

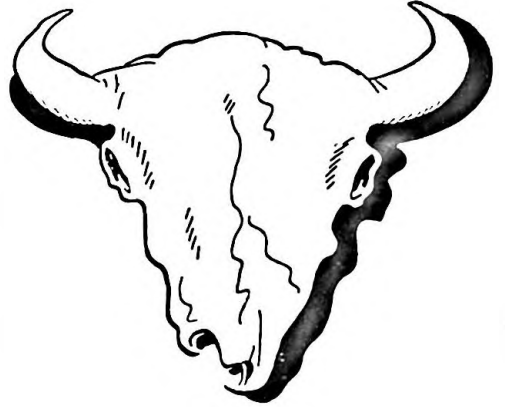
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The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

JANUARY 1975

Volume XXXI, No. 1



IN THIS ISSUE
INDIANS IN COLORADO
by Robert P. (Bob) Emmit



OVER THE CORRAL RAIL

The Denver Posse of the Westerners, marked the beginning of its 30th year at the meeting held January 22, 1975. The speaker for the anniversary meeting was Robert Emmitt, author of "The Last War Trail" published by the University of Oklahoma Press. His topic was "Indians of Colorado."

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The Denver Westerners recently elected the following officers for 1975: Dave Hicks, Sheriff; Dr. Robert W. Mutcheler, Deputy Sheriff; Charles S. Ryland, Roundup Foreman; Delbert A. Bishop, Tally Man; L. Coulson Hageman, Registrar of Marks and Brands; and Ross Miller, Jr. Chuck Wrangler. The 1975 committee chairmen include William H. Van Duzer, Membership; Alan J. Stewart, Publications; Dr. Robert M. Mutcheler, Program, and Granville Horstmann, Book Review.

• • •

Following a poll of the Posse members, the Executive Committee approved the Denver Posse of the Westerners membership in Westerners International. We are number 2 on the roster because of the date of our organization (1945).

• • •

During the Posse meeting of January 22nd, Bill Van Duzer, Membership Chairman, referred to W. E. Marshall's letter of January 6th, requesting transfer to reserve status in the Denver Posse of the Westerners. The Posse voted to authorize the change of status, and expressed its appreciation to Bill Marshall for his contributions to the organization. We hope that Bill will be able to return to active membership in the future.

(concluded on the back cover)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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1975 OFFICERS

Sheriff: Dave Hicks

Deputy Sheriff: Dr. Robert W. Mutcheler

Roundup Foreman: Charles S. Ryland

Tally Man: Delbert A. Bishop

Registrar of Marks and Brands: L. Coulson Hageman

Chuck Wrangler: Ross Miller, Jr.

Membership Chairman: William H. Van Duzer

Publications Chairman: Alan J. Stewart

Program Chairman: Dr. Robert M. Mutcheler

Book Review Chairman: Granville Horstmann

Indians in Colorado

by Robert P. (Bob) Emmit

Political expediency often does violence to natural boundaries. It has happened in Europe over the centuries: people shaped in character by particular climate and terrain have been separated by boundaries or they have been joined by the erasing of boundaries to become a people of entirely different characters. It has happened, too, in the United States.

The state of Tennessee, where I lived for eight years before returning to Colorado, has on its state flag a blue circle with three stars for what are called the three "grand divisions" of Tennessee. The state began as one long county jutting out of the western border of North Carolina after the Revolutionary War. The eastern third is mountainous, the middle is rolling hills, and the west is level farmland. Today there are three Tennessees and three types of Tennessean, and any politician who expects to succeed in being elected to any state or federal office in Tennessee had best keep this well in mind.

When the territory of Colorado was created out of western Kansas Territory and eastern Utah Territory, a distinctive natural boundary bisected it. We call it the Front Range. But at that time instant cities had sprung up in the mountains around rich mineral strikes, and the agriculture of the plains was needed to provide food for the people engaging in mining. Thus the present boundaries of Colorado were drawn.

European settlers in North America have tended to believe from the beginning that any given place they settled had always been populated by the people they found there, living in the same manner over the centuries. Actually, European settlements of North America from the very first colonization set off a series of profound dislocations and changes in lifestyle among the natives. These changes continue in chain-reaction fashion that paralleled our own history.

I want now to consider the land that is now the State of Colorado long, long before the actual beginning of European settlement with the

gold rush of 1859. I want to go back to the time before the beginning of Spanish colonization and exploration and the setting up of the fur trade.

We have been reading a great deal in the papers lately, with the Wounded Knee trials and other modern Indian protest movements, about the oral history of Indian tribes. I want to start out by reading from the oral history of the people who lived west of Co'lorado's natural boundary:

"This is the way it was:

A long time ago the Old People came to the shining Mountains from a place that was far away. In that place they came from there were great waters, in which lived men with bodies like fish.

When they came to this land, they found a great, warm lake beside which they made their homes. The bed of that great lake can still be seen in the land up northwest of the Big River [Colorado River].

The lake was full of big fish and snakes as long as a hundred lodge poles; and the air was as warm as the waters of the lake. Giant trees grew all around, and there were big deer and oxen with white horns.

One day the giant snakes that lived in the warm lake began to give such a steam from their noses that the whole ground shook. The steam rose in clouds that became thicker and thicker, until the sun was hidden. The land became very cold.

Then the ground cracked, and the lake began to fall away, and fall away for three moons, until one day it was not there any more. The Old People looked and they found that where the waters of the lake had flowed away there were now deep, wide canyons. And all the deer and big oxen with white horns wandered away to the east and died in the great cold. Many were killed in the tall mountains by arrows of hunters.

One day many small people whose skins were very light came floating down the rivers in skin canoes. They built stone houses in the cliffs, and they raised corn and beans and pumpkins. They became friends to the People. They worked with iron tools, and they taught the People how to make good spears and bows and arrows, and how to scoop up the ground and make vessels from it, and how to weave baskets.

Then came some others. These people were big and red, and they fought the little people and killed many of them, and those they did not kill they drove away to the south. The big people followed to the south, and they were the Fathers of the Navajo, Apache, and Kiowa.

All this time the country where the People lived was becoming drier and colder, and at last only the People were left to live on the Big River and its branches. The People loved their land, and they would not go away.

Then another terrible change came: melted rocks began pouring out of the hills everywhere, flowing over the ground like a flood and killing all the grass and trees that were left. As it cooled, it became rock again, and the country was like a desert. But the People loved their land, and they did not go away. . . .

These are the first words. The story goes on and on—so long and so far that a man can never tell all of it. It is the story of the land

that changes many times—a land with a face that grows old but always becomes young again. It is the story of the People, who lived with that land. They never went away; when the land was sick, they watched over it; when the land was cruel to them, they made better friends with it.

The Land is the body; the People are the spirit. When the Land and the People are cut apart, this is death.

Now the Maricat'z have come, and they are not like those others who came before. They do not go away. They stay; but they do not live with the land. The Maricat'z must change everything to their own way, like Old Coyote, the spoiler. The white men fight the land: they fight against the land, like an enemy, and they believe their enemy is weaker than themselves."

Here we have a portion of the oral history of an Indian tribe that occupied all of the mountainous part of Colorado, south into the Sangre de Cristos to Taos, north to the Little Snake River on the Wyoming border, and west to the Wasatch Mountains in Utah. Geologists, archaeologists and anthropologists will, I am sure, find many inaccuracies in this account. But they are agreed that these were by far the oldest settlers known in the present state of Colorado. The name of the tribe is *Nunt'z*, which means people, life and human being in their language. The name of the tribe, as with the name of an individual, is sacred and seldom used in common conversation. Tribes and individuals are usually known by their nicknames, usually taken from some peculiar characteristic of the tribe or person. The Shoshoni linguistic cousins of the *Nunt'z* were buffalo hunters, and the *Nunt'z* had a fondness for small game. The Shoshoni (which, by the way, is a nickname that means "snake") called the *Nunt'z* "tsiuta" which means "rabbit hunters." The early white settlers and mountain men shortened this to *Yutas*, and later it was shortened again to *Utes*.

We notice that the Ute oral history includes the coming and going of the Anasazi, the Navajo word for "old People" of cliff dwellers. The Hopi, also linguistic cousins of the Utes, are believed by many to be descendents of the Anasazi. The oral history also records the coming of the Athabaskan peoples, who, most anthropologists agree, were the last of the migrants from Asia.

One means anthropologists use for dating the migrations and settlements of various tribes in the Western Hemisphere is by language groups. Indian language groups are similar to those of Europe: Romance, Germanic, Slavic, Ugrofinnic. The Utes belonged to a large language group, the Shoshonean or Utoaztecan. It ranged from the Shoshoni on the north to the tribes in Mexico that spoke the dialects of Nowatl: Aztecs, Toltecs, Miztecs. These were ancient civilizations. Whatever we accept for true of the Ute oral history, there is no doubt that they are among the oldest settlers in North America.

I could obtain from the present-day Utes only a sketchy picture of their life before the first encounter with Europeans. They were, of course, a hunting and gathering people. Their nickname was accurate enough, because they considered small game a delicacy. Their principal meat was elk and deer, and they occasionally hunted the mountain buffalo, a shaggy, smaller species than that of the plains. An annual hunt took place at Cochetopa Pass during the buffalo migration, when hunters drove the buffalo over cliffs. *Cochetopa* in Ute translates literally as "buffalo high ground."

They were, of course, nomadic and lived in small villages. Their pack animals were large dogs which they described to me as being about the size as St. Bernards. When I asked various persons whatever became of these dogs, I usually got a shrug and an answer something like, "Gone," which I certainly couldn't dispute, since I never saw anything around that resembled such dogs.

Their main ritual was the Bear Dance, which brought the scattered tribe together annually. It came with the first thunder of spring, when the bear is supposed to be awakened from his long sleep. It is both a solemn and joyful occasion, when the land is renewed. Women find husbands, men find wives, and many find new husbands or wives to replace the old ones. *Quigat*, the bear, is the animal of power and magic. The shaman or medicine man is called *m'sut t'quigat*—power of the bear.

Now we begin to examine the great changes that took place in American Indian life with the coming of the Europeans. The first Europeans the Utes encountered were the Spanish, whom they called the *Quatz*. Spanish settlement northward generally followed the Rio Grande to the northern capital of Mexico, Santa Fe, to Taos, and on up to the headwaters of Del Norte in the San Luis Valley.

The Spanish were interested in finding gold and in Christianizing Indians, in that order. They didn't go into gold exploration in Colorado to the extent that the '59ers did, so this phase of their activities had little effect on Ute life. The Spanish method of colonization was to send the clergy first to build missions and begin the raising of livestock and garden crops. The Utes weren't impressed with Christianity, simply because they felt the missionaries weren't telling them anything they didn't already know. They had one god, and even though the Christians considered the Ute god a "heathen god," the Utes couldn't conceive of there being any god but one, Christian or Ute. The Utes had a trinity: Sunawiv, God the Father; Sunawiv-ta'watz, God the Son; and Sunawiga, the Brother of God whose mischief was always spoiling things and whom God eventually had to change into Yohoritz, Old Coyote. This one the Utes took to be the "Holy Ghost" and used Sunawiga, Old Coyote and Holy Ghost interchangeably.

When I was living on the Ute reservation I was driving a 1936 Ford which was at that time 12 years old. Every time I turned a certain corner at an intersection of rutty dirt roads, I broke the main leaf of a front spring. A friend, Charley Joe, decided we would put the spring in together. We had no jack. Charley Joe arranged a lever with a large rock and a stout log. Then he called to the house loudly "EEEH," and his wife, Lorena, who weighed about 300 pounds, came out, sat on one end of the log, and raised the car and held it while Charley Joe piled rocks under the axel to ho'd it up. When his wife slid off the end of the log, the pile of rocks collapsed and the car fell. This was repeated about three times. The third time, when a white man would have been tearing his hair and using every obscenity in his vocabulary, Charley Joe muttered, "Oh, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—Holy Ghost spoil the world." Thus the Utes didn't really need Christianizing.

The one important contribution the Spanish made to the Utes was probably a positive one—the horse. The Utes had no desire to ride horses. They had been walking since man became upright, and they preferred to continue to travel this way. They did, however, see the horse as a better pack animal than the large dogs. They did not, however, lead the horses with a halter rope. They walked and drove the packed horses in front of them. They didn't begin to ride until much later when the plains culture developed—and I am coming to that shortly. When they did, they still drove their packhorses in front of them as they rode rather than leading them. As some of them explained it to me, they themselves felt hampered when they were on the end of a lead rope. In case of sudden attack, or if they sighted game, they had both hands free at all times.

The Utes claim that they were the first tribe in North America to acquire the horse. I suppose this is debatable. But considering the pattern of Spanish settlement, I have little doubt that they were the first in the Mountain West.

The more profound change that took place in the life of the North American Indian didn't effect the Utes for nearly two hundred years. It began with the introduction of English-French mercantilism in the fur trade in the extreme northeast. A powerful nation, the Algonquins, dominated the northeastern quarter of North America, and when the French and English came the Algonquins dominated the fur trade. Five smaller tribes in Upstate New York, in order to get their share of the trade from the Algonquins, formed the Iroquois Federation. This alliance was so effective that it not only enabled the five-member tribes to become active in the fur trade but the Iroquois pushed the Algonquins westward. All this activity culminated in what we call the French and Indian Wars, but by this time the Algonquins were already crowded into the Ojibwa or

Chippawa country, a powerful tribe of the Algonquin linguistic group, and eventually the Algonquins found that they were being pushed even farther westward.

All this was hard on the Algonquins. They had been an agricultural people living in fixed villages, and they kept trying to put roots down.

At some time, however—and here I am again following Ute oral history—some representatives of the Algonquins traveled as far as the Rocky Mountains where they found the Utes using horses.

The hunting of buffalo had never been very effective among any of the Indians, and the plains country had been a sort of no man's land. But the Algonquins learned to ride. They learned to use the horse to hunt the buffalo. In fact, they became a sort of herding people who harvested the buffalo as we do cattle. Thus a whole new lifestyle was born, along with a number of new tribes with new names.

As Algonquin oral history puts it, "We left the corn." According to our notion of man progressing from the hunting to the herding to the agricultural to the industrial stage, they took a step backward. But if somebody gave me the choice of going hunting or hoeing corn, I would not have a trouble making it.

I know far less about these plains people than I do about the Utes, but there were three major tribes in Colorado at the time it became a territory and I want to cover all of them to the best of my ability.

The turning of the Algonquins from an agricultural-mercantile life to that of buffalo hunting required some radical changes. It required, for one thing, that they break up into small bands and cover a vast territory for much of the year. This brought about the sundance religion, which was essentially an annual reaffirmation of the tribe. They also broke up into smaller nations. These included the several nations that made up the Dakotas or, as they are commonly called, Sioux. Two other tribes each broke up into northern and southern groups, and the southern groups gradually migrated along the South Platte into what is now eastern Colorado. They remained close allies, lived closely, and intermarried.

One of these tribes, the *Inuna-ina*, meaning in their language "Our People," settled along the headwaters of the rivers that flow out of the Rocky Mountains. They were called by their enemies to the east, the Pawnees, *larapihu*, meaning "those that trade." They had, more than the others, maintained the mercantile tradition passed on to the Algonquins by the English and French. The Pawnee name became corrupted to Arapahoe.

People of the other tribe called themselves *Dzi-tsiis-tas*, which translated "people who are alike" or, again, "Our People." The Sioux called them *Shai-ena*, "people of an alien speech," and this, of course, became Cheyenne.

Both these allied tribes, particularly the Arapahoe, carried on a running warfare and raiding with the Utes. The Arapahoe believed that Manitou, "Man above," had placed the Continental Divide to the west of them to separate and protect them from the "black Utes." Considerable racial or color prejudice existed here. The Utes were a smaller and darker-skinned people than the Cheyenne and Arapahoe. It was an obsession, particularly with the Arapahoes, that the Utes would steal Arapahoe women and children to use as breeding stock—to make their own race larger and lighter of skin.

On the western side of the natural boundary I talked about earlier, the Utes looked upon this sudden occupation of the virtually empty plains by these people from the east much as Europeans in the Middle Ages viewed invasions from the Orient. The Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and the Sioux were enemy aliens who had suddenly settled on their border. The Utes, although they proved themselves to be great fighters, particularly in their one war with the United States Army, were not a militaristic people. They didn't count coup and they never took scalps. When caught on the plains during a raid they were at a great disadvantage, and they raided but never openly attacked the Arapahoe or Cheyenne on the plains. But the Utes couldn't be beaten in the mountains, and the enemy seldom pursued them very far once they retreated.

Also, the natural boundary was not as clearly defined as it might seem. The Utes claimed all land that was mountainous. The plains people, whose life was built around the buffalo, claimed rights in any country where they could find buffalo. Buffalo grazed a long way into the foothills and in high meadows close to the Divide. Also, as I mentioned before, a smaller species of mountain buffalo lived in North, Middle, and South Parks, and the San Luis Valley. Thus, much of the mountain country was disputed territory in which many battles were fought.

I hope I have made one thing clear. To most white people, Arapahoes, Sioux, Utes, and Cheyennes are "Indians." To the plains newcomers, the people in the mountains were an inferior, dark-skinned breed that occupied territory where they claimed hunting rights. To the Utes, the plains people were intruders to be feared, fought, raided, and killed. Each regarded the other as a separate race.

The Utes weren't the only tribe troubled by the invasion of the plains. They formed an alliance with certain Apache tribes, particularly the Jicarillas, against the plains tribes. This alliance became so powerful that the Spanish colonists looked upon it with some fear. With typically Machiavellian diplomacy, the missionaries went between the Utes and Apaches and planted suspicion, until finally the alliance was broken. But

while it lasted it dominated much of the southern plains, over the Texas Panhandle.

During the alliance, one band of Utes gradually adopted a plains way of life and remained afterward on the plains as a separate tribe. This tribe called itself *Neum*, probably a dialect variation of Nunt's. The word in their language means "people of the people." The Utes call them Komant'z, and it is usually said that the common name Comanche comes from the Spanish term *camino ancho*, "the broad trail." The Comanches weren't Colorado Indians, but they were, in fact, Utes and intermarried freely with the Utes. One Comanche, nicknamed Colorow, played a large part in Colorado history. He was the war chief who, with fifty Utes, defeated Major Thornburgh's 190 troops, kept them in siege for six days, then held off General Merritt's reinforcement of 500 troops until orders from General Sherman and Ouray stopped the fighting.

What I have described, in a very superficial way, are the Indians as they were when the gold-rush settlers came to what was to become Colorado in 1859. Things changed rapidly. Within a few years the buffalo were gone from the plains and the Cheyenne and Arapahoe were threatened with starvation. The people of the new territory set about systematically to remove all the Indians. The so-called Indian wars of the next twenty years are much-plowed ground, and I don't intend to go into any detail about them.

The Cheyenne and Arapahoe were the first target for removal. They occupied the land marked for immediate settlement; they were militaristic and could easily be provoked into a fight; and earlier in their history they had been agricultural people and could more easily be induced to return to agriculture. There were, however, years of atrocities and retaliations before the two tribes signed treaties that removed them to already-overcrowded Indian Territory.

Still, the natural boundary stood. With the background of what I have said, it should be easy to see why the Utes looked upon the white settlers as allies against the plains enemies and eagerly joined the United States as soldiers and Indian Scouts.

Most of the early gold camps were east of the Divide. The plains were being taken over for agriculture. The Utes felt relatively secure against white invasion and were happy to see the plains enemy driven out. Few of them realized that the Utes would be next.

The Utes felt even more secure with the first treaty they signed with Washington. It gave them all land west of the Continental Divide and contained the familiar clause "as long as the rivers shall flow, etc." The disputed territory between the Divide and the plains was in the hands of the whites. The wars with the plains people were over, and the game in the mountains was plentiful.

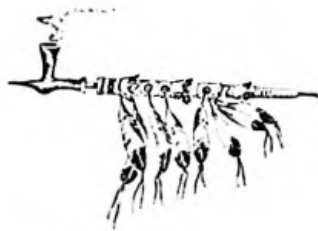
But prospecting for gold and silver inevitably led to the crossing of the Divide and the nibbling away of the Ute land by means of further treaties. The beginning of the end came with statehood for Colorado and a governor who had made himself rich with the San Juan silver mines.

The Utes weren't easy to get rid of, but the leaders of the new state were determined to do so. As I said in my book on the Ute War and Meeker Massacre, the new state of Colorado "had a vexing Indian problem. It was a problem common during the settlement of America but little noted today, for it lacks the drama, the overt dynamics which keep Indian stories alive. It was the problem of friendly Indians."

A strong pro-Indian sentiment dominated American thought after the Civil War—probably related to abolitionist and anti-slavery sentiment. Unless particular Indians were a threat and menace to be turned over to the War Department, it was virtually impossible to effect their removal. The details of the incident that led to the removal of most of the Utes from Colorado is too well known to tell in detail. I have always believed that the state leaders could not help knowing what the outcome would be of sending a somewhat fanatical Fourier socialist to force the Utes into some sort of agrarian commune. At any rate, it worked.

One of the statistics most often used in the "Utes Must Go" campaign was the fact that about 3,000 Indians were occupying nearly one-third of the arable land of Colorado. There was no doubt that this amount of land could support many, many times this number of white people, and in the purely quantitative thinking of progress-minded nineteenth century, this statistic was most convincing.

Now, as we approach the final quarter of the twentieth century, we find ourselves talking of overpopulation, dwindling resources, energy, and food shortages, pollution, environment, and ecology. A new term, "quality of life," is in common use. We can't help wondering about those three thousand who somehow never allowed their population to increase beyond the supporting power of their land and who successfully maintained their quality of life.



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Robert P. (Bob) Emmit considers himself a Westerner, though he was born in Akron, Ohio, worked for newspapers in New York and Canada, and spent enough years in Tennessee to get bitten by a copperhead. ("It hurts.")

He's a University of Colorado graduate (now again living in Boulder) and holds a bachelor's degree. In his newspaper travels, he has worked for the New York Herald Tribune, the Arizona Republic (Phoenix), Tucson (Ariz.) Citizen, the Toronto Telegram and the Deseret News in Salt Lake City. He was managing editor of the Vanderbilt University Press, and an English instructor at the University of Tennessee at Martin.

Bob is the author of two novels, "The Last War Trail" and "The Legend of Ogden Jenks," both inspired by the days he spent punching cards and roughing it in western Colorado and Utah. "Last War Trail," a Pulitzer nominee, was written after he had lived for a time with the Utes on their Utah reservation. He heard the story from Saponise Cuch, who was the last Ute survivor of the 1879 battle with federal troops. "Ogden Jenks" is based on an early-day tale of the Brown's Hole country. Currently Bob is considering starting a novel with a historic Boulder County setting.

Bob, who is married and has four children, joined The Denver Post in 1973 as a copyreader.

New Hands on the Denver Range

William R. Thompson
655 Garland Street
Lakewood, Colorado 80215

Bill was introduced to the Denver Westerners through Francis Rizzari, P.M. and Edwin Murray, C.M. He is a native of Colorado and an ex-Marine. His interests are in exploring ghost towns, relics of the early west, including maps and books, and in hunting and fishing.

• • •

Kristine Haglund
6911 W. 24th Avenue
Apartment Number 3
Lakewood, Colorado 80215

Having been curator of the Buffalo Bill Memorial Museum on Lookout Mountain from June 1967 until February 1975, Kristine is, of course, very interested in anything pertaining to Bill Cody—including Wild West shows.

Letter from the Sheriff

The Denver Westerners need more hands on the range. And we need your help in getting the new members.

If every present member would get a new member . . . we'd have what we need.

To encourage you in your mission, the Denver Westerners Executive Committee has approved a gift for the "recommender."

Each Posse Member, Corresponding Member or Reserve Member who signs up a new Corresponding Member will receive two copies of old Roundups. Sign up two and you get four valuable old Roundups. Some of these old Roundups will be from the '50's. If we can find them, there could be some from the '40's.

We need your help. Sign up a member today!

To sign them up send the new member's name, complete address with ZIP Code, some information about his background and interests and his check for \$5.50. The application form is not necessary.

Send the check and information to Delbert A. Bishop, 3055 Ellis Lane, Golden, Colo. 80401. Be sure to include your name and address so you can receive the collector's items.

DAVE HICKS, SHERIFF

SHOW & TELL

The "Show and Tell" segment of our meetings is becoming increasingly popular. The January meeting included several items of interest:

Jack Morrison passed a set of leg irons among the members. The leg irons appeared to be hand made, of uncomfortable design, and were of unknown vintage. Let Jack tell you how he acquired this set.

Dabney Collins showed a rare Indian hide scraper. It came from the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota—an area known to Sitting Bull. This tool had been fashioned from a military tent stake as issued in the late 1800's. It had been designed to penetrate hard soil or rock crevices. The stake required only slight modification to make it functionable as a hide scraper.

Norman Page brought a Homestead Deed to the meeting. It had been his grandfather's. Signed by President Benjamin Harrison in 1890, the deed was for 160 acres of land in Cook County, Kansas. This framed Homestead Deed is a Page family treasure.

Dave Hicks showed and described an old (circa 1900) glass slide camera. Originally sold by Sears Roebuck, Dave was fortunate to be able to acquire this camera at an auction. He is in the process of restoring it—a very difficult assignment because replacement parts have not been available for a long, long time.



Westerner's Bookshelf

COLORADO'S COLORFUL CHARACTERS by Gladys R. Bueler. (The Smoking Stack Press, Golden, 1975.) Paperback. \$3.50.

The characters portrayed in this colorful little paperback are almost all notable or notorious men and women of Colorado's nineteenth century frontier days, ranging from Zebulon Pike through the fur traders, miners and railroad builders, to Spencer Penrose and Helen Hunt Jackson. Somehow Emily Griffith and her twentieth century Denver "Opportunity School" get into the act, as does the first lady climber of Long's Peak, Isabella Bird, and the infamous preacher turned Indian-killer John Chivington. It was inevitable, of course, that the roll-call would include also Baby Doe Tabor and the Democrat-devouring Alferd (sic) Packer.

This copiously illustrated booklet, a series of vignettes abstracted from standard sources, will hold no charms for the professional scholar or specialist since there is no depth here and there are no new revelations. But for the neophyte or the newcomer's introduction to Colorado's first century it will serve a praiseworthy purpose.

As befits a state founded on gold and silver, three of the chapters are concerned with the rich array of prospectors, promoters, and politicians who peopled the boom-towns. Explorers, traders and Indian-fighters combined, rate one chapter, while "sky pilots," railroad moguls and "worthy women" rate one each. (Shady ladies or "unworthy women" are given short shrift here.)

One might conclude that inflation has really arrived when a paperback once

valued at \$1 now commands the price of a former hard-cover novel, which in turn now commands anything from \$7.95 to \$12.50. The cost of culture is escalating. Its enough to give Alferd Packer ideas about dining instead on Republicans!

Merrill J. Mattes, P.M.

COLORADO'S HALL OF FAME by Mary and Gene Martin. Little Golden Press, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Seventy pages, paperback with 100 illustrations. \$1.95.

Mary and Gene Martin detail the events that led to the choosing of sixteen of Colorado's outstanding pioneers who best typified its founding and development for placement in stained glass portraits high in Colorado's State Capitol Dome.

The Board of Capital Managers, who supervised construction of the capitol were given the added chore of choosing representative men and women for the Hall of Fame.

The Board consisting of Governor Charles L. Thomas, Chairman Charles J. Hughes, Jr., George W. Baxter, Joseph A. Thatcher and Otto Mears chose (1) General Bela M. Hughes, (2) Chief Ouray, (3) Kit Carson, (4) General J. W. Denver, (5) Jim Baker, (6) Governor Benjamin Eaton, (7) William Byers, (8) Governor William Gilpin, (9) Governor John Evans, (10) Nathaniel P. Hill, (11) Casimiro Barrela, (12) General William J. Palmer, (13) Alexander Majors, (14) Dr. Richard G. Buckingham, (15) Reverend John L. Dyer and Frances W. Jacobs.

The book is well illustrated with a brief historical sketch of each pioneer. It lacks

a table of contents, list of illustrations and an index, but it has an excellent bibliography.

This booklet is well written about a subject that is not very well known. I enjoyed reading it and I do believe it belongs in libraries of all lovers of Colorado's history.

R. A. Ronzio, P.M.

SILVER SAGA—The story of Caribou, Colorado by Duane A. Smith, Pruett Publishing Co., Boulder, Colorado. Foreword by Robert G. Athearn. Title page drawing by Muriel Sibelle Wolle. 269 pages, illustrations, bibliography and index, \$1.95. Paperback also available.

There have been many published and non-published accounts of early Colorado mining camps and towns—gold, silver and coal. Most of these camps and towns are long gone—fres, abandonment, weather and vandals are the reasons, however they are still a part of Colorado History.

Caribou is gone. It was located north and west of Boulder, Colo., near Ward. It was one of the more important of the Colorado silver camps. Its mines were some of the most productive in the silver mining history of the state.

Silver Saga is a biography of Caribou. It includes the first silver ledge discoveries, developing the mines and organizing the town site, eastern and foreign investors, local people involved—all the trials and tribulations encountered and the final demise of Caribou. This book required much research as listed in the appended bibliography.

The author has divided the book into sections, starting with "Rush to Riches," (the beginning) and concluding with "Requiem" (the end). Between the beginning and the end are sections on development of the mines and mills, eastern and foreign investors, the mines and their production, the working miners and their families, the town businesses and the businessmen and all the elements that made up this once booming silver camp.

The biography is most comprehensive. The illustrations from library and historical society collections are interesting and a worthwhile addition.

Since he has been familiar with Caribou and the area for a number of years, this reviewer is biased and so was most interested in the book. Keep this in mind when he recommends Silver Saga to all who are interested in early Colorado mining history. It is the complete story of the birth, life and death of a mining town that contributed much to make the State of Colorado what it is today.

Granville M. Horstmann, P.M.

CUSTER BATTLE GUNS by John S. duMont, with a Foreword by James S. Hutchins. The Old Army Press, 1513 Welch, Ft. Collins, Colorado 80521. \$8.95. Thirty-seven illustrations, notes, appendices.

The Old Army Press continues to publish gems for Western-Cavalry-Custer buffs. The winter issue of "Montana" reviewed two of Mike Koury's Productions, and all of these belong in Westerner's libraries. Custer Battle Guns is handsomely bound in Army blue and Cavalry yellow, with gold crossed sabers on the cover, and a handsome dust jacket with Reedstrom drawings of five of the Little Bighorn characters, in color.

After admiring the exterior, a gun collector eagerly moves on into the interior. duMont needs no introduction to gun collectors, and he brings a great background of knowledge to his subject. This book is in no way another discussion of the most written about battle in American history. It describes and illustrates the weapons used in the battle by both red and white. On the basis of facts and statistics given, it should settle whether the cavalry was out-gunned by the Indians. There are a number of other goodies in the book, including descriptions of equipment used by the 7th Cavalry in the battles.

W. H. Van Duzen, P.M.

The Westerner's Bookshelf is an important part of each issue of the Roundup. This year's Book Review Chairman is Granville Horstmann. Granny needs your help and cooperation—as do all of your officers. He has a number of suggestions and comments:

"Book reviewers for the Roundup:

1. Check the book reviews in current issues of the Roundup for format. As far as possible, limit your enthusiasm or criticism to 250 word; or less. Keep in mind the cost of printing the Roundup.
2. If possible, submit the review typed and double spaced. This is most helpful to the printer in setting up the copy. However, long hand reviews will be received gratefully and without any question. Arrangements will be made to have your review typed for publication.
3. I am keeping a log of all books received from the various publishers. I am logging all these books out to the members of the Westerners who are assigned to review them and logging in the reviews as they are submitted to me and then to the Roundup people for publication. I am keeping track of all this action by dates.

There will be a periodic head count on reviews not completed and submitted within 30 days, and the log will be kept up to date. I believe that thirty days is a reasonable amount of time to review a book. The publisher should receive this courtesy—he does provide the reviewer with a free advance copy.

4. A question—Have all you reviewers who have books for review submitted your reviews? 'Doesn't seem so. When I took over this assignment and log from the previous Book Review Chairman at the January Posse meeting I found a number of gaps in the log. 'Seems the 1974 Book Review Chairman did his job and some of you reviewers didn't! It would be appreciated by me and all the members if these overdue reviews could be turned in soon for publication.
5. The above suggestions may help to make the Westerner's Bookshelf continue to be an interesting and informative contribution to the Roundup as it has in the past."

Granville M. Horstmann
Book Review Chairman
3083 South Holly Place
Denver, Colorado 80222
Telephone — 757-5542"

Over the Corral Rail (Cont.)

Hugh Burnett, Posse member of the Denver Westerners, is pulling stakes and heading further west. He has held offices in the National Society of Professional Engineers, The Professional Engineers of Colorado, and the Society of American Military Engineers. He is a retired colonel, U.S. Army, and a retired civil engineer with the Air Defense Command, U.S. Air Force.

In addition to holding several offices in the Westerners, Hugh is a past president of the Historical Society of the Pikes

Peak Region, and of the Ghost Town Club of Colorado Springs.

He is also the author of numerous articles published in the *Brand Book* of the Westerners, and the Colorado State Historical Society's *Colorado Magazine*.

Hugh will be missed. He promises to keep in touch with us—and you can keep in touch with him by writing to:

Hugh B. Burnett
4250 Fourth Avenue
Apartment 322
San Diego, California 92103

The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

FEBRUARY 1975

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IN THIS ISSUE
HISTORY OF
EARLY AMERICAN
MINE LIGHTING

by John Leahy



A well designed aluminum miner's lamp from the author's collection. It was produced from 1924 to about 1940 by the Frederick R. Belt Company under the name Lu-Mi-Num.

OVER THE CORRAL RAIL

The Winter/Spring issue of the Buckskin Bulletin, issued quarterly by Westerners International, contained a salute to the Denver Posse of the Westerners. Because it outlines the early organization of this Posse, the "salute" is reproduced below:

"Westerners of the World unite in congratulations to the Denver bunch, known as a Posse. Thirty years have sped by since it was organized, January 2, 1945.

Chicago Corral had got going the year before (Feb. 25, 1944) and its founders—Leland D. Case and the late Elmo Scott Watson—while on business trips talked to business and professional men in Denver.

"History can be fun!" the missionaries proclaimed. The Westerner organizational formula was inexact but included food & fellowship of a service club, scholarship of a literary circle, and the scope of a county or state historical society—expanded!

Denver's response is itself now history. It's rosters are studded with names of scholars and buffs such as newspaperman Edwin A. Bemis, poet Thomas Hornsby Ferril, bookman Fred Rosenstock, historian LeRoy Hafen, and attorney Earl H. Ellis currently WI president. And the Denver hardbound book record is unequalled.

A deep sweep of the sombrero to our compadres in the Mile-High City!"

• • •

The Council on Abandoned Military Posts (CAMP) was founded in 1966 to identify, locate, preserve, and memorialize military installations that no longer serve the roles for which they were originally created. Membership is open to anyone with an interest in the objectives of CAMP. Members receive a monthly news letter, "Headquarters Heliogram", and the "Periodical", published several times a year, which contains material of more lasting interest.

The first official announcement of the founding of CAMP was made at the Conference on Western History of the Western History Association in El Paso, Texas, in

(Concluded on the back cover)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

R O U N D U P

Volume XXXI



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John Leahy showed almost 75 slides to the members of the Westerners when he presented his *Illustrated History of Early American Mine Lighting* during the February meeting. It is usually necessary to convert presentations of this nature to a different form for publication in the *Roundup*.

The *Roundup* editor has elected to publish the presentation just as it was given—including the slide cues! John's descriptions are complete enough for those who attended the meeting to recall the illustrations, and vivid enough, for the most part, for the reader to benefit—even though he may not have been present at the February meeting.

It would not be practical to have photographs made of each slide for publication in this issue. However, the author selected some illustrations which are included.

Illustrated History of Early American Mine Lighting

By John Leahy

Mining has been an industry much longer than many of us realize. The mining industry provided us with the materials which allowed us to advance from the Stone Age, through the Bronze Age, and on into the Iron Age.

Although many of the early miners used the sun as their sole light source, occasionally an ore body was found that prompted the miner to venture underground and thereby need some type of artificial light. Recently an extensive underground mine was rediscovered in the southern tip of Israel that was originally mined in 1400 BC. These early miners did not develop special forms for their lamps, but used the same baked-clay oil lamps that they used in their homes.

The earliest mining in the United States was done in present-day Michigan for copper. Indians built fires on the rocks to fracture them; the carbon from these fires has been dated and it has been determined that mining in this area took place 6,000 to 6,500 years ago. Since the largest of these mines were pits 20 to 30 feet deep, no lamps were required.

One of the earliest underground mines in the United States was at St. Thomas Nevada, where over 1,000 years ago salt was mined using pointed stones as the mining tools. For lighting, they used cedar bark torches, which again were their regular household lamps.

Early lamps included oil lamps where the fuel reservoir was baked clay, saucer-shaped stones, seashells, hollowed-out pieces of wood, and metal; torches where the fuel was bark, greased twigs, thin strips of wood soaked in melted fat, pine and cedar knots, and bull-rushes soaked in fish oil; in general early mine lamps were identical to lamps used on the surface.

As we progressed into the Iron Age, man's ingenuity, pride, and practicality made some changes in the appearance of miner's lamps. They became stronger to give longer service, were provided with a handle for ease of carrying, and were made larger to reduce refueling.

SLIDE This is a German oil lamp. It is of the covered pot type that was also used in households; however, it was made for a miner as evidenced by the crossed gad and hammer, the words *Glück Auf*, the rooster, and the hook for hanging. The gad and hammer are early tools used for mining ore, *Glück Auf* is a miner's greeting that dates back at least to 1400 and means roughly good luck, and the rooster is a symbol anticipating the coming of dawn. This type of lamp originated several hundred years ago and was exported to various parts of the world until around 1900.

SLIDE Here is another heavy-duty oil lamp. This is a smaller version of the large spout lamps often referred to as "factory lamps." The swan-neck handle unscrews and is the oil filling plug. The different notches on the handle allowed the lamp to be hung from various positions at various oil levels and still keep a flow of oil to the wick.

The advances during the Machine Age allowed smaller and cheaper oil lamps to be made that were suitable to be worn by the miner. *SLIDE* Around 1850 this type of lamp became popular. This one was made by T. F. Leonard of Scranton, Pennsylvania. Most of these were made of steel, some were made of brass. In steel a face miner's lamp sold for 20¢, while a driver's lamp sold for 40¢. The driver's cost more because he needed more fuel capacity and a taller spout due to the higher wind velocities encountered in haulage drifts; with a short spout his cap would have caught on fire.

SLIDE This driver's lamp was made by C. George in Hazelton, Pennsylvania. The wick is made of loops of string. The size of the flame was not controlled by the height of the wick, but by the tightness of the wick. The looser the bundle of strings, the more oil could flow to the top of the spout, and the more light was given off. The wick was normally raised by knocking the base of the spout on the miner's boot heel when the lamp was warm. That is why this lamp has the wire protector at the base of the spout; however, not all lamps were protected.

SLIDE This is a driver's lamp that was made by P. F. Lennon & Co. of Scranton, Pennsylvania. The entire spout is reinforced with an extra sheet

of steel; this method was not used too much, because it greatly increased the weight of the lamp.

SLIDE Here is another lamp made by C. George; this one is the face miner's size. The oil reservoir of this lamp is copper, which is quite unusual. Notice that this lamp has no spout protection.

SLIDE This is another face miner's lamp of the more common tinned steel construction. This one is unusual in that it has a picture stamped on it. The manufacturer, C. L. Anton, Monongahela City, Pennsylvania, has shown his version of Liberty—the brand name. However, he took a bit of liberty with Miss Liberty. If you will look closely at her right hand you will see her regular torch has been replaced with a miner's lamp.

SLIDE There was quite a variety of fuels used in these lamps. The approved fuel was "summer yellow cottonseed oil," but this was used only when the inspector was present or due to arrive. Common substitutes were kerosene, lard oil, and rendered lard. These substitutes were very smoky, but they were cheaper. A later fuel was a wax called "Sunshine"; in fact, some miners called these lamps "sunshine lamps." Sunshine was similar to paraffin except it melted at a slightly lower temperature. Sunshine had to be either melted and poured into the lamp or it had to be shaved up into little pieces and dumped in. To get this type of fuel to burn it had to be kept fluid.

SLIDE The solid fuels were kept fluid by conducting heat back to a fuel reservoir. This could be done by a special strip of metal, as shown on this V. L. lamp, or more commonly by a double spout. Copper wire or nails were also used.

SLIDE This lamp has a screw cap which was patented by William C. Winfield in 1872. This lamp has a double spout which would allow it to burn solid fuels.

SLIDE This lamp was made by George Anton of Monongahela City, Pennsylvania and has an 1890 patent date. It has an inner spout of steel.

SLIDE Here is another brass face miner's lamp, but this time with a single spout. This DL lamp, with its unusual wide hook, was not made to burn solid fuels. It is an error to call this type of lamp a "sunshine lamp."

SLIDE The Felix lamp, made in Shamokin, Pennsylvania, is unusual because of its slanted bottom. This was done to provide a good fuel supply to the wick. This lamp was patented in 1894. The small brass tube in the lid was an attempt to have a non-spilling vent hole.

SLIDE Some manufacturers made lamps of cast aluminum. This lamp by the American Safety Lamp & Mine Supply Company, Scranton, Pennsylvania, was advertised to eliminate problems of the hook and spout melting off. I do not know if this really was a big problem, in any case aluminum lamps are quite rare.

SLIDE The Perfection lamp had a unique feature—a patented wick raiser. Based upon the rarity of this lamp, this was either an unnecessary or nonworkable feature.

SLIDE One of the largest, longest-lived manufacturers was Trethaway Brothers of Parsons, Pennsylvania. Along with their other production, they made several different lamps for the United Mine Workers of America. This lamp has Trethaway's unique twisted wire spout guard.

SLIDE These lamps were basically coal mine lamps. They were sometimes used in metal mines; such as the Tri-State District as shown here, and several places in Colorado—Central City, Alma, Creede, and Leadville. The reason they were not used very much in metal mines was they were very smoky. Even if an expensive fuel was used the lamps were still smoky and unsuitable for a narrow-vein hardrock mine. Oil lamps were sometimes used in the better ventilated stopes.

SLIDE This is the type of oil lamp that saw wider use in Colorado's metal mines. Our mines were generally too wet to use an open-spout lamp, so a combination drip guard-reflector was added. This lamp is too large for a miner to wear. It had two hooks for stability while it was worn on the harness of a mule in a haulage tunnel.

SLIDE This lamp was used in the San Juan District in Colorado. It is a little larger than the previous lamp, but it is the same basic type. The wide strap on the back was probably designed to hang on an ore car.

SLIDE This lamp was made by the same tinsmith. A wooden handle has been added for ease of carrying and an elaborate reflector has also been added, possibly for stope inspection work. I doubt that the flame provided enough illumination to justify the reflector.

SLIDE Several manufacturers made novelties such as the lamp on this BPOE convention badge.

Coal mines can be deadly when there is an open spark or flame. Miners had numerous fatalities while trying to use lamps such as we have been looking at. Some coal mines used oil lamps up into the 1920's but in gassy mines they tried other types of lighting in the early 1800's. The faint phosphorescent glow from moss and decaying herring skins along with jars of fireflies were tried. One invention that was in use over 50 years and caused numerous fatalities was Carlisle Spedding's steel mill. A young boy was employed to hold a piece of flint against a hand-cranked steel wheel. The sparks provide enough illumination for the miner's work. Spedding was killed in a gas explosion that was caused by sparks from his mill. Around 1815 the first safety lamp was constructed, however, nearly a century passed before a truly safe lamp was constructed for use in gassy atmospheres with high wind velocities.

SLIDE One of the first truly safe lamps that gained wide acceptance in the United States was developed by Carl Wolf of Zwickau, Germany.

A portion of this lamp has been cut away, probably as a sales or teaching aid. The fuel reservoir is on the bottom, stuffed with cotton. This lamp burns alcohol, naphtha, or white gas. The flame is surrounded by a glass shield for ease of observation and better illuminating properties. An essential part of a safety lamp is the double wire screens on top of the flame area. They are protected by a metal bonnet. The principle is that the opening in the screen is small enough that if an explosion occurred in the lamp, the gas is cooled passing through the screen, and cannot propagate out into the mine. One screen would be sufficient, but two are provided in case a small hole is overlooked in the daily inspection.

SLIDE Here is a Wolf lamp all in one piece. These lamps sold for \$2.10 to \$2.90, depending on the metal used for construction.

SLIDE This is a later Wolf with a magnetic lock. This was installed to prevent the miner from opening the lamp in the mine. The magnet required for opening the lamp was kept on the surface. This particular lamp was presented as a safety award for having the most manhours worked without a lost time accident.

SLIDE Lamps similar to the Wolf gradually displaced earlier safety lamps, such as the popular Davy and Clanny lamps. Safety lamps have changed very little over the last 50 years; however, they are now used for gas detection, not for a working light. Electronic methane detectors are rapidly making safety lamps completely obsolete.

The Machine Age also made uniformly sized candles available at a reasonable price. Candles were popular with the Welsh and Cornish miners in their home countries, and that is the light they preferred to use over here. In the Cornish mines a small piece of wet, sticky clay was used to hold the first candles in place, later special metal holders were developed. These metal holders gained wide popularity, particularly in the metal mines of the western United States. Colorado alone had seventeen patents on candleholders, but not all of them were manufactured. The patent holders were primarily from Denver, Colorado Springs, Cripple Creek, and Leadville.

SLIDE This one was patented by H. L. Rice of Fairplay on March 29, 1881. It is 6½" long and 3" high. *SLIDE* The patented feature of this lamp is its folding construction. Folding candleholders are quite a rarity.

SLIDE This is another Colorado candleholder which is much more common. This is the 1900 patent of Nathan Varney. This candleholder was made in Denver and was sold throughout the West. The 10" size sold for 50¢.

SLIDE J. B. Lindahl patented this candlestick with a match holder in the handle in 1905. This one was also manufactured in Denver and

sold throughout the West; however, since the selling price was \$1.00, it was not as popular as the Varney.

SLIDE This group of miners is from the San Juan District in Colorado. Notice the number of candles and candleholders being displayed.

SLIDE The late Buck O'Donnell drew some sketches that show the actual use of candleholders very well. Here we see miners high-grading a vein. The candleholder could either be worn on the hat or hung on any convenient projection, such as on the side of the powder box. *SLIDE* Here we see miners single jacking in a stope. The candleholder could either be forced into a crack in the rock or hung by the hook from any projecting point. *SLIDE* Here miners are double jacking in a raise. Again the candleholders are supported in the rock by the point and by the hook. In timbered areas the point was driven into the wood at any convenient location.

SLIDE In some districts miners had special holders made to wear candles on their hats at all times. The curved flat strap on the bottom of this holder indicates that it was designed for cap wear.

SLIDE This candleholder is very similar, but it was designed to hang on rocks or timber. It has no point to stick into anything and has no handle for carrying.

SLIDE This is another commercially made holder. The serrated edge around the candle socket marks it as a Michigan type. These were very popular in the West. A nice patented feature is the button on the candle socket that could be slid over to release the candle.

SLIDE This candleholder was also commercially made, and although it doesn't look as fancy as some of the others, it was cheaper. This coil-type holder sold in the 10" size for 25¢, half the price of a Varney. This style was widely copied by the miners because they could use any scrap wire and make their own simply by heating the wire—no elaborate blacksmith was required.

Up to now we have been seeing commercially made candleholders. They are interesting, but handmade ones showing fine blacksmith work are more appealing to many people.

SLIDE This one is from Breckenridge. The pistol grip is unusual, as is the ornate thumb lever. The owner's initials are right in front of the pistol grip—J.M.

SLIDE This is a handmade one from Mexico that combines steel and brass. Although this one doesn't have elaborate design work, it is extremely well made. *SLIDE* As you can see, the point and hook fold up inside the handle. Very close tolerances are required for this type of holder.

SLIDE This one is a two candlepower candleholder. Double candleholders are as hard to find as folding ones.

SLIDE This is another double candleholder that was designed for

wearing on the miner's cap. As you can see, this was made by a very competent metalsmith.

SLIDE This is a third double candleholder. This was a trammer's lamp—it was designed to be hung on the front of an ore car.

SLIDE This cast copper holder from southern Arizona goes back to nearly the early Cornish piece of clay. These were placed on rock ledges around the stope. Minimal skill was required to make one of these.

Not all candleholders were made for mine use. *SLIDE* Some were made for presentation to mine or government officials, and sometimes blacksmiths made special ones for friends. This particular one is inlaid with engraved silver. *SLIDE* This candleholder is inlaid with engraved German silver. The steel portions have been blued. Other candleholders were for jewelry, birthday cakes, and stick pins. *SLIDE* This one is made of brass, but it probably took just as much time to make a full-sized one.

SLIDE Whether this was an attempt to get oil users to use a candleholder or an attempt to get rid of a bunch of over-stocked oil lamps, I can't tell you. This is a patented, commercially made lamp. It has a copper rod in the spout to conduct heat back to the fuel and the spout has an inner liner of copper which extends back to the reservoir also.

SLIDE As a collector I go into a lot of old hardware stores hoping to find a scene like this—I haven't made it yet.

In 1892 Major James Morehead and Mr. Thomas Willson of Spray, North Carolina were experimenting with a mixture of lime, coal, tar, and carbon, and they discovered a way to make calcium carbide on a commercial basis. When water is placed on calcium carbide, acetylene gas is produced. This gas burns with a bright, smokeless flame. Carbide was tried in several types of lamps, including bicycle lamps. Soon some miner carried his bicycle lamp into the mine, and shortly the carbide mine lamp industry got started.

SLIDE The first carbide mine lamps were made about 1902, but not all miners went to them right away as this 1911 advertisement for Baldwin lamps shows. The ad goes on to make numerous claims for carbide lamps and tell how old fashioned oil lamps were. Although many miners went to the carbide fairly early, it was nearer 1920 when oil lamps and candles were obsolete.

The Baldwin lamps were one of the first brand to gain acceptance. *SLIDE* They were produced by the John Simmons Company from 1909 to the middle 1920's. Several different models were produced. *SLIDE* This is one of the first Baldwin lamps. It is a 4 hour hand lamp. The body is made of galvanized steel which was eaten up rapidly by the calcium carbide. There are several ways to tell an early carbide lamp. One is the lack of positive water regulation—just an off-on arrangement. Others are no striker on the reflector and the burner tip is now

encased in metal. *SLIDE* This is another of the first Baldwin lamps. This is called a cap lamp. You can see why some miners were reluctant to give up their small oil lamps, even if the light was better.

SLIDE This is an EverReady can lamp from about the same period. Other ways to tell an early carbide is they had non-removable reflectors and they had only one hook on the back. Later lamps had replaceable reflectors and a stabilizer bracket added to the back to steady the lamp.

SLIDE Justrite was one of the first manufacturers and this is one of their first lamps. It does have a stabilizer brace, but no other improvements. Of the approximately 47 different brands that were produced in the United States, Justrite is the only one that is still in business; however, their current production is plastic.

SLIDE Some of the early carbides were designed for the coal miner. Black Diamond was one brand that saw very short production. *SLIDE* The Scranton also was not very successful. Both brands were produced circa 1910-1911.

SLIDE The Maple City advertisements showed coal miners at work making an undercut. *SLIDE* The Maple City lamp, circa 1910-1912, showed no modern advances and an easily damaged set of threads for attaching the base to the top.

SLIDE The Zar lamp was produced a short time around 1915, when the Simmons Company bought them out. It has few of the modern features.

SLIDE This is a later model of the Baldwin lamp. It was called the Pioneer model and was produced circa 1916-1920. It has positive water regulation and a striker on a removable reflector.

SLIDE This lamp had black paint as the factory finish. It is a Harker Brite Lite. This particular model was called a side valve, which was supposed to protect the lamp in mines with low backs. This lamp was sold circa 1917-1921.

SLIDE This is a Grier Brothers lamp. As we go on into the 1920's, you can see the advances which became standard—water regulation, striker, stabilizer hooks. This company, which earlier manufactured spout lamps, made carbide lamps from approximately 1918-1923.

SLIDE When Grier Brothers quit the lamp business, they sold out to Gem Manufacturing Company. Gem was in business only a few years.

SLIDE This is a Hansen. This was one of the fancier carbides that were produced. It has a lever mounted in the reflector that was an automatic striker.

SLIDE Here is another fancy lamp. This is an X-Ray, which was sold by Justrite in the early 1920's. It is probable that this lamp was originally sold under the Fulton brand by the E. M. Haw Co., Huntington, West Virginia.

SLIDE These cap lamps did not have great appeal for the Western metal miner. He was used to a candleholder and did not want to wear a lamp on his head. Several manufacturers offered lamps similar to this Justrite, that combined the candleholder and carbide lamp. This lamp is larger than a cap lamp and was not suitable for wearing.

SLIDE Referring again to Mr. O'Connell's sketches, we see a driver with a cap lamp. Cap lamps were suited to people in the mine who moved around a lot, such as drivers, pipemen, bit boys, and nippers.

SLIDE These miners are loading dynamite into the face. The standing miner has his hand lamp hanging from a drill hole and the other miner has his setting on the ground beside him. This is the type of lamp the majority of actual metal miners used. They worked in one place and would take good advantage of the larger hand lamp. Miners who attempted to timber with a cap lamp burned the back of their arms and went out and bought a hand lamp.

SLIDE This is an ITP hand lamp produced by the Dewar Manufacturing Company. ITP was their trademark, meaning It's Trouble Proof. These hand lamps were very popular, particularly in the Coeur D'Alene District of Idaho.

SLIDE Dewar also made an ITP cap lamp, but they were not nearly as popular as the hand lamps. Perhaps it was because they didn't have the advances common on contemporary lamps.

SLIDE Here is another lamp put out by the Dewar Manufacturing Company, called the Sun Ray. It uses several of the same parts as the ITP cap lamp. It was probably brought out just to provide competition, but around the 1930's the cap lamp market had its Big Three—Justrite, Autolite, and Guy's Dropper.

About this time several manufacturers introduced aluminum lamps. *SLIDE* Here is a hand lamp by Justrite called the Uncle Sam. This lamp is hard to find with the original parts because the design is so terrible. The hook hanging down at the back would be the normal method of carrying it down the drift, but as you can see, it is mounted on a swivel at the bail. It would have a good chance of rotating and catching the miner's leg on fire. If he carried it by the bail there was no knuckle clearance and he would burn himself on the reflector. The first thing the miners would do is throw away the reflectors and wind guard and make a burner tip from a rock drill water needle that would turn the flame away from the lamp.

SLIDE Here is a rare hanging aluminum lamp called the Denver Lamp. A limited number of these were produced in Denver. The design is very poor compared to other lamps available at the time.

SLIDE A well designed aluminum lamp was produced by the Fred-

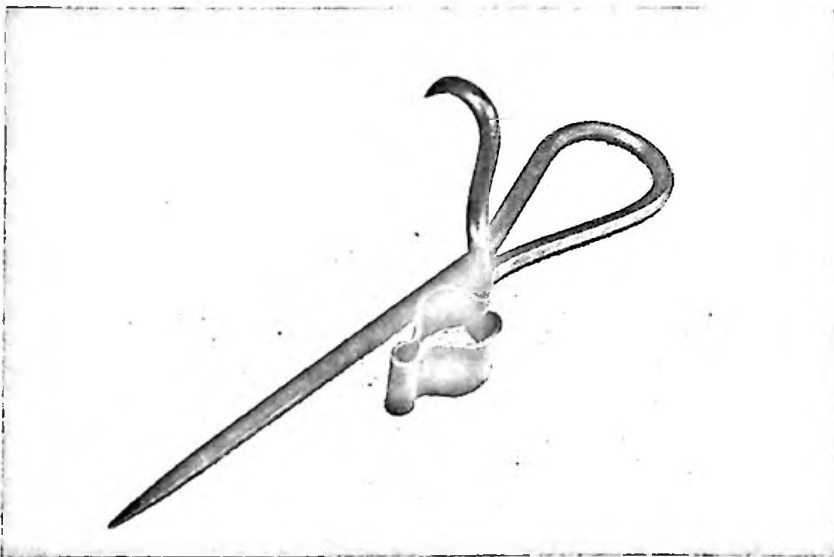
rick R. Belt Company under the name Lu-Mi-Num. These were produced from 1924 to about 1940.

Most of the cap lamps would burn from 2 to 3 hours and the hand lamps would burn from 4 to 6 hours. Therefore, the miners had to have some method of refilling their lamps during shift. Each miner carried his own supply of carbide—commonly in a Prince Albert can. There were also commercially made containers, in fact one looked very much like a Prince Albert can. *SLIDE* One type that was pushed by the lamp manufacturers was a spare lamp bottom with a cover. When the lamp's carbide was spent, the bottoms were simply exchanged. On a small cap lamp this combination was only good for 4 hours. One inventor solved the short supply problem with this arrangement. With a bottom on his lamp, the miner could make it through the entire shift.

SLIDE This was made to carry water, matches, and carbide. I would hate to carry this bomb, and I think most miners didn't like it either, since they are very hard to find.

Around 1900 the electric lamp was introduced and in 1916 was approved by the United States Bureau of Mines. The electric lamp didn't gain acceptance or wide use, especially in metal mines, until about 1935. Carbide was used up to that time, and is still used in small mines today.

We have seen several pictures of how miners used these lamps. The modern-day collector uses them solely as objects of admiration.



A Colorado candleholder which was made in Denver and used in mines throughout the West.



Westerner's Bookshelf



The Kansas Corral of the Westerners announces publication of volume two of *The Prairie Scout*, another excellent collection of scholarly articles about the American West. Limited to 500 numbered copies, of which only 400 are for sale (the last 100, including number 13, go to members of the Kansas Corral), this book will be of interest to collectors and hobbyists as well as serious students of the Old West.

The 128-page *Prairie Scout* is completely indexed, contains many illustrations, and is cloth bound. The price is \$9.95 each (plus 50 cents each for mailing). There are some copies of volume one available at \$7.95 (plus 25 cents for mailing).

Send your checks and orders to:

Kansas Corral of the Westerners
P.O. Box 531
Abilene, Kansas 67410

TRAVELS in NORTH AMERICA 1822-1824 by Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Wurttemberg. Translated by W. Robert Nitske. Edited by Savoie Lottinville. University of Oklahoma Press 1974. 414 pp. \$20.00

This book is a must to anyone interested in the history of the Mississippi Valley and the history of the early Missouri area and its early development and settlement.

It is an essential edition to the library of any student of the American Indians. The Duke gives an unbiased insight in their traditions, appearances, habits and character which is unique in its honesty and outstanding in its content.

The work would, beyond a doubt, be interesting, informative and useful to any Botanist. The comprehensive and rare observations by the Duke of plants, flowers and numerous forms of vegetation, as well as many animals, make this truly a historical document of outstanding merit.

It should be noted that the Duke of Wurttemberg was more a scientist than an explorer who was not interested in finding and exploring new lands, but discovering what plant and animal life existed in the territories he chose to tirelessly examine and record.

The reader should keep in mind the fact that the statements and conclusions of the author were those of a visiting scientist from a foreign land and were not colored or slanted in any way by local traditions, prejudices or social inhibitions.

Ralph E. Livingston, P.M.

FEAST OF LIFE—Listing of Restaurants and Recipes as shown on KOA-TV's Area Four—By: Sam Arnold. Published by Fur Press, Denver, Colorado. Paperback—36 pages plus index of recipes and Pocket Guide to Sam Arnold's Favorite Restaurants.

This book is much more than the usual list of popular and well known restaurants in that it also lists little known, out of the way places in Denver. The author has also managed to obtain recipes from a number of the establishments, ranging from Roasted Duck to Brandied Apricot Sauce from Le Profil to The Bum Steer from My Brother's Bar. Not to be overlooked is Gunnie's Scrapple from Mr. Arnold's

grandmother in Harrisburg, Pa. If the suggestion of adding green chile to this recipe does not convince you of the author's love affair with that ingredient, would you believe Jalapenos stuffed with Peanut Butter?

For those of us who enjoy a variety of food; in different places and are interested in unusual recipes, whether or not we try them out, this is an enjoyable book. I, for one, am looking forward to the promised subsequent volume.

Alice E. Hortsman

COLORADO RAILROADS, CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT by Tiv Wilkens. Pruett Publishing Co., Boulder, Colorado. 309 pages, 250 photographs, 15 maps. \$24.95.

This is a very valuable book to the serious student of Colorado railroads. The author has minutely detailed the construction, operation, existence or abandonment of railroad trackage in Colorado. From the first rail on Colorado soil in 1867 through 1966, each section of main line, branch and spur trackage is listed, described and referenced.

This type of information is difficult to arrange in an interesting fashion, but a very pleasant format is achieved through a fine selection of photographs appearing on facing pages to the tabulated data.

The bibliography is outstanding and reveals the thorough research that has gone into this volume. It is supplemented by an excellent index.

The preponderance of factual data and absence of extensive narrative do not preclude interest by other than railroad scholars, but the author's main purpose is not entertainment. Mr. Wilkens succeeds in his stated objective "to provide a unified source of information as a nucleus for more comprehensive research into the state's railroad history." A welcome addition to a railfan's library.

Charles S. Ryland, P.M.
February 25, 1975

THE McCARTYS. THEY RODE WITH BUTCH CASSIDY by E. Richard Churchill, B & B Printers and Lithographers, Gunnison, Colo., 1972. 44 pp., bibliography, index. \$1.00.

DOC HOLLIDAY, BAT MASTERSON & WYATT EARP: THEIR COLORADO CAREERS by E. Richard Churchill, B & B Printers and Lithographers, Gunnison, Colo., 1974, 38 pp., bibliography, index. \$1.00.

These attractively printed, well-illustrated little books are for the man who, after a hard day's drive, welcomes relaxation and enjoyment with his bourbon. It's easy reading, uneasy riding. Though the book robber's horse in his race against the lawman leaps commas as well as gibes, the author has done his homework. He sticks to basic facts.

The first book relates in lively style the adventures of the McCarty brothers, Bob and Fred—and Matt Warner. They were older than the fifth member of the band, George LeRoy Parker, later to gain fame as Butch Cassidy. All were veteran outlaws when Parker helped rob the San Miguel National Bank in Telluride, Colorado of \$10,500. This was his first bank job. Though Butch Cassidy's name is in the title, the book is mostly about the three McCarty brothers and their kinsman, Matt Warner.

And what action! Rustling cattle, raiding horse herds, horse racing, robbing trains and banks—always just out of reach of the long arm of the law. On March 30, 1889, the First National Bank of Denver, then located in the now-demolished Tabor Block, was visited by Tom McCarty. He confronted President David Moffat with a bottle he said was filled with nitroglycerine, demanded a check for \$21,000 or he would blow up the bank. Moffat not only complied with the bandit's order, but had a teller cash the check for Tom.

From New Mexico to Montana, from Wyoming to Oregon and Washington, the McCarty band rode and raided. On September 7, 1893, in the little town of

Delta, Colorado, came the end. Tom and Fred were killed, Bob escaped into hiding. After being pardoned from the penitentiary, Matt Warner ended up as a respected family man and deputy sheriff.

The second book opens with a chronology of Wyatt Earp, John Henry "Doc" Holliday, and William Barclay "Bat" Masterson. It tells of the exploits of these characters of the Old West in Colorado. All were gunmen-gamblers with cold steel nerve.

A Georgia dentist sent west for the cure of tuberculosis, Doc Holliday's first stop in Colorado after his swift exit from Texas was Pueblo. In Denver he found ready employment as a faro dealer in one of the many gambling places on Blake and Larimer Streets. For a change of scenery he worked the mining camps, even peddled gold bricks on the train. In 1876 the soft-spoken, well-dressed Southerner was hosted by Central City, Black Hawk, Idaho Springs, Georgetown, Boulder and Rosita.

Weak though he was with the cough that never left him, Doc joined Bat Masterson in the fight for the Royal Gorge of the Arkansas being waged by the Santa Fe and Denver & Rio Grande railways. Neither got to fire a shot before courts settled the matter. Bat returned to his job as sheriff of Ford County, Kansas. Doc swung down to Las Vegas, New Mexico. In the spring of 1881, Bat moved to Trinidad, Colorado, and went to work as both peace officer and gambler, a winning combination.

Back in Denver, Holliday was arrested for murder on an old charge brought by a deputy from Los Angeles. For assistance, Doc wired his friends Masterson and Earp. Though he had little love for the deadly dentist, Bat's personal appeal, as well as the reputation of his guns, was largely responsible for both Doc and Wyatt being granted sanctuary in Colorado.

While dividing his time between Denver, Pueblo and Leadville, Doc's health worsened daily. On November 8, 1887, on his way by stage from Leadville to

Glenwood Springs to take the sulphur baths he died. He is buried in Glenwood Springs.

Wyatt Earp drifted off to California, but Bat pretty much made Denver his home. He became manager of a theater, married one of the dancers. About this time, in the early nineties, he was attracted to the mining town of Creede, in southern Colorado. Here he served as referee of a heavyweight fight, became marshal, and became acquainted with the con man, Soapy Smith. As the Creede boom slowed, Bat returned to Denver, became president of the Olympic Athletic Club, which led to enmity between him and Otto Floto, sports editor of the young Denver Post.

Bat Masterson became sports editor for the New York Morning Telegraph, a position he held for many years. He died at his desk.

Dabney Otis Collins

SHOW & TELL

During the Show and Tell segment of the February meeting, Jack Thode presented two builder's plates from his collection. These are from D&RCW locomotives which were built in the early 40's, and although the plate numbers are consecutive, they were acquired by Jack 13 years apart!

Plate #64182—D&RCW engine number 3714. The last steam engine purchased by the railroad. It was built in 1941 and taken out of service in 1951. It was scrapped in Salt Lake City on September 13, 1951—a few months less than being 10 years old.

Plate #64183—D&RCW engine number 69. This 660 HP Diesel service engine was also built in 1941. It was taken out of service in March, 1963. It was scrapped in 1964—more than 23 years old.

Over the Corral Rail (Cont.)

1966. Despite the initial orientation with the West, and the location of its archives in Arizona, the activities of Camp cover the entire American continent.

The Rocky Mountain Chapter includes members from Wyoming and Colorado. Many members of the Westerners belong to Camp and hold offices in the organization. You will recognize four of their names below:

Officers of the Rocky Mountain Chapter of CAMP

Granville Horstmann, President
William Van Duzer, Vice President,
Colorado

Marion Huseas, Vice President,
Wyoming

James F. Bowers, Secretary-Treasurer
James Wier, President Emeritus

To apply for membership or to obtain more information, contact one of the above officers during one of the regular Westerners meetings or write to Granville Horstmann. His address is listed elsewhere in this issue of the Roundup.

• • •

Another source for back issues of *Brand Books* has recently been brought to our attention, and we are passing it on to those of you who might want to fill in some gaps in your collection of these. The source is Mrs. Frank Adcock in Boulder. We don't know what issues she has available, but you can find out by calling her at 442-7991.

New Hands on the Denver Range

Curtis S. Bates
1625 S. Birch #105
Denver, Colorado 80222

Curtis was brought to the Westerners by Granny Horstman. His interest is in Colorado and the Rockies, but that interest is expanded to include more of the west. Welcome to the Westerners!

• • •

Donald E. Bower was voted in by the members as a Posse Member during their meeting the evening of February 23rd.

Don was sponsored by Dabney Collins. Don's interests are devoted to an impressive career in the publishing, editorial, and writing field spanning some 25 years. For 15 years he was the president of his own publishing company, and for three years was the editor and publisher of a Littleton, Colorado newspaper. He has been an active writer, with more than 100 articles, two non-fiction books and a novel to his credit.

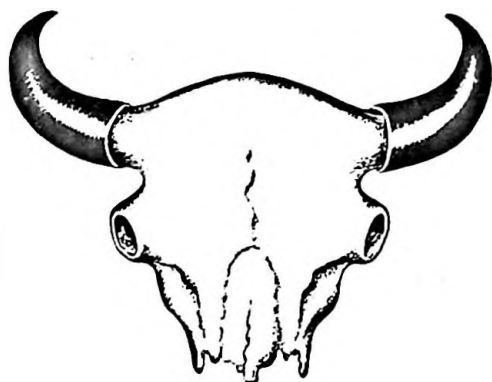
Following his recent resignation as editor of *The American West*, Don returned to Denver to become director of the National Writer's Club.

The DENVER WESTERNERS

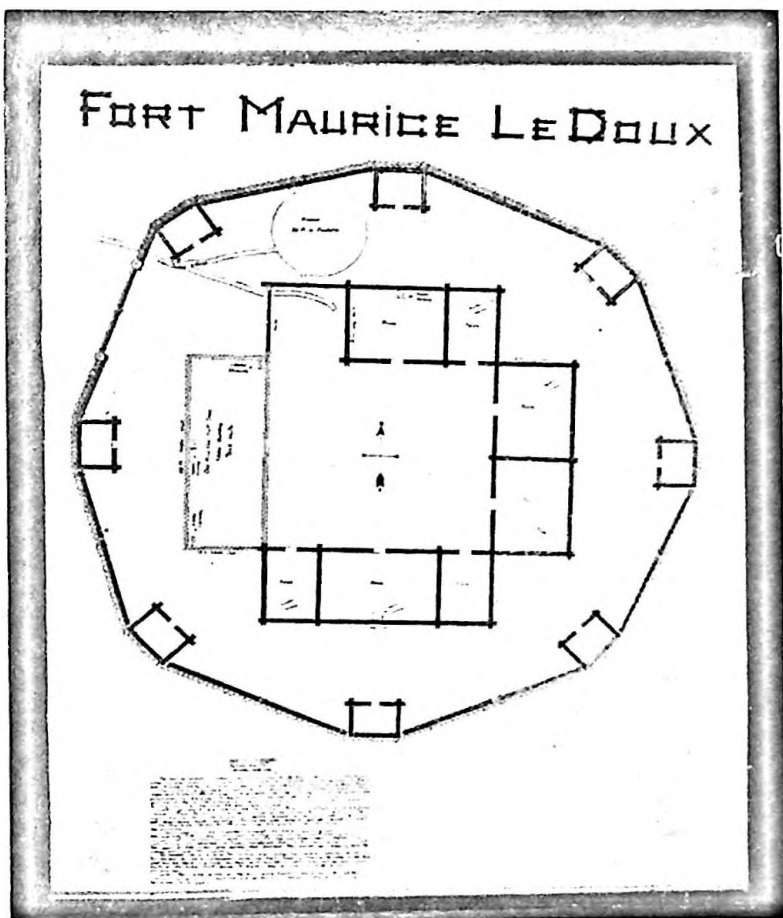
ROUNDUP

MARCH/APRIL 1975

Volume XXXI No. 3



IN THIS ISSUE
LESSER KNOWN FORTS AND
TRADING POSTS OF COLO-
RADO BY FRANCIS B. RIZ-
ZARI, P.M.



Drawn by Fred Walters
Photo courtesy P.M. Fred Rosenstock

OVER THE CORRAL RAIL

Corresponding members are always welcome to attend our monthly meetings. It is not necessary for you to receive a meeting notice in the mail, although these are sent to all Corresponding members on a rotating schedule during the year. The meetings are held at the Denver Press Club on the last Wednesday of each month. Dinner starts at 6:30 P.M. However, reservations are necessary, and they must be received by Monday prior to the Wednesday meeting at the latest. Reservations for all meetings and dinners should be sent to Chuck Wrangler Ross Miller, Jr., 1040 South Gilpin Street, Denver, Colorado 80209. Active Corresponding members have always contributed a great deal to the success of the Westerners. Become more active and attend more of our dinner meetings.

This invitation also applies to those of you who are from out of state.

If your business or personal plans bring you to Denver, try to arrange your schedule so that you can attend our meetings.

• • •

You read about the Council on Abandoned Military Posts (CAMP) in the February ROUNDUP. The Rocky Mountain Chapter had an historical trip on June 13th. They met in Douglas, Wyoming to tour part of the Bozeman Trail, and visit the site of the Fetterman massacre, among other plans. Guests were welcome—giving them a chance to meet the members and have a great outing with some expert tour guides.

Many of the members are also members of the Westerners. For additional information about other trips, contact Granville Horstmann. His address is 3083 South Holly Place, Denver, Colorado 80222. Granny is President of the Rocky Mountain Chapter of CAMP.

(Concluded on the back cover)

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Notes on a few early forts and trading posts in Colorado and the men who built them

by

FRANCIS B. RIZZARI, PM.

Without doubt, the two words that evoke the most interest in any group of people who happen to congregate for a historical discussion on the West, are Ghost Town. The next words, probably, are those which happen to be associated with the word "Fort", such as "Site of Fort Blank" or "Ruins of Fort Blank." As kids, most of us built snow forts and bombed each other with snow balls. We thrilled to stories of the armies fighting around forts from those of the Crusaders down to the defense of Fort Corregidor in World War II.

Forts have played an important part in man's dwelling on this planet. The first one being a very primitive type of protection consisting of not more than one or two rocks where a prehistoric man awaited either game for food or to ambush an enemy. From this early beginning, evolved more complicated structures of logs and dirt, culminating in the grand stone fort buildings of Europe which were practically towns.

When the tide of immigration turned to America, once again it became necessary for the pioneers to build some kind of fort for protection. These were built mostly of logs because they were handy and time was of the essence. Later on, stone military forts were built for the defense of the Nation. This paper will dwell mostly on those posts in what is now Colorado, which were built for the purpose of trading with the Indians and as a place for the traders and trappers to live in comparative safety.

After the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, men with a lust for adventure and wealth, moved onto the plains; into the Rocky Mountains; and on across the deserts to the Pacific Ocean. Their habitations usually were some kind of a fort. That part of the country which is now the State of Colorado, had its share of these forts and today there are no less than seven towns or army camps which still carry the word as a prefix to their names.

While it is possible that the French, who supposedly buried an immense amount of gold bullion about 1790 near the summit of what is now Wolf Creek Pass, built a fort or defense of some sort when they were attacked by the Indians, the treasure story makes no mention of it. Therefore, it is likely that the first forts in the area were those built by Lt. Zebulon Pike

and his 21 men on their trek through the area in 1806. He also had an interpreter named Antoine Francois Vasquez, brother of the later famous Louis.

They left Bellefontaine, Missouri on July 11, 1806, and finally entered into Colorado (I will call the area by that name hereafter.) by following the Arkansas River. On the 23rd of November, they reached the Third Fork, which is now known as the St. Charles or San Carlos River. Here they constructed a breastwork of logs. (Frank Hall, *History of Colorado*, Vol. I, P. 90). Leaving a portion of his men here, Pike proceeded up to the Second Fork or Grand Fork, which is now called the Fountain. Here they camped again on the site of present day Pueblo, and built a fort of three walls about five feet high, with the fourth side open to the river. (Ralph Taylor, *Colorado South of the Border*, P. 360). Here he left the men who did not accompany him on his unsuccessful attempt to climb the Grand Peak. When he returned from the climb, he gathered his men and proceeded up the Arkansas to a spot near the site of present day Canyon City. A small stockade was erected near the spot where the State Penitentiary stands.

After many hardships which we will not discuss here as they have been well written up by others, Pike and his men arrived on the west bank of the Conejos River, about four miles above its junction with the Rio Grande. Here they built a rather elaborate stockade, hoping to spend the winter. However, their stay was short-lived as they were suddenly confronted by Don Ignatio Saltel and a company of 100 Spanish soldiers, who took them to Mexico. And so Lt. Pike passes out of our story after leaving a record of four so-called forts or stockades. His stockade on the Conejos has been reconstructed and is a historic park.

Between 1804—two years before Pike's expedition—and 1819, there are records of dozens of other adventurers in the area. There was Jean Baptist LaLande, Jacques d' Eglise, James Purcell, whom Pike met, Laurent Durocher, Chalvert (also spelled Charvet, Jarvet, and Jarbet,) and some ten other men with French names. (Eleanor Richie, *Colo. Mag.* Sept. 1936, p. 171). LaLande had come by way of Taos where he had obtained guides. Purcell, with a party of Kiowas and Paduca Indians, had had trouble with the Sioux, who chased them into the mountains where they eventually reached the headwaters of the South Platte. Here Purcell found the now famous gold nuggets. From here he went to Santa Fe to seek trading privileges. Spain, however, was not receptive to such goings on and intruders were thrown into prison or forced to practice their trades in New Mexico. Purcell wisely kept secret his gold discovery although he did reveal it to Lt. Pike when Pike was brought to Santa Fe. Chalvert, or

Jarvet or whatever, became a trusted agent for the Spanish, while LaLande and Durocher served them in the Indian Country.

In the fall of 1811, Ezekiel Williams, along with Champlain and Porteau, and nineteen other trappers, came into Colorado. They too had much trouble with the Indians. Finally, all but six left, presumably to return to St. Louis. Three of the six were killed in a fight with the Arapahoes, but Williams, Champlain, and Porteau were protected by friendly Indians on the Arkansas. They spent the winter here, then Williams, after caching his furs in a dugout on the bank of the river, returned to St. Louis. (*Colo. Mag.* Sept. 1936, p. 175.)

In 1812, other trappers entered Colorado. Among these are the names of Joseph Miller, John Hoback, Jacob Reznor, Edward Robinson, and a Mr. Cass. Early in 1814, "Phillebert's Company" led by Phillebert, a St. Louis trader, and about 20 other trappers and hunters, entered Colorado. With them was Ezekiel Williams, who wanted to retrieve his furs which he had hidden two years before. He also wanted to find word of his two companions, Champlain and Porteau. Although he did not get definite word as to their fate, he did find Baptist LaLande acting as an interpreter with the Arapahoes. After a successful summer, Phillebert cached some of his furs at the mouth of the Huerfano, and returned to St. Louis, leaving some of his men to guard the cache.

In September 1815, a large party of Frenchmen under the leadership of August Pierre Choteau and Jules de Munn, entered Colorado. (*Stone, Hist. of Colo.* V. 1, p. 112.) With them was our friend Phillebert, who was returning to pick up his men and his furs. Also with the party was one Joseph Bissonette, who later was a guide for Major Stephen Long in 1820. (*Colo. Mag.*, April 1950, p. 84.) Upon arriving at the cache, they found the men had run low on supplies and had left for Taos, New Mexico. Choteau and de Munn tried to obtain a license for trapping and trading and were partially successful. However, they decided to go to the Columbia River Basin but were taken prisoner and escorted back to Santa Fe. There they were kept for 48 days, when they were subjected to trial and ordered to leave the country. All their possessions, including their horses, were confiscated. The Spanish finally relented and gave each man a horse, needless to say, the poorest ones that could be found. In all the above accounts concerning the various trapping parties, there seems to have been no effort made to establish some sort of permanent post or fort.

The next fort of record after those built by Pike, is a rather ephemeral one used for military purposes. It was built by the Spanish in 1819 near the top of the Sagre de Cristo Pass on the old Taos Trail. Spain, undoubtedly disturbed by Pike's apparent military expedition, followed by all the various trapping parties, decided it was time to defend her colonial empire from

further invasion. Although the United States had purchased a great part of the area that was to become Colorado by the Louisiana Purchase, the boundary line with Spain was not established until the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1821. The common line followed the Arkansas River to its source, thence northward along the crest of the mountains to the 42nd parallel, etc. (The line following the Crest of the mountains supposedly left the town of present day Breckenridge out of the United States and has been a controversial subject ever since.)

Spain had become concerned when in 1818, Luis de Onis, Spanish Minister to the United States, came into possession of some anonymous French notes which pointed out the vulnerable passes into New Mexico. Onis ordered Governor Fecundo Melgares to fortify these which were: Sangre de Cristo Pass, an unnamed pass north of this, and Taos Pass. Melgares reported in May 1819 that he had fortified the Taos and Sangre de Cristo Passes and was drawing up further specifications.

Shortly after completion of the fort on Sangre de Cristo Pass, it was attacked by men dressed as Indians, after they had killed five out of a reconnaissance party of six. Ensign Don Jose Antonio Valenzuela repulsed the attack but due to his small force, was unable to counter attack. Governor Melgares believed the attackers to be bandit Americans under the command of General Infante Venjamin O'Fallen. (*Colo. Mag.* May 1937, p. 82.) Melgares subsequently sent 300 armed men to reinforce the fort.

In the spring of 1820, Major Stephen H. Long, camped with a party of Pawnee Indians near the Loup Fork of the Platte River in Nebraska and noticed a Spanish flag. The Indians were celebrating a victory over a large body of Arapahoes, Utes, and Kiowas, the battle having taken place between the headwaters of the Arkansas and the Rio del Norte. Long further relates that during the winter, the Grand Pawnees had encountered a force of Spaniards and evidently defeated them. He thought that some of the scalps he saw were of Spanish origin and he saw Spanish trappings and ornaments on some of their finest horses.

Major Jacob Fowler, trapper and trader, in his diary for February 3, 1822, states he camped at a deserted Spanish fort located on Sangre de Cristo Pass. (Chauncey Thomas, *Colo. Mag.* May 1937, p. 82.) He had previously stopped and built a three-room log cabin near Pike's fort on the site of Pueblo. (*Colorado South of the Border*, p. 360.) This cabin was fortified as he states they were afraid that the Spaniards would attempt to capture them.

In 1934, Dr. LeRoy Hafen, then historian for the Colorado Historical Society, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Tim Hudson of Gardner, and Emmet King of Walsenburg, found what they believed were the ruins of the Spanish Fort, about five miles from the pass and 25 miles from Walsen-

burg. There was evidence that the site had been dug by treasure hunters previous to their visit. Although the Hafen party found no relics, they did find several mounds which could have been graves. They did not excavate them. At best, the fort could have lasted only two or three years.

Another ephemeral trading post was built on the Upper Arkansas River by one John McKnight. Although he was a trapper, little else is known about him. He met his death at the hands of the Comanche Indians in 1823 and the post was never occupied after that. (Stone, *Hist. of Colo.*, v. 1, p. 116.) Somewhere out in northeastern Colorado or perhaps southwestern Nebraska, is the site of a large unnamed fort which had been built of large cottonwood logs. (Hall, *Hist. of Colo.*, v. 1, p. 117.) In 1842, on Colonel John C. Fremont's first expedition to the west—he was a Lieutenant at the time—his party was split into two groups at what is now North Platte, Nebraska. One group followed the North Fork to Fort Laramie. Fremont, guided by young Kit Carson whom he had met on the river boat on the trip up the Missouri, proceeded up the South Fork toward Fort St. Vrain, and on the way, passed the old fort. In Fremont's words, "It was apparently very old and had probably been the scene of some hostile encounter among roving tribes. Its solitude formed an impressive contrast to the picture which our imaginations involuntarily drew of the busy scenes which had been enacted here."

GANTT'S FORT

While the Bents and their trading posts and forts dominated the Colorado area from 1828 to 1870, there were at least a dozen other forts established for trading with the Indians and for the military.

On May 5, 1831, William Clark, Indian Commissioner in St. Louis, issued a license to John Gantt and Jefferson Blackwell and a party of about 60 men to go through the Indian Country. Gantt carried the title of Captain, having joined the Army in Kentucky. In May 1817, he was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant, Rifles; April 1818 to 1st Lt., June 1821 was transferred to the Infantry. In February 1823, he was promoted to Captain. In May 1829, he was courtmartialled and dismissed from service because he knowingly signed a false statement regarding his pay.

In 1831, he and Blackwell were in South Park where they were joined by Kit Carson. There was a considerable number of men in the entire group but they soon quarrelled and broke up with most of the men hiring out to Tom Fitzpatrick. Gantt, Kit Carson and presumably Blackwell, trapped all through South Park, North Park, and the Laramie Plains, finally arriving on the Arkansas in 1832. Here they built a trading post which came to be known as Gantt's Fort. Alice B. Maloney, writing in the *California Historical Quarterly* (Vol. 16, pages 48-60.) says it was six miles above the mouth of Fountain Creek. Stone's *History of Colorado*, says five

miles. Arthur J. Flynn in the *Colorado Magazine* for March 1932 (p. 50.) says it was five miles east of Fountain Creek. Rosemae Campbell in her book, *Trappers to Tourists* (p. 10.) says that William Bent had a stockade eight miles below the Fountain to tempt trade away from Gantt. She says that Gantt then moved his post to within three miles of Bent and built an adobe post called Fort Cass. She gives no source of her information.

The fort—or forts—were abandoned by 1835. In that year Captain Gantt was a guide for Col. Henry Dodge and his First Dragoons. Hugh Evans, orderly Sergeant, kept a journal and his entry for August 1, 1835 states that the command marched about five miles that day and passed an old trading post formerly occupied by Captain Gantt.

With Col. Dodge was a Lieutenant in charge of Company A by name of Lancaster P. Lupton. The stories he heard from Gantt influenced him to resign from the army and he established Fort Lupton on the Platte, a few miles below the site of Denver. Rufus Sage, who went down the Arkansas in 1843, writes in his *Rocky Mountain Life etc.*, "Some six miles below the mouth of the Fountain Qui Bouille are the ruins of an old fort, occupied several years since by one Captain Grant (Aantt) as a trading post." And as late as 1860, a traveling correspondent for the *Rocky Mountain News* reported that on April 10 he "reached and crossed the Arkansas at Gantt's Fork." (LeRoy Hafen, *Colo. Mag.* April 1954, gn p. 118.) On November 8, 1836, Bent and St. Vrain were given a license to trade at Gantt's old fort for two years. Gantt stayed in the west and died in Napa Valley, California, February 14, 1849. We do not know what happened to Jefferson Blackwell.

FORT VASQUEZ

About the time that the Bents and St. Vrain, and Gantt and Blackwell were starting construction of their forts on the Arkansas, Louis Vasquez, brother of Antoine Francois Vasquez, who was with Pike, built a trading post on the east bank of the Platte River at its junction with Vasquez Fork (now Clear Creek). Bancroft gives the date as 1832. (*Hist. of Colo. and Wyo.*, 1888, p. 355) It was built of cottonwood logs backed up by adobe. Hafen believes the date to be incorrect, as I will show later. Hall, in his *History of Colorado*, states that there were four conspicuous forts in the South Platte Valley. (Op. cit. p. 169) He names Fort Vasquez, 1832, at Clear Creek, Fort Lancaster, Fort Lupton, and Fort St. Vrain. He ignores the second Fort Vasquez. Although he was correct in that there were four forts of importance, he does not have the correct names. Forts Lancaster and Lupton were one and the same. Fort St. Vrain and Fort Vasquez are correct, but the fourth one was Fort Jackson.

Hall may have obtained his information from Fremont's and Rufus Sage's reports. Sage visited the four forts in 1842 and Fremont in 1843, but names

only Forts St. Vrain and Lupton. Wislizenus in 1839 mentions these two and also Fort Vasquez. One remained unidentified and we know it as Fort Jackson. In these accounts, the reference would be to the second Fort Vasquez, and why Hall missed it is a mystery. Well, back to Fort Vasquez. Louis Vasquez was a member of the Ashley Fur Trading Expedition of 1823 up the Missouri River. (LeRoy Hafén, *Colorado Magazine*, Vol. 10, P. 15) Using Hafén's sources, we note that Vasquez went to the summer rendezvous on the Green River in 1833. During the winter of 1833-34, he traded with the Crow Indians. This refutes the existence of his fort at Clear Creek in 1832. Hall supposedly got his information from A. Pike Vasquez, Louis' nephew and a business man in Denver in 1860. Perhaps Hall's date is a typographical error as we do know these things happen.

Louis Vasquez was probably well educated as he wrote many letters to his brother Benito Jr. between 1824 and 1842. They are written in French and are preserved in the Missouri Historical Society. In the summer of 1834, he was back at the Green River Rendezvous. That winter he was at a post he calls "Fort Convenience." From this fort on December 30, 1834, he wrote a letter to Benito and sent it down by Andrew Sublette. (Hafén, *Colo. Mag.*, Vol. 10, P. 15) Hafén says this is the only reference to Fort Convenience and is inclined to believe it was the fort at the mouth of Clear Creek.

In 1836, Vasquez was apparently in partnership with Andrew Sublette as these two and Louis' nephew Pike were again in the mountains obtaining furs. The Vasquez letters contain one written by Louis to Benito from "Platte River, October 9, 1836."

The log fort at the mouth of Clear Creek evidently was too small for the business of Vasquez and Sublette and so it was abandoned. They moved down the Platte to a point about a mile south of the present town of Platteville, and established a trading post which came to be known as Fort Vasquez.

Hafén gives the date as probably 1837. This was quite a substantial post with adobe walls and rooms. However, the beaver trade was already on the wane and records show that the partners were losing money, as were most of the other trading posts. Subsequently, they sold out to Lock and Randolph in 1840 for \$800 which was never collected. These two fared no better than Vasquez and Sublette and they abandoned the fort in 1842. It fell into ruin but was repaired in the 1860's and was a stop on the Overland Stage System.

Louis Vasquez in company with Jim Bridger, was outfitted by the American Fur Company and spent the next few years in Wyoming, working out of Fort Bridger. He then returned to Westport, Missouri, where he died in September, 1868. It is interesting to note that the Bridgers, the

Bents, and the Vasquez families lived within a couple of miles of each other in Missouri. Fort Vasquez was reconstructed as a historical site in 1937, exactly 100 years after the original one was built.

FORT LUPTON (LANCASTER)

In the notes on Grant's Fort, we mentioned that Lt Lancaster P. Lupton was in command of Company A of the First Dragoons under Col. Henry Dodge. As Gantt was a guide for the expedition, Lupton obtained much information from him regarding the Indian trade. Subsequently, he resigned from the Army in 1836, in order to become a trader. One wonders if he asked Gantt why he quit the trading business to become a guide for the Army.

Lupton chose as the site for his trading post, a spot about a mile north of the present town of Fort Lupton. However, competition was keen. Within a few months, Forts Vasquez, St. Vrain, and Jackson were all established; the farthest being less than 15 miles away. Lupton and his fort, however, evidently were able to withstand the competition, as Fremont in 1843, going up the Platte from Fort St. Vrain, says he passed the remains of two abandoned forts. Hafen says that these were Forts Vasquez and Jackson. Fremont calls Lupton's post, Fort Lancaster.

With the decline of the beaver fur trade, the post fell on bad times, and Lupton abandoned it to return east. He was back at Bent's Fort in 1846 and in 1847 moved to the Hardscrabble settlement and took up farming.

His old fort remained unoccupied from 1845 to 1859, when it became a corral for emigrant trains to Colorado's gold rush. It was later converted into a stage station for mail and express. In the 1864 Indian uprising it was used as a refuge by the settlers. A monument marking the site was dedicated in 1929 and at that time a portion of one of the adobe walls was still standing.

FORT ST. VRAIN

The third fort mentioned by Hall was known as Fort St. Vrain. The firm of Bent Brothers and St. Vrain, although dominating the trade on the Arkansas River, probably heard rumors of the excellent trade being done by the forts on the Platte and decided it was time that they too got a piece of the action. We know that in the winter of 1838, one James C. Robertson, left Fort Jackson for the Arkansas in order to trade with the Indians. His inventory contained among other things, 42 bunches of blue cut glass beads, dozens of black, yellow, and green cut beads, and nine strands of pigeon egg beads. This trading expedition probably was the equivalent to an act of war as far as the Bents were concerned.

So once again, we have a controversy as far as the date of the founding of Fort St. Vrain. Some say 1837. If that is correct, then Sarpy and Fraeb, owners of Fort Jackson, may have considered this an invasion of their

territory and retaliated by sending Robertson to the Arkansas in the winter of 1838. Anyway, regardless of the date, Bent Brothers and Ceran St. Vrain did establish a trading post on the east side of the Platte River, about one and one-half miles below the mouth of St. Vrain Creek. The fort eventually gave its name to the creek.

The site was well selected, being the half-way point between Fort Bent and Fort Laramie. It was also on the trail from the Upper Arkansas to Fort Laramie, part of which passed over what is now 15th Street in Denver.

The post was first called Fort Lookout, then Fort George, presumably after George Bent. However, Marcellin St. Vrain, a brother of Ceran, was put in charge and ran it for several years. It naturally came to be called St. Vrain's Fort or Fort St. Vrain. One writer (Arthur J. Flynn, *Colo. Mag.*, March 1932, p. 49) says it was the largest and most important for on the Platte River. Being financed by the Bents, it probably was. Its walls were built of adobe bricks and were 14 feet high, 125 feet long, and 75 feet wide. It was patterned generally after Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, having a central court, picketed walls, corner bastions, and only one gate.

Business must have been fairly successful for about nine years, but with the general decline of the fur trade, it was abandoned in the summer of 1844, (*Colo. Mag.*, Oct. 1952, p. 245) with the intention of keeping it open only during the winter months. Marcellin St. Vrain wrote a letter to Antoine Leroux in Taos, dated "Fort George, March 3, 1845," thus indicating that it may have been occupied that winter. However, in the summer of 1845, Col. Stephen W. Kearney and his Dragoons, stated that he found the fort unoccupied. Captain P. St. George Cooks of the same party, reported that they passed the ruins of several adobe trading posts.

Francis Parkman and a party from Boston, passed up the Platte River in the summer of 1846. He writes, "At noon we rested under the walls of a large fort. . . . built some years since by M. St. Vrain. It was now abandoned and fast falling into ruin. The walls of unbaked bricks were cracked from top to bottom. Our horses recoiled in terror from the neglected entrance, where the heavy gates were torn from their hinges and flung down. The area was overgrown with weeds, and the long ranges of apartments once occupied by the motley concourse of traders, Canadians, and squaws, were now miserably delapidated." This would *tend* to indicate conclusively the above date of abandonment. Only the date of construction remains hazy. Parkman also states that twelve miles farther on near where they encamped were the remains of still another fort, standing in melancholy desertion and neglect. This was probably Fort Lupton. (See *California and Oregon Trail*, William Allison Co., New York, nd. P. 251.)

However, in spite of the above information, we have a tantalizing date of the fort being occupied by St. Vrain during the winter of 1847-48.

W. R. Sopris, writing about his grandmother, Mrs. Marcellin St. Vrain, (*Colo. Mag.*, Mar. 1945, pp. 63-64.) says his mother Mary was born at the fort on March 10, 1848, almost two years after Parkman visited it.

In 1840, Marcellin St. Vrain had married Royal or Red, as she was affectionately called, a sister of Red Cloud. She bore him three children: Felix, 1842, Charles, 1844, and Mary in 1848. Sopris says Marcellin abandoned the fort in the summer of 1848 after an Indian, with whom he had been wrestling, suddenly died and he deemed it best to leave the country rather than try to pacify the Indian's relatives. He returned to Missouri, where in 1849, he married Elizabeth Jones (or Jane) Murphy, to which were eventually born ten children. Royal meanwhile, took her children to Mora, New Mexico, where she took up residence with her brother-in-law, Col. Ceran St. Vrain. In June 1851 or 1852, Marcellin went to Mora and took the two boys Felix and Charles, back to Missouri. Felix died a prisoner of the Union Army in 1864. Charles lived in Missouri until 1901, when he moved to Colorado and he died in Hastings in 1934. Mary stayed with her mother and married John R. Skelly, who died in 1879. In 1859 she married E. B. Sopris of Trinidad. She died in 1916. After Marcellin took the two boys, Royal married William A. Brandsford of Trinidad. He died in 1881 and Royal died in either 1885 or 1886. Marcellin built the first flour mill in Ralls County, Missouri, which he operated until his death in 1871.

FORT JACKSON

The fourth fort which Hall mentioned but did not correctly name, was Fort Jackson. This was built by the two partners, Peter A. Sarpy and Henry Fraeb. The two had been together for some years before they built the fort. Sarpy had been an Indian trader in Nebraska in 1824 and had married an Indian woman. Fraeb had been a trapper in Middle Park in 1830-31, and was in South Park in 1832 and 1833. During the 1830's, the west was virtually overrun with trappers and traders. Competition in the fur trade had become very keen, and the beaver were being depleted at an enormous rate.

Sometime between 1834 and 1837, Sarpy and Fraeb formed their partnership. With the backing of Pratte, Choteau and Co., successor to the Western Department of the American Fur Company, the two started up the Platte River in the spring of 1837 to trade with the Indians. Their trading post, which was to become known as Fort Jackson, was built near the town of Ione and close to the spot where the Platte Valley Ditch takes off from the Platte. LeRoy Hafen visited the ruins in 1924, but states at that time he did not know its name. He finally found the information in the Choteau-Moffit Collection in the Missouri State Historical Society. It is presumed to have been named for President Andrew Jackson. The firm

seems to have been quite successful as the records of Pratte, Choteau and Company for June 1838, show payment of \$10,046 for 2,761 buffalo robes; 159 buffalo calf robes; 205 red calf; 53 beaver; 2 cub bear; 2 fox; 5 rat; 2 otter; and 105 tongues. It is interesting to note the small number of beaver skins. As the demand for beaver skins declined, it was replaced with that for buffalo robes. Dr. Philip Whiteley, writing in the 1951 *Westerner's Brand Book*, gives a very detailed list of goods that Sarpy and Fraeb sent to the Arkansas with James C. Robertson to trade with the Indians in 1838. A partial list of this was given in the account of Fort St. Vrain.

On April 18, 1838, Fraeb wrote to St. Vrain, offering to enter into a co-partnership with him and George Bent for the summer trade of 1838. However, sometime that summer, he and Sarpy decided to sell the fort to St. Vrain and the Bents. In October, 1838, William Bent arrived at the fort to take inventory and transfer ownership. The inventory filled nine pages. Bent, St. Vrain and Company never used the fort as their Fort Lookout was less than ten miles away. (Fort Lookout became Fort George and finally Fort St. Vrain.) Rufus Sage passed the ruins of Fort Jackson in 1842 and said it was much delapidated in appearance. He either did not know its name or just assumed that it was unimportant.

Sarpy was drowned in the Missouri River in 1861. Fraeb joined with Jim Bridger and they established a trading post on the Green River, the location of which has become lost. In 1841, on a branch of the Yampa River called the Little Snake, Fraeb and his party of trappers, which included Jim Baker, were attacked by about 500 Indians, and Fraeb and three of his men were killed. The creek today is called Battle Creek because of this battle. (Hafen, *Colo. Mag.*, May 1930. P. 97)

FORT MAURICE LE DOUX (LeDUC)

About 1835, Maurice Le Doux, sometimes spelled LeDuc, built a trading post on Adobe Creek just above its junction with Mineral Creek, in Fremont County. There was also a Mexican settlement of several adobe houses nearby on Hardscrabble Creek. LeDoux had married a Ute Indian woman and thus was able to more or less keep peace with the tribe. In 1838, the fort and settlement were attacked by a war party of Arapahoes and Sioux, but Le Doux was able to hold them off while a runner went to the Ute camp in the Wet Mountain Valley. The Utes came to the rescue and a fierce battle was fought just above the fort.

Stories of the fort and the Hardscrabble settlement are intertwined and in researching them, it is sometimes hard to tell just which place is the subject of that particular article. The settlement also went by the name of San Buenaventura de los Tres Arollos and in 1845, Fremont passed by it and called it Pueblo of St. Charles. In the 1840's, when trapping was

practically over with, Ceran St. Vrain, Lancaster Lupton, Charles bent, and other trappers lived on Adobe Creek. B. F. Rockafellow, writing the *History of Fremont County* in Baskin's *History of the Arkansas Valley*, says they built the first settlement in Colorado. I think they merely moved in on Maurice Le Doux. Two other men at the Fort were George Simpson and Alexander Barclay. Simpson wrote a letter dated March 31, 1844, from San Buenaventura de los Tres Arollos. (Janet S. Lecompt, *Colo. Mag.*, Apr. 1954. p. 86.) Barclay kept a diary of the comings and goings of the mountain men and trappers, most of whom were out of work due to the decline of the demand for beaver furs. This diary will soon be published by Posse Man Fred Rosenstock and may clear up some of the confusion. Albert G. Boone, grandson of the famous Daniel, may have had charge of the post between 1844 and 1846. (Lecompt, *op. cit.* p. 92) The first white child born in what is now Colorado was born on June 2, 1844 at the fort to George Simpson and his wife Juana. It was a girl which they named Maria Isabel. Later, a son Joseph Robert was born to the Simpsons on March 19, 1846.

Lancaster P. Lupton arrived in December 1846. (Lecompt, *op. cit.* p. 94.) His account book of his business transactions is now in the State Historical Society. Lupton and his family joined the gold rush to California in 1849. He died near Arcata, California on August 2, 1885.

Rockafellow says the fort and settlement lasted on and off until 1852, when the Mexicans took their families back to New Mexico. Fort Le Doux was attacked and burned in 1854 by a band of Ute Indians who killed the three or four men there. Le Doux was away at the time so was spared. The Indians continued on down the Arkansas where they perpetrated the Christmas Day Massacre at Fort Pueblo.

Le Doux's wife died in 1858 and he became so embittered that he withdrew from all contact with people. It is said that he did not even want to kill game. He was last seen when dressed in buckskin, gun slung across his back; he mounted his pony and rode westward into the sunset toward Music Pass.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Francis B. Rizzari has been a contributor to the Denver Westerners for over 20 years. He is a native Coloradan and has lived in Jefferson County for 58 years.

He retired from the U.S. Geological Survey and has made plans to hire a crew to help him. He is just too busy to handle his retirement alone! The article in this issue is among many that Francis has developed. Although it might be possible to devote an entire issue of a future Brand Book to the papers Francis has developed, the readers would miss the fun of his presentations at the meetings.

New Hands on the Denver Range

Robert W. Proctor
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Lakewood, Colorado 80226

Sponsored by Dave Hicks, Bob is a dispatcher for the Colorado State Patrol. His outside interests are in photography, coin collecting, electronics and railroading. The later interest is one he can share with a number of Westerners.

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Dr. Duane A. Smith
2911 Cedar Avenue
Durango, Colorado 81301

Sponsored by Granny Horstmann, Duane has had the following published: *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps*, *Horace Tabor: His Life and the Legend*, *A Colorado History* (with Ubbelohde & Benson), *Silver Saga: The Story of Caribou Colorado*. Duane was the first winner of the Denver Westerners Award.

• • •

Rebecca J. Jackson
1373 Fillmore #205
Denver, Colorado 80206

Rebecca was sponsored by Del Bishop. While serving as a librarian at the Metropolitan State College Library, and supervisor of Auraria Technical Services, she helped select much of the material to support with resources two of the most popular courses: *History of Colorado*, and *History of Denver*. Her outside interests are in photography, Indians, Western Americana, rare books, and Western Art.

• • •

Philip L. Page
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Sponsored by Jack Morrison and Norman Page, Phil is a teacher in the Denver Public Schools. His interests are in Colorado History and Ghost Towns and he pursues these interests by jeeping, cycling, and climbing.

Geoffrey Muntz
1751 South Washington
c/o Grant Junior High School
Denver, Colorado 80210

Brought to the Westerners by Bill Van Duzen, this new Corresponding member has an interest in early gold mining and historical sites—particularly the early settlement of Montana City. He has done a considerable amount of researching Frontier Park—the original site of Montana City.

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Michael J. Major
9045 West Euclid Avenue
Littleton, Colorado 80123

Mike is also a member of the "Mixed Nuts 4 Wheelers of Colorado" which enables him to pursue his hobby of photographing ghost towns which he visits by jeep.

• • •

David A. Rainey
490 South Poplar Way
Denver, Colorado 80222

Dave is interested in Colorado history—particularly Colorado Railroad history. This may have developed as a result of his having spent 37 years in accounting and auditing for several western railroads. Another hobby that has taken a lot of his time and effort has been the building of a mountain home—a continuing hobby without end, as many of us know.

• • •

Dr. Robert D. Fulkerson
937 Republic Building
Denver, Colorado 80202

Born in Rocky Ford, Colorado, Bob graduated from the University of Denver and the University of Missouri at Kansas City. A resident of Denver since 1931, Bob has worked for the Rio Grande Railroad for some years in accounting and engineering. His interests are in photography and traveling to ghost towns—and just plain traveling.



Westerner's Bookshelf



YOUR PASSPORT TO THE GUNNISON COUNTRY by Charles A. Page. B & B Printers, \$2.

WHAT'S IN A NAME? IN THE GUNNISON COUNTRY by Charles A. Page. B & B Printers, \$2.

In the author's introduction, he states that **YOUR PASSPORT TO THE GUNNISON COUNTRY** is a potpourri with a little bit of something for everyone. This is quite true as his several chapters cover everything from what we are, helpful hints, questions, fishing, history, railroads, Western State College, mountains, ghost towns, hunting rocks-minerals and arrowheads to what's in a name?

Some of the material used has been previously published by Mr. Page in newspapers and magazines. Where ever your interest lies, he gives just enough to whet your appetite for more.

The chapter on "What's In A Name?" led to the second booklet which expands the chapter covering place names from Abbeyville, an early day smelter and town to Woodstock, another early day mining camp.

He does cover quite a few names in Gunnison Country, but he omits some as Delta, Grand Mesa, Hotchkiss and Paonia Reservoir to name a few. Sometimes, he's pretty thorough as to how the name evolved, sometimes he's not too sure, and sometimes he doesn't even mention how the name came to be. He does include quite a few of the names of Western State College buildings, which tends to distract from the booklet's interest unless you are a Western State College Alumnus. Both booklets are missing a map of the Gunnison Country, however, contain complete

bibliographies and several interesting photographs. If you have a couple of spare hours, you can enlarge your knowledge of the Gunnison Country.

Donald C. Chamberlin, C. M.

A Short & Informal Early Days History of the Town of Fairplay (cue word), Colorado, by Russell A. Morse and Mather C. Wallis. Centennial Time; Publishing Co., Fairplay, Colo., 1973. 44 pages. paperback. \$2.50.

They didn't tarry on the Terral! When the prospectors and incipient gold miners of 1859 and 1860 found the famous South Park diggings completely staked, the properties all under guard reinforced by menacing shootin' irons, they nicknamed the place "Graball" and moved on. Their explorations led them only a short twelve miles farther—to another discovery of gold on the Middle Fork of the South Platte; the new camp they established was christened "Fair Play!"

Full of historical vignettes, with appropriate photos and maps, this delightful little pamphlet presents, in lively and sometimes humorous detail, a more intimate and informal purview of local history than is ordinarily found in such publications. For such a small parcel, it fills the saddlebag better than most.

Jackson Thode, P.M.

TABOR FAMILY ALBUM by Edward Blair with illustrations by Edward Cattrell, Timberline Books, Leadville, \$2.

This little book, 40 pages, and only a few hundred words, has a lot going for it.

For one thing, it's about the Tabor, a grand old name in Colorado history. For

WESTERNERS BOOKSHELF (cont'd.)

another, it is filled with pictures, about fifty in all.

The story of H. A. W. Tabor is told again, from his beginning in Vermont to his death. Along the way one finds the familiar names, Augusta, Baby Doe, the Matchless Mine, etc.

Unfortunately, however, the text, such as it is, is in long hand. The only type in the book is on four pages . . . the title page, a newspaper clipping near the end of the book, and a two-page chronology at the end of the book.

What's hand written is good, but difficult to read. The illustrations are good for the most part, and bedecked in elaborately drawn nineteenth-century style "frames."

It's worth two bucks!

Dave Hicks, P.M.

THE CUSTER ADVENTURE, compiled by Richard Upton, The Old Army Press, 1975. 119 pp, illustrations by J. K. Ralston, bibliography, footnotes. Paper, \$2.95.

This attractive soft covered book with

J. K. Ralston's painting "Call of the Bugle" on the cover does what its compiler stated it would. It presents to the reader a factual, interesting, and exciting account of the events from May 17, 1876, when the Seventh Cavalry left Fort Abraham Lincoln until that fateful June 25th when the five companies under Lt. Col. Custer were annihilated by the Sioux and their allies under Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse.

Mr. Upton's selection of material written by Mrs. Custer and actual participants in the battle provides a good general background on the battle for someone who wants to read only one Custer book. However, I believe after reading *The Custer Adventure* the reader's appetite will be whetted for more information about the controversial Custer and the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The bibliography is adequate and will lead the reader to other sources.

Delbert A. Bishop, P.M.

The following is reprinted from the 1951 Roundup which was called BRANDBOOK at that time

The Russians in the American fur trade

As early as 1785 merchants of eastern Siberia formed an association for carrying on the fur trade upon the northern coasts of the Pacific under the protection of Empress Catherine. A charter was granted by the Czar in 1799 under the name of "Russian American Fur Company." They made preparations to occupy the mouth of the Columbia River in 1806. The Russians divided their territory into districts, each district being under a commandant aided by Russians who kept the natives under subjection and made them labor as mechanics, hunters, fishermen, or soldiers.

They ruled a group of skilled otter hunters. The Aleutian Indians, known as "Marine Cossacks," who were a tireless, sea-hardened group, could kneel

or sit motionless from twelve to fifteen hours, clothed in the skin of a sea lion, waiting to thrust a dart into an otter.

The Russians tried to exclude American vessels from the waters of the West Coast so they could control all the trade. They became interested in California and built Fort Ross at Bodega Bay in 1812, for the purpose of exploiting the fur trade along the Pacific Coast.

Fort Ross, with all the farms, was purchased from the Russians in 1841 by John Sutter, builder and owner of Sutter's Fort.

The first Missionary to the Indians of the Rocky Mountains

Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet
(January 30, 1801-May 23, 1873)

Father DeSmet was a twin born in Belgium and came to the United States in 1821. On April 11, 1823 Pierre Jean DeSmet, in company with ten other novices and brothers, began his journey to Missouri. Leaving Baltimore on April 14, 1823, they crossed the Alleghanics, and after eighteen days arrived at Wheeling, West Virginia, went down the Ohio River, up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, then on to Florissant, arriving there June 3, 1823, where they made their home in two log cabins—the house of the Jesuit Mission.

Here Pierre Jean DeSmet studied and labored for four years. He was ordained September 23, 1827 at the Church of St. Ferdinand at Florissant, Mission, and began teaching young Indian boys, learning their language and a great deal about the temperament and habits of the Indians. He helped build a new college, where he taught English, in St. Louis, which opened November 2, 1829 with forty pupils.

He returned to Belgium in 1835 where he organized an aid association for the furtherance of the Indian Missions, returning to Missouri in 1837. The next year he was appointed to the Potawatomi Mission. Nearly 2,000 Indians greeted him; his influence was felt among the red men and he was responsible for bringing about peace among warring tribes. His great work was among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, and the description of the country, which helped to blaze a trail into the frontiers of the West.

The Flathead Indians had requested a priest, and Father DeSmet, who volunteered for the journey left St. Louis with an Indian guide on March 27, 1840. Upon his arrival at West Port (Kansas City), he joined a caravan of thirty men of the American Fur Company, who left for the

Far West on April 30, 1840. On June 30th of that same year they arrived at Green River where Father DeSmet was met by a group of Flathead Indians. He spent some time among these friendly red men, and induced them to build St. Mary's Mission a few miles south of the present town of Missoula, Montana, between Stevensville and Fort Owen. Within three months a Christian colony had been established.

In 1843 Father DeSmet returned to Europe to seek friends and aid for the missionary work among the Indians. He was received by the Pope, then returned to the United States that same year.

In 1844 he established St. Ignatius Mission near the great bend of Clark's Fork of the Columbia River. He covered nearly five thousand miles traveling up and down the river; his work took him into the mountains many times before his death in 1873. He was buried in Florissant, Missouri, the place where he began his studies for a great career.

March, 1951 Brand Book

Lets look at the record

by Posseman Forbes Parkhill

Colorado Territorial District Court for Arapahoe, Weld
and Douglas counties.

File No. 4, August 1, 1861. Dr. Allen F. Peck vs. Alexander C. Hunt, suit for doctor bill of \$139.50. Doctor Peck's complaint set forth that he had practiced medicine in Denver since October, 1859 and had provided services and medicines for Hunt, his family and the hired man. Itemized services: medical attention for hired man, \$72; four visits for daughter, \$10; cupping and visits for wife, \$5. Plaintiff's attorney, James A. Dalliba. Judgment for plaintiff for \$139.50 and costs, or a total of \$163.44.

File No. 11, August 9, 1861. George A. Jackson vs. Leavitt L. Bowen, John A. Nye and Robert W. Steele, doing business as the Amos Gulch Road Company. Plaintiff charges that on April 27, 1861, the company owed \$74 on a note made out to James Anderson; \$55 on a note to Fred Fleshman; \$43 on a note to John Choteau, and \$25 on a note to Hall Riley, all of which notes had been assigned to the plaintiff, who sues for 402.50. By stipulation this amount was reduced to \$197.50. Nye files an answer denying he was a partner of Bowen and Steele. Case dismissed April 28, 1862.

File No. 120, January 13, 1862. Austin M. Clark, Milton E. Clark and E. H. Gruber, doing business as Clark, Gruber & Co. of Denver vs. Benjamin H. Blanton. Suit for \$166.66 on a draft drawn by V. W. Keene

in favor of Gilmore, Dunlap & Co. of Cincinnati, dated November 13, 1861, and assigned to Clark, Gruber & Co. Plaintiffs charge that defendant has departed from Colorado Territory. Dismissed April 28, 1862.

March 1951 BRANDBOOK (ROUNDUP)

OVER THE CORRAL RAIL (cont'd.)

Former Sheriff (1961) and current Roundup Foreman, Charles Ryland has compiled a list of all the Denver Westerners Sheriffs from the time this organization was founded in Denver in January 1945. We are including this list below. It will bring back a lot of memories and probably settle a few arguments.

Ed Bemis	1945
*Forbes Parkhill	1946
Charles B. Roth	1947
Arthur Carhart	1948
Dabney O. Collins	1949
*Dr. Levette J. Davidson	1950
Walter Gann	1951
Fred Rosenstock	1952
Dr. Philip Whitely	1953
Dr. Leroy Hafen	1954
Ralph B. Mayo	1955
Maurice Frink	1956
William S. Jackson	1957
Dr. Harold H. Dunham	1958
Fred M. Mazzulla	1959
Fletcher Birney, Jr.	1960
Charles Ryland	1961
Erl H. Ellis	1962
Robert L. Perkin	1963
Numa L. James	1964
J. Nevin Carson	1965
Guy M. Herstrom	1966
Dr. Arthur L. Campa	1967

William E. Marshall	1968
Robert L. Brown	1969
Dr. Nolie Mumey	1970
Dr. Lester L. Williams	1971
Edwin A. Bathke	1972
Richard A. Ronzio	1973
Jackson C. Thode	1974
Davidson G. Hicks	1975

*Deceased

SHOW AND TELL

Charles Ryland, Roundup Foreman, is doing research for the development of a history of the Adolph Coors Company where he is employed.

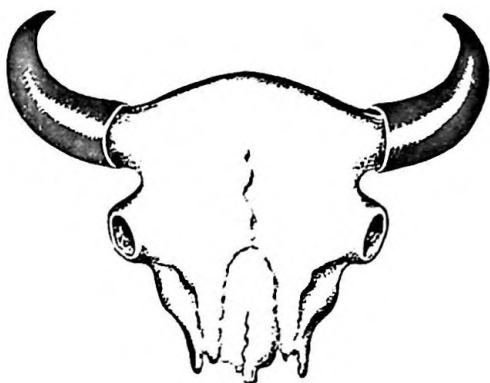
Charles brought some rare artifacts to the April meeting. These had been made by the ceramic production facilities in Golden which preceded the Coors Porcelain Company. Among the items was a glass cane which had been made in the old bottle production plant. A ramekin, made in the Herold Pottery, was shown to the Westerners. The Herold Pottery produced some dinnerware and cookingware, and later made some laboratory porcelain ware: An A. Coors creamer completed the show and tell items. There is every probability that there will be some more items to be shown to the members as Charles digs further on his assignment.

The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

MAY 1975
Volume XXXI, No. 4

IN THIS ISSUE
*WILLIAM HENRY JACKSON,
PIONEER PHOTOGRAPHER*
by Carl Blaurock P.M.



OVER THE CORRAL RAIL

Denver Posse of the Westerners voted to sponsor the improvement of Frontier Park.

This will be one of our projects for the Centennial-Bicentennial celebration. This effort is sanctioned by the Commission, and is receiving the full cooperation of the Parks Department, the Mayor, and other dedicated people.

The Park is Denver's oldest! It is located on the Platte at West Evans and South Platte River Drive. Grant Junior High has "adopted" the Park and has spearheaded the project.

Posse member Bill Van Duzer is ramrodding the project from our end, and he has asked for some help:

1. Who knows the names of the 40 families who came through Montana City in those early days?

2. How about some volunteers to give some talks at Grant Junior High about early Denver—particularly the settlement around Overland Park and Montana City. Slides and artifacts to illustrate the talks would be helpful and of interest to these students. Also, there is an old log cabin in the Park which is reputed to be the Murat cabin. How about a talk on Count and Countess Murat?

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William Henry Jackson

Pioneer Photographer

On April 4, 1843, in Keeseville, New York, a son was born to George Hallock Jackson and Harriet Maria Allen Jackson who was destined to have a pronounced effect on the history of the Western U.S. Christened William Henry Jackson, he was the oldest of a family of 5 boys and 2 girls. His mother was an accomplished painter in water colors. His father was experimenting with daguerrotypes which had been recently invented. His mother taught him all she knew of drawing and painting, but nature had also equipped him with a natural talent in this field. He confesses as a young boy to preferring drawing pictures for the edification of his classmates, rather than studying books.

He attended schools through the eighth grade at Philadelphia, Peru and Troy, N.Y., then went out into the world determined to put his talent to practical use. He picked up odd jobs at painting of any sort, such as painting landscapes on windowscreens, a fad in vogue at that time, family portraits or anything else that might bring in a dollar or two. A few months work in the studio of a portrait painter improved his technique. Finally he found steady work with a photographer in Rutland, Vermont at the princely stipend of six dollars a week. In his off time he made scenic sketches of the surrounding countryside. He also applied himself to learning all he could about photography. His mother gave him Chapman's "American Drawing Book," his most prized possession, and from which he learned mysteries of perspective, rules of composition and design, laws of color values and how to model. His earnings all went for more supplies and his artistry attracted more patrons.

In the late 1850's the collodion wet plate process superseded daguerotypy. Jackson's work included touching these up with India ink and water colors. Now he was on his way. Carte - de - visite, a thin round cornered card about 2½" x 4", with a small colored portrait, was in vogue at this time.

Events were happening fast out in the West too. Oregon was admitted to statehood in 1859, the Pony Express was started and a letter could reach St. Louis from San Francisco in only 24 days. Lincoln was elected in 1860. In 1861 the talk of secession was on, the rumblings of war in the air, culminating in mid April 1861 when Fort Sumter was fired on. So, in

Aug. 1862 Jackson enlisted for a nine month stretch in the militia, The Rutland Light Guard. After six weeks drilling, it was mustered in as Co. K of 12th Vermont Volunteers on October 4. On Oct. 29 they were marched into camp in Virginia about 8 miles from Washington, so they were now on Confederate soil. They camped here until Dec. 12 when they moved to Fairfax Court House. Jackson spent much of his spare time sketching camp scenes, surrounding landscapes and his soldier comrades. Needless to say he was in much demand for his services, and eventually came to the attention of his commanding officer who practically withdrew him from other duties and give him carte blanche to draw, and sketch, and make maps. He mapped Bull Run Creek and almost got shot by Union sentries.

The battle of Gettysburg started on July 1, 1863. Jackson's company was assigned to the baggage train behind the lines, and a few days later they escorted 2300 prisoners to Baltimore. On July 7th his regiment was mustered out as their 9 month term of enlistment ended. He went home for about a week and then returned to work for Mowrey in Rutland.

He got into quite a social life and became engaged to Caroline Eastman. In 1864 Lincoln was re-elected and Jackson went to work in Burlington, Vt. for F. Styles' "Vermont Gallery of Art" at 25 per week and did well, with prospects for the future. April 9, 1865, war ended. Six days later Lincoln was assassinated. May 23 and 24 there was a Grand Review of the Army of the Potomac under Grant, and the Army of the West under Sherman which marched in Washington before President Andrew Johnson.

Jackson led quite a social life, but in April 1866 he had a quarrel with Miss Eastman and they broke up. On April 14 he threw up his job and went to New York. There he encountered Ruel Rounds, an old Co. K buddy, and they joined up and decided to go to the mines in Montana Territory, but this didn't work out. Joined by Rock's friend, Billy Crowl, the three decided to go to Detroit. Rock was Ruel's nickname. They planned to raise a loan from Billy's sister but this didn't pan out either. Dead broke in Detroit, they pawned their waistcoats for \$1.50 eating money. They spent their first night at a police station where the police staked them to a meal and gave them shelter. Billy's brother-in-law sent \$20 and one pass to Milwaukee. Jackson was given the pass and \$3.00 and went to Chicago to find a job until the others could come. Finally, after failing to get a job with any portrait studios, he got one with a sign painter named Swift, and on Saturday got paid \$18 for his week's work. An acquaintance whom he had first met in Rutland took him in as his roommate. Soon Rock and Billy arrived after "dead heading" to Chicago, —broke, as usual.

Jackson got a job at \$25 per week for a couple of weeks teaching a Mr.

St. Clair painting so he could become an artist. Late in May the two went to Davenport, Iowa, which they thought offered opportunity for art work. On June 16, parting from St. Clair, he took a boat for St. Joseph, Missouri. On a stop at Quincy he was joined by Rock and Billy and found the resources for the three of them amounted to \$3.50. They arrived at St. Joe in the morning.

Here they landed jobs as teamsters with a wagon train going to Montana. There was a fee of \$1.50 each, payable in advance, connected with getting the job, so Jackson tried to sell his paintbox to raise the money, but without success. A tenderhearted man named Smith gave them a \$5.00 bill, so they paid the \$4.50 fee, and then, without solicitation Smith gave them another five dollars for provisions. They had been living on cheese and crackers the past few days.

Saturday, June 23, 1866, they boarded the steamboat for Denver for the trip up the Missouri to Nebraska City, arriving at 2:30 A.M. on Tuesday. Here an agent checked them off, took all the teamsters to breakfast and then to the company store for outfitting. This consisted of a pair of blankets, white rubber coat, shoes, stockings, shirts, carpet bag, a Colt 44 and cartridges. Total cost was about \$40 which was charged against their unearned pay of \$20 per month. The train was owned by a Matt Ryan. They then marched 4 miles out of town to the wagon camp where they had dinner of Dutch oven bread, fried bacon, and hard boiled coffee. Here they were inducted into the mysteries of yokes, chains, and whips. A train consisted of 25 wagons, each with 12 oxen plus about 30 extra oxen for substitutes for each train, a wagon master and an assistant. A normal train then was 25 wagons, 330 oxen and 8 or 10 saddle animals.

Ed Owens was the wagon master, — kindly, patient, and considerate. His assistant, named Frank, was not of the same calibre as Owens. The wagon master was boss and rode at the head of the train. The assistant rode up and down along the train and passed back the orders of the boss. The oxen were always called bulls and the teamsters, bull whackers. There was also a night herder who took his ease during the day. Normally there were 29 men per train. The first day took 8 hours to hitch up and get under way, but after they were experienced it took only 35 or 40 minutes to do the job.

The usual start was 5:00 A.M. and they traveled until about 10 when a breakfast stop was made. After breakfast, the wheels were greased. The oxen grazed, then men could relax or gather fuel and water. At 2:00 o'clock the second drive of the day began and continued until about sunset. An average day's journey was 15 miles. Food, fuel, water and grass were the necessities, fuel on the prairie often being buffalo chips. The meals consisted of bread, bacon, and coffee.

On July 11, after two weeks of travel they reached Ft. Kearney having averaged 14 miles per day. Without tracing the whole route, in summation they went by Ft. Casper, then descended to foot of the Red Buttes, followed up the Sweetwater past Independence Rock near which they made one of their camps. They continued on to South Pass where they overtook a Morman train and the two trains traveled on together. Jackson and another man quit Owens' train to travel with the Mormans on to Salt Lake City where they arrived on October 18. From Oct. to December he worked with a family named Birch on a farm a few miles south of the city. Early in December he received some clothes and \$100 from his family in the east and decided to go with a train to California as a paying passenger.

He arrived in Los Angeles on January 31, 1867 and was soon flat broke again. He worked at various jobs, made many sketches in the area and on May 3 started east with a Sam McGannigan driving a herd of horses to market at Omaha. There were 4 men, 1 wagon and 150 horses. As they were starting, a man named Jim Kellar with 50 horses and also his wife, joined the party, so there were in all 9 persons, 200 horses and 2 wagons. After quite a few vicissitudes they reached Salt Lake by June 22, and Julesburg by August 1, where the horses were loaded on the railroad and arrived at Omaha on August 3rd.

Here Jackson got a job with a photographer named Hamilton at \$15 per week, advancing by \$5.00 each week to a maximum of \$25. So, he was in the bucks again. In the fall of 1867 he bought out Hamilton aided by some money advanced by his father, and his brother Ed came out to join him. By the middle of 1868 the firm of Jackson Brothers was in full swing. The firm prospered and more help was added. Jackson liked to get out of the studio, so fixed up a traveling horse and buggy darkroom with which he went into Nebraska and photographed Osages and Otoes south of Omaha, and the Pawnees, Winnebagoes, and Omahas to the west and north.

The Union Pacific and Central Pacific were rushing the building of their respective roads across the country and joined at Promontory Point on May 10, 1869. On that day Jackson married Mollie Greer of Warren, Ohio who was visiting relatives in Omaha. They took a six day honeymoon on a boat down the Missouri to St. Louis. But Jackson had picked up a substantial order for pictures along the railroad which would take several months, so shipped his bride home to Ohio until the job could be finished.

On June 23rd, he and his assistant Hull arrived in Cheyenne and picked up a little spare cash on business photos. Next day, having heard about Madam Cleveland's Bordello, and with the assistance of a few bottles of wine he got a lot of portrait orders there. He stayed nearly a week in Cheyenne and made about \$60. Here he bought a tent, supplies, and utensils for the barren country ahead.

Starting west on the R.R. he sold a lot of Indian pictures to the train "news butcher" plus an order for 1000 tereos of Weber Canon where he intended to do lots of picture work. Trainmen obligingly left them off anywhere so he spent most of July photographing along the line. He sold and gave away pictures to the trainmen along the way.

He arrived at Salt Lake late in July, just a jump ahead of the sheriff. Brok again. Managed to borrow \$7 from a baggage master friend so he could buy chemicals to make prints to fill orders. Spent Aug. and most of Sept. in eastern Utah photographing scenery, bridges, "last rail" at Promontory Point, and arived back in Omaha late in Sept. He barely made expenses on the trip, but returned with a fine assortment of pictures. Sales of western photographs proved profitable for Jackson Bros.

While on his summer trip along the U.P. he met Ferdinand V. Hayden. On July 23, 1870, Dr. Hayden called on him at his office in Omaha and offered him a job with his survey outfit. He could offer him a summer of hard work and his keep, — no pay, but Jackson accepted. By Aug. 1st he was in Cheyenne and met all members of the Survey — 20 persons in all. First in importance was Dr. Hayden. Next indispensable was the cook, John Raymond, "Potato John," who earned the sobriquet by his futile attempt to boil potatoes soft enough to eat at 12,000 feet altitude.

The Survey, out for 2 months, went north to Casper, up the Platte and Sweetwater, through South Pass and on into the mountains, photographing, gathering rock specimens, surveying, mapping, and painting on both sides of the road as they passed through the country. The photographic equipment was a double-barrelled stereo, 6½ x 8½ camera, portable dark room, a full stock of chemicals and enough glass for 400 plates. There was about 300 lbs. of material which was carried in one of the ambulances. A little mule called Hypo carried the equipment on the immense amount of ground covered in side excursions. The work was carried on by small groups of 2 or 3. Some measured flow volume of streams, others sounded lakes, some investigated the geology and hunted fossils, and the photographers and artists recorded the scenery. They followed the Morman Trail to Ft. Bridger then went into the Uinta Mtns. for 2 or 3 weeks. The return from the summer's work was mostly along the R.R. to Ft. Sanders, about the site of present Laramie, where they disbanded. Here Dr. Hayden requested Jackson to become a permanent and salaried member of the Survey.

With Jim Stevenson and one of the ambulances, Jackson set off from Ft. Sanders to photograph the Pikes Peak region. At the completion of this work, the ambulance was sent back to Ft. Russell and Jackson took the train to Washington from Denver. Through Kansas the train was often delayed by tremendous herds of buffalo crossing the tracks. In less than a generation the roaming buffalo were gone.

Jackson spent 2 months in Washington finishing up his printing work, cataloguing pictures, conferring with Dr. Hayden, and making final arrangements to go on government payroll at \$150 per mo. New work made it necessary to sell his business, but no buyer being in sight, he decided to carry on a while under his wife's management.

In early June 1871 he joined Dr. Hayden in Ogden and the expedition of 34 persons, including the artist Thomas Moran, broke camp on June 10 and headed for the Yellowstone country. This time he had added another camera, an 8 x 10, as well as the two used the previous year. They headed north through upper Utah, across Idaho and into Montana, making camp on Botelers Ranch on the Yellowstone river. It took 3 days to shift supplies from wagons to mule pack. Then with a small detachment of cavalry as escort they started south into Yellowstone proper. In 2 days they arrived at Mammoth Hot Springs, the first white men to see that marvel. July 21 was spent in photographing that area. They moved on to Tower Creek and photographed Tower Falls. This necessitated going to the bottom of the canyon with plates wrapped in a wet towel, exposing the picture, then climbing up to the top to develop the negative. This procedure was repeated 4 or 5 times. The end of the day found them exhausted but proud, as every plate was successful. The climax of the expedition came with a week's stay at the Grand Canyon and Falls of the Yellowstone. Here Tomas Moran made his famous painting of the Lower Falls of the Yellowstone which hung in the Capitol at Washington. A fine copy of the original, made later, hangs in the National Gallery. They left the Canyon and went up the river to Yellowstone Lake which they intended to circumnavigate and map. A small collapsible boat was brought along and used for this purpose. One day Jackson took off on his own to the Firehole country west of their camp and discovered a new basin of geyser cones.

After 40 days in the Yellowstone they returned to Botelers Ranch by the same route by which they entered. There they picked up their wagons and headed south across the Snake River plains to Ft. Hall, Idaho, finally working their way east to Evanston on the U.P. where the main expedition disbanded.

Upon his return to Omaha in the fall of 1871, Jackson sold his studio, but retained his negatives and cameras, and with his wife went east to visit his parents in Nyalk, N.Y. Shortly after their arrival he had to go to Washington to help promote Yellowstone National Park, his wife remaining with his parents while she awaited her child's birth. He never saw her again for she died in childbirth and shortly thereafter the baby girl passed on.

On March 1, 1872, Pres. Grant signed the bill establishing Yellowstone National Park. Congress appropriated funds for two expeditions in the

coming summer, one under Hayden for more detailed exploration of Yellowstone Park, the other under Jim Stevenson to which Jackson was assigned was to explore the Teton Region and rejoin the others sometime later in Yellowstone by way of the west. Jackson now added an 11 x 14 camera to his equipment which necessitated a dark tent for developing instead of his portable dark box.

All equipment, animals, wagons, and everything was sent to Ogden by rail and from that point the Stevenson party set out directly for the Teton country. Base camp was set up in the upper end of Teton Basin, which half a century earlier was known as Pierre's Hole. From here, with a party of 5, Jackson started off for the heights above to photograph the range, while Stevenson went elsewhere. For 10 days they photographed the magnificent scenery of the Teton Range. They were in rugged country and at times had some difficulties in reaching their photographic points. (In 1958 I made a 2 day circumnavigation of the Tetons and found out later that I had passed within half a mile of where Jackson had taken one of his most spectacular views of the Grand. Had I known it at the time I would have detoured that half mile to duplicate his picture on color film.)

After 10 days the photo party rejoined Stevenson and the combined party moved to the base of the Grand Teton. Here Langford and Stevenson decided to climb the Grand. They claimed to have "clumb it," but Jackson himself told me in 1929 that he doubted that they made it. In 1898, with a small party, the Reverend and later Bishop Franklin Spalding made the ascent. In the party was a certain Mr. William O. Owen who later announced that the claims of ascent by Langford and Stevenson were frauds, since no evidence of their climb could be found on top. He finally got the Wyoming legislature in 1926 to pass an act certifying that he and his party were the first to make the ascent. How silly can you be.

By the middle of August all sections of the Survey gathered together in Lower Firehole Basin. The next few weeks were spent in getting exceptional pictures from one end of the Park to the other.

The winter of 1872 - 73 was passed in Washington, classifying and cataloguing pictures and making endless prints for friends in and out of Congress. Indians of Wyoming and Montana were definitely more antagonistic to the whites now, so Colorado was chosen as the site for 1973 work. On May 24, Jackson's photo party of 7 men started for Estes Park where they were to commence work, after which they were to head south along the snowy range to Grays and Torreys Peaks, thence on to Pikes Peak area, finally making rendezvous of all parties at Fairplay. As this was his expedition he felt like a general in command of an army. On this expedition pictures were made of everything of possible interest along the way, peaks, mines, scenery, mining and other towns, etc. At this time of year there

was lots of snow left in the hills which caused some traveling difficulties at times. Also some snow fell nearly every day.

From Georgetown they camped near Argentine Pass from which one day they climbed Mt. McClellan, Grays and Torreys. They returned through Georgetown and went on to Chicago Lakes below Mt. Evans. Three days later they were at the mouth of Platte Canyon, thence on south along the foothills to Manitou. They went to Fairplay by way of Ute Pass, making the 72 mile trip across South Park in 3 days.

They arrived at Fairplay on July 7, and Wilson's and Gannett's division came in the same day. Letters here from Hayden indicated that he would arrive with the supply train on July 10. While waiting at Fairplay Jackson took a busman's holiday and climbed Mt. Lincoln. He got some fine photos of the Montezuma silver mine near the summit.

On July 18th Jackson left Fairplay with a new mount, the mule Dolly, as his horse was badly injured at Fairplay and couldn't be used. He liked Dolly immensely and used her for the next 5 years as long as he was with the Survey. His assignment was to cross the Sawatch Range into the Arkansas Valley, photograph Massive, Harvard, Elbert and La Plata, then proceed to the Elk Mountains for Snowmass, and wind up the season by photographing the Mount of the Holy Cross. Enroute he climbed and photographed from the summit of La Plata in stormy weather. From camp at Snowmass Lake he went out to make some splendid scenes of that picturesque area. On leaving camp while he and Harry Bishop were on a side trip to photo some cascades, the mule Gimlet carrying his 11 x 14 plates of La Plata and Snowmass scenes, slipped his pack and one box of the plates broke open and shattered many of the negatives. This necessitated rephotographing the Snowmass scenes and on the way out to the Arkansas Valley to re-climb and re-photo from the top of La Plata. Even more fortunately, in better weather, the second set was better than the first batch from the summit.

The next objective was the Mount of the Holy Cross. The expedition went over Tennessee Pass and followed an old Indian trail that made easy traveling except for a detour around Eagle River Canyon. They reached the valley of Holy Cross Creek which led directly up to the base of the mountain. This looked like an easy approach but turned out to be impractical due to the immense amount of fallen timber, rocks, bogs and other impediments. They turned back and camped on the banks of the Eagle for the night. Next morning after going downstream a ways, they made a turn to the left and climbed to the top of the ridge on the west side of the creek. Here they again encountered a bad windfall of small timber. They made less than 5 miles in a day of hard work, so made camp in a little grassy ravine. In the morning, all who were not to participate

directly in the ascent or photography, were sent back to camp on the Eagle as it was impractical to try to bull through with 16 men and more than that many animals.

Taking 4 pack mules the party started out again with a couple of ax men to clear the way. Finally they came out on a high point of the ridge from which they could see their mountain ahead, but not the cross from that viewpoint. They dropped down about 1500 feet to Cross Creek and again attempted the approach up the valley. Conditions were fully as bad as the lower part of the valley. It was almost impossible to get the animals through, so they went into camp for the rest of the day. Gardner and his assistants carried instruments to the foot of the mountain to gain time and left them there for the next day's climb.

Next day, Aug. 23rd, arising long before sunrise and after a quick breakfast, they separated into two parties. Gardner, Hayden, Whitney and Wm. H. Holmes set off to climb the mountain itself to complete a triangulation from the summit. Jackson, J. Coulter, and Tom Cooper started off to climb Notch Mountain and photograph the Cross headon.

Battling through willows and elders soaked by the previous night's rain, they were soon wet to the skin. Finally the photographer took to the hillside and climbed up to near the top of the ridge leading to Notch Mountain proper. Jackson carried the tent and chemicals while the other two had the cameras and plates, loads of about 40 lbs. apiece. Jackson forged on ahead and reached the top of Notch Mountain Ridge where finally between breaks in the clouds he caught his first glimpse of the Cross. He waited about two hours for the others to catch up, huddled in the folds of his tent, and watched the clouds and mists swirl around, occasionally getting glimpses of the Cross and surrounding mountains. They remained on top until nearly sunset, but despairing of getting any pictures, stowed their apparatus for the night and dropped down to timberline where they built a fire and sat through a foodless, bedles night. Across the valley they could see the other party's fire and occasionally halloeed across to one another.

Sunday morning, Aug. 24, came without a cloud in the sky, so they climbed back up as soon as it was fairly daylight. It was a perfect day for making pictures and of course morning light is ideal on the Cross. Jackson exposed and developed 8 negatives, some 11 x 14 and some 5 x 8 plates carefully washing them with snow water. Fixing was delayed for better facilities back in camp. Finishing picture work before noon, they gathered up everything and hurried on down to camp which Jackson reached a couple of hours ahead of Coulter and Tom, who came more leisurely. In his book, "Time Exposure," Jackson states that he returned 4 or 5 times since 1973, using the best cameras and most sensitive emulsions on the market, but has never come close to matching those first plates.

Jackson's work was done for the summer though the surveying and mapping was to go on with Hayden's party. He came on to Denver by way of Tennessee Pass, Mosquito Pass into South Park, thence across Kenosha Pass and down Turkey Creek. Carefully packing and shipping his negatives, he was soon aboard a Pullman bound for Washington.

On October 8, he married Emilie Painter at her brother's home in Cincinnati. She was the daughter of a Dr. Painter, a man of deep religious convictions who gave up a fine medical practice in Baltimore, to take charge of the Omaha Indian Reservation. It was here the previous year that Jackson met the family and with the assistance of Dr. Painter was able to make many fine Indian portraits.

Because of the disruption caused by the panic of 1873, Congress was slow in making appropriations for '74 with the result that the Survey operations didn't get started until July. Jackson's group was to go separately from Denver to the San Luis Valley where he was to meet the main party. He had his heart set on making some fine Indian pictures. He took only the 5 x 8 along on this expedition. In 4 weeks he reached Saguache, then on over Cochetopa Pass to the Ute Agency on Los Pinos creek. Here a large group of Uncompahgre Utes were gathered for the regular government handout. Chief Ouray and Chipeta were co-operative and he got good pictures of them. A few more shots of individuals, tepees, etc. were made until opposition developed, probably started by some medicine man, and the Indians thwarted any further photographing.

They turned south and covering eighty miles in less than 3 days, by Aug. 27 they stood at the head of the Rio Grande near Cunningham Pass which they crossed over and down to Baker's Park, the present site of Silverton. Here he met an old friend from Omaha, E. H. Cooper, from whom he learned of the Cliff Dwellings near Mesa Verde. Cooper led them to his placer mining camp where they met John Moss who knew where the cliff dwellings were and agreed to lead the party to them. By Sept. 9 they were in Mancos Canyon and spotted their first ruins. They explored several ruins up and down the valley, then moved further west into Utah a short ways, finding more ruins. They returned to Baker's Park and on to Denver, and by early November Jackson was back in Washington, thus ending his 1874 exploring.

For 1875, Jackson acquired a 20 x 24 plate camera for special shots though he still decided to rely on the old 5 x 8 favorite. On June 6 with a party of seven they arrived at Parrott City on the Rio Plata. Here they met another section of the Survey under William Holmes and the two groups traveled together for 6 or 8 weeks exploring ruins. Jackson and 2 others pushed on into Utah along the San Juan. Shortly they turned south for the Hopi country about 100 miles distance. Many more cliff

dwellings and relics were found along the way. They made their pictures of the Hopi villages and people, including one of a lovely and beautiful maiden by the name of Num-pa-Ya who apparently captivated all the party. She later became a famous pottery maker. In 1927, as Jackson was in that region again, he learned she was still alive so he called on her and also met her grandchildren.

On Aug. 15 they started north from Tewa to join the Gardner-Gannett party which had just had a run in with a bunch of young Pah Ntes who chased them down the canyon until they reached the Indian Encampment. This was no war party, —just exuberant young bucks. The old chief welcomed them when he learned that they were not surveyors. It took another month for Jackson to photograph his way across western Colorado and by Oct. 13 he arrived in Denver, then proceeded on to Washington.

He spent the winter of 1875-76 making clay models of Hopi villages, cliff dwellings, etc. and was then detailed to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition for the summer. In 1877, instead of going on the Survey, he joined a Rev. Sheldon Jackson on a trip back to the Arizona Indian country. As this was to be a hurried trip he took his 8 x 10 camera and carried rolls of a new sensitized paper film from London. Trial exposures of this film were successful in Washington, where the picture was exposed and developed shortly thereafter, but on this southwest trip he had to carry the film back home to develop weeks later. The result was that the image on this new film faded away during the long interval between exposures and development. Not one of 400 exposures resulted in a printable negative. This was a terrible disappointment. On this trip he photographed everything from Ft. Garland to Taos, Canyon de Chelle, Zuni, Santa Fe, Pueblo oBnita and all the pueblos along the Rio Grande. What a pity not a single negative was obtained.

Wyoming and Montana were the scenes of Survey activities in 1876. Departure was from Ft. D. A. Russell on July 24th and they headed for Fremont Peak in the Wind Rivers. Jackson experimented with a new collodio-bromide emulsion which could be used dry and developed later. It proved successful and he got good pictures of the area and the climb of Fremont Pk. (46 years later I was to climb it.)

Leaving the Wind Rivers they crossed the Green River, then through Hoback Canyon arrived at Jackson Hole. More picture shooting of the Tetons and then on to Yellowstone which was becoming known and had rangers, tourists, and a cavalry detachment to guard against Indians who were still troublesome in the area. Several weeks were spent in working along the Firehole, Madison, and Gallatin Rivers, finally reaching Mammoth Hot Springs about the middle of September. They headed home-wards over Tog-wo-tee Pass down the Wind River Valley to the Washakie

Indian Agency. They continued south through 2 days of blizzards to Rawlins where they boarded the R.R. to Fort Russell to turn in the equipment, and next day startde on for Washington, enjoying the luxury of a Pullman. Thus ended his pleasant days among the Rockies with Dr. Hayden and others of the U.S.G.S. Jackson speaks of the decade 1869-1878 as the most valuable of his life's work.

The days of pioneer photography were drawing to an end. Compact cameras, dry film, and enlargements began to come in at the close of the '70s. Also the country was rapidly becoming more settled.

As the foregoing covers principally his years as the Pioneer Photographer, the subject of this paper, and though he still had more than 60 years ahead of him, I will cover more briefly his remaining career. He decided to come to Denver and open up a shop. First he visited New York to check over the new things in photography. There he had a very favorable visit with Jay Gould and received promises of help to obtain work with western railroads. He did well his first summer as a landscape photographer. Visited Leadville, Creede, and other mining areas and landed a job with the D. & R.G. R.R. covering their routes usually traveling in his own private car furnished and equipped by the railroad. His firm prospered.

In the fall of 1894 he left as a member of the Worlds Transportation Commission on a trip around the world. This included India, Kashmir, and a sled trip across Siberia from Khabarovsk to Irkutsk where he arrived on January 4, 1896. As the latter place was the railhead, he continued by rail to St. Petersburg, thence into Germany from where he sailed back to the U.S., arriving in New York on Mar. 3 and after a short stop came on to Denver.

The panic of 1893 was still being felt and his business was in bad shape. He was invited to join a group in Detroit to reproduce pictures in color by a new photolithographic process. The Detroit Publishing Co. bought his Denver company with all its valuable negatives and Jackson was in business again, but in Detroit. The company flourished until the recession of 1920-21 when it went broke. His wife meanwhile had died in 1918.

In 1924 at age 82 he retired to Washington where he engaged in research, writing, and consultation with museums. He spent his summers re-visiting old spots in the west. In 1929 he was named research director of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association, and moved to New York where he continued to live until his death. In 1932 in his eighty-ninth year he went with the Colorado Mountain Club on their summer Outing into Ice Lake Basin, riding horseback into camp. Previously he attended 2 other outings with the Club, in 1928 at Snowmass and in 1930 in the Wind Rivers.

On his way back from the west in 1935 he stopped in Washington to take part in the 75th anniversary of the Pony Express. The Director of the National Park Service asked him to do a series of murals memorializing the early days of the Geological Survey. So at age 92 he found himself once more in the employ of the government. In the next year he completed 4 huge murals, 30 x 60 inches each of four different western surveys which hang today in Washington, in the new Interior Building.

In 1936 he arranged through Henry and Edsel Ford to take over and transfer his 40,000 negatives to their Dearborn Museum. In 1937 at Cheyenne he fell over an open cellar door and landed on his back on a concrete floor 10 feet below and fractured several vertebrae. He made a good recovery and was able to march with the other veterans at the celebration of the 75th anniversary of Gettysburg in July 1938. He continued to draw and paint pictures of the early day west that he knew so well, went west every summer, took in both World's Fairs in 1939. He continued his art work until after his 99th birthday, and on June 30, 1942 quietly passed on, slightly more than two months past his birthday. A remarkable man living in a remarkable time.

—Carl Blaurock P.M.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Carl Blaurock was born and raised in Denver. After attending public schools there, he graduated from the Colorado School of Mines. After that, he joined his father's business of manufacturing precious metal products for dentists and jewelers. After his father's retirement he continued the business until his own retirement three years ago.

Always he has been interested in western history, but his principal avocation through the years has been photography, skiing, and mountaineering, with travel to various foreign countries as time and his business permitted. His acquaintanceship with Mr. William H. Jackson dates back to 1929 and continued until 1940, the year in which he last saw and visited with him.

Carl Blaurock provided the photograph for the front cover of this issue of the ROUNDUP. This photograph of the Mountain of the Holy Cross was taken by William H. Jackson on August 24, 1973, and is among Jackson's most famous photographs.



Westerner's Bookshelf



THE HORSES THE INDIANS RODE by Sigmund A. Lavine. Dodd Mead & Company, New York, 79 pp., 1974. \$4.95

This copiously illustrated short book is a generalized account of Indians in North and South America and the horses they rode in battle and on the buffalo hunt. The book is interesting reading for anyone who is not familiar with the history of the West or with horses, but not the sort of publication that one would go to for information in depth. The author begins with a short account of Cortez' horse in Central America and then turns to the origin of the horse in North America. This is followed by the uses made of the horse by various tribes in the middle west and the Southwest.

The "facts" of which the author talks about hardly live up to the name. He speaks of Spaniards searching for the Seven Cities of Gold in Central America and also claims that the horse as we know it today lived in droves as far back as fifty thousand

years ago in the Southwest. But for the general reader who wants to be pleasantly entertained, Lavine presents a very interesting story well told. Some of his information is not accurate enough, however, for the westerner who has read such books as *THE INDIAN AND THE HORSE* by Frank Gilbert Roe or *MAN ON HORSEBACK* by Glenn R. Vernon. To say that "mustang" derives from the Spanish *mustengo*, a non-existent word, or that "crewing" is a way of stunning a horse is misleading.

The author's contention that the Appaloosa horse originated among the Nez Perce is not the accepted fact among specialists who have studied the origin of this steed. It actually came from the Spanish Netherlands and went directly to Mexico from whence it spread to the Southwest. But these are minor points. The book is very interesting, contains a good deal of factual information and is beautifully illustrated with photographs, including one of Secretariat!

Arthur L. Campa, PM

The DENVER WESTERNERS

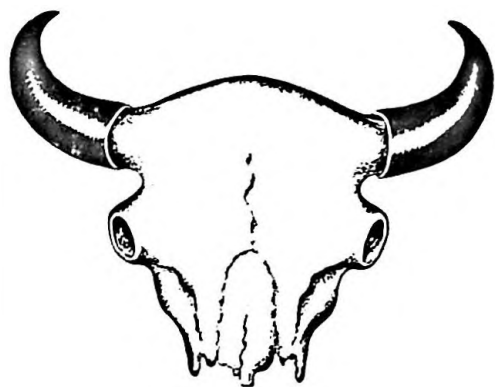
ROUNDUP

JUNE 1975

Volume XXXI, No. 5

In this issue "Colorado's Three Pike's Peaks"

by John M. Eatwell



Sketch of the Pike Party in 1806, when they first viewed the Rocky Mountains, coming up from the prairies. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library Western History Collection.

OVER THE CORRAL RAIL

The Denver Westerners publishes one of the oldest publications on Western history of any Westerners group. The Roundup Magazine is thirty years old and still growing.

The Roundup is published nine times a year and mailed to our entire membership—spanning the globe. The present membership is over 600.

The Posse recently voted to open our magazine to advertising. This is a first for us, but a decision we made to permit advertisers to let our members know about products or services which should be of interest to them. We are hoping that the modest revenue will permit us to increase the number of times we can publish the Roundup. It may also offset the necessity of increasing our dues. Dues are only \$5.50 per year at present which has been an added inducement to the increase of our membership.

The advertising rate has been established at \$87.50 for a one column (2½ inches) by one inch ad. This one time charge will permit the same ad to be run in all issues of the Roundup for a full year. The advertiser will make at least nine impressions on over 600 members who are interested in Western history. We have no record of our pass along readership, but judging by the non-member comments we have received it has to be considerable.

Be a charter advertiser—we'll give you a 17% discount, reducing that rate to \$80.50. We'll let you change your ad copy twice during the year, if you desire to have special promotions about which our readers should know. Your ad will run in the first issue of the Roundup which follows the receipt of your order and copy. You will receive two checking copies of each issue for your files. Save those copies—they increase in value from the day they are published. A recent survey indicated that members prefer to get rid of old copies of National Geographic

(continued on back cover)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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"Colorado's Three Pike's Peaks"

by John M. Eatwell

It all started with Zebulan Montgomery Pike, 1779-1813. At the age of twenty-seven Lt. Pike received orders which launched him on a brief but glamorous career of espionage, intrigue and adventure that would make him a controversial national figure for the rest of his life.

At St. Louis in May of 1806 he was directed to prepare for an expedition to the western mountains approximate to the settlements in New Mexico for the purpose of exploring and determining the locations of the upper reaches of the Arkansas and Red Rivers. The orders were issued by Gen. James Wilkinson who held the two highest offices in the Louisiana Territory, governor and commander-in-chief of the American military forces. He also was a secret agent in the service of the Spanish government.

After launching Pike on this expedition Wilkinson informed the Spanish of it.

Gen. Wilkinson and Aaron Burr had schemed to destroy Spanish power in New Mexico and Texas and to establish an imperial dynasty.

The Spanish concluded that Pike did not intend to seek the source of any river, but would turn south into Spanish territory as a spy for either the United States army or for Gen. Wilkinson and Aaron Burr. Their reason was that Pike would have a contingent of only twenty men which could travel fast and observe Spanish defenses and enter into negotiations with Indian leaders to induce them to make depredations against Spanish outposts and settlements.

However, the winter season did not allow that kind of fast travel.

From the Journals of Zebulan Pike by Jackson we find this example of the type of travel that they encountered:

"It cleared off in the night, and in the morning the thermometer stood at seventeen below zero. We killed an old buffalo on the opposite side of the river which here was so deep as to swim horses. Marched and found it was necessary to cross the north side about two miles up. The ford was a good one but the ice ran very bad and two of the men got their feet froze before we could get accommodated with fire, etc. Secured some of the old buffalo and continued our march.

"The country being very rugged and hilly, one of our horses took freak in his head and turned back, which occasioned three of our rear guard to lay out all night. I was very apprehensive we might perish on the open prairie. Distance thirteen miles."

The entire trip was that kind of situation or worse.

Pike was undaunted by hardships. Pike was supreme. His inordinate self confidence inspired the conviction that he'd give little or no heed to problems that beset other mortals. He saw himself as superhuman.

At two o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday, Nov. 15, 1806, Pike looked through his spyglass and said he thought he could make out a mountain ahead. It appeared like a small blue cloud that was a hundred miles away.

On Nov. 24th Pike, Dr. Robinson and Pvts. Miller and Brown set out to climb the great blue mountain. Pike named it Grand Peak.

To quote one author: "If a more useless and stupid excursion was ever deliberately undertaken by an American explorer it was not recounted in records that survive."

Pike's inability to judge western distances was graphically illustrated by his note that they marched at one o'clock with an idea of arriving at the foot of the mountain that same afternoon. He was a terrible navigator. He just misjudged distances and heights in everything he did.

As the early winter dusk settled they were not anywhere near their goal and were forced to camp without water and in extreme cold.

On Nov. 25th they started early, climbing over many small hills covered with cedar and pitch pine. And after struggling forward for twenty-two miles they reached the base of a mountain by nightfall. On Nov. 26th, from this base camp, they left their blankets and provisions, because they believed that they could climb to the peak's summit and return before another night engulfed them.

The four men struggled upward all day, finding the going very difficult, being obliged to climb up rocks sometimes almost perpendicular. And when the day ended they were nowhere near the summit.

Once again they were forced to camp, this time in a cave without blankets, vituals or water.

On Nov. 27th they rose hungry, dry and extremely sore. They had laid out all night on the rock floor of the cave, prevented from quickly freezing to death only by their fire. Their hunger was appeased by a deer of a new species, some pheasants, a mule deer and dusty grouse.

On they climbed and Pike thought they had been amply compensated for their hardships by sublimity of the prospects below. The unbounded prairie was overhung with clouds which appeared like the ocean's foam, wave upon wave, while the sky was perfectly clear where they were.

The snow became very deep but after an hour they had arrived at the summit of this chain.

They had climbed only a minor ridge. They had not reached any part of the Grand Peak . . ." which stood in all its majesty still at least fifteen

or sixteen miles from us and as high again as what we had ascended and would have taken a whole day's march to arrive at its base."

Pike gave up. He decided that no human being could have ascended its penacle.

What he probably meant was that no one could climb the peak at that time and under those conditions. It was extremely cold and his men were ill equipped for the inclemency. So Pike turned back.

Pike had calculated that mountain to be 18,581 feet high. The actual height is 14,110.

Fourteen years later, in 1820, Dr. Edward James, a member of the Long expedition, reached the summit. The leader of the company, Stephen H. Long, then named the mountain James Peak. But by that time the name "Pike's Mountain" had appeared on some maps of the west. The name James Peak was ignored by the mapmakers. Pike became a hero of Colorado . . .

At least he became the convenient hero of politicians who did not object to historical inaccuracies, for the state approved application of the misnomer not only to the mountain but a highway and an immense and magnificent national forest.

Pike's name remains perpetuated on a great national monument more than 14,000 feet in height, an honor totally unjustified and totally undeserved.

Another example of the hardship they then ran into:

"On Dec. 24th, all men two days without eating. Two hunting parties killed a total of eight buffalo."

They had no salt for the meat and nothing to go with it. That was in Brown's Canyon. This is after they had camped roughly where Canon City would be. The next day was Christmas:

"Lay over to dry meat and the most inclement weather of the year. Not one person clothed for the weather, sleeping without blankets having been obliged to cut them up for socks, etc. And now laying down at night on the snow or wet ground, one side burning while the other side was pierced by the cold wind. This was the situation of the party where some were endeavoring to make shoes from wild buffalo hide. I will not speak of diet because I consider that to be beneath the serious considerations of a man on a voyage of such nature. We spent the day as agreeably as could be expected of men in our situation."

On Jan. 4th the group was separated into eight separate parties dragging themselves and their gear down the Royal Gorge, over the ice and rocks under very difficult conditions.

Jan. 5th, Pike's twenty-eighth birthday, was spent at the same camp they had left on the tenth of December. He had taken them in a circle.

In Pike's Expeditions there is a reprimand for one of the soldiers.

"We sally out in the morning . . . marching through the snow about two feet deep . . . with downcast countenances . . . the snow became too deep to continue . . . for the first time I found myself discouraged. It was the first time I heard a man express himself in a sedicious manner. One had exclaimed that 'it was more than human nature could bear to march three days without sustenance through snows three feet deep and carry burdens only fit for horses.' As I knew very well the fidelity and attachment of the majority of the men and even of this poor fellow, only he could not endure fasting, and that it was within my power to chastise him when I thought proper, I passed it over for the moment determined to notice it at a more auspicious time."

Well, that time came:

"Brown, you this day presumed to make use of language which was sedicious and mutinous. I then passed it over pending your situation and attributing your conduct to your distress rather than your inclination to sow discontent amongst the party. Had I reserved provisions for ourselves whilst you were starving, had we been marching along light and at our ease whilst you were weighed down with more than your burden, then you would have had some pretext for your observations. But we who were equally hungry, worried, imaciated and charged with burdens which I believe my natural strength was less able to bear than any man's in the party, when we are always foremost in breaking the road, reconnoitering and enduring the fatigues of the chase, it was the height of ingratitude in you to let an expression escape which was indicative of discontent. Your ready compliance and firm perseverance I have reason to expect as a leader of men who are my companions in misery and danger, but your duty as a soldier called for obedience and to your officer and a prohibition of such language . . . I assure you, should it ever be repeated by instant death I will revenge your ingratitude and punish your disobedience. I take likewise this opportunity to express to you soldiers generally my thanks for your obedience, perseverance and ready contempt of every danger which you have in common defense and assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to procure for you the rewards of our government and the gratitude of your countrymen."

He noted that they all retired with assurances of perseverance in their duty. Distance advanced: nine miles.

Pike was eventually captured by the Spanish, released and claimed his fame and rewards, which were slow in coming. He became a brigadier general.

From 1806 to 1858 the Pikes Peak area was left to the furtrappers, Indians and mountain men. Then came the gold rush.

. . . "During the gold rush to Pikes Peak wonder was piled upon wonder and a patient public accepted all as true but at least, when extravagance ran mad it affected its own cure, here is a specimen: "We learned from a gentleman just returned from the Peak that the gold lies in bands that are slanted down the slope. The custom of the best miners is to construct a heavy wooden float with iron ribs, similar to a strong boat. This is taken to the top of the peak where several men get in and guide it down over the gold strata. The gold curls up on the boat like shavings and is gathered in as they progress."

That was from an 1877 publication and that brings us to the Pikes Peak flask.

I started collecting the bottles before I got interested in the history.

The bottles were manufactured from 1859 to 1872, primarily by mid-western glass factories. So when a wagon was fitted out at Atchison, Kansas Territory, you had a bottle of whiskey for Pikes Peak.

They are supposed to come in quarter, half, pint, quart and two-quart sizes. I know of no one who has ever seen a quarter-pint or a two-quart.

They're called pictorial glass rather than historical glass. They were late in the historical flask area. Since they were so late in the flask-making era they didn't have a lot of appeal. Collectors were looking for earlier things, so for a while the price was down . . . until I started collecting them. When I started advertising for them the price started going up. Now they're hard to get.

This flask—most of them had a prospector on the face, with his tool bag over his shoulder and a walking cane and say "for Pikes Peak," and on the back is an eagle with branches and a banner—but this one has a little different character on it, he's a hunter shooting a deer. It has a nice blue color. Amber color is very rare. Variances in the way the bottle was made also adds to rareness.

This bottle still has the original contents, cork and seal.

This bottle, when it was first made, had a very large, grotesque head and it wouldn't sell. So they patched it. You can see the patch here.

The prospector's picture came from an original Kelloggs and Comstock print of the independent gold hunter on his way to the fields in California. He carried everything he would need.

A California man wrote me and included this comment: If you think advertising doesn't pay bear in mind that there are twenty-five mountains in Colorado higher than Pikes Peak which few people could name.

By going to the different museums I've found that there are fifty-one variants of these flasks known to exist. I have thirty-seven of them.

Where do you find the bottles? Not in this area because there were no organized dumps. When a man heading west finished with the bottle

he tossed it out on the plains. Sometimes they're found in the forts, the outhouse holes, sometimes in the hospital dump.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR—

John M. Eatwell is a Denver architect who established his own practice in Denver in April, 1967. In 1973 he received the W.O.O.D. Inc. "Citation For Excellence" first place award for designing with wood in a distinctive and creative manner the Fire Station in Georgetown, Colorado.

John is past National Chairman of the Federation of Historical Bottle Clubs, and past President of the Antique Bottle Collectors of Colorado. He is active in other groups and has served in various offices of them. He is also the author of "Denver's Golden Days and Apothecary Palaces."



Westerner's Bookshelf



The following book review first appeared in the Summer edition of the Buckskin Bulletin:

1973 DENVER WESTERNERS BRAND BOOK, Vol. XXIX, edited by Dr. Robert W. Mutchler, art and design by John H. Flores, poetry by Thomas Hornsby Ferril, 1974; Boulder: John-on Publishing Co.; limited to 1,000 copies; \$16.95—order from Robert A. Edgerton, Denver Posse Tally Man, 865 Harrison St., Denver, Colo. 80206.

This volume is dedicated to Fred A. Rosenstock, the philosophical charter member of the Denver Posse which is on the WI Tally Sheet as No. 2 for it dates from 1945. The dedication is appropriate. It honors a man who, himself, is well-known as a connoisseur of fine and rare Western American.

The book runs 510 pages with 17 authentic articles — veritably a Colorado liter-

ary mine. Some chapters have Denver as their locale; others range the Rockies, north and south. Authors include established names among Western historians — with sidesaddlers well represented.

Subjects range from old railroads, settlements, mines, cow trails, saloons, and Mormon currency to Indian lore and dances. Especially noteworthy is George P. Godfrey's presentation with photographs of "El Morro — the Stone Autograph Album." That huge sandstone mesa north of Santa Fe bears signatures and comments of conquistadores, explorers, governors, bishops, and surveyors as well as lesser Kilroys. But because of erosion, it is a fading historical record.

Excellent reading, beautifully illustrated, well bound: this the 29th *Denver Brand Book* is one to prize!

—CURTIS ANDERSON
Author and critic

It seems to be the nature of the members of the Westerners to occasionally receive notoriety or recognition. The following article appeared in the Aug. 25, 1975 issue of the Rocky Mountain News and is reprinted in its entirety. Fred Mazulla has been a member of the Denver Posse of the Westerners since early in the fifties. He became sheriff in 1959 and has served faithfully in a number of other offices through the years.

HOW FRED MAZZULLA COLLECTED THE WEST

By Frances Melrose, News Staff

If they weren't all dead by now, the engineers and firemen who ran trains out of Salida around 1913 could tell stories about the bad little boys who used to thumb their noses at the train crews. The trainmen retaliated by throwing lumps of coal at the kids.

"We kept heckling the crew until there was enough coal on the ground to bring us 15 cents apiece," recalled Fred Mazzulla, one of those little boys of long ago. "Then we'd sell the coal to girls in the sporting houses. The 15 cents we got went a long way—five cents for a movie, five cents for popcorn, and five cents for a quarter of an apple pie after the show."

This early business initiative is a tipoff to the energy and imagination with which Fred Mazzulla has managed his life.

Mazzulla, who was born in Trinidad Dec. 14, 1903, is a successful Denver lawyer. But he is more widely known for his avocations than for his vocation. He is a jazz buff, photographer, historian, collector of Western Americana and author of a number of booklets.

With tape recorder and camera, he has prowled the West for more than 40 years, constantly on the lookout for firsthand stories and collectible items from old timers.

His collections, which he sold a few months ago to the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, contained 850 hours of taped interviews with old timers, 250 player piano rolls, and 250,000 photographs. The photos, many of them glass plate negatives, weighed 17 tons.

An additional collection of 20,000 jazz records was purchased by Michael Doyle, son of Judge William E. Doyle.

HOME IS MUSEUM

Despite the disposal of these collections, Mazzulla's English Tudor-style home on E. Eighth Avenue still is something of a museum. He has retained some of the items he most enjoyed, such as a bustle worn by Laura Evans, celebrated Salida madame. Miss Evans helped break a strike in Leadville by carrying a \$27,000 payroll across the picket line in her bustle — the one Mazzulla owns — when no one else could get through.

He also has a collection of paintings by the late Herndon Davis, Western artist. Davis painted, among other things, the "Face on the Barroom Floor," in Central City's Teller House.

The walls of a basement den in the Mazzulla home are covered with Davis portraits of 158 characters important in Colorado history—everyone from Baby Doc Tabor to Alferd Packer, the Colorado Cannibal. Every portrait is highlighted in a three-hour tape made by the late Gov. Ralph L. Carr, who was one of Mazzulla's friends.

In the same room, Mazzulla, too, has a "face on the floor," that of his pretty brunet wife, who was Miss Josephine D'Andrea when he married her Nov. 19, 1939. Mrs. Mazzulla, who was Fred's constant companion and associate on both his collecting and his historical writing, died two years ago.

Mazzulla is the second of six children born to Angela and Enrico Mazzulla, who came to Colorado from Southern Italy. They lived briefly in Trinidad, where Enrico worked as a miner, but finally settled in Salida, where he became a railroad section foreman.

It was in grade school in Salida that Fred first became enamored of history.

It was in Salida, also, that Fred Mazzulla started collecting. As a seven-year-old he began delivering laundry and selling coal to the town's shady ladies, an occupation he followed for several years. He delivered with a wagon in summer and a sled in winter. The "girls" were big tip-pers, Fred said.

When he was 18, Fred started work in the Salida Post Office as a letter carrier. It was a job he was to hold intermittently in Salida and Denver for the next 16 years.

With his savings, Mazzulla enrolled in Harvard University because he wanted to study with one of the professors there, E. C. Channing, author of Fred's grade-school history book.

One of Mazzulla's best memories stems from an encounter with Channing. He had turned in three assigned papers, and a few days later, Channing told him: "See me after class."

After class, Channing handed back the papers. All three were marked A-plus.

"I've given out only five of those in 42 years of teaching," the professor told him. "That means you can take History 5." History 5 was limited to seven graduate students, and hundreds of graduates wanted into the class. He enrolled, over the protests of many graduates.

It wasn't practical for Mazzulla to continue at Harvard, and he returned to Denver to attend Westminster and DU law schools. He received his degree from DU and was admitted to the Colorado bar in 1938.

At DU, Fred gained fame as a wrestler, an art he had taught himself by reading wrestling magazines while he was in Salida. He won the Denver Athletic Club Tournament in 1924, and a Ku Klux Klan-sponsored tournament in 1925.

The wrestling came in handy even after Mazzulla was an established lawyer.

"I was bringing a suit against the Northern Pacific Railroad," he recalled. "They had filed a motion to dismiss the case because they said they weren't doing business in Colorado.

"I knew they had an office in the First National Bank Building, so I went up there and started to take a picture of their door, lettered 'Northern Pacific.' A man came through the door and told me he was going to break the camera over my head.

"'All right, come ahead,' I said. 'But I want to warn you that I was champion wrestler of Colorado for two years.' The man just retreated back inside the door, and I took the picture."

Of all his hobbies, photography perhaps is most important to Fred Mazzulla, and he got into it by accident.

"A fellow traded me a \$3 German rifle in exchange for radio repairs," Mazzulla said. "The rifle turned out to be a lot more valuable than I thought, and I bought my first camera with it."

Fred once had the pleasure of beating all the pros in town when he got the first picture of President Eisenhower after his heart attack.

All photographers had been barred from the Fitzsimons Army Hospital corridor where Ike was being treated. Mazzulla ingeniously established himself on the hospital lawn some distance from the President's balcony, set up a camera with a telescopic lens, and waited. He was rewarded when Eisenhower, then on the mend, stepped out on the balcony and waved.

The picture was carried by wire services around the world.

Mazzulla was paid \$1,500 for the photo, and through it, acquired a lifelong friendship with Gunter Leitz, head of the Leica Camera Company in Germany. Because Mazzulla had captured the famous photo

with a Leica, Leitz sent him a complete outfit of Leica photo equipment.

Fred and his wife, Jo, combined their interest in photography with their interest in history, and Colorado school children benefited.

COLORADO SLIDE SHOW

The Mazzullas prepared a slide show, "100 Years of Colorado History," and presented it in dozens of schools. They charged each child 10 cents to see the show, on Fred's theory that:

"If you charge a kid, he'll pay attention." Money collected in admissions was turned over to each school's library.

With Pasquale Marranzino, who did the script, Mazzulla prepared a TV series, Expedition Colorado," telling the stories of 13 colorful towns of early day Colorado, including Central City, Creede and Leadville.

The camera whetted Mazzulla's zeal for collecting, and also fostered his interest in collecting voice tapes to go with the photos.

William L. "Wild Bill" Carlisle, the last of the West's colorful outlaws, gave Mazzulla all his photos, did 10 hours of tape recordings for him, telling many things not in books about him, and ended by giving Mazzulla his gun.

Carlisle, known as the "gentleman bandit," was the nemesis of Union Pacific passenger trains, and used to delight in writing to newspapers, telling them which train would be robbed next.

He attracted a great deal of public sympathy, and in his latter years, would lecture juvenile delinquents about the pitfalls of a misspent youth.

SEARCHES FAR AND WIDE

Fred Mazzulla has searched far and wide and dug into many cobwebby corners assembling his collection of Western memorabilia, but he says he never has taken advantage of someone who didn't know what he had.

"One time I ran across an old lady who had an unusual picture of the Tabor family," Mazzulla related. "'What's it worth?' she asked me. I replied, 'If it's the only one, I'll give you \$150 for it. But I'll give you 30 days to look around and sell it for more, if you can.' I always gave people a chance to make a better deal and thereby feel satisfied with what I offered them.

"I've had dealers ask me to look through a bunch of maybe 1,000 junk pictures and tell them what they were worth. I don't give free appraisals to dealers. I'd just offer them five cents apiece for the lot, without looking."

Another of Mazzulla's interests which was enriched with tape recorder and camera was his liking for jazz. He quotes Louis Armstrong when

he explains why he likes jazz. Said Armstrong:

"Classical music threatens to break into a tune but never does."

ORIGINATOR OF JAZZ

"Jazz sounds like a lot of Italian folk songs, and I believe the Italians originated it," Mazzulla maintains. "The Negroes say jazz was born in New Orleans in 1895, but I think it started in Central City in the 1880s." His theory is bolstered by W. C. Handy who toured Colorado in 1895.

In one of the letters in Mazzulla's files, Handy tells of his Colorado tour with Mahara's Minstrels:

"It was my good fortune to witness the Festival of Mountain and Plain in Denver when a little railroad orchestra played a little oddity called 'Ragged Rapsallions.'" From this "little oddity," Handy said he developed "Memphis Blues." He later wrote "St. Louis Blues."

"The Western History Department of the Denver Public Library has letters telling of Italian orchestras playing for funerals on Sundays in Central City," Mazzulla said. "Then on their way back from the cemetery, they would stop at Mack's Brewery and after a few drinks, proceed on up the street, playing the same somber songs in jazzy style. This was several years before jazz got to New Orleans."

After a number of years of collecting, photographing and taping, Fred and Jo Mazzulla turned to writing, and as a team, produced eight booklets on Colorado and the West.

Their first publication, "The First 100 Years, Cripple Creek and the Pikes Peak Region," which came out in 1956, has sold 80,000 copies in eight editions. Their best-seller, co-authored by Max Miller, is "Holladay Street," a story of Denver's shady ladies. This one, published in paperback by both Signet and Ballantine Publishing Co., has sold 250,000 copies.

Fred Mazzulla is 71 years old now, slightly less active, victimized by high blood pressure and eye trouble. The eyes slowly are improving, and he hopes to get back to doing research before long.

His interest in things, Western, however, is as keen as ever. He still gets calls from collectors nearly every day, and he still lunches regularly at the famous "Republican Roundtable" in the Denver Dry Goods Tea-room where he has been dining with cronies since 1939.

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Alonzo Ellsworth

Ralph Mayo

Henry Toll

(Over the Corral Rail continued)

Magazine long before they would consider parting with their copies of Roundup. Advertisers will not be billed until after the first ad has been run.

Sheriff Dave Hicks has volunteered to answer questions concerning our advertising program and, for the time being, orders should be sent to him. As a charter advertiser himself, see elsewhere in this issue, he has already laid the groundwork.

• • • • •

If any of you have extra copies of the Roundup for September 1951, or 1964 or March 1958, or November 1967—please contact John M. Carroll, P.O. Box 543, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903.

• • • • •

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The drive to obtain more members has resulted in the signing up of a number of new Corresponding members throughout the country. The newest members are:

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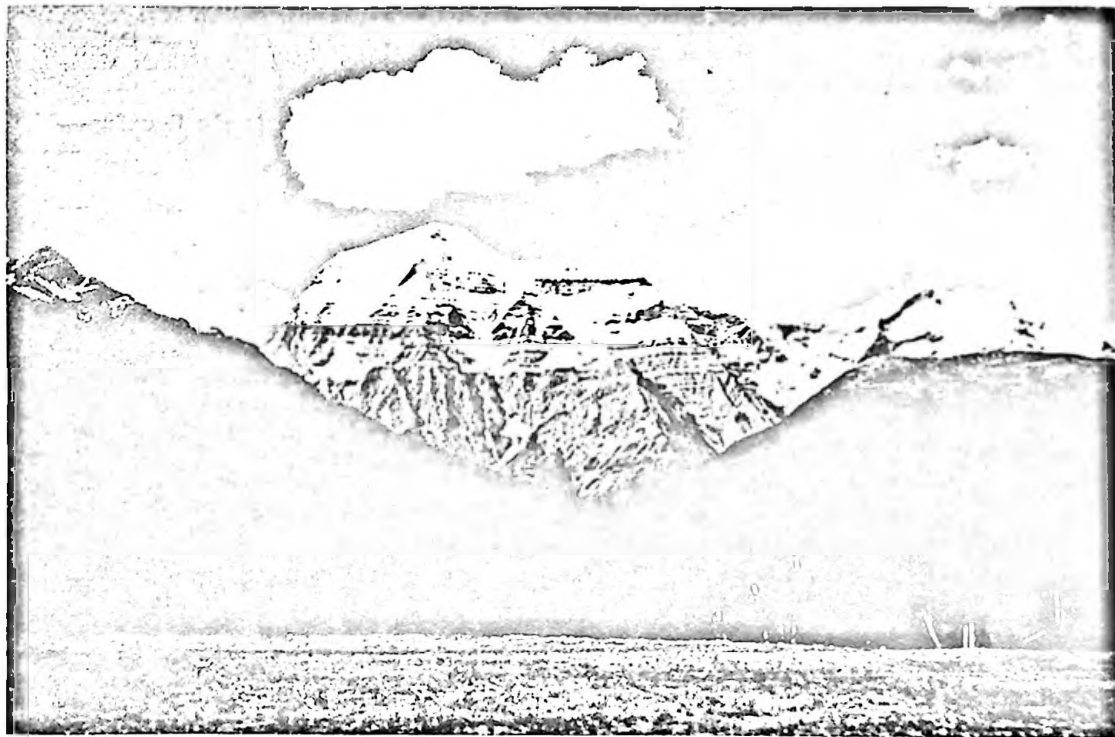
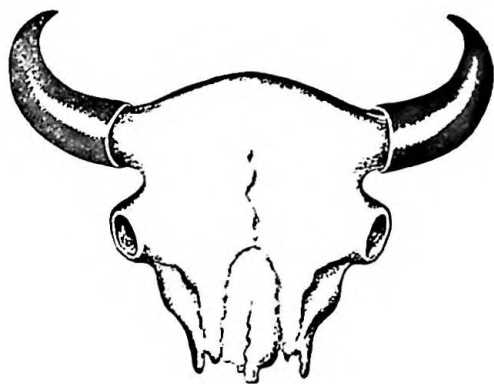
ROUNDUP

JULY-AUGUST 1975

Volume XXXI, No. 6

In this issue "The Fraser-Cariboo Gold Rush"

by Robert L. Brown



Mt. Robson, seen from the top of Yellowhead Pass.

—From the Collection of Robert L. Brown

THE DENVER WESTERNERS R O U N D U P

OVER THE CORRAL RAIL

Fort Collins, Colo — The Fort Collins Corral of The Westerners played host to a joint meeting of three Westerners groups June 28.

The Fort Collins Westerners were led by Deputy Sheriff Chuck Hagemeister. The Laramie Westerners were led by Sheriff Lee Greer. The Denver Westerners were led by Sheriff Dave Hicks.

The meeting was held in the Student Union Building on the Colorado State University campus. Speaker was Muriel Sibell Wolle, author of "Stampede to Timberline." She spoke on Colorado mining camps and ghost towns then and now.

Mrs. Wolle began her travels in the state more than 30 years ago. With slides of her remarkable drawings of Colorado, she presented an account of the destruction that has befallen the ghost towns because of the elements and vandalism.

The Denver Westerners were represented by about 25 members and their wives. The Laramie group numbered about a dozen. The Fort Collins group, suffering because of conflicting meetings and events, only numbered a few.

The meeting, believed to be the first tri-corral meeting in Colorado in many years, perhaps the first ever, left many with the feeling that this should be repeated, perhaps alternating sites.

When Erl Ellis, president of Westerners International, was introduced he received a standing ovation. Master of ceremonies was Dave Hicks. Photographer was Alan Stewart, publications chairman and editor of the Denver Westerners Brand book, Vol. 30, which will be out later this year.

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The Fraser-Cariboo Gold Rush

By Robert L. Brown

"In 1855 there came news of a gold discovery on the Fraser River in Canada, with a resulting stampede in 1858." With this terse sentence, one of the best available single volume texts of Western History both introduces and dismisses the whole Cariboo gold rush, a migration that sent more than 35,000 Americans north out of San Francisco in 112 ships between April 20 and August 9 of 1858 alone. My purpose in this paper will be to examine the less well known excitement over the yellow metal, a rush that often gets lost among the California, Pikes Peak and Comstock booms.

First of all, let's set the scene and briefly examine the geography. The Cariboo mountain range extends for a length of about 200 miles from south central to eastern British Columbia, roughly paralleling the beautiful ice-wrapped ramparts of the Canadian Rockies. The North Thompson River flows on one side of the range and the Fraser, the chief river of British Columbia, runs along the other slope. British Columbia, incidentally, was known as New Caledonia until 1857. The whole area was very sparsely populated. At the time the rush began in 1858 there were only 450 people of European descent in the whole region. Three hundred of these were at Fort Victoria. Even the Indians numbered only 15,000.

And this is how it got started. Indians were the first to find the gold, and they often sold it to parties of interested Anglos. In 1849 a group of men arrived at Victoria. They sought out Roderick Finlayson, chief trader of Hudson's Bay Company. They offered him several gold nuggets, which he purchased for \$11 an ounce after flattening them on an anvil. Finlayson sent the gold to San Francisco where it sold for \$16 an ounce. For several years this scene was repeated. A single nugget worth \$600 was found in 1850. The Indians themselves feared miners, particularly Americans, who had a reputation of being less than fair in dealings with the red man.

In the summer of 1858, Indians protested the presence of miners. They killed some outright by decapitation. Others were scalped and robbed. Governor Douglas ordered three companies of 160 men each to take the counter offensive. The Governor arrived personally with a naval vessel and a force of troops. The uprising was put down. Later in 1858 some eight hundred ounces of gold were shipped in the San Francisco mint. The result was the stampede northward that became as important to California, comparatively, as California's 1849 rush had been to America. By March of 1859 another \$89,500 in gold had been sent down to San Francisco.

At first, prospectors were encouraged to wander over the north country in search of richer deposits, pushing into the wilds of the newly created crown colony of British Columbia. With their wash pans, some found color on the wild Fraser River. By the following spring all of the West had heard that a new El Dorado awaited exploitation. Here, it was said, the Indians were friendly and miners could pan out from \$10 to \$50 worth of nuggets and dust daily. The exodus from California that followed dwarfed even the stampede to Nevada's Washoe, which was going on at the same time.

But the once great production along the Sierra Nevada mother lode had declined seriously, leaving many miners discouraged. San Francisco, in fact, was still in the throes of a depression, caused by the collapse of the state's mining boom and the still felt effects of the panic of 1855. Many old Californians feared that the sudden depopulation would ruin the state. Most of the once prosperous mining towns had lost half of their population, depleting the state's once abundant labor supply.

The new bubble of opportunity was carefully inflated with stories like the following: "So many men left for Canada that San Francisco's ~~owner~~ ^{citizen} complained that the Fraser rush had put an end to suicides in the city." To San Francisco, news of gold in the north was tantamount to offering an ocean of fresh water to a many dying of thirst. Thousands were unemployed, and those who had jobs were woefully underpaid.

Roads to Stockton and Sacramento were jammed with argonauts making their way to the coast. There they fought openly to board steamboats for the journey north through the Inland Passage. Every conceivable type of ocean going craft was commandeered for the voyage. Hubert Howe Bancroft wrote, "The whole of California is in ferment." During the Fraser rush the only British steamer used were the Beaver and the Otter, but they were incapable of running the swift current of the upper river.

By July, 67 ships from San Francisco, carrying 100 to 1000 passengers each, lay deserted at Victoria. Their crews had abandoned them to join gold seekers on the Fraser. Thousands of them, about 8,000 we now think, could not find boats, mounted horses or mules and headed northward. As a New York Times journalist reported late in 1858, "It now appears that all of the banks and benches of the river between Fort Hope and Yale promise well for sluice mining."

As San Francisco real estate values tumbled, the city of Victoria was proclaimed as the new metropolis of the West, and substantial numbers of the Bay City's business community planned to move up to the Fraser. A tent city sprang up around Victoria. Local blacksmiths were swamped with orders for picks, shovels, and iron ladles. At Victoria, flour worth \$11 in San Francisco, sold for \$100 a barrel. A \$6 jug of molasses sold for \$13. Pork was a dollar a pound. Picks sold at \$6 each and shovels for 2. There were no fresh provisions.

In 1857 Provincial Governor Douglas became frightened and issued a proclamation that any gold found belonged to the Crown and that no person was to dig for gold nor disturb the soil until authorized by Her Majesty's government. The Governor recalled how incoming American hordes, outnumbered the citizens of other possessor nations, had succeeded in adding Texas and Oregon to the United States.

What followed was an American gold rush into Canada. The book *British Columbia and the United States* declares, "The important thing to remember about this rush is that it was American, through and through."

And what happens when a fairly substantial number of outsiders arrive suddenly in somebody else's country to search for gold? The results were predictable. Since the most recent theories of human development now indicate that few really significant changes occur in any of us after the age of nine years and that the dye is pretty well cast by that time, those people who pushed northward in 1858 tended to perpetuate mostly American habit patterns, behavior and ways of thought to their new environment. The communities that grew up looked like mining towns in the states. The establishment of mining districts with traditional rules about claim sizes resulted, and most typically the Irish quickly dominated the saloon business. For instance, in the most prominent town the best known public thirst quenchers were Kelly's and Joe Denny's Saloons.

At Fraser River sexual mores were liberalized considerably. In a society where women were either a rarity or a bargain, financial arrangements were often made with Indian males who brought an odd assortment of approachable females, both married and single, to the camps, facilitating the nourishment of carnal appetites.

As the boom progressed, the French, of course, moved quickly to monopolize prostitution. For example, on Barkerville's main street, beside F. A. Barnard's express office, stood the elaborate two story bordello of Madame Fanny Bendixon, called the Hotel de France. Inside, so it was said, pre-adolescent boys might achieve puberty overnight. Madame Bendixon, an ex San Francisco madame, moved her coterie of "nymphs du pave" and "ladies of joy" up to Barkerville in 1862. There they girded their loins for the battle of the bedstead, sometimes known as "mining the miners."

It seems, somehow, that hardship follows the prospector in strange country. It was true of the '49ers and of those who went to Pikes Peak. It was no less a fact of life among those who courted the riches of the Fraser River. Compared to the powerful Fraser, California's rivers had been placid streams. Only in autumn could its sands be worked profitably. The spring run-off from the northern mountains kept it at almost full flood stage for most of the brief summer. During July and August of that first year, recovery of miner's bodies floating down the Fraser became common

at Yale.

To an even greater extent than in the southern rushes, this was a rugged wilderness where winters are bitterly cold, come early, and stay late and the hundreds of tents pitched in every open space offered little protection. But the days were long and pleasant during the brief summer season. Daylight came at about 3:30 a.m. and there was still enough light to work by until well after 10:00 p.m.

Disappointment, no less than boundless optimism, is also a characteristic of mining rushes, and for some of the same reasons. Those who had met failure in California found it again here. For one thing, there was a lot less gold on the Fraser than they had been led to expect. Due to the disappointment of not finding the Fraser to be another California, many miners returned home, disgustingly muttering "humbug" about the whole affair.

A substantial number of those who had rushed up to the Fraser during that brief summer of '58 were back in San Francisco by winter. One statistic that has survived tells us that one less fortunate group of 3,000 miners took out only \$520,000, or a mere \$170 for each man.

A full five years after the initial influx of people in 1858, the rush had moved some distance further to the north to the new Cariboo district and there it was intensified all over again. The second rush was much more spectacular than the initial one to the Fraser had been.

Those who had stayed after 1858-59 fanned out, still seeking the illusive yellow metal. Some had prospected northward along the usually flooded Fraser, pushing all the way up to Cariboo Lake. There they found enough gold to attract another 1,500 miners during 1860-61. Then came the most significant personality to emerge from this entire gold excitement.

Billy Barker was a sailor. He had jumped ship and forfeited his back pay upon hearing stories of the rich placers on the Fraser River. Moving northward, he prospected up and down Williams' Canyon. There, on August 21, 1862, he struck fine color and headed for the closest saloon, probably in Richfield, to celebrate. Bishop George Hills, the Anglican prelate from Victoria, penned the following cryptic entry in his diary. "When Barker found his claim, all miners along the river went on a spree of several days, excepting one lone Englishman, who was well brought up."

Inevitably, a town grew up around Barker's claim. At first it was known as Richfield Lower Town, but the name was changed to Barkerville a few months later. Billy Barker made \$600,000 in two years, went out to Victoria and married Elizabeth Collyer, a London widow many years his junior. Then he made another mistake, he brought her back to the Cariboo. With dozens of younger, single men around, the forty-two year old and slightly bow-legged Barker had his hands full. Almost no other family type woman lived at Barkerville then. Soon Billy began to drink. Almost as soon, the

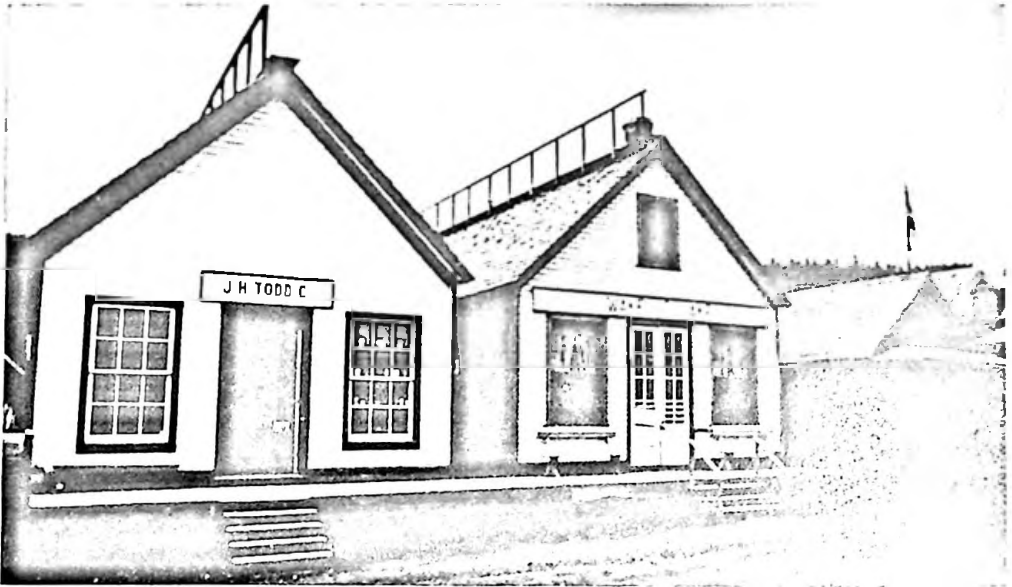


Herd of cattle being driven up the main street of Barkerville. St. Saviar's Episcopal Church is at end of street.
—Provincial Archives of British Columbia



Barkerville's main street in June, 1975.

—From the Collection of Robert L. Brown



The Wake-Up Jake and its neighbors today.

—From the Collection of Robert L. Brown

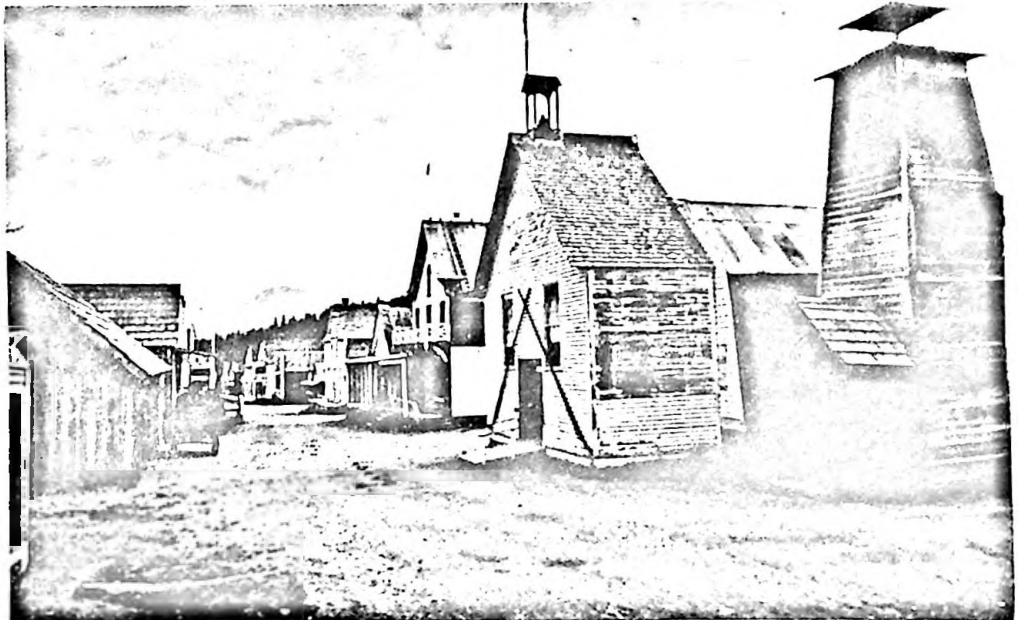


The Wake-Up Jake was a saloon, named for a lead on Nevada's Comstock lode. The decorations were for Christmas.

—Provincial Archives of British Columbia



Upper main street of Barkerville. Rilly's Saloon in center, fire hall and Scott's Saloon at right.
—Provincial Archives of British Columbia



Kelly's and the fire hall still survive.
—From the Collection of Robert L. Brown



Barkerville in 1900. Barnard's Express office is at right.

—Provincial Archives of British Columbia



The high sidewalks were to keep Williams Creek out of the buildings.

—From the Collection of Robert L. Brown

saloon keepers had most of his money. With her husband penniless, Elizabeth left him. Now a broken man, Barker finally died of cancer in 1894 at the Old Men's Home at Victoria.

In all, Barkerville sported sixteen saloons. The Provincial government controlled gambling in them by yet another strict tax. When there was a magic show or a boxing match, seats in the saloons sold for \$2 each. On Sundays the main street of Barkerville was used as a race track, keeping it in a state of perpetual disrepair.

On September 16, 1868, a miner tried to steal a free kiss from one of the girls of the sporting fraternity. In the ensuing hassle a stovepipe was disconnected, a fire started and Barkerville burned. A mere hour and 20 minutes later, only Scott's Saloon was still standing. Although the town was rebuilt, the best days were soon over.

At first, the Cariboo and its roaring camp of Barkerville could be reached only by one route that was at all practical. This involved a six hundred mile trip north from Vancouver, up the Inland Passage among the coastal fjords of the Pacific, then by stage to the mining area. But in the spring of 1862, London newspapers advertized a 6,000 mile trip by steamer from Glasgow under the auspices of the British Columbia Overland Transit Company, to Quebec. Rail connections already existed from there to Chicago and St. Paul. Covered wagons were used along the Red and Athabasca Rivers to Jasper, where the Hudson's Bay Company maintained a rugged pioneer outpost.

West of Jasper they crossed the Continental Divide at 3,717 foot Yellowhead Pass, source of the Fraser and Athabasca Rivers, past 12,972 foot Mt. Robson, highest Peak in the Canadian Rockies. Yellowhead Pass was named for a blond American trader, Jasper Hawes, who worked for Hudson's Bay Company in the 1820's. It was known earlier as Tete Juan and as Leathef Pass when it was used to run great quantities of hides to the natives of New Caledonia. From the Pass the route went down the Fraser, more or less, some 400 miles to the Cariboo and its roaring camp at Barkerville.

Thousands of Englishmen checked their maps and decided to try it. For a mere 42 pounds, what could they lose? Because the promised roads did not actually exist as yet, only a hundred or so made it through the first year. Instead of the promised covered wagons, they were forced to use ox carts and pack horses through heavy rains, hub-deep mud, bugs, and awful heat. Thick underbrush blocked the trail and much time consuming labor was required to clear it.

Actually, it was these British migrants, caught in the wilderness too late in the year to turn back, who widened the old trapper trail into a usable pass, which they crossed on August 22, 1862. Weary people, with food supplies running out, decided to try running the Fraser rapids on

hastily improvised rafts. Most of them made it in eighteen hair raising days to Fort George, today city of Prince George. From there it was 67 miles south to Quesnel, then 56 miles west to Barkerville.

To assure better access, a trail called the Cariboo Road had been built between 1862-65. It extended inland from Quesnel on the west across rolling hill country, through Wells and Stanley to Barkerville and Richfield. It was Governor Douglas who inaugurated the task of building a trail into the Cariboo Road. It took the Royal Engineers three years to complete it. Judge Mathew Begbie, after traveling one treacherous section of the road noted that, "One must thrust his hands as well as his feet." Final cost of the Cariboo Road was \$2,000 a mile.

The abandonment of the U.S. Army's camel experiment coincided with the British Columbia gold excitement. Many of the beasts were not returned to Camp Verde, but were shipped to an Army post north of Los Angeles. Twenty-two were sold at San Francisco in 1862 for shipment to Victoria, and from there to the mainland where they were purchased by Frank Laumeister for use in building the Cariboo Road. After construction had been completed they were used to haul freight between Douglas and Lillooet, frightening horses and mules and causing several accidents. Laumeister was a packer and shipper. He used a dozen camels to haul the ore out to the railroad connection at Quesnel.

One fine day a slightly tipsy miner named Morris was out hunting for a bear. Peering furtively through the trees he saw the biggest and strangest hump-backed grizzly he had ever beheld. He took aim carefully and fired. The beast toppled over. It was one of Laumeister's camels. Ever after that the drunken shooter was known appropriately as Grizzly Morris.

Hubert Howe Bancroft recounted the tale of one Cariboo miner who panned \$40,000 in gold dust, then spent it all on a one evening champagne orgy, consummating the evening by smashing an expensive mirror in the saloon by throwing \$20 gold pieces. But he never hit gold again, and spent the rest of his life working for wages in other people's mines.

One party of five in 1861 divided \$1,200 between them as the reward of a single day's work. On Lightning Creek a miner collected 900 ounces of gold on his first day of work, 500 on the second, and 300 on the third. The Cameron claim yielded between 40 and 112 ounces of gold per shaft per day, and a town known as Cameronton grew up round it. The district, with a work force of only 1500 workers, exported \$2 million in gold to Victoria before the close of the 1861 season.

Generally, Canada's mining frontier was less lawless than those in the United States. Although most of those who went to the Fraser area came from California, they behaved better in Canada. For instance, lawlessness in the northern mines never reached such proportions as to require a Vigilance Committee.

Also, those who found the gold left much of it there. Once the British realized what was going on, inflexible Gold Commissioners were sent up from Vancouver. They roamed at will through the settlements collecting on licenses to mine at \$21 a head, assessments for trading, and fees on manufacture and sale of spirits. To the free-wheeling men from the states, accustomed to laws of their own making, these stiff-necked Englishmen were an insult. Furthermore, the authorities insisted that the Americans conform to respectable standards of behavior, an impossibility for most miners.

Another tax was placed on any Chinese entering or leaving the Province because it was felt that they spent relatively little in this country and that they took large sums of gold home with them.

Order was preserved by these agents who had complete civil authority, including the right to eject a miner from his claim. The licensing system, although greatly resented by American prospectors, tended to make life more orderly, and more profitable to the government, although less picturesque.

Canadian authorities were also plagued by American jingoism. On Washington's birthday the Americans staged a huge celebration that was to have included the mass discharge of firearms at noon. Governor Douglas' main problem was the fact that Americans constituted a majority of the population. So he kept the lid on by rejecting American appeals for firearm permits. The Americans then drafted a "letter to the world," in which Governor Douglas was accused of being "A black-hearted enemy of all things republican." So they compromised with an eating and drinking celebration in honor of the first President but the guns remained silent.

Law and order found its greatest upholder in the person of Judge Mathew Begbie, whose enforcement was said to be comparable to "Judge Colt" in swiftness and certainty. He kept two ships anchored at the mouth of the Fraser for loading with undesirables to be shipped out. Judge Begbie's law has been variously described as "stem," "upright," and "unreasonable."

But it was not law and order but circumstance that lowered the final curtain on the rush to the north. The Cariboo excitement was partly doomed by the high cost of transporting machinery, coupled with high wages and living costs. The result was failure. Then a mild depression began with the decline of the Cariboo. Starting in 1879, businessmen began closing their doors. After extensive development by those who had stayed, gold mining finally declined and was superseded by farming and ranching.

As most of the Americans took passage for their former homes in the states, provincial authorities breathed sighs of relief, and one more in the sequence of Western gold rushes had come to an end.

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Robert L. Brown is a past president of the large and active Colorado Ghost Town Club, is a Posse member of the Denver Posse of Westerners and the Colorado State Historical Society. He has been teaching Colorado history for the past decade and is currently assigned as an instructor at Denver's South High School. Two nights each week he teaches the History of Colorado and Western History courses at Regis College. In recent years he has been in considerable demand as a lecturer and after-dinner speaker in this field for various civic groups. The Browns and their two children make their home in Denver. PM Brown is the author of a book entitled, "Jeep Trails to Colorado Ghost Towns," Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho. This book represents the culmination of three years of research and writing, along with many more summers of field trips on foot or by Jeep to the actual locations of hundreds of ghost towns.

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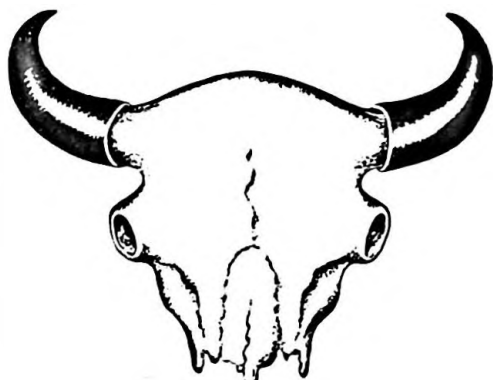
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by Major General James A. Wier



Asst. Surgeon William T. Corbusier

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The Army Doctor And The Indian

By Major General James A. Wier

Medical Corps, United States Army

Chief Joseph, a Chief of the Nez Perce Indians, after fighting a running battle with the U.S. troops, trying desperately to flee into Canada with his followers and their women and children, supposedly said that he and his remaining braves could have slipped through into Canada near the end if we had left our wounded, old women and children behind. We were unwilling to do this. We had never heard of a wounded Indian recovering while in the hands of white men.

Concerning most events relating to the Indians and the U.S. Army, opinions are pretty well polarized. By the time that these opinions have been refined and quoted in the literature through the years, this polarization has only been aggravated. This applies equally to opinions of the relationships between Army doctors and the Indians.

In presenting a paper on the Army doctor and the Indian, I thought it best briefly to define what I will and what I will not talk about. First and foremost, I am not presenting a learned discussion of Indian medicine or medicine men. Secondly, I am not presenting a discussion in depth of the Army physician's official role in the treatment of the Indian as physicians in the various Indian agencies at times. It is my intent to comment on the relationship between the Army doctor and the Indian during the period of the Indian wars as portrayed in anecdotal history. The doctor's first contact with an Indian might be in the requirement to treat a casualty wounded in battle, or it might be when a group of Indians suffering from communicable diseases, such as cholera, would confront the Surgeon serving one of the exploring expeditions. At other times be requested to treat Indians ill within the vicinity of one of the frontier posts, or to provide medical care at one of the Indian agencies. It would appear that most Army physicians honored their medical traditions and treated any whom they thought needed care. In many instances, I am sure, this was not done with enthusiasm; in some cases what started as a perfunctory and undesired duty, gradually became something the doctor was interested in and wanted to do.

Now to come back to some of the polarized opinions.

Major Frank North, who commanded the Pawnee scouts, has been quoted as saying that if wounded, he would prefer to be treated by the Pawnee Medicine Man, rather than by the Army Surgeon. Cadette, an Indian Chief at Fort Summer, New Mexico, said that many of his people are sick. "They did report to the hospital, but seeing that all died, they do not report to the hospital now. They call on the physician, but with his assistance they all die."¹

In other writings, most admittedly by Army Surgeons or their families, there are repeated references to experiences treating Indians, and of the Indians clamoring for medicines and care. Stansbury described such an incident. As his party, enroute to the Great Salt Lake in 1849, moved up the North Fork of the Platte River he said, "Just above us was a village of Sioux consisting of 10 lodges. They were accompanied by Mr. Beauvais, a trader, and having been driven from the South Fork by cholera, had fled to the emigrant road, in the hope of obtaining medical aid from the whites. . . . They told us there was another and larger band encamped about two miles above, many of whom were very sick with cholera; they, themselves, had been afflicted with it, but had in great measure recovered, although they were in great dread of its return. As soon as they were told I had a doctor, or 'medicine man' with me and received assurances that some medicines should be prepared for them, and left with the trader (who had married among them), they expressed much delight, and returned to their village, where, soon after, the sound of the drum and song, expressive of the revival of hope, which had almost departed, resounded from the medicine lodge, and continued until a late hour of the night. . . . I visited nearly every lodge with the doctor and Mr. Bissonette, the trader, and medicine was administered to all who required it. It was wonderful to witness the moral effect produced by the mere presence of a 'medicine man' upon these poor wretches. They swallowed the medicine with great avidity, and an absolute faith in its efficacy, which, I have little doubt, saved many a life that would otherwise have been lost."² Assistant Surgeon Rodney Glisan, at Fort Arbuckle in 1853, speaking of the Kickapoo Indians said, ". . . they suffer terribly from malarious diseases, and their protean complications. Having no specific or effective remedies among themselves for these complaints, they often importune my assistance. I cheerfully aid the poor wretches when they show a willingness to comply with my directions. But it is no easy matter to control such a set of superstitious creatures."³

Later in September of that year the Fort was visited by a party of Comanches. While there, the Chief and a few of his warriors were prostrated with a severe form of malarious dysentery. Glisan says he was prevailed up by some of the half-civilized Indians to try his professional

skill. He adds, "Happily, I got them all well — whereupon the old Chief thanked me for my kindness, and made me a present of a handsome pony. I at first declined the gift; but, on being assured by the interpreter that his highness would feel very much hurt at my refusal, I consented to receive it; yet subsequently gave him, in return, articles of far more value to him than the animal. Had the Chief, or any of his head men, died under my treatment, his people would have believed them poisoned. As they fortunately all recovered, I shall doubtless always be considered by the Comanches as a great 'medicine man!'"

Perhaps some of the disagreement in the literature can be resolved if we more narrowly define what we mean by medical care. Most of the plaudits for Indian care, and most fear of the Army Surgeon, was focused on the care of wounds and fractures. One fact was clear — the Indian never amputated a limb, the Army Surgeon frequently did. I am sure to the Indian, and probably to the frontiersman, amputation was little to be preferred to death.

There are many stories of wonderful recoveries with little residual disability from the Indian method of treatment — and from the point of view of the white or black man under military care, also cases who survived after refusing to submit to amputation.

Mari Sandoz, in her book, "Cheyenne Autumn," vividly describes the Indian treatment. She relates how Sitting Man had his leg broken with a bullet through his thigh. The medicine man gave an herb medicine, and by rattle and song soothed the injured man to sleep. He sprinkled the wound with dust from a puffball, pulled the leg straight and wrapped it in the hide from a horse which, when it dried, hardened and effectively splinted the limb. In her story the Army Surgeon is surprised, of course, in how well the wound healed.⁴

Assistant Surgeon Ebenezer Swift, at Camp Johnson, Texas, in 1852 said the Indians treated gunshot wounds skillfully and with success. One Indian, Buffalo-Hump, was shot in three places. A rifle ball went through the shoulder, breaking the scapula, his squaw sucked the wound night and morning for many days, and filled it with pith of weeds chewed to a soft pulp. He recovered with but slight deformity. Swift also mentioned Antelope Trailer, who had his leg broken by a rifle ball. The leg was dressed by the Indians and supported in position by pieces of bark and dressed with deer skin. He recovered with a straight leg and the surgery may be called good. Swift added, "They never amputate."⁵

Brittain Davis, reminiscing about the campaigns against Geronimo, relates that one of the Apache Scouts, Big Dave, had been shot through the elbow, the bullet splintering the bones of both the upper and lower arm. The Army Surgeon wanted to amputate, but the Indian refused. The Indians did accept the aid of the surgeon to the extent of removing

the small pieces of splintered bone, which Dave stood stoically without anaesthetics. The arm was splinted and a poultice was made of green sprigs of the yerba devivora (snake root) and bound over the wounds. This dressing was removed and renewed daily. The Army doctor still insisted that Dave's arm would stiffen and he would have little or no use of it. Davis said when he saw Big Dave three months later at Fort Apache, he had recovered the use of his arm and of all the fingers of that hand, except two, and these, the Indian said, would recover. There was a small Indian child wounded at the same time as Big Dave. This was a simple flesh wound which the Indians left to the Surgeon, evidently thinking little of it. Davis does mention two Indian girls who received amputations by the Surgeon, and both made good recoveries and returned to their tribe, using crude crutches.⁶ The hospital steward might render the treatment in the absence of the Surgeon. In 1868, near Camp Whipple, Arizona, an Indian girl, 15 years old, received a gunshot wound of the right arm. Acting Hospital Steward, Pvt. George Miller, with the 3rd Cavalry near Camp Whipple, without anaesthesia, amputated the arm in the lower third by the anterior posterior flap method. She was taken to the hospital at Camp Whipple the next day and was doing well two weeks later when at midnight two Indians approached the hospital and re-captured her.⁷

From the stories quoted, one would get the impression that the Army doctor always wanted to amputate. There are no exact statistics on this. I do know that in many gunshot wounds with fractured bones, the Surgeon treated them with removal of bone fragments, simple dressings and splints, with excellent recovery. I have some references to traction-splints being used during the Civil War. In severely traumatized wounds, with or without fracture, with extensive vascular and muscle destruction, the Surgeon did choose early amputation. He had experienced high complications in this type of wound and thought mobility and mortality less with amputation. If the injury involved the upper thigh and pelvis, death was nearly certain, either way, and many chose conservative treatment.

One factor which might influence amputation was ease of after care, to include transportation. For a man with severe trauma to an extremity and a compound fracture, movement over rough terrain was less painful and traumatic after amputation.

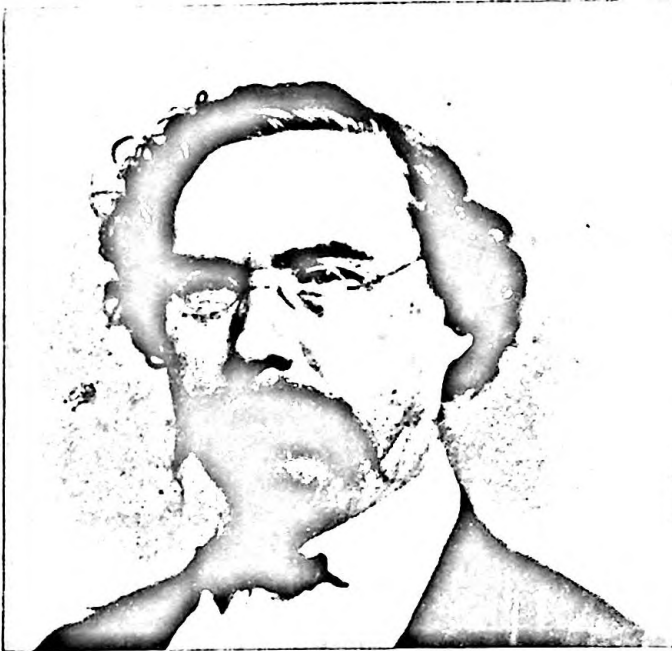
In the case of treatment of medical diseases, there is very little favorable comment from the Army surgeons on the Indian practice; for much of this they felt was just hocus-pocus. However, Corbusier, for one, did say he thought some Indian herbs were effective. Assistant Surgeon Israel Moses, at Astoria, Washington in 1852, describing Indian treatment of disease, states that, "In ordinary cases of sickness the aid of the medicine man or doctor is called in. . . . Upon visiting the patient and receiving

his fee, the doctor goes actively to work to drive out the evil spirit from the suffering body, where it has assumed the form of a wolf, a snake, a beaver, or large stone." Moses describes some of the magical incantations, then adds, ". . . when thus a second time the necessary pitch of excitement is attained, he suddenly thrusts his hands beneath the blankets, and to the surprise, delight, and admiration of the assembled friends jerks out and casts among them a dead wolf, serpent, beaver or stone, having thus successfully combated the disease."⁹

Glisan shared the low opinion of Indian medicine, speaking of some of the sleigh of hand aspects of the medicine man's treatment, adds that should the patient not recover, then the poor doctor's life pays the forfeit, unless he can compromise the matter with the relatives by paying the value of the deceased. Glisan then editorializes; "So it would seem that not even reason itself will stay the current of quackery." Reporting from Fort Umpqua in 1857 he noted that "the Indians on the reservation near here have had another little difficulty among themselves. In consequence of so many deaths among the Upper Rogue Rivers, they recently held a council to determine who it was that had been causing them to die. What conclusion this august body came to is not known, but rumor has it that they have resolved on causing to be killed various doctors, who have been bewitching them. As a commencement they, this morning, shot an Umpqua doctor, who, just before dying, wounded his murderer, Sambo, in the leg."¹⁰

Corbusier also commented on the witching. At the Rio Verde Agency in September of 1873, he found that the Indians were suffering severely from epizootic transmitted from the horses and also from malaria and dysentery. The medicine man could be heard day and night for weeks, chanting and shaking their gourd rattles to exorcise the evil spirits from the sick. One would dance and exhort and sing until his own weakness would force him to the ground, and the chant would be taken up by the ones still able to move. Several women who had been accused of bewitching the men were found tied up by their wrists to trees, to be stoned to death unless the men recovered. He tells another story of a young Indian woman, well liked and influential in her tribe. The medicine men were jealous of her. When her husband's horse kicked him in the abdomen, causing his death, they accused her of bewitching him. Her husband's brother, although he thought much of her, was one of the Indians accused of stoning her to death. Dr. Corbusier said he was implored to bring the woman back to life, but he explained that his medicine was not powerful enough.¹⁰

In some of their treatments the Indians seem to have learned from the white man. Glisan, in speaking of winter fever (probably pneumonia) among the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, said its fatality, however, is



Asst. Surg. Ebenezer Swift



Army Assistant Surgeon
Rodney Glisan

more owing to the mode of treatment than the disease itself. They absolutely bled their patients to death. . . . He added, "they, in common with all the so-called civilized Indians, adopt the medical practice, as well as other customs of the whites, but are more easily imposed upon by quacks and imposters." Assistant Surgeon Swift, again from Camp Johnson, Texas, stated that for pneumonia and pleurisy they cut and scarify the chest, vomit and purge. For intermittent fevers they vomit and purge, bathe in cold water and cup for local pain. He says, "They pretend to have a certain cure for rattlesnake bite; but as their patients sometimes die, I have not taken the trouble to learn all the mystery. They suck the wound, and apply to it a kind of poultice, made by chewing to a proper consistence a root possessing mucilaginous properties, previously prepared by some cabalistic power. The patient is made to drink water in which a fire-coal has been quenched, as an antidote to the poison of the snake — as life is life, and the virus death."

Of course the Army surgeon during this time treated the rattlesnake bite effectively. He treated it with cauterization, ammonia, and whiskey. Among many other cures, whiskey was, by all means, the favorite. In one case of a soldier bitten, the treatment consists of whiskey freely administered, three quarts being consumed in two hours succeeding the reception of the injury. The physician reported that although the patient is not addicted to the use of alcoholic stimulants, he was not affected by the large quantity employed.¹¹

Mrs. Custer mentions that Assistant Surgeon Irvin knew of an herb the Indians used that was very good for rattlesnake bite. Eric Stone noted that the Mescalero Apaches used 'the very effective Kub-bi-ze.'¹² This root was plucked and chewed fresh, and the quid was applied to the bite and quickly reduced the pain and swelling, and in some way seemed to neutralize the venom.

For the treatment of malaria and intermittent fevers, apparently quinine or cinchona bark was not available to the American Indians, though they had other herbs which they used for fever. Vogel says that the bark of the dogwood was used effectively.¹³ Even with this or other herbal remedies, malaria devastated the Indians, particularly those who were mass transplanted from their native homelands to areas highly endemic for malaria. Foreman vividly describes the effect of this disease along the Arkansas Valley, north and west of Fort Smith.¹⁴ The missionaries and Army doctors tried to treat the Indians with their limited supplies of quinine. Corbusier said that the Apaches, after improving under treatment, "came to the agency to beg for the bitter medicine which they had found so effective."

In at least one illness the Indians fared better than the Army. This was scurvy. This disease was widespread in Army troops throughout the 19th

century. Troops on the frontier were particularly prone to get it. Sandoz scornfully speaks of the troops suffering from scurvy, saying, "Simple observation of Indian practices would have saved many lives. In the midst of winter the Omahas chopped into muskrat houses for the store of tuberous roots, dug for young sproutings in the swamp brakes where piles of decaying cane and rushes warmed the earth; they chewed the sweetish flesh from the glossy, purple-brown hackberries that clung to the rounded straight-standing trees along the bluffs all winter."¹⁵ Augustus Myer, a soldier in the Dakotas in the 50's, said the troops there suffered from scurvy until they watched the Indians dig up roots and did likewise. Many Army surgeons knew, whether of their own knowledge or whether from the trappers and Indians, that wild onion, berries, cactus juice, raw potatoes, etc., would cure and prevent scurvy. Despite this, in their effort to be scientific and to define specific causes for scurvy, they could stand by until scurvy would be quite bad among their charges. This was compounded by the fact that the medical supply system supplied certain items, such as potash and citric acid, which were thought to be preventatives, which unfortunately were quite ineffectual.

As portrayed by some, the physician's only interest in the Indian was as a source of anatomical material, whether it be a skull or a skeleton. Vestal described the Army surgeons as 'inveterate head-hunters.'¹⁶ Eaton apologized for not putting Corbusier's name in a story as the medical man referred to because of the one gruesome thing of his boiling flesh off the heads of the specimen skulls he proposed shipping to the Smithsonian Institute. Eaton added, "This was only the enthusiasm of the average 'saw bones' and not to be marked against him, but it occurred to me that his relatives might not be pleased if they saw it in the published story."¹⁷

Bourke has a wild tale about the hospital steward at Fort Laramie who took the bones of Spotted Tail's daughter to make a skeleton. As he tells it, this was done just as Spotted Tail is to arrive for a peace conference, at which time he planned to take his daughter's remains back with him.¹⁸ A similar tale is told about Assistant Surgeon Sternberg at Fort Riley. The doctor did not limit this to Indians; Acting Assistant Surgeon Byrne, in Colorado along with a civilian colleague, dissected an outlaw who had been killed and disposed of the remains. They were somewhat chagrined when rumors spread that his wealthy parents in the East were seeking their son's body.¹⁹

Of course, from the doctor's side he had been directed to collect crania for the Smithsonian Institute and the Army Medical Museum. During and since the Civil War they had been directed to collect specimens for the museum representing differing types of wounds, diseases, etc. Corbusier states the four skulls he sent in "showed the so-called explosive action

passing through the skull, which broke it into many pieces.”

Sometimes the specimens were collected to satisfy the surgeon's intense desire for continuing education, or to provide instructional aids for his hospital stewards and enlisted 'nurses.'

In the face of claims that the Army doctor was disinterested and cruel, we might think of the stories where Assistant Surgeon Walter Reed grafted the skin from his arm to that of a small Indian girl who had been burned.²⁰ We might think of Acting Assistant Surgeon McGillicuddy who, when he started to treat the mortally wounded American Horse, heard some soldiers nearby say, "Put a knife through the son-of-a-bitch. I ain't got no use for a doctor that'll do anything for a goddamned injun." Needless to say, he continued his treatment.²¹ We can think of Assistant Surgeon Corbusier who trusted and respected the role of the Indian medicine man. He would wait until they finished a chant, then would hand them the medicine to give to the patient. He said, "Very soon I could trust a medicine man to give at least two doses. I did not try to stop their incantations, but rather encouraged them, as they soothed the sick who often slept while they were in progress." The doctor treated their medicine men with such respect that they looked on him as one of them. One grateful old medicine man, to show his appreciation for the help he had received from a brother 'pasemache' in curing the sick, presented him with his most cherished possession — a pipe, the shape of a cigar holder — made from a green, translucent stone with a mouthpiece of wild turkey bone. And to Mrs. Corbusier one gave a perfect quartz crystal, about the size of a small hen's egg, which he had worn sewed in buckskin as a great charm.²²

One other type of story might indicate that the Army doctor was not always looked on with disfavor by the Indians. A number of the doctors in their memoirs relate that they avoided capture and death because the Indians knew they were the medicine man who treated them. Assistant Surgeon Vollum was twice captured by the Comanches and released, and Surgeon Gwyther tells a similar story while he was at Fort Massachusetts in southern Colorado. Assistant Surgeon Kimball was told by the Indians that they did not capture him once when he was out hunting as the Chief wasn't ready. Once Dr. Corbusier was returning to the Rio Verde reservation from Fort Wingate. Noticing hundreds of antelope grazing along the way, he turned aside to kill one, but soon turned back as he felt that hostile Indians were prowling about. He later learned that his party had been followed for some time until the Indians were satisfied that it was the doctor. A short time later Lt. Charles King and a party of the 5th Cavalry was attacked near this spot.

For some of the Army doctors the treatment of the Indians was desirable, as this gave them a supplement to their pay. Dr. Corbusier made \$1000

a year more for working as an agency physician. Some doctors apparently were given pay for their separate visits to the agencies to care for the sick. Assistant Surgeon Kimball once, after a day in the saddle, at Fort Randall was summoned to the Ponca Agency because of an outbreak of cholera. Then followed a night ride on a mustang pony through swarms of mosquitoes and gnats over a swampy and uncertain road. After several hair-breadth escapes, he made it. "Fifty-six miles in the saddle, a bag of prairie chickens and \$36 for a day's work."²³ In the winter of 1833-34 Dr. George L. Weed of Fort Gibson vaccinated 790 Creek and Cherokee Indians, for which the government paid him six cents each.²⁴ It has been difficult to check the legality of the Army doctor accepting this payment. I know that Assistant Surgeon Fitzgerald received pay for treating agency Indians at the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indian agency in 1869 and 1870. Later he had to pay this back to the government. It was particularly painful to the doctor and his family, for after having his salary doctored at \$100 a month for a number of months, he entered a period of six months in 1877 when Congress failed to pass an appropriation for Army salaries. In 1879 Congress passed a bill for relief of Dr. Fitzgerald and refunded to him \$798.33. Assistant Surgeon Thomas Azpell had a similar experience. Congress, in 1877, relieved him of the responsibility of having to repay money he had received for treatment of the Hoopla Vally Indians.

Many surgeons speak of their treatment of Indians as an additional duty, without mention of pay. Acting Assistant Surgeon McGillicuddy, a contract physician at Fort Robinson, was the Assistant Post Surgeon. He cared for patients in the post itself, in two outside cantonments and in two Indian camps. He said that Dr. Munn, the surgeon in charge, confined his practice to the hospital. This might imply that McGillicuddy got no extra money for visiting the agencies, for the contract physicians frequently complained that the regular Army surgeon took all the details that provided extra money. Assistant Surgeon C. C. Keeney at Fort Jones, California in 1856 said there were 350 Indians on a reservation near the Post and added that they were rationed by the government and their sick were attended by the Post Surgeon. At most of the agencies civilian physicians were hired to care for the Indians. In instances when an agency physician was not available, the Surgeon from a nearby post might render care. Corbusier, at Fort Washakie in 1880, said the sick Indians came to him for care until a physician was sent out from the Indian Bureau. When the new 'physician' arrived, he turned out to be a fake. The medical supplies were furnished through the Indian Bureau. When Corbusier was at the Rio Verde Agency he said he took with him on a visit to the Indian camps the limited supply of medicines that the agency afforded. He gave quinine and subnitrate of bismuth into every mouth until the supply ran out. The Agent then purchased 100 ounces of quinine for

\$10 an ounce. I would assume that in the case of individual Indians or small numbers visiting a post, the surgeon treated them out of his Army supplies. Assistant Surgeon William Hammond, Jr. wrote the Surgeon General from Fort Kearney in 1850 asking for authority to treat Indians camping in the vicinity of the post, and inquiring whether expenditures 'to a small amount of public medicines on their account' would be approved. Dr. Heiskell, responding for the Surgeon General said, "I have to state on the score of humanity, as well as of policy, such applications cannot be properly refused; and there is no objection to your furnishing them with medicines at a reasonable amount." Army General Order 129 of 1874 authorized issue of supplies in small quantities to Indians visiting posts; regular issue was forbidden. General Order 76 of 1873, however, stated that supplies, stores or property of any kind procured out of Army appropriations could not be transferred to Indians except with prior authority of the Secretary of War.

Due to chronic shortages of supplies I am sure many of the surgeons were reluctant to expend their stores on the Indians. There are reports where surgery was done without anaesthesia due to the fact that no chloroform was on hand. The post surgeon at remote posts had to order his medical stores at least six months in advance, and the amounts he could order were strictly prescribed, based on the expected troop strengths. Additionally, in some areas where transportation was difficult or limited, the movement of medical supplies was not always given the highest priority by the quartermaster.

In conclusion I might summarize by saying that the Indian preferred treatment by his medicine man for fractures and wounds. For devastating epidemics and communicable diseases he seemed willing to accept any help he could get, even from the Army physician. The Army doctor extended his help freely to the Indians in emergencies and less commonly developed real sympathy and understanding for the Indian and his culture.

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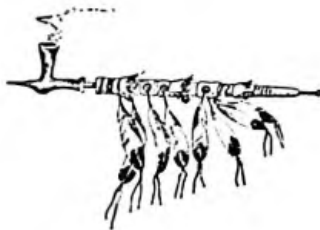
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Major General James A (Arista) Wier was born in Newberry, Indiana on August 27, 1916. He graduated from Bosse High School, Evansville, Indiana, in 1932 and received his premedical education at Evansville College. He graduated from the University of Louisville School of Medicine in 1938 and interned at Grant Hospital, Columbus, Ohio.

He entered military service in December, 1939. With the exception of a three-month break in 1940, he has served continuously and was commissioned in the Regular Army in July, 1943.

His service includes a tour in the Panama Canal Department as Medical Inspector and Assistant Department Surgeon from 1941-1944. Following return to the United States he was an instructor at the Medical Field Service School at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania until November, 1945. Short tours on the Medical Service at Letterman General Hospital and Station Hospital, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, followed. He was Professor of Military Science and Tactics (PMS&T) at the University of Buffalo Medical School and concurrently was a Research Fellow in medicine from 1947-1949. This was followed by a year as senior resident in medicine at Gorgas Hospital, Panama Canal Zone.

Upon return to the United States, and until April, 1951, he was assigned to the Office of The Surgeon General in Washington, D.C., as Assistant Chief, Medical Consultant Division. He was Chief of the Officer and Women's Section of the Department of Medicine at Walter Reed General Hospital until June, 1953, at which time he began his residency in Pulmonary Diseases at Fitzsimons General Hospital in Denver, Colorado. He was Chief of the Pulmonary Disease Service of that hospital from 1954-1960.

Upon departing Fitzsimons, he served as Eighth Army and U.N. Command Surgeon in Korea from July, 1960 to August, 1961, when he again returned to Fitzsimons as Chief of the Department of Medicine, for a period of eight months; he was then assigned as Executive Officer and Chief, Professional Services until April 30, 1964. He then served in the same capacity at Letterman General Hospital, Presidio of San Francisco, California, until January, 1966, when he was transferred to Vietnam to be Commander of the newly activated 44th Medical Brigade of the First Logistical Command. In June, 1966, he was made Surgeon, U.S. Army Vietnam. He returned to the United States in July, 1967, and served as Hospital Commander, William Beaumont General Hospital, El Paso, Texas,

until July, 1968. He was then transferred to Washington, D. C., where he served as Director of the Staff, Office of Deputy Assistant Secretary (Health and Medical) until July, 1969. He assumed his duties as Commanding General, Fitzsimons Army Medical Center, in August of 1969.

General Wier was certified by the American Board of Internal Medicine in 1952 and by the sub-specialty Board of Pulmonary Diseases in 1955. He is the author of approximately 75 papers on internal medicine and pulmonary diseases. He served as consultant in pulmonary diseases to The Surgeon General, Department of the Army, from 1955-1960 and 1961-1966.

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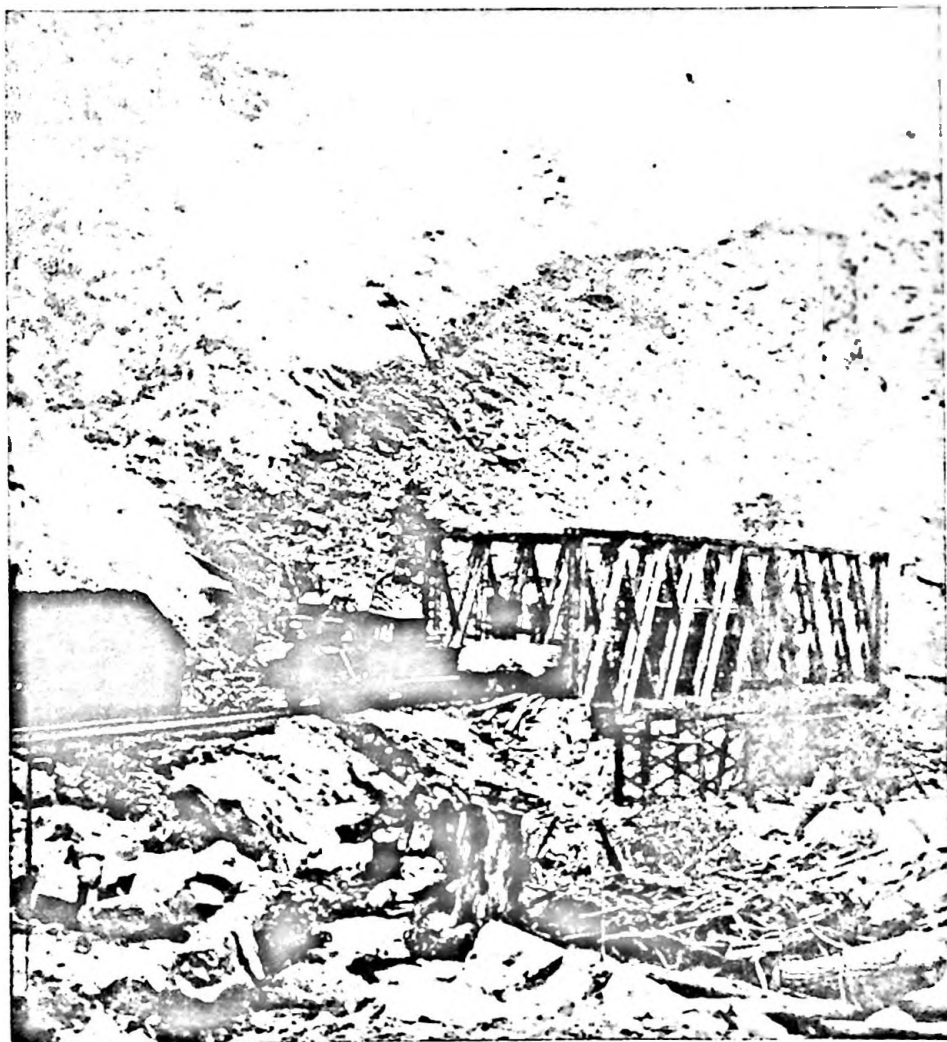
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The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

OCTOBER 1975
Volume XXXI, No. 8

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"HOW AND WHY THE RAILROADS
CAME TO COLORADO"
by Robert A. LeMassena



Colorado Central Railroad — Clear Creek Canyon
Circa 1874 from Charles S. Ryland Collection

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

OVER THE CORRAL RAIL

There were a number of "Show and Tell" items presented and discussed at the October meeting of the Westerners.

Bob Mutchler, one of our avid old bottle collectors, passed around a color photograph of a Colorado Territory bottle. It is probably the only one of its kind — so he showed only the photo . . . preferring to retain the bottle in his safety deposit box!

Ross Miller showed and described his Hartford revolving mechanism rifle. It is in mint condition and one of only one thousand produced in the 1850's. It is by Colt and the first 36 caliber model.

Ken Haraldsen, guest of members Jim Bower and Bill Van Duser, showed and described a number of items including a lead melting ladle from a Custer encampment. This was used to melt the lead for pouring into the bullet molds, and was discarded as surplus to Custer's advance to the Little Big Horn.

Ken also showed a Spanish spur which was found at the site of a Crow and Sioux Indian battle in the 1820's.

Although he did not bring it to this meeting, Ken also has in his collection a McClelland saddle which had been recovered from the site of the Custer battle.

Dick Bowman, who has received rounds of applause from the members for his successful handling of the "Possibles Bag" segment of our monthly programs, brought several original Peterson water colors. These had been executed for Tammin in the early 1900's. Tammin had these reproduced for the tourist trade to which he catered from his curio shop near the Union station. Samples of the colorful postcards were included in the collection.

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How and Why the Railroads Came to Colorado

By Robert A. LeMassena

It is relatively easy to determine which railroads came to Colorado when they did so, and where they laid their track. Just how they accomplished their missions is very closely associated with why they did what they did. And, the reasons are numerous, divergent among railroad companies, as well as within individual companies as the years unfolded. A vast range of human characteristics can be discerned: from generosity to greed, from chicanery to magnanimity, confidence to fear, brilliance to fatuity, from external duress to internal necessity, personal ambition to company politics. Some railroads were well-considered investments; others were outright promotions. Moreover, more than just private persons were involved; cities, counties, states and the Federal Government shared in decisions, as did great banks in Europe as well as the United States. There were violent encounters between locating crews, track layers, and operating personnel, and verbal battles raged in courtrooms, local New England offices, and foreign exchange rooms. What was obviously necessary was not always accomplished, and what was accomplished was not always obviously necessary. At this remote point in time one would be bold indeed to assess the true reasons for the manner in which Colorado's earliest railroads developed as they did, even though we have the advantage of hindsight and a knowledge unrestrained by then contemporary limitations. At best, with the available evidence, we can make some reasonable assessments, with the important qualification that they are based on incomplete information.

One of Colorado's most influential railroads, the Denver & Rio Grande, has been intentionally omitted; it didn't come to Colorado, as did the others which form the nucleus of this survey. However, it is mentioned wherever its presence or actions influenced other railroads. It may be mentioned in passing, though, that originally the D&RG was but one of 25 corporations administered by the same group of men, and the whole corporate structure initially possessed more the appearances of a land-promotion scheme than that of a public transport facility.

In the various accounts, the author has deliberately substituted the names of well-known locations for little-known ones, and the names of familiar railroads for their unfamiliar subsidiaries, all in the interest of a better understanding. For example: Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific replaces Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska, and Colorado Springs replaces

nearby. For those who desire a more exact nomenclature two sources are recommended: COLORADO RAILROADS—CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT by T. E. Wilkins (currently available), and COLORADO'S MOUNTAIN RAILROADS by R. A. LeMassena (out of print, but available in specialty bookshops). Also, for individual railroads, there are adequate accounts of their construction, though most are out of print, and the reader is cautioned to keep in mind the point of view of the various authors, who range from public-relations men to hate-invoking officials on the public payroll.

ATCHISON, TOPEKA & SANTA FE

Initiated as a local railroad, the Atchison & Topeka saw visions of expansion to Santa Fe, N.M., after an infusion of capital funds from eastern bankers, to capture freight traffic moving along this route. Yet a decade was to pass before the renamed railroad (AT&SF) reached the Colorado-Kansas boundary in 1873. Meanwhile, its immediate objectives had been altered, and instead of building toward Santa Fe through the region of sparse traffic, redirected its rails to Pueblo, where they terminated in 1876. Traffic could be interchanged there with the Denver & Rio Grande, which operated a narrow-gauge line to Denver, and Pueblo was the gateway for a water-gardens route into the heart of Colorado's precious-metal mining areas.

Still aware of its original objective, the AT&SF built next a main line from La Junta through Trinidad, and reached the Colorado-New Mexico line atop Raton Pass at the end of 1878. In the interim it had clashed with the D&RG's surveyors on the pass and in the Grand Canyon of the Arkansas River west of Canon City. In an attempt to eliminate further annoyance, it leased the D&RG in 1878, leaving itself free to build up the Arkansas to Leadville. During 1879 track was laid through the canyon between Canon City and Texas Creek, and considerable grading was accomplished beyond. But domination of the D&RG was short-lived; by 1880 the smaller company had extricated itself from the lease, and in the ensuing settlement had purchased the AT&SF track and grade west of Canon City. Thus, unable to penetrate Colorado's mineral kingdom, the AT&SF extended its intended Pueblo-Canon City link only to Clelland, thence to a coal mine at Rockvale.

The AT&SF save itself the trouble of building a line to Denver by inducing the D&RG to add a standard-gauge 3rd-rail to its track, and to acquire a few standard-gauge locomotives to haul AT&SF freight and passenger trains between the two cities. This arrangement lasted until 1887, when the AT&SF abrogated the terms of the agreement and entered Denver over its own rails. In the next year reached coal mines at Kenwood beyond Rockvale, and some others at Canon City.

Traffic on the line to Denver had not met expectations; hence in 1900 when the AT&SF found that the Colorado Midland was for sale, it bought the trans-mountain carrier. In effect, this acquisition put the AT&SF into the mining centers of Leadville and Aspen, and linked it with the highly independent Rio Grande Western at Grand Junction, where cars could roll through to Salt Lake City and Ogden, UT, served by the Union Pacific's system. Whenever advantage had been derived from this extension of influence was nullified by the financial panic of 1893, causing the failure of the AT&SF and the CM. The AT&SF was reorganized in 1895, but when the CM underwent a similar rearrangement of its obligations two years later, the AT&SF's equity was found to be without value.

Agriculture appeared to offer greater rewards than mining, a premise which induced the AT&SF to construct a secondary line along the northern side of the Arkansas River between Holly and Rocky Ford, completing it in 1908. Similar considerations in 1927 brought a long branch across the Colorado-Kansas boundary to Pritchett in southeastern Colorado. A decade later the AT&SF built a connection from Las Animas toward Amarillo, TX. This line, crossing Oklahoma's panhandle, was the last major railroad project in Colorado.

CHICAGO, BURLINGTON & QUINCY

Although the CB&Q believed in agriculture, as a matter of corporate policy, to generate traffic for its manifold lines located on the great plains, its otherwise conservative management felt impelled to extend a line westward to Denver. By so doing, it could participate in the enormous long-haul traffic resulting from the silver-mining boom in Colorado's mountains. Accordingly, track crossed the Colorado-Nebraska line in 1881, and in the following year the rails reached Denver, the last spike having been driven at Barr City. In 1882 the also CB&Q acquired the Denver, Golden & Salt Lake railroad, which provided a bypass around Denver's new Union Station to a connection with railroads entering Denver from the south.

In 1887 the CB&Q obtained control of the narrow-gauge Denver, Utah & Pacific, which hauled coal from mines along its line to Longmont, and building stone from quarries around Lyons. Outwardly there was nothing unusual in this acquisition, but the DU&P possessed a partially completed grade along the base of the mountains and into South Boulder Creek Canyon. Some additional work had been done farther up the canyon, at Yankee Doodle Lake, and several locations along the Colorado River, and surveys had been made as far as Glenwood Springs, much of this having been financed by the CB&Q through the DU&P's corporate structure. Lyons, also, was considered as an entry for a trans-mountain route leading eventually to Salt Lake City. Nothing came of either venture,

but that part of the DU&P between Utah Junction and Longmont was relocated and the entire railroad converted to standard-gauge in 1889.

While its surveyors were exploring Colorado's mountains its track gangs were building still another western outlet during 1887. Located between the CB&Q's route to Denver and the Union Pacific's main line, the new track crossed the Colorado Central at Sterling and terminated in Cheyenne, WY. This allowed the CB&Q to compete for transcontinental business, a supposition which was more imaginative than factual, because of the UP's logical unwillingness to short-haul itself without acceptable remuneration.

A corporate reorganization of the UP in 1890 yielded, among other things, the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf railroad, an amalgamation of UP properties stretching from Wyoming through Colorado, New Mexico and Texas to Ft. Worth. This system had been severed from the UP in 1898 at the end of the UP's receivership, and had been joined with the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison and some other companies to form an independent north-south trunk-line of strategic importance, the Colorado & Southern. To protect itself the CB&Q built a connection from Alliance, NB, crossing the UP at Sidney, NB, and into Colorado to Sterling. UP track was used for several miles to Union, when a short segment was built to Brush on the CB&Q's main line into Denver. Completed in 1900, this was the CB&Q's last principal new trackage in Colorado.

Two giants, the Great Northern, and Northern Pacific railroads now entered Colorado, by the back door, so to speak. In 1901 they acquired the CB&Q, giving them access to Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha, as well as Denver. They were intrigued by the C&S, which would give them a route from Billings, MT, to Houston, TX, on the Gulf of Mexico, and in 1908 they arranged for the CB&Q to acquire the C&S. Indirectly, this put the CB&Q in unexpected locations: Vasquez, NM, Baldwin, Leadville and Graymont, CO, all on C&S trackage, and in Grand Junction (half-interest in the Colorado Midland), and Cripple Creek (ownership of the Colorado Springs & Cripple Creek District). Two wholly owned subsidiaries of the C&S were the 2-foot gauge Tram in the Blackhawk-Central City district, and the Denver & Interurban electric interurban line between Denver and Boulder. This acquisition of the C&S system by the CB&Q put the latter railroad in second-place behind the Denver and Rio Grande for route-mileage in Colorado.

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND & PACIFIC

Last of the trunk-line railroads to cross the prairie and enter Colorado was the CRI&P, which arrived too late to attain any of its corporate objectives. With six routes, belonging to four powerful railroad companies, penetrating its eastern boundary, Colorado lacked neither com-

petition nor capacity to handle the state's inbound and outbound traffic. Every practical path through the Rocky Mountains was already occupied by a satellite of the Union Pacific, the Denver & Rio Grande, or the Colorado Midland, an independent railroad having its eastern terminus at Colorado Springs. Apparently believing that it could purchase the CM, the CRI&P sent its tracklayers westward from the Colorado-Kansas line to Colorado Springs in 1888, just as the CM was being completed to Aspen and New Castle.

Immediately upon arrival at Colorado Springs the CRI&P arranged to operate its trains to Denver and Pueblo over the D&RG, and in 1889 began to run them into Denver over the UP from their junction at Limon. A year later, when the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe added the CM to its system, the CRI&P's westward expansion through Colorado was forever halted. Eventually, it joined with the Southern Pacific in New Mexico, and thus was able to participate in transcontinental traffic.

COLORADO CENTRAL

It would not be stretching a point to state that the CC originated within Colorado's boundaries, and came into the state as well. Its beginnings can be traced back to 1865, when the current concept embraced a route connecting gold mines in upper Clear Creek Canyon, coal mines north of Golden, and farms southeast of Denver. Very quickly, however, the company's incorporators felt that their plans were too modest to be worthwhile; the farm branch was projected into Kansas; the coal line should connect with the Union Pacific's main line at Julesburg; and the Clear Creek track should surmount Berthoud Pass and terminate somewhere in Utah. Being a subsidiary of the UP put a damper on such unbounded enthusiasm, and nothing was accomplished until 1870 after the Denver Pacific had completed its track from Cheyenne to Denver. Promptly thereafter the CC was allowed to build a connecting line from Denver to Golden.

In 1872 a narrow-gauge railroad was built from Golden through Clear Creek Canyon to the gold-mining community of Blackhawk. A supply of coal was made available by adding a narrow-gauge third-rail to the standard-gauge track from Golden to Arapahoe, then adding a narrow-gauge spur to the mine. In the following year a standard-gauge third-rail was added to the spur, and standard-gauge track was laid to Longmont, presumably as the initial part of a line to Julesburg.

This arrangement of trackage soon proved to be unsatisfactory to shippers and passengers, the latter having been obliged to change trains in Golden. Coal, coming from points on the Denver & Rio Grande's narrow-gauge line was transferred to standard-gauge cars at Denver, then retransferred at Golden, as the coal which had come from the Denver & Boulder Valley's track east of Boulder. But the UP and CC were indisposed to

alleviate the inconveniences until 1877, when Golden was provided with a direct connection to the UP's main line by means of a link between Hazard, WY, and Longmont. By the end of 1878 the narrow-gauge rails had reached Georgetown and Central City, and the 3-rail track east of Golden was moved to the north, thus making Golden a through (instead a sub) station, but it was not until 1879 that the narrow-gauge third-rail was added to the track all the way to Denver. In the meantime, the Golden City & South Platte had been organized to provide a bypass around Denver from Golden to Acequia on the D&RG. Considerable grading had been done, but when the narrow-gauge third-rail was added to the track to Denver, the GC&SP was redundant; only a couple of miles of track to a clay pit south of Golden, laid in 1879, was its total accomplishment.

Golden was understandably jubilant in 1880, when the CC began to lay rails west from Julesburg along the South Platte River. But this changed to dismay in 1881, the junction having been made at Leadville on the UP's (formerly Denver Pacific) Denver-Cheyenne track. In 1882 there appeared to be some hope that the CC was on its way to Utah when track was built beyond Georgetown toward Loveland Pass; but, it terminated forever at Graymont.

Because the UP had acquired the Denver Pacific's line between Denver and Cheyenne in 1880, there was little need for the paralleling CC route. Some track at the southern end was removed in 1888, and in 1889 that portion north of Ft. Collins was removed. Then, in 1890, the CC was combined with several other railroads in the UP domain to form a north-south trunk-line, the Union Pacific Denver & Gulf.

Closely associated with the CC were three subsidiary railroads. The earliest and largest was the Greeley, Salt Lake & Pacific, whose rails (despite the grandiose implications of its name) barely penetrated the foothills north of Denver. Its first line connected a stone quarry at Stout with Ft. Collins in 1881, and in 1882 it completed a line from there to Greeley on the UP. In the following year its (narrow-gauge) rails ascended a steep canyon west of Boulder to reach precious metal mines at Sunset. In 1887 a branch was added to another quarry at Arkins, northwest of Loveland. The Denver & Middle Park brought coal from Glencoe to Golden in 1884, and in that year the Georgetown, Brackenridge & Leadville, presumably headed for the rich gold and silver mining country beyond Loveland Pass, extended track west of Georgetown to Graymont, where it terminated permanently.

DENVER PACIFIC - KANSAS PACIFIC

The deliberate bypassing of Denver by the Union Pacific, for what was considered a justifiable cause, resulted in the formation of a local company which intended to construct a railroad linking Denver and

Cheyenne, WY, on the UP's main line. Grading of the roadbed commenced at Denver in 1868, but it was not until 1869 when track was laid, beginning at Cheyenne and ending at Denver in 1870. This was Colorado's second railroad, the first having been the UP, which in 1867 dipped into the territory's northeastern corner. Those who promoted and financed the DP did so more from considerations of municipal necessity and economic survival than from any fervent desire to indulge in the business of railroad transportation. This may have been the reason why the owners of the DP leased the railroad to the KP upon its completion.

Almost simultaneously, the KP began to build its main line from the Colorado-Kansas boundary toward Denver. Originally, the intent was for it to connect with the UP at the 100th meridian, but its promoters saw little profit in such a venture, and delayed construction until they received Congressional approval to make the connection west of Denver's meridian. KP track gangs met those of the DP, building eastward from Denver, at Southburg on August 15, 1870, thereby completing the first ocean-to-ocean route, an event which was somewhat of an anti-climax to the completion of the Pacific Railway (Union Pacific-Central Pacific) in Utah in 1869.

The DP had been wise enough to build a branch through the coal fields between Brighton and Boulder, where, coincidentally in 1873, a junction was made with the newly constructed Colorado Central line from Golden to Longmont. The KP was not nearly so successful with its south-westward extension from Kit Carson to Las Animas in 1873 and beyond to Swink in 1875. It quickly became obvious to the KP that it could not afford to compete with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe in that territory, and the tracks were taken up in 1877.

Though the DP and KP were beneficial to Denver and its rival, Golden, the traffic handled by those two railroads was not sufficiently remunerative to keep them viable, and both failed financially. This situation gave Jay Gould an opportunity to make a financial killing. He purchased the securities of the DP and KP at give-away prices, then threatened the UP with a rate-war east of Denver and a trans-mountain extension westward to Ogden. The UP's management, for some inexplicable reason, accepted Gould's bluff at face value, and purchased from him the KP and DP securities at par-value. In 1880 the UP absorbed the two companies, giving it a monopoly of transportation between Denver and the east.

MISSOURI PACIFIC

A railroad, whose Board of Directors include such financial giants and manipulators as Russell Sage, Jay Gould, Samuel Sloan, Sidney Dillon and Fred Ames, could not possibly be in business for any other purpose

than the making of as much money as possible for its owners, who, for the most part, were those same individuals. Expansion, acquisitions, traffic, and competition were all secondary considerations in the quest for profits, which eventually resided in the MP's treasury prior to distribution to the unholy alliance of ambitious financiers. Their specialty was the exploitation of troubled railroads, one of which was the Denver & Rio Grande, a narrow-gauge system in Colorado operating a 3-rail track between Pueblo and Denver, primarily for the benefit of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.

The D&RG had just emerged from its first financial reorganization, and it was encompassed by standard-gauge competitors who could siphon off every bit of its freight traffic, except that of local nature in the mountains of Colorado. Without a friendly connection to the east the D&RG would remain in a precarious financial position, a situation which the MP's directors perceived. Consequently, they authorized the construction of a long line across Kansas and into Colorado, connecting with the D&RG at Pueblo, and completed in 1887. This corporate gesture gave the MP a route into Denver (just vacated by the AT&SF) and a possible outlet at Salt Lake City and Ogden, UT, for westward expansion. The new line may not have been sufficiently profitable as an operating railroad, but its value in corporate manipulations was beyond calculation.

By 1890 standard-gauge trains were running into Grand Junction; by 1900 the MP was in complete control of the D&RG, and by 1910 the MP's system stretched all the way to the Pacific Ocean. It is interesting to note that the MP owned 50% of the D&RGW between 1924, having bought it from the Western Pacific Railroad Corporation, until 1947, when the D&RGW was reorganized.

UNION PACIFIC

The UP's management, meaning those men who were directing the railroad's location, construction and financing, avoided Colorado as an element of policy, and accepted a few miles of track passing through the state's northeastern corner in 1867 as a matter of topographical expediency. At that time the UP was building westward in great haste in a massive effort to complete its portion of the Pacific Railway, joining Omaha, NB, on the Missouri River with Sacramento, CA, on the Sacramento River. The route had followed the Patte River, and it could have continued to follow the South Fork right into Denver, a source of revenue traffic. However, the UP's main line turned back into Nebraska and passed through Cheyenne, WY, an event which made several Denver citizens so dubious of their city's future that they moved to Cheyenne.

Regardless of the fundamental factors which influenced its decision, the UP was faced with a choice between a traffic-less but relatively easy

line across southern Wyoming to Ogden, UT, and one which yielded some financial return, but which obligated the track to surmount either Berthoud or Jones Pass. Both would have entailed exceedingly difficult construction and expensive operation, and they would have consumed far more time, money and man-hours than the UP's managers felt that they could allocate from an ever-meager treasury. (See note at the end.)

Jay Gould, who had acquired control of the UP in 1873, was responsible for the building of a line (Colorado Central) between Cheyenne and Denver, paralleling that of the Denver Pacific. This plus his financial manipulations in DP and Kansas Pacific securities, enabled Gould to engineer the failure of the DP and KP, and their acquisition by the UP in 1880, at a substantial personal profit to himself. These two railroads, the second and third to enter Colorado, gave the UP a near-monopoly of rail transportation to and from the state. Other Gould-conceived combinations resulted in a lease of the CC in 1879, and the purchase of the Denver, South Park & Pacific (narrow-gauge) railroad, plus a few other small companies, in 1880.

During the 1880 decade the UP spread its system throughout Colorado's north-central sector by means of owned or controlled subsidiaries, the principal ones having been the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison (reorganized Denver, South Park & Pacific), and the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf, a north-south artery extending from Wyoming to Texas (See separate account of UPD&G.)

The financial panic of 1893 caused the collapse of the UP system in that same year, and five years later, when the UP was reorganized, the UP's trackage in Colorado consisted primarily of the former DP and KP, plus the CC line between La Salle and Julesburg. Subsequently, the UP added only short branches, principally in agricultural country, to its lines in Colorado; to Briggsdale and Purcell in 1910 and Buckeye in 1924. In 1936 it acquired the Laramie, North Park & Western railroad running from Laramie, WY, to coal mines at Colmont, CO, and absorbed it into the UP's corporate edifice in 1951.

— NOTE —

Even before the Union Pacific was completed there were charges that fantastic profits were being made from its construction, and that the Federal Government was the victim of financial sleight-of-hand. Precisely the opposite was claimed by others. It would seem that anyone who wished to grind a personal axe could do so, using the Union Pacific as his whetstone, and a century later the opinions and analyses still continued. It is the author's opinion that all of these investigations, excepting one, have been based on incomplete information or inaccurate analysis, and were therefore faulty in their conclusions. The one exception was undertaken

by Robert W. Fogel and was established by Johns Hopkins Press in 1960 as "The Union Pacific Railroad: A Case of Premature Enterprise." Fogel omitted nothing, and his analysis followed the modern-day accounting technique of simultaneous present-worth comparison to determine optimum financial strategy. He concluded that no one involved in the construction, financing and investing in the UP really knew what they were doing at the time. Yet, they all received reasonable returns on their investments or contributions, just as though the entire undertaking had been planned with that objective in mind. He noted further that no one would pay much attention to his scholarly and rigorous analysis; the ancient myths were much more colorful and thus acceptable to the public.

UNION PACIFIC, DENVER & GULF

Just about everyone thinks of the Union Pacific railroad as having been an east-west oriented carrier, but hardly anybody knows that for several years it owned and operated a north-south line from central Wyoming extending to the Gulf of Mexico. Prior to 1898 it was a loose assemblage of subsidiary companies and until the end of 1898 they were coagulated under the corporate title of UPD&G.

The oldest element in the UPD&G's structure was the Colorado Central (See separate account of CC) and its subsidiaries. Its trackage lay between Denver and Cheyenne, FY, with an isolated line stretching from La Salle to Julesburg. The CC's period of activity began in 1870, and very little was done after 1881.

Between Denver and Pueblo the track belonged to the Denver, Texas & Gulf, which was an 1886 reorganization of the Denver & New Orleans. This latter company had spiked down its rails during 1881 and 1882, providing a second line between Denver and Pueblo, actually a third one if the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, running over the Denver & Rio Grande, is counted. Never released from possession by its contractors, the overly ambitious D&NO railed, and was brought into the UP's domain. South of Trinidad, as far as the New Mexico-Texas boundary, the Denver, Texas & Ft. Worth provided a connection with the Ft. Worth & Denver City railroad to Ft. Worth, TX. Both of these companies were backed by the Union Pacific. Accommodating its standard-gauge rival, as it had done the AT&SF in 1881, the D&RG added a standard-gauge third-rail to its track from Pueblo to Trinidad during 1887-1888, allowing the DT&FtW to begin construction. The northern and southern portions of this lengthy route were joined at Alps, NM, in 1888. A long branch of the DT&FtW went to Martinsen in the forest southwest of Trinidad, and short ones were built to coal mines north and south of Trinidad.

The northernmost segment of the UPD&G was the Cheyenne & Northern, constructed from Cheyenne in 1887 to Wendover, WY. A

connection with the Chicago & Northwestern at Orin Junction, WY, was effected later. A direct line between Denver and Boulder (instead of the circuitous one of the CC through Golden) was completed in 1886.

The UPD&G's major undertaking was the completion of its own line between Trinidad and Walsenburg in 1895. This was accomplished by connecting several short branches and spurs to coal mines situated west of the D&RG's route. Even with this addition, the UPD&G did not possess a continuous route through Colorado. That part of the CC north of Ft. Collins had been broken before 1890; consequently, the UPD&G used UP track between Greeley and Cheyenne. Moreover, because the route to Denver via the branch from Greeley to Ft. Collins was so devious, the UP's much shorter line was utilized instead. (The gap from Pueblo to Walsenburg was not completed until 1911 when the Colorado & Southern and D&RG built a joint double-track.)

Having insufficient traffic to sustain it, the UPD&G went into receivership in 1894. Its reorganization was consummated at the end of 1898, at which time it was combined with the (narrow-gauge) Denver, Leadville & Garrison to form a completely independent system, the Colorado & Southern which a decade later was brought under control of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy's organization.

RECAPITULATION

AT&SF

The AT&SF's main line traversed Colorado's southeastern quadrant as part of a route between Kansas City and the Pacific Ocean. Thwarted in an attempt to extend a long line into Colorado's mining regions, the company settled for branches to Denver and coal mines south of Canon City. By acquiring the Colorado Midland and AT&SF not only reached Leadville and Aspen, but also gained an outlet at Ogden, UT, over the connecting Rio Grande Western. Unfortunately, the CM was lost after a very few years of association. Subsequently, secondary lines serving the agricultural area of southeastern Colorado were added, one of them having been a direct link between Amarillo, TX, and La Junta. The AT&SF was controlled by financiers in New England, and it does not appear evident that their interests extended beyond the business of railroad transportation on a grand scale.

CB&Q

By building a line into Denver the CB&Q gave that city its first single-management connection with Chicago, and by acquiring the Denver, Utah & Pacific it was in a position to build a line through the Rocky Mountains, with the expectation of reaching Salt Lake City or Ogden. The expense and difficulty of construction caused these plans to be

abandoned, but meanwhile the CB&Q added a new line angling across Colorado's northeastern corner into Cheyenne. The formation of the independent Colorado & Southern caused the CB&Q to build parallel trackage from Alliance, NB, to the main line at Brush. The Great Northern, and Northern Pacific bought the CB&Q, then arranged for the latter to acquire the C&S and its satellite, the Ft. Worth & Denver City. In recent years the CB&Q, GN and NP were merged to form the Burlington Northern, the C&S remaining separate, but controlled. The CB&Q was managed by conservative investors, ancillary operations in land having been conducted primarily to provide sources of continuing traffic. Subsequently, the CB&Q acted as a member of the GN and NP systems.

CRI&P

This railroad should not have been built into Colorado, but apparently its management felt that the Colorado Midland could be acquired, providing a trans-mountain route toward the Pacific. No objective was attained, however. After the Dotsero Cutoff was completed, this line became a freight-traffic connection with the Denver & Rio Grande Western. This was an example of ill-advised and over-enthusiastic intentions.

CC

During all but the first few years of its corporate life the CC was an instrument of the Union Pacific's Rirectorate, doing whatever that group wished to further individual personal interests in local politics, financial raiding, and ruinous competition.

The narrow-gauge line was truly an economic necessity for the mining industry a short distance west of Denver, but the standard-gauge line between Golden and Cheyenne, WY, was constructed solely to assure the failure of the paralleling Denver Pacific. The line between La Salle and Julesburg benefited only the UP, and the extension of narrow-gauge beyond Georgetown was an abortive attempt to reach leadville. Of little utility to the UP, expecting the La Salle-Julesburg track, the CC and its satellites were integrated into the UP-controlled Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf system.

DP-KP

The DP was a project of Denver business men to provide a railroad outlet for Denver. Originally, it appears that the KP was intended more as a means of profiting from granted land than as a transport link between Denver and Kansas City, MO. The branch to Swink was a quickly retracted attempt to invade Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe territory. Jay Gould used them to enhance his personal fortune by manipulating their securities. The amalgamation of the DP, KP and UP gave the

UP a virtual monopoly of transport in Colorado until new competitors appeared.

MP

When the narrow-gauge Denver & Rio Grande found itself without a friendly connection to handle through traffic Jay Gould had his railroad build a line to Pueblo, roughly parallel to that of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, from Kansas City, MO. This long branch was of little traffic-value other than a link between the MP and the D&RG, which the MP later controlled, and profited from the latter's prosperity. Using the D&RG and the Rio Grande Western as stepping-stones, the MP "system" reached the Pacific Ocean over the Western Pacific, the D&RG's Western extension. Despite financial upheavals, the MP directly or indirectly maintained its grip on the D&RG (and its successor, the D&RGW) until the Trusteeship which eliminated the MP's control. Since that time the MP's line across eastern Colorado is virtually an extension of the D&RGW's lines from Denver and Ogden, UT.

UP

The UP preferred to build its main line through southern Wyoming, then gained control of the Colorado Central, giving it an entry into Denver and the mining region in the nearby mountains. The acquisition of the Denver, Southern Park & Pacific provided access to mining areas located in the center of the state, competing with the Denver & Rio Grande. Jay Gould engineered the failure of the Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific, which were merged with the UP. A corporate rearrangement of the UP resulted in the amalgamation of several subsidiaries as the (controlled) Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf, which the UP lost in its own financial collapse. Thereafter, the UP constructed only branch lines in the agricultural territory north of Denver. There seems to be little doubt that the UP was used by its Directors and Officers to enhance their personal fortunes by security manipulation, rate-hiking and unfair competition. These practices ended when a new management rehabilitated the UP, and used it as the cornerstone of a great system.

UPD&G

The UPD&G was an amalgamation of Union Pacific-controlled companies, forming a north-south system. The UP lost control when the UPD&G became the major element of the newly-formed independent Colorado & Southern, which was acquired by, but not merged with, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. Its trackage in Colorado has shrunk greatly, and it is now an unmerged subsidiary of the Burlington Northern.



Westerner's Bookshelf



EARLY DAYS IN THE GUNNISON COUNTRY, by Duane Vandebusche, Vandebusche Books, Gunnison, 1974, 136 pps, indexed, \$4.50 (paper) \$5 by mail.

Professor Vandebusche introduces his paperbound history of the Gunnison region with the comment that it is being expanded in the near future into a larger volume. **EARLY DAYS** clearly emerges as a direct contribution to the ever-popular Tourist-size booklet that has captured the eye of the small publisher in the West. Even a few years ago this might have gone hard-bound as the author has packed enough facts within it to convince the reviewer that he could have added more if he had not been limited by his space requirements.

Vandebusche, who teaches at Western State according to the inside cover biography, has still maintained a reasonable story flow and although some presently active miners in the region may argue correctly that the business of mining is far from dead, he must be excused from the normal tendency to see that era as past. Beyond that, this work is worth adding to any library until his larger work is published, and hopefully emerges as a major reference work on the general history of the area.

Like most works on the Gunnison Country, Lake City and Packer, and the resulting tales are included. The book should do well among tourists who will find it readable and not over-detailed. A useful listing of Toll Roads is included for the period of 1876-1894.

Russel "Rusty" [Name obscured]

TRAILS OF THE SIERRA MADRE, by Eugene Boudreau. (Capra/Sammshave, 1973.) Paperback, \$3.75.

For Americans who fly to Acapulco and then say they have "been in" Mexico, this booklet is not recommended. Otherwise, it is a sensitive, short survey of the facts of life in and around the Sierra Madre. Nice descriptions of the geography, people, food, supplies and trails are given. A minimum Spanish vocabulary and some maps will help the traveling gringo in a totally foreign country.

To this reviewer, who has tasted the sun in Northern Mexico, this is a beautiful, earnest little book which certainly should be helpful to all those serious about experiencing this area.

Bob Mutchler, P.M.

Posse member Dabney Otis Collins is our representative for the Westerners who is working on the plans for the October 1976 meeting of the Western History Association. The meeting, expected to be the second largest one in its history, will be attended by well over 1500 members. It will be held at the Denver Hilton Hotel. Future issues of the Roundup will provide more details.

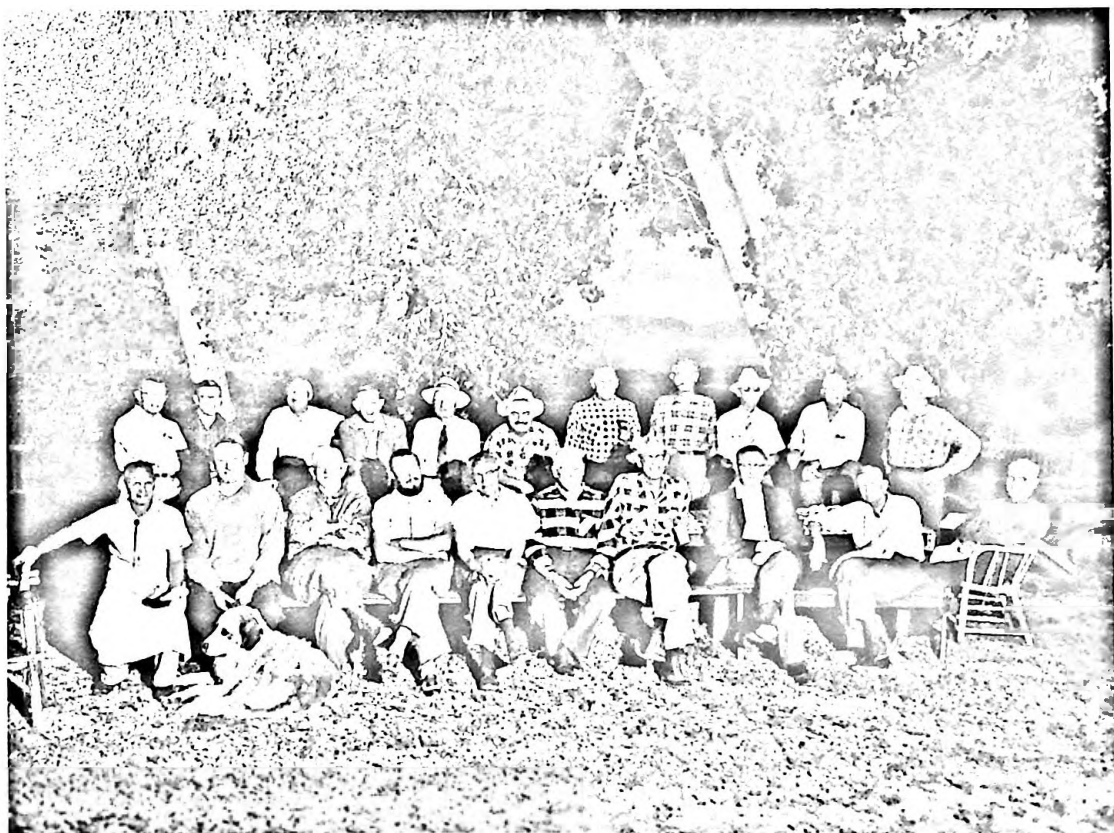
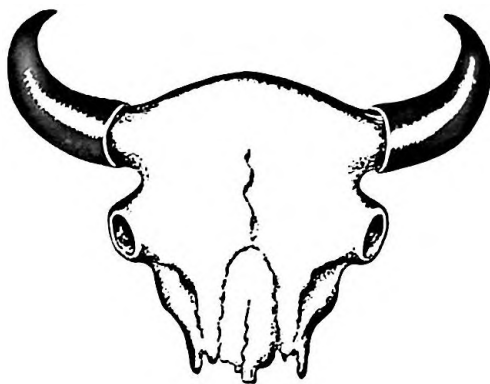
The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1975

Volume XXXI, No. 9

In this issue "The Westerners" and
"The Cowman's Code of Ethics"
by Ramon F. Adams



NOTES ON SOME EARLY WESTERNERS MEETINGS

Ed. Note: Through the courtesy of Mrs. Paul Harrison, widow of our late charter member Paul D. Harrison, the Westerners have been presented with the minutes of some of our earliest meetings. These minutes record the formative foundations as well as a record of the evening programs. It is felt that reproducing them will give the present Posse and Corresponding members a better insight to the goals of our organization. We are grateful indeed to Mrs. Harrison for these papers.

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November-
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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

L. Coulson Hageman
Editor

The Westerners

Minutes of the Monthly Meeting

June 22, 1944

Present at the regular meeting of the WESTERNERS hold Friday, June 22, at the Crow's Nest (Bradford-Robinson & Co.) were the following possemen: Edwin A. Bemis, Robert Eagleston, Herbert O. Brayer, Hohn T. Caine III, Virgil V. Peterson, George H. Curfman, Ralph B. Mayo, LeRoy Hafen, Thomas H. Ferril, Charles B. Roth, Levette J. Davidson, Abney O. Collins, Lawrence V. Mott, Paul D. Harrison, Forbes Parkhill, Arthur Zeuch, and Henry Hough. Guests of the evening included Judge William S. Jackson, speaker of the evening, Houstoun Waring, Hugh H. Henry Swan, Charles Redd, Morrison Shafroth, and Harold J. [unclear].

Following a very fine dinner, Sheriff Bemis called the meeting to order. Guests were introduced after which comments were made on the new fine issue of the last *Brand Book*. It was announced by Sheriff Bemis that during the coming month, cards will be sent out to all regular members asking for information on such activities as might be of interest to other members. Herbert O. Brayer announced that the speaker for the next meeting will be John C. Thompson, editor of the Cheyenne Tribune and corresponding member from Cheyenne, Wyoming, whose subject will be *Tom Horn*. It is hoped that former Governor Chatterton of Wyoming—who investigated the Horn case—will also be present.

A report from the membership committee was given by Chairman Forbes Parkhill who requested formal action in regard to corresponding members who moved to Denver and wish to join the regular posse. A motion was made by Levette J. Davidson to the effect that the responsibility of screening and proving these men should be left up to the membership committee. This was seconded by LeRoy R. Hafen and given a unanimous vote in the affirmative by the group. A list of prospective corresponding members was approved by the membership committee and includes the following individuals: James C. Harvey, Sana Fe, New Mexico; LeRoy Gregory, Young, Arizona; Ralph Hubert, Mesa, Arizona; Harry Langers, Tucson, Arizona; R. T. Ferguson, Great Falls, Montana; Glen Hallam, Billings, Montana; William P. Dasmann, Globe, Arizona; all of whom were sponsored by Earl R. Forest of Washington, Pennsylvania, through Elmo Scott Watson, sheriff of the Chicago WESTERNERS. Also approved were Frank P. Lockwood and Godfrey Sykes, both of Tucson, Arizona, sponsored by Elmo Scott Watson; R. G. Colwell, Colorado Springs, sponsored by R. S. Ellison; and Frank A. Brookshier, Honolulu, T. H., sponsored by Virgil V. Peterson.

A motion by LeRoy R. Hafen that the hour of starting meetings be set ahead to six o'clock in place of the customary seven o'clock, was seconded by Robert Eagleston, and given a unanimous affirmative vote.

Sheriff Bemis then turned the meeting over to the Program Chairman Herbert O. Brayer, who introduced the speaker of the evening, Judge William S. Jackson, Justice of the Supreme Court of Colorado, who discussed the controversy between the Denver & Rio Grande Railway, the Colorado Midland Railway, and the Union Pacific Railroad during the 'Eighties. After one of the most delightful addresses in the history of the WESTERNERS, the discussion was opened to all members. Mr. Henry Swan, co-trustee of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad, made some very vital observations. A lively discussion was participated in by the entire group, following which the meeting was turned back to Sheriff Bemis and dismissed at 10:30.

Minutes of the Monthly Meeting February 23, 1945

At the regular posse meeting of the *Westerners* held at the "Crow's Nest," (Bradford-Robinson & Co., 1828 Stout) the following members and guest were present: Edwin A. Bemis, Edward V. Dunklee, Virgil V. Peterson, Herbert O. Brayer, LeRoy R. Hafen, William M. Raine, Arthur Zeuch, Forbes Parkhill, John T. Caine, III, Levette J. Davidson, George H. Curfman, B. Z. Woods, and Robert Eggleston, the last named being a guest of Herb Brayer.

The meeting was called to order by the president after which a discussion on membership ensued. Ed Dunklee suggested that a maximum of fifty or sixty members be admitted in order to insure an attendance of twenty-five to thirty to each meeting. Herb Brayer finally made a motion that temporarily this number be set at forty, whereas at the second organization meeting it had been set at thirty. This motion was seconded by Ed Dunklee and carried unanimously by a voice vote.

Sheriff Bemis then appointed a membership committee consisting of Thomas H. Ferril, chairman, Edward V. Dunklee and Forbes Parkhill. Members were instructed to send the names of prospective candidates for membership to the Roundup Foreman who in turn would send them on to the chairman of the membership committee. All prospective members that are passed upon by the committee and approved by the membership should then receive a personal invitation from the committee chairman. The following men were suggested for nomination by their respective sponsors:

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Sponsor</i>
Ralph Mayo	Ed Bemis & Ed Dunklee
Henry Hough	L. J. Davidson

Ward Banister	Ed Dunklee
Will Grant	Ed Dunklee
Joseph Emerson Smith	Ed Dunklee
Will Hutton	Ed Dunklee
Dabney Otis Collins	Forbes Parkhill
Henry Clark	Ed Dunklee
J. Nevin Carson	Herb Brayer
Robert Eggleston	Herb Brayer
Ralph Carr	Herb Brayer
Peter D. Smythe	Chas. B. Roth
Robert J. Niedrach	L. J. Davidson
Dr. E. B. Renaud	L. J. Davidson
Alfred M. Bailey	L. J. Davidson

Names of corresponding members are to be handled in a similar manner.
The following candidates as corresponding members were also mentioned:

<i>Candidates</i>	<i>Sponsor</i>
Edward B. Rogers	Herb Brayer
Angela Thorpe	John T. Caine III
Charles Thompson	Caine & Brayer
Charles Kelley	L. R. Hafen
Herbert Auerbach	L. R. Hafen
J. Cecil Alter	L. R. Hafen
Dr. Charles Euhlman Polytechnic, Mont.	E. A. Brininstool, Los Angeles
George Osten, Co. Clerk Billings, Montana	E. A. Brininstool, Los Angeles
Harry Knight, Camp Wood, Arizona	E. A. Brininstool, Los Angeles

The latter three candidates were passed on to us by Elmo Scott Watson under an agreement whereby the Denver Chapter should solicit or receive corresponding members only from the Rocky Mountain and West Coast areas.

Sheriff Bemis appointed Herbert O. Brayer program chairman with the stipulation that he should have the opportunity to choose his own assistants.

Whenever guests are to be included at any of the meeting notification should be made on the summons card sent each member and returned to the Roundup Foreman. This will make proper reservations for food, etc.

The next place of meeting was left in the hands of Arthur Zeuch who so ably provided the facilities of the Crow's Nest at this meeting.

Registrar of Marks and Brands, Brayer, announced that in the first issue of the Brand Book the talk given by Elmo Scott Watson on the Ghost Dance War Correspondents, delivered at the last meeting, will be published, as will also Dr. Levette J. Davidson's talk given at this meeting entitled, "Tall Tales of the Rockies."

The speaker of the evening, Dr. Levette J. Davidson was then introduced by our program chairman, Herbert O. Brayer.

After a very interesting talk and comments and discussion by the membership the meeting adjourned at 10:00 P.M.

Virgil V. Peterson
Roundup Foreman

Minutes of the Monthly Meeting
March 23, 1945

At the regular posse meeting of the WESTERNERS held at the "Crow's Nest" (Bradford-Robinson & Company, 2828 Stout Street) the following members and guest were present: Edwin A. Bemis, Herbert O. Brayer, John T. Caine III, Arthur H. Carhart, George H. Corfman, Levette J. Davidson, Edward V. Dunklee, Thomas H. Ferril, LeRoy R. Hafen, Paul D. Harrison, Forbes Parkhill, Virgil V. Peterson, Fred Rosenstock, Charles B. Roth, B. Z. Woods, Arthur Zeuch, and Dabney Otis Collins. Contrary to the usual procedure the speaker of the evening, Dr. Colin B. Goodykoontz of the University of Colorado gave his very splendid address of the evening on "Beadle's Dime Novels" before dinner was served. This unusual address was also enhanced by a number of examples of the novels which were furnished by Fred Rosenstock.

After a very fine dinner, the business meeting proceeded under the direction of Sheriff Edwin A. Bemis. He stressed the opportunity that the Westerners of Colorado have in making their organization a successful one and the necessity of membership control.

He then asked for a report from Forbes Parkhill, Chairman of the Membership Committee. Forbes indicated that it requires a great deal of judgment and discrimination to keep the number of members to 40 as had been proposed at an earlier meeting. He asked for a statement of policy as to whether or not women should be allowed to enter the organization. After considerable discussion and expression from a number of the members, it was moved by B. Z. Woods that women not be allowed to become members of the WESTERNERS. This was seconded by Charles B. Roth and unanimously carried. Stipulation was made, however, making it permissible to invite women as special guest speakers should the occasion warrant such an invitation. It was decided that a report on prospective members be made at each meeting by the membership committee. Discussion then ensued as to whether one "black ball" was sufficient to bar a person from

membership. A motion was made by Forbes Parkhill that the nomination of a candidate receiving one "black ball" would be referred back to the committee. The committee would then determine the validity of the objection, and by its unanimous action could override the single objection. This was seconded by Art Zeuch and voted upon and passed by the membership. It was further decided that if two "black balls" were brought up against an individual that was sufficient evidence to automatically bar him from membership. The question of inactivity of members was also discussed and it was decided that should a member fail to attend three consecutive monthly meetings, this would be reason for the membership committee to investigate his absence. The committee could accept sufficient reason for such absence or recommend that the offender be dropped from membership—no dues refundable. It was the consensus that much care should be exercised in filling the quota and that no prospect should be approached until voted on by the membership. All members should be contributors—not just good listeners.

Chairman Parkhill then announced that the membership committee had passed upon and recommended for approval the applications for membership from Ralph Mayo and Dabney Otis Collins. Mr. Mayo is an accountant by profession and is interested in archaeology, history, Pueblo Indians and is also a writer. Mr. Collins is vice president of the Colorado Authors' League, and a writer of western stories. After some discussion on these two prospective members, a motion was made by Herbert O. Brayer that they be accepted as possemen. Fred Rosenstock seconded this motion, and a unanimous affirmative vote was given by the posse.

All prospective corresponding members shall be passed upon by the membership committee but need not be voted on by the membership. All applications for regular members as well as corresponding members shall be sent to the Roundup Foreman who in turn will direct them to the membership committee. When sending a prospective name to the Roundup foreman as much information as is available on the individual should be given inasmuch as many of the prospective members mentioned are not known personally by the membership committee. It was then concluded that all invitations shall be sent out by the Roundup Foreman to prospective members who have been passed upon by the membership committee and a vote of the members. The dues of all corresponding members shall be \$3.00 and they shall receive regular issues of the Brand Book as well as a card indicating corresponding membership. Announcements of the regular meetings will be sent only to regular members. Discussion then ensued in regard to subscription membership which shall include libraries and individuals interested only in receiving the Brand Book. It was moved by Arthur Carhart and seconded by Levette J. Davidson that subscription members which shall include libraries may receive the Brand Book and no other privileges for \$3.00 annually.

Sheriff Bemis announced that there is now available through the Chicago chapter of the WESTERNERS a Westerner emblem or pin known as the "Official Totem" at the cost of \$2.85 for the gold plated and \$3.25 for the solid gold.

The first issue of the Brand Book was distributed to the membership and Sheriff Bemis offered his congratulations to the Registrar of Marks and Brands for the fine piece of work done in regard to this matter. He further suggested that anyone having ideas on programs that they be sent to program chairman Herbert O. Brayer. He further urged that we keep our stuff "western." In response Mr. Brayer reported that at least five interesting speakers have been suggested for future meetings: John Charles Thompson of Cheyenne, Wyoming, whose subject would be "Tom Horne"; E. W. Milligan, whose subject is "Famous Bad Men of the West"; L. G. "Pat" Flannery, whose subject is "John Hunter, Early Wyoming Cattleman"; Dr. Miriam of Montana; and Clarence Paul, representation of "Calamity Jane."

Explanation of the absences of E. W. Milligan, Lawrence Mott and William M. Raine, who had other pressing engagements, were read by Mr. Brayer.

It was suggested that no individual invite more than one guest at any meeting and then only if that guest had a special interest in the subject discussed. Notification should be given to the Roundup Foreman in advance if guests are to be invited.

The following prospective corresponding members were suggested through the membership committee: Albert Wood, Ridgway, recommended by Elmo Scott Watson; Lloyd Shaw, square dance authority, Colorado Springs, recommended by Tom Ferril; Al Look, advertising manager for the Sentinel archaeologist by hobby, Grand Junction, recommended by Arthur Carhart; C. E. Scoggins, a writer from Boulder, suggested by Tom Ferril; Floyd Miller, Greeley, recommended by Forbes Parkhill; Clee Woods, Pagosa Springs, recommended by Forbes Parkhill.

At the conclusion of the business meeting a "campfire session" ensued in which each member told of his special interests and much interesting material for research on those subjects was suggested. The meeting adjourned at 12:00 midnight.

Minutes of the Monthly Meeting April 27, 1945

The regular meeting of the Westerners was held on Friday, April 27th, at the Crow's Nest (Bradford-Robinson & Company). Present were Sheriff Edwin Bemis, D. O. Collins, B. Z. Woods; William M. Raine, LeRoy R. Hafen; Forbes Parkhill, Levette J. Davidson, George H. Curfman, Lawrence V. Mott, Paul D. Harrison, Fred Rosenstock, Herbert O. Brayer, Thomas Ferril, Edward Milligan, Charles B. Roth, and Arthur

Zeuch. Mr. J. M. F. Dubois, who participated in the program, was present as guest of the organization.

Following a splendid dinner the meeting was called to order by Sheriff Bemis who called for the report of the membership committee. Chairman Parkhill reported that the committee have been forced to delay action on some of the recommendations because of illnesses and absences of some of the members from the city. The committee reported that it desired to recommend to the membership the secret ballot to be used in the election of new members. The motion was made by Mr. Brayer, seconded by Mr. Hafen, and unanimously approved by the organization. Mr. Parkhill then reported that the committee recommended the election of W. W. Grant and Henry Toll of Denver for election to full membership. A count of the ballot found the group unanimously in favor of this recommendation and the sponsors of Mr. Grant and Mr. Tell who are authorized to approach the gentlemen to ascertain their interest in the organization.

Sheriff Bemis spent a few minutes commenting upon the function of the Westerners and the importance of their work. He pointed to the future of this organization and to the responsibility placed upon each of the members. It was suggested that in order that future members might understand some of the problems of this period, that it be voted in these minutes that each of the members contributed two red points (meat rations) in order that butter and meat could be purchased for this and subsequent meeting.

Sheriff Bemis turned the meeting over to program chairman Brayer who commented upon future meetings of the organization and then introduced posseman Charles Roth, who delivered a grand account of the evolution of the Mustang. Mr. Roth's address, which will be published in the May issue of the Brand Book, called attention to the dramatic story played by the horse in the evolution of the West and to the significant historical evolution of the horse from its Arabian evolution to America by way of the Spanish exploration and ultimately the return of the American horse to assist in the breeding of Arabian stock. Mr. Roth earnestly supports a proposal for the establishment of a Great Plains National Monument in Wyoming or Montana upon which the government will place a small herd of Mustangs for permanent preservation. Following Mr. Roth's address Mr. J. M. F. Dubois was introduced by Mr. Roth. Mr. Dubois, a professional newsreel cameraman, presented motion pictures of a wild horse round-up in the Red Desert country in Wyoming by the noted horseman, Frank Robbins. The use of the airplane in the round-up, plus the colorful scenery and the use of color film added to the interest and delight of the Westerners. Thrilling drives of horses across the Red Mesa country brought many a gasp to the audience. Following the horse picture Mr. Dubois showed a short colored film dealing with the extermination of coyotes on the plains of northern Colorado and Wyoming. The use of the

cyanide gun for the killing of these predatory animals was demonstrated in the picture. Program chairman Brayer thanked both Mr. Roth and Mr. Dubois for their splendid presentations—undoubtedly one of the most interesting meetings to date—and turned the meeting back to Sheriff Bemis. The meeting was adjourned at 11:30 P.M.

Minutes of the Monthly Meeting
May 25, 1945

Present at the regular meeting of the WESTERNERS held Friday, May 25, at the Crow's Nest (Bradford-Robinson & Company) were the following possemen, corresponding members, and guests: Edwin A. Bemis, Herbert O. Brayer, John T. Caine III, D. O. Collins, George H. Curfman, Levette J. Davidson, Edward V. Dunklee, LeRoy R. Hafen, Paul D. Harrison, E. W. Milligan, Forbes Parkhill, Virgil V. Thompson, William M. Raine, Fred Rosenstock, Charles B. Roth, Arthur S. Tolson, Henry W. Toll, Russell Thorp, John C. Thompson, Judge William S. Jackson, and Robert Eagleston.

In sequence to a very fine chicken dinner, the meeting was called to order by Sheriff Bemis. The sheriff reported that we had sent a letter of congratulations to Westerner Clint P. Anderson, recently appointed to the office of Secretary of Agriculture. Deputy Ed Dunklee suggested that sponsors of new members be responsible for bringing them to the first meeting after they have been approved. Deputy Dunklee was then excused to visit with his three sons and one daughter, all of whom are home on furlough from the military services. Sheriff Bemis suggested that the Brand Book be distributed by mail rather than at each meeting, but no action was taken on the suggestion pending an increase in our treasury reserves. He also stressed that each member give the roundup foreman notification as to whether or not he will attend the meeting, not later than Wednesday morning of the week of the meeting.

Report of the membership committee was called for and made by Chairman Forbes Parkhill. He proposed that any corresponding member who wishes to become an active member must qualify by giving a talk on his respective subject of interest. Forbes announced the proposal of four new members by the committee for approval by the membership. secret ballot indicated unanimous approval of Henry Hough and Robert J. Niedrach, sponsored by Levette J. Davidson; Alfred M. Bailey, sponsored by LeRoy R. Hafen; and Robert Eagleston, sponsored by H. O. Brayer. Corresponding members approved by the committee are as follows: Edwin B. Rogers, Charles Kelly, J. C. Alter, Cecil Albert Wood, Lloyd Shaw, Al Look, C. E. Scoggins, Floyd Merrill, Clee Woods, Dr. Stuart Cuthbertson, Jesse Nusbaum, Dr. George P. Hammond, Dr. Carol Rister, and Joseph Emerson Smith.

Sheriff Bemis suggested that the Brand Book in the future carry announcement of the speaker for the coming month. It was suggested by Posseman E. W. Milligan that the Brand Book also carry a section listing speeches and other public activities of the possemen during the previous month. Registrar Brayer reported that seven Chicago WESTERNERS had sent in subscriptions to the Denver Brand Book. He also introduced Judge William S. Jackson of this Colorado State Supreme Court, and corresponding members Russell Thorp (Secretary of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association) and John C. Thompson (Editor of the *Cheyenne Tribune*).

Program Chairman Brayer introduced William M. Raine, speaker of the evening who gave a graphic portrayal of the highlights of the life of Mine Manlove Rhodes. A very interesting discussion followed the presentation after which the meeting was turned back to Sheriff Bemis. The meeting adjourned at 11:00 P.M.

Virgil V. Peterson
Roundup foreman

Minutes of the Monthly Meeting

July 27, 1945

Present at the regular meeting of the WESTERNERS held Friday, July 27, 1945, at Hosa Lodge were possemen Edwin A. Bemis, Herbert O. Brayer, John T. Caine III, Arthur Carhart, George H. Curfman, Edward V. Dunklee, Thomas H. Ferril, Ralph B. Mayo, E. W. Milligan, Lawrence Mott, Forbes Parkhill, Virgil V. Peterson, Charles B. Roth, Arthur Zeuch, Henry W. Hough, and Robert Eagleston. After an excellent dinner Sheriff Bemis gave the floor to Dr. George H. Curfman to "clean up a bit of unfinished business." Dr. Curfman then proceeded to illustrate the use of leeches in the art of healing. The leeches had been purchased at a local drugstore at the rate of two for \$1.75. The doctor also demonstrated the use of a trephining instrument—however, on a board instead of in the usual place.

Forbes Parkhill reporting for the membership committee recommended that Judge William S. Jackson be accepted for membership which recommendation was unanimously approved by the group.

In a discussion of whether or not women should be admitted as corresponding members, it was finally concluded that if they were admitted it was with the understanding that they would never be allowed to become active members. It was recommended, however, through a motion that wherever possible women should be admitted only as subscribing members and that they were entitled to the *Brand Book* at the subscription price of \$3.00 per year. Corresponding members are to be admitted only through sponsorship.

Some discussion ensued in regard to not holding meetings during the summer months but it was concluded that they should continue each month.

The meeting was then turned over to Program Chairman Herbert O. Brayer who introduced Forbes Parkhill, the speaker of the evening. Mr. Parkhill gave an exceptionally fine paper on the Meeker Massacre and the Thornburgh Battle. At 11:00 o'clock the meeting was turned back to Sheriff Bemis who offered his appreciation for the efforts of all who had contributed to the pleasant evening.

Minutes of the Monthly Meeting August 24, 1945

Present at the regular meeting of the WESTERNERS held August 24, 1945, at the Crow's Nest (Bradford-Robinson & Co.) were the following possemen: Edwin A. Bemis, Alfred M. Bailey, John T. Cairns, Dabney O. Collins, George H. Curfman, Levette J. Davidson, Edward Dunklee, LeRoy R. Hafen Paul D. Harrison, Ralph B. Mayo, J. W. Milligan, Lawrence Mott, Forbes Parkhill, Virgil V. Peterson, Charles B. Roth, Arthur Zeuch, Henry Toll, Henry W. Hough, and William A. Jackson. Also present were corresponding members Russell Thorp and John Charles Thompson of Cheyenne, the latter the speaker of the evening.

After a very fine meal the business of the meeting was taken up by Sheriff Edwin A. Bemis, in which he first welcomed Judge William S. Jackson, most recent member of the WESTERNERS, also Alfred M. Bailey who was in attendance for the first time. Sheriff Bemis reminded the membership of the fact that meetings began at 6:00 P.M. instead of 7:00 P.M.

A letter was read by Virgil V. Peterson from Burleigh Withers of the Chicago WESTERNERS in which he explained that the official emblem of the WESTERNERS is now available at \$3.75. Any member wishing to purchase one of these emblems should make his check payable to Spies Brothers and send the order direct to Burleigh Withers, 410 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Forbes Parkhill reporting for the membership committee announced that the approval of Merrill J. Mattes of the Scotts Bluff National Monument was given for corresponding membership. Sheriff Bemis commented on the untimely death of Robert S. Ellison, charter member of the Denver Chapter.

A three-minute-and-42-second essay was read by Ralph B. Mayo in which he briefed the experiences of an initiation into the WESTERNERS group.

After the business of the meeting was completed, Sheriff Bemis intro-

duced the speaker of the evening, John Charles Thompson, editor of the Cheyenne Tribune, who gave a most illuminating paper entitled, "The Hanging of Tom Horn." This was followed by a spicy discussion of the subject, after which the meeting was adjourned at 10:30.

Minutes of the Monthly Meeting
September 26, 1945

The regular monthly dinner meeting of the westerners was held at the Olin Hotel at 6:30 o'clock. Present were the following members and guests: Edson Bemis, John T. Caine III, Arthur H. Carhart, Levette J. Davidson, Thomas H. Ferril, LeRoy R. Hafen, Paul D. Harrison, Ralph B. Mayo, E. W. Milligan, Forbes Parkhill, William M. Raine, Charles B. Roth, John Charles Thompson, Russell Thorp, Henry Toll, Arthur Zeuch, E. B. Winter and Mr. Lebhart.

Sherriff Ed. Bemis presided. Ed. Milligan introduced his guest, Mr. Lebhart, Federal Court Reporter, and Arthur Carhart introduced his guest, E. B. Winter of Helena, Montana.

Forbes Parkhill reported for the Membership Committee the following new corresponding members being approved: Joseph E. Miller, Globe, Arizona; Lamar Moore, Winslow, Arizona; Morris F. Taylor, Trinidad; John J. Lipsey, Colorado Springs; Dr. Merrill G. Burlingame, Bozeman, Montana.

Charles Roth reported his visit to the Chicago Westerners where he gave a talk on the Mustang. He suggested that the Denver Westerners take official action favoring the placing of mustangs on the Great Plains National Monument. Motion was passed in favor of such action.

Russell Thorp of Cheyenne, Wyoming, gave the paper of the evening upon early cowboy life in Wyoming. This enlightening talk with its colorful information was followed by a general discussion by the members. The discussion was of the old Cheyenne Club, the origin of certain western words, cowboy costume and other topics that suggested themselves. Mr. Thorp exhibited two pieces of hide upon which rustlers had demonstrated their art.

The meeting adjourned about 10:15 P.M.

The Cowman's Code of Ethics

By Ramon F. Adams

Back in the days when the cowman and his herds made a new frontier, there was no law on the range. Lack of written law made it necessary for him to frame some of his own, thus developing a rule of behavior which became known as the "code of the West." These homespun laws, being merely a gentleman's agreement to certain rules of conduct for survival, were never written into the statutes, but were respected everywhere on the range.

When legislated law did come to the frontier it failed to fit the needs and conditions on this fringe of civilization. Men did not respect the law because they could not obey them and survive. Thus the West gained its reputation for being lawless though the blame for this condition should have been placed upon the white-collared lawmakers, not upon the so-called law breakers. Though the cowman might break every law of the territory, state or Federal government, he took pride in upholding his own unwritten code. His failure to abide by it did not bring formal punishment, but the man who broke it became, more or less, a social outcast. His friends "hazed him into the cutbacks" and he was subject to the punishment of the very code he had broken.

One of the first rules of the code is courage. Men who follow this life will not tolerate a coward, for one coward endangers the whole group. Through the hundreds of ways of making the life of a coward unbearable, he is soon eliminated. If a man has a spark of courage to start with, the life he lives on the range soon develops it to a high degree.

Cheerfulness is also a part of this code. The bigness of the country, the mighty struggles of a virile nature will not let him listen to the whimpers of a mere human. Privations and hardships are endured without complaint. No one knows when a man is tired; sickness or injury is his own secret unless it can no longer be kept hidden.

The Roundup was originally called The Brand Book—the official organ of the Denver Posse of the Westerners. The June, 1949 issue of this publication contained a paper presented by Corresponding Member Ramon F. Adams. Through a Rockefeller Grant for the Texas Historical Society, Ramon Adams was able to travel extensively doing research on western history. *The Cowman's Code of Ethics* is the result of some of this research. It is reprinted here—it's worth re-reading.

The cowman laughs in the face of danger, laughs at hardships when laughing is hard. Tragedy and its possibilities is all around him and his cheerfulness is an attempt to offset it. Being a man of action he has little time to mourn fatalities.

From the nature of his work, no cowboy can be a quitter. Therefore, he rarely complains because he associates complaints with quitting. He takes a pride in his work, always trying to do better than the other fellow. No matter how good they are, there is no room for excuses on the range. Grumblers simply do not flourish in a cow camp.

One of the cowman's outstanding codes is loyalty. He is one class of worker who does not have to be watched to see that he does his work well. The nature of his work demands that he be trusted. He takes a pride in being faithful to his "brand" and performing his duties well. He needs no oversight nor advice. He works long hours and "picks" no time-piece. He belongs to no union and no whistle is blown ordering him to knock off work.

Personal comfort and safety is forgotten in looking after the welfare of the herd under his charge and he will lay down his life if necessary, for the purpose of defending his outfit. Once a cowhand has thrown his bedroll into the wagon and turned his private horse into the remuda of an outfit, he has pledged his allegiance and loyalty.

He lives up to a precept which holds the obligation of friendship deeper than all others. Yet, according to the unwritten law, he stands ready to offer friendly service to strangers, or even an enemy, when necessity calls for it. The rule requires that whoever catches a signal of distress is to render quick assistance. It sometimes happens that a cowboy lays down his life to save an enemy that he might live up to this norm.

No man has a greater sense of fairplay than the cowman. He despises treachery. The very principle of his code demands square dealing with his fellowman. That common expression "He'll do to ride the river with" is about the highest compliment that can be paid him. It originated back in the old trail days when brave men had to swim herds across swollen, treacherous rivers. The act required level-headed courage, and as time passed, this phrase acquired the meaning that the one spoken of was loyal, dependable, trustworthy, and had plenty of sand.

Gene Rhodes spoke the sentiments of the whole range when he said: "To rise up from a man's table and war upon that man while the taste of his bread is still sweet in your mouth—such dealings would have been unspeakable. You must not smile and shoot. You must not shoot an unarmed man, and you must not shoot an unwarned man. Here is a nice distinction, but a clear one; you might not ambush your enemy, but when you fled and your enemy followed, you might then waylay and surprise without question to your honor, for they were presumed to be on their guard and sufficiently warned. The rattlesnake's code, to warn before he strikes, no better; a queer, lop-sided, topsy-turvy, jumbled and senseless code—but a

code for all of that. And it's worthy of note that no better standard has ever been kept with such faith as this barbarous code of the fighting man."

An ironclad rule of the West is that every quarrel is a private one and no outsider has a right to interfere. It is never healthy to openly voice approval or disapproval of a shooting. The shooter has friends and little breaches of etiquette are likely to be remembered.

There is no prouder soul on earth than the cowboy. He is proud of his occupation and holds it to be a dignified calling. The man on horseback has ever held himself above the man on foot. You might see many men and boys from other walks of life try to palm themselves off as cowboys, but you will never see a cowboy trying to hide his occupation. For this reason he avoids wearing a spur on a single foot because it smacks of the sheer border, and he shuns the bib-overalls because it is the farmer's rigging.

He will do a tremendous amount of work in the line of duty, but his proud spirit will not let him kowtow to anyone. No commands are given him; the merest hint is an order. To throw off on the boss is an unpardonable sin. In the saddle at frosty sunup, he rides through all kinds of weather, rain, snow or heat until the job is done, no matter how late the hour.

Yet, in spite of his loyalty, the proud spirit of the oldtime cowboy would let him do no work that could not be done on horseback. Like the old saying, he was "too proud to cut hay, and not wild enough to eat it."

When ordered to dig some postholes, one cowboy informed the boss that he "wouldn't be caught on the blister end of *no* damned shovel," and immediately saddled his horse for a ride toward a new frontier—some place where fences had not yet cut up the range.

Because of this great pride in his calling, the punishment that hurt the deepest was to be "set down" in the presence of his fellow riders. This meant being ordered to surrender his "company horse" and, if he didn't own a "private mount", to hit the trail afoot. Very often this sting of disgrace was so deep it ended in gun smoke.

The true cowboy has "a heart in his brisket as big as a saddle blanket." He is generous to a fault. Nothing he owns is too good to share with a fellow worker if that puncher needs it. The night is never too dark, nor the trail so long or rough that it keeps him from riding to the aid of a friend. He is generous with his money. Any stranger can make him shell out his *dinero* with a hard-luck story. Even if he is "powerful narrow at the equator" himself, he will share with any other hungry man. Hearing of some puncher being sick or broke and needing medicine, the whole range will empty its pockets. He is generous with his life and will take all manner of risks to save the property of his outfit, even to going to war for it.

Far out on the range, a long way from where he can buy more, his supply of "makin's" might run low, but he never refuses another a smoke, unless he wants to offer a direct and intentional insult.