4, 1870, Post Family Papers.

[24] Amalia to sister, undated, Post Family Papers.

[25] *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 21, 1871; Beach, 172.

[26] Beach, 172; *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 10, 1871.

[27] Unsigned (incomplete) to sister, February 4, 1871, Post Family Papers.

[28] Beach, 172.

[29] Amalia to sister, June 14, 1872, Post Family Papers.

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*Downtown Cheyenne, 1880s*

The sister to whom so many of Amalia's letters were addressed was Ann Pettibone Simons, born November 3, 1828. Ann married Dr. George Kilbourne of Montpelier, Vermont, on June 22, 1851. Dr. Kilbourne died in April of 1856, and two months later Ann gave birth to a daughter, Annie. Annie and her mother made their home with Ann's and Amalia's father William Simons in Lexington, Michigan, through most of Annie's childhood. A third sister, Celestia, married Dr. G. J. Parker, also had a daughter, Birdie, and lived in Port Huron, Michigan.[30]

The death of Amalia's only child apparently caused her to turn her maternal affections toward her nieces and especially toward her widowed sister's daughter. Her letters are full of concern for Annie's progress, and she had been sending money to Ann since at least 1866 to pay for Annie's piano lessons.[31] In 1873 Annie Kilbourne, seventeen years old, lively, flirtatious, and determined to have a good time, came to live with her aunt and uncle in Cheyenne.

> I enjoyed the journey ever so much, I have become acquainted with quite a number since [I] came. I get introduced to so many I can't remember them the next time I see them...The Legislature is in session now; they had a reception at its commencement. I don't know whether they will have a ball or not at its close...[T]he country seems strange to me, rather desolate[,] I think.[32]

By the mid-seventies the Posts were well established in the top echelon of Cheyenne society. Morton Post was a Laramie County Commissioner and a leading banker and businessman. The business block which he had built at the corner of 17th and Ferguson (later Carey Avenue) housed the Wyoming Territorial Legislative Assembly in 1875, and Post was a member of the Legislative Council in 1878.[33] There were too few young unmarried women in Cheyenne for the number of single men in any case, and Annie's connections made her a particularly attractive match. "I have had plenty of attention since [I] have been here," she admitted. "Judge Carey has been here several times. He thinks I am a very nice Musician for my age...Auntie has refused every person that wanted to go with me except Carey...[M]ost every person has called on me."[34]

According to Amalia, it was Morton who was putting forward the match with Carey. "There is to be a Ball for the members of the Legislature," she wrote. "Annie is engaged to go with Carey...Post is good to her but makes a fuss [if] she has beaux[,] all with the exception of Carey."[35]

Their choice was understandable. Joseph M. Carey was 28 years old. President Grant had appointed him United States Attorney for Wyoming. Later, he was an Associate Justice of the Wyoming Supreme Court. Still later, he would be both Wyoming's first United States Senator and, in 1910, governor.[36] Annie's attitude, however,

[30] Beach, 170-171.
[31] Amalia to sister, August 23, 1866, Post Family Papers.
[32] Annie to mother, November 11, 1873, Post Family Papers.
[33] Trenholm, 150, 286.
[34] Annie to mother, November 28, 1873, Post Family Papers.
[35] Amalia to Sister, December 8, 1873, Post Family Papers.
[36] Trenholm, II, 463.

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*Joseph M. Carey*

was less than ecstatic. "I think he is the nicest young man in this town," she admitted, "but that is not saying much[,] is it?"[37]

Annie attended "calico balls," masquerades, and prayer meetings. She went riding, she went driving, and she danced. In between times, she gave music lessons and played for the Presbyterian church. When she was at home, she played cards or wrote letters. She lavished a good deal of time and thought on her clothes, and she cheerfully urged her mother to join her in Cheyenne so that she could share both the clothes and the beaux.[38]

Annie was so popular that she could afford to be exclusive and, apparently, she sometimes took advantage of the privilege. Amelia wrote:

> [S]he attended a surprise party last evening, I urged her to go...as the young Ladies seemed to have the impression that she did not think they were quite the thing[. S]he says this morning she will not go to any more of them.[39]

Throughout the spring and summer, Annie continued to keep her mother posted on what she was wearing (a new Japanese cloth suit and a ready made linen suit) and who she was seeing: "Mr Rogers...is getting to be my stand-by," "Judge Carey took me out riding," "I went up [to] the Fort with Mr Coakley." Occasionally, she even permitted herself to become conceited. "I have more beaus and attention paid me then [sic] any other girl here."[40]

Amalia went East to visit in the fall and winter, but Annie remained in Cheyenne. The social pace was as frantic as ever and rumors were beginning to circulate. "Judge Car[e]y said the other night 'That he heard that he was engaged to me,'" Annie wrote. "I asked him if that was the reason he had not called for so long a time? hearing of his engagement had frightened him."[41] The Carey match was apparently not likely to prosper in this atmosphere, but Annie had many other invitations:

> Gov. Campbell and Mrs Campbell invited me up there to stay a week or so, and I accepted the invitation and am staying up there now...I have attended three parties since Auntie went away; the first...I attended with Mr Rogers, the second with Mr Parshal[l], the third I had an invitation from Mr Coakley, which I very politely declined, telling him that, 'Owing to circumstances over which I had no control, I cared never to accept his company again'...You should see your daughter now, she is getting to be quite a Belle."[42]

It is not clear what Mr. Coakley's sin was, but it was apparently forgivable, for Annie accepted his escort again, after she "made him agree to a few things." She was becoming philosophical about her many admirers. She informed her mother:

> I have a great deal of company, but I believe those girls that have the most attention paid them, get so they are little inclined to flirt, and do not marry as soon as those that do not have much attention paid them, but go with one gentleman and end by marr[y]ing him, while us poor girls are flirting still.[43]

In the summer of 1875 it was Annie's turn to go home for a visit. She was anxious to get away. "I have had three offers of Marriage in the last two or three weeks," she complained. "I want to get home as I am bothered to death with the gentlemen."[44]

[37]Annie to mother, January 19, 1874, Post Family Papers.
[38]*Ibid.*
[39]Amalia to sister, February 4, 1874, Post Family Papers.
[40]Annie to mother, May 3, 1874 and June 14, 1874, Post Family Papers.
[41]Annie Kilbourne to mother, October 24, 1874, Post Family Papers.
[42]Annie Kilbourne to mother, December 2, 1874, Post Family Papers.
[43]Annie to Mother, March 10, 1875, Post Family Papers.
[44]Annie to Mama, June 6, 1875, Post Family Papers.

Annie Kilbourne did not return to Cheyenne until nearly the end of the year. While she was in Michigan, she corresponded with several young men in Cheyenne, but one of them now took precedence over the others. At some time between her return in December and February of 1876 she reached an understanding, which she insisted should be kept secret, with Adrian J. Parshall. Parshall, like Annie, came originally from Michigan. He was born in Ann Arbor in 1849 and graduated from the State University of Michigan after a course in civil engineering. In Cheyenne he worked as a draftsman in the office of the United States surveyor general. After becoming engaged to Annie, he moved to Custer City in the Black Hills of Dakota Territory to establish himself economically.[45]

Amalia apparently did not approve of Parshall, which may have had something to do with the secrecy of the engagement and must have had something to do with the deterioration of relations between aunt and niece. Birdie Parker, Annie's cousin, had also come to live with the Posts that year. Amalia complained that Annie no longer shared news from home with her. "I hear sometimes through Birdie," she admitted.[46] Annie asserted that "Auntie has not treated me nearly as well this time...[I]f it was not warm weather I would start home now[,] she is so ugly."[47]

The reason that Annie would no longer share her mother's letters with her aunt was that Ann knew of the engagement. Annie wrote:

> I suppose Mr Parshall must be making something, as it is such a country to make money in. [H]e will be down before I go home and then we will talk over matters and see when we will be married. I would like to be in a year or so, when I was 22 would be a good age. Judge Car[e]y has just returned from the east...an[d] then there is a new young lady come to town[,] Miss Davids [David]...& Mr Gervais[,] a new arrival in town...has taken quite a fancy to me, has asked me to get ice cream...but I have refused him so far as he is a stranger.[48]

Annie made no such objections to the attentions of the young men she had known the previous year. She visited in their homes and accepted expensive birthday presents from them.[49] Parshall hinted that this treatment of him "seemed more like flirtation than true affection," but assured her that she was "my 'beau ideal' of character and discrimination, and one whom I have placed...high amongst my list of lady acquaintances, as the embryo[sic] of a true lady."[50]

In the fall Parshall came to Cheyenne and escorted Annie part of the way home to Michigan. He urged Annie again not to accept too much attention from her other admirers. "I know you will do right about the matter, and I shan[']t get angry or jealous any more," he told her. "I think I had better tell Mrs P. that we are engaged [. S]he may be pleased with me if I show her that much confidence. I shall tell no one else until you say I can."[51] Parshall did talk to Amalia. He wrote:

> I called on Mrs Post in the evening. I told her of our engagement and though she seemed to feel a little bad, seemed satisfied as well, and talked very fairly with me, said that as you had shown you cared for me...she would no longer use any objections...and said she wanted I should like her. I assured her I had never disliked her, that any objections she had used against me I considered was for your good.[52]

[45] I.S. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming, Volume III* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1918), 201-202; Adrian to Annie, February 13, 1876, Post Family Papers.

[46] Amalia to father, March 29, 1876, Post Family Papers.

[47] Annie to mother, June 24, 1876, Post Family Papers.

[48] Annie to "Mamma," July 17, 1876, Post Family Papers.

[49] Annie to mother, June 24, 1876, Post Family Papers.

[50] A.J.P. to Annie, July 29, 1876, Post Family Papers.

[51] A.J. Parshall to Annie, December 14, 1876, Post Family Papers.

[52] A.J. Parshall to Annie, December 16, 1876, Post Family Papers.

Wyoming Dept. of Parks and Cultural Resources

*Adrian J. Parshall*

Annie did not return to Cheyenne the next year. Birdie, however, continued to make her home with the Posts, and she kept her cousin apprised of events in the territory: Judge Carey had begun a courtship of Miss David (they were married later that year), an acquaintance recently married could boast "she had more Presents than Kate Barkalow had," another acquaintance suffered a miscarriage and died.[53] Parshall returned to Custer. His business speculations were not progressing as he had hoped, and Annie continued to quarrel with him over what she perceived as his unfounded jealousy.

"You always get angry when I ask you in regard to anything that I do not exactly like," he defended himself. "If[,] Annie[,] you enjoy flirting and think you are doing nothing wrong, why I most certainly shall have no objections. I have come to think myself very notional."[54]

Early in 1878 Parshall visited Annie in Michigan and gave her an engagement ring.[55] He had now relocated to Deadwood, but his luck continued to be bad. He suffered, in succession, a blizzard, a flood, and a slump in business,[56] and by summer, he was wondering whether Annie regretted the engagement. "What will those proud relations of yours say who advised you years ago to think well before you cast your lot with me?" he asked. Birdie, still in Cheyenne, now had a favored beau, and Parshall had some reservation about the match:

> Should either Mr & Mrs Post ever hear that I said ought which would in any way predjudice *[sic]* a marriage...I am quite sure the gulf of friendship which is now not very narrow between them and me would not be less.[57]

Apparently, Annie suggested that Parshall had overestimated her aunt's continued dislike of him:

> No, Annie, I have not. I think I know how she feels towards me. She says nothing bad about me[,] her attack is in a different form. It is ridicule...I have felt the force

[53] Birdie to Annie, January 22, 1877; Birdie to Annie, March 14, 1877, Post Family Papers.

[54] Adrian to Annie, February 20, 1877, Post Family Papers.

[55] Birdie to Annie, February 26, 1878, Post Family Papers.

[56] Adrian to Annie, March 8, 1878; A.J. Parshall to Annie, July 1, 1878, Post Family Papers.

[57] A.J. Parshall to Annie, July 1, 1878, Post Family Papers.


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of her streangth [sic] in that direction not a few times during this summer.[58]

The Posts, however, were not altogether intransigent. By 1879 Parshall had a steady job in the First National Bank of Deadwood, an institution in which Morton Post held an interest, and he was at last making active plans for marriage. "My wages will support us," he told Annie, "and what I can make outside will be so much clear."[59] He refused to discuss the details of his business endeavors with Annie, though.

> That is something I always think is best for me to know only myself...I believe [husband and wife] have their separate spheres of action, that each have their particular cares, and can attend them best...However I love you just as much and perhaps a good deal more than I would, if you knew all about the running of man[']s business, and matters which I always thought no woman ought to bother with.[60]

The marriage was at last set for December of 1879, but the place was still unsettled. Annie was inclined to favor Port Huron, for she intended to have "quite a wedding." Parshall would have preferred something smaller, but was willing to indulge her if she would forgo receiving presents. "It is beneath me to have my wife accept a lot of trash not worth packing away...just because it is fashionable," he explained.[61] Eventually, Annie decided to be married in Cheyenne and she and Parshall arranged to meet there.[62] Mr. and Mrs. Morton E. Post acted as hosts, sending out 250 invitations requesting the presence of friends on the evening of December 17, 1879, at the First Congregational Church of Cheyenne, with a reception at their home to follow. The *Cheyenne Daily Sun* reported the wedding and described in detail the numerous wedding presents received by the young couple on the occasion.[63]

To the nineteenth century, marriage was woman's true vocation, and women were idealized as "not inferior to men but equal and possibly even superior within their separate sphere."[64] This separate sphere was the home where the "true woman" created a refuge of peace for her husband and an atmosphere of religious and moral purity in which to raise her children. The man's sphere was to support her economically and to shield her from the impure influences of the outside world. Parshall's letters to Annie have to be understood in this context. Both Annie and Amalia were exposed to this "cult of true womanhood,"[65] and both as young women believed in it. The jarring failure of reality to match the ideal altered Amalia's views, but for Annie the real and ideal worlds were closer.

It seems fair to conclude that both Annie and Amalia found opportunities in Cheyenne that they would not have had elsewhere. For Amalia, Cheyenne offered an economic and political independence beyond that normally offered to women, of which she gladly took full advantage. In a letter to her father, she detailed her financial affairs, which she clearly looked after herself, and emphasized that her wealth was "in [her] own name."[66] She was on good terms with her husband, but she did not choose to depend on him for either money or opinions.

For Annie, Cheyenne merely broadened the woman's traditional field of opportunity. It was assumed that young women would marry, and that any other choice was a compromise forced on the woman by some failure on her own part or another's. Annie came to Cheyenne looking for a life partner. She found that, unlike her experience in Michigan, she was in total control of the courtship process. She could, and did, dictate the terms under which her company was available and required even her fiancé to submit to her ideas of proper social behavior. She had more power in Cheyenne than in Lexington, but it was more of the same kind of power, and it was used toward the same ends, as other young women in other parts of the country wielded.

It is dangerous to draw general conclusions from a few specific examples; but it is even more dangerous to draw general conclusions in the absence of specific examples. The letters of Amalia Post and Annie Parshall do not prove anything about 19th century women in general, but they provide specific examples of how two particular women coped with their roles in a society where the ideal was assumed to be real but often was not.

[58] Adrian to Annie, October 27, 1878, Post Family Papers.
[59] A.J.P. to Annie, July 24, 1879, Post Family Papers.
[60] A.J.P. to Annie, January 2, 1879, Post Family Papers.
[61] A.J.P. to Annie, October 17, 1879, Post Family Papers.
[62] A. J. Parshall to Annie, November 26, 1879, Post Family Papers.
[63] *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, December 18, 1879; *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 18, 1879.
[64] Myres, 6.
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] Amalia to father, March 29, 1876, Post Family Papers.

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# Journal of Trip in Wyoming Following and Marking Trails

American Heritage Center, UW

*Dr. Hebard speaking at the dedication of the Fort Phil Kearny marker*

By Grace Raymond Hebard

Edited by Rick Ewig

Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, University of Wyoming trustee and professor, historian, and the first woman appointed to the Wyoming State Bar, actively participated during the 1910s in an effort to mark many of the state's historic sites. The Wyoming Daughters of the American Revolution lobbied the state legislature to appropriate money for historical markers. This effort led to the passage of a bill in 1913 which established the Wyoming Oregon Trail Commission. From 1913 to 1915 the commission placed at least 31 markers, many placed by Dr. Hebard.[1] She traveled 800 miles following the Oregon Trail during trips in 1913 and 1914 and she planned a similar trip in 1915.[2]

Dr. Hebard kept a journal of her 1915 trip across Wyoming. A copy of the typewritten journal is in her papers at the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.[3] Hebard traveled with her sister, Alice, among others, including Herman G. Nickerson, president of the Wyoming Oregon Trail Commission, who joined her for a portion along the Oregon Trail. The party traveled by train, auto, mountain wagon, and stagecoach, starting in Laramie and on to Cheyenne, Douglas, Casper, Lander, Pinedale, Jackson, Yellowstone National Park, Cody, Sheridan, and Buffalo.

*The following excerpts are drawn from her journal and are printed just as they were typed in her journal.*

Having recently been appointed a member of the Oregon Trail Commission for Wyoming by Governor John B. Kendrick, being State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.) for Wyoming, State Historian for the Colonial Dames, a member of the Wyoming State Historical Society, and generally interested in marking trails and historic sites, I planned a trip during July and August over the State which Dr. Wergeland[4] and I had planned in 1913 to take in 1915. On Tuesday July 25, 1915, at Laramie at the home of Mrs. Abbot, Regent of the Jacques Laramie Chapter, I addressed the Chapter on marking Fort Laramie and unveiling monuments at Lingle and Torrington, and visiting the sites at Henry, Nebraska, where the Wyoming Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and also those of Nebraska had erected a Noble monument on the Wyoming-Nebraska line where the Overland Trail crosses same just south of the North Platte River. A cloudburst in the hills making all the drinking water red from the sand hills and filling the streets full of running water threatened to play havoc at this D.A.R. meeting, given by Miss Abbott. In addressing the Chapter I did so in the capacity of State Regent more than historian of the Chapter. After telling of this most wonderful day which my sister and I spent at Fort Laramie on June 17, 1915, and the emotions I felt in viewing the ground and the old time outline of the trail, with the foundations of Fort Laramie crumbling to dust, I displayed the pictures which I had taken while on this historic spot. Like many others, the gathering was particularly taken with those cowboy pictures which I had had taken sitting astride Miss Taylor's beautiful Southern saddle horse, Prince, with a divided skirt made from skin decorated on the side with fringed buckskin, a border around the bottom of the skirt and the front of rattlesnake skins, and here and there decorated with green beads and rattlers. The only thing I really cared for after delivering the address, which occupied about an hour, was that the hearers said after hearing me that they thought it was a grand thing to mark historic sites, and that in their opinion more trails and historic spots should be marked.

*Thursday, July 29*

Came to Cheyenne on the nine o'clock morning train which is one that makes no stop between Laramie and Cheyenne. In going to the depot in the taxi, it went around the corner so fast that it made me car sick, so much so that I had to make myself walk with myself until the train came. Betzy Marvin was at the train, and after a few errands we went to her home. We saw Mr. Rainsford on the street who helped us to select a raincoat for the trip, advising us not to buy what he called "dude coats", i.e. thin rain coats. Mrs. J. M. Carey came for us in her auto and took us for a long ride, having with her the mother-in-law of Bishop Thomas. We went out to Fort Russell where many thousands, even millions of dollars have been spent in perfecting the post. Then we went to Mrs. Carey's home where we had a beautifully appointed dinner, my sister and I being the guests. After chatting a while, when we had finished dinner Mrs. Carey, Betzy and I went to the Carnegie Library where a Miss Upton had a coming out piano recital. The most one can say is that they all did their best... .The day was exceedingly full, but all froth.

*August 5:* [Casper]

We started from the Midwest Hotel in a Ford auto with William Griffith or "Taxi Bill" as driver. We went to the Rhinoceros for breakfast and had them put up a


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*(Left): Grace Hebard and H. G. Nickerson posing next to Independence Rock where both carved their names. (Above): Hebard stands next to Pathfinder Dam during her 1915 auto trip.*

lunch which consisted of three dozen ham sandwitches [sic] and cost three dollars. At 5:50 we were off with a somewhat cloudy sky and roads most excellent. We followed on the west side of the North Platte river to Alcova at which historic place we arrived about 10 A.M. The store keeper here I found to be one of my former students and took his picture on the front steps. From here there was a bridge across the Platte which we did not go over and the view from the side of Devil's Gate was splendid. Following along the Platte river, we finally reached the Path Finder dam about 11:30. This dam is one of the largest in the world and cost our government over a million of dollars [sic]. It is terrible in its wonder. If it ever should break loose, the water would sweep down the valley and wipe out the town of Casper for the lake that is formed by the back-water is twenty miles in circumference. The dam is under governmental supervision and a Mr. Austin has charge of the measuring of the water daily. Here we met Mrs. Austin who, it turned out, used to work in the dress-making department of the Terry-Wagner store at Laramie. She was very hospitable and asked us to take dinner with her, but we thought we had better consume the investment of three dollars in sandwiches at which we made sorry work. From here we pushed on to Independence Rock, that great stone which Father DeSmet called "The Register of the Desert." This Independence Rock is an historic landmark on the Overland Trail being somewhat halfway between Independence, Missouri and Oregon of the trail. We reached here about three o'clock in the afternoon but did not stop. We saw many, many names on the rock, but the one which had the most significance was the inscription which Captain H.G. Nickerson had made last year and which read "Cal. And Oregon Trail. 1845-9. H.G. Nickerson, 1914". From here we went to the home of Mr. Henry Schoonemaker, a man of much means, who is somewhat physically disabled but who was very pleasant and kind and said he was waiting to find that Mr. Nickerson who had marked up his rock and had painted the trail sign on his posts without permission and was going to shoot him. I laughingly said, "Please wait until I have made our train journey, and I will bring him back to his execution. His ranch is known as the Gate Ranch, getting the name from Devil's Gate,

but after I had to open ten or twelve gates with all kinds of latches and fasteners, I accused him of naming his ranch for that reason more than for the historic rock.

*August 6:*

... We hurried on to Independence Rock and coming up close to it we found by the side of Mr. N's name, chipped in the rock and painted black, the words, "Dr. Grace R. Hebard, 1915". Mr. N is president of the Oregon Trail Commission of which I am a member. Having arrived there earlier, he had put my name on the rock,—the first woman's name so far as is known. Here I met Captain Nickerson, whom we call Colonel, in a kaki [sic] suit and fatigue hat. He has a very soldierly bearing.... I walked around Independence Rock, just a mile, with Captain Nickerson and when we were in the middle of a swampy bit of meadow he said, "I think there are no rattle snakes here now. There used to be a great many." I have a mortal fear of rattle snakes and under ordinary circumstances would rather have retreated; but this was a case of do or die, and I marched bravely on with the spirit of those who had made the trail. We found hundreds of names on the rock, some of them very old and some quite recent.

*Monday August 9*

Not a very good night. I had an uncertain bed and uncertain bed fellows. The party had breakfast at 6:20 and after taking photographs of the hotel [in Daniel] we started, at seven in the auto for Dr. Montrose's, six miles west of the site of old Fort Bonneville, built in 1832. We found Dr. Montrose's ranch, but no sign of the fort. There is nothing on the prairie except a few small trees and the handsome stone which Dr. Montrose had hauled,

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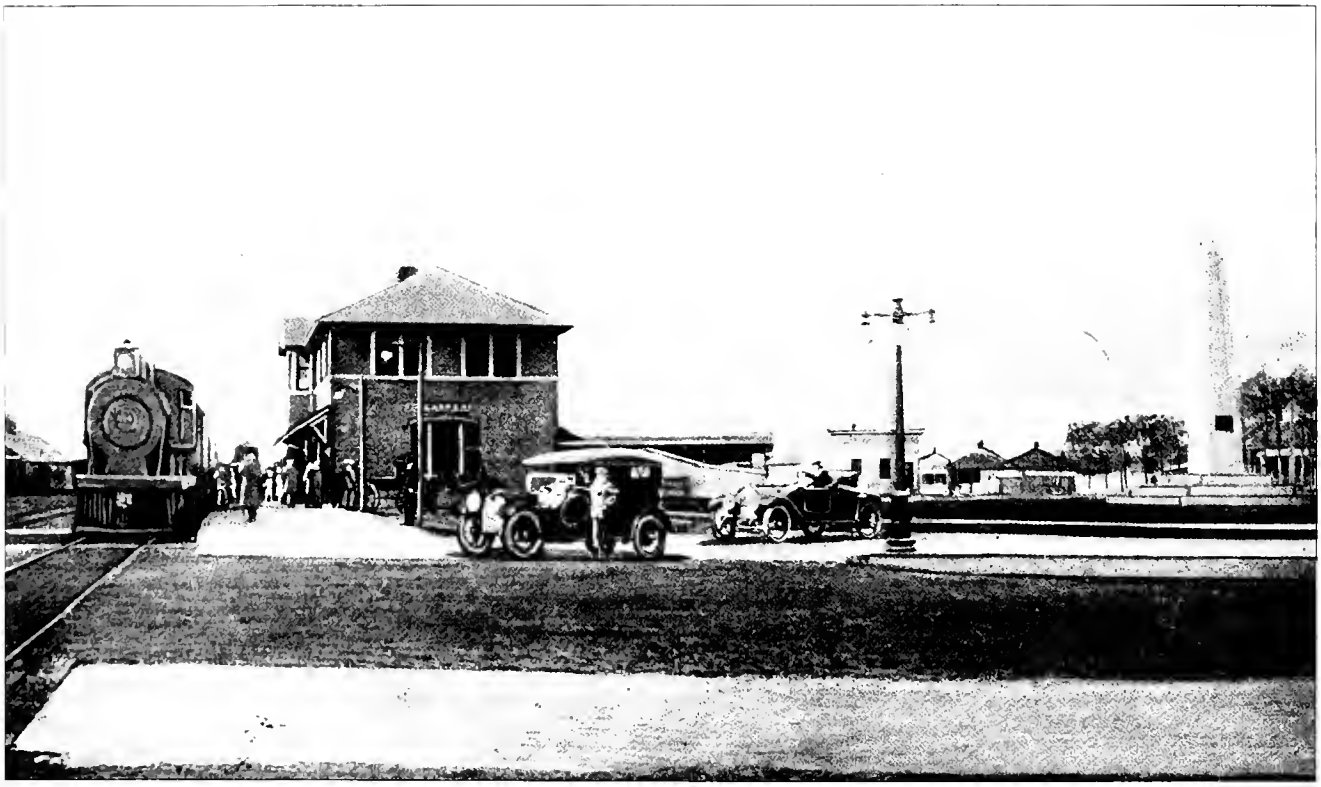
*Grace Hebard working on the car after a break-down on the trip. The man at the right is not identified.*

a granite boulder about four feet high which might weigh two tons. We drove over to Dr. Montrose's, met his wife and a Mr. Kelley and returned with those to the site where altogether, with self included, and auto pulling at the stone we finally succeeded in getting it in the location desired, though upside down.... we blocked out the letters upside down on the stone. The letters were about two inches high and we worked all of three hours on the inscription which finally read as follows: "Site of Fort Bonneville 1832 1915." I helped and went over each letter with chisel and mallet and with a small paint brush painted the letters black. Finally Cole went to scratching around in the soil... ...and dug up a post of the old stockade, which was three feet in the ground and sharpened at one end. I believe this to be the best proof of the stockade that has been uncovered up to the present time, where a stockade of such large posts ten to fourteen inches in diameter existed so long ago as the fur post which Bonneville built. That location has always been known as Fort Bonneville, and I talked during the day with two or three people who, as far back as 1882, found the posts which have now disappeared, three and four feet above the ground. Anyway the site is marked.

*Monday, August 16:*

After the usual explanation of "Where is your sister?" "Isn't she coming down to breakfast?" "No, she doesn't eat breakfast." "What is the matter? Has she stomach trouble?" "No, she just doesn't eat breakfast!" we commenced to get ready to start for Cody. We started about seven-thirty in an automobile for Cody which was some fifty miles east. .



*"Chicago and Northwestern Depot and the Monument"--a postcard of Casper from 1915, (the original in color tint), from Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard's collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.*

This day is certainly one of rich experiences. We followed the Shoshoni River which until within my own memory bore the name of Stinking River, named thus by the Indians and told to John Colter in 1807, the first white man to smell it. .. The stream is not attractive at all, but the road for a long way and for miles and miles was really charming and the mountains along the road had the Garden of the Gods at Colorado Springs looking like a ha-penny....

To my mind there is a very excellent chance on this road, which is wonderful in its scenic surroundings, for a fatal and terrible accident. In fact, the road is so narrow that in many places two automobiles could not pass one another. Not three hundred yards ahead of us a man ran an auto into another and did a great deal of damage to the machine, water spouting out on the front of the automobile, but he seemed oblivious to the consternation which he had caused and rode on with a spirit of indifference or, it may be, with a fear of arrest. For miles we thus rode over the trail, but I had the back door of the automobile open all the time and one foot out and had Betsy's feet free from the rug in order that we might jump in case of accident. In fact, we were obliged several times to get out and walk....

*Saturday, August 21:*

We crossed the mountains, and were about opposite Meeteetse on the west side of the Big Horn range, in Big Horn County. We all lunched in a clearing in which there were two log cabins, an ideal spot for a picnic, and while we were preparing the meal

four persons appeared who proved to be the governess and tutor and two small children, the grandchildren of Mrs. Potter Palmer. After we had lunched, Vie said, "Dr. Hebard will tell us something of her trip." I had a semicircle about me, and above me, and I was seated on a box of the "Sheridan Brewing Company." I told all this group of many things, particularly of Independence Rock and of Fort Bonneville.... Then, not having enough history, I told them of the Fetterman Massacre and the wagon box fight, for the Indians who had been in these struggles had roamed over and over the tract of land on which we were seated. Finally one of the young people said, "She belongs to the little, red Civics of Wyoming. Doesn't she?" He had studied this book in school, and had just grasped the idea that one who wrote a book might really live. This story telling to such an appreciative audience was really touching..

*Sunday, August 22:*

Promptly at 7:30 an auto came, and we all, little Orr included, started for Buffalo by Fetterman Massacre Hill. This is a tract of land over which we went that makes one not wonder that the Indians contested every foot controlled by the white man a garden spot for buffalo, plenty of wild fruit, a light enough climate for most of the year, fish, and plenty of places to hide and also to advantageously attack the white man. That Fetterman and all his men were killed is not to be wondered. The Indians had every advantage....

We then went over the Fort Phil Kearney [sic] site with a Mr. [name not given] who now owns the place, and with an irrigation spade over his shoulder which at times served as an index. He took us step by step over the site of the old fort which was in a constant state of siege by the Indians from the time of its erection until it was finally burned by the Indians. We found only a post here and there that remained of this historicfort built in the late sixties. We found many pieces of iron in the ground and I have a piece of the front of a stove with the date mark of 1865 impressed on it. We were also in the rifle pits just west, and close to the walls of the fort. This site should be preserved, if not by the state, then by the national government, for already civilization with irrigating ditches and their resulting fields of grain and alfalfa have defaced this spot and lost to the future the exact outlines of the fort.

*Rick Ewig is acting director of the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. He is a former editor of Annals of Wyoming. The reference library in the American Heritage Center is named for Dr. Hebard who served for many years as the university's first "archivist."*

# Marking Site of Fort Bonneville, Aug. 9, 1915

1 *"Col. N. and P. C. 'working' to get stone in exact spot"*

Dr. Hebard titled this series of photographs "The Wyoming Trail Commission earning its Money, Aug. 9, 1915, at the site of old Fort Bonneville, near Daniel, Wyo." She refers to herself in each photograph as "P. C."

*"Col. Nickerson and P. C. rolling the monument into place for marking"* 2

4 *Private stunt by P. C."*

*"With patience and accuracy the letters were outlined and then cut into stone with a chisel and mallet."*


5 *"The results of the labor--the monument in place."*

All photographs, Hebard collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

# A Harvard Cook in the Wyoming Badlands:

## The 1908 Diary of Alcott Farrar Elwell

### By Ginny Kilander

"I waved my hat and the people craned their necks out the window to see 'the cowboy'? What a bump they would have had if they had known!"[1] Twenty-two year-old Alcott Farrar Elwell recorded this event in his diary in July of 1908. The native of Massachusetts had been in Wyoming and the West barely twenty days himself. Elwell made his first trip to the Western U.S. while he was working to support his Harvard education and complete his bachelor of science degree. A Harvard acquaintance had offered him a position as cook with the U.S. Geological Survey for a team assigned to the coal fields in the vicinity of Buffalo, Wyoming. Despite his lack of cooking experience, Elwell accepted the position and spent 3 1/2 months that summer and fall in Johnson and Sheridan counties, Wyoming, as the cook for a four-man survey team.

Elwell maintained a daily diary which documented his trip to the West, and also created a visual record with photographs showing the impressions of a Massachusetts man as he first experienced Western culture and the Wyoming landscape. He recorded the typography and weather in descriptive and detailed passages, not unlike other Eastern travelers unfamiliar with the West. His love of the outdoors was evident, and he described hunting, fishing and observations of wildlife throughout his Western stay. His sense of humor, ability to laugh at himself, and his adaptability in various situations is apparent. Entertaining entries contrast with statements which reveal the solitude of those months, with many

[1] Diary entry, July 27, 1908. Alcott Farrar Elwell Papers, Coll. 1916, Box 1, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

*The survey party and their cook, 1908. Left to right: "Dad" Beekly, Alcott Elwell, Wegeman, Gardiner, survey leader Hoyt Gale. Elwell papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming*

days spent alone while the geologists were elsewhere conducting their fieldwork, and while his family remained in the East.

Elwell was a student of human nature, and his observations of strangers he met, and comments on the interpersonal relations of the survey team as a whole are included in his documentation. Essentially strangers at the outset, these men shared close living quarters for several months, and were forced to work together as a team despite their differences.

Elwell traveled to the West for employment, and for a short-term job. He had no plans to make the West his home, nor to even return there later in life. Yet his work ethic, adaptability, and good nature, in addition to his love of the outdoors and adventure, made him a seemingly well-qualified candidate for the job. Needless to say, not all young men would travel thousands of miles across the country to camp in the outdoors, with a group of virtual strangers, and live in harsh outdoor conditions in a mobile camp in an unknown environment for several months. Although he may have lacked cooking experience, he demonstrated capable skills in outdoor living.

In the early years of the twentieth century the U.S. Geological Survey began an extensive study and classification of coal lands in the Western United States.[2] President Theodore Roosevelt authorized the coal testing program initially in preparation for a demonstration for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, but the program became a regular part of the U.S.G.S. in 1905.[3] In addition to studies in the states of Montana, Colorado, New Mexico, and North Dakota, several coal fields in Wyoming were also surveyed including fields located near Buffalo, the Powder River, Big Horn Basin, Little Snake River, and Rock Springs.[4]

The Buffalo Coal Field team was headed by Hoyt S. Gale, a Harvard graduate who was in his sixth year of service with the U.S.G.S.,[5] and who had recruited Elwell. Carrol H. Wegemann co-authored the published report of the survey, and field assistants Doane Gardiner and W.H. Beekly completed the team.[6] Elwell's captions on one group photograph provide additional insight into the personalities of the men. Gale is identified as "The Chief," Gardiner as "The Actor," and Beekly is referred to as "Dad," a nickname also used by Elwell throughout his diary.[7] Elwell identified the survey as part of the United States Geodetic Survey, Roosevelt Lignite Conservation project.[8]

Although Elwell would not marry for many years after his summer experience, his widow recalled,

> Colonel Elwell looked back on his Wyoming summer with great appreciation and enthusiasm. It was rough, tough, and challenging. And he liked it. He loved the outdoors wherever he was. He had never cooked! But like everything else, he was not afraid to try, and used to say, 'and they liked my cooking!'...His Wyoming experience was one of the mountain peaks of his life. Frequently referred to, it had a large part in contributing to the usefulness and success that followed. [9]

The son of sculptor Frank Edwin Elwell and Molina Mary Hildreth,[10] Elwell was one of twin boys, Alcott Farrar and Stanley Bruce, born to the couple in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the fall of 1866. Alcott was named for his godmother, author Louisa May Alcott, who had encouraged his father to study sculpture, and provided him with his first lessons.[11] Farrar was the family name of the twin boys' paternal great-grandparents.[12]

Details of Elwell's early childhood are scarce. He spent 1895, the year he turned nine, in France, and attended school in Kassel, Germany, the following year. His father had strong ties to Europe, having been schooled at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. The couple married in that city, although the two returned to the United States the year before the boys' birth.[13] A noted and multiple award-winning sculptor, Frank Elwell may have returned to Europe to pursue his art, and moved his family, including his school-aged children, with him.

Later, Alcott Elwell returned to the United States where, from the age of 15 to 19, he attended the Cambridge Latin and Stone Schools.[14] In 1905 he had his first experiences with Mowglis School-of-the-Open, a summer camp for boys located in East Hebron, New Hampshire, where he worked as a junior counselor for

[2] Mary C. Rabbitt, *A Brief History of the U.S. Geological Survey* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1979), 20.

[3] *Ibid*., 19.

[4] *Contributions to Economic Geology 1908, Part II-Mineral Fuels*, Bulletin 381, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 4-6.

[5] Elwell Papers.

[6] *Contributions to Economic Geology*, 137.

[7] Alcott Farrar Elwell Papers, Coll. H66-80, Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne.

[8] Elwell Papers, American Heritage Center.

[9] Letter, Helen Chaffee Elwell to Gene Gressley, April 12, 1966. Elwell Papers.

[10] Alcott Farrar Elwell Biographical Folder, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Mass.

[11] Alcott Farrar Elwell Donor File, Letter from Alcott Farrar Elwell to Mrs. Skaggs, December 30, 1960, Free Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Penn.

[12] "The Elwell Bust of Louisa Alcott," *Concord Massachussetts Journal*, November 28, 1968, no date; C.PAM 43 Elwell 19, Concord Free Public Library of Philadelphia, Special Collections, Concord, MA.

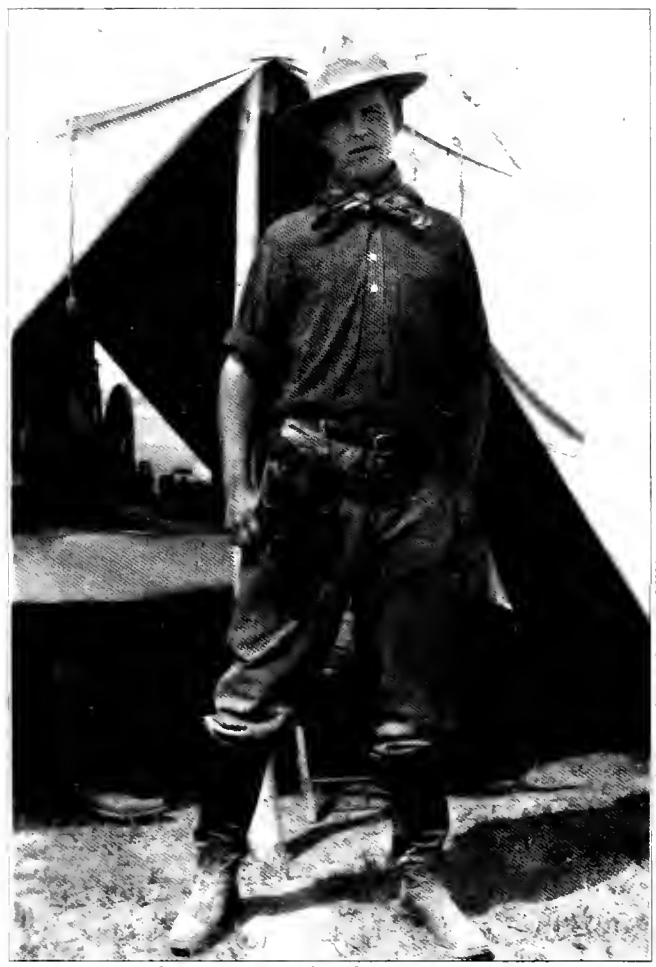
[13] Elwell Donor File, Free Library of Philadelphia.

[14] Elwell Papers, American Heritage Center.

the summer. The camp would become a major focus of his life later, with Elwell becoming the owner and director of the camp from the 1920s through the 1940s.[15]

Alcott Elwell began his Harvard career in 1906, a member of the class of 1910. Financial difficulties prevented him from graduating with his class and forced him to leave Harvard periodically to earn additional funding to support his education. In addition to his position as cook for the U.S.G.S., Elwell was a New York City mechanic for the Panhard-Lavasser Automobile Company, served as nurse at a Kassel, Germany, hospital, worked as a Boston bookkeeper, and began a boys' school in Cleveland, Ohio, all in a period of only seven years.[16] Elwell's Harvard records indicate that he also began a club for young men relating to modern business, with the theme "how to get a job and how to keep it,"[17] an ironic topic for a man who held so many jobs during his college career.

Elwell began his diary with his departure in New Jersey on July 2, 1908, when he "left Weehawken [New Jersey] with Dad on the front steps, the Hudson [River] dull blue in the heat haze beyond. Left mother at 23rd St. and now turn my face West, where what I go to meet -I face alone."[18] His parents were divorced during this year, and his father maintained an art studio overlooking the Hudson River.[19]



Elwell Papers, American Heritage Center, UW

*Alcott Farrar Elwell in the West, 1908*

From Weehawken, Elwell traveled to Jersey City and then continued by train to Virginia where he stated: "N.J. and Virginia look much alike and there is the same feeling to the country (except for the girls!)...Philadelphia and Baltimore dwarf after the sky-scrapers of N.Y., so that they look like [a] city of small mushrooms."[20] This night was spent in New York City. Elwell met Hoyt Gale, the head of the survey team, that evening.

The train trip to Wyoming and the stops along the way may have held as much interest for Elwell as the months spent in the state. During a layover in New York on July 3, he commented on his trip to the Library of Congress. He recorded his impressions of George Washington's Bible, and an unnamed illustrations exhibit, and he later noted the titles of books available for sale in a book and cigar store located near Union Station.[21] "..After reaching Baltimore we turned west and are excitedly rushing towards the west. Over the fields I saw a great rainbow in the evening twilight, its eastern end lost halfway down among the rain clouds, but the western end reaching almost to the 'pot of gold,' and hidden only by the mist on the countryside."[22]

When he arrived in Chicago on the Fourth of July, he observed, "People look Western; women not as well dressed as New York nor as smart-looking." After steaming through Iowa and Nebraska, the train entered the Mountain time zone on July 6, and Elwell observed the local wildlife: "Along the track prairie dogs everywhere sit up like drum majors. They sit so straight, and tucking their paws in front of them they look as if presenting arms. By the excitement caused from the train, it must be quite an event in the village."[23]

The train arrived in Sheridan that afternoon and Elwell "..went uptown, bought a hat and shoes. The town faces N and S; to the west 10 miles away are the big horns. The farthest peaks snow-capped. To the south lies our route and Buffalo. Sheridan is a town of 8000, sporting a whole line of stores, hotels, etc."[24]

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Alcott F. Elwell Clipping Sheet, Harvard College Library, Harvard University Archives.

[18] Elwell Papers, American Heritage Center, July 2, 1908.

[19] "Alcott Farrar Elwell" biography, Elwell Papers.

[20] Elwell diary, July 2, 1908.

[21] *Ibid.*, July 3, 1908.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, July 4-6, 1908.

[24] *Ibid.*, July 6, 1908.

Elwell met the other members of the survey team that night, although he provided no commentary on his initial impressions of the men with whom he would spend the next few months. The team left Sheridan and traveled south, arriving in Banner that evening, where they enjoyed supper and the evening at a ranch located in a grove of cotton trees.[25] On July 8 the survey team continued to travel south toward Buffalo. While stopped for lunch near Lake De Smet, "Three autos (2 Buicks and a 2-cyl. Rambler) caused a variation and excitement. Lake De Smet is said to be a bottomless lake and whosoever rows or goes on the surface is always drowned."[26]

A letter in the local Buffalo newspaper from that summer described the nearby town as a "busy place, in one of the most fertile communities of Wyoming, and is the county seat. Its population is about 2,000. In spite of the fact that it is thirty miles distant from the railroad, it is making a continuous progress, both in business and social way." [27]

Elwell's entry for the morning of July 9 records his first cooking for the unit, while they were camped a quarter-mile from the town of Buffalo: "4:30 am cut wood, built fire, and got breakfast. Pretty poor first attempt. Coffee bad, scrambled eggs and bacon. Dinner at 1 p.m. Steak, peas, corn, and chocolate. Supper soda biscuit and grapenut -good. Made bread and cleaned stove..."[28] The following day's cooking attempts showed slight improvement, "Made 3 loaves of bread, but squashed one. Pretty good."[29]

The field party was joined by the 19th Infantry, on their way from Fort McKenzie to Cheyenne, for the next few days. Elwell's photographs document that the two parties shared a single camp during their stay. The soldiers played baseball against the "Buffalo nine." The newspaper reported that "the soldier boys played nice ball, but the game was not close enough to be very interesting, the visitors being 'shut out' by a score of 9 to 10 in Buffalo's favor."[30]

Elwell's comments frequently relate to Wyoming weather and outdoor conditions of late summer. He reported on July 11: "...my hands are blistered in contact with hot things; my face is too. I wear a complexion like a pickled beet. Let me say honestly God help the man who has to burn cotton wood in the country."[31]

On July 13, the team broke camp and stopped in Buffalo for supplies before following Clear Creek toward the Watts Ranch:

> The hills are all covered with great coal clinks from the burning of great coal bed in the hills. These clinks make the red effect so picturesque in the landscape. Beside [this] the black jagged pieces of melted rock and iron with burnt coal, form fantastic figures among the hills....A most wonderful full moon, pale, very pale, and white over the prairie and the river bottom. The tents shone in it, and the wind seemed to be accompanying it through the night for as the moon rose into the sky the wind became stronger and fresher...Early next morning, at 4:30, it still hung on the edge of the sagebrush over beyond the hills even while the crimson was deep on the east. I wondered whether Bruce and Mother had seen it passing them two hours before, but kept on its way into the West without answering.[32]

For much of the survey Elwell had considerable time to himself while the geologic team was exploring, studying and mapping the region. "Dad" [Beekly] and Elwell were left to themselves on July 14, and passed the day sleeping and reading. Later Elwell

> Got some coal from the Ranch and started using it. The coal looks, is, part of ossified wood, cracks terribly, and will powder if wet, and then dried. It burns pretty well, almost like wood, it is so soft. It is better than having to chase through forlorn country in search of a piece of wood to burn.

Upon the return of the other survey members Elwell prepared a "... full-course dinner, -2 vegetables, jelly omelet, etc. The French fried potatoes were very sad..."[33] (He copied down his rudimentary cooking knowledge into a "cookbook" of handwritten recipes. Some, he apparently learned from ranch women while in Wyoming. He commented in a letter he mailed from Wyoming "no one has died yet from my cook.") [34]

Shortly after dinner that night, a strong storm moved into the area.

> At camp matters were sad indeed. The spot we are on is a bit low, but drained by a ditch. Such a flood descended that the ditch overflowed and the tents swam. Hoyt got the worse dose for it was a regular puddle underneath his cot. All hands were digging ditches when I arrived...Oh! it is sweet to get into bed with two inches of mud below! I piled all my belongings in a pyramid on the grain sack and got into bed naked, as towel and pajamas were somewhere in the moisty pile.[35]

[25] *Ibid*., July 7, 1908.
[26] *Ibid*., July 8, 1908.
[27] J.A Fischer letter of July 19, 1908, reprinted in *The Buffalo Bulletin*, 6 August 1908, p.3, c. 4.
[28] Elwell Papers, American Heritage Center, July 9, 1908.
[29] *Ibid*., July 10, 1908.
[30] *The Buffalo Bulletin*, July 16, 1908, p.3, c. 2.
[31] Elwell Papers, American Heritage Center, July 11, 1908.
[32] *Ibid*., July 13, 1908.
[33] *Ibid*., July 14, 1908.
[34] *Ibid*.; Elwell Papers letter from Alcott Farrar Elwell to Rosamond Kimball, July 27, 1908.
[35] *Ibid*., July 14, 1908.

Unfortunately the camp conditions did not improve by daybreak the morning of July 15:

> But sweeter than going to bed wet is getting up and stepping into the mire at 4:30 a.m. to hunt for a damp pair of pants in a cool chill and yank on a pair of boots while mud jellies around you. Again it is no dream to pull water 300 yards in pails with the mud up to your ankles –but that's what I'm paid for.[36]
>
> .....Damn the house fly! When the Lord made these he certainly slipped up, or more probably it was one of the best inventions of the Devil.....and the flies are thick as a man's sin on Judgment Day, and quite as aggravating![37]

Elwell was obligated to stay near the camp that day, as two members were surveying and the other two were in search of "Brownie," one of their horses which had wandered from the camp.[38]

On July 16, the team left camp in Watts and traveled toward Piney Creek, stopping for lunch at Piney, before their arrival in "Claremont"[39] later in the day. Claremont, "consists of a couple of saloons, two stores and a railroad station."[40] The survey unit camped a few miles south of the town that night:

> 4:30 am. Woke with the wide open prairie all about. Washed dishes in the ditch which was a slow and dirty operation. Got mixed up at breakfast and did not get off until 8:00. Made a mess of things, and was told so. Better next time; all right, I will know better what is up.

The recent rain caused the rivers to rise six inches, making fording the creeks difficult.[41]

On July 19, Elwell "took a mud bath in the Powder River, nearly clear mud. Smith [head of U.S.G.S.] arrived at 6:00 pm."[42] (The local newspaper provided clarification and confirmed that Dr. Otis Smith, director of the Washington, D.C., bureau of the U.S. Geological Survey, had arrived in Buffalo during the period from July 18-August 7).[43]

The next day the team left the Powder River camp and traveled back toward Claremont.

> About 6 p.m., after an extremely hot, muggy day and mosquitoes began work. Around the cook tent and the fly they gather in black blotches and make dish-washing a torment.... On going to bed I thoughtlessly sat on the ground, whereupon my pyjama (sic) pants became coated with 'stick tights.' Between mosquitoes outside, burrs inside, and the heat sleep was a matter of small account. The next morning I had the comfort in learning that all the rest had suffered during the night[44]

The following day Hoyt had planned to take the stage toward the Big Horn Mountains. The stage was full so he and "Dad" took the wagon instead.[45] Alone in camp the next day, Elwell was

> writing a letter to Dad [when] the darned stock forded the river and ...fled away. I followed in chase across the river, up to my waist in water. The water was so swift it took uttermost precaution not to slide on a pebble and be carried down stream. Skirting a hill I followed upon the ridge over the ups and downs to head off the stock. Then tried to ride "Tanglefoot" home bareback, After several unsuccessful attempts to get on his tall back I led him across the ford the same way I came and reached camp...Western horses are the biggest fools, they lack even horse sense! The only sense they have is for getting into trouble."[46]

July 25: Went to Claremont bareback on "Brownie." Coming back the fools at the store packed the butter in thin paper; it speedily melted in the hot sun and ran out of the saddle bag. With a saddle bag, ...four dozen eggs and myself, all on a slippery back, as it dripped fast at 30 cents per pound, I descended and, clothed in the saddle bag cover, took the saddle bags in hand, the eggs, the reins, and dragged the accursed "Brownie" in several miles....Reaching the brook I put the butter in, and came to camp.[47]

July 27: While baking bread "Dad" saw a flock of chickens. With Gardiner's double I knocked a double and a single, a bird at every shot. The long double bird we could not trace! These chickens rise very much like pheasant....on my returning way from Claremont, #41 passed me just as my road led off into the hills at right angles to the track. I waved my hat and the people craned their necks out the window to see "the cowboy"? What a bump they would have had if they had known! It is nevertheless an obvious fact that the sight of a train loaded with people coming from the East gives me a strange pleasure just to watch it pass....[48]

Evening: There was a most splendid sun glow over the western hills. The color was of a most intense, marvelous crimson, like some gigantic fire beyond the prairie. The green of the near hills and the faint illusive purples and greens of a few more distant points seen between the others made the spectacle gorgeous beyond all words; for color is so minute and sylables [sic] cannot but portray it crudely-for they are but a crude instrument themselves. As the night deepened the foot and

[36] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1908.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] Clearmont.
[40] Elwell Papers, American Heritage Center, July 16, 1908.
[41] *Ibid.*, July 17, 1908.
[42] *Ibid.*, July 19, 1908.
[43] *The Buffalo Voice*, August 1, 1908, p.3, c.3
[44] Elwell Papers, American Heritage Center, July 21-22, 1908.
[45] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1908.
[46] *Ibid.*, July 24, 1908.
[47] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1908.
[48] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1908.

shoulders of a rainbow shone in the east for a few moments backed by the dark rain behind and the colorless prairie from which the light had fled. During the night the hills were very black, but to the east lightening winked like some great eye, opening and shutting across the night. The tents and the flats lay as silent as the darkness around.[49]

Although the events of other team members are not recorded for the next few days, Elwell spent the time hunting turtle doves, and despite having shot five the day before, he "went out after doves but failed to connect with a single one after 6 shots." Later he signed his $50 payroll, representing his work from July 6-31.[50] "'Tanglefoot' ran away with me twice. The bridle was broken and I couldn't hold him. Of all the darned beasts in the bunch 'Tanglefoot' beats all."[51]

"August 1: The Devil died of sunstroke today! Where in Hell to stay. It was the hottest day we've had, and that is saying something. Made bread in 3 hrs. it was so warm." (One of the Buffalo newspapers later reported that this was the hottest day of the month, with temperatures reaching 82 degrees).[52] Later in the day, "Hoyt got caught in brook by bunch of 'vimens' in a carriage."[53]

The next several days were uneventful. Elwell practiced his long distance target shooting, read, and swam. One early August day, he "had to drive the old stray horse away. In leaning to unhitch him the saddle slipped with Kid [the horse] and around it went. I got kicked in the stomach and the horse ran 1/2 mile. The oil slicker is nowhere to be found!"[54]

Although there is no further word about the horse, Elwell's bird shooting difficulties continued on August 5th, when he wrote "Shot 9 doves, but lost 3 in the sagebrush. They set in cotton woods. Deep gullies, weather courses. Prepared for more."[55]

The camp moved again, leaving Double Crossing and returning to the Watts Ranch where Mrs. Watts instructed Elwell in baking lemon pies. He said of his attempt later, "The pie plate outgrew the crust, but otherwise it was good," and he commented on the "Wonderful Northern Lights over the northeast sky. Pigs and black cats infest the tents at night."[56]

August 11: Morning overcast and cold. Made bread and put it in what sun there was to rise. By noon it was growing cold and I had to put it in my bed!...August 12: The day was bitter cold, wet, overcast and windy.....at 11:30 Mr. Gale came to camp on account of the rain and snow. He brought with him a fish from the irrigation ditch. The ditch broke down and all the water was run out. This left suckers in small puddles. I went up to the ditch and succeeded in getting seven, four from one puddle and three from along the ditch. It was a slimy job as the fish went overland across the mud pretty fast. I dammed up one pool and chased the four into shallow water. The fish were about 10 inches to 12 inches, and were 'suckers' whitish grey with red on the tail. After dinner I went downstream, but the blue heron had done the picking.[57]

Bad weather, delays and ill health plagued the survey team from August 13-24. Cold rains made for a damp environment in the camp, and delayed the move. The team traveled when the weather cleared, and rode along the "Piney road for several miles very hilly as it kept to hills instead of the valley. In places the cuts were badly gullied, while one had to be repaired with rocks and gravel before the team could cross. Almost without exception the ditch bridges and culverts were broken and useless."[58] After the team's arrival and the establishment of the camp, Elwell was sent after the mail in the nearest towns, worked on the laundry and cooked for the next few days. He also drew cartoons periodically for the men, and assisted in mapping their geologic work. He put in a 17- hour day on August 18, including a ride of eighteen miles on horseback.[59]

The team left Hamilton's on the 24th and arrived in "Kearney," twelve miles away.

The snowcaps of the Big Horns just in front, their shoulders sloping off into the timbered tops, and down nearer and nearer until the trees ceased and the sage began. Every interval of change has its peculiar tone and shade, like dabs on a great palette. Everywhere we passed there were several pines standing on an eminence to deepen the contrast between it and the sage.[60]

August 25: The hell of a day!...Only got 5 hrs.' sleep...Just as supper was finished a heavy wind struck us. It was a good sand and dust storm. The kitchen table was turned over, the dishes floating away on the wind, tablecloth, etc. For about 2 hrs. it blew as if it had plenty more from where that came.... The tent was a mess. Tables all over; food on the ground, stovepipe down, and dirt 1/4" on everything.... August 26:....The tent was worse than ever, and the plates all upside down in the dirt. After the sun came up I found my hat and the table-

[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*, July 28-30, 1908.
[51] *Ibid.*, July 31, 1908.
[52] *The Buffalo Bulletin*, 3 September 1908, p.3 col. 2.
[53] Elwell Papers, American Heritage Center, August 1, 1908.
[54] *Ibid.*, August 3, 1908.
[55] *Ibid.*, August 5, 1908.
[56] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1908.
[57] *Ibid.*, August 11-12, 1908.
[58] *Ibid.*, August 16, 1908.
[59] *Ibid.*, August 13-18, 1908; September 4, 1908.
[60] *Ibid.*, August 24, 1908.

*Elwell's collection in the American Heritage Center contains numerous photographs he shot during the summer with the survey party. Above, "Dad" Beekly poses for Elwell on top of a petrified stump.*

cloth 25 yds. away. Washed all the dishes, cleaned the tent, then got breakfast. I say -rats![61]

Piney Creek here at Keaney is clear from fresh melted snows, and runs joyously over boulders, whirling down rapids into sheets of silver below. Its banks are hung with willow, cotton (and 'elder'?) in such a thicket that it is quite impassable in places. In fact it seemed like getting home in New Hampshire. The sound of running water over steep places or among the rocks is the same in all places. It speaks the same language in one as the other - and in it is the faint, far murmur of the sea. Unconscious of distance it echoes the impulse of the waves, and when one knows the rhythm of an ocean the beating of swift water is but a different key with the same motif.[62]

The survey team broke camp again on August 31 and camped at the Barkey's ranch the following day. Elwell described the process for obtaining water at the ranch: "....the water is from a ½ inch pipe behind the Ranch –it takes time and patience, and there is Alcott."[63]

*Below: "Powder River camp" when the survey party camped next to the army detachment on July 17. Elwell papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming*

After spending several days in camp completing routine chores, Elwell recorded his impression of the night sky on the evening of September 7:

> ...the moon was three-quarters full, the night sultry, warm, with perfect stillness. Across the mountains the sky dies away into a yellow-green, and then became that lightly 'colored blue,' the effervescent blue which comes sometimes over the plains. The sea's blue is rich in color, deep, forboding, or childlike, to always somber, even like the eyes of a thoughtful child or of a powerful man -the prairie has a blue of its own, a light, fantastic color, full of magic that hovers over the poison springs, surrounds the blood-tipped, shattered hills, and the white still bones beside them."[64]

The camp was moved again the following day, and just as the team arrived at the new location, near the T.A. Ranch, a rainstorm moved in.

> It began to rain as we struck camp, but we had things under cover before any great harm, except my sleeping bag, which rolled down the bank into the muddy slime-thanks to 'Dad'![65]
>
> September 10: Warm. Made bread. Washed clothes-lye, Gold Dust soap and it burned my hands all dry up. This water is Hell! It makes a greasy deposit over the plate, if any kind of soap is used. Received a letter from Aunty Beth about 'Cleanliness is next to godliness'![66]

The survey team attended the Johnson County Fair (held in Buffalo) on September 12. Various team members traveled to Buffalo to attend to washing, purchasing supplies, and visiting with the townspeople over the next few days, while other members completed their survey work in the field.[67]

"September 20: ...Went over to the petrified tree. Took photos of 'Dad' on top. Tree 13 ft. circumference, about 15 to 20 ft. high." Elwell bathed the following day and reported, "As I was splashing merrily in the open flatland a team drove round over near the bench and 'I never saw them' at all. It was close range at 150 ft. and then 'I came to.' There was a girl in the buggy."[68]

The weather began to cool off at night beginning September 23, and Elwell described the weather the next day as "cold as blazes."[69] The first snow of the season fell the morning of September 25, about the time Elwell was completing breakfast preparations.[70] The next night he recorded, after a windy day, "In the evening it became raw and still, with the stars sparkling distantly and without cheer. I pretty nearly froze all night long, -with underwear, 2 pr. socks and a sleeping bag."[71]

"September 26: 1/2 inch snow at 5 a.m. Very chilly.... September 27:...The water was frozen stiff on the water bags and tank, while a deep frost covered the ground. It is ghastly to have to crawl out into the damp cold, except in my case I was equally frigid in bed."[72]

In the next few days the weather warmed slightly and the group moved from Allaman's ranch towards the Twaton ranch, and camped along Crazy Woman Creek.[73]

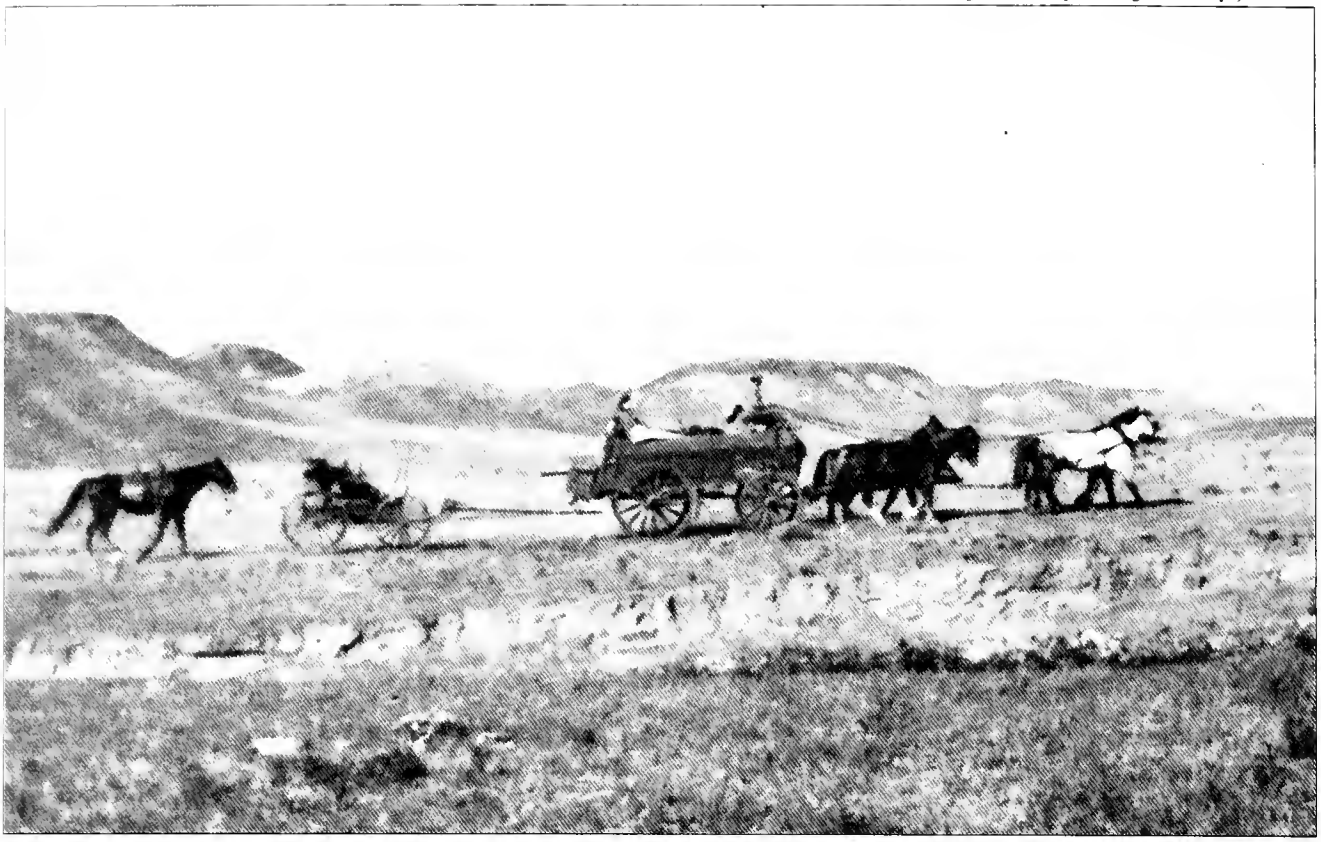
By the evening of October 4th, three months into the project, tensions escalated between two of the men. Apparently "Dad" and Wegeman were in disagreement over the location where a trunk was to be placed , either in a tent, or outdoors in the snow. A fight ensued and in the scuffle the bread, cocoa, and tomatoes were thrown from the stove, and Elwell dragged the men outdoors to attempt to settle their dispute. By the following morning the matter was resolved, although the men were not speaking. Elwell noted "God speed Hoyt Gale!" in his diary, and hoped the return of the leader of the team would end the power struggle between the two men.[74]

Apparently the men worked out their differences, as little further mention is made in Elwell's diary. The last two weeks of the diary show that at least part of the survey team spent a large portion of their time at various nearby ranches. The team divided to complete various tasks, and by Sunday, October 18, Elwell and "Dad" were staying in a hotel in Buffalo, preparing to leave the West. Elwell boarded a train bound for Lincoln, Nebraska, in his final diary entry, on October 21, 1908.

The abrupt ending of the diary leaves many questions. Elwell's vivid descriptions of his trip West, and photographs provide a glimpse into a few months of a young man's life, a scholar and an easterner in Wyoming in 1908. The outdoors would play such a large part in Elwell's later life during his years at the Mowglis-School-of-the-Open, that the reader of the diary must wonder what impact these early camping and outdoors experiences had on the young man, and the extent to which his time in Wyoming shaped his future and future plans.

Unlike other travelers to the West, Elwell did not travel West for his health, or to make his fortune, and his trip was not prompted by romanticized notions of Western

[61] *Ibid.*, August 25, 1908.
[62] *Ibid.*, August 26, 1908.
[63] *Ibid.*, September 1, 1908.
[64] *Ibid.*, September 7, 1908.
[65] *Ibid.*, September 8, 1908.
[66] *Ibid.*, September 10, 1908.
[67] *Ibid.*, September 12-19, 1908; *The Buffalo Bulletin*, 3 September 1908 p.2.
[68] Elwell Papers, September 21, 1908.
[69] *Ibid.*, September 24, 1908.
[70] *Ibid.*, September 23-25, 1908.
[71] *Ibid.*, September 25-26, 1908.
[72] *Ibid.*, September 26-27, 1908.
[73] *Ibid.*, September 30, 1908.
[74] *Ibid.*, October 4-5, 1908.



*"Moving down the line" is what Elwell titled this photograph of the survey rig driven by "Dad" Beekly. Elwell papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming*

life and culture. While Elwell was an adventurer, he also clearly accepted the U.S.G.S. position as a temporary job, although he seemed to truly love the outdoors and his Western experience.

Elwell earned his Master of Education degree in 1921, and his Doctor of Education degree in 1925, both from Harvard University. During his time at Harvard, Elwell began his involvement with the U.S. military, a career spanning twelve years before his retirement in 1948, including both World Wars. Elwell was appointed Instructor of Military Science in 1917 and commissioned captain of the U.S. Infantry the same year. He was promoted to major the following year, and Lieutenant Colonel of the Infantry Reserves in 1922. Although he resigned from the Infantry in 1928 he was commissioned captain during World War II and continued to serve his country through 1948.

Many years of Elwell's adult life were devoted to Mowglis School-of-the-Open. Elwell commented on the experience, "As a teacher of boys, it became clear to me that the new field of summer camps had opportunities which neither the home nor school was fulfilling. Thus my summers were spent at a camp for young boys, named Mowglis. Mr. Rudyard Kipling gave permission to use this name. For nearly fifty years I was with Mowglis, and for twenty-nine was its director."[75]

Elwell married a second time in 1938. His wife was Helen V. Chaffee.[76] Transcripts of his diary, made by his wife and her secretary, are available for research both at the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming and at the Wyoming State Archives in Cheyenne. Duplicate photos made from Elwell's original negatives are also included in the collections, as are the original pages from Elwell's cookbook, comprised of articles and handwritten recipes. The cookbook pages were separated and the originals divided between both Wyoming archival facilities.

Alcott Farrar Elwell died at the age of 76 in 1962, and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery. Shortly after his death, the Mowglis School-of-the-Open was purchased by alumni of the camp and renamed the Holt-Elwell Memorial Foundation. The camp is still in operation.

[75] *Fiftieth Anniversary Report of the Harvard Class of 1910*, Cambridge, MA: The Cosmos Press, 1960, p.138.

[76] *Ibid.*, p.136.

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Wyoming Memories

# Circle Up Four

by Mary E. Neilsen

*Winners, square dance contest at the Buffalo Bill Centennial celebration, Cody, Feb. 26, 1946. L to R: Inga and Fred Moller, Mary and Senius Neilsen, Irene and Willard Hogan, Effie and Harmon Schultz.*

Author's collection

February, 1946, was the 100th anniversary of the birth of Cody's founder, William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody. The town celebrated in a big way. After all-day ceremonies, the climax of the day was a dance held at the Cody Auditorium. A crowd of close to 4,000 people enjoyed the square and round dancing, games of chance and buffaloburgers.

The opening attraction of the evening was a square dance contest with seven sets in action. Frank Pierce of Burlington was the caller and music was furnished by Tom Peterson and a Mr. Hlavacek, both on violins; Matt Kansala, pianist; and his wife played accordion. The dancers displayed their prize-winning talent with the Sage Creek square dance club winning first place; the Boot and Bottle Riding Club, second; and Irma Flat club, third. The Sage Creek group donated their $50 first prize winnings to the Sage Creek Community Club.

The Sage Creek group consisted of neighbors Fred and Inga Moller, Senius and Mary [the author] Neilsen, Irene and Willard Hogan; and Effie and Harmon Schultz. The eight of us were attired in turn-of-the-century clothes. We had fun even though it was hard work practicing and also finding authentic costumes.

Soon after the event, our fame spread across the Big Horns. We were invited to an old-fashioned dance and quadrille contest to be held in Sheridan that June 8. Irene Hogan was ill so Martha and Harley Kinkade took the place of the Hogans. I was pregnant but still managed to squeeze into my very tight-waisted dress. We took off over the mountain via Shell Creek, stopping along the way to picnic in the canyon.

Hundreds attended the dance that night. We won first prize for best costumes and square dance set and first for the couple traveling the farthest. Harmon and Effie Schultz won for the best schottische; Senius and I for the best French minuet. The judges later told us that they especially liked our old-fashioned swing as it was done in the early west. Fred and Inga Moller actually had the best schottische but they didn't get the award because the judges had never seen the beautiful Danish schottische that the Mollers did so well together.

On our return to Cody, we were guests at the Cody Club, Cody's chamber of commerce. There, photographer Fay Hiscock made the photograph of us *(above)*.

A month after this photograph was taken, I was in the hospital with polio. During my recovery, I received a beautiful cut-glass vase with four red roses from the other three original couples. I recovered sufficiently to teach, with Senius, many square dance classes. My 4-H Square Dance group was in popular demand as exhibition dancers around the area. Today, only three of us are still living—Inga, Martha and me—but our memories of those dances remain vivid.

*The author, a former president of the Wyoming State Historical Society, lives in Cody.*

# Book Reviews

Edited by Carl Hallberg

## Uphill Against Water: The Great Dakota Water War.

By Peter Carrels.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.
*238 pp., Illustrations, maps, notes, index. Cloth.*
***Reviewed by Daniel M. Davis, Utah State University***

Before the 1970s, the Bureau of Reclamation primarily constructed new dams and irrigation projects. After the 1970s, the focus of the Bureau became maintaining the operating the various projects they had built. The Bureau and its supporters, however, were not happy to accept a diminishing role. After all, much of the economic development of the West after World War II was made possible from cheap electricity and water provided by Bureau projects. By the late 1960s, however, the Bureau was running out of good reservoir sites and running into increased opposition from envir-onmentalists, fiscal conservatives, and local interests. This opposition continued to grow stronger during the 1970s as both the monetary costs of development and the social and environmental costs became too high. The subject of Carrels' book, the heated battle over the Oahe irrigation project in South Dakota, is an excellent example of the shift in water development policy in the West.

Carrels documents the story of the Oahe project from the passage of the Flood Control Act, or Pick-Sloan Plan, in 1944 to the de-authorization of the project in 1982. During that time a group of farmers, the people who would seemingly benefit the most from the project, successfully halted its completion. The project was supported by South Dakota politicians, businesses, contractors, and local boosters, but the more people (especially farmers) learned about the project, the more wary they became of it. This opposition started out on a small scale with meetings in an abandoned schoolhouse.

Later, farmers organized under the United Farm Families (UFF). The most vocal opponents were those who lost land to the reservoirs and canals of the project. The UFF, however, would also build up a strong case against Oahe by questioning the irrigability of the soil, the high repayments of farmers, and the project's negative cost-benefit ratio. Environmentalists entered the fray by opposing the channelization of the James River. The project was stopped when the UFF gained control of the crucial sub-district conservancy board (an elected board that was traditionally a mouthpiece for the Bureau), and President Jimmy Carter came out against wasteful federal reclamation projects.

Carrels' book is written in an interesting and straightforward manner, and he does not "get in the way" of the story. Big water reclamation projects are extremely complicated. The engineering, political and legal complexities are truly mind-boggling. For instance, the entire project was held up for two years because South Dakota did not let out-of-state hunters hunt ducks or geese! Carrels does an admirable job of understanding these complexities and distilling them down to their essence for the reader.

Carrels, however, shows his bias toward the UFF. (The UFF provided financial assistance for the book). The story is presented as a triumph of the "little guys" over "The Establishment." Both sides used seemingly questionable tactics, but those of the UFF are skimmed over while those of the Bureau are vigorously con-demned. The supporters of Oahe had reasons for what they did, and it would have been useful to fully explore their position.

Overall the book makes a significant contribution to the history of reclamation and water policy. It should be considered important reading for students of South Dakota history.

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## Yellowstone and the Great West: Journals, Letters, and Images from the 1871 Hayden Expedition.

Edited by Marlene Deahl Merrill.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.
*336 pp., Illus., maps, tables, notes, bib., index. Cloth, $29.95.*
***Reviewed by Lendol Calder, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois***

In this well conceived, beautifully produced volume, Marlene Deahl Merrill of Oberlin College presents the first daily account of Ferdinand Hayden's historic 1871 scientific expedition to the headwaters of the Yellow-stone and Missouri Rivers. Before Hayden's Fifth Survey, only a handful of white Americans had seen the fabled Yellowstone wonders with their own eyes. But after the Survey, which produced the first on-site images of the Yellowstone Basin by artist Thomas Moran and photographer William Henry Jackson, images of "America's Switzerland" came to be fixed indelibly in the national mind. The pictures, the paintings, and the crates of specimens hauled back east after the Survey helped Hayden convince Congress to make the Yellowstone Basin the world's first national park in 1872.

Until now, what has been known about the 1871 Yellowstone Survey has been based on published writings about the expedition by Hayden and Jackson. But as Merrill points out, these accounts are not without problems. Jackson's autobiographies were written well after the fact

and are full of errors, while Hayden's official reports leave out much of the human story of the expedition.

Fortunately, Merrill was able to locate two unpublished personal journals and a series of letters written in the field from two members of the party. One of the journals belonged to Hayden's former teacher, geologist George Allen of Oberlin College. Fifty-eight years old, Allen felt by turns inspired by the magnificent scenery and homesick for more pious company. Event-ually, when the rigors of camp life proved too much for him, Allen was forced to turn back just shy of the expedition's destination. At just this moment, however, the spare accounts written by mineralogist Albert C. Peale became more engaging, so that a lively record of the team's daily work and activities continues to the end of the expedition. Peale, twenty-two years old, had been Hayden's student at the University of Pennsylvania and was the great-grandson of the Revolutionary War painter, Charles Willson Peale. Like Professor Allen, Peale offers an insider's view about the daily work and activities of the scientific party as they made their ways through Utah, Idaho, and Montana Territories to the Yellowstone Basin.

This volume has something for everyone. Scholars will learn that Hayden was not the superficial scientist he has sometimes been made out to be. The journal and letters presented here show him to have been a careful planner and leader of the expedition as well as an astute geologist who was thoroughly engaged in all scientific aspects of the Survey. Western enthusiasts will revel in the lively accounts about camp life, with references to natural wonders, Indians, and the hardships of roughing it. Modern visitors to Yellowstone Park will remark the similar emotion responses to experiences shared with the Survey expedition of more than a century ago - admiration for the geysers, astonishment at snow in August, shock at the high-priced vendors servicing visitors to the area.

This book is obviously a labor of love and deserves the highest praise for the intelligent way it has been put together. Merrill's introduction expertly acquaints readers with the West of the 1870s, the history of human contact with the Yellowstone Basin, and the formation and outfitting of the survey team. Helpful maps make it easy to chart the expedition's progress. Appendices include biographies of the team's members, more writings from Peale and Allen, Hayden's Report to Congress arguing for the Yellowstone Park Bill, and a glossary of geological terms. Most pleasantly, the day-to-day life of the survey party, as well as numerous scenes described by the diarists, can be visualized with the help of over fifty of William Henry Jackson's photographs of camp scenes and landscapes and rarely seen drawings of panoramic landscapes by Henry Ward Elliott, the survey's official artist.

Merrill and the University of Nebraska Press are to be commended. This volume belongs on the shelf of everyone interested in Yellowstone National Park or in the larger story of how the geological surveys mixed science, government, and the lure of adventure to create a vision of the West that endures today.

## A Dispatch to Custer: The Tragedy of Lieutenant Kidder.

By Randy Johnson and Nancy P. Allan.
Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1999.
*xii + 119 pp. Illus., maps, notes, bib., index. Paper, $15.*
***Reviewed by Stacy W. Reaves, Oklahoma State University***

On July 12, 1867, Bvt. Maj. Gen. George A. Custer and his troops, searching for Lt. Lyman Kidder and his men, arrived at a grizzly scene. Strewn across the prairie were the bodies of Kidder and his command. Kidder had joined the army in 1867. He was born in Vermont into a family with some means and political influence. His father had been lieutenant governor of Vermont before the family moved in 1857 to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he continued his political career. Young Lyman Kidder, after completing his education, joined the Minnesota Mounted Rangers. In 1863 he gained his first experience fighting Native Americans when he helped put down the Sioux uprising that threatened the state.

Kidder joined the army in 1867. After receiving an army commission that year and while he was en route to join a unit at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, Kidder stopped briefly at Fort Sedgwick, Colorado. There, rather than continue onto his assignment, he asked to join Company M of the Second U.S. Cavalry. This request received official approval, and on June 29 Kidder's company commander ordered him to deliver dispatches to Cuter, who was leading troops in the field. When Kidder arrived at the camp where Custer was supposed to have been, he learned that Custer and his men had departed. Two trails led away from the camp. Kidder chose to follow the trail leading to Fort Wallace, Kansas. Along this path Kidder and his men suffered an ambush at the hands of an unidentified tribe of Native American warriors. Later, Custer, aware that Kidder had looked for him, searched for the missing command. Custer found the massacred party and concluded that Kidder and his men never had a chance. They had ridden directly into the trap that had been set for them.

The authors of this work have focused upon the tragic end of Kidder's short career as an army officer. As there was little specific information known about the death of Kidder and his command at the time it occurred, many myths later surrounded the event. For example, the authors wished to dispel charges that Kidder's inexperienced or perhaps cowardice had caused him to blunder into the ambush. They concluded that Kidder had previous experience fighting Native Americans, and as a consequence, it was neither carelessness, cowardly behavior, nor inexperience that caused the massacre. Their extensive use of family papers and military records supports these conclusions.

Furthermore, the authors suggested that this event had some considerable long-term importance, for it prompted the army to reexamine its strategy with respect to containing the native tribes. The new policy that evolved focused upon attacking the tribes during the winter when they were camped and food supplies were low. As a consequence of this strategic change, the army campaigned vigorously during the coldest times of the year. One such attack on a

tribe was that of Custer during November 1867 upon Black Kettle's southern Cheyenne then camped along the Washita in Indian Territory.

This work further explains the Kidder family's attempts to retrieve the young officer's body, and it expresses white family reaction to the loss of a family members in the wars against the Native Americans. The authors also attempt to locate the massacre site by using metal detectors and amateur archeological methods. Perhaps they would have benefited from a perusal of the work of Douglas D. Scott and Richard A. Fox, Jr. whose study, *Archeological Insights into the Custer Battle*, established a professional methodology for such research.

Nonetheless, this is a well-researched, interesting, and worthwhile study for anyone who wishes to know more about the native Americans and the U.S. Army during the nineteenth century.

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## The National Congress of American Indians: The Founding Years.

By Thomas W. Cowger.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.
*xvi + 224 pp. Illus., notes, bib. essay, index. Cloth, $45.*
***Reviewed by Clifford P. Coppersmith, Eastern Utah College***

In May 1944 prominent Indian leaders including D'Arcy McNickle, Archie Phinney, Ben Dwight, and Mark Burns met at a local YMCA on South LaSalle Street in Chicago to organize a new national Indian organization. That constitutional convention resulted in the founding of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), one of the most visible and effective pan-Indian organizations in American history.

Cowger examines the reality of the continued survival of America's native peoples from an organizational as well as cultural perspective. He states that "modern Indian concerns . . . are rooted in age-old Indian struggles. Bringing Indian actors onto the twentieth century stage allows us finally to drop the Indian headdresses and cop sticks and to see contemporary Native Americans as Laurence Hauptman so aptly describes as 'warriors and brief cases.'"

Thomas Cowger combines extensive archival research with an ethnohistorical approach for a Native American perspective on the development and achievements of the NCAI from 1944 until the mid-1960s. That period reflects the crucial timing of American Indian leaders who sought to take advantage of the positive aspects of Native American participation in military service and work during World War II. The forces of change that accompanied the post-war years in America were felt in Indian Country as federal Indian policy returned to a program of forced acculturation in which the government attempted to end its trust status with officially recognized Indian tribes.

Cowger notes that the formative processes began with the Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Dillon Myer's attempts in the early 1950s to restrict the ability of Native American tribal governments to contract for legal services with independent attorneys. That authoritarian move to enforce a policy of paternalism on independent tribal governments presaged the larger move later in the decade to sever the trust relationship that protected Indian lands and provided economic development support and health and educational services.

The NCAI came of age as an effective lobbying group during the termination era using the classic techniques employed by political pressure groups – lobbying members of Congress, orchestrating letter writing campaigns, conducting press conferences, and meeting with individual political leaders. The challenge of termination also fundamentally altered the structure of the NCAI by moving the organization closer to the interests of organized and reservation based tribes rather than representing other Native American organizations, groups, or individuals. At a time of near crisis in 1954 Helen Louise (White) Peterson (Oglala Sioux) took over as executive director and played a key role by asserting Indian rights and slowing the assimilationist movement. Her leadership underlined the contributions Native American women have made to the development of the NCAI.

By the mid-1960s the threat posed by termination of Indian sovereignty and cultural identity receded with the rejection of the assimilationist approach by both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, a major policy shift orchestrated by NCAI lobbyists. The NCAI now faced challenged from groups within and without the organization. Factionalism, which had been a problem since the early days, caused conflict and controversy in leadership. A new generation of activists, many of whom had begun their work on Indian civil rights as student members of the NCAI, formed more militant groups such as the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) and the American Indian Movement (AIM). In a way their activism and dedication were a result of NCAI efforts to promote education among that very generation as a way for Native Americans to forge an independent path. These new activists were less willing to use the moderate methods employed by their elders and were more likely to take their protests to the streets and against visible targets of dissatisfaction such as the BIA and conservative Indian reservation politicians.

The author's objective was to demonstrate how Indians pursued their own agenda to influence and even formulate state and federal Indian policy. The NCAI, in both success and failure, demonstrated the ability of Native American leaders to establish an agenda and develop an effective lobbying organization that represented a broad constituency with as much diversity as any political party or ethnic interest group in America might represent.

Cowger is one of a number of modern scholars who have begun exploring the power and influence of American Indian pan-tribal movements. His book illustrates the role pan-Indian and pan-tribal political organizations have played in contributing to Native American culture and tribal identity in the twentieth century and is a major contribution to twentieth century Native American historiography.

## Men With Sand: Great Explorers of the North American West.

By John Moring.
Helena: Falcon Publishing Company, 1998.
213 pp. Illus., maps, bib., index. Paper, $10.95.
***Reviewed by Julianne Couch, University of Wyoming***

Men with sand, men with ticks, men with malaria. Just about any noun suggesting hardship, bravery, and rock-headed perseverance would have made a nice title for this book about great 19th century explorers. Saying that folks have "sand" describes their extra measure of grit and determination, ingredients the explorers featured in this book have in great abundance.

John Moring gives readers the highlights of 19th century exploration of the Louisiana Territory and beyond. The chapters are organized in such a way that the historical and political contexts are sometimes missing, which may be discombobulating to the average reader's recollection of how the west was explored. Still, Alexander Mackenzie's cross country Canadian search for the longed-for Northwest Passage, Lewis and Clark's commercial and scientific mission, and other stories are told in matter-of-fact prose that needs no embellishments to impress the reader with the physical and psychological hardships endured by these leaders and their mostly loyal and disciplined men (and a few women).

In 1804, Lewis and Clark had orders from Thomas Jefferson to explore the just-purchased Louisiana Territory for its commercial possibilities. But they were also sent to become acquainted with the natives and to learn about their cultures. These encounters were peaceful and sometimes beneficial to the Corps of Discovery. As the century progressed, white exploration became less motivated by science and adventure and increasingly influenced by the commercial and military necessities of the United States. The white's view of Native Americans as commercial partners diminished. Bad blood made each visit west more harrowing. Kindness and cooperation of the sort that saved the Corps of Discovery, became a thing of the past.

One is glad to have a break from the book's grizzly bear attacks, scalp-taking, and starvation-laden adventure tales of John Colter, Zebulon Pike, Jedediah Smith, and others to join Charles Wilkes on a sea voyage. But of course, this journey which began in 1838 had its own hardships, including losing a ship with all hands while rounding the tip of South America, risking being sunk by icebergs near Antarctica, dealing with intense dislikes and rancor between commander and men, and enduring serious attacks by Fijian natives. A year behind schedule, the expedition reached the coast and interior of Oregon Territory via Puget Sound.

Illustrations and maps within each chapter make the book easy to read. During the 19th century Americans were engrossed in reading the accounts about these explorers and their gutsy men who pushed, pulled, portaged, starved, negotiated, and fought their way across the every widening young country. These stories are as compelling today. Great surprises for science, vigorous debates over how best to use the nation's expanding territory, and tales of courage unfettered by reason but fanned by adventure, fill even most armchair explorers, yesterday and today, with a speck of sand.

## Charlie Russell Roundup: Essays on America's Favorite Cowboy Artist.

Edited by Brian W. Dippie.
Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1999.
*357 pp. Illus., notes, index. Cloth, $39.95; paper, $19.95.*
***Reviewed by Ron Tyler, Texas State Historical Association, University of Texas at Austin***

Charles Marion Russell is one of the best-known American Western artists. Today, he is associated with Montana, but that was not where he began life. The migration of the untutored and naturally gifted artist and story-teller from his birth among the St. Louis well-to-do to his true love, the mountains of Montana, at age sixteen is, as Brian W. Dippie, professor of history at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, and well-known Russell scholar, says, a "story that has been told so often that it has attained the sheen of well-worn leather, and all the trappings of myth."

Myth, in fact, turns out to be the problem in trying to understand what motivated Russell and how he moved from being a beloved "cowboy artist" who traded freshly painted oils of his friends for drinks at the local bar to an artist with an international reputation, whose paintings sold for "dead man's prices." Nancy Russell, who survived her husband by almost fourteen years, would have had it be otherwise. Shortly after Russell's death, she arranged to sell their house to the city of Great Falls for a memorial and employed the journalist Dan R. Conway to write Charlie's biography. When Conway failed to produce a publishable manuscript, Nancy began work on what she hoped would be the definitive account about her husband's life. She also assisted James B. Rankin in his effort to gather information that might lead to a biography.

But it was these efforts that prevented knowledgeable Russell biographers such as Harold McCracken and Frederic G. Renner from telling the full story. When Nancy died in 1940, much of the art in her collection and virtually all the letters and research materials that she had assembled fell into the hands of Homer E. Britzman, who used them to produce what another would-be Russell biographer J. Frank Dobie of Texas called a "bum biography." The Russell letters and other materials wound up in the Taylor Museum for Southwestern Studies at the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, where they were only recently the source for a spate of Russell books by Peter Hassrick, Rick Stewart, Brian Dippie, and John Taliaferro.

In the meantime, the myths had little competition in explaining Charlie's genius and widespread appeal: the greenhorn from St. Louis riding in the "wide-open" Judith Basin roundup (in fact, "the Judith roundup was a tame affair" (p. 6)); the budding artistic genius drawing inspiration by living with the Blood Indians during the winter of 1888-89 (in fact, he spent six months in 1888 living with a friend in a rustic

cabin near the Indian reservation (p. 8)). Some myths, however, are based on fact: Charlie did develop a deep respect for Indians and pictured them, according to Renner, more frequently than his more famous cowboys. He did have a soft heart, and it was Nancy's organization and business acumen that earned him respect among publishers, dealers, and public alike. And he was an unreconstructed sentimentalist who "lives in the past," as Nancy explained to the Great Falls Women's Club (p. 184). His "*allegiance* remained, unambiguously, to the past," reiterates Dippie (p. 27).

Dippie and others are able to bring these latter myths into focus in this gem of a book. Using contemporary newspaper articles, reminiscences by friends and family, scholarly articles, and Russell's own words, Dippie weaves an entertaining and believable account about the "cowboy artist." John C. Ewer's analysis of Russell's Indians, Taliaferro's account about how he came to write the first full-length biography of Russell, and Lee Silliman's studied evaluation of Russell's "style," like most of the articles in this book, are reprinted from *Montana*. They do much to correct many of the misimpressions, but Dippie's editorial presence deserves much of the credit as well, for, by his judicious sifting of materials, he has told Charlie Russell's story elegantly, authoritatively, and entertainingly.

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## The Equality State: Essays on Intolerance and Inequality in Wyoming.

Edited by Mike Mackey.
Powell: Western History Publications, 1999.
*iii + 122 pp. Notes, index. Paper, $10.95.*
***Reviewed by David A. Wolff, Black Hills State University***

Mike Mackey brings together seven essays to explore this question: "Is Wyoming truly the 'Equality State?'" As straightforward as this question seems, it can be viewed from two different perspectives. The first is the obvious. Does Wyoming deserve to be called the Equality State because all residents have been treated equally? This is the question that Mackey addresses, and he puts his answer in the subtitle of the text. He says these are "Essays on Intolerance and Inequality." The second take on the question is comparative in nature. Does Wyoming deserve to be called the Equality State because it made more advances in freedoms and rights than other states? Mackey does not directly address this idea, but some inference can be made from the various essays.

The seven essays easily convince the reader that a number of minority groups suffered from discrimination in Wyoming. These groups included ethnic and racial minorities, women, and religious sects. Few of the essays, however, attempt solely to show intolerance and inequality. Most were written with other points in mind. For example, Charles Rankin's essays consider not only the inequality women schoolteachers felt, but also what school teaching offered women and how inequality affected the public school system. He explores the inferior pay, the loneliness, and the humiliation many teachers experienced. Carol Bowers takes the oft-told saga of the Rock Springs Massacre and looks at it from a different angle. Certainly the killing of 28 Chinese in Rock Springs demonstrated racism, but her essay explores Governor Warren's actions after the crisis. She argues that Warren responded on behalf of the Union Pacific in exchange for the railroad's support in resolving land title disputes and to maintain his position as Territorial Governor.

The other essays also have messages beyond simply demonstrating injustice in Wyoming society. Steve Schulte examines how politicians exploited the Indian issue and developed some of the main theses in Indian relations, such as acquisition of Indian land. Carl Hallberg explores anti-German sentiment during World War I, a case of intolerance that is often forgotten in history. Hallberg finds that Wyoming's United States Attorney General Charles Rigdon often acted with patience and understanding. At the local level, however, many Wyomingnites were not tolerant of German traditions, and effectively eliminated German culture from the state. In the most recent example of prejudice, Clifford Bullock writes about the dismissal of 14 black athletes from the Wyoming football team in 1969. The men tried to protest Brigham Young University's anti-black attitudes when Coach Eaton cut them from the squad. The coach explained his action as disciplinary, and much of the state rallied to his cause. Bullock demonstrates how a distinct undertow of racism pervaded the issue.

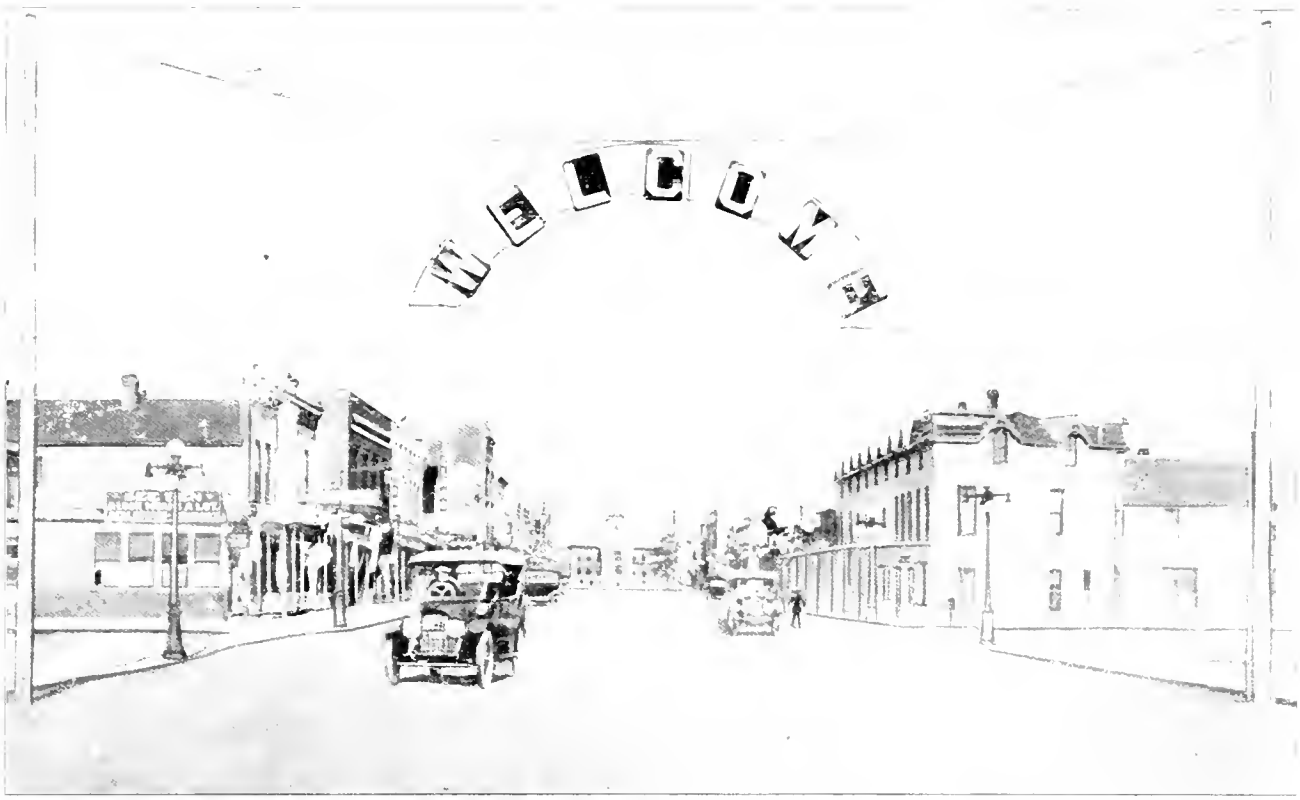
Finally, Mackey rounds out the volume with two essays of his own. One deals with Japanese internment at Heart Mountain. Here he explores the community dynamics that surrounded the displaced Japanese. While merchants and farmers in the Powell area often welcomed the labor and consumer dollars the Japanese brought to town, some local politicians demonstrated a deeper racism as they attempted to keep the Japanese confined to the camp. Mackey's other essay talks about the harassment of Jehovah's Witnesses experienced in Rawlins as the country neared World War II.

Each essay makes it clear that many Wyomingites were intolerant at one time or another. But it must be kept in mind that Wyoming did not stand alone among Western states. In fact, most of the essays were written as case studies. They examine the problems at a state level to allow for a regional understanding. This then applies to the notion of whether Wyoming deserves to be called the Equality State when it is compared to other states. The essays infer that Wyoming's problems existed in other states, and they did.

I enjoyed these essays. When I taught Wyoming history, I used the technique of challenging the Equality State label to make students consider the state's past. Mackey's book does a fine job demonstrating the problem residents of the state have had with implementing equality. In fact, I wold probably assign the book if I taught the class again. Nevertheless, I would emphasize the positive as well.

***Attention Authors:*** *If you submitted an article to Annals in the past six months and the receipt of the article has not been acknowledged, please contact the editor immediately.*

# Wyoming Picture




*"Center Street, Court House in Distance, Casper, Wyoming," postcard from about 1919. Postcard courtesy of David Roberts.*

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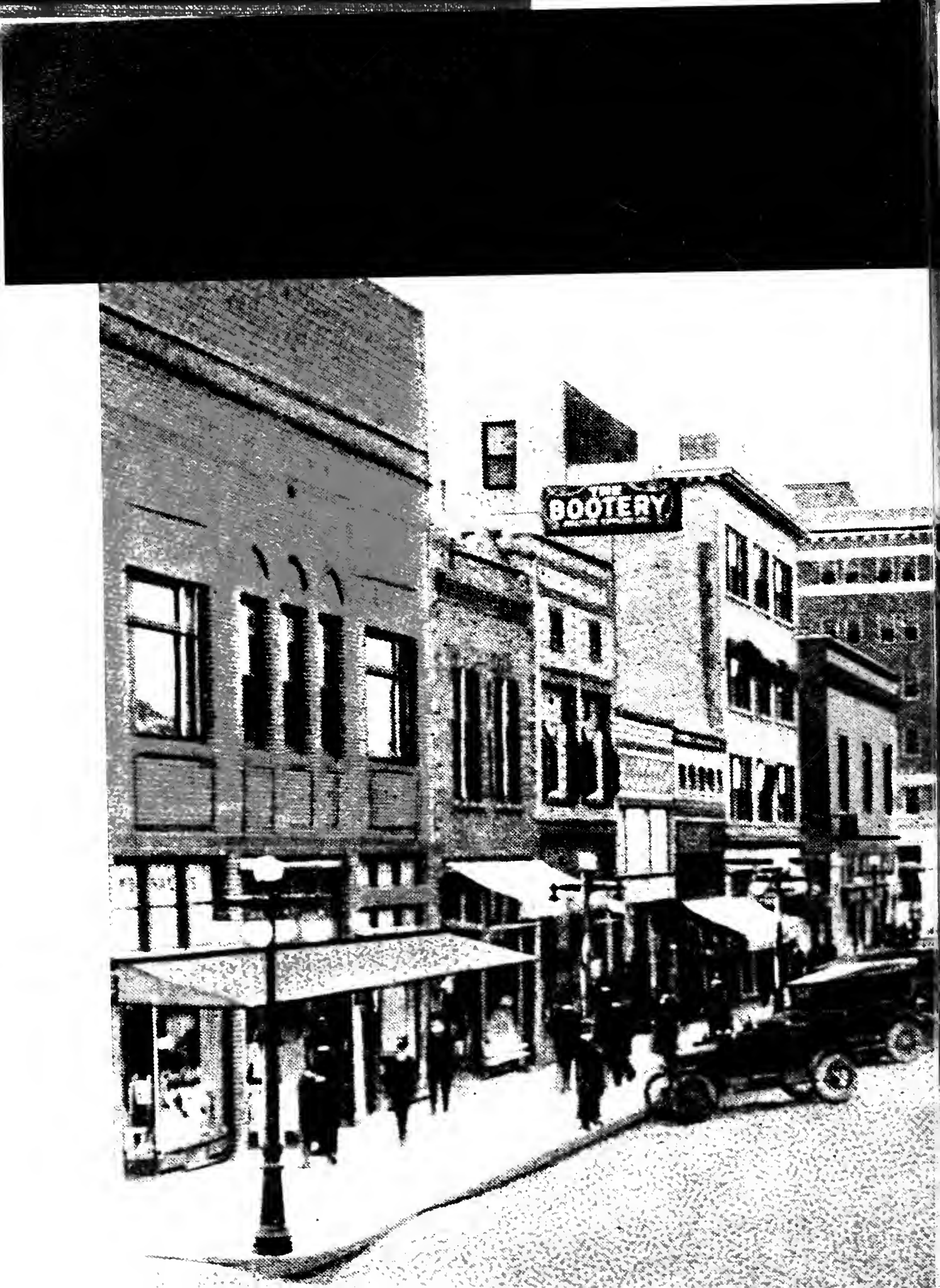
THE BOOTERY

# Annals of WYOMING

The Wyoming History Journal
Autumn 2000 Vol. 72, No. 4

# On the Cover

***"Camp on Tongue River"***

*The cover illustration is a sketch from the 1867 Robert Dunlap Clarke diary, the subject of one of the featured articles in this issue. The drawing was the frontispiece to the diary. The diary and accompanying illustrations are held in the collections of the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. The cover is courtesy of the AHC.*

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# Baseballically Speaking

By Betty Anne Johnson

**Later, Bowers would say that he didn't know what possessed him when he threw that lemon over third base. It was the Fourth of July, 1913, and the day of the big fight between Cody and Powell fans on the Powell baseball diamond. Cody was at bat with runners on second and third and two men out. Howard Bowers, the cashier at the First State Bank in Powell was playing catcher and had been sucking on a lemon to keep his mouth from getting dry. He went into his crouch and the first pitched ball smacked into his mitt. Suddenly, Bowers extracted the lemon from his shirtfront where he had stored it and tossed it high over third base.**

Everyone ran, the third base runner being tagged out at home plate. When realization of the fraud permeated the crowd, they "flocked to the diamond in a mad rush and conditions looked decidedly favorable for a riot."[1] The fistfights and tongue-lashings continued all afternoon[2] and the worst part was that umpire Pyatt had to call off all of the bets.[3]

Powell, Wyoming, was a small boomtown that had sprung up in 1909 at the center of the Shoshone Irrigation Project, a federally funded reclamation project fed by water dammed behind the Shoshone Dam near the town of Cody. Severt Ambrose Nelson, or S. A. as he referred to himself, was a young married man of 30, well educated as an attorney and journalist. He had started a newspaper career in Cody as owner and editor of the *Cody Enterprise*, and then moved to neighboring Powell to found the *Powell Tribune*. S. A. didn't just edit the newspaper; he actually wrote it in its entirety each week, beginning in March of 1909 and for the most part, the surviving details we have of Powell's early days are recorded in S. A.'s writing voice. Idealistic, observant, and witty, he proved to be a powerful force in shaping the future of the town of Powell and the Shoshone Project.

From the beginning, S. A. revealed his primary intention with the newspaper... that of building a community. He was a "Booster" not a "Knocker" and while editor of the newspaper, he was seemingly everywhere, exhorting, uplifting, cajoling, teasing, admonishing, envisioning, encouraging.... In his first editorial upon establishing the newspaper, he stated: "The uniform and unvarying policy of this paper shall be to boost in season and out for Powell and all that in our judgment will make for the best interest of this entire community."[4]

Of course, S. A. had to sell newspapers, too, and advertised the price of a subscription at "one year, $2.00; six months $1.00; three months, 50 cents." He added, "Now don 't all come at once, for of all things to avoid.... sudden wealth thrust unexpectedly upon the average western editor is the absolute limit of unspeakable human depravity." The first year in operation, the newspaper was "scarcely even self-supporting" and he would struggle to make ends meet by selling insurance and handling real estate transactions.[5]

But everyone struggled during the early days on the Project, townsmen and homesteaders alike, and S. A. would disarm his readers by poking fun at what he didn't have. While his wife served as president of the Library Club, he announced the next meeting, which was to be held at his house, with the following proviso to the ladies:

> Be very careful not to soil the Persian rugs, mar the mahogany furniture or otherwise in any manner do violence to the costly and very elegant appointment of our costly and very elegant country residence... P. S. The ladies will also please keep off the grass.

One means that the editor man used to both promote community spirit and sell newspapers was through the sport of baseball. As early as 1909 when the town itself consisted of no more than a half dozen wooden frame structures and only 25 or so settlers had filed on homesteads, Powell had its own baseball team. S. A. was there at every game and it is clear from reading his reports of these early games, all of which made the front page of the newspaper, that a pick-up game on a dusty patch of desert in remote Wyoming was just as exciting to him as a big city game between professional teams. And as sports editor, S. A.'s playful writing would immortalize all of the improbable and zany details of these early games.

Courtesy of Richard Nelson, First National Bank Powell

*S. A. Nelson*

[1] *Cody Enterprise*, July 5, 1913
[2] Tom Wilder, shortstop, interview in the *Powell Tribune*, 1959 Anniversary Edition.
[3] *Cody Enterprise*, July 5, 1913
[4] *Powell Tribune*, March 13, 1909
[5] Robert Koelling, *First National Bank of Powell: The History of a Bank, a Community and a Family*. (Cody: Yellowstone Printing and Design, 1997.

The first recorded information about the local baseball team is found in the April 24, 1909, issue of the *Powell Tribune*. It was the season opener. The Powell team was an eclectic mixture of homesteaders from all parts of the United States, townsmen and United States Reclamation Service (USRS) employees. In these early days of the Project, there was no artificial division between homesteaders and townsmen, for most of the businessmen in town also owned homestead units. The USRS was a different story, however.

Powell was the USRS headquarters for the Shoshone Project and the USRS staff consisted of a handful of relatively high-ranking supervisors and officials as well as crews of sunburned, muscular construction workers. The USRS was intent on recovering the costs of construction of the dam and irrigation works and tension soon arose between the homesteaders and the USRS over payments. On the baseball field, however, these tensions were forgotten. For the season opener, the Superintendent of the Reclamation Bureau, C. M. Jump, or "Jumpy" as he was known,[6] served as umpire and the foe was a "bunch of sluggers" from the Reclamation Service Ralston camp. The game was close and exciting, Ralston winning by a score of 7 to 6.

The Powell players then decided to formally organize a team and selected C. P. MacGlashan, owner of the local mercantile store, as the manager. Settler John Steinbarger was elected captain, and fundraisers were appointed for "north of the tracks, south of the tracks and in town."[7] The Powell Drug Store, owned by Dr. F. H. Sturgeon, contributed by buying a complete set of uniforms for the regular team.[8]

Most of the early games were spontaneous pickup games between teams selected from the town of Powell and nearby homestead units. Any criteria for team selection was acceptable, the more whimsical the better. For example, why not the "north of the trackers" versus the "south of the trackers"? Another match-up pitted the married men against the single men. The *Powell Tribune* published two letters on the front page, the first, a challenge by "A Bachelor" and the second, an acceptance by "A Married Man." The bachelor letter stated that

> ...it seems that some of the Benedicts think that because they once played ball, and they may have been all right in their time, can still show us something about the game... they ought to be satisfied with pushing the perambulator around the block instead of still desiring to run bases... We do not want you to think for a moment that we are taking this opportunity to advertise the fact that we are single men looking for a home, but we can undoubtedly play better ball if all the eligible young ladies would attend this game.

The married man's letter retorted:

> Your most recent consignment of hot air has reached its destination and is now before me. My first impulse is to ignore the disturbance altogether. The very idea of you guys having the face to issue a challenge of this sort! Why in Sam Hill don't you go out and get a reputation before you come buttin' in on people whose position in baseball is recognized the world over? .... We accept the challenge.. You are on, little boys; you are on.... Well, well, this is the easiest bacon we have run across in many a day. Oh my, oh my; just like getting money from home. Most affectionately, A Married Man.

For the game itself, S. A. reported that "the married moguls beat the single slamboosticators 31 to 14" stating, tongue in cheek, that

> both sides played a number of real ballplayers, which was of course contrary to the rules, and should not have been allowed. It was the understanding from the start that Jump, Charley Pratt, Albert Loftsgaarden, and the *Tribune* editor were barred because of acknowledged prowess and superior ability all along the line..."[9]

As the town grew, one of the most popular contests was the annual fund-raiser sponsored by the Presbyterian Church's Ladies Aid Society. Here the "Fats" battled the "Leans" in a baseball game featuring prominent businessmen in the town including doctors, dentists, merchants and bankers. Good-natured ribbing accompanied the yearly selection of the members for each of these teams, as inevitably former "Leans" players became "Fats" players while the reverse progression seemed never to occur. Sanford, the Project irrigation manager, took a photograph of the Fats team, victorious in one battle that took place in one hundred degree heat, the *Tribune* remarking that "the courage it took for the Fats to hold out against their skinny opponents would be to the Fats everlasting credit."

The most spirited contests, however, were between the Powell Giants and the Powell Cubs. The Giants were loosely designated as the first-string Powell club (and owned the only set of uniforms) while the Cubs were their closely matched rivals. These contests drew 200 to 500 spectators each and S. A. and other townsmen quickly noted the potential financial benefit from

[6] *Powell Tribune*, 1959 Anniversary Edition, 46.
[7] *Powell Tribune*, May 7, 1909
[8] *Powell Tribune*, May 29, 1909
[9] *Powell Tribune*, July 21, 1911

Buffalo Bill Dam Visitor's Center, Cody

*"Fats" Baseball Team, victors in 1914. The Ladies Aid Society of the Presbyterian Church sponsored an annual fundraiser, pitting the 'Fats' against the 'Leans.' Homesteaders, businessmen, doctors, and dentists joined in. This photo was on display at the Buffalo Bill Dam Visitor's Center.*

promoting this rivalry.[10] A committee of three, M. L. Pratt, Dr. J.D. Lewellen, and S.A. himself, were chosen by the Powell Outdoor Amusement Company to arrange for leasing land from the Reclamation Service for a ball diamond and building a "monster grandstand" in time for the 1910 Fourth of July celebration.[11] These decisions were made the week of June 11, 1910, and amazingly, the "monster grandstand" was indeed in existence by the celebration on the Fourth. The building plans were jotted down, a dance and basket social accomplished fundraising, and eager hands volunteered for the construction. The grandstand went up in a flash, and would survive five harsh Wyoming winters before being blown down in a windstorm.

The 1910 Fourth of July celebration was Powell's first organized celebration as a town. The baseball game was widely advertised as the match-up that would decide which team would be the official Powell first-string team. Therefore, the ultimate prize for the winners was to be inheritance of the Giants uniforms. If the Cubs were to win the game,

> the whole outfit goes to them (the Cubs) without delay and it is announced that in such event immediate demand will be made upon the Giants for the aforesaid uniforms to the end among others that a parade may be indulged in by the victorious insurgent gang of ball tossers!

With this in mind, two players on the Giants team promptly deserted and planned to appear as Cubs for the day.

The weather for the game was glorious, the weatherman "doling out huge chunks of Wyoming sunshine." S. A. estimated the attendance for the celebration at large at around 1,000.[12] The Cubs showed up with a markedly altered team roster, having recruited several players from the Reclamation Service concrete crew at Ralston. Now, sentiment, which was already leaning toward the Cub side, completely shifted and "Cub stock... now fairly soared" reflecting the nature of the spectator betting that day. Later, S. A. would describe the contest as follows:

> For nearly two years have the Cubs and Giants, rival baseball organizations, battled for supremacy in the local field. Scores of times have these ancient and chronic enemies locked horns upon the local field with the inevitable result of victory for

[10] *Powell Tribune*, May 28, 1910
[11] *Powell Tribune*, June 11, 1910
[12] *Powell Tribune*, July 9, 1910

> the Giants. The climax was reached in a veritable battle royal on July 4th. 'We'll eat 'em up alive,' said the mighty Gates. 'Wait and see,' said Johnny Keys. 'We 're from Missouri,' said Manager Pratt. Excitement ran high; heavy wagers were laid; each team had its loyal following and backers quite a plenty. After the smoke of battle had cleared away it was apparent to all that once more did victory perch upon the banners of the husky Giants.

The Giants had won again, 11 to 9, but only clinching the game in the last half of the 9th inning.[13]

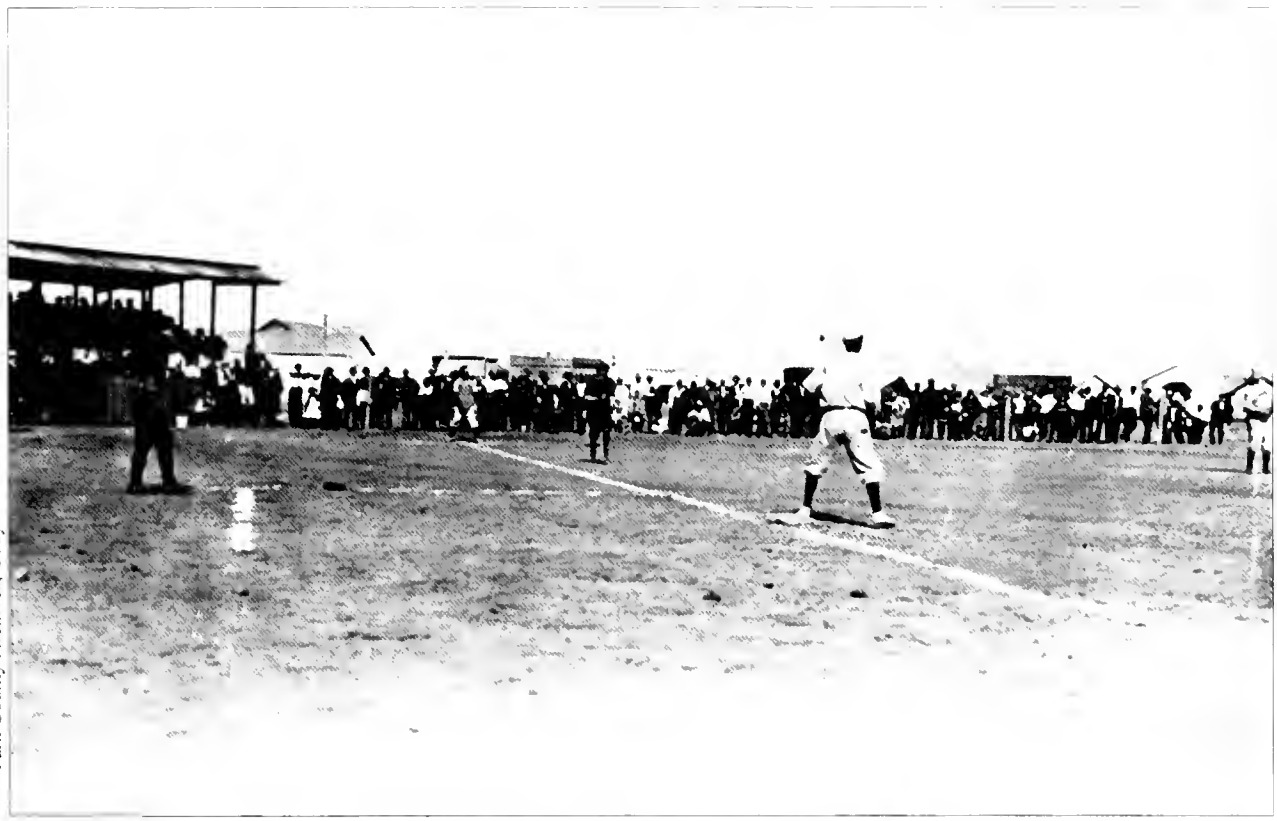
Proof positive that the Tribune's sports column could sell newspapers came in the mail as the sports editor's writing fame spread internationally:

> Dear Sir: I have just read in your bright and breezy journal of the 11th inst., an interesting paragraph about the great baseball match between the Cubs and the Giants to be played on 13th of August. I await with the interest of an old sportsman the result of the momentous contest and enclose what I think will meet the expense of a copy of your paper. Good luck to both teams and may the best win. May Powell prosper. Yours sincerely, Jim Cane, 21 Lombard St., London, England.

Attempts were soon made to organize a league, and teams from the neighboring towns of Cody, Lovell and Cowley were invited to join. The idea was to charge an admission fee so that travel expenses for the teams could be covered, with a small purse given to the winning team of each game.[14]

Arrangements for games between neighboring towns were made by telephone. Lovell showed up to play a game against Powell having been transported in two large automobiles and making the 25-mile journey in "railroad time." It was fortunate for Powell that the game was rained out, because the score at the end of the first inning was 7 to 1 in favor of Lovell. C. P. MacGlashan "rustled around and gathered up all the extra rain coats in town to supply the boys with on their return trip to Lovell."[15] The return game, Powell visiting Lovell, was not nearly as lop-sided, with Lovell winning by a score of 8 to 5. MacGlashan, the manager, "took in the game in a straw hat of approved fashion and a fur overcoat" despite the fact that the weather conditions for the day were "high wind and dusty."[16]

[13] *Powell Tribune*, July 16, 1910
[14] *Powell Tribune*, May 22, 1909
[15] *Powell Tribune*, June 5, 1909
[16] *Powell Tribune*, June 12, 1909



Park County Archives, Cody

*Powell's baseball grandstand was dubbed the "monster grandstand" by S. A. Nelson. The baseball grandstand could be found on Second Street, about where the Masonic Hall is located in Powell now. The batter has hit a fly ball and is running down the first base line toward the photographer. The pitcher is watching the fielders retrieve the ball.*

Neighboring Cowley had a good team. Because it was difficult to arrange practices around the homesteaders' long work days, some of whom had to travel substantial distances into town, S. A. was hopeful that raw talent alone would carry the home team against this out-of-town team, stating "while our boys have had no opportunity as yet to work out or even try out new material, there is nevertheless much ground for hope that the initial game of the season will result in victory for the home boys."[17] But the locals were defeated with a score so lopsided, that S. A. refused to report it, instead blaming Haley's Comet for the disaster.[18]

Park County Archives, Cody

*A swing and a miss by a batter during a game in Cody. Note the ball near the batter's right knee. The red schoolhouse on the right stood about where the Wynoma Thompson Auditorium is now located.*

Powell's out-of-town archrival, however, was neighboring Cody. Cody was older and larger and with more baseball talent to draw upon, regularly crushed the Powell team. Finally, new pitching talent moved into Powell, Demoling "a southpaw with speed to burn and a variety of curves" and who was described by S. A. as the "Moses who will and must lead us safely out of the wilderness in the midst of which the noble boys of last year became so hopelessly entangled."[19] S. A. helped craft the composition of the Powell team, applauding the work of most of the members but also commenting after one defeat that "at least one or two [members], so our information goes, made simply elegant showing as candidates for the scrap heap, baseballically speaking."[20]

In addition to Demoling, the Giants recruited the Anderson brothers, who had distinguished themselves for the Cubs in the 1910 July Fourth game. The next few regular season games show lopsided scores favoring the Giants. Finally the Giants had a team with the potential to wallop Cody. Great fanfare accompanied the preparation for the next Powell-Cody matchup. Cody fans chartered a special train to Powell, selling 113 tickets for the special excursion. Powell's newly formed concert band met the Cody team at the depot and escorted them to the diamond where finally Powell won one, beating Cody 4 to 2, in a game played with the talent of "big leaguers."[21] "Invincible Giants Win Fastest Game Ever Played in This Section" blared the *Powell Tribune* while the *Cody Enterprise* conceded that "Powell has a splendid aggregation of ball tossers and moreover something Cody has not got--a fine baseball park."

A return game, scheduled for the next day, had special excursion tickets sold at $1 each, but was not played because the railroad bridge between Cody and Powell burned down the morning of the scheduled game. It was speculated that the outbound morning train cast off burning cinders, which started the fire. A terrible wreck was averted when J. A. Fleming noted the smoke

[17] *Powell Tribune*, May 21, 1910
[18] *Powell Tribune*, May 28, 1910
[19] *Powell Tribune*, June 4, 1910
[20] *Powell Tribune*, June 25, 1910
[21] *Powell Tribune*, August 20, 1910

**AGREEMENT TO PLAY BALL**

**It is hereby agreed by and between the Cody and Powell baseball teams that said teams are to play July 4, 1911, on the Powell diamond for a purse of two hundred ($200) dollars, winner take all. Said purse of $200 is hereby guaranteed on behalf of Powell and the committee in charge of the Powell celebration. Messrs. Starkey and Loomis shall umpire the game. Game to be called not later than 3 o'clock p. m.**

**This agreement signed at Powell, Wyoming, this 22nd day of June, 1911.**

**Powell Base Ball Team**
**By M. L. Pratt, Mgr.**
**Cody Baseball Team**
**By Jno. T. Murray,**
**W. L. Simpson.**

*This ad guaranteed the purse to the victor in the Fourth of July baseball matchup. Powell Tribune, June 24, 1911.*

and investigated in time to get a message flagging down the next train.[22]

By 1911, county lines were redrawn, leaving Cody and Powell as the two major commerce centers in the new county of Park. Cody was soon designated the county seat, and as a county courthouse was needed, voters were asked to approve a $45,000 bond to build a substantial structure there. S. A., a fiscal conservative, thought this sum an excessive amount to spend on a building and fought the bond issue with all the power in his pen. Largely because of his writing on the issue, the bond was defeated in the Powell precincts but more heavily populated Cody prevailed, thus providing fuel for a rivalry that would extend to the baseball field (and all other sports) from that day to this.

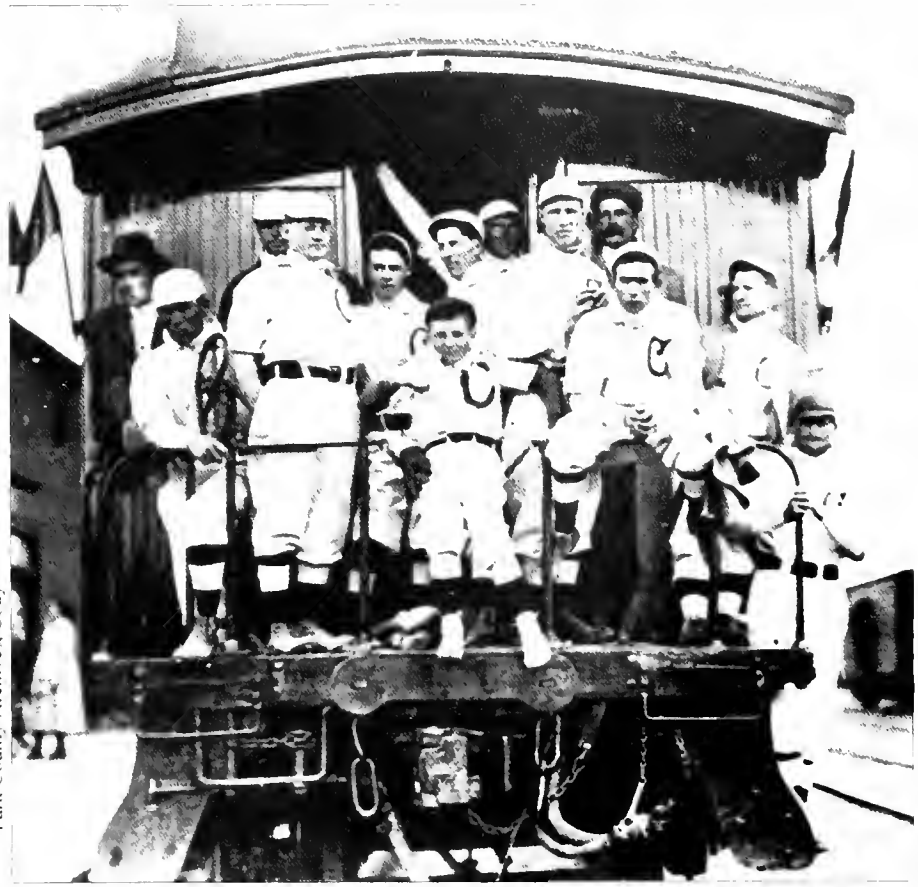
When the Demolings left town for a lower altitude,[23] the Giants once again lost every single game. But no losses were more irritating than the losses to Cody, Powell fans having relentless opportunity to be irritated.

> Locals Drop One to Cody: Final results make a noise about as follows, Cody 9, Powell 2—dammit!" Beats the very old Harry how them county seat guys do wallop it to us anyway. Only a short time ago they put across the iniquitous court house bond proposition...

Despite the fact that Powell had lost every game to Cody so far in the season, S. A. predicted that Powell would win against the Cody team, invited for Powell's second 4th of July celebration.[24]

It was the 135th anniversary of the nation and Powell had planned its biggest celebration to date. The keynote of the program, which had taken on regional proportions, was the baseball game between Cody and Powell. Unfortunately, Powell was thoroughly trounced.

[22] *Powell Tribune*, August 27, 1910
[23] *Powell Tribune*, October 10, 1910
[24] *Powell Tribune*, June 24, 1911



Park County Archives, Cody

*The Cody baseball team prepares to travel by train from the Cody depot. Milward Simpson, Wyoming governor from 1954-58, is the batboy in the center front row.*

No details about this game would appear in the *Powell Tribune*, S. A. adamantly declaring

> All reports to the contrary notwithstanding, we assert most emphatically that there was absolutely no ball game played here on July 4th. False and misleading rumors to the effect that we actually did have all exhibition of the great national game should be and are hereby denounced as utterly without any foundation in fact whatsoever.

The *Cody Enterprise*, however, ran a front page article, crowing

> Oh Me, Oh My, the Cody Steam Roller Ran Over Powell Ball Team Again. It's almost a shame to take the money, since it came so easily, but the delightful truth remains that Cody on the Fourth once more ran the steam roller over the Powell cohorts and beat 'em up, flattened 'em out and well annihilated them by the score of 12 to 3.

Photo courtesy of the Bales family, Cody

*Powell's pitcher in 1912 was Jim Bales. At 6'4" and positively skeletal, the Cody Enterprise dubbed him "Lengthy Jim Bales, the Human Slat." The photo was taken by Edith Carter in Ralston.*

Furthermore, after this game was over, the juvenile teams from both towns went to battle and Cody won that one, too. The Cody team was led by Captain Milward Simpson. However, the overall July Fourth celebration of 1911 was declared a grand success, with an estimated 2,500 attending (half the size of the current town of Powell.)

And then fresh-faced Jim Bales, a boy wonder on the mound, moved to Powell from Rose Hill, Kansas. At 6-ft. 4-in. and positively skeletal, the *Cody Enterprise* labeled him "Lengthy Bales, the Human Slat." Milward Simpson would later comment on Bales' blistering speed by remarking that whoever played catcher for Bales would need a supply of raw beefsteak to nurse his swollen hand. With Bales on the mound, Powell's win-loss record improved significantly, and games against Cody were won, tied or lost only by a *"close squeeze."*[25] The Powell bunch became "quite chesty" and began waving a $200 purse at the Cody players but it was late in the season and any further showdowns would have to wait until the following year.

1913 proved to be a banner year for Cody-Powell baseball contests. In all, six were played. In the spring of the year, Cody built its own baseball diamond at the fairgrounds and invited Powell for its Memorial Day inauguration. Here, Milward Simpson, although only fifteen years old, nailed down the position of right fielder on the regular Cody team with his strong arm. Cody lost only two games that season, both to Powell, and went on to win the first Big Horn Basin Tournament held that August in Basin.

For the most part, the baseball fans exhibited good behavior, especially considering that huge sums of money often changed hands on bets (S. A. commented ruefully that he had lost "forty plunks" on one game). There were notable exceptions to the good behavior rule, including the game where the famous "lemon play" was introduced. Even then, the *Cody Enterprise* went no further than to recommend that Catcher Bowers be rewarded with a "vegetable medal" for his "extreme cuteness." As the ultimate example of sportsmanship, S. A. would turn to Bud Cousins' mule, a frequent mascot at the home games and "to which animal must be conceded the championship of the Powell Valley insofar as the real article in the way of up-to-date rooting is concerned. His muleship was on the job every few minutes and best of all, showed no partiality— *[the opponent being]* cheered quite as lustily as were the home boys."

Powell, of course, became a successful community.

[25] *Cody Enterprise*, July 6, 1912

*Fresh-faced pitching wonder, Jim Bales, of Rose Hill, Kansas. Bales appears in the center of the front row.*

Photo courtesy of the Bales family, Cody

Even as early as 1916, the editor of the *Cody Herald* would remark,

> Powell is a new Powell. Five years ago, everyone was a stranger, for the population in the community was gathered, from the four corners of the states. Now they are acquainted, trust each other, fight for each other, and the town has a community life that makes association with them a delight.

And Cody would make one more concession:

> We found S. A. Nelson in Powell. This is no new discovery for Cody woke one morning and found out she was short a good man and upon the census being taken, it was found to be S. A.[26]

[26] *Cody Herald*, quoted in *Powell Tribune*, September 9, 1916.

*The author, a graduate of Powell High School, holds the M.D. degree from Harvard. She is professor of medicine, Virginia Commonwealth University School of Medicine in Richmond. Her grandfather, Gus Beckmann, homesteaded on the Shoshone Project in 1911 and her family still lives on that homestead.*

Base Ball Tournament

Between the Following Towns:
CODY, GEBO, POWELL, ANDERSON
$100 Purse and Pennant. $50 in Other Prizes. Town winning Pennant to hold next Annual Tournament.

Basin, Wyo. Aug. 1-2-3
Under the management of Custer & Dailey

ACME AMUSEMENT COMPANY
Will give Show and Dance Friday and Saturday Nights and a Picture Show on Sunday Night.
Smith Bros.' Full Orchestra.

SPECIAL PRIZES
$25.00 Gold Watch to the Best Individual Player. Pair Spaulding Base Ball Shoes to man circling bases in fastest time. To the man making longest throw, Spaulding Fielder's Glove. To the best fungle hitter, Leather Bat Case and Bat. These prizes to be decided by a committee of three from Cody, Powell and Gebo.

MUSIC BY THE FAMOUS GEBO BAND

*Cody Enterprise, July 25, 1913*

New Collections

# THE GATCHELLS - FRONTIER NEWSPAPERMEN

**By**
**Gil Bollinger**

*Prince Albert Gatchell (1841-1924)*

*Theodore James Gatchell (1872-1954)*


# SHERIDAN DAILY JOURNAL

SECOND YEAR. SHERIDAN WYO., TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 3. 1895. PRICE 5 CENTS


## COLD BLOODY MURDER

### WYOMING WHITES BLAMED FOR INDIAN TROUBLE.

The United States District Attorney and Deputy Marshal Report the Result of Their Investigation Into the Matter to The Attorney General.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 2.—The department of justice has recieved from the United States attorney and marshal of Wyoming the official reports of their investigation into the Bannock Indian troubles made by direction of the attorney general.

The district attorney says. "I have no doubt whatever that the killing of the Indian Tanegn on or about the 13th of July was an unnecessary and cold blooded murder, and it was a murder perpetrated on the part of the constable, Manning, and his deputies in pursuance of a scheme and conspiracy to prevent the Indians from exercising a right and privilege which is, in my opinion, very clearly guaranteed to them by the treaty before mentioned. Should prosecution on the part of the United States be determined upon it would be useless to commence it before a commissioner. As the law is now, we are bound to bring prisoners

## WEEKLY TRADE REVIEW.

Improvement in Markets Continues at a Marvelous Gait.

NEW YORK, Sept. 2.—R. G. Dun & Co.'s weekly review of trade says: Improvements in markets and prices continues, and whereas a few months ago everybody was nursing the faintest hopes of recovery it has now come to be the only question in which branches, if any, the rise in prices and the increase of business may go too far. A strong conservative feeling is finding expression, not as yet controlling the markets or industries, but warning against too rapid expansion and rise.

In some directions the advance in prices clearly checks future business. But encouraging features have great power. Exports of gold continue, but are met by syndicate deposits and expected to cease soon. Anxieties about the monetary future no longer hinder. Crop prospects, except for cotton, have somewhat improved during the week.

Important steps toward reorganization of great railroads gives hope to investors. Labor troubles are for the present less threatening and some of importance have already been settled. The industries are not only doing better than anybody expected, but are counting on a great business for the rest of the year. The advance in prices of iron and its products has

## CAUSED BY VAGGINATION.

(From the Journal, Detroit, Mich.)

Every one in the vicinity of Meldrum avenue and Champlain street, Detroit, knows Mrs. McDonald, and many a neighbor has reason to feel grateful to her for the kind and friendly interest she has manifested in cases of illness.

She is a kind-hearted friend, a natural nurse, and an intelligent and refined lady.

To a reporter she recently talked at some length about Dr. Williams Pink Pills, giving some very interesting instances in her own immediate knowledge of marvelous cures, and the universal beneficence of the remedy to those who had used it.

"I have reason to know," said Mrs. McDonald, "something of the worth of this medicine, for it has been demonstrated in my own immediate family. My daughter Kittie is attending high school, and has never been very strong since she began. I suppose she studies hard, and she has quite a distance to go every day. When the small-pox broke out all of the school children had to be vaccinated. I took her over to Dr. Jameson and he vaccinated her. I never saw such an arm in my life and the doctor said he never did. She was broken out on her shoulders and back and was just as sick as she could be. To add to it all neuralgia set in and the poor child was in misery. She is naturally of a nervous temperament and she suffered most awfully. Even after she recovered the neuralgia did not leave her. Stormy days or days that were damp or pre-

## STOPPED THE DEBATE.

Shameless Conduct of a Kentucky Audience Toward Mr. Bradley.

EMINENCE, Ky., Sept. 2.—The sixth joint debate in the series of twelve, which was to have taken place between Colonel W. O. Bradley and General P. W. Hardin, at Eminence, yesterday, was called off on account of the noisy demonstration of the crowd. Colonel Bradley was to have opened and closed the debate. When he attempted to begin the noise and disturbance of the crowd was so great that he was compelled to sit down.

W. P. Thorne, the Democratic chairman, arose and appealed to them for order, but the crowd paid no attention to him. Colonel Bradley attempted again and again to speak, six times in all, but failed to get a hearing. Seeing that any attempt to speak was in vain, he gave it up, saying that the noise was more than he could stand, and refusing most positively to proceed farther.

The colonel said "I wish I had my voice a minute, so I could tell this crowd what utter contempt I hold them in." Then folding up his manuscript he left the stand. The action of the audience is condemned by the chairman of the Democratic committee as well as the Republicans, who were present, and they declare it is an outrage and disgrace to Henry county.

Theodore James "Jim" Gatchell was a turn-of-the-century pharmacist in Buffalo, Wyoming. A lifelong interest in frontier history led him to collect artifacts and write articles on the people and events of the surrounding Powder River-Bozeman Trail region. Following his death in 1954, his collections of some 2000 items formed the basis for a namesake museum in his hometown. Recently, the 24 papers that he authored between 1909 and 1950 have been collected and reprinted.[1]

Jim's father, Prince Albert Gatchell, or P.A. Gatchell, as he was usually called, was active in the newspaper publishing business from 1873-1897. He started the *Wadena Tribune* in Wadena, Minnesota, and the *Pembina Pioneer* in Pembina, Dakota Territory. He then published a newspaper in Nebraska before starting another paper, the *Sheridan Daily Journal* in Wyoming. Jim worked for the Sheridan newspaper, but he also was employed at Edelman Drug Company as an apprentice pharmacist.[2] Except for Jim's newspaper work in Sheridan, virtually nothing else was known about the involvement of any other Gatchell family members in P.A.'s publishing ventures. That has changed recently with the discovery of a collection of 1890s newspapers.

The collection was found in a large, flat, cardboard box in an empty building in Kaycee, Wyoming, by Robin and Sunny Taylor, the Gatchell Museum registrar. Alecia Gatchell Lund (b. 1913, daughter of Jim's younger brother, Prince Albert Gatchell, Jr.), and her husband owned the building. Who actually collected the newspapers is not known. In the year of the earliest papers, 1891, Jim and his siblings, Bess and Prince Albert, Jr., were from 16 to 21 years old. It seems probable that P.A. kept these papers himself.

Because of her long-term interest in the history of the West as well as her current position, Sunny Taylor realized the historical value of these very old newspapers. As a museum volunteer, I joined her at this stage in assessing the papers. An initial inventory of the collection revealed that there were 166 newspapers, published in Merna, Nebraska, and Sheridan, Wyoming, during the period 1891 through 1897. Interestingly, the publication of virtually all of these century-old newspapers involved several members of the Gatchell family and not just P.A. alone.

### *Merna Reporter*, Merna, Custer Co., Nebraska

The papers included 127 copies of the *Merna Reporter*, for the years 1891 to 1894. Volume 1, No. 48, October 6, 1892, listed B. L. Gatchell as publisher and P. A. Gatchell as editor. Handwritten in pencil, on the top margin of the first page was, "First paper published by Grandpa Gatchell."[3] The October date for the beginning of Gatchell's newspaper in that Nebraska community is confirmed by the preceding 47 issues (No. 1, November 11, 1891-No. 47, September 29, 1891) that listed Robert L. Lazenby and Samuel J. Shanklin as editors and Ambrose Lazenby as proprietor. The October 6 issue also introduced a "B. L. Gatchell" as publisher. A search of the Gatchell family genealogy for both P. A.'s and Jim's siblings, revealed only one individual with a "B" for a first name--Jim's older sister, Bess (1870-1961).[4] She would have been 22 years old at that time.

During this period, Jim Gatchell was 19 to 22 years old. The only appearance of his name in the newspaper was through advertisements. He promoted himself as a "Teacher of Violin and Orchestra Instruments" in 1892 and 1893. In most of his ads, however, throughout 1893 and 1894, he sought work as a "House and Sign Painter."

In the May 11, 1893, issue, two articles dealt with Gatchell family members:

> Home Happenings... - All Lazenby, All Gatchell[5] and Ort Cole [sic] took a freight caboose excursion last Friday. They went as far as Broken Bow [9 miles northwest of Merna]. They must have hoodooed the passenger that evening for it did not land them in Merna until about midnight and it is reported that the boys came home very hungry.

Under a column titled "Meeting of the Village Board," funds for the coming year's expenses were discussed and the report was credited to a L. W. Wilson, chairman, and P. A. Gatchell, clerk.

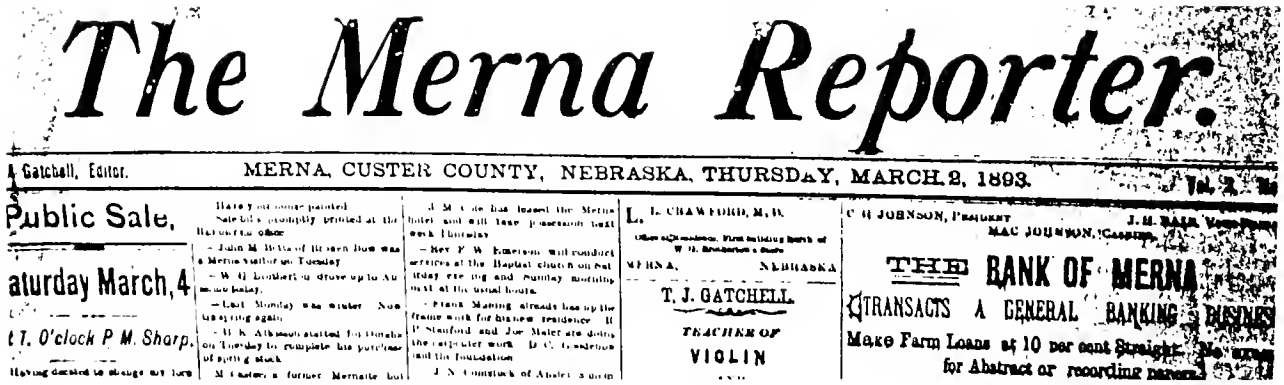
The May 18, 1893, newspaper featured an advertisement for "The Merna News Depot" located in the *Merna Reporter* office and managed by Algie Gatchell. The Depot was listed as selling books, magazines, stationery, pens and pencils, etc. The only Gatchell family member candidate for "Algie" would seem to be "Al

[1] Gil Bollinger, *Jim Gatchell - The Man and the Museum*, (Buffalo: Gatchell Museum Assoc., Inc, 1999), 63-223.

[2] Gil Bollinger, Personal files; Bollinger, *Jim Gatchell*, 8-10.

[3] Prince Albert Gatchell was grandfather to both Alecia Gatchell Lund (P. A. Gatchell, Jr.'s daughter) and Thelma Gatchell Condit (Jim Gatchell's daughter), so either of them could have written the phrase on the October 1892 Merna paper.

[4] Bollinger, *Jim Gatchell*, 43-46. Records, however, do not give her middle name or initial. "B. L." is listed as publisher during the entire *Merna Reporter* period of 1892 - 1894 (but not subsequently in any of the Sheridan papers).



The Merna Reporter.

A. Gatchell, Editor. MERNA, CUSTER COUNTY, NEBRASKA, THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1893. Vol. 2. No.

Public Sale,

aturday March, 4

t 1. O'clock P M. Sharp.

L. L. CRAWFORD, M. D.

MERNA, NEBRASKA

T. J. GATCHELL.

TEACHER OF VIOLIN

C. H. JOHNSON, President J. H. BAIR, Vice-Pres't

MAC JOHNSON, Cashier

THE BANK OF MERNA

TRANSACTS A GENERAL BANKING BUSINESS

Make Farm Loans at 10 per cent Straight. No charge for Abstract or recording papers.

G." for Prince Albert Gatchell, Jr.[5] This is the only reference to "Algie" found.

Included in the newspaper collection is an unbroken run of the weekly publication, the *Merna Reporter*, from November 11, 1891 (vol. 1, no. 1) to November 3, 1892 (vol. 1, no. 52).[6] This year-long sequence of frontier newspapers from a small, western Nebraska, community allows a view of how one particular editor reported on happenings in a neighboring state--Wyoming.

Actually, considerable coverage of national and international news was available to editors of that period through the Associated Press, the first press agency in this country. That service had been formed in 1848 and utilized the telegraph that had been invented some four years earlier to bring current news to U.S. papers.[7]

Editor P. A. Gatchell chose six Wyoming articles to be printed in that November to November time interval of the early 1890s. Ironically, three of them dealt with the 1892 "Invasion" of Johnson County in articles that originated at Cheyenne (April 18 and 25, 1892), and at Douglas, (June 13, 1892). The remaining three articles dealt with gun battles and shootings (December 21, 1891, September 26, and October 12, 1892). All six are reproduced here on the following two pages of this article.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, December 21, 1891

William Hopkins, known as 'Lasso Bill,' and Jack Hill, two cowboys, fought a duel at Otto, in the Big Horn basin, on Tuesday. The men quarreled over ownership of horses and agreed to settle the trouble with revolvers. They fought at fifty paces. Hill shot first, missing his man. Hopkins then shot and missed. Hill's second shot struck Hopkins in the breast, killing him instantly. Deputy Sheriff Irey, who came on the scene as the duel was ending, tried to arrest Hill, but he escaped.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, April 18, 1892

## THEY WANT BLOOD.

### Wyoming's Armed Rustlers Are Thirsting For Gore.

### THE SITUATION VERY CRITICAL.

### Colonel Van Horne Has Been Ordered to Turn His Prisoners Over to the Local Authorities, But Governor Barber Is Afraid They Will Be Lynched - Nate Champion's Blood-Stained Statement.

General John R. Brooke, at Omaha, commanding the department, has telegraphed the acting governor, Barber, that he has been instructed by the secretary of war to deliver to him the forty odd cattlemen now at Fort McKinney.

It is now generally admitted that the removal of prisoners from Fort McKinney to Fort Douglas would be very hazardous and fraught with extreme danger to the troops and prisoners. It is certain the rustlers will try to kill them on the way, and every hour adds a more serious aspect to the situation.

[5] "All" probably refers to "Al" for Prince Albert, Jr., Jim's, younger brother; the other "All" and "Ort" for another "Al" and an "Art?".

[6] The library collection at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln held just one copy of the Merna Journal. The University Libraries have a cooperative project with the Nebraska Historical Society entitled "The Nebraska Newspaper Project" that began microfilming state newspapers in 1951. They requested permission to film the Merna collection under the auspices of that Project.

[7] The Associated Press is the largest news-gathering organization in the world with reporters and photographers in more than 200 bureaus worldwide. It is incorporated as a not-for-profit cooperative, based in New York City, and owned by more than 1500 member daily newspapers in the United States.

The friends of the imprisoned cattlemen cannot get justice anywhere in Wyoming, except this city.

Governor Barber has not yet notified General Brooke when he will receive the prisoners now at Fort McKinney.

Public sympathy is rapidly turning in favor of the rustlers.

On the body of Nate Champion, when it was taken into Buffalo, was a diary soaked with his blood, through the center of which a bullet had torn its way. Feeling that the game was up, he had calmly jotted down in a memorandum book the passing scenes of the last hours of his life from the time the attack was begun in the early morning dawn to the moment the house was fired. It is of thrilling interest and begins:

Me and Nick was getting breakfast when the attack took place. Two men here with us - Bill Jones and another man. The old man went after water and did not come back. His friend went to see what was the matter and he did not come back. Nick started out and I told him to look out, that I thought there was some one at the stable and would not let them come back. Nick is shot but not dead yet. He is awful sick. I must go and wait on him. It is now about two hours since the first shot. Nick is still alive, they are still shooting and are all around the house. Boys, there is bullets coming in like hail. Them fellows is in such a shape I can't get at them. They are shooting from the stable and the river and back of the house. Nick is dead, he died about 9 o'clock. I see a smoke down at the stable. I think they fired it. I don't think they intend to let me get away this time.

It is now about noon. There is some at the stable yet; they are throwing a rope out at the door and drawing it back. I guess it is to draw me out. I wish that Duck would get further so I can get a shot at him. Boys, I don't know what they have done with them two fellows that stayed here last night. Boys, I feel pretty lonesome just now. I wish there was someone here with me so we could watch all sides at once. They may fool around until I get a good shot before they leave. It's about 3 o'clock now. There was a man in a buckboard and one on a horse that just passed. They fired on them as they went by. I don't know if they killed them or not. I seen lots of them come out on horses on the other side of the river and take after them. I shot at the men in the stable just now, don't know if I got any or not. I must go and look out again. It don't look as if there is much show o my getting away. I see twelve to fifteen men. One looks like - (name scratched out;) I don't know whether it is or not. I hope they did not catch them fellows that run over the bridge towards Smith's. They are shooting at the house now. If I had a pair of glasses I believe I would know some of these men. They are coming back. I've got to look out.

Well, they have just got through shelling the house again like hail. I heard them splitting wood. I guess they are going to fire the house to-night. I think I will make a break when night comes if I am alive. Shooting again. I think they will fire the house this time. It is not 7 yet. The house is fired. Good-by boys, if I never see you again.

NATHAN D. CHAMPION

Cheyenne, Wyoming, April 25, 1892

## "AT FORT RUSSELL."

## "Warring Wyoming Stockmen Reach Cheyenne.

### STILL IN MILITARY CUSTODY.

## They Say That They Never Would Have Surrendered to the Rustlers, But Would Have Died First - Governor Barber Undecided What to Do With Them - Stringent military Precautions on the Trip.

Major Egbert, in command of the Seventh infantry troops which relieved the Sixth cavalry from Fort McKinney as guards of the captured stockmen, designated 7 o'clock yesterday morning as the hour for the party to start from Fort Fetterman. The governor expressly stated that the train should not move except in daylight. All the men slept in the cars. The special was preceded by a pilot engine and a caboose, the latter filled with a construction crew to repair any possible damage that might have been done to the tracks. Two men with field glasses were stationed in the look-out of the caboose to carefully scrutinize the road for breaks. Their position was maintained until Bordeaux was reached, when all chances of danger were believed to be passed and the look-out suspended.

It was just 3:45 o'clock in the afternoon when the train slowly pulled into the Fort Russell depot. A crowd of several hundred people was waiting to receive them.

"This is the toughest part of the trip," remarked one stockman. "I would rather face the rustlers than the crowd outside."

Two long lines of soldiers were drawn up. One was stationed along the length of the train, the other some short distance toward the fort, thus keeping an unoccupied space between them. Major Egbert here received orders to hold the men in charge until further orders.

"Would you have surrendered to the sheriff's

posse?" was asked one of the stockmen.

"No, we would not," was the reply. "Every man had made up his mind to die where he was rather than surrender and we would have sold our lives dearly."

Governor Barber was waited upon last evening by a party of local and foreign reporters, and in response to several questions put to him said:

"I have not decided exactly what will be done with the captured men. For the time being they will be kept at Fort Russell. They will, when the proper time comes, be turned over to the civil authorities, but I cannot tell how I shall proceed until I secure further information which I am now awaiting."

Douglas, Wyoming, June 13, 1892

### Martial Law Likely in Wyoming

Six troops of the Sixth Cavalry, comprising over 400 men, arrived yesterday and went into camp temporarily ten miles west of here, near old Fort Fetterman. The troops have thirty days' supply of rations and ordnance for a six months' campaign. It is believed here that martial law is likely to be declared soon in Johnson, Converse and Natrona counties.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, September 26, 1892

### A STREET ROW.

### Cheyenne, Wyoming, in a Frenzy of Excitement.

Never since the historical triple lynching has this place been in such a foment of excitement as it was yesterday. The occasion was a lecture under the auspices of the American Protective association, an anti-Catholic society organized here by men from Omaha a year ago. Thomas Lyons was the speaker. He is also a fighter, and in a melee which broke up the meeting he operated two six-shooters and wounded three men, one an officer. Lyons talked an hour, with frequent interruptions. Finally the turmoil became so great that he announced a postponement. In the opening he called attention to the fact that he carried two revolvers and was ready to use them if assaulted. There was nothing offensive in his remarks, but the crowd was determined to nip the movement in the bud. Police and ushers that were appointed by Lyons repeatedly attempted to clear the lobby, but could not do so. As Lyons, surrounded by an armed guard, which had been behind the scenes during the evening, stepped to the street, he pulled his revolvers. Policeman Nolan advanced and ordered the lecturer to put away his revolvers, assuring him that he was in no danger. He stated he proposed to take care of himself. Nolan attempted to wrench the weapon from him. Both went to the ground. While down Lyons fired three times. Nolan cried that he had been killed, and lay limp on the ground. Patrick Moores, a boiler-maker from the railway shops, fell with a bullet in his groin. Elmer Hicks, a partner of Moores, was shot in the hand. Policemen, county officers, members of the association and other citizens, rushed to stop the shooting. Lyons clung to his revolvers and cleared a way for himself. Quite a number of shots were fired into the air. Lyons reached the hotel in safety, and later was taken to the county jail. Nolan's wound is in the neck and a bad one, but he will recover. Moores will likely die.

Casper, Wyoming, October 12, 1892

### BEHEADED BY VIGILANTES.
### Two Wyoming Outlaws Meet With a Terrible Fate While Prisoners.

Frank Dabb and a strange Texan, who were arrested two weeks ago for horse stealing, but released for lack of evidence, tried to terrorize the community by shooting at people, and were again arrested and sentenced to jail at Buffalo, Wyo. Constable Reilly started with the men to Buffalo, a distance of 150 miles across the Big Horn Mountains [sic]. A party of masked men came upon their camp the first night and overpowering the officer filled each prisoner's head full of bullets, severing the heads from the bodies and mutilating them in fearful shape. These men were supposed to be horse thieves and belonged to the gang operating [in] the Southern Montana and the Yellowstone country.

## The *Sheridan Daily Journal*, Sheridan County, Wyoming

The earliest eight of the 39 newspapers in this group are from the months of January, February and March in 1895. The editor was P. A. Gatchell and the publishers were listed as the "Gatchell Bros. and Given." No name or initials are listed for Given. The August 22, 1895, issue listed the "Gatchell Bros. and T. James Gatchell" as publishers. This is the earliest instance in the collection where Jim is listed on the paper's staff and it also contains an article proclaiming the newspaper to be "one year old today." P. A. Gatchell is credited with establishing the paper. That would make the first publication on August 22, 1894. Virtually all of

the remaining papers from then into 1897 list father and son as editors and/or managers.

Thus, there now is a record of Jim Gatchell's active work on the *Sheridan Daily Journal* from 1895 into 1897. As previously mentioned, this is the same period of time that he was working at the Edleman Drug Company as an apprentice pharmacist. Obviously, he was holding two jobs. Then, in the winter of 1897, he moved to nearby Big Horn, Wyoming, and opened his own drug store.

The question arises as to the actual scarcity of these early Sheridan newspapers. Are they well known and listed in the various publications dealing with Wyoming's journalistic history? An initial check was made in Lola Homsher's *Guide to Wyoming Newspapers*.[7] On page 86 of that publication, the *Sheridan Enterprise* (1887-1923), is listed as the only Sheridan newspaper in the late 1890s. The entry indicates that Homsher did not know of the *Sheridan Daily Journal*. Other reference sources also failed to provide information on the paper.[8]

Neither of the staffs at the Sheridan County Library and the Wyoming State Archives in Cheyenne had any knowledge of the Gatchell's *Journal*. The State Archives' staff was interested in microfilming this new find of Sheridan newspapers.

SHERIDAN DAILY JOURNAL.

Entered at the Sheridan, Wyo., Post Office as Second Class Matter.

Office on Grinnell Avenue opposite Court House.

P. A. GATCHELL, Editor.

Published every evening, except Sunday by Gatchell Bros., and Given.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

| | |
|---|---|
| ONE YEAR, By Mail or Carrier | $5.00. |
| ONE MONTH, " " " | .60. |
| ONE WEEK, " " " | .15. |

*The Sheridan Post* of September 30, 1903, in its "Industrial Edition," carried articles on both P. A. and Jim Gatchell that mention their establishing and managing the *Journal* until P. A. left for Buffalo as the new Register of the U.S. Land Office located there (1897). There is a reference by F. D. Whitaker of Clearmont, Wyoming, in his personal notes about working for the father-son publishers of the *Sheridan Daily News* [sic] in May 1895.[9]

It could be that P. A. founded the newspaper, published it for just a few years and then closed it down without leaving a formal record for later generations, except for this set. It is no surprise if Sheridan's small population in those early times could not support a daily paper in addition to the *Weekly* already established. This competition could have brought an early demise to P.A's. publishing efforts.

Given the rarity of these newspapers and the level of interest expressed by both the Johnson County and University of Nebraska's Libraries, it was decided that they should be given to those institutions for microfilming and archiving. Accordingly, they have been donated as gifts and filming is in progress. Upon completion of that process, they will then be available to authors, researchers, students and other libraries.

Newspapers are, of course, an important source for historians. The serendipity in finding these papers certainly "made our day." We now know much more about the newspaper publishing efforts of P. A.Gatchell and his family, and have also added a significant new resource on the frontier-era history of the region to the archives.

[7] Lola Homsher, *Guide to Wyoming Newspapers*, (Cheyenne: State Library, 1971), 86

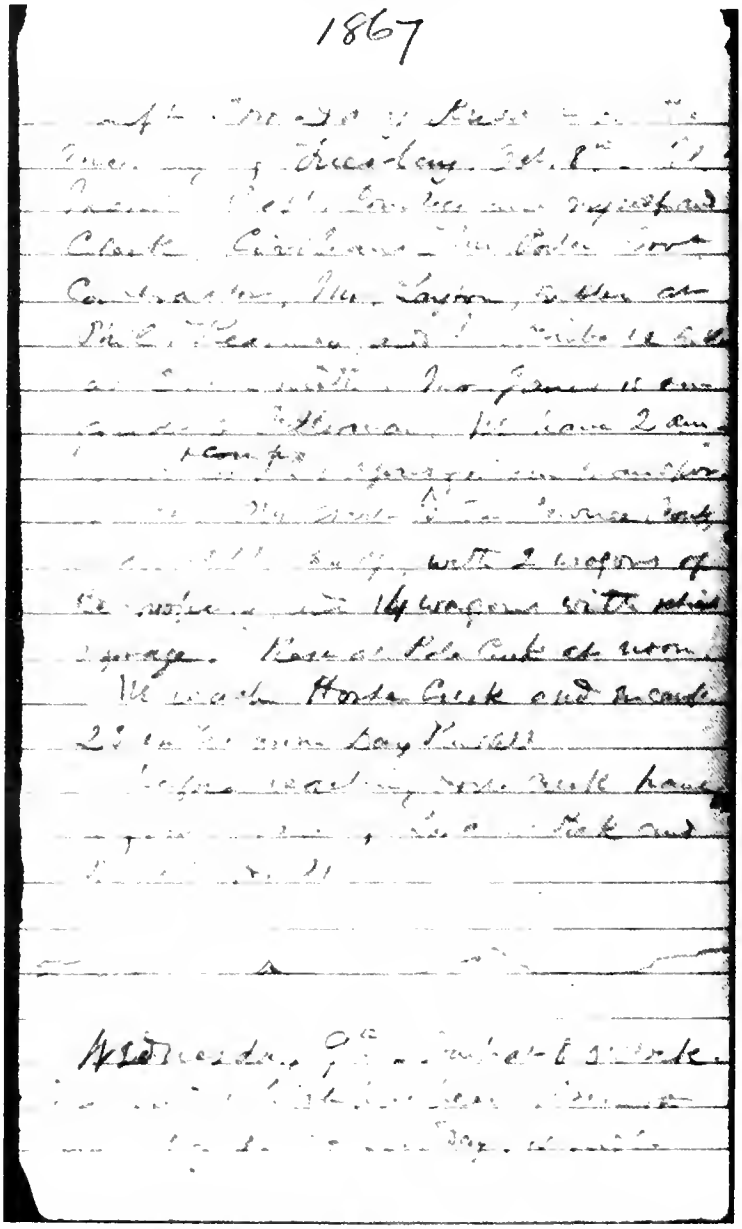
[8] No mention of the paper was found in any of the following publications: *Sheridan County Heritage Book*, Section on Sheridan Newspapers (1983), Charles W. Popovich, *Sheridan Wyoming - Selected Historical Articles* - Section on Newspaper History, (1997); Elizabeth Keen, *Wyoming's Frontier Newspapers*, (1956); Velma Linford, *Wyoming Frontier State*, (1947), and Wyoming Press Association, *Wyoming Newspapers - A Centennial History*, (1990)

[9] Wyoming Society of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, *Men of Wyoming from Original Manuscripts* 111 (1965 Jubilee edition), 32; Bollinger, *Jim Gatchell*, 6.

*Gil Bollinger is author of Jim Gatchell-The Man and the Museum, (Buffalo: Gatchell Museum, 1999). As the article indicates, he is a volunteer at the Gatchell Museum and a specialist on the early history of Buffalo and Johnson County. This feature on newly discovered collections will become a regular part of Annals.*

# Robert Dunlap Clarke – Diarist on the Bozeman Trail

By
Eric J. Harmon




A diary from the fall of 1867 describing a U.S. Cavalry supply expedition has come to light, and its author possessed all of the qualities we could wish.

The author was Major Robert Dunlap Clarke, paymaster for the troops stationed at the Army posts on the Bozeman Trail in present-day Wyoming and southern Montana. The diary has 55 daily entries comprising 129 handwritten diary pages covering October 8 through November 30, 1867, from the expedition's departure until its return to the starting point, Fort D.A. Russell (now Warren Air Force Base at Cheyenne). The diary also contains 48 sketches of people and places along the trail, of which 16 were drawn in colored pencil. At the back of the 1867 diary are 45 pages of short narratives that appear to be Clarke's transcriptions of campfire stories, personal history, and anecdotes on the Sioux, Cheyenne, and other plains tribes told to him by Nicholas Janis, who was the guide and interpreter on the expedition. Also included at the back of the diary are a mileage log of his Bozeman Trail journey, and other notes and untitled sketches.

Clarke also kept a second diary on a subsequent expedition on the Bozeman Trail covering the period May 12 through July 23, 1868. This diary contains 26 entries and is relatively short, but contains many good-quality sketches of the same route, as if Clarke decided to concentrate on sketches instead of writing on his second trip up the Bozeman Trail.

The 1867 diary came into my hands through the collection of my late father, Donald L. Harmon of Sterling, Colorado. On Christmas Eve, 1997 my brother Scott was looking through Dad's large and disorderly accumulation of books and papers, found the diary, and brought it to my attention. We spent a little time looking through it; just enough to know that he had found an old diary that might be interesting to browse through. Scott let me have the diary, knowing of my interest in Western history.

Upon returning home to Lakewood, Colorado, after Christmas, I began to transcribe the diary. By the second or third night of transcribing into the wee hours (by then I was hooked!) it became evident that the diary was a clear account of an Army paymaster's experiences on the Bozeman Trail in 1867. After becoming used to Clarke's casual and, at times, smudged script (the diary was written in pencil), the first draft of the transcription took me only about a week of long evenings. The story unfolded on the diary pages almost as if I had been with Clarke, in the shadows of a campfire on the cold trail, listening to the cavalry officers and their guide telling yarns under the autumn stars.

*In the evening, as usual, after the evening meal, and while gathered around the blazing camp fire, the time passes with a brisk interchange of droll wit and stories of adventures in the Army, of Indian manners and customs and Indian names. The Pawnees are very lively in their camp this evening, and the air resounds with the merry laughter of the young braves.*[1]

However, I had no idea who wrote the diary. At no point in the diary did Major Clarke identify himself by name, nor is the diary titled, other than "1867" before the first entry. Far along in the diary, on the return trip back to Cheyenne, is the following entry:

*Col. Merrill sends a despatch to Fetterman this evening, for Omaha. I take occasion to request Genl. Alvord to inform Mrs. R.D.C. at Kenosha, care of Thomas Bond.*[2]

Using these initials and "Bozeman Trail" as a search string, on New Year's Eve, 1997, I went hunting on the World Wide Web for any clues as to who "R.D.C." might have been, small chance though there seemed to be of finding anything useful. Almost immediately, the website for the American Heritage Center, at the University of Wyoming in Laramie, popped up on the computer monitor. The AHC has the 1868 Clarke diary in its collections, and has posted several of the later diary entries, along with some of Clarke's sketches, on its website.[3]

The resemblance between my 1867 diary and the 1868 diary at AHC was unmistakable. I contacted the AHC staff and arranged to visit to compare the two diaries. On January 10, 1998, my son Clay and I visited the AHC, and compared the two diaries side by side. Aided in the comparison by Rick Ewig and D. C. Thompson of the AHC, we had no question that the 1867 diary was the work of Major Clarke.

After the enjoyment of transcribing the diary, I wanted to make sure that it became available for others interested in Wyoming history. Also, it seemed appropriate that the 1867 and 1868 Clarke diaries should be together. To that end, in April, 1998, my family and I donated the original 1867 diary to the American Heritage Center where it is now part of the Robert Dunlap Clarke collection.

The 1867 Clarke diary came to be in my father's collection in Sterling, Colorado, through his longtime friendship with the Casement family, also of Sterling. Upon retiring from cattle ranching northwest of Sterling in 1965, Jack and Xenia Casement moved to a

[1] "October 12," Robert Dunlap Clarke diary. The party was camped at the mouth of Horseshoe Creek near present Glendo.

[2] Diary entry of November 14, 1867.

[3] www.uwyo.edu/ahc/digital/clarke/

house in town about a block from my parent's house, where I grew up. Jack died in 1972, and Xenia in 1989.[4] On many evenings in the 1970's and 1980's, my father liked to take a walk around the neighborhood. Often he would stop at the Casement house and "sling the bull" for a while with Xenia and, I suspect, have a drop of whiskey to burnish the glow on their memories. They would talk over old times. On several occasions, Xenia gave Dad old books from their collection. Dad had an interest in Western history, but I believe he simply forgot he had the diary; not unusual for an inveterate packrat of his long experience. In any case, he forgot to tell me about it. The diary lay on his bookshelves until my brother found it about eight months after Dad died.

Robert Dunlap Clarke was born in Brownsville, in southwestern Pennsylvania, in 1818.[5] I have not been able to determine the exact date of his birth, nor have I found a photo of Clarke. Records indicate that a Robert Dunlap Clarke matriculated in the "grammar school," roughly equivalent to a prep school, of Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, in the 1857-1858 school year, but it is noted in Kenyon's archives that he was "dismissed." No reason was given for his dismissal, though it seems odd that a man of 40 would attend a "grammar school."[6] Casement family history holds that he graduated from Kenyon College,[7] but if so, Kenyon's archives have no record of it.[8]

Robert Dunlap Clarke enlisted in a volunteer regiment for the Union Army, probably from Ohio or his native Pennsylvania, and received an appointment as Assistant Paymaster on August 12, 1863, at the age of 45. He was breveted[9] lieutenant colonel on March 13, 1865 "for faithful and meritorious service."[10] He vacated his commission in the volunteers on January 17, 1867, and the same day reenlisted as an Army regular, receiving again a commission at the rank of major and an appointment as paymaster.[11] Clarke wrote a tongue in cheek and somewhat pedantic poem (only one of many authored by him, it turned out) about the end of his Civil War service, entitled "I'm Mustered Out."[12]

I'm Mustered Out
by R.D.C.

The pride, and pomp, and circumstance
Of glorious war"at length are done;
The Reb's have ceased their Devil's dance –
"Othello's occupation's gone."
I twirl my thumbs and mope about-
Alas! Alas! I'm mustered out.

I joined the service with the thought
I'd quit it with a warrior's name-
For this I struggled, suffered, fought,
All burning with ambition's flame.
My dreams of fame are o'er, I doubt,
For now, alas! I'm mustered out.

Farewell the bars! Farewell the stars!
The sparkling leaves, and eagles too!
I loved you all, ye gifts of Mars,
And bid you now a sad adieu –
I'm bound for home "the shortest route"* -
I'm mustered out, I'm mustered out.

No more for me the grand array,
The drill, review, the dress parade –
The fever of the mad'ning fray –
the contest fierce of ball and blade.
the carbine's ring, the trooper's shout
I'll hear no more – I'm mustered out.

The tale, the song, the jocund roar
Will pass no more the camp-fire round,
Played out is "ante" and no more
Shall "Commissary's" draught abound.
Why COULDN'T General Lee hold out?
Confound it all! - I'm mustered out.

No battle now but that of "life," –
(To fight the Rebs I'd much prefer) –
Sweet Ada said she'd be my wife,
But now forbids me think of her.
Whene'er I speak she seems to pout,
My hopes are fled – I'm mustered out.

* In reckoning the traveling allowances to discharged officers or soldiers, the distance is to be estimated by the shortest mail route; if there is no mail route, by the shortest practicable route. – Army Paymaster's Manual, Par. 615.[13]

[4] Obituary, "Xenia Francesca Louisa Marghetic Casement," *Sterling* (Colorado) *Journal-Advocate*, July 28, 1989.

[5] Army pension records, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[6] Jami Peele, archival librarian, Kenyon College, communication with author, 1997.

[7] Letter, Mary Casement Furlong, elder sister of Jack Casement, and evidently the keeper of the family records, to Dr. Gene Gressley, February 3, 1962. This correspondence is part of the Casement collection at the American Heritage Center.

[8] Peele communication. The only other student of that surname listed in Kenyon's archives for the period 1830-1870 was an Abel Clarke, with no known connection to our Bozeman Trail diarist. Abel Clarke is recorded as having matriculated with the class of 1839, but there is no record that he graduated.

[9] "Breveting" was a means of rewarding an officer who had given excellence in service, by conferring an honorary rank (generally without an increase in pay).

[10] From the archives of Fort Laramie National Historic Site, provided to me by Sandra Lowry, librarian.

[11] Army pension records, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

From one of his diary entries, it appears Clarke had had occasion to travel as far south as Galveston, Texas. The trip was made in his service for the Union Army during the Civil War.[14]

Upon reenlistment, Clarke evidently was posted to the Pay Department of the Army of the Platte, under the command of General Alvord. From his diary, Clarke apparently was stationed in Omaha at the time of his 1867 and 1868 troop payment expeditions on the Bozeman Trail. He may have ridden a train on the brand-new Union Pacific Railroad as far as Cheyenne to begin his journey, as it was completed to that point not many weeks prior to his arrival.

Clarke married Mary Evans Willson, and the couple had three children: a son, Alpheus Clarke, and two daughters, Sarah Robertina Clarke and Eliza Willson Clarke.[15] Major Clarke retired from Army service on June 30, 1882, at the mandatory retirement age of 64, and lived in Washington, D.C., until his death on April 7, 1891 at the age of 73.[16] He would have been 49 or 50 at the time of his expeditions on the Bozeman Trail. He is buried at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, about 20 miles from his birthplace.[17]

Through his daughter Eliza's marriage, Clarke was associated with other prominent Army families in the early West. Eliza married Major Thomas Tipton Thornburg, who later became commander of Fort Fred Steele, located on the North Platte River east of present Rawlins, Wyoming.

Their only child, Mary Olivia Thornburg, was born at the home of Mary Olivia's grandfather, Major Clarke, in Washington, D. C., in 1874. The year Olivia was five, on October 5, 1879, Major Thornburg was killed in the Milk Creek Battle in northwest Colorado during the Ute wars.[18] Olivia married Dan Dillon Casement on December 1, 1897.[19] Dan D. Casement was the son of General John S. (Jack) Casement. After the Civil War, General Casement led the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad through present Nebraska and most of Wyoming. Olivia and Dan Dillon Casement had three children: Mary Casement (Furlong) in 1898, Frances Casement in 1907, and John S. (Jack) Casement in 1908.

The 1868 Clarke diary was donated to the University of Wyoming by Mrs. Furlong in the 1960s.[20] The 1867 diary was given to my father by Jack Casement's widow Xenia. Separated for many years, Clarke's two Bozeman Trail diaries now are held in the collections of the American Heritage Center in Laramie.

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Fall, 1867 was mild in Wyoming, and except for the persistent wind and a few days of miserable winter weather near the end of the trip, Clarke and his cohorts enjoyed nearly ideal conditions for their payment and supply expedition to the Army posts on the Bozeman Trail.

> *Left Fort Davy Russell on the morning of Tuesday, Oct. 8th. Col. Merrill, Capt. Courley, and myself and Clerk. Civilians- Mr. Porter, Govt. Contractor, Mr. Layton, Sutler at Phil Kearny, and Mr. Kimball, Sutler at C.F. Smith. Mr. Janis is our guide to Fetterman. We have 2 ambulances & 3 wagons for our transportation. Our escort is the Pawnee Scouts, Maj. Norton Comdg., with 2 wagons of Co. property, and 14 wagons with rations & forage. Rest at Pole Creek at noon. We reach Horse Creek and encamp 23 miles from Davy Russell.*[21]

Moving north from Cheyenne, the expedition struck Chugwater Creek, and followed the valley of the Chug downstream to the confluence with the Laramie River, where they camped on the third night out. From there, the party moved northwest following the Oregon Trail along the North Platte River and the high, broken coun-

[12] After finding the 1867 diary among my father's papers, we kept looking and found the poem attributed to R.D.C. in a small packet of loose Clarke sketches (though none of the Bozeman Trail).

[13] This poem was found, looseleaf and undated but professionally printed on paper bearing a United States eagle watermark, among my father's papers, along with some miscellaneous sketches of the West by Clarke (not on the Bozeman Trail; primarily on the Overland Trail and what I believe to be early Omaha). The note concerning traveling allowances was included as part of the printed poem. On the bottom of the page is a handwritten note in Mary Casement Furlong's hand, stating: "This was written shortly after the Civil War by Robert Dunlap Clarke. He reentered service as a Major and Army Paymaster shortly afterwards." I have found no record detailing his Civil War service, although I think it is doubtful that the author of a poem so flowery and romantic about the Civil War could have experienced much front-line action.

[14] From diary entry of November 5, 1867, excerpted later in this article.

[15] Letter from Mary Casement Furlong to Dr. Gene Gressley, dated April 12, 1962. (AHC Casement collection.

[16] Army pension records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

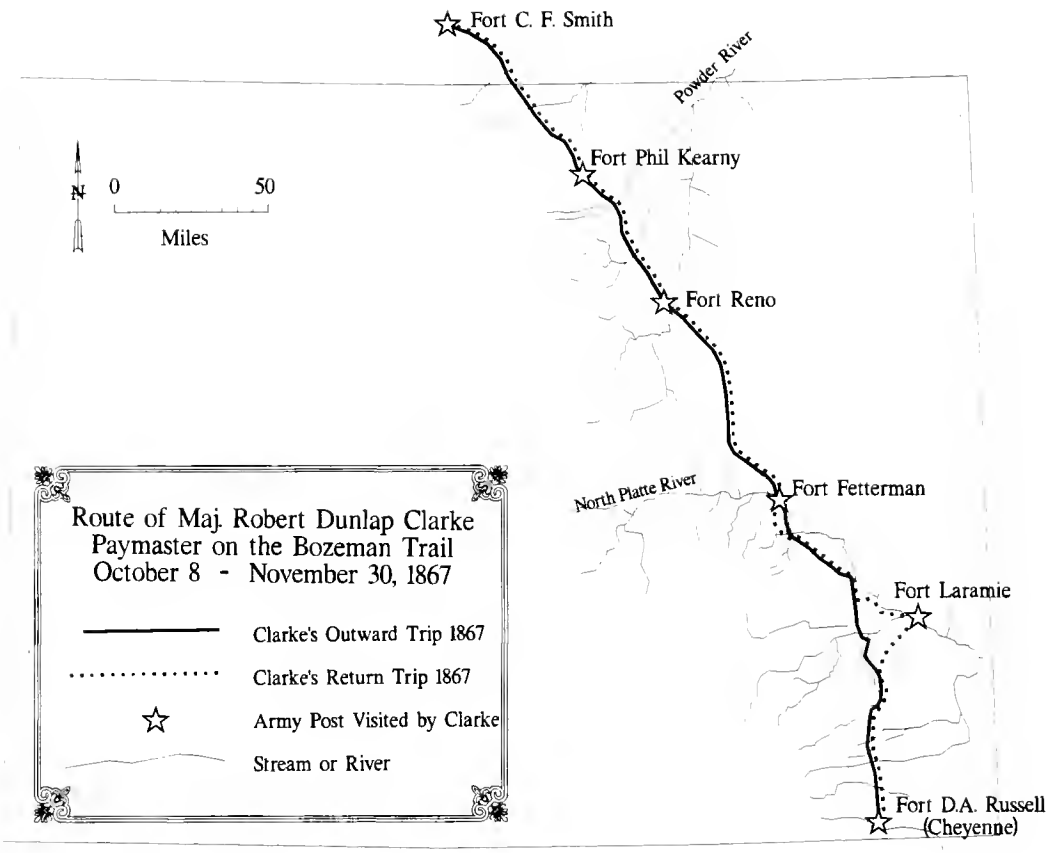
[17] Mary Casement Furlong to Professor Gressley, April 12, 1962.

[18] M. W. Rankin, "The Meeker Massacre," *Annals of Wyoming* 16 (1944), 104-105.

[19] Dan D. Casement, *Dan Dillon Casement -The Abbreviated Autobiography of a Joyous Pagan.* (Manhattan, Kansas: privately printed, 1944), 74.

[20] "Heritage Highlights," American Heritage Center, (Spring 1998). See also: http://www.uwyo.edu/ahc/hh/spring98/part4.htm

[21] Diary entry for October 8, 1867.




try around LaBonte Creek and Wagonhound Creek as far as Fort Fetterman, about eight miles northwest of present Douglas. They reached Fort Fetterman, the southern terminus of the Bozeman Trail, on October 14, their seventh day out from Cheyenne.

> *At 5 p.m. arrive at Ft. Fetterman and proceed to camping ground above the mouth of LaPrele (riches) and on the North Platte. The Platte is here a broad and full stream, very clean, and yet low within its banks. By the clear moonlight it is pleasant to listen to its brawling as it passes over the stones at the crossing. The cottonwood (bitter) are large and abundant though many also of smaller growth.*[22]

From Fort Fetterman, the expedition followed the Bozeman Trail northwest, crossing Sage Creek, Brown's Springs Creek, and other tributaries of the Cheyenne River, crossed the low divide into the Powder River watershed, and followed the Dry Fork of the Powder, skirting west of the Pumpkin Buttes in present Campbell County. They followed the Bozeman Trail as it skirted the foothills of the east flank of the Bighorn Mountains, stopping briefly at Fort Reno and Fort Phil Kearny. The expedition moved relatively quickly for a mule-drawn supply train, averaging about 25 miles per day. They would stop longer on the return trip so Clarke could pay the troops. The expedition then continued on to its furthest point, Fort C.F. Smith, overlooking the Big Horn River in what is now southern Montana. They reached that goal on October 27, 1867, 21 days after departing Fort D. A. Russell at Cheyenne.

> *At 12 O'clock we descry the post, situated on the right bank of the Big Horn, and with mountains (the Big Horn) on the West and South. Make camp about a mile north of the post. Take the opportunity of a thorough wash, and visit the post in the afternoon in my ambulance. See the adjutant, Templeton, and arrange to have the rolls got up in time. The adjutant introduces me to Genl. Bradley, who is very courteous, inviting me to make my quarters at the post.*[23]

With few exceptions, Clarke described his reception by the soldiers on the Bozeman Trail posts as very cordial and outgoing. Perhaps this is not surprising: Clarke held the purse strings of the pay for every officer and enlisted man at these Army posts. Also, the sutlers[24] and their newly-arrived goods gave the soldiers some-

[22] Excerpt from diary entry of October 14, 1867.
[23] Excerpt from diary entry of October 27, 1867.
[24] A sutler is a civilian merchant in the business of selling miscellaneous goods to military personnel.

thing to spend their wages on. The arrival of the supply train and the paymaster must have been a long-anticipated and welcome break in the monotony of Army life at the remote Bozeman Trail forts.

*Thursday – Oct. 31st. – Pay three Cos. this morning after 10 A.M. and by 1 P.M. and the other two in the afternoon. The wind sprung up early, and sent the dust through my tent. It soon became untenantable, and I made my payments in the Commissary's Office.*[25]

Clarke's 1867 expedition had only one skirmish of arms with the Native Americans who hated the Bozeman Trail and what it represented. Clarke, however, was lucky enough to avoid the skirmish, the Shirley fight, which happened only a few miles from Fort Phil Kearny on the return trip.

*Firing of a mountain howitzer heard in the direction of the old road, and it is feared that Lt. Shirley and his party are faring badly. Arrive at 3 ½ at Fort Phil Kearny, and am assigned quarters at the post. The tents are pitched outside the stockade. Take dinner with Lieut. Connally. Excellent coffee. Make up three sets of Co. rolls this evening.*[26]

*Tuesday – Nov. 5th. Made up the rest of the Co. rolls, and pay officers today. Dine with Lieut. Tillotson, whom I paid on muster-out at Galveston, Texas. Last night after we had gone to bed, Lieut. McArthur came in with the information that Lieut. Shirley's party had been attacked, and that 2 men had been killed and six wounded. They took the old road, and we the new, so that we did not meet. The Indians got _____ wagons, with the stock. They got 2/3 of Leighton's goods, and it is said they all went off with red blankets, &c.*[27]

The expedition returned to Cheyenne over virtually the same route it had taken on the outward trip, with one notable exception. On the return journey, Clarke and the rest made a side trip to Fort Laramie to pay the troops stationed there before proceeding south to Fort D. A. Russell.

*At 4 ½ P.M. arrive at the post [Fort Laramie]. Stop at Mr. Ward's – the Sutler – who, with Mr. Bullock, is very kind, inviting me to take my meals [with] them during my stay. He introduces me to Maj. Howland, commanding the post, who assigns me quarters in the Headqr. building. He is exceedingly kind and obliging, with his own hands assisting in preparing the room for my reception. Col. Merrill camps just outside on the parade ground. Get tea at Mr. Ward's this evening. Most excellent coffee, butter, bread, and beefsteak. How fortunate, how favored have we been! We have hardly got into quarters before a storm is rising and the wind roars in the wide old fashioned chimney.*[28]

Major Clarke and the rest of the expedition arrived at Fort D.A. Russell on November 28, and presumably Clarke departed for Omaha about December 1, 1867, after finishing some personal business. He was finding a buyer for several lots he evidently owned in the raw, new railroad town of Cheyenne.

*Thursday Nov. 28th. - Wet heavy snow storm commences about midnight in the night, and continues this morning. We leave camp about 8 ½ and proceed through the storm, which increases in violence till we reach Cheyenne at 2 P.M., or rather Davy Russell. We camp at the new corral at Col Carlin's. The storm abates but it is cold. We passed between the Chug and Pole Creek, Bear Creek, three dry creeks and Horse Creek.*[29]

*Nov. 29th. - It froze hard last night, but this morning the sun shins out pleasantly, and it is even warm. Go down to Cheyenne for the purpose of selling my lots. Find lots dull – cannot even get an offer. Mr. Whitehead will see tomorrow what can be done. He think 900 bonus is as much as I could expect to get on them all.*[30]

*Saturday Novr 30th. Find ourselves reduced to bread, coffee, & tomatoes for breakfast. Col. Merrill's provision of supplies, thought to be ample, runs suddenly out. Mr. Glass, the cook, having feathered his nest by the way by entertaining citizens at our expense, and since his arrival here getting drunk and running away.*[31]

One of the colorful and better-known characters on Major Clarke's 1867 Bozeman Trail journey was Nicholas Janis, guide and interpreter. Janis lived with his Sioux wife at Fort Laramie, where for many years he made a living as guide and interpreter for the Army.[32] Janis and his brother Antoine were signatory witnesses of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, for which they also acted in the capacity of interpreters.[33] Clarke appar-

[25] Excerpt from diary entry of October 31, 1867.
[26] Excerpt from diary entry of November 4, 1867.
[27] Diary entry of November 5, 1867.
[28] Excerpt from diary entry of November 20, 1867.
[29] Diary entry for November 28, 1867.
[30] Diary entry for November 29, 1867.
[31] Excerpt of diary entry for November 30, 1867, the last page of Clarke's 1867 diary.
[32] Sandra Lowry, librarian, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, communication with author, 1997.
[33] http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/

ently spent many evenings on the Bozeman Trail expedition listening to Janis regale the officers with tales of personal history (no doubt embellished in the Jim Bridger tradition) and Indian lore.

> *Janis is to go to Fort Laramie tonight and return by tomorrow evening. Janis relates his adventures in Kansas, at St. Louis, and at Peru, Ill. I write by him to Mary.*[34]

Clarke transcribed many of Janis' tales in the back of his diary. The majority of these stories relate folklore, names, and cultural practices of plains tribes, particularly the Sioux. Notables among these are detailed descriptions of the Sun Dance and the Contrary Society. Also included in the Janis narratives, set down by Clarke in a vernacular presumably close to Janis' own, is a description of Janis' adventures in Kansas during the bloody struggles over whether that State should be slave or free.

> *Well, said I. I got on to Lawrence, and as I was very much afraid of being taken up for an abolitionist or Proslavery man, I was very anxious to get off in the stage that morning. I got off, and got to Westport*[35]*. It so happened the Western Belle, Steamer, was in port, and I knew the Capt and Clerk. I was afraid the Abolitionists or Proslavery men would take me up, and I wanted to go on his boat. I went on board and we set off, but when we got opposite _____ a gun was fired from shore. Said I, Capt, what is that for? He said they were going to search the boat for abolitionists. O, My God, said I, Captain, I'll be taken again. You must hide me, so I went into my state room and locked myself up. In the morning the Capt told me all was right. They had been on board and searched the boat, and let her pass. So I got off. but O My God, I never knowed such a time.*[36]

In addition to transcription of Janis' stories of Native Americans, Clarke wrote his own reactions to encounters with members of several tribes. With regard to the Crows, of whom a party estimated at 500 to 600 followed Clarke's expedition northward through the Tongue River Country (of course, also the Crows' home region), Clarke had this to say:

> *The grotesque costumes, and personal appearance of these wild people, thus seen in their own country, excited in the visitor a feeling of high curiosity. They show great ingenuity in ornamenting their cases for their arms, their guns & bow-cases, their leggings and Stirrups, as well as their head-dresses. Some of the latter were very grotesque. Our man wore a simple piece of birch bark with a hole cut in the centre with scollops which turned up over the head, and with a long projection in front. Another, the one with Crazy Head, had a Grant hat with a string of red and yellow worsted around it. One Indian had red hair, not painted so, and one was excessively corpulent. The women rode their ponies seated like the men, and all had short handled whips with buckskin thongs, which they continually applied to the animals.*[37]

With regard to the Sioux (Lakota) during the tense months of late 1867, less than three months after the Wagon Box Fight near Fort Phil Kearny, Clarke's words reflect the mutual suspicion and distrust between the Lakota and the cavalry on the Bozeman Trail:

> *A Sioux makes his appearance on a hill above us this morning, and stands like a picket awaiting our movement. Get off about 8 A.M. The Sioux proves to be three in number. Janis went over to see the first one and converse with him. He declined to come into the camp, saying that he was afraid he would be shot. The Sioux kept away until we had left camp when 7 or 8 of them were seen visiting the camp ground and gathering up the corn and other articles of small value left there. They did not make any demonstration whatever. But they will doubtless hang around and annoy us whenever they can. The apprehension was particularly that they would attempt to stampede the stock in order to get some of the animals.*[38]

In later years, Clarke amused himself by publishing a thin volume of tongue in cheek writings titled *The Works of Sitting Bull - in the Original French and Latin, With Translations, Diligently Compared.*[39] The volume contains a number of flowery poems and letters, ostensibly from a "secret correspondence" by Chief Sitting Bull. The letters and poems were written in German, French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin, along with their English translations. One verse of a poem simply entitled "Sapphic Poem" runs as follows:

> *Oh! ye renowned Commissioners, who from*
> *The Great Father with proposals come*
> *For our acceptance, quicken now your pace.*

[34] Excerpt from diary entry of October 10, 1867.
[35] present Kansas City, KS.
[36] Excerpt from Janis narratives, 1867 Clarke diary.
[37] Excerpt from diary entry of October 25, 1867.
[38] Excerpt from diary entry of October 26, 1867.
[39] R. D. Clarke, *The Works of Sitting Bull* (Chicago: Knight and Leonard, 1878), 12. The book was reprinted as *The Sitting Bull Fraud* (Bryan, Texas: John M. Carroll, 1978). A copy of the latter is held in the collections of the Denver Public Library Western History Department.

*Although I sue not for an act of grace,*
*I don't decline. Besides, up here, methinks,*
*It is a fearful interval 'tween drinks.*[40]

The work lampoons and does a disservice to the great Hunkpapa leader and holy man. However, taken on its own merits "The Works of Sitting Bull" speaks of a career Army officer who may have been bored with military life by that point in his career, and decided to exercise his literary pretensions and show off his facility with languages.[41] By the time the work was published in 1878, Clarke was 60 years old, and probably was stationed in Washington, D.C. He may, therefore, have written the work with nostalgia for his Western experiences of a decade earlier, or to amuse his family and fellow officers.

Despite the obvious hard, daily work of traveling the Bozeman Trail and paying the troops, however, Clarke's fascination and delight with the natural world shone through his writing and sketches. He was observant, and took pains to record his observations of the plants, animals, and geology of the country traveled by the expedition.

*Three species of Sage plant have now come under my notice. One is the kind with full formed leaves, somewhat laciniate [sic] growing on distinct stalks. Another is the bush kind, which no matter how small the plant, grows with ramifications right out from the ground, and has a general ragged appearance. The third sort grows in bunches with numerous small curly leaves. They appear to have all the same sensible properties.*[42]

Major Clarke's diary shows he had prior training in French and geology, because his diary is peppered with French words and with descriptive terms commonly used only by geologists.[43]

*The hunt for agates is still kept up, and involves us in geological dispute, in which mica, feldspar, hornblende, gneiss, granite, quartz, and greenstone (greenhorne) play the a.b.c. of the Stone book....*[44]

*... By the way, near the roughest hills, found some outcropping of the kind surrounding white clay buttes of the Mauvaises terres.*[45] *The rocks at Fetterman, and along our route to-day, have the appearance common to this country, of having been subject to igneous action. Before reaching the old road pass between buttes of Venetian red or Spanish brown color, and the ground on that plain is for several miles of either a madder or bright brick color. The mountains observed along the road sides are very ragged in outline, and Laramie Peak, with the range of the Rocky, raises its sierra, deeply indented and sharply defined, against the sky. Light clouds of bright red, mixed with white hang around the mountain at sunset, and the blue at the horizon is a little yellowed by the departing rays.*[46]

Despite being well into middle age, Clarke reacted like a greenhorn with a severe case of "buck fever" (in this case, buffalo and grizzly fever). One of the most entertaining passages in the diary is Clarke's account of getting lost while trying to hunt bull buffalo on foot in the vicinity of Little Goose Creek, in present Sheridan County.

*I fired three shots at the herd which I first attacked, all too far for any but a practiced marksman, which I was not. I got one more, but equally remote, and failed again. Still the apparent facility of reaching some new herd, proved a fresh temptation to further pursuit, and I thus kept on till I had passed without any great fatigue over 7 or 8 miles of ground. I generally followed the buffalo trails, which almost everywhere afforded a comparatively easy footing. They led me once into what appeared before I entered it, to be a narrow patch of brush on a small stream. When I entered it, however, I found it continuously extending into a dense growth of small Cottonwoods willow and jungle. It was a likely place for a Sioux or grizzly, and the thought infused me with a sense of my temerity. When some way in, under the influence of this feeling I would have returned, but it appeared as dangerous now to go back as forward.*[47]

The day before the buffalo misadventure, Clarke had chased a young grizzly on foot with only an Army issue Colt cap and ball revolver.

*I seized my Colt and hastened down the road hoping to get a shot at him as he passed. It was a small grizzly, and it is said to be very dangerous to attack them on foot, as, if the animal is only wounded, he becomes very troublesome to his hunters. A pistol is not the thing for a bruin of this clan...*[48]

[40] Clarke, *The Works of Sitting Bull*, 12.

[41] Mary Casement Furlong to Dr. Gene Gressley, February 3, 1962: "He (Clarke) was a student of languages, graduating from Kenyon College."

[42] Excerpt from diary entry of October 12, 1867.

[43] Discovering this aspect of Clarke's character was particularly enjoyable to me, because I am a geologist.

[44] Excerpt from diary entry of October 12, 1867.

[45] The words translate as "Badlands."

[46] Excerpt from diaryentry of November 18, 1867.

[47] Excerpt from diary entry of October 24, 1867.

[48] Excerpt from diary entry of October 23, 1867.

After being gently rebuked by the commanding officer of the expedition for his foolishness, Clarke and a colleague decided to engage in a slightly tamer amusement upon reaching camp on the Tongue River:

> *It was but 2 p.m. when we got in, and on Col. Merrill's proposition I accompanied him on a piscatory excursion. We had hooks and lines, and the Col. a connoisseur in the art, quickly manufactured a fly for bait, one of the officers furnishing the red lining of his pocket book for the purpose and the Col. finding the blue in a piece of his Cavalry pants. A mule was also taxed a few hairs from his main or tail. We had also raw buffalo meat. Thus equipped, and with ample supplies of pipes and tobacco, we set out. We procured poles from the willows at the stream. Perversely as it sometimes happens when you have made the most thorough preparations to leave no excuse for that not happening which you wish to happen, either there were no fish in the stream or the season was too late to tempt them to take the bait. A beautiful mountain brook is the Tongue, and it rushes with arrowy swiftness and with water cold pure and perfectly translucent, over its pebbly bed. It is making sweet music upon the night air as I pen these lines in its presence.*[49]

Clarke provided excellent descriptions, by word and sketch, of the expedition route and campsites, although it is disappointing that his drawings of the army posts on the Bozeman Trail were perfunctory at best. His interest appeared to lie in describing and sketching nature, not the Army posts which must have seemed mundane and commonplace after experiencing the views of the immense prairies and mountain ranges on the journey.

Clarke kept a daily mileage log at the back of his diary for the entire trip, from a wagon-wheel odometer. I have found his recorded distances generally to be within 20% of the same distances measured on a topographic map, where I was able to ascertain his route closely. Clarke also referenced the key landmarks of the journey very often in his daily diary entries. The three great landmarks of the Bozeman Trail, often referenced and described by Clarke, were Laramie Peak in the Laramie Range (referred to as the "Black Hills" in the 1867 diary), Pumpkin Buttes, located in present Campbell County, and, of course, the Big Horn Mountains.

> *Left camp this morning at 6 ½, traveling by row march to Brown's Springs, which we reached at a little before 2 P.M. The weather is pleasant, sunny, but the wind from the west cold & raw, have to drop the side curtain of my wagon. More of the wind-shaped rock, or siliceous formations, at points along the road, particularly in ravines and the points of hills. Cross the creek and rest for the wagons. Reach the Humphreyville's Creek about 11 ½, having before stopped for lunch. See the Laramie Peak, at the same time with the Pumpkin Buttes in the forenoon. The Big Horn no longer visible.*[50]

It is easy to picture Major Clarke writing in his small, tan diary by candlelight in his tent after each day's adventures.

> *We encamp some 1 or 2 miles from the Post on Big Piney. We are in a vale surrounded by high hills, with the mountains rising above on one side some 7 or 8 miles distant. The Big Piney a wild mountain torrent brawling over boulders of primitive rock.*[51]

Even with the daily routine, the wind and cold, and the weariness of long days traveling and paying the troops, Clarke still found energy to record, in words and pictures, his impressions of the journey and his surroundings on the Bozeman Trail. Wyoming history is richer for Major Clarke's efforts.

[49] Excerpt from diary entry of October 24, 1867.
[50] Excerpt from diary entry of November 14, 1867.
[51] Excerpt from diary entry of October 22, 1867.

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# Marvin Lord Bishop, Sr., Pioneer Sheep Rancher (1861-1939)

By Jefferson Glass

Bishop Family Home Collection, 818 E. 2nd, Casper

*The Bishop family, March 14, 1916, celebrating wedding of Katherine Elvira "Kittie" Bishop to James A. Elliott. Left, front: Katherine Bishop Elliott. Seated, left to right: Jerome Travis Bishop, Leona "Lona" Bishop, Marvin Lord Bishop Sr., Lillian Leona Bishop, John Peale Bishop, Marie "Pink" Bishop, Lilas May Bishop Burns. Standing: Marguerite "Rete" Bishop, Marvin Lord Bishop Jr. Seated at her father's feet, Lois Lucile Bishop.*

The founder of the Natrona County Woolgrowers Association, Marvin L. Bishop, arrived in Casper, Wyoming as the newly appointed postmaster on September 1, 1892. During his career, Bishop also was instrumental in the development of the "Stock Trail" system of Central Wyoming.

He was born November 3, 1861, in Binghamton, Broome County, New York, to John Titus and Margaret Catherine (Peale) Bishop. His parents were natives of Virginia and returned to that state following the Civil War.[1] Marvin Bishop was raised and educated in Virginia and had ambitions of becoming an attorney. His pursuit of this vocation, however, was interrupted because his family could not afford the cost of educating both Marvin and his brother, John Peale Bishop. As a result, Marvin taught school to provide financial help so that his brother could complete medical school.

When he left his boyhood home in Elkton, Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley, Marvin Bishop was a young man fascinated with the west. In the early 1880's he went to New York where he worked briefly with merchant John Wannamaker. Soon, he moved west to Chicago, Illinois, where he took a job with Marshall Field.[2]

[1] Cora M. Beach, *Women of Wyoming*. (Casper: S. E. Boyer & Company, 1927), 351.

[2] Susan Bishop, *The Bishop Family Home*, (*Application for Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places*, May 2000), 18.

In 1884 he continued on west to settle in Gates County, Nebraska, where he entered the real estate business. It was there that he met the young schoolteacher, Leona A. "Lona" Hathaway, who became his wife.[3]

Born January 14, 1867, in Springfield, Illinois, to John and Elvira (Shaw) Hathaway, Lona moved to Nebraska with her parents in 1887. There, she taught school. She married Marvin Lord Bishop on June 21, 1888, in Kimball, Nebraska. A year later, the young couple moved on to Cheyenne, Wyoming, with their baby daughter, Lilas May Bishop. The family lived in Cheyenne and a second daughter, Katherine Elvira Bishop, was born there.[4]

At that time, Marvin was a Democrat. The young State of Wyoming was populated by a Republican majority, but consistent with the patronage method of selecting postmasters, Grover Cleveland, the newly elected Democratic President, sought out a member of his own party to fill the seat of postmaster in Casper. Bishop accepted the political appointment and the responsibility with honor and vigorous devotion.[5]

Casper was a four-year-old community of fewer than 1,000 people in 1892. With the arrival of the Bishop family that September, the population grew by four. In the early days, the post office was located in the center of the business district on the east side of Center Street between what is now Second Street and Midwest Avenue. The postmaster received a salary of $50 per month. Later, as the town grew, the rate went up to $100 per month. Yet, even in the standards of the day, this was modest compensation for keeping the office open from 7 a.m. until 9 p.m. Mail service was of critical importance in those days. It was the principal means of communication for the majority of the remote western communities. Postmasters often operated some sort of business in conjunction with the postal operation to subsidize their salary.[6] Bishop had M. L. Bishop's Cash Store and advertised his "Fine Family Groceries." He also carried dry goods, hardware, ammunition, candy and chewing gum.[7]

John Brognard "J. B." Okie, a notable sheepman who had settled on Badwater Creek some ten years earlier, recalled the misery of receiving mail in that era, remembering having to travel "130 miles to get his mail and only got it twice per year."[8] Okie was a "self-made man", with large land holdings (that he had sometimes acquired under mysterious circumstances).[9] Okie's Bighorn Sheep Company rivaled in size many of the cattle barons of the open range era of the late 1800's and he expanded into freighting, road-ranches, and the mercantile business. In the days when tensions between sheep and cattlemen were constantly strained, Okie built a sheep empire large enough to stand up against the cattle barons.[10]

In April 1892, Bryant B. Brooks' *V bar V* brand was well known among Wyoming's cattlemen. Brooks, a future Wyoming governor, entered the sheep business in partnership with Robert White. In the spring of that year, Brooks and White trailed 3,000 sheep to Natrona County from Denver, Colorado. About the time of the Bishop's arrival in Casper that fall, White traveled to the eastern United States and purchased a band of purebred Vermont Merinos which were integrated into the *V bar V* herd. Brooks was satisfied with his new venture until it was discovered that White had overlooked a problem with the Merinos. They were afflicted with scabies. The partnership was dissolved, but through diligent treatment, Brooks managed to defeat the disease in the herd without severe losses. Over the next few years, he became as firmly established in the sheep business as he had been in cattle ranching.[11]

In March 1893 Ellen Virginia Bishop was born. That spring M. L. Bishop and four other Casper men began planning the construction of the First Methodist Episcopal Church (now the First Methodist Church) of Casper. By the end of that summer, the church was completed on the corner of Second and Durbin Streets. This was the second permanent church to be constructed in Casper and likely was also used by other denominations for their own services when traveling ministers came to town, much the same as the Episcopal Church was used by several denominations on special occasions. By 1896 the membership of the First Methodist Episcopal Church was 22; a large number were the

[3] Beach, 351.

[4] Beach, 351; Census of Natrona County, Wyoming, April 28, 1910.

[5] Beach, 350-351; Alfred James Mokler, *History of Natrona County Wyoming 1888-1922*, (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, The Lakeside Press, 1923), 162.

[6] Casper Zonta Club, *Casper Chronicles*, (Casper, privately printed, 1964), 91.

[7] M. L. Bishop to E. T. David, July 6, 1895, Bob David Collection, Goodstein Library, Casper College; Bishop, 13.

[8] Mary Helen Hendry, *Tales of Old Lost Cabin and Parts Thereabout*. (Lysite: privately printed, 1989), 2.

[9] Hendry, 1-2.

[10] Hendry, 10-13.

[11] The thought that a cattlemen would import sheep during this era of antagonism between these two rival factions was unbelievable. This action by Brooks may be one of his most important, yet least noticed, contributions to Wyoming. See Bryant B. Brooks, *Memoirs of Bryant B. Brooks*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1939), 197-198; Edward Norris Wentworth, *America's Sheep Trails*. (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1948), 321, 451-452; T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming – Second Edition, Revised*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 314, 367.

Bishop family. Bishop served on the first Board of Trustees of the church. Later, he was named a lifetime trustee in recognition of his service.[12]

Even though Bishop was fairly new in town, he was postmaster and owner of a "cash store," and therefore, "a man in the know" when it came to business and politics in the community. Soon after his arrival in Casper, Bishop evidently recognized the likely advantages of sheep ranching in the arid climate.[13] In May 1894, Bishop purchased a parcel of land from Edward T. David and had the land surveyed and cleared of intruding brush. He also completed his first shearing.[14] Earliest records show that Bishop first ventured into the sheep business near the confluence of the North Platte and Sweetwater Rivers southwest of Casper.[15] It must be presumed that this land transaction was the beginning of his ranching career.

A month earlier, J. B. Okie, and Associates fired up their automated sheep-shearing plant near Casper. It was the first steam-powered shearing plant to be built in the United States. The local newspaper announced:

> Amid much applause, the first sheep was sheared by Mrs. Okie, the wife of the man who was instrumental in initiating this method of sheep shearing to the American people, and Mrs. Okie enjoys the distinction of shearing the first sheep ever shorn by this method in America, and she performed the task in less than five minutes.[16]

Since his arrival in Casper, the subdued rivalry between the sheepmen and cattlemen exhibited in town had often resulted in violence once the concerned parties were beyond the watchful eye of potential witnesses.[17] If Bishop's life was not stressful enough with his duties as postmaster and his entry into sheep business, the death of his youngest daughter, Ellen, on August 14, 1894, was a devastating blow.[18] Despite the tragedy, Bishop was determined to succeed in the sheep industry.

In those early years, sheepmen were in danger on the range. Bishop, years later, told his children about those perilous times.[19] The cattlemen established what they called the "dead line," the implication that if any sheepman crossed this often-unidentified imaginary line, they would die. The cattlemen however, did not feel obliged to honor reciprocal respect when it came to crossing this line into the sheepmen's territory. Cattlemen and their employees were known to take a position above a herd of grazing sheep and shoot as many sheep with their rifles as their supply of ammunition would allow. If the herder showed himself or any resistance, he, too, might be shot. A favorite foray of the cowboys was to gather fifty or a hundred head of steers and stampede them through a flock of grazing sheep. This method of harassment produced immediate results, injury or death of dozens of sheep.[20] The sheepmen were on constant alert in case that the cattlemen crossed the "dead line" into their territory. They painted their tarpaulins black in order to camouflage the location of their camps at night and were constantly on guard, prepared to defend their sheep, their herders, and their outfits. During this era of constant danger, Bishop expanded his ranching operation by developing a summer grazing range in the foothills of the Big Horn Mountains near Arminto, Wyoming.[21]

Much of Bishop's land expansion was accomplished through homesteading. Under the Homestead Act of 1865 any citizen who was the head of a household, over twenty-one years of age, or a veteran of military service, could file a claim on 160 acres of government land. His spouse or children often would file on an additional (usually adjacent) claim. After the claimant met the requirements of the act, which included specific improvements (often referred to as "Proving Up"), the land was then deeded over by United States Government "Patent". The law loosened the filing requirements of homestead acts, expanding the amount of land that could homesteaded. Over the course of a few years, the rancher eventually could acquire a substantial amount of land.[22]

In 1895 the Bishops purchased a lot next door to the William T. Evans family on Wolcott Street from E. T.

[12] Casper Zonta Club, 21; Mokler, 132.

[13] Casper Zonta Club, 91.

[14] M. L. Bishop to E. T. David, May 2, 1894, Bob David Collection, Special Collections, Goodstein Library, Casper College.

[15] Susan Bishop, 2-3.

[16] Mokler, 188-189.

[17] Helen Huntington Smith, *The War on Powder River*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966).

[18] Beach, 351; Bishop, 18; Census of Natrona County, Wyoming, April 28, 1910.

[19] Casper Zonta Club, 74.

[20] Casper Zonta Club, 75.

[21] Casper Zonta Club, 74-76; Bishop, 15.

[22] Of the thousands of homestead claims that were filed over the years, large percentages were never actually patented. Many of those filing a claim were unable to meet the government requirements or found that the land they had chosen turned out to be unsuitable for their purpose. Casper Zonta Club, 71-73; See also *Records from the Douglas, Wyoming Land Office*, held in the Cheyenne, Wyoming, office of the United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Land Management.

*(Above): Shearing on a hot day, west of Casper, May 1898. Tens of thousands of sheep were sheared each year in the vicinity of Casper during the late 1800s. The bags of wool in this photograph are marked "C. H. King." King was a local merchant and banker in Casper. It is not known if he was the buyer or the seller of this wool.*

*(Below): String-teams wait to unload at the Woolgrower's Warehouses in Casper, June 1898. Transportation of wool was a serious consideration in the days before trucks. Wool had to be hauled by string-teams to the nearest railhead. Casper was the primary shipping point for wool from northern and central Wyoming from 1889-1905.*

David[23] and built a modest home. (The Evans' home had formerly been a dancehall owned by the infamous Lou Polk).[24]

In April, 1895, the family celebrated the birth of another daughter, Marguerite "Rete" Bishop. One bright sunny morning in June 1897, the townspeople watched Bishop raise a flag at the post office as if it were some new national holiday. It was much too soon to begin celebrating the Fourth of July. The flag-raising announced that "Lona" Bishop had just given birth to their first son, Marvin Lord Bishop, Jr.[25]

Bishop's duties as postmaster continued to grow as Casper grew. The U. S. Post Office Department determined that it was necessary to hire a full-time assistant postmaster. Bishop was forced to make an important decision.[26] His sheep ranching operation had far outgrown the time when it could be managed in his "spare-time" and the increase in duties of the postmaster required a full time commitment. Further, the presidential administration had changed. After six years as postmaster, Bishop resigned in 1898 in order to devote time to his sheep business.[27] On August 2, 1898, he handed over the keys to his successor, Mrs. Ida A. Hewes, Republican President William McKinley's newly appointed postmaster.[28]

The winter of 1898-99 had been devastating for Wyoming sheepmen. The United States Department of Agriculture estimated Wyoming's losses at 236,683 sheep, about ten percent of the state's total sheep population. There is no way of knowing how substantial Bishop's losses may have been that winter. It is known that he had a good winter grazing area and perhaps this circumstance aided in his survival.[29]

His family continued to grow. Yet another daughter, Marie "Pink" Bishop, had been born into the family in 1899 and second son, John Peale Bishop, was born in 1902. The home on Wolcott Street was too small for their growing family. Besides, the quiet home that had been a short distance away from the bustle of the business district a few years earlier, was now in the heart of that busy area.

For several years Casper had been competing with Cheyenne in the bid to become home to the state capitol. With this in mind, Robert White speculated that the most likely site for the capitol building would be on the hill just east of town that overlooked the city. In 1896 he platted the Capitol Hill Addition to Casper, near the foot of this hill, presuming that the neighborhood would be most popular with all those that would wish to live in close proximity of the capitol. He sold the first lot in this new addition in 1897 to John Bryan. Prospects of Casper as state capital began to fade and so did interest in White's lots. It would be another three years before the second lot was sold. Eventually, the city of Casper did grow and the subdivision east of town that had seemed so far away edged closer to the downtown area as the business district expanded.[30]

Capitol Hill, which had initially appeared to be so far from town, now began to look very appealing to this couple raising several small children. With this in mind, Marvin purchased a lot on Lincoln Street, which was then on the outskirts of Casper in 1902. There, Bishop built a small, comfortable frame house that would be home for his growing family for the next few years.[31]

[23] The exact address of residential lot 24, block 3, of the Casper Addition, which M. L. Bishop purchased from E. T. David in 1895 is not known. The location is in Casper's downtown business district and is combined with three other lots to make up the current address of 230 South Wolcott. Letter from M. L. Bishop to E. T. David, July 6, 1895, *Natrona County Assessor's Office records*, (Casper, Wyoming, August 16, 2000).

[24] Lou Polk was said to have been a beautiful young woman who operated a thriving dancehall in Casper until May 1890. She was abducted by Casper saloon owner "Black" Dogae Lee, one of her patrons, in a fit of jealousy. Polk eventually escaped her kidnapper, but not before Lee cut off her nose in an attempt to destroy her beauty and, consequently, to discourage her many suitors. Lou Polk acquired "Black" Lee's saloon as compensation for her disfigurement and sold her former dancehall to the Fitger family who remodeled it into a home. In 1894 W. T. Evans purchased the home and veneered over the dull green exterior with brick. Casper Zonta Club, 42-48; Jefferson Glass, "The Founder of Evansville, Casper Builder W. T. Evans," *Annals of Wyoming – The Wyoming History Journal*, 70 (Autumn 1998), 23.

[25] Bishop, 18; "Marvin Bishop Dies," *Casper Star Tribune*, March 25, 1973, 1, 8; Census of Natrona County, Wyoming, April 28, 1910.

[26] Mokler, 162.

[27] Bishop, 14.

[28] Casper Zonta Club, 92.

[29] Larson, 367-368.

[30] Robert White was one of Casper, Wyoming's earliest businessmen. He opened a saloon in Casper's "Old Town" in 1888. His saloon was the first building to be moved to the newly platted town of Casper in 1889. He served on Casper's City Council from 1889 to 1893, was a Natrona County Commissioner from 1893 to 1894 and again was elected to the city council in 1897. The offices of Natrona County occupied the second floor of White's saloon on Center Street from 1890 to 1895. He acquired the land that was platted for the Capitol Hill addition as part of his patented homestead claim. Mokler, 16, 34, 117-126; Natrona County Clerk, *Plat for the Capitol Hill Addition to Casper, Wyoming. (July 26, 1896)*, Real Estate Records Office, Natrona County Courthouse, Casper; Natrona County Clerk, Deed Book – Capitol Hill Addition, (Real Estate Records Office, Natrona County Courthouse, Casper, Wyoming, 1896-1923).

[31] M. L. Bishop purchased from Robert White, lot 4, block 41, in the Capitol Hill Addition of Casper, Wyoming on August 21, 1902. Natrona County Clerk, *Deed Book – Capitol Hill Addition*; Census of Natrona County, Wyoming, April 28, 1910.

By 1902 Bishop's gamble in the sheep business began paying off. Shearing and transportation of wool was a serious consideration in the days before trucks. Proximity to the railroad was a primary consideration for establishing a sheep shearing plant. Those plants that were located any serious distance from the railroad had to endure the additional time and expense of transporting the wool by string-teams to the nearest railhead. For this reason, Casper was the primary shipping point for wool for a large portion of the State of Wyoming from 1889 to 1905. In addition to the steam-powered shearing plant that J. B. Okie and Associates had built in 1894, there were two other hand-shearing plants near Casper. One plant located near the mouth of Casper Creek ran a forty-man shearing crew whose production averaged over four thousand sheep per day during each shearing season from 1889 to 1900.[32]

In 1904 the newly established U. S. Reclamation Service (later USBR) was laying plans for the construction of Pathfinder Dam, eight miles above the town of Alcova. The reservoir produced by this project would submerge 25,000 acres of pasturelands, but the proposal indicated that it would provide irrigation for more than one million acres of Wyoming land. With this project, Bishop, along with dozens of other ranchers, lost his winter pastures that had been the beginning of his ranching operation. To establish new winter grazing, the Bishops filed two separate homestead claims on the plateau above the valley of the Sweetwater, but the location was inferior to his original pastures and irrigation was never made available to the site. Bishop's Point, a prominent landmark on the shores of Pathfinder Reservoir, overlooks what was once Bishop's original ranch. His replacement pastures lay just north of the point.[33]

The Wyoming and Northwestern Railway Company built the first railroad west of Casper to Lander.[34] (The line was sold to the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company in 1920). Early in 1905, Bishop began planning for the expanding railroad. By this time the Bishop's second daughter, Katherine, had homesteaded an area twelve miles northwest of Casper called Cadoma.

The Wyoming & Northwestern chose Cadoma for its first station west of Casper. Bishop established a shearing operation and stockyard there. When the rails reached this site in August 1905, Marvin Bishop was ready for business with an operation designed for the convenience of the sheepmen. A rancher could drive his herd in from winter pastures, have them sheared and dipped at Bishop's pens, ship those he wanted to sell, and drive the rest to summer range. Cadoma was not intended to be a metropolis, but a working community. The station consisted of Bishop's operation, a post office, and a few dwelling houses.[35]

By the time of the birth of the Bishop's daughter, Lillian Leona Bishop, in 1905, Marvin Bishop was becoming prominent as a businessman and sheepman in Wyoming. Even the leading cattlemen of Wyoming were seeing the advantages of the two-crop yield for both wool and mutton that sheep produced over the single-crop yield of cattle for beef. As cattle prices continued to fall and open-range lands continued to diminish, sheep ranching became more and more lucrative in the eyes of Wyoming cattlemen.[36] Even the famous Swan Land and Cattle Company, headquartered in Chugwater, sold off their entire herd of cattle and imported sheep! Duncan Grant, a Two-Bar cowboy at the time, recalled the event. "When the Two-Bar sold all of their cattle, I was with the round-up crew. Within two weeks, twenty-seven thousand head of cattle were rounded up and delivered to Chugwater."[37] The magnitude of this transition can easily be weighed by studying the changes in livestock populations from 1905 to 1906 when cattle populations fell by nearly fifty thousand head while sheep populations grew by more than one million in Wyoming.[38]

[32] Wentworth, 424-425.

[33] Farmers in the State of Nebraska were the major beneficiaries of future irrigation provided by the dam's construction. A. J. Mokler did not hide his views of the politics behind construction of the dam. "The Pathfinder Dam was built under false pretenses and Wyoming was thereby deprived of reclaiming a vast amount of acreage which would have been irrigated had the plans been carried out as the people of Wyoming were led to believe and given to understand they would." Eventually, an irrigation system was developed for much of Natrona County and Wyoming, but for many years, the loss of so much good land far outweighed the flood control advantages it offered for Wyoming residents. Mokler, 74-75; Bishop, 14; *Records from the Douglas, Wyoming Land Office.*

[34] Donald B. Robertson, *Encyclopedia of Western Railroad History, Volume II*, (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Co., 1991), 405.

[35] *Cadoma* is an Indian word that means "to hide." It is not known how the area came to be named. Mae Urbanek, *Wyoming Place Names*, (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Co., 1974), 36; *Research Guide – Natrona County, Wyoming.* (Casper: Natrona County Genealogical Society, 1986), 3; Wheeler & Worthington, *Map of Natrona County, Wyoming*, (Casper: Wheeler & Worthington–Civil Engineers, Map Makers, & Blueprinters, 1921); Census of Natrona County, Wyoming, April 28, 1910; Bishop, 16; Mokler, 48-49.

[36] Ernest Staples Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), 216-258.

[37] Duncan Paul Grant, *Memoirs of Duncan Paul Grant (1881-1975)*, (Unpublished Typescript, Original held by Robert Grant, Grant Ranch, Richeau Creek, Wheatland, Wyoming), 7.

[38] Larson, 367.

*(Above): Bishop's shearing operation at Cadoma, Wyoming, c. 1907. Established in 1905, Cadoma was the first station west of Casper on the Wyoming & Northwestern Railway. The working community consisted of Bishop's operation, a post office, and a few dwelling houses.*

*(Below): The original Bishop Ranch on the Sweetwater River, April 30, 1900, Katherine "Kittie" Bishop's birthday. This operation served as headquarters for the Bishop Sheep Company until 1911 when it was submerged beneath the waters of Pathfinder Reservoir. Left to right: Marvin L. Bishop Jr., (on horse); Marvin L. Bishop Sr., Lona, Rete, Lilas May, and Kittie (on her new bicycle).*

Leona A. "Lona" Hathaway Bishop

Marvin Lord Bishop Sr.

Both portraits, circa 1892, Bishop Family Home Collection, 818 E. 2nd, Casper

In April 1906 the Bishop family was prospering in Casper when Marvin purchased two adjacent lots on Second Street, just around the corner from their home on Lincoln Street, and began planning the construction of a much larger house.[39] To design the home, Bishop hired Elias N. Miller, a prominent architect from Colorado who had been involved in much of the design of local refineries and commercial buildings. Bishop loved the Colonial style homes of his youth in Virginia and presented Miller with a few sketches he made from memory of the house he had grown up in. Based on these sketches and Bishop's descriptions, Miller designed a 2 1/2-story Four Square home with Colonial Revival detailing.[40]

Bishop then hired William T. Evans, a well-known local mason and plasterer who had built churches, schools, and many government and commercial buildings in Casper, to construct the home at 818 East Second Street. Construction was completed in 1907.[41] This, the first multi-storied brick home known to be built in Casper, was a center for business, political, and social affairs for many years. It served as predecessor to the several brick mansions of the historic South Wolcott district that were built from 1908 to 1912. Built of natural red brick with high ceilings, it features a large covered porch supported by tall white columns. The hip roof sports a wrought-iron-railed widow's walk, the only one known to be constructed in Casper. On the ground floor were a formal parlor, living room, master bedroom, dining room and kitchen. The second floor held the bedrooms of Bishop's daughters and the bathroom. His sons shared the single large room in the attic. The home was the most noticeable dwelling in Casper at the time. The home is still standing and still owned by the Bishop family.[42]

By the time the Bishops moved into this, their third and final home in Casper, Natrona County led the state in the number of sheep returned for assessment, reporting over one million during that summer.[43] (That April their third son, Jerome Travis Bishop, was born. The Bishop's tenth child, Lois Lucile Bishop who became a well-liked local schoolteacher, was born in the new home in October 1908 and lived there until her death in 1997).[44] 1909 was the peak year in history for the sheep industry of Wyoming, whose growers reported a total statewide total of more than six million sheep.

[39] Natrona County Clerk, *Deed Book – Capitol Hill Addition.*

[40] Casper Zonta Club, 63; "Long-Time Architect, Elias N. Miller, Dies," *Casper Star Tribune*, August 10, 1968, 1.

[41] All of Evans' original masonry as well as much of the original plasterwork is still intact today. Since Evans' usually made his own brick and the color is typical of the brick he is known to have made, it is assumed that he also made the brick that this home was constructed from. Glass, 20-28.

[42] Bishop, 15-16, 18-20; Census of Natrona County, Wyoming, April 28, 1910.

[43] *Directory of the Sheep Owners of Wyoming – 1907.* (Cheyenne: State Board of Sheep Commissioners, 1907), 11.

[44] Bishop, 18.

Wyoming also led the nation in total pounds of wool washed and scoured for use in the textile industry. Natrona County had dropped to third in sheep population that year, but was still rated second in assessed value of its herds for the state.[45]

In 1911 the reservoir behind the recently completed Pathfinder Dam was filled and Bishop was forced to leave his old winter pastures that he had maintained for nearly two decades. Although this change of winter operations was inconvenient and costly to Bishop, it did not cripple his ranching career. Furthermore, Bishop's shearing operation was very successful. In 1915, Bishop founded the Natrona County Woolgrowers Association and served as its president for the next fifteen years.[46] When much of the country was being fenced and cross-fenced, Bishop realized the importance of keeping the established trails open for the seasonal moving of livestock. He was instrumental during this time in establishing the series of stock trails and rest stations that are still in use today.[47]

So important was the volume of shipping done from Cadoma that when the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy Railway came to the area, they urged Bishop to move his shearing operation the short distance to their line for his transportation of wool and livestock. The details of their agreement have been lost, but in 1916, Bishop's shearing operation was moved the half-mile to the Burlington track. The new town of Bishop, named by the railroad company in his honor, was formed.

The new operation at Bishop far exceeded that of Cadoma. Three thousand sheep could be held under the roof of the new plant. The new town had a schoolhouse, living accommodations for the families, a post office, and a boarding house for herders and sheep shearers. Most of the Bishop children recalled working at Bishop, either helping move the sheep in the pens or working in the boarding house.

All of these facilities have long since faded into the sagebrush and sand. The only reminder that the railroads were once so critical to the sheep industry is the abandoned siding that is still marked "Bishop". The Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy Railway is now the Burlington Northern & Santa Fe Railway and high-speed diesel locomotives pull mile-long strings of railcars past the old siding. The Wyoming & Northwestern line that passed through Cadoma was uprooted due to a lack of business many years ago.[48]

Marvin Bishop served on the Casper City Council from 1918 to 1919. Still very active in the Natrona County Woolgrowers Association in 1925, Marvin L. Bishop sued Robert D. Hawley in order to keep a stock trail open to the public. Hawley won the suit and Bishop appealed to the Supreme Court of Wyoming. On August 11, 1925, oral arguments were held before the Supreme Court. The Court decided that Bishop held sufficient evidence that the trail had been in use long before Hawley had acquired the land it crossed. Bishop won the appeal and a right of way was granted.[49]

In 1938, Bishop was elected to the Board of Natrona County Commissioners. That same year Marvin and "Lona" celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary. More than 200 family members and guests attended the reception at their home.

Bishop died on March 31, 1939, in Casper. He was 77 years old. In his final days Bishop told his family and friends that his work for the woolgrowers had been the most rewarding service in his life. Due to his lifetime commitment the 1940 National Woolgrowers' Convention was held in Casper, Wyoming, in honor of his service and memory.

Marvin Lord Bishop was a self-made man. He began his sheep ranching career with few assets and at a time when sheepmen were far from popular. Nine of Marvin and Lona's ten children grew to maturity. One of them, Marvin L. Bishop, Jr., fulfilled his father's childhood ambition and became a prominent Wyoming attorney. So, too, did his grandson, Marvin L. Bishop, III.[50]

[45] Larson, 367; *Directory of Sheep Owners of Wyoming – 1909*, (Cheyenne: Wyoming Wool Growers Association), 19, 25.

[46] It has been told for three generations among the Bishop family that Marvin L. Bishop, Sr. was the founder of the Natrona County Woolgrowers Association. Through much research, it has been confirmed that he was a charter member of this organization and president of it for the first fifteen years of its existence. To say that Mr. Bishop was "the founder" can neither be proved nor disproved and is cited here as a presumed fact.

[47] *The Wyoming Wool Grower*, (McKinley, Wyoming, April 5, 1939); Bishop, 14, 17-18.

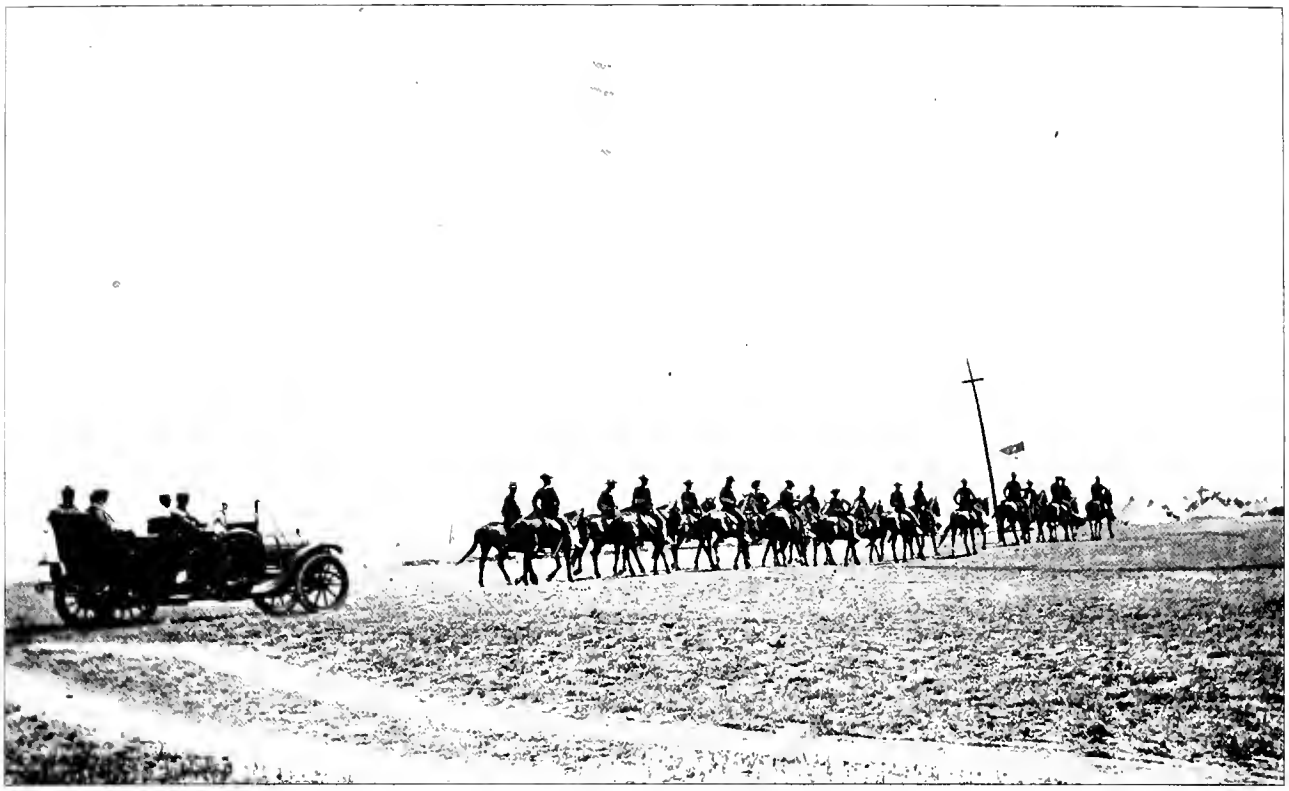
[48] Leona "Lona" Bishop was the postmaster at Cadoma, and later at Bishop. Col. Norman D. King, "Old Wyoming Post Offices," *Annals of Wyoming* 29 (October 1957); Bishop, 17-19; Wheeler & Worthington; Urbanek, 25; *Research Guide – Natrona County, Wyoming*, 3.

[49] It had been Bishop's intention to keep a 500-foot right-of-way open across Hawley's land in order to allow sheep to graze while in transit. Bishop was only granted a 100-foot right-of-way; nevertheless the trail remained open. *Bishop vs. Hawley*, (Supreme Court of Wyoming, August 11, 1925).

[50] Mokler, 129; "Fiftieth Wedding Celebration of M. L. Bishop," *Casper Tribune Herald*, June 23, 1938; Bishop, 17-20.

*Jefferson Glass is a Wyoming historian. This is his second article in* Annals. *He also has written a biography of the notorious western trader, ferryman and bridge-builder, John Baptiste Richard, titled* Reshaw, *soon to be published by High Plains Press, Glendo.*

# Wyoming Picture



*"On the March, Camp Otis, Laramie, Wyoming," postcard made apparently in 1910 or 1912. During both years, the Wyoming National Guard held summer camp at the site, just to the east of Laramie. Postcard courtesy of Amy Lawrence, Laramie. The card was in her mother's collection and the reverse side is postmarked April 12, 1912, Laramie.*

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