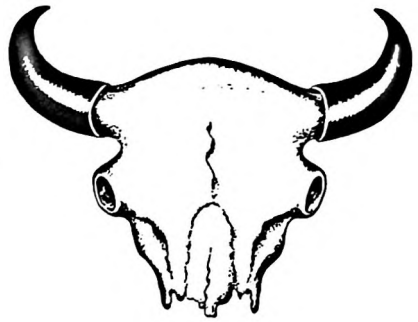


*The* DENVER WESTERNERS

# ROUNDUP

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1984



## SHAKESPEARE AND ITS GUARDIAN ANGELS

Gloria L. and  
Gary D. Coffey, P.M.



General merchandise store as it is today: Shakespeare, New Mexico.

Gary Coffey photo.

**NOLIE MUMEY; 1891-1984**

Dr. Nolie MumeY, Charter and Reserve Member of the Denver Westerners and occupant of nearly every office in the Posse, passed away on Sunday 22 January 1984.

Dr. MumeY not only pursued a distinguished career in medicine but was also a prolific author in the fields of medical history, Western history, and aeronautical history. He amassed a formidable collection of books and artifacts of the Old West. As hobbies he filled his spare time with various arts and crafts, photography, and sport fishing.

An extended and informative biographical article appeared in the Rocky Mountain News on 23 January 1984.

The Denver Westerners has lost a highly-gifted and widely-known member who will long be remembered for his contributions to its programs and to its memories. Ave!

**OUR AUTHORS**

Posse Member Gary and wife Gloria Coffey, have been interested in the history of Colorado and the West for many years. Gary is a native and Gloria a fourth generation Coloradoan who just happened to be born in California. Exploring the high country, ghost towns, photography, and Southwestern Indian Culture have been among their main interests. Both are members of the Colorado Historical Society, and the Ghost Town Club of Colorado in which both have held office. Gary is a physical education teacher in Adams County School District 12 and Gloria a Speech/Language Specialist for Adams County District 50.

An additional interest in opera has led the Coffeys to Santa Fe each summer and was a springboard to exploring New Mexico historic areas. Frequent visits to Rita and Janaloo Hill of Shakespeare and learning of its history has led to this paper.

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The 1982 Denver Westerners ROUNDUP in a hard-bound volume containing all 6 numbers is available from R.A. Ronzio, P.O. Box 344, Golden, Colorado 80402, at \$5.00 each plus \$1.00 postage. The 1983 numbers similarly bound is in preparation.

**ANNIVERSARIES COMING UP**

This year of 1984 is the 40th anniversary of the founding of Westerners International, while 1985 will be that of the Denver Westerners. Perhaps we should pull ourselves together and explore the possibilities of celebrations of either or both of these occasions, possibly at the Winter Rendezvous.

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## SHAKESPEARE AND ITS GUARDIAN ANGELS

by

Gloria L. and Gary D. Coffey, P.M.

Paper presented 28 September 1983

ll but significant part of New Mexico history lies in the extreme south-  
r of the state. The town of Shakespeare and its neighbor Valedon lie  
iles of Lordsburg, in Hidalgo County, approximately 50 miles from the  
order.

peare has had an interesting and colorful history. Much of this history  
e been lost and the few remaining structures crumbled to dust if it had  
or the interest and hard work of a few people. Heading this list are the  
ners of Shakespeare, Rita Hill and her daughter Janaloo. The Hill family  
ined a love affair with Shakespeare for many years. They continue to  
ge portion of their time researching the history of the area and in resto-  
ie buildings. In their quest for information, they were assisted by the  
of two of Shakespeare's prominent pioneers, Emma Marble Muir and  
son.

rea where Shakespeare now lies was first known as Mexican Spring. The  
f a spring in the New Mexican desert first attracted the Apache Indians.  
lers on their way through stopped to drink and water their animals.

1856, Mexican Spring had permanent residents and mail services had  
1858, the Butterfield-Overland Stage Company took over the mail ser-  
esignated Mexican Spring a stop on its route from St. Louis to San Fran-

age line came to a halt with the Civil War, when the Texas Confederate  
ok over the town. For a short time, they encamped at an old rock fort,  
later to become the Stratford Hotel. The Confederates were run out by  
nia Column who were advancing to drive the Confederates out of New  
nion soldiers occupied the old fort at various times until the war was

5, John Evenson was sent to Mexican Spring as a representative of the  
ail and Transportation Co. He was hired as station keeper for the new  
the Butterfield Route. Evenson, at the age of 53, was to become one of  
nfluent men in Shakespeare's development. He remained there until  
twenty years later.

fter Evenson's arrival, the first of several name changes came about for  
ring. It was renamed Grant in honor of Ulysses S. Grant.

1870, a hint of a mining future came to Grant. A government surveyor,  
own, was doing some prospecting in the Pyramid Mountains, to the  
found some ore specimens which were later assayed in San Francisco at

12,000 ounces of silver per ton. Brown somehow got the silver to William G. Ralston, founder of the Bank of California. This obviously whetted Ralston's appetite and within a few weeks he had staked out numerous claims that became the Virginia Mining District. Grant began growing rapidly and soon the name was changed to Ralston City.

Ralston City's mining future was begun with big promotions, under-the-table deals, and turbulence. From the very beginning Ralston was a company town, with the company owning all the claims. News about the mineral strikes spread. However, as independent prospectors came, they were informed that all the claims were taken and if they wanted a lot in town they would have to buy it from the company. The consequence of this was that independent miners staked their own claims in spite of the company. The company, in retaliation, hired fighting men known as the "Texas Boys," to keep order. This move on the part of the company proved to be a deterrent and all-out war was prevented. An offshoot of that situation was the movement of the independent miners some miles north, and the eventual opening of the Silver City mining area.

In the early 1870's Ralston City became famous (or infamous) for the great diamond hoax. The silver in the Burro mines was in pockets, requiring extremely expensive equipment to extract the ore. The company found out they did not have the bonanza that they'd hoped for. However this fact was not made public because of the investment in the company's claims. Details concerning the diamond hoax are numerous, sometimes conflicting, and often confusing. It was obvious that someone saw it as a way to keep the company solvent and the investors happy. "Salted" diamonds showed up in Ralston, in the area of Lee's Peak. The diamonds were shown around the town by the "Texas Boys." They were supposedly prospecting for diamonds, but in actuality they were "salting" them in ant hills, for prospective stock buyers to find.

Philip Arnold and John Slack were two prospectors identified with the hoax from the beginning. Arnold and Slack took some of the diamonds they "found" to W. C. Ralston in San Francisco. Ralston had a few of the gems sent to Tiffany who valued the diamonds he saw at \$150,000. At that figure, the total amount of diamonds Ralston had in hand were worth \$1,500,000 in hard cash.

Ralston sent consulting engineer Henry Janin, a friend and associate of his, Asbury Harpending, and four other men to verify the find. The group was led by Arnold and Slack from the railroad station at Rawlins, Wyoming, by horseback over great distances. During the days of travel, great precautions were taken to keep the men from knowing where they were. When they reached their destination, the party found over 500 diamonds plus an assortment of rubies, emeralds, and sapphires. As a result they were able to verify, to Ralston, the presence of an authentic diamond mine.

Ralston paid Arnold and Slack \$600,000 for rights to the claim and began plans for a diamond empire. Word of the find spread rapidly, although an attempt was made to keep the location a secret. Rumors about where the diamonds were located involved many of the western states, including New Mexico. The town of Ralston

boomed to a population of 3,000. Despite all the skepticism and confusion several big names of the time such as Baron Rothschild, General George B. McClellan, Horace Greeley and others invested heavily in the diamond stocks.

In 1872, a government geologist put an end to the whole thing by uncovering planted diamonds in the Uinta Mountains of Utah. It was therefore assumed that the diamonds at Lee's Peak were also a fraud. How the scheme took in so many knowledgeable people is a question asked many times. The diamonds turned out to be almost valueless stones purchased in South Africa. The question arises, how could Tiffany and his appraisers have been so far off in their valuation of the diamonds they saw? Asbury Harpending in his writing states that although the Tiffany organization were recognized experts in valuing cut diamonds, at that time little was known about rough diamonds in the United States. The figure of \$150,000 was based largely on estimate.

No one ever questioned the fact that vastly different gems were all found in the same area. Some speculate that the reason the scheme went as far as it did was due to the personalities of Arnold and Slack. Their actions seemed to disarm rather than arouse suspicions, and the audacity and nerve with which the scheme was carried out duped many shrewd men.

Most sources do not implicate Ralston in the fraud. There was some evidence that he was taken in by one of his partners. At any rate, Ralston was left holding the bag. Broke and discouraged, he drowned in San Francisco Bay in 1875. Suicide has been mentioned as the cause of his death, but an autopsy report showed that he died of a cerebral hemorrhage.

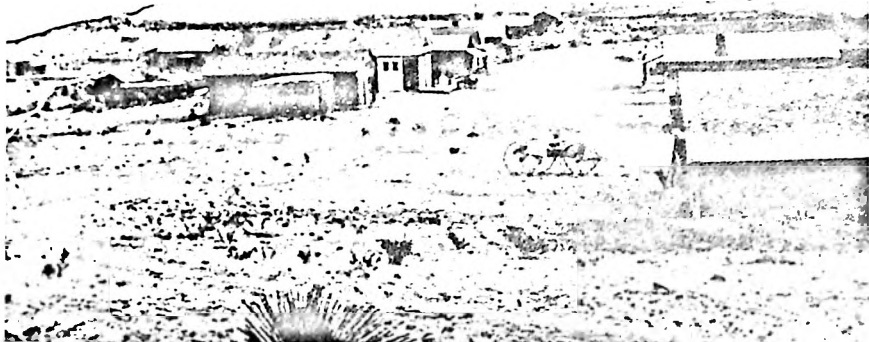
After the revelation of the diamond hoax, the population of the town of Ralston decreased to a handful. Those remaining did some prospecting and John Evenson was still in charge of the stage station.

In 1878 an Englishman, Col. William Boyle, and General John Boyle, also an Englishman, came to Ralston about the same time. Some sources say that they were brothers, but Janaloo Hill's research indicates this may not have been true.

The Boyles waited until all litigation on the claims around Ralston had ceased and the people were no longer interested in them. They then filed claims in their own names. They were anxious to get investors in their new mining endeavors. To do this they needed to change the image of Ralston following the diamond swindle. In order to give it new life, the Boyles changed the name of the town to Shakespeare, in honor of the bard. The main street was renamed Avon Avenue and many buildings were remodeled. It was the Boyles who remodeled the old rock fort into the Stratford Hotel, thus creating Stratford on Avon.

In May of 1879, the Shakespeare Mining and Milling Co. was formed. It was backed by big money from the East. The town of Shakespeare again saw some good times and became a steady and thriving community. However, it never again reached the population of 3,000 as it had prior to the diamond swindle.

An event in 1882 greatly affected Shakespeare. The Southern Pacific Railroad was completed, connecting with the Santa Fe line at Deming, New Mexico. Prior to this Lordsburg had been a secondary town to Shakespeare. However with the



View of Shakespeare, New Mexico, 1890. Photo from collection of Rita and Janaloo Hill.

coming of the railroad, the post office was moved to Lordsburg and many Shakespeare businesses, including the saloons, moved to be near the rail lines.

Emma Marble Muir came to Shakespeare in 1882, as a young girl. She reported the following observations about Shakespeare at that time. "Shakespeare had no church, no club, no school, and no fraternal organization. It had no bank, men either carried their money in leather belts, or buried it in tin cans. Nearly all the money was gold." She stated that the population was about 150. The Marble family purchased the Grant House, formerly the stage station, from John Evenson. John Evenson died in 1887. Through the last few years of his life he told many stories of life in Shakespeare to Emma Marble, which she later passed on to the Hills.

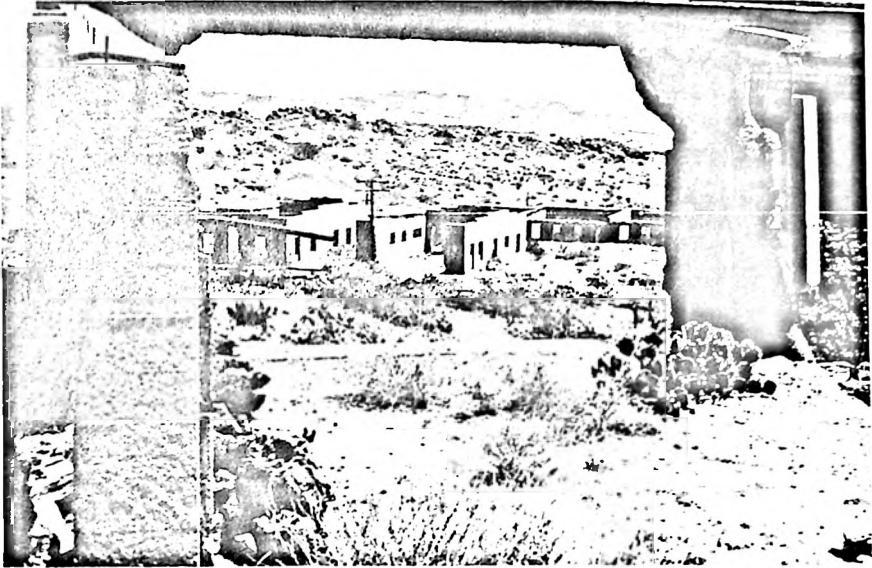
In 1893, the silver slump dealt the final blow to Shakespeare. The remaining businesses closed and most of the people left. Many tore apart the adobe walls of their houses to use the materials in rebuilding elsewhere. Except for a few old timers Shakespeare was virtually deserted. One of these old timers was Matt Doyle. He purchased various buildings, some land and mining claims, and eventually claimed Shakespeare as his own under the New Mexico Townsite Law. He rented out a few of his buildings to people who wanted to live in quiet Shakespeare, away from the wild and wooly town of Lordsburg.

Around the turn of the century, mining was revived in the area. Mines  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles southwest of Shakespeare opened and began to produce. Foremost of these mines was the "85", so named because of its original discovery in 1885. Other prominent mines starting up production in the next few years were the Superior, Anita, Atwood and the Henry Clay. The minerals taken from the mines were gold, silver, and in later years, copper. At one point the "85" mine was the second largest copper producer in New Mexico.

In 1907, the company town of Valedon was started at the "85" mine. Ore was hauled by wagon from Valedon, down Shakespeare's Avon Avenue to Lordsburg. In 1914, the Southern Pacific Railroad built a spur line from Lordsburg to Valedon, carrying ore up and down Avon Avenue.

A post office opened in Valedon in 1917 and the population was 2,000 in 1926. The pride of Valedon was its school, which even the Lordsburg children attended.

Valedon's existence gave Shakespeare a few years of good times. Matt Doyle rented houses to miners. Saloons and other businesses opened to serve the miners. The Stratford Hotel was once again full. Unfortunately the good times were short-lived. In 1931, Valedon was purchased by Phelps-Dodge. The mines were closed in 1932, a result of the depression.



Modern view of Valedon, New Mexico. Gary Coffey photo.

Following Matt Doyle's death, Shakespeare was willed to Bob Reynolds. In 1935, Frank and Rita Hill purchased Shakespeare from Reynolds as a headquarters for their small ranch.

Frank Hill was a World War I veteran who joined the service to "see the world." However because of his experience with horses he spent his service time in Deming, New Mexico, breaking broncos for the army cavalry. After his time in the army he resumed his life as a cowboy.

Rita Hill was born in the East. Her father had tuberculosis, so as a girl they moved to Denver to take advantage of the climate. She acted in silent movies in California for a time before coming to New Mexico. She taught school in several of New Mexico's towns and mining camps and it was there that she met Frank.

The Hills started out ranching with a few horses, but finances were difficult so Frank found a job with the Indian Service in Santa Fe. This required him to be away from his family so when World War II started he found work at the POW camp located near Lordsburg. They continued ranching at Shakespeare with a few good times, but drought caused many adverse years.

The Hills were enchanted with the history of Shakespeare. In 1962, they saw that many of the buildings were falling down or were in an extreme state of disrepair. They made the decision to learn more of Shakespeare's history and to attempt to preserve the remaining structures.

Their daughter Janaloo was grown and had studied acting and dancing. The Hills decided on a project to raise some money for the preservation of Shakespeare. The family wrote a series of scenes or monologs depicting the lives of women who went down to Shakespeare's spring to get water, throughout the years. The scenes were patterned after real women and were connected by narration and original songs and dances.

Frank and Janaloo rode horseback from Shakespeare to San Diego with two pack horses for costumes and necessities. They did their show in any town along the way that showed any interest. However, the trip did not make the money that they had hoped, so the repair of the buildings had to be put off.

Through the next few years, the Hills struggled to maintain the ranch. Janaloo was away at various times pursuing a career in modeling and acting. She came back to Shakespeare frequently to help with the ranch, especially when her father's health began to fail. In 1970 Frank died, and Rita and Janaloo have maintained residence at the ranch since then. Throughout those years they have struggled to repair buildings and have shown off Shakespeare and told its tales to anyone who was interested.

Rita Hill has gained a reputation as a fighter when it comes to Shakespeare. She fought the powers of Lordsburg over the Shakespeare Cemetery. She has since written a booklet in which she has made an attempt to identify the pioneers buried in the cemetery. In 1973, she gained national recognition for her fight with the New Mexico State Highway Department. Fifty-nine acres of her land had been condemned in order to construct an interchange on I-10, west of Lordsburg. The way the interchange was planned would cut off water to their cattle. A settlement of \$50,00 per acre was offered to the Hills, but they refused. Rita said they would accept the offer if the highway department would pipe water under the overpass to the pasture. The highway department refused and as a result Rita and Janaloo had a little building moved onto the disputed acreage. Rita lived in the building for three months, during which time Janaloo was summoned to court several times. Rita, then 71 years old, was finally arrested and hauled off to jail for two weeks. Rita reports that the experience, although confining, was not too bad. The cell door was left open for visitors, the sheriff's phone was at her disposal and the top bunk was cleared in order to hold the flowers that were sent to her. However, Rita's only victory in the battle was a moral one. The interchange was put in as planned, although reportedly used very little, and a new well had to be dug to get water to





Rita and Janaloo Hill in period costume.  
Phillip Varney photo.

the cattle.

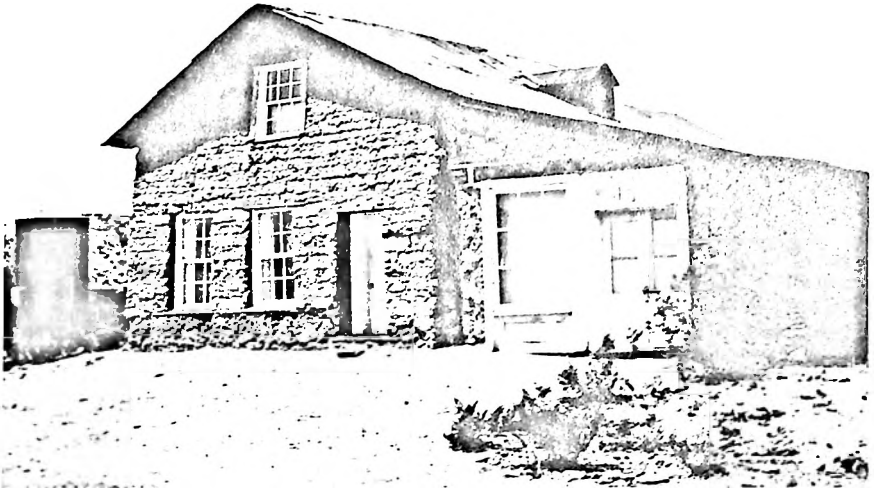
Rita and Janaloo are still fighting for Shakespeare. They are determined to preserve the buildings and have done much restoration, with minimal funds. Janaloo has applied for and received some grants from the government for specific projects. She has also spent hours on historical research of Shakespeare's past and has published some articles in western history publications. Another way they raise money is by admitting visitors to Shakespeare on the second Sunday of each month. Rita and Janaloo dress in period clothing, take the visitors on a tour of the town, and tell them tales of life as it was. For a small fee their guests get the tour, a wealth of historical information, insights into life as it was in Shakespeare, and a bowl of beans. All money goes back into restoration.

From a hill on the Shakespeare townsite Frank Hill's grave overlooks the remaining few buildings and foundations. All of the buildings are on Avon Avenue. Rita and Janaloo live in the General Merchandise store on the east side of the street. They have no modern plumbing or electricity, only a telephone. The only electricity in the town, is from a generator in a small modern building to the south of the store. Rita and Janaloo give dancing lessons to Lordsburg children in this building. They also still keep cattle on the ranch, some for their own use and some to sell.

Just north of the general merchandise building, is the remains of the assay office. Next to the assay office is the mail station. The mail station had two rooms,

the oldest of the rooms was made in typical Indian type construction, of mud and rock. The ceiling was made from yucca stalks covered with dirt. The newer room in the mail station was made from adobe. This room was unusual in that there was no door facing the street even though the street was there when the room was added.

Mrs. Muir remembered the mail station during the second boom of Shakespeare, when she was a little girl. At the time many of the buildings were rented out as residences. Mrs. Muir recalled an old man who lived in the mail station. He used to invite the children of the town to look inside one of the shutters. On the shutter was written a history of civil war times in Shakespeare. In later years the shutter was gone. Janaloo tells that Mrs. Muir used to go back to the window many times and just stare at it in order to try and remember what the words on the shutter had said.



Stratford Hotel as it is today; Shakespeare, New Mexico. Gary Coffey photo.

Across Avon Avenue from the mail station is the Stratford Hotel. The lower floor of the Stratford was originally the old mud-and-rock fort occupied by Confederate and Union soldiers, and remodeled by Colonel William Boyle.

When we visited in 1975, the entire front of the Stratford Hotel was gone. The Hills have been intent on preserving this building. When seen in 1982 the front of the hotel was completely restored. Rita and Janaloo did much of the lower mud and rock work themselves. As the wall got higher and the mud heavier, a friend from Lordsburg came in and helped them finish it with the use of a backhoe and loader.

Many stories have been told about the Stratford. It is said that many famous people ate a meal in the hotel dining room. In the early 1870's, Billy the Kid was a dishwasher in the hotel's kitchen.

During the late 1870's and early 1880's, Mrs. Woods rented and ran the hotel.

She was a widow with two daughters and a son, Ross. Ross achieved a bit of notoriety when he was killed in a fight over an egg, in the Stratford dining room. Bean Belly Smith, a rather slovenly looking man, came into the hotel to get the hotel's usual breakfast of steak and a bowl of oatmeal. Ross Woods was a dark handsome man and he came down also to get breakfast. The waiter brought Ross the same breakfast as Bean Belly, with one exception. On a plate on the side was a fried egg, a real rarity in Shakespeare. Bean Belly confronted the waiter and demanded to get an egg also. The waiter said that Mrs. Woods had given Ross the egg and besides that was all the eggs there were. Bean Belly turned to Ross and said, "You think you can get anything you want, don't you? You just start eatin' that egg and see how egg and lead mix." Ross stared at Smith a few minutes, then got up and went upstairs. He shortly came back and opened the door to the dining room a crack and pulled the trigger on his new .38. But he was too late. Bean Belly was faster. There was some talk of hanging Bean Belly, but witnesses said Ross shot first and probably the fact that Ross got the only egg in Shakespeare did not set real well with the others either.

North of the Stratford Hotel stood one of the grandest homes in Shakespeare. It belonged to O. R. Smythe, owner of the Smythe store and was the showplace of the town. The house was moved to Lordsburg in the 1890's and burned down in 1929.

South, down Avon Avenue, stands the stage station portion of the Grant House and the attached Grant House Saloon. The saloon was built onto the stage station by John Evenson to quench the thirst of the stage passengers and to help him through the lean times when stages were few. Inside the Grant House Saloon you can still see the bullet holes put there by cowboys making a sport of shooting at flies.

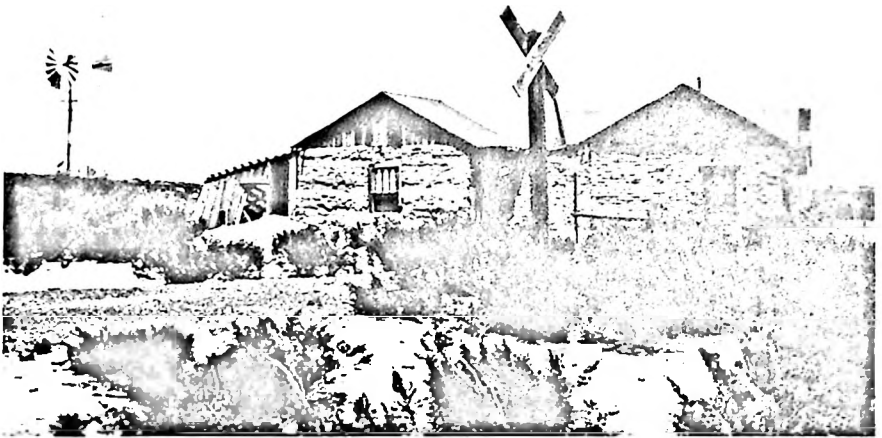
The Grant House and other remaining buildings in Shakespeare are typical of most Southern New Mexico architecture. Because of the lack of access to timber, buildings were usually made of mud and rock or adobe.

The interior of the Grant House station had two rooms. There was a large kitchen with a fireplace and a dining room in which meals were served to stage passengers. In addition to dining, the Grant House was known for at least two hangings. Two local roughnecks, Sandy King and Russian Bill were hung by a bunch of vigilantes. Sandy King was supposed to have shot off the index finger of the owner of the Smythe store, in an argument over payment on a scarf. Russian Bill, the son of a Russian noblewoman, was accused of stealing a horse. The story goes that they were left hanging in the Grant House overnight. The next morning when the coach arrived, the passengers rushed in for breakfast, gasped at the gruesome sight and after regaining their composure helped to cut the bodies down and buried them before eating their meal. When asked the reason for the hangings, the station master replied that Russian Bill had stolen a horse and Sandy King was "just a damned nuisance."

A postscript to this is, Russian Bill's mother wrote to the postmaster several times inquiring as to the whereabouts of her son. Thinking he could put her off no

longer, the postmaster finally wrote back, "Dear Madam, your son has died of throat trouble."

During its first boom, Shakespeare had 16 or 17 saloons. Across the stage road from the Grant House saloon stood the Roxy Jay saloon. The Roxy Jay was the most notorious and the fanciest saloon in the area. When it was remodeled in 1879, it boasted a mahogany bar with mirrors, brass rail and spittoons, real wood on the floor, pictures on the walls and was lit up by 20 kerosene lamps. The Roxy Jay had gaming and also dancing girls. However because of the possible bad influence of the dancing girls, they had to return to Lordsburg to stay each night. They were not allowed to live in Shakespeare.



Grant House saloon and stage station as they are today; Shakespeare, New Mexico.  
Gary Coffey photo.

The Roxy Jay closed in 1893 and was later moved to Lordsburg, where it is now part of the Church of Christ building. The Hills have been unable to trace the whereabouts of the mahogany bar.

A mile and one-half south of Shakespeare was Valedon, the company town for the mines in the area. Remains of several of that town's adobe buildings are in evidence, including the company mercantile store, school, and jail. Foundations and mining equipment from the "85" Mine can be seen on the southern side of the valley with structures of the Atwood Mine remaining on the north. The headframe of the Henry Clay is still standing in good condition.

All of the remaining buildings in Valedon are now roofless. When Phelps-Dodge bought the town in 1931, they removed all the roofs to gain a lower tax rate.

While Valedon lies roofless and crumbling Shakespeare continues to live, thanks to Rita and Janaloo Hill. These ladies, with minimal outside help, continue to run the ranch. In addition, although times are often frustrating, they continue to

do what they can to stabilize and preserve Shakespeare's buildings. Rita is now in her 80's and has health problems, but continues to maintain a vivid interest in Shakespeare. She has a fantastic memory of years of conversations with pioneers and of many hours of research. Janaloo, who has a degree from the University of New Mexico, devotes herself to the ranch and to the continuing research of Shakespeare and other southwestern areas. They are marvelous and very special people and have many dreams for the future. Janaloo tells of her mother's very special dream; that of rebuilding at least two of the buildings that at one time stood on Shakespeare's side street, so that people can get more of an idea of what Shakespeare was really like. With the dedication and tenacity of these two ladies, their dream will probably be realized.

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 Information gathered through a series of interviews with Rita and Janaloo Hill, at Shakespeare Ghost Town. Our deepest gratitude for their help and cooperation in our endeavor.

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

In attempting to locate Shakespeare in my small collection of maps and atlases I found the following:

*Bradley's Atlas, 1890*, mentions neither Shakespeare nor Valedon, nor is Hidalgo County in the county list.

*Rand McNally's Unrivalled Atlas, 1903*, lists neither Shakespeare nor Valedon. Hidalgo County has not yet developed, apparently.

*Rand McNally's Commercial Atlas of America, 1916*, does not mention Shakespeare, Valedon, or Hidalgo County.

Finally, *Hammond's World Atlas, 1936-37*, shows Valedon, on the Southern Pacific Railroad, southwest of Lordsburg toward Steins. Hidalgo County is listed in the 1930 census with a population of 5023.

None of my many road maps or atlases mentions either of the towns, although Hidalgo County appears, with Lordsburg the county seat.

H. von R. Jr.



# Westerner's Bookshelf



**Jackson Hole Journal**, by Nathaniel Burt. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1983. 231 pp., 32 illus., map, index. \$16.95 hardbound.

The title of this book conjures up images of bearded and buckskinned mountain men, followed by cowboys and Indians, all cavorting in the shadow of the magnificent Teton Range of northwestern Wyoming. The Teton Range is in this *Journal*, all right, but the book has nothing to do with the exciting early history of Jackson Hole when it epitomized the raw western frontier. This book is about the relatively tame twentieth century. It deals with two stages of this recent period, the era of genteel dude ranching and affluent Eastern dudes who had their own private brand of excitement, and the era of the "Jackson Hole controversy" over the creation and extension of Grand Teton National Park.

In fact this is not history in the academic sense. It is a personal memoir of a man who was born on the Bar BC Ranch in 1913, and grew up there and lived through it all. As to its virtues as a memoir, my reactions are mixed. It is honest reporting about colorful scenes and characters in the continuing comic opera that was the dude ranch business. While the endless anecdotes about quaint, famous, often wealthy, and sometimes villainous characters are amusing, I found myself bored by the hundreds of people with meaningless names dragged on and off stage. I mean, the behaviour of the inhabitants of this fake Shangri-La may intrigue a lot of people today living in Jackson, Wyoming, but who gives a hoot, so to speak, in Peoria?

Through it all the author, a genuine poet in his own right, honestly reveals his own feelings, not only about the amours and the prat-falls, but about his own infatuation with the magnificent wilderness setting of all this human trivia. This is the aspect I can empathize with — Mr. Burt's rhapsodic feelings about Jackson Hole itself, including the sublime Tetons. I have visited and vacationed there frequently — the first

time in 1930 when the original Park was first created — and have always been haunted by its magic.

Nathaniel's parents, Struthers and Katharine Burt, were both prominent authors as well as pioneers in the dude ranch business. In a sense this is also a biography of Struthers Burt, whom I first met in 1940 in a visit to the "Hole" by The American Pioneer Trails Association. He was in the forefront of the long and bitter campaign to preserve Jackson Hole as an addition to Grand Teton National Park, whereby it would be a proper setting for the Tetons instead of an agglomeration of unregulated honky-tonks. He was one of a tiny minority of "Jackson-Holers" who were *for* rather than *against* the Government on this issue. It is to the vast credit of this small band as much as to the machinations of the National Park Service that in 1950 Jackson Hole got the blessing of Congress as part of the National Park system. Ironically, many of the bitter opponents of the 1930s and 1940s are now grumbling all the way to the bank with the wealth brought to the Park and Jackson, Wyoming by an annual influx of 3 million awed tourists.

Merrill J. Mattes, P.M.

**The Taos Guide** by Kathryn Johnson. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1983. 64 pages, illustrations, paperback, \$5.95.

There are numerous books about Taos and the area of New Mexico that surrounds the town, but this small book of sixty-four pages will provide first-time visitors with all the necessary information needed to enjoy their visit to this very special place. The author touches lightly on topics that range from geology to where to eat, and for those readers who want to dig deeper into Taos, the book includes a short suggested list of books that are available. To these I would add *Winter in Taos* by Mable Dodge Luhan, *If Mountains Die* by William Davis and John Nichols, and *The Milagro Beanfield War* by John Nichols to the list of books about Taos. This is the best brief introduction to Taos that is available today.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

**The Prairie Logbooks; Dragoon Campaigns to the Pawnee Villages in 1844, and to the Rocky Mountains in 1845**, by Lieutenant J. Henry Carleton, edited, with an introduction by Louis Pelzer. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1983. 280 pages, map, notes and appendix. Cloth, \$19.95; paper, \$7.50.

In 1844, five companies of the 1st U.S. Dragoons were ordered to march to the Pawnee villages in Nebraska. The purposes of the expedition were to cement relations with the Pawnee and to attempt to secure peace between the Sioux and the Pawnee. The Dragoons were under the command of Major Clifton Wharton, and Carleton, a lieutenant at the time, was in charge of the commissary.

In 1845, another expedition of five companies of the First Regiment of United States Dragoons, under Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, marched from Fort Leavenworth to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, with Carleton again in charge of the commissary. This endeavour was to protect emigrants on the Oregon Trail, to determine the military resources of the area in regard to the geography, the Indian tribes and their customs. On the return journey they checked the Santa Fe trail.

On both journeys Carleton kept "Log Books" which were published in the *New York Spirit of the Times* in 1844 and 1845, reprinted by the Caxton Club in 1943, and now reprinted by the University of Nebraska's Bison Books.

For those of us acquainted with General Carleton through his California Column and his pacification of the Navajo and Apache in Arizona and New Mexico, it is a pleasant surprise to discover another side of the man and read his logbooks and enjoy with him the pleasures of a leisurely horseback trip from Fort Leavenworth to South Pass and return. Carleton obviously enjoyed the trips, and his descriptions of the landmarks on the trails, Fort Laramie, the Indian tribes, the wild life and vegetation, are interesting reading, particularly as he observed the West while it was mainly unspoiled.

This book is recommended to all Westerners, and the University of Nebraska is to be congratulated upon issuing a reprint nicely done in every respect except one — the cover is a reproduction of a Schreyvogel painting of cavalry troopers of the Indian Wars era, "On Patrol", much later descendants of Carleton's dragoons.

W.H. Van Duzer, P.M.

**Ohiyesa: Santee Sioux** by Raymond Wilson. Univ. of Illinois Press, Urbana, Chicago, London, 1983. ix-xii + 219 pp., illustr., chapter notes and bibliography, index. Hardback \$15.95.

This is the life story of an American Indian who, following the Minnesota Indian troubles in 1862, was reared as an Indian by his paternal grandmother in strictly Siouan tradition. When rejoined with his father who, during his imprisonment for his part in the uprising had come under White influence, had become Christian, and had adopted his White father's name, Eastman, Ohiyesa was christened Charles Alexander Eastman, which name he retained throughout his life.

His father wanted his son to "read and write English" and walk in the White Man's way. He enrolled him in a mission school in South Dakota, where the boy demonstrated superior ability. He won scholarships so that his education progressed through Santee Normal School, Beloit College, Knox College, Dartmouth College (where he was an outstanding athlete), and finally Boston University School of Medicine. His subsequent life led him through a distinguished career in medicine, Indian affairs, and Indian-related governmental activities, both in the U.S. and abroad.

He was "an acculturated rather than an assimilated" Indian, always with "a foot solidly in both camps", which seems to have been responsible for his real contributions to Indian welfare and benefits, to his accomplishments in the White world, but also to his failure to achieve all his own objectives in either.

Hugo von Rodeck Jr., P.M.

**Cougar Woman**, by Jane E. Hartman. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1983. 127 pages, soft bound, \$8.95.

If one can accept without supporting evidence that this author is as knowledgeable regarding Indian (or at least Crow Indian) customs, religion, thought patterns and artifacts as this book would suggest, the book is well worth reading for this aspect alone. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing in the preface or introduction, or elsewhere, to indicate the extent of, or basis for, the author's knowledge in this respect. The undersigned is aware that Dr. Hartman has received awards for the writing of scientific books on Indians for young people and children and is willing to conclude from this that she probably has a solid basis for this book. However, the book itself does not show this and hence, unless one is aware from other sources of the author's expertise, one can experience a questioning feeling as the author delves, often deeply, into these areas of Crow Indian culture.

The story is a fictional account allegedly based on an historical event and appears to have been written primarily for teen-agers. All of the events are vividly set forth with much Indian lore interestingly interwoven therewith, but these events also flow in a Horatio-Alger-like series of unbroken successes with no mistake or periods of doubt or frustration on the part of Cougar Woman.

The author exhibits a strong pro-Indian bias in her several references to Indian-white problems but at the same time makes very clear a grave weakness (from a white man's point of view) in Indian culture, namely, an obsession with personal vengeance regardless of consequences to one's self or to the tribe. One interesting feature is the smooth transitions the author makes on several occasions for her characters as they pass from normal consciousness into and out of trances and the visions experienced therein. All in all, an interesting little book for a teen-ager's library.

Robert E. Woodhams, C.M.

**Trappers of the Far West: Sixteen Biographical Sketches**, edited by LeRoy R. Hafens; selected with introduction by Harvey L. Carter. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London; Bison Books, 1983. 334 pages. one map. 26-page index (!). Paperback, not priced.

This is the second of a 2-book series by the same persons, the first of which is titled *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West*. Bison Books, 1982. The two together present 18+16=34 of the more than 300 biographical sketches in Hafens' 10-volume compendium, *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West* (Arthur H. Clark Co., 1975-82). "Taken together, the two books present a balanced and fairly comprehensive historical view of the subject." (Carter).

These books, with their admirable indices, offer a graphic picture of a brief and picturesque, vital phase in the early history of the Far West. Rather than to extoll their excellence, I can best promote these books by listing here for your convenience the pioneers whose lives are presented: *Mountain Men* includes Manuel Lisa, Pierre Chouteau Jr., Wilson Price Hunt, William H. Ashley, Jediah Smith, John McLoughlin, Peter Skene Ogden, Ceran StVrain, Kit Carson, Old Bill Williams, William Sublette, Thomas Fitzpatrick, James Bridger, Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, Joseph R. Walker, Nathaniel Wyeth, Andrew Drips, and Joseph L. Meek.

*Trappers* offers biographies of Etienne Provost, James Ohio Pattie, Louis Robidoux, Ewing Young, David E. Jackson, Milton G. Sublette, Lucien Fontenelle, James Clyman, James P. Beckwourth, Edward and Francis Ermatinger, John Gantt, William W. Bent, Charles Autobees, Warren Angus Ferris, Manuel Alvarez, and Robert Campbell.

I cannot conceive a more convenient or better selected introduction to our first penetration of our Far West.

Hugo von Rodeck Jr., P.M.

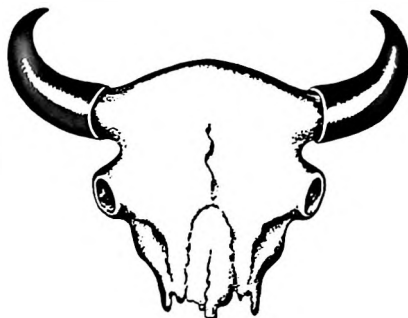




*The* DENVER WESTERNERS

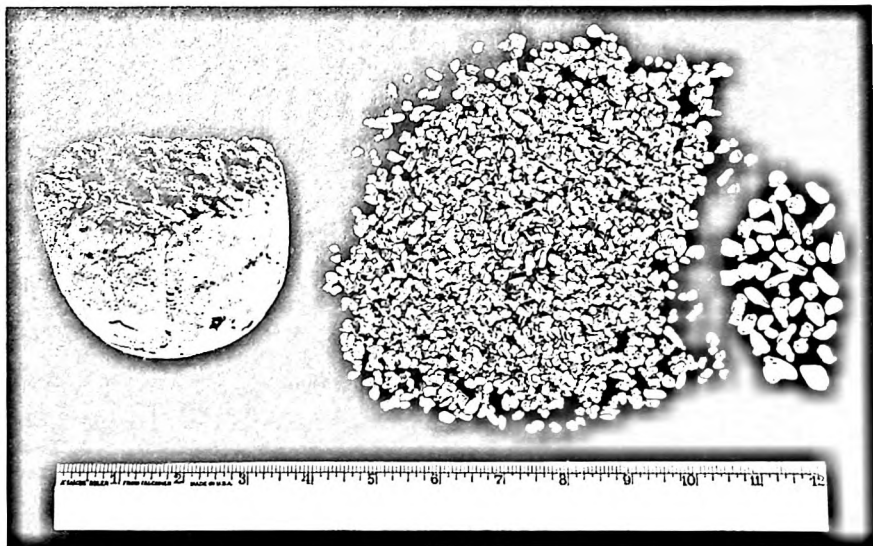
# ROUNDUP

MARCH-APRIL 1984



## GOLD PLACER MINING IN CLEAR CREEK, COLORADO

Richard A. Ronzio, P.M.



Gold nuggets (right) and retort "button" from Humphreys Placer, in Clear Creek, Colorado, recovered in 6 days of operation in 1932. Photo from R. A. Ronzio collection.

## HAS PATRIOTISM PASSED?

I have recently heard from a member of the Denver Westerners about the absence, on houses, business places and elsewhere, of American flags to recognize holidays. Ex-Corresponding Member Ellis Altfather left an unmailed letter addressed to the Denver Post in which he told of a July 4, 1980 trip in which he saw exactly 11 flags flying from hundreds of homes and businesses, in urban and suburban Denver.

I recently read a note in a small magazine in which the author "expressed his concern of the alarming lack of patriotism displayed by citizens. One survey disclosed that almost 99% of spectators viewing a parade blatantly showed disrespect of the passing of the flag of our country. A contest held by a public school class for the logo "US" displayed exhibits showing our flag crossed out and the words, "NOT U.S. BUT US." One poster depicted the clenched fist salute of Communism with the accompanying words, "NOT U.S. BUT US." This from our school children and future citizens and leaders of our country."

I myself have noted an almost total lack of recognition of the Fourth of July in the Denver area. I feel that those of us who are interested in the past and future history of our country could well take a lead in recognition that without our country we are all dead!

Hugo von Rodeck Jr., P.M.

## 1982 AND 1983 ROUNDUPS AVAILABLE HARDBOUND

The 1982 Denver Westerners ROUNDUP in a hard-bound volume containing all 6 numbers is available from R.A. Ronzio, P.O. Box 344, Golden, Colorado 80402, at \$5.00 each plus \$1.00 postage. The 1983 numbers similarly bound is also available.

## ANNIVERSARIES COMING UP

This year of 1984 is the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Westerners, while 1985 will be that of the Denver Westerners. Perhaps we should pull ourselves together and explore the possibilities of celebrations of either or both of these occasions, possibly at the Winter Rendezvous.

## THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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## GOLD PLACER MINING IN CLEAR CREEK, VASQUEZ FORK OF THE SOUTH PLATTE

by

Richard A Ronzio, P.M.

Presented 25 January 1984

A placer is a deposit or accumulation of rock waste formed by natural processes of sedimentation, mass-wasting, or weatherizing by which nature has mechanically brought about a relative concentration of gold and other heavy minerals.

Before I begin this brief review of placer gold mining, perhaps I first should comment on gold. This metal was and is one of the most sought-after metals now and in pre-Biblical times, and seeking it is one of the most fascinating pursuits in the world.

Its great allure and demand was and is for many reasons. It has been used as an instant medium of exchange as gold dust, nuggets, or when made into coins. It does not tarnish, is the most ductile and malleable of all metals, and is the most beautiful and easily worked. For these reasons, it is used extensively in jewelry, decoration, dental work and for plating.

Gold indeed is a magic word; whenever it is mentioned, it draws immediate undivided attention. It is a noble or chemically inactive metal which resists attack by any single acid. It dissolves in *aqua regia*, which is 3 parts hydrochloric acid and 1 part of nitric acid. Chlorine gas in water dissolves it as does a cyanide solution with oxygen. It combines with mercury to form an amalgam.

Getting back to its softness and ductility one ounce of gold can be beaten out to cover an area of 300 sq. feet. It has a specific gravity of 19.32, compared to water at 1.0. It is only surpassed in weight by platinum, which is 21.45 and is also found in placers.

Gold resists grinding or erosion, but nature with its billions of years of time, with its winds, and with flowing water containing dirt and sand, has been able to grind gold to a colloidal state, the particles of which are 1 to 100 milli-microns in diameter and which have accumulated in the oceans. Sea water contains 0.1 to 2 mg of gold per ton, depending on where the sample is taken; this has a value of 2.6 cents per ton using the higher figure at today's gold price. If all the total gold that has been recovered were melted, it would occupy a cube fifty feet on a side.

Where was the first gold found in Colorado? In 1807 when Zebulon Pike was a prisoner of the Mexicans in Sante Fe, he met James Pursley, a trapper, who had found gold near the headwaters of the South Platte River in 1804. In 1848, gold was claimed to have been found near the site of Lake City by a member of the Fremont party. According to some reports, soldiers from Fort Massachusetts in the San Luis Valley, which was maintained during the years of 1852 to 1858, did some placering at Officers Bar in the Grayback mining district in Costilla County. Louis Ralston, while traveling to California in 1849 or 1850 found kernel size nuggets in a tributary of Clear Creek at the present site of Arvada. This stream was named for him, its

gold-carrying gravel, however, undoubtedly came from ancestral Clear Creek when it cut through auriferous veins of Tertiary mineralization. Ralston Creek did not.

Others claim it was found in 1859 by the Russell explorers on a stream joining Cherry Creek; a small town sprang up here and was called Russellville.

There is a monument erected near the Platte River on Little Dry Creek which states:

PLACER CAMP  
LITTLE DRY CREEK  
IN THIS STREAM  
PAYING QUANTITIES OF  
GOLD  
FIRST DISCOVERED IN COLORADO  
--1858--  
BY THE RUSSELL PARTY  
THIS MONUMENT ERECTED BY THE DENVER CHAPTER, COLORADO  
SOCIETY SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION  
1927

This stream is a tributary of the South Platte River near present Littleton. Again how does one define "paying quantities"?

An inscription on a plaque in Idaho Springs, erected in 1906, reads;

ON THIS SPOT WAS MADE  
THE FIRST GOLD DISCOVERY  
BY GEORGE A. JACKSON  
7, JANUARY, 1859

This was the first major, significant discovery of gold in Colorado.

The title of this paper is too broad a subject to cover at this meeting. I shall describe only two of the many placer operations in Clear Creek, the Roscoe and the Humphreys Gold Corporation; both operated long after the major placers played out in 1867.

The Roscoe Placer operation began in 1896, about 10 miles west of Golden. Its source of gold was from the mining regions of Blackhawk, Central City, and Idaho Springs. Besides the gold released by erosion, Clear Creek concentrated "flour gold" and fine amalgam from 'tailings' from the 70 or more Idaho Springs, Central City, and Blackhawk stamp mills which were only recovering about 40 percent of the gold; this loss had been accumulating for 30 years prior to the Roscoe Placer mining.

The Roscoe Placer was located at the place in the canyon where several hard quartz and feldspar veins outcropped, forming a natural dam that was eroded by the creek. In addition to this, at a comparatively recent time huge masses of rock slid into the creek at this point and formed a waterfall 30 feet high. Behind this dam was a large expanse of relatively flat ground that gradually accumulated gold, and this location was called the Roscoe Placer. To provide a water supply for hydraulic placer mining, a wing dam was constructed 3 miles upstream which served a two-fold

function, to divert all of Clear Creek water into a flume, and to provide sufficient head for water pressure to operate the nozzles and hydraulic elevators. According to the "Engineering and Mining Journal", sufficient water pressure was never obtained to work this placer successfully.



Large rock in Clear Creek marking where both the Roscoe and Humphreys placer operations began in 1932. Photo from R. A. Ronzio collection.

The railroad had a small communication building at this location and many excursion trains stopped here to view the workings and have their pictures taken. A large rock today marks the location of Roscoe as do remnants of the old wooden flume on the south side of the creek. Large discarded rock piles are also evident, but they could have been placed there by several other placer mining companies. Most of the gold recovery was made by sluices employing mercury to amalgamate and catch the fine gold along with the nuggets. The fluid mercury was subsequently separated from associated heavy, black minerals and then screened or pressed through a suitable filtering medium: leather, cloth, or whatever. The amalgam remained as the solid filter cake and the free mercury which separated was reused. The amalgam was heated in a retort with a suitable condenser and ventilating equipment, for vaporized mercury is extremely poisonous. The condensate, mercury, was recycled and the residue, gold, was melted into bricks and sold.

It has been difficult to ascertain precisely how many ounces of gold were recovered and its value for the two years this placer operated. The Denver U.S. Mint at this time bought all the gold from the producers, but they did not keep such records.

The Humphreys Gold Corporation was incorporated during the Great Depression on August 29, 1932. It began operations at precisely the same place as the Roscoe Placer, and then proceeded up Clear Creek and North Clear Creek to Blackhawk. It lasted for about 5 years. I have a picture and record of the gold recovered

for 6 days of operation between noon on November 29, 1932. (See cover illustration).

Nuggets of greater than 8 mesh	9.87 oz.
Retort button less than 8 mesh	79.70 oz.
	<u>          </u>
	Total 89.57 oz.
Value \$2638.00	86.78% Au (Gold)
	12.05% Ag (Silver)



Rocks removed from Clear Creek prior to sluicing for placer gold. Photo R. A. Ronzio collections.

In 1932 the Humphreys Gold Corporation built a 2,000 cu-yd-per-day floating suction dredge on Clear Creek at Roscoe. This dredge was abandoned after about 1 month's operation. In 1933 it was converted to a floating washing plant, fed by a 1¼ cu-yd dragline. Both these operations had equipment to recover sulphide minerals lost in the tailings of the mills of the mining district upstream, as well as gold. They functioned effectively, but the amount of sulphide minerals in the gravels was found to be negligible. After 3 or 4 months operation, the second plant was also abandoned; and a portable washing plant, mounted on caterpillar treads and fed by two draglines, was installed. With two 2½ cu-yd draglines and a power shovel, the plant could handle from 3,000 to 4,500 cu-yd-per-day. In 1934-35, 498,429 cu yd of gravel was mined on Clear Creek below Forks Creek; and in 1936, 612,144 cu yd was mined on lower North Clear Creek. At the end of the 1936 season, the plant was dismantled. The largest gold nugget found weighed 2½ oz. troy.

From November, 1932 through 1933, Humphreys Gold mined 312,616 yds with an estimated income of \$137,176; in 1934-35, 498,429 yeds with a value of \$218,710; during 1936, 612,144 yds with a value of \$268,608.

A short distance downstream from Roscoe, heavy minerals including "black sand" and sulphide minerals amounted to 1 percent by weight of bank run material. Most of the gravels contained 5 or 6 lbs. of black sands per cu yd. Two samples of heavy mineral concentrates from test holes in sections 24 and 25 contained the following minerals:

<u>Mineral</u>	<u>Sample 1</u>	<u>Sample 2</u>
Magnetite	79%	70%
Pyrite	--	9.5
Zircon	6.5	7
Monazite	3.5	7
Apatite	3	2.5
Garnet	1.5	--
Other	6.5	4

Up to April 19, 1933, the price of gold was pegged at \$20.67 per oz. It was then raised to \$35 per oz., but it gradually climbed until 1972 when it was \$50 per oz. but no longer pegged. It eventually climbed to over \$600 per oz. on the open market. Today, January 9, 1984, the price has fallen to \$375.25 per Troy oz.

Of the 63 counties in Colorado, 36 had placer gold. The 6 with the most gold reported through 1959 are the following:

<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>GOLD, Oz.</u>	<u>VALUE, \$</u>
Summit	793,375	15,643,583
Park	343,183	9,416,874
Lake	358,569	7,783,310
Clear Creek	139,899	2,017,068
Chaffee	78,723	1,677,763
Gilpin	47,874	1,491,520

Ira Boyd Humphrey, one of the two brothers who operated Humphreys Gold Corporation, was a mechanical genius. He was the first to produce a free-reeling casting fishing reel that did not jam or produce a rat's nest on casting. He gave me one.

During his placer operation he thought of and developed the Humphreys Spiral. This 5-turn 8-ft. high, gravity separation spiral simulates the action used in one's panning of gold. The feed is pumped to the top and flows down by gravity; the heavy minerals stay in the center and are washed and then fall through ports and are collected in a pipe and flow into a pump sump and pumped to where it is further treated by flotation and magnetic separation. The tailings stay on the outside and are discarded. The virtue of this equipment is in its non-moving parts and in its ability to handle larger tonnages than the shaking tables. It handles 2 tons per hour versus 0.5 ton per hour for the shaking table; it also occupies less than a fourth of the floor space. Without the Humphreys Spirals, Climax Molybdenum company could never have economically recovered Wolframite, tungsten, and associated heavy minerals from its molybdenite tailings.



Humphreys Spiral for separation of placer gold from gravels

## GOOD READING FOR WRANGLERS

*Mountain Men of Wyoming* by Richard Fetter. Johnson Books, Inc., Boulder, Colo., 1982. 64 pp., paperback, \$3.95.

*Wyoming's Outlaw Days* by Richard Patterson. Johnson Books, Inc., 1982. 64 pp., paperback \$3.95.

These are the first of a forthcoming series, and if they are any indication, the series should be very successful. Both are done in excellent, clear and readable type, on fine paper and well illustrated.

*Mountain Men* includes such well-known figures as Colter, Ashley, Beckworth, Meek Carson, etc., all interwoven into the fur

trade and exploration of Wyoming. An excellent section on "The Sites Today" whets the appetite for travel into the past in today's Wyoming. A bibliography rounds out a fine addition to a Westerner's bookshelf.

*Outlaw Days* is also well produced and well illustrated. Again, many familiar figures are represented including Bill Carlisle, Tom Horn, Teton Jackson, the Wild Bunch, and to this reviewer's surprise, several pages on the James brothers. An excellent bibliography rounds out a fine introduction to some of the bad guys and good guys of the Wyoming frontier.

Eugene Rakosnik, P.M.





# Westerner's Bookshelf



Carbine and Lance, *The Story of Old Fort Sill*, by Col. W. S. Nye, U. of Oklahoma, Norman, 1983. 3rd edition. 361 pages. Illustrations. Maps \$14.95 paperback.

This is the modern edition of Col. Nye's classic history of Fort Sill and the area around it, first published in 1937.

Western Oklahoma was on the border of the United States and Mexico, and later Texas, and much early history crossed its path. In its later years many Indian tribes were resettled here by the Federal Government. Since the tribes did not always get along with each other, nevermind the Texans, the settlers, or the Army, the friction between the groups becomes further grist for history's mill. The book traces that history from the earliest days before the Fort was established until the end of the Indian Wars. Some later events bring it up to date but the focus is the 19th Century.

One of the great advantages Col. Nye had was the ability to locate and interview many Indians who had participated in the events described and who still lived in the areas. These participants have long since passed away and we are fortunate that authors like Nye recorded events as seen through their eyes. The author also knows the value of good maps and the book is enriched by a number of maps that clarify a difficult geography.

All in all, one of the best books on the Indian Wars and the best summary of such events in this part of the west.

Paul F. Mahoney, C. M.

**Colorado: A Geography**, by Mel Griffiths and Lynnell Rubright. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1983. xxi + 325 pages, index, bibliography, footnotes, illustrated, maps. Westview Geographies of the United States Series. \$35 hardback, \$20 paperback.

This far-ranging survey should find a wide and appreciative audience. Mel Griffiths, longtime chairman of the University of Denver Geography Department and his colleague, Dr. Lynnell Rubright, devote

chapters to Colorado's regional setting, physiography, climate, biotic (soils, vegetation, animals) communities, renewable and non-renewable resources, water, resource ownership and management, settlement history, population growth and distribution, agriculture, power and transportation, manufacturing and service industries, and the urban landscape.

A tremendous amount of information is conveyed in the simple, non-technical text and in many maps, figures and tables. Many of the over 200 photographs are by Griffiths who has been prowling Colorado on foot, on four wheels, and by airplane for the past fifty years. The 22 page index, chapter notes and chapter bibliographies make this a good reference.

The book emphasizes the variety in elevation, climate, topography, culture and demographics which make "average" a dangerous word in Colorado. Weather, for instance, is usually well above or below average in temperature, precipitation, wind speed, etc. Readers may be surprised to learn that Coloradans in 1980 were more urbanized (80.6%) than the national average (73.2%) and that federal, state and local governments, although the largest employers in 1970, were third in 1980 behind wholesale and retail trade and services.

The authors show environmental sensitivity in closing their chapter on non-renewable resources with the admonition to "transfer our energy and construction demands away from nonrenewable raw materials to renewable sources." Noting the failure of Colorado state legislature to support land use planning at a state level, Griffiths and Rubright find that the federal government has done a much better job of land management despite the self-serving "Sagebrush Rebellion" hoopla.

The book is based on an impressive variety of sources that range from environmental impact statements to newspaper articles, from census reports to Utah Phillips laterday "Colorado State Song": with lyrics such as:

Now we got a lot of trouble with the jet set

Them lazy, no-good bastards love to ski

And they all want to fly to Colorado

And buy up all our mountain scenery

....

This reviewer found very few errors. The High Line Canal does not end in Cherry Creek (p. 218); Auraria and Denver are not on the north and south, but the east and west banks of Cherry Creek (p. 294), and the Federal Law of 1885 against fencing the public domain is not mentioned in an otherwise good overview of the cattle industry. After the 1821 revolution, the government of Mexico was not "Spanish" (p. 175).

Despite this quibbling about an important and well done work the book is at once a survey, a fine textbook, a useful reference tool, and the stimulating reflections of two veteran scholars who know and love the Colorado earth and can rise above scientific data to admire Colorado's "birds to praise the mornings and fish to shimmer in the streams."

Thomas J. Noel, P.M.

**The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890** by Robert M. Utley. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1984. 325 pages, ill., bibliography, index. \$19.95, cloth, \$10.95, paper. Histories of the American Frontier Series.

Most of us have read many books and articles on the American Indians and the West, and most of us know, or know of, Bob Utley, former Chief Historian and Assistant Director of the National Park Service. When Utley writes of the Indian frontier for the University of New Mexico's American Frontier Series, a winning combination is created. Even if you think you know all you want to know about the subject, I guarantee that it will be pure pleasure to read Utley's masterful prose. With his background of knowledge and research one is reminded of the late Bruce Catton.

The author obviously has a great love for

his subject and the reader will find historical facts he has previously missed. Utley maintains a very well-balanced attitude between the red man and the white man, something rare among today's writers. The illustrations are interesting and well reproduced, the maps pertinent and helpful, and the bibliography, footnotes, and index appropriate. The review copy in paperback was well bound and adequate. If the other volumes of this series are of the caliber of Utley's book, they deserve room on every Westerner's bookshelf.

W. H. Van Duzer P.M.

**Ten Thousand Goddam Cattle** by Katie Lee. Northland Press, Flagstaff, Ariz., 1976. 254 Pages, illustrated and with many musical scores, footnotes, bibliography, and glossary of cowboy terms. Price?

I stumbled upon this book purely by accident and discovered that I had been looking for it for years. It is, in effect, a history and a compendium of cowboy songs with tunes, all of which, since I have had no contact with the folk song groups from which I might have gained this background, existed for me purely as non-written folklore. Here is a veritable history-dictionary of all the western rhymes and music I had known only fragmentarily with no insight into their origins and backgrounds.

Not incidentally, it centers in considerable part on James Grafton Rogers, whose colorful and varied life included U.S. State Department service, a law career, directorship of the Colorado Historical Society and Museum, authorship of the book *My Rocky Mountain Valley*, and many other accomplishments, as well as membership in the Denver Westerners.

The book is by Katie Lee who has "dedicated twenty years to researching, compiling, and annotating this comprehensive collection of cowboy verse," and who has been a folksinger in the best company, a television and concert performer, actress, film-maker, and writer. According to Burl Ives, "the best cowboy singer I know is a girl, Katie Lee."

Hugo von Rodeck Jr., P.M.

**Beyond the Hundredth Meridian—John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West**, by Wallace Stegner. Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1982. 438 pages, paperback, \$12.50.

This book is a reprint of the 1953 edition, but today, it is probably even more timely and important because of the recent James Watt controversy and the environmental and economic exploitation of the West.

The author has done a monumental accomplishment in his attempt at writing this biography of John Wesley Powell. In his Author's Note, Stegner alerts us to the fact that his book is more the history of Powell's career, and not so much concerning his personality.

The book graphically illustrates Powell's struggle to overcome the obstacles of Western geography and the pitfalls of Washington politics. He was among the first to force the westward progress of this country and the value of its material resources. Much like a prophet, without honor, he warns the national leaders against the dangers that uncontrolled economic exploitation might have on the West.

Today, with the Watt vs. the Environmental Protection Agency, we may well recognize how accurate a prophet he was. In Powell we witness the personification of an ideal of public service that is truly a product of the American experience.

The West was the most adventurously romantic of the American frontiers, and its story has been written mostly as frontier history. Many authors revealed it simply as interesting scenery. Not until Powell, the ethnologist and geologist, who explored the Colorado River, the Grand Canyon, the regions of Indian tribes of the Southwest, and the promotion of Governmental geological surveys, did we have any clear view of the importance of that Western Frontier.

He also understood the human habit of distorting facts for personal gain, and he had little fear in fighting the western land interests and their political hatchetmen in Washington, to make it possible that truth and science triumph so that the greatest good would reach the greatest number over

the longest period of time. Through the years he attempted to impose order on whatever he touched, and especially on the development of the Western states whose problems he knew as no other in his time.

Stanley Zamonski; P.M.

**In a Narrow Grave: Essays on Texas** by Larry McMurtry. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1968. 177 pages, paperback, \$7.95.

This book is a 1983 reissue of Larry McMurtry's essays about a state which seems to be a problem for the author to discuss; he projects a love-hate relationship with his home state of Texas. He may have solved this problem by moving to Washington, D.C. and by opening a bookstore in Georgetown in which he does not stock a single copy of any of his books.

There is a somewhat uneven quality to the essays, which is a common fault of many collections of essays. The author comments at length about the movie "Hud" which was produced from his first novel, but the collection was written before "The Last Picture Show" was made from another of his works. It would have been interesting if instead of a reissue the book had been revised to include a new essay about the closing of the picture show in a small Texas town in the mid-fifties and what that represented to the people who lived in that area.

McMurtry does hit the nail on the head when he states that San Antonio is the one truly lovely city in the state of Texas. He bases his opinion on the idea that "San Antonio has kept an ambiance that all the rest of our cities lack." He reaches the peak in the last essay, *Take My Saddle from the Wall: A Valediction*. This is a brief discussion of his family background in West Texas with a special notice of his Uncle Johnny. The feeling of it all is summed in the last sentence. "I have that from men who rode it and who knew that country round — such as it was, such as it can never be again." The book is worth the money for this final essay.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes by Gae Whitney Canfield. Univ. of Okla. Press, Norman, 1983. 320 pages, illustrated, maps, biblio., index. Hardbound, \$19.95

This is the biography of the daughter of a Northern Paiute chief in western Nevada. During her lifetime Sarah Winnemucca worked for the physical welfare and education of the Northern Paiutes and other Indians. She was a beautiful woman and skilled in communication with both Indians and Whites. She was unusually intelligent and possessed the determination to accomplish under great difficulties. She worked as an interpreter and scout with representatives of the U.S. Indian Department and the U.S. Army. Through this work she became an important political figure among the Indians and, as their representative, traveled to Washington D. C.

Sarah Winnemucca possessed much natural dramatic ability. She appeared as "princess Sarah" in theaters and churches and also published her autobiography which was one of the first books by an American Indian. Another success was the establishment of a school for Indian children in Nevada.

Her accomplishments were great yet there were failures. The Paiutes were not adequately fed and clothed by the Federal Government. Two of her three marriages ended in divorce and her less formal affairs were unsatisfactory. Her work among the Indians also made enemies among both the Indians and whites, and subjected her to undeserved abuse.

The book is informative and thought-provoking, but it is not an exciting book. It depicts in a realistic manner the conditions that existed among the Paiutes during the 1844-1891 period. There was extreme poverty among most Indians. They were hungry and lacked adequate clothing and shelter. Many readers would cringe at reading the repetitious accounts of the suffering of the Indians.

The book is an excellent documentary on the poor management and administration of the Indians and their affairs by the U.S. Indian Service and the U.S. Army. Mismanagement by the Federal services along with considerable graft accounted for much of the

misery the Indians suffered. This is of interest to one interested in social justice, but is dull reading for one seeking exciting tales of Indian adventure.

There are 39 illustrations in the book and 2 maps. The illustrations are of excellent quality and are keyed to the text. The illustrations and maps are of such superior quality that the author merits special praise for their selection. There are informative "Notes" made on a chapter basis at the back of the text that will have significance for many readers.

Robert C. Accola, C.M.

The Denver Athletic Club 1884-1894 by Thomas J. Noel. The Denver Athletic Club, 1983. 106 pages, cloth, \$21.00.

As a part of the centennial celebration of the Denver Athletic Club, the Directors selected Posse Member Tom Noel to write a history of an organization that has served the citizens of Denver for a hundred years. The book was published by the DAC and is sold exclusively by the club. For further information about the book, contact Deanna Davis, 535-1211, Ext. 112.

The author presents the history of the DAC against an historical backdrop of what was happening in the rest of the city at that specific time. This is one of the many strong points of a book dealing with an organization whose members have always played an important role in the history of the city.

While the organization was founded in 1884 to provide "healthful diversion" for men engaged in indoor pursuits, the DAC has become much more during its hundred years. The organization now provides activities for men, women, and children under its roof, and the emphasis has moved from athletic to social, and now back to a combination of both athletic and social activities. To provide for the increased interest in the active life, a new five-million-dollar athletic wing is being added by the club.

The book is a first class publication from its special cover to the quality reproduction of the many photographs. Those with an interest in Denver history will want to include it in their personal library.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Plain Anne Ellis: *More About the Life of an Ordinary Woman*, by Anne Ellis. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, (reprint) 1984. 265 pages. \$19.95 cloth, \$6.95 paper.

"Better to dream, awaken and forget, than never to have been a dreamer of dreams." A.E.

The title of the book belies the facts—for this woman's life was anything but ordinary. Anne Ellis' story is that of a resourceful lady who, finding herself an impoverished widow with two young children, exercised her wisdom and talents to find her independent way and to realize her most cherished dream—a college education for her children. This book is the sequel to her earlier work, *The Life of an Ordinary Woman* and like it, is laid in the towns of Saguache, Bonanza, Center, and Lake City, near the Sangre de Cristos of southern Colorado.

Her first venture was as a seamstress, an activity for which she felt ill-prepared. Later, as seasonal camp cook for telephone construction workers, sheepshearers and hay crews, she describes the colorful personalities and gives the reader a glimpse of local life in southern Colorado in the early twentieth century. During the early 1920's when womens' rights were at issue under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony (both of whom spoke in Saguache), she was encouraged to run for Treasurer of Saguache County, a position to which she again felt ill-suited. She became the first woman to hold a major county office. Beset by asthma during her second term as Treasurer, she was compelled to leave the country of her birth in order to seek medical aid. Spending considerable time in sanatoriums, Anne finally settled in Santa Fe where, during periods of loneliness and despair, she found the inspiration to write the story of her life despite what she considered to be a downhill battle to regain her health and complete her book. Encouragement and inspiration was given by Ina Sizer Cassidy, wife of famed painter Gerald Cassidy. There is throughout the book a mixture of humor, tragedy, and sadness commingled in her story. The aphorisms, largely by

Anne Ellis, are charming and reflect the philosophy, wit, and sagacity of this unordinary woman.

It is with some difficulty that the reader is able to place the story in its time frame (there is but one date mentioned in the book, and that is on the last page). Only by reference to a known historical event is one able to orient oneself. The print is somewhat oversize, more suggestive of children's books, in this reprint of the story originally published in 1931.

Orian "Sally" Rodeck

*The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley*, by Gilbert C. Din and Abraham P. Nasatir. Univ. Of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1983. 432 pages. 14 illustrations, 14 maps. \$39.95.

This book is Volume 161 in the *Civilization of the American Indian* series, which is one of the unique publishing achievements of the University of Oklahoma Press. It is difficult to think of an American Indian tribe that is not represented in this series. Most of these scholarly contributions, such as *The Blackfeet* by John Ewers, or *The Cherokees*, by Grace Woodward, are regarded as definitive works. It had been my impression that another book in this series, *The Osages*, by John Joseph Mathews, was also "definitive", in the sense of being the last and most complete and authoritative on the subject, but that just goes to show you how slippery is the word "definitive."

The Din-Nasatir book has to do mainly with just one aspect of the Osage Indians, that is, the relationship of this powerful tribe with its successive nominal overlords—France and Spain in the 18th century, and the United States up to 1812. It covers the subject with elaborate thoroughness, for the authors have dredged up everything that exists, apparently, in European and American archives. As a job of scholarship and vigorous writing it commands our admiration, and it should intrigue all who like to trace the bizarre zigzag hot-and-cold confrontations between fumbling whites and treacherous redskins in the New World wilderness, 100 years before this melodrama was re-enacted on the Great Plains.

The "frontier" covered here is the region which roughly corresponds today with the states of Missouri, Arkansas, and eastern Oklahoma. It is not easy to picture this now densely populated and mechanized land as the lush wilderness of the 1700s, rich in forests and game, and thinly populated by a few thousand savages and only a few hundred (or even a few dozen) white men—trappers, traders, Colonial explorers, soldiers, and bureaucrats. For all of its virginal setting, it was a violent world, rife with murder, torture, and treachery, all raised to the nth degree by the influx of European guns, gunpowder, and gew-gaws in exchange for animal pelts.

The French and Spanish tried to pacify the Indians and develop a lucrative trade with them, but their numbers were too few to cope with the barbaric tribes. True "civilizing" did not begin until the Americans took over after 1804, and then the conversion was not due to diplomacy but to the fact that the natives were finally out-gunned and outnumbered. In the dim twilight of European hegemony the many tribes, of which the Osage were only the most conspicuous, fought each other as well as the Whites, and the Osages even had rival factions within their own ranks. In this context there is much irony in the wording of the book's title, for the Osages were about as "imperial" as a bandit gang, and their "diplomacy" was that of the jungle.

There is an array of contemporary maps, quaint and somewhat illegible, in their cartography. It would have been helpful to include a map of the region today by state lines, with clear identification of various rivers, forts, trading posts, explorer's routes, and villages mentioned in the text. The attractive cover and jacket are tinted in an unusual color which we would call violet, but which was doubtless intended to symbolize royal or "imperial" purple, in keeping with the title. The price of the book (which I double-checked thinking it might be a typographical error) is symbolic of nothing more than our inflationary times.

Merrill J. Mattes, P.M.

**Jefferson and Southwestern Exploration: The Freeman and Custis Accounts of the Red River Expedition of 1806**, edited by Dan L. Flores. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1984. 385 pages, illustrations, maps. Hardbound, \$48.50.

President Thomas Jefferson had a very strong interest in the area of the continent west of the Mississippi River, and this interest was increased with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The best-known effort of the President was the expedition headed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark that explored the region along the Missouri River and on to the Pacific Northwest with great success. This expedition accomplished most of the goals that President Jefferson had requested of it.

During this period of history, the explorations of Zebulon M. Pike who was sent west by General James Wilkinson became well known, but the companion expedition sent by the President to explore the Southwest is most often forgotten by historians as well as the general public. This expedition that ascended the Red River in 1806 under the command of Thomas Freeman with Peter Custis serving as the naturalist was the companion expedition to that of Lewis and Clark. The instructions for the expedition were given to Freeman by President Jefferson at a private dinner in November, 1805, and these instructions are very similar to those given Meriwether Lewis in 1803.

Professor Dan L. Flores of Texas Tech University presents several possibilities for this expedition becoming a neglected aspect of Western history including the actions of such men as Aaron Burr and James Wilkinson in the Southwest during this time. The editor's introduction and epilogue supply some very interesting information gained by a most comprehensive research into a period where there are a number of blanks. The blanks are the result of primary source material being destroyed as well as by the participants in events of the period not always telling the whole truth for various reasons.

Along with the account of the journey by Freeman and Custis, the book contains a natural history catalog of the Red River area

as well as other information, such as the meteorological observations made on the expedition. The book contains several good maps of the area explored as well as a number of photographs of expedition landmarks as they appear today.

This book fills a gap in information on the exploration of the West and is most worthwhile reading.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

**The Fifty-Niners; Roaring Denver in the Gold Rush Days.** by Stanley W. Zamonski and Teddy Keller. Jende-Hogan Publishers, 1961, 1967, 1983. 300 pages, illustrations. Paperback \$5.95.

"Once upon a bloody chapter in history there were three frontier hell holes where holsters were slicker, gunmen quicker and thieves thicker than any place else in the lusty West.

"They were Tombstone, Dodge City and Denver.

"Pulp writers and television fictioneers seem to credit Tombstone and Dodge with being the wildest of the bunch. Apparently they've been reading the wrong books.

"According to Stanley W. Zamonski and Teddy Keller in their story of Denver's first three howling years, The Queen City of the Plains "teethed on a six-shooter, nursed on a whiskey bottle" and "learned to crawl over floods and under flying bullets."

"It was a toddling town that had "babbled guilelessly with fresh printers ink on its red

nose, shaped gold nuggets into loaded dice and scrawled happily with a pen dipped alternately in tears and blood and warpaint."

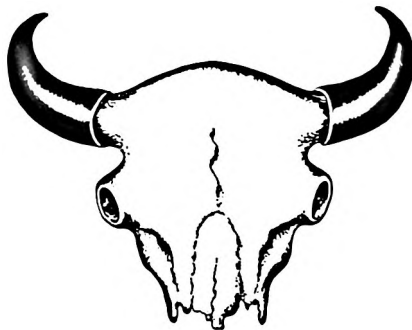
"More fastidious historians who hang by the eyebrows over sentences devoted to Denver's reputed "early culture," give the impression that the spawning settlement on Cherry Creek sprang up around an opera house, a hotel and an art museum.

"Zamonski, a Denver transplant from Pennsylvania and an ardent researcher, dug into approximately 5,000 sources of material in four years of work, and came up with some yarns which may cause other Denver history students to lift eyebrows.

"Denver history lovers who have surfeited of the Tabor episode and have grown bleary-eyed over reading of the height of Denver's eyebrows, will delight in the fact that Baby Doe takes second space in *The Fifty-Niners* to breathtakingly beautiful Ada Lanont, Denver's first bagnio beetle. Ada embarked upon her profession at age 19 and her palace of pleasures was remarked upon from St. Louis to San Francisco.

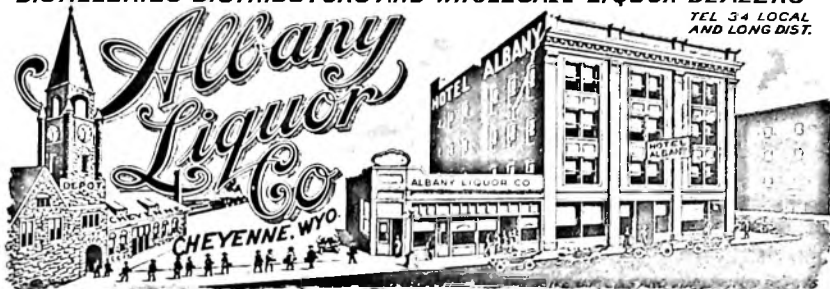
"Rough? At one time Denver area trees were decorated with the swinging bodies of five expired citizens at the same time. There were the bummers, a quick-tempered gang of thieves; the Turkey War; hardly a night without a shooting or a knifing; the Vigilantes; law officers who made Wyatt Erp look like a thumb-fingered boy with a B.B. gun, and brawling toughs without knuckled peer."

Red Fenwick - *The Denver Post*, 1961



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## TWO MORE EMPTY SADDLES

The Denver Westerners has recently lost two highly respected members of the Posse. Donald Beaty Bloch, Posse Member since the 1940s, died 16 May 1984 in Denver. He graduated in Journalism from Northwestern University where he was a member of Lambda Chi Alpha and Delta Sigma Chi. He taught English literature at Northwestern, where he married Marie Halun in 1930. Later he taught Journalism at Alabama Polytechnic Institute (now Auburn University) and at the University of Tennessee. He became a feature writer for the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Star*. He unearthed a cache of Matthew Brady's Civil War photographs, now in the Library of Congress. He moved to Denver and in 1952 opened the Collector's Center Bookstore in the Mining Exchange Building. He was Editor of the 1949 *Brand Book*. Hail and Farewell!

Another bookman we have lost is Henry Aage Clausen who became Corresponding Member in 1962, Posse Member in 1970. Henry came from California in 1946 and bought a rare-and-out-of-print bookstore in Colorado Springs, where he spent the rest of his life. Born 4 April 1902, he had an interesting childhood and youth as a wrestler and boxer, becoming Eastern U.S. welterweight boxing champion. He lived for a time in Hollywood where he played bit parts in some well-known pictures, and was director during the Depression of a Works Progress Admin. program for artists and art shows. He married Elizabeth Challoner in 1941. He first entered the book business in California, and his stock included many old and rare volumes, some from the 16th Century. Henry is one of those we could not know as well as we might have liked since we saw him only at meetings of the Posse. Only now do we realize what we have missed. Rest well!

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# THE PERIPATETIC PRESS or HOW THE GOOD NEWS CAME TO BOULDER

by

Laurence T. Paddock, C.M.

Presented 28 March 1984

The citizens of Boulder often have been accused of doing things in a somewhat different way. I feel I should protest.

There is, however, the little matter of how the city acquired its first newspaper.

Whether or not this was the only incident of its kind in history, the particular story probably has been the most widely recounted. The facts are these:

One: One night in April, 1867, a newspaper arrived in Boulder.

Two: Some sort of vehicle was used to move the whole printing plant at once.

Three: Someone was paid some money in the deal.

Beyond those points, there have been conflicting stories and more than a little coloring of details.

Actually, the story of the press that was involved is colorful in itself. It has been called the peripatetic press, a little press, the Mormon press, a Washington press, the jinxed press, Colorado's pioneer press. Its operation even has been said to have been "very dangerous by the poor light in those days." Many of those things apparently are true. Others are at least somewhat questionable.

Let me remind you that until about the middle of the 19th Century, printing presses remained much as they had started — adaptations of devices that perhaps were more widely known and probably have been more consistently popular — cheese or wine presses. Those old squeezers adapted quite easily to the new use. A moveable table was added on which the type could be placed, inked and covered with a sheet of paper. All that then could be moved horizontally under the squeezing part to be printed.

Early in the 1800s, cast iron presses were developed. Metal parts replaced most of the wooden ones of earlier presses. Many of the presses used in the early West were of this kind.

As a class, they have become known as Washington hand presses. Samuel Rust actually patented the Washington press in 1829. A silhouette of the head of the first President was cast into the framework. However, like aspirin or cellophane, the Washington press has become part of Americana — known by that generic title no matter who manufactured a particular press or whether or not Washington's head actually appeared.

Something more than 150 years ago, parts were assembled into a particular press. To call it a Washington press, except in the generic sense, technically, is an error. We start its story in a quotation from the Missouri Historical Review: As early as 1831, Joseph Smith visited western Missouri on a tour of inspection. Evidently the country pleased him for soon afterward bands of Mormons began to arrive and settle in and around Independence. Their number was largely increased in 1832 by

new arrivals who brought with them a complete printing outfit. This was set up and the *Morning and Evening Star* appeared in May, 1832. It was devoted exclusively to 'publishing the revelations of God to the church' and denouncing the 'ungodly Gentiles.' The result was that the Gentiles threw the press and type into the Missouri River.

A history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reports this press was of royal quarto size, that the correct title was the *Evening and Morning Star*, that the *Star* was both a monthly and the first such publication of the church, and that the incident took place on July 20, 1833.

The Missouri Review report continues: Later some enterprising driftwood harvesters recovered the press and sold it to William Ridenbaugh, who used it to establish the *St. Joseph Gazette* in 1845.

All of that is a long way from Colorado but that press was destined to come to our state. It was not, technically, the first press in what today is Colorado. Such a device was recorded to have been at Bent's Fort in 1834 enroute to New Mexico.

The small press was acquired in St. Joseph in 1858 by John L. "Jack" Merrick. Merrick hauled it to that part of Kansas Territory then known as the Cherry Creek Diggings, arriving on April 13, 1859. He set about to publish the first newspaper in the area, naming it the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*.

The pioneer, however, it was not to be.

At almost the same time, other men — notably William Byers, Thomas Gibson and John Dailey — brought another press across Nebraska Territory. They already had founded a publication which they named the *Rocky Mountain News*. They had only to decide where and when to start printing it.

Byers had acquired their press. It was from Bellevue, a little south of Omaha. It is believed to have been the first press to print a newspaper in Nebraska - the *Nebraska Palladium and Platte Valley Advocate*, beginning on Nov. 15, 1854. It, indeed, was a Washington press — a Hoe Imperial No. 1 model. Hoe and Company had acquired the Rust patent.

Although Byers and company arrived in what now is Denver about a week later than Merrick, they had the first copy of the first issue of the *News* complete off that press before Merrick's produced the first *Pioneer*.

Both of those newspapers, the first in Colorado, are dated April 23, 1859. Actually, of course, the first copies of the papers appeared on April 22 — at about 10 and 10:20 p.m.

The story of the race between the *Pioneer* and the *News* is a familiar one. I point out a few things, however. Merrick was "cold-decked" by Byers and associates, according to Robert L. Perkin in "The First 100 Years." Pages 1 and 4 of the *Rocky Mountain News* had been set in type — others say even printed — before that party left Omaha. In other words, the outside pages were ready two months before the printing operation selected the Denver area as its base and arrived. "Cherry Creek, K. T." and the date were inserted into the form for Page One, and they went to work writing and composing the two inside pages and printing the whole.

The press of the *Pioneer* has been described as being small. Douglas McMurtrie

and others seem to agree that the press allowed for the publication of pages of four 11 pica columns — about eight inches wide - by 12¾ inches deep. Royal quarto, as cited, was 10 by 12½. Other references to the size of products of this press will be made. Importantly, the *News*' press could print two pages at a time while the *Pioneer*'s apparently required four impression cycles to complete that paper.

Byers and Company, of course, later provided one of the classic examples of the dangers of editorial "fence-sitting." When the *News* prospered, a building was erected straddling Cherry Creek in order that the paper be between the rival communities of Denver and Auraria. That building and the equipment went down the creek in the flood the morning of May 20, 1864. Thus, one of the first two presses to be used in Colorado came out of a river — and the other went into one.

Roby Wentz in "Eleven Western Presses" terms Byers "impartial to the point of imbecility." We can agree with that. We cannot agree with that author's use of "Aurora" as one of the communities or stating in the 1956 book that the press still was buried. Parts of it were recovered in 1898 and 1899.

Getting back to Merrick, after he lost the race he sold his press and other equipment to Gibson for \$25 or \$30 worth of provisions and headed into the mountains to try his luck at prospecting. He would work, off and on, as a printer for the *News*. Merrick was marshal of Jefferson Territory and the first president of the Denver typographical union before going back east after the outbreak of the War Between the States.

Gibson headed for the mountains, too, taking the small press. He started the *Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter and Mountain City Herald* in Mountain City, now part of the City of Central. The first issue was Aug. 6, 1859. Frank Hall states that "although of modest dimension, scarcely larger than an ordinary double letter sheet, it contained all the news of the time in well condensed articles and items."

Was that a forerunner of *USA Today*, or was it a necessity because the eight-word name of the paper took so much of the front page space?

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new arrivals who brought with them a complete printing outfit. This was set up and the *Morning and Evening Star* appeared in May, 1832. It was devoted exclusively to 'publishing the revelations of God to the church' and denouncing the 'ungodly Gentiles.' The result was that the Gentiles threw the press and type into the Missouri River.

A history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reports this press was of royal quarto size, that the correct title was the *Evening and Morning Star*, that the *Star* was both a monthly and the first such publication of the church, and that the incident took place on July 20, 1833.

The Missouri Review report continues: Later some enterprising driftwood harvesters recovered the press and sold it to William Ridenbaugh, who used it to establish the *St. Joseph Gazette* in 1845.

All of that is a long way from Colorado but that press was destined to come to our state. It was not, technically, the first press in what today is Colorado. Such a device was recorded to have been at Bent's Fort in 1834 enroute to New Mexico.

The small press was acquired in St. Joseph in 1858 by John L. "Jack" Merrick. Merrick hauled it to that part of Kansas Territory then known as the Cherry Creek Diggings, arriving on April 13, 1859. He set about to publish the first newspaper in the area, naming it the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*.

The pioneer, however, it was not to be.

At almost the same time, other men — notably William Byers, Thomas Gibson and John Dailey — brought another press across Nebraska Territory. They already had founded a publication which they named the *Rocky Mountain News*. They had only to decide where and when to start printing it.

Byers had acquired their press. It was from Bellevue, a little south of Omaha. It is believed to have been the first press to print a newspaper in Nebraska - the *Nebraska Palladium and Platte Valley Advocate*, beginning on Nov. 15, 1854. It, indeed, was a Washington press — a Hoe Imperial No. 1 model. Hoe and Company had acquired the Rust patent.

Although Byers and company arrived in what now is Denver about a week later than Merrick, they had the first copy of the first issue of the *News* complete off that press before Merrick's produced the first *Pioneer*.

Both of those newspapers, the first in Colorado, are dated April 23, 1859. Actually, of course, the first copies of the papers appeared on April 22 — at about 10 and 10:20 p. m.

The story of the race between the *Pioneer* and the *News* is a familiar one. I point out a few things, however. Merrick was "cold-decked" by Byers and associates, according to Robert L. Perkin in "The First 100 Years." Pages 1 and 4 of the *Rocky Mountain News* had been set in type — others say even printed — before that party left Omaha. In other words, the outside pages were ready two months before the printing operation selected the Denver area as its base and arrived. "Cherry Creek, K. T." and the date were inserted into the form for Page One, and they went to work writing and composing the two inside pages and printing the whole.

The press of the *Pioneer* has been described as being small. Douglas McMurtrie

and others seem to agree that the press allowed for the publication of pages of four 11 pica columns — about eight inches wide - by 12¾ inches deep. Royal quarto, as cited, was 10 by 12½. Other references to the size of products of this press will be made. Importantly, the *News'* press could print two pages at a time while the *Pioneer's* apparently required four impression cycles to complete that paper.

Byers and Company, of course, later provided one of the classic examples of the dangers of editorial "fence-sitting." When the *News* prospered, a building was erected straddling Cherry Creek in order that the paper be between the rival communities of Denver and Auraria. That building and the equipment went down the creek in the flood the morning of May 20, 1864. Thus, one of the first two presses to be used in Colorado came out of a river — and the other went into one.

Roby Wentz in "Eleven Western Presses" terms Byers "impartial to the point of imbecility." We can agree with that. We cannot agree with that author's use of "Aurora" as one of the communities or stating in the 1956 book that the press still was buried. Parts of it were recovered in 1898 and 1899.

Getting back to Merrick, after he lost the race he sold his press and other equipment to Gibson for \$25 or \$30 worth of provisions and headed into the mountains to try his luck at prospecting. He would work, off and on, as a printer for the *News*. Merrick was marshal of Jefferson Territory and the first president of the Denver typographical union before going back east after the outbreak of the War Between the States.

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on June 28, 1860. That paper ceased publication after No. 23, dated Nov. 28, 1860.

Meanwhile, the little press had been sold to A. C. Chandler, W. S. Millet and a man named Chambers. They took it to Canon City, and there publishing the *Times* starting on Sept. 8, 1860.

The *Times* acquired West's second printing outfit as well, in December, 1860. In the meantime, the small press had wandered over to the Buckskin Joe district. Matt Riddlebarger, who had worked for the *Canon City Times*, and L. B. St. John now had it. Using the name *Western Mountaineer* for the second time, they published a paper in Laurette in March, 1862. Some sources say there was only one edition; others indicate this *Mountaineer* was still in business as late as August of that year.

So, after being used to start papers in five early Colorado communities within three years, the press apparently was returned to Denver and placed in storage during the Civil War.

We next learn of the adventures of the press in the *Rocky Mountain News* of Jan. 17, 1866, when it reported:

"The *Valmont Bulletin*.—This juvenile cotem. (contemporary?) of ours, published in the heart of the farming region north of us, on the Boulder, is now fairly on its pins; it has a large circulation among the farmers of Boulder County, and is a first rate medium for advertising...."

No copies of the *Bulletin* are known to exist. The press and other equipment are said to have been acquired from Byers and Dailey. How they came into possession is not known.

According to Amos Bixby, who wrote the Boulder County portion of the Baskin "History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys," a book published in 1880, the town of Valmont was "laid off in the spring of 1865 by Judge A. P. Allen.... He and his sons, Rev. G. S. Allen and Dr. H. W. Allen, and his son-in-law, Holdren Eldred, were the most active founders of the town, which in the following two years, became the rival of Boulder, and was much the larger place of the two, having five stores, three saloons and two drug stores."

Bixby also states that "The *Valmont Bulletin* was the first newspaper in the county. It was published by Dr. H. W. Allen and D. G. Scouten, and the initial number was dated January 1, 1866. The subscription price was \$6 per annum, for a paper ten by twelve inches in size...." Allen was a physician and druggist. It is assumed that he financed the *Bulletin*. Scouten is more important to this tale. He was to wander in and out of Boulder County newspaper history for about six years. Most references are by his initials, last name or various nicknames. His full name was Daniel Gibson Scouten, the second time the name Gibson was associated with the press. We know some other things about him, largely as the result of research by Sanford C. Gladsen of Boulder and reported in his "Boulder's First Newspaper."

Scouten was born in New York State on June 24, 1839, and learned the printer's trade — somewhere. He was in Illinois at the outbreak of the Civil War and enlisted. On April 30, 1862, while with the ram fleet at the siege of Fort Pillow above Memphis, Scouten is said to have "injured himself while carrying lumber to reinforce one of the rams."



Discharged for disability in October, 1862, he joined his brother, who was farming near Lawrence, Kan. From time to time after that, he is reported unable to work because of his injury. Scouten claimed to have survived the Quantrill Raid on Lawrence by hiding in a well with another man. He came to Denver in 1864 and became a printer with the *Rocky Mountain News*.



This office of the Boulder News was at 1024 Pearl St., part of the present site of the Boulder Camera. Crockett Ricketts, one of the longer-term, better known editors of the News is at the right.

Scouten served with Co. A, Third Regiment, Colorado Volunteer Cavalry. He was named orderly, or first, sergeant of that unit shortly after enlisting. Scouten was married in Valmont on Nov. 29, 1866, to Martha J. Aikins, only daughter of Thomas J. Aikins. Aikins was the leader of the first party of white men to come to what is now Boulder in the fall of 1858.

On May 2, 1866, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported:

"Our merry friend, D. G. Scouten, alias 'The Orderly,' has become the sole proprietor of the sparkling little sheet published in Boulder County, the *Valmont Bulletin*. He has a large circulation among the farmers of that populous county...."

War veteran Scouten became involved in another skirmish in the county. There was some intra-county strife and competition about that time — sometimes called the "Battle of the Three B's." Boulder even then was the county seat. Both Burlington, a colony development which later would move and become Longmont, and "Bugtown," which residents of Boulder, at least, called Valmont, had some thoughts on that subject. Valmont's nickname came, apparently from the size and appetite of the bedbugs there. Valmont, however, not only had the only newspaper in the county, it had the only newspaper in Colorado Territory north of Denver.

In December, 1866, the newspaper was leased or rented to William S. Chamberlain. He changed the name to the *Boulder Valley News*. He did not change much

else. The *Denver Daily* on Feb. 13, 1867, said "it is about the size of our thumbnail, but it has vim." Chamberlain was to lament in February, 1867, according to the same *Denver Daily*, that Valmont will divide away "until there is nothing left to hardly entice her as a relic of old decency," unless other men settle there. In April, 1867, Boulder acquired the *Boulder Valley News*. The basic facts of the incident have been stated. Otherwise, things get a little complicated. How Boulder got its first newspaper has been reported, repeated and revised by a variety of authors. Bixby should be the most accurate source. A former Boulder newspaper editor, he wrote in the 1880 Baskin history:

"The first newspaper of the town was called the *Valley News*, the first number dated April 13, 1867, with W. C. Chamberlain, proprietor. It had been previously issued at Valmont, then a rival town; but an offer of \$35 made by a few Boulder men, cash in hand, if the newspaper outfit was removed to their town that night was a temptation that Mr. Chamberlain could not withstand, and during the darkness Valmont lost a newspaper and Boulder gained one...."

Accounts given by James P. Maxwell in 1887 and by Joseph Wolff in 1908 give additional details — some of them at odds with Bixby's account. The amount paid may have been \$25 rather than \$35. Maxwell reports that Frederick Squires, a leading Boulder businessman at the time, paid the sum. Maxwell also names Marv. Russell, Charles Dabney, Marinus Smith, Ephraim Pound "and a few other of the boys" as the Boulder men who went to Valmont.

He states that the move was accomplished by hand-cart. Most other accounts refer to an animal-drawn wagon.

The whole of the equipment, Maxwell states, did not weigh more than 1,000 pounds. Maxwell's account says that on the way back, those pulling the wagon tired. They found Dabney and the printer's devil, who were supposed to have been pushing, were riding on the cart. Maxwell states that they were playing cards, but that the quick-thinking devil claimed that already enough (copies) for the regular subscribers had been struck off, and that they were laboring on four extra copies to satisfy the demand anticipated from the change of base."

It was Wolff who explained the bedbug situation in Valmont. He also said that the community "was resourceful" and had managed "to get a printing press, with a man by the name of Scouten to set the type and edit it." He adds that since the paper was small and the type large, Scouten could do the job in less than a day. Wolff continued: "That gave 'Scout,' as we called him, lots of time. He spent most of his time in Boulder" where a fine supply of Taos Lightning was available. "Scout liked it, the lightning. He liked any old thing in the shape of liquor."

Adding that some of Boulder's citizens generously catered to that interest of Scouten's, Wolff also wrote: "So while 'Scout' was gloriously drunk, they took a wagon, went down to Bugtown and loaded the concern on the wagon. They triumphantly come into town with the whole printing office on the one wagon. When 'Scout' got sober he found himself turned slightly upside down. But he took the change like a philosopher, and promptly issued the first newspaper the town of Boulder ever had."

The *Denver Daily* of April 25 carried an item citing the *Golden Transcript* report on the moving of the paper. It stated: "One Scouten, the original proprietor of the concern, is said to have used much energy in its removal, and considerable secrecy withal. The procedure was creating some excitement among the Valmonters."

On May 4, the same *Daily* reported, "The (*Boulder Valley*) *News* denies the statement that Mr. Scouten had anything to do with the removal of its office from Valmont to Boulder."

Chamberlain was to die at the Boulder County Poor Farm in 1905 at the age of 83. Boulder newspapers then referred to his involvement in the incident. The obituary in the *Camera*, for example, noted that "Forty years ago, he was one of the printers of the Valmont paper, subsequently moved to Boulder and now known as the *Boulder News*." He died at the farm "which is located not far from where as a middle-aged man he played an important part in the transaction of 'lifting' the Valmont paper to Boulder when Editor Scouten was enjoying himself."

The *News'* obituary stated: "The story has often been told of how a party went down from Boulder with an ox-wagon one night, got the editor of the *Bulletin* drunk, brought office, editor, and all up to Boulder, and when he sobered up he was installed in a new office, remained here, and the paper has since been known as the *Boulder News*. Chamberlain is said to have been the hero of that episode...."

Then we have the account from the *Herald*: "Almost forty years ago he located at Valmont and was somewhat interested in the publication of the *Valmont Bulletin*, then the only paper in Boulder County. At that time Valmont was the largest place in the county while Boulder consisted of a few straggling houses. One night after Boulder had grown some, a number of people of this place stole the entire printing outfit at Valmont and moved it to Boulder, and the next issue was known as the *Boulder Valley News*, which is in existence today. With the paper Chamberlain was also stolen...."

Gentlemen, I give you your choice: Was it Scouten ... or was it Chamberlain? We do know that Scouten became editor of the *Boulder Valley News* in January, 1868.

Then there was born the *Boulder County Pioneer*.

According to an item in the *Denver Tribune*, the *Valley News* itself reported in September, 1868, that Dr. Junius E. Wharton had agents canvassing Boulder County for subscriptions for a new newspaper - and that there were rumors of still another paper. The item continued to quote the *Valley News*: "Now what the d---l are we going to do with our little sheet, when those two big papers get in here? Upon reflection, we hardly think the people of this county will throw off an old settler, so we will join the church and publish a Sunday school paper...." The *Valley News* and the *Pioneer* never competed, as some sources have indicated. The *News* seems to have been suspended in November, or, possibly, December, 1868. The *Pioneer* began on Feb. 10, 1869.

The peripatetic press and its owner were to wander on. The *Pioneer* reported on April 28, 1869: "D. G. Scouten has gone to the Cimmaron mines, to start a newspaper for that locale, upon the press and type formerly used here for the *Boulder Valley News*. Success to the new enterprise. By the way, that old press has a history

which we would be pleased to have written out at length....” The item suggested that Byers should undertake that task.



The Herald, started in 1880 by Otto Wangelin, was one of Boulder's first two daily newspapers appearing simultaneously on 17 April 1880, the other being the Daily Banner. The Herald merged with the pioneer Boulder News in 1916; the resulting News-Herald was acquired by the Daily Camera in 1932. The people are unidentified.

A history of newspapers in Colorado did appear in the *Rocky Mountain News* in 1872 but did not specifically include the little press.

Scouten went to Elizabethtown, N.M., where he started the *Moreno Lantern*. The *Lantern* was short-lived. It also seems to have had some typographical problems. Most references name the publisher as Scanten and Aiken. (Scouten and Aikens, surely.) Porter Stratton in "The Territorial Press of New Mexico, 1834-1912," states that the *Lantern* was "succeeded by the *National Press and Telegraph* "about one month after its founding in 1869." The appendix of that book, however, lists the *Lantern* as being published from May to October.

David F. Halaas in "Boomtown Newspapers" states: "In October of 1869, the *Sante Fe Daily New Mexican* reported that 'The *Moreno Lantern* is dead. The editor went scooting out of Elizabethtown between two days followed by an enthusiastic constable who had the vain hope of overtaking and collecting a small board bill ... He had gone to hunt a more congenial clime and cheap democratic whiskey."

Where's the press? Frankly, we don't know. It would seem that Scouten did not remove it in his hurried departure. The *Lantern* and another Elizabethtown paper later were merged into the *Railway Press and Telegraph*. In 1874, that operation was moved to Cimarron, again to be merged.

The resulting *Cimarron News and Press* got into trouble during the Colfax County War. There are various accounts of what happened — all mentioning Clay

Allison and his men. In one account, the *News and Press* office suffered the effects of "the skillful use of a large charge of well-placed black powder." The others report that the newspaper's plant was thrown into the Cimarron River. A footnote in Jim Berry Pearson's "The Maxwell Land Grant" states that the press of the Cimarron paper was found in that river in the early 1950's.

I cannot tell you — yet — if this was the historic little press or not. I hope so.

Returning to Boulder and the *Pioneer*, we find that Dr. Wharton, who apparently could not make up his mind whether his profession should be journalism or medicine, was the editor. He had worked for the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Georgetown Miner*, had written the first history of Denver in 1866, and would, from time to time, practice medicine. The *Pioneer* described itself as "a more ambitious paper." It was much larger in size. Wharton vowed in the first edition to repay with usurious interest those who had frustrated the efforts to start the paper. Among the troubles cited was a delay in the delivery of the new press. Official records show that Boulder citizens put up \$2,000 to launch the *Pioneer*. A new Taylor Washington hand press, which cost \$425, was among the items listed in the mortgage. The *Pioneer* died after issue No. 31 dated Sept. 14, 1869.

It was replaced by the *Boulder County News*. The *News* obviously used the same equipment. Except for the change for *Pioneer* to *News* in the nameplate, the papers have the same general appearance. Inside Volume 1, No. 1 of the *News*, it is explained that Wharton "utterly failed to comply with any part of his contract or agreement. Instead of procuring items of local or general interest to the readers, he converted it into a sewer, through which a large amount of personal vituperation and abuse were ventilated." During most of the latter part of the existence of the *Pioneer*, it carried a standing list of charges against "the Boulder ring" and was unkind to Andrew J. Macky, then county treasurer, and Frederick Squires. The names of those men appear in that order on the mortgage.

Robert H. Tilney was the first editor of the *Boulder County News*. Our merry friend Scouten, having returned from New Mexico, became the co-owner/operator in April, 1870. He became the sole proprietor soon after that but retired from the *News* in July, 1871.

According to Bixby, "The first newspaper established at Longmont was the *Sentinel*, published by Lowe & Hall, started in July 1871. This was changed to the *Longmont Press* in 1872, with E. F. Beckweth proprietor...." The *Rocky Mountain News* on Oct. 20, 1872, noted that Beckweth had sold the Longmont Press to Scouten.

The *Denver News* also reported on March 13, 1873:

"Mr. D. G. Scouten has given up the *Longmont Press*. He couldn't stand the pressure any longer. For six months he ran that paper, built fires, wrote editorials, swept his office, gathered locals, made up the forms, carried papers, 'selected and wrote the miscellaneous matter,' did the job work, set up type, did the press work, made up the mail, and — did a few extra chores at home. He wisely came to the conclusion that 'the mental and physical strain was terrible,' and he weakened."

Scouten later was a correspondent in Longmont for Central City and Denver

papers. In the spring of 1874, according to Gladden's research, he moved his family back to Kansas where three of their five children were born. About 1888, Mrs. Scouten left, taking the four living children. Scouten worked for a time as a printer with the *Leavenworth Times*. He applied for and received a veteran's pension. About 1898, he entered the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers at Leavenworth. Scouten wrote a column about veterans for the *Times*, which, it was reported, was widely copied. He was given the honorary title "colonel" by others at the home. Scouten died at that facility at age 73 on Aug. 21, 1913. That was the 50th anniversary of the Quantrill Raid. His survival of that raid was noted. The obituary also stated that "at the close of the war, Scouten became a printer for the *New York Tribune*" and had worked for the *Cincinnati Enquirer* for several years on his way West, published a newspaper in Meade County, Kansas, "for some time and later went to one of the northwestern states where he served a term in the legislature." One might wonder if this was the same Daniel G. Scouten we have come to know. Apparently it was; even though the obituary said nothing of his adventures in Colorado.

Incidentally, Merrick also died in Leavenworth. After serving in the Civil War, Merrick returned there, became provost marshal in the militia and was killed during a street riot.

#### Back to Boulder.

In September, 1873, Boulder had two simultaneous newspapers. The first competition to the *News* was the *Rocky Mountain Eagle*.

By 1878, there were three weeklies in the community: the *News*, the *Banner*, which had succeeded the *Eagle*, and the *Courier*. The last had been started in Sunshine, west of Boulder, but had been moved down to the town — voluntarily.

Almost 21 years after the printing of Colorado's first newspapers in Denver and almost 13 years after the arrival of Boulder's first printing equipment from Valmont, the city had two daily newspapers. These were the *Banner* and a new publication, the *Herald*. Both issued their first daily editions on April 17, 1880.

The *News* issued its first daily edition in June, 1880. It had such vital information as "water in Boulder Creek runs downhill." It also noted that the second edition could be looked for "in November next."

During the 100th anniversary convention of the Colorado Press Association, the story was told of a man named Campbell. He started a total of 133 newspapers in Colorado. His was the largest individual contribution to the listing of more than 5,000 newspapers which have existed at some time or another in the state. I cite that to point out some of the difficulties in tracking newspaper history. There have been almost 50 newspapers published in Boulder for one or more editions. There also have been one or more newspapers in Broomfield, Caribou, Copper Rock, Delphi or Wallstreet, Eldora, Jamestown, Lafayette, Longmont, Louisville, Lyons, Nederland, Niwot, Sunshine, Valmont and Ward in Boulder County alone.

There are only a few of those I will mention to complete this history, however. Entering the Boulder scene in 1884 was the *Sentinel*. In its early editions, the *Sentinel* proclaimed that it was the only Democratic newspaper in the county. It also noted:

"It delights our old eyes, grown weak in the service of the tenants of Jefferson, to see the followers of that grand old citizen occupying places of state in our county building." Those eyes then were 25 years old. They were the eyes of Lucius C. Paddock.



The Boulder Daily Camera has been located at 11th and Pearl in downtown Boulder since its founding in 1890. This is an early view of the office. Left to right are Charles Butsch, Fannie Snell, Valentine Butsch, and an unknown. Ms Snell was an early-day typesetter for the Camera; the paper bought its first Linotype machine in 1902. Valentine Butsch was the father-in-law of Lucius C. Paddock, editor, and was manager of the paper from 1892 until his death in 1905. Charles Butsch was his son, and for years one of the principal Linotype operators at the Camera.

My grandfather had come to Colorado in 1878 from Grand Rapids, Mich., where he had attended high school and read law for two years each. He joined his father and brother, who were operating a mine at Magnolia. Because of his education, he became the teacher there and also area correspondent for the *Boulder News*. The family moved to Leadville in 1879, but grandfather returned to Boulder and was a reporter for the *News* and *Courier* and then the *Banner* before starting the *Sentinel*. He sold the paper in October, 1886, to work in Leadville. Grandfather returned to Boulder in 1887, bought the *Miner*, another weekly, and changed the name to the *Tribune*.

Then there is the *Camera*. This publication was started in September, 1890, as a weekly by Bert Ball, who named it, and Fred P. Johnson. They hoped to use many more illustrations than most newspapers of that time and based the name on that aim. On March 17, 1891, the *Camera* became a morning daily newspaper. A little more than a year later, L. C. Paddock and his father-in-law, Valentine Butsch, purchased the *Camera*. The weekly *Tribune* was continued, picking up type from the *Camera*, until 1921.

The *Camera* became an afternoon daily in the fall of 1893.

For the next few decades, the Boulder newspaper scene was fairly stable. The *Camera*, evenings, and the *Herald*, mornings, were daily papers. Each had weekly editions. The *News* was a weekly. Some others came and went.



A view of the composing and job-printing portion of the Boulder *Camera*, 29 June 1899. Seated is Valentine Butsch; on the left with hand on flywheel is Billy Green, early printer for the paper; on right behind another press is Charles Butsch; at his side is Fannie Snell.

The *News* finally did become a morning daily on Nov. 5, 1914. A. A. Parkhurst became the owner. He bought the daily *Herald* as well in February, 1916, combining the two as the morning *News-Herald*. That situation remained until March 1, 1932, when because of financial problems not aided by the Depression, the *Camera* purchased the *News-Herald* and became the city's only daily newspaper.

The *Camera* resumed a Sunday edition on July 5, 1964. The ownership changed about five years later when it was sold to Ridder Publications. That firm since has merged with Knight Newspapers to become Knight-Ridder Newspapers.

The paper became a full morning daily again beginning April 1, 1981.

I conclude with two thoughts:

1. The printer's devil aboard the handcart in 1867 is reported to have told the angry men who had been pulling that he and Mr. Dabney were printing four additional copies of the paper — to bring the total press run for that week to 18. The *Camera*'s circulation now tops 29,250 daily and 35,875 Sundays.

2. One of the early papers reported that snow was said to be 1,400 feet deep in some of the gulches in Western Boulder County and that a good run-off of water was expected. That might have produced quite a river through Boulder. Normally, however, I don't believe that our present, many hundred thousand dollar, 260-plus ton, three-story press is in any danger of being tossed into a river ... or of being moved, overnight, to another location.





## Westerner's Bookshelf



**Pikes Peak Trolleys**, by Morris Casky and John A. Haney. Century One Press, Colorado Springs, 1983. 102 pp., illustrations, maps, index. \$16.95 softbound.

The founding, growth and development of Colorado Springs and its satellite communities have been covered in numerous fine histories over the years. This excellent new publication, however, in interesting literary and pictorial detail, presents a previously ignored facet vital to the area's successful evolution.

Principal impetus to the organization in 1887 of the Colorado Springs street car system was provided by the saloons and bawdy houses of nearby Colorado City. Since the property deeds issued by the Colorado Springs Company strictly prohibited such unwholesome and unsavory institutions, those establishments looked upon as necessities by some elements of the population naturally settled outside the city limits. Local transportation between the forbidden and the desired was demanded — urged on, of course, by the ubiquitous developers always eager to cash in on the area's growth.

Started as a horsecar line with ten 4-wheel cars and 42 animals, the effort was soon supplanted by the new-fangled electric propulsion. Trackage rapidly expanded, extending west beyond Colorado City to Manitou Springs and southwest to Count Pourtales' new Broadmoor Casino, as well as to developments in the east and northeast areas of the "Springs." But the Crash of '93, the bicycling fad, and the inability to keep step with advancing electric railway technology spelled trouble for the Colorado Springs Rapid Transit Company.

To the rescue came a most unlikely man, the fabled loner and benefactor, Cripple Creek multi-millionaire Winfield Scott Stratton. Plunking down \$500,000 in cash in January, 1901, and assuming the trolley system's entire bonded indebtedness of another half million, Stratton ultimately spent about two million dollars in rehabilitation of the lines. In 1902 he incorporated the whole works as the Colorado Springs &

Interurban Company. In the years following his death on September 14, 1902, additional sizeable sums were invested in the system by the trustees of his estate.

For C.S.&I., as with nearly every local rail transportation enterprise elsewhere, the love affair between Americans and their automobiles spelled DOOM! Despite the company's excellent maintenance of equipment, trackage and schedules, patronage steadily dropped off. On April 30, 1932, rail operations ceased, with the company in the remarkable position of owing not a single cent!

Fleshing out the story of the railway in this fine book, a potpourri of incidental information and reminiscences of former employees still alive are valuable additions. Three elegant maps of the system at various stages in its development put the frosting on the cake. Recommended without reservation.

Jackson Thode, P.M.

**Dogs of the Conquest** by John Grier Varner and Jeannette Varner. Univ of Oklahoma Press; 12983. 256 pp. 31 ill., 17 maps, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. Hardbound, \$19.95.

"Dogs of Conquest" is a book that deals with the role that dogs played in the Spanish Conquest of the Indians. The record is based on the accounts of 16th century chroniclers as revealed in legal, military, and literary-historical documents of the period.

Intense brutality was widespread in the conquest of the Indians. European dogs contributed to many of its fearsome aspects. The dogs actually functioned as a lethal weapon of war. The Spaniards found ample precedent for the use of dogs in war in the armies of Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome. Dogs merely carried out their master's commands.

The time period of the book is from about 1480 to 1580 while the area of coverage includes the Caribbean islands Castillo del Oro, Neuva España, Nueva Galicia, Quivira, and Florida, Nueva Castilla, Neuva Granada, Venezuela, Chile, and Rio de la Plata.

The dogs were used to pursue savages in warfare, as food tasters, as a means of obtaining food and as a source of food, as sentinels, as hunters, as a means of punishment, and as a help in the subjugation of the Indians. Cruelty, as shown by the savage killing of the Indians and gory displays of ripping and tearing of Indian bodies was commonplace throughout the area.

There are so many gory examples of cruelty, maiming, and terrorizing of the Indians that many readers will consider it to be repetitious. In view of that and considering the subject matter it is likely the book will have limited appeal.

Robert C. Accola, C.M.

**My Pardner** by Max Evans. Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1984. 106 pages, paperback, illustrated, \$5.95.

Max Evans has that special ability to tell a story and to tell it very well. His descriptions of the people leave little to the imagination as the reader develops a vivid picture of the people involved in the story.

This is the story of the journey of a twelve year old boy and an old cowboy con man as they trail a small herd of broken-down horses from Texas to Oklahoma during a sixty day period. The trip takes place during the depression of the 1930's as twelve-year-old Dan attempts to aid his impoverished father. The trail drive is a real learning experience for the young cowboy and a very enjoyable experience for the reader.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

**Xavier's Folly and Other Stories** by Max Evans. Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1984. 105 pages, paperback, \$5.95.

These three short stories are great examples of the art of storytelling. They are three completely different types of stories that range from comic to murder and the supernatural.

In one story a poor Mexican plumber brings the ballet to his village. The second is the story of three individuals who meet and interact. These three individuals are an old cow, an old coyote, and an old cowboy.

The final story is a very different and strange story of the Southwest, of how one man prepares for death by murdering those he loves the most. It is a book worth reading.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

**The Maxwell Land Grant** by William A. Keleher. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1984. 166 pages, cloth, \$19.95, paperback \$9.95.

John R. Van Ness, who is the editor of the New Mexico Land Grant Series, states that William A. Keleher's book "should be considered a classic in the development of land grant history. It is quite readable and captures the rough and tumble flavor of the latter decades of the nineteenth century in Territorial New Mexico extremely well." I would also agree with the editor that the "untutored method of research and writing" of the author does create some major problems for the reader.

The title indicates that the book deals with one of the major land grants of Colorado and New Mexico and the reader might expect that since the author is an attorney the book would go into detail with the legal controversies that have arisen over the grant. This is not the case as the author wanders from Indians to Clay Allison and the wild characters of the region.

If the reader is interested in a broad general history of the region of Northern New Mexico in the area of Cimarron, then this is a very good readable book. If interested in the legal aspects of the Maxwell Grant, the reader would be wise to seek other sources of information. The editor agrees that "the historical narrative is rather disjointed." It is questionable whether or not the University of New Mexico Press made the best decision in deciding to republish this book.

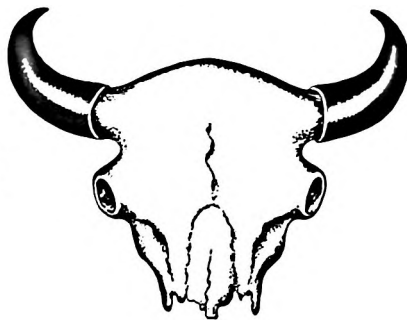
Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

## *The* DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

*The* DENVER WESTERNERS

# ROUNDUP

JULY-AUGUST 1984



**ANDREW JACKSON**  
7th President of the U.S., 1829-1837  
(Western History Dept., Denver Public Library)

## IN MEMORIAM

We mark with great regret the passing of our genial friend Allison E. Nutt on 8 June 1984 at age 76.

Al was a Denver native and spent his entire life here, successively employed by the Denver Tramway, the Wage-Hour Division of the Department of Labor, and as Field Examiner for the National Labor Relations Board where he was Assistant to the Regional Director.

From 1942 to 1945 he was a Chief Chemist for the War Department at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, there applying the knowledge gained as part of his B.S. degree in Chemical Engineering at the University of Denver in 1930. He attended Westerners meetings regularly and contributed numerous book reviews for the ROUNDUP. He is survived by his wife Ruth to whom we extend our sincerest sympathies, by his brother Frank in Illinois, and by his sister Marian Boyer in Denver.

## THE DENVER WESTERNERS

## ROUNDUP

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# ANDREW JACKSON AND AMERICAN INDIAN REMOVAL POLICY

by

Richard A. Cook P. M.  
Presented 25 April 1984

## I. INTRODUCTION

Early in the nineteenth century, white settlers found the territory which now composes the south and central United States occupied by tribes of Indians who had lived there for some time. Sporadic legislation by Congress and so-called treaties so little understood by the Indians were the instruments which were to drive them out of their natural homes and farther west to land supposedly not wanted by the whites. Thus, Indian removal, operated in a haphazard manner for a number of years, became national policy under the administration of Andrew Jackson. Agents of the United States Government, by use of bribes, argument, persuasion and threats induced influential Indian leaders to agree to treaties which were to hand over the rights of their domains to land hungry settlers and speculators.

At least four of the southern tribes were advanced in culture and were considered "civilized" as they had permanently established themselves on the land by building homes and farms to include cultivation, the raising of herds and crops. Cotton was one such crop which they utilized to clothe themselves. In addition, through self government, they laid roads, built mills, engaged in commerce and sent their children to schools run by missionaries. Even their government was modeled after those of the individual states. Needless to say, these people resisted the attempts of the whites to force them from their homes. The forcible uprooting and expulsion of these tribes containing some sixty thousand human beings over a period of ten years is a tragic page in the history of our country, but this paper does not have the purpose of relating this sad and regretful story. Instead, it will concentrate on the part that Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States, played in their removal and its culmination. It is also not the intent of this paper to particularly indict the south for its treatment of the Indians as many of them suffered throughout the country at the hands of the entire populace. It must be remembered, however, that these specific tribes were not nomads like their western brethren, but were people of fixed habits and tastes.

As the Americans relentlessly pushed into the interior of the country, they saw themselves as the advancing frontier of civilization who carried government, religion and social order with them. The problems faced by these "frontiersmen" were to overcome the savageness of the country as embodied by its Indian inhabitants and decadent civilization as exemplified by Europe at their backs.

One such attempt to resolve the dilemma was left to the administration of Andrew Jackson "an Indian fighter", whose project was to remove all Indians in the eastern United States to west of the Mississippi River.

The idea, attributed to Thomas Jefferson, was to transplant all the Indians beyond the settled areas. At the time it was a practical idea, if only temporary, and it did answer the requirements of the ever-expanding frontier. However, there was one

flaw in the plan, and that was it ran contrary to the idea to redeem the Indian from his savage role. Therefore, the plan to transplant the civilized tribes beyond the Mississippi had to be rationalized and was related in Andrew Jackson's last formal message to the people as President. He simply offered a resolution and the answer appeared incredibly basic. American would save the Indians for civilization by rescuing them from civilization.

The states which had so long been retarded in their improvement by the Indian tribes residing in the midst of them are at length relieved from the evil, and this unhappy race - the original dwellers in our land - are now placed in a situation where we may well hope that they will share in the blessings of civilization and be saved from the degradation and destruction to which they were rapidly hastening while they remained in the States - the philanthropist will rejoice that the remnant of that ill-fated race has at length been placed beyond the reach of injury or oppression.

Even eight years before, Secretary of War Barbour, on April 29, 1828, had stated,

It is decidedly my opinion . . . that the plan of collocating the Indians on suitable lands west of the Mississippi contains the elements of their preservation; and will tend, if faithfully carried into effect, to produce the happiest benefits upon the Indian race. I have not been able to perceive in any other policy, principles which combine our own obligations to the Indians, in all that is humane and just, with effects so favorable to them, as is contained in this plan.

It cannot be denied that the land greediness of white settlers forced the Indians westward and that behind this removal policy was the desire for their land as well as the riddance of embarrassment to the states of native savage groups within their boundaries. This policy was not helped by the individual frontiersman who had developed hatred for all Indians. Selfish economic motives were not the only reasons for removal, and therefore, Andrew Jackson should not appear as the only villain in the period as it was thought that only if the Indians were removed, the process of education, civilization and Christianization could take place on the expanding frontier.

The idea, as previously mentioned, had originated with Thomas Jefferson in 1803, when the addition of the vast Louisiana Territory created conditions that would make such a policy possible, if only temporary.

The removal problem took on consequences of a serious nature, when in 1802, the state of Georgia and the Federal government signed a compact by which Georgia ceded her western land claims in return for extinguishment of Indian title to lands within the state as soon as it could be done peaceably and reasonably. As the years passed, the United States government was accused of not holding to its portion of the bargain. Georgia maintained that the Indians were only tenants who only had a temporary right to the tribal lands which they held.

President Monroe, in 1824, defended the government, saying that the Indian title was no way affected by the compact and denied the obligation of the government to force them off their lands. He believed that increased efforts to civilize them was the answer; however, toward the end of his administration, he felt that the Indians must be invited to take up new homes in the West as the only solution even if it was to be expensive to the government.

In 1825, Monroe, based on a report from John C. Calhoun, asked for a new liberal policy which would satisfy both the Indians and the Georgians. He was convinced that those Indians opposed to removal could be induced to accede to it

with governmental guarantee for preservation of order and prevention of white intrusion in their new lands. In the end, the measure passed the Senate, but failed in the House. It was reintroduced in 1826, but failed again.

Since Congress had failed to pass any measure to relieve the situation, Georgia decided to take action, and in 1827, insisted that it had the right to extend its authority and laws over the whole state and threatened to use force if necessary to accomplish its aims.

President John Quincy Adams in his final message to Congress reviewed the problem.

As independent powers, we negotiated with them (the Indians) by treaties; as proprietors, we purchased of them all the lands which we could prevail upon them to sell; as brethren of the human race, rude and ignorant, we endeavored to bring them to the knowledge of religion and of letters. The ultimate design was to incorporate in our own institutions that portion of them which could be converted to the state of civilization. In the practice of European States, before our Revolution, they had been considered *as children* to be governed; as tenants at discretion, to be dispossessed as occasion might require; as hunters to be indemnified by trifling concessions for removal from the grounds from which their game was extirpated. In changing the system it would seem as if a full contemplation of the consequences of the change had not been taken. We have been far more successful in the acquisition of their lands than in imparting to them the principles or inspiring them with the spirit of civilization. But in appropriating to ourselves their hunting grounds we have brought upon ourselves the obligation of providing them with subsistence; and when we have had the rare good fortune of teaching them the arts of civilization and the doctrines of Christianity we have unexpectedly found them forming in the midst of ourselves communities claiming to be independent of ours and rivals of sovereignty within the territories of the members of our Union. This state of things requires that a remedy should be provided — a remedy which, while it shall do justice to those unfortunate children of nature, may secure to the members of our confederation their rights of sovereignty and of soil.

The House Committee on Indian Affairs considered President Adams' proposals and concurred that Indian removal was necessary to preserve order. But how were the Indians to be preserved? There seemed one answer and that was to move them beyond the limits of any state or territory. A bill to appropriate fifty thousand dollars to enable the President to accomplish the removal was presented, but not enacted into law. At this time, Andrew Jackson became seventh President of the United States.

## II. ANDREW JACKSON, INDIAN FIGHTER AND TREATY-MAKER

When Andrew Jackson became President of the United States, he had had much experience with Indians and was extremely opinionated and "forthright" in his views toward what government Indian policy should be. He had himself been a United States Commissioner and had drawn up treaties with the southern Indian tribes. As a result of such experience in 1817, he had begun to question the wisdom of the government in treating with Indian tribes as though they were sovereign and independent nations. In fact, he had complained to then President James Monroe "about the absurdity of making treaties with the Indians whom he considered subjects of

the United States with no sovereignty of their own". He insisted that Congress had the right to legislate for them as well as the citizens located in the territories.

Jackson was regarded by America's citizens as a "rugged Westerner", and it was a simple fact that he had always stood for westward expansion. It was plainly evident that the Indian presented a visible obstacle to such expansion, and thusly, he favored the removal of the obstacle as expeditiously as possible. It has been pointed out by Frederick Binder in his discussion of Andrew Jackson's attitude toward the Indian, that as early as 1793, in a letter to a John McKee, he questioned the policy of negotiating with a tribe (Cherokees) which he claimed failed to adhere to past agreements. According to Binder, Jackson maintained this attitude for the rest of his life.

When Jackson made war against the Indian, he did so as a Westerner. For example, upon learning what Tecumseh's "deceitful and ruthless savages" had done, he told William Henry Harrison that "The blood of our murdered heroes must be revenged that Benditti ought to be swept from the face of the earth". Jackson had his opportunity during the long and drawn out Creek Wars. Binder points out that when Jackson was so engaged, and even though an avid Indian hater, he, like Jefferson before him, saw the value of using Indian allies to assist in eradicating their own kind just as the Cherokees, Choctaws and Chickasaws were used in the Creek Wars. It should also be remembered that Jackson successfully used Indian allies in the War of 1812 as well. In personal correspondence in 1812, Jackson had stated to a friend that,

I heartily concur with you in your ideas with respect to the little confidence that ought to be placed in the aid or friendship of Indians. . . . If we get the Cherokees engaged with the Creeks, they will be obliged to be friendly with us to preserve themselves. I believe self interest and self preservation the most predominant passion, fear is better than love with the Indian.

In 1814, Jackson was given authority to establish peace terms with the Creeks. Addressing friendly Creeks and other "Red Sticks" that had fought beside him against their brothers, he stated that the war had been expensive and that the entire Creek nation would have to give up part of their land as an indemnity. Approximately twenty million acres of Georgia and Alabama land was the "price" from both friend and foe. Some of their land (four million acres) belonged rightfully to his Cherokee and Chickasaw allies. When this was pointed out by Secretary of War Crawford at a later date (1816), Jackson denied the validity of the Indian claim and that white squatters on the land had as much right to it as the Indian.

Between 1817 and 1829, Jackson was involved in more such treaty making with the Indians of the South. Essentially, the negotiations were the same; the Indians were told that they were not sovereign and could no longer live as independent nations within the limits of white domain. It was added that they had a choice of remaining as farmers on 640 acres per family, subject to state laws, or to move beyond the Mississippi where they could maintain their rights as individual or separate nations. He recognized that such a threat to nationhood and tribal custom was an effective incentive for them to move, and Jackson used it consistently in all his negotiations with the southern tribes.

Even though Jackson's statements to the Indians involving their loss of sovereignty and independence was never actually supported by Congress, he spoke the truth when stating that their white neighbors would constantly encroach upon



them. Those who took his advice probably avoided the more agonizing problems that would befall their brethren at a later date.

When thinking of Jackson's attitude during those years, it was not surprising that as President, he would continue to advocate a policy of Indian removal. Nor was it a great shock to learn that Jackson supported the moves of individual states to extend sovereignty over the Indians even in the face of a Supreme Court decision which will be discussed later in this paper.

In a letter he wrote to one Captain James Gadsden, a friend and former aide, in 1829, he briefly disclosed his Presidential intentions toward Indian policy.

I have recommended them to quit their possession on this side of the Mississippi and go to a country in the west where there is every probability that they will always be free from the mercenary influence of the White men, and undisturbed by the local authority of the states: Under such circumstances, the General Government can exercise a parental control over their interest and possible perpetuate them in their race.

Jackson saw no sense to the old argument that the United States government, such as England before them, treat the Indians as separate nations. To him, this had been a policy of weakness and special circumstances necessary at the time. Under new conditions, he felt that a forceful reduction of Indian lands would coerce them to adopt the ways of the civilized existence of the whites.

Opposition to this treatment grew as missionary groups among the tribes began to protect the removal of their flock just as they had been successfully converting them. The charge of being "unchristian" was not a light one and Jackson's administration began to counteract it in a bold manner.

### III. ANDREW JACKSON, PRESIDENT

At the beginning of his first term in office, Jackson told Amos Kendall that he was looking for "plain, business men" to help him run the administration. In addition to other qualifications, he stated that no cabinet officer could be a candidate for President and that all must agree with his policies. One policy not mentioned was that of Indian removal to the West.

When President Adams negotiated a specific treaty with the Creeks in which the large part of the Indian lands were to be ceded to Georgia, except for a small strip, Georgia's Governor Troup objected and stated that he wanted all of it and would use his militia if necessary to obtain it. Adams, in response, vowed to employ "all means under his control to maintain the faith of the nation."

After Jackson's ascendancy to the Presidency, the Jacksonian-controlled Senate appointed Thomas Hart Benton as head of a committee to investigate the matter. As anticipated, Benton's report sided with Governor Troup and criticized the Adams administration for unwarranted meddling in the affairs of Georgia.

Jackson did not waste time in declaring his policy. A Georgia law of December 20, 1828, annexed Cherokee lands and stated that after June 1, 1830, all laws of the Cherokee nation would be null and void. This meant that after that date, all Indians living in Georgia's Cherokee country would be subject to state laws. The Cherokees protested the action in February, 1829, to President Adams, but the outgoing President left it to the new administration. On April 18, 1829, Secretary of War Eaton

informed the Cherokee representatives that their only choice was to submit to Georgia or move beyond the Mississippi. The right of the Indian nation to maintain an independent government within the state, but outside its jurisdictions could not be conceded by the new administration. In fact, Jackson, in his annual message, the following December, stated similar views.

The condition and ulterior destiny of the Indian Tribes within the limits of some of our States, have become objects of much interest and importance. It has long been the policy of Government to introduce among them the arts of civilization, in the hope of gradually reclaiming them from a wandering life. This policy has, however, been coupled with another, wholly incompatible with its success. Professing a desire to civilize and settle them, we have, at the same time, lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them further into the wilderness. By this means, they have not only been kept in a wandering state, but been led to look upon us as unjust and indifferent to their fate. Thus, though lavish in its expenditures upon the subject, Government has constantly defeated its own policy; and the Indians in general, receding further and further to the West, have retained their savage habits. A portion, however, of the Southern tribes, having mingled much with the whites, and made some progress in the arts of civilized life, have lately attempted to erect an independent government, within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. These states, claiming to be the only sovereigns within their territories, extended their laws over the Indians; which induced the latter to call upon the United States for protection.

Under these circumstances, the question presented was whether the General Government had a right to sustain those people in their pretensions? The Constitution declares that "no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State" without the consent of its legislature. If the General Government is not permitted to tolerate the erection of a confederate State within the territory of one of the members of this Union, against her consent; much less could it allow a foreign and independent government to establish itself there. Georgia became a member of the Confederacy which eventuated in our Federal Union, as a sovereign State, always asserting her claim to certain limits which having been originally defined in her colonial charter, and subsequently recognized in the treaty of peace, she has ever since continued to enjoy, except as they have been circumscribed by her own voluntary transfer of a portion of her territory to the United States, in the articles of Cession of 1802. Alabama was admitted into the Union on the same footing with the original States, with boundaries which were prescribed by Congress. There is no constitutional, conventional, or legal provision which allows them less power over the Indians within their borders, than is possessed by Maine or New York. Would the people of Maine permit the Penobscot tribe to erect an Independent Government within their State? And unless they did, would it not be the duty of the General Government to support them in resisting such a measure? Would the People of New York permit each remnant of the Six Nations within her borders, to declare itself an independent people under the protection of the United States? Could the Indians establish a separate republic on each of their reservations in Ohio? And if they were so disposed, would it be the duty of this Government to protect them in the attempt? If the principle involved in the obvious answer to these questions be abandoned, it will follow that the objects of this Government are reversed; and that it has become a part of its duty to aid in destroying the States which it was established to protect.

Actuated by this view of this view of the subject, I informed the Indians inhabiting parts of Georgia and Alabama, that their attempt to establish an independent government would not be countenanced by the Executive of the United States; and advised them to emigrate beyond the Mississippi, or submit to the laws of those States.

Our conduct towards these people is deeply interesting to our national character. Their present condition, contrasted with what they once were, makes a most powerful appeal to our sympathies. Our ancestors found them the uncontrolled possessors of these vast regions. By persuasion and force, they have been made to retire from river to river, and from mountain to mountain; until some of the tribes have become extinct, and others have left but remnants, to preserve, for a while, their once terrible names. Surrounded by the whites, with their arts of civilization, which, by destroying the resources of the savage, doom him to weakness and decay; the fate of the Mohegan, the Narragansett, and the Delaware, is fast overtaking the Choctaw, the Cherokee, and the Creek. That this fate surely awaits them, if they remain within the limits of the States, does not admit of a doubt. Humanity and national honour demand that every effort should be made to avert so great a calamity. It is too late to inquire whether it was just in the United States to include them and their territory within the bounds of new States whose limits they could control. That step cannot be retraced. A State cannot be dismembered by Congress, or restricted in the exercise of her constitutional power. But the people of those States, and of every State, actuated by feelings of justice and a regard for our national honor, submit to you the interesting question, whether something cannot be done, consistently with the rights of the States, to preserve this much injured race?

As a means of effecting this end, I suggest, for your consideration, the propriety of setting apart an ample district West of the Mississippi, and without the limits of any State or Territory, now formed, to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes, as long as they shall occupy it; each tribe having a distinct control over the portion designated for its use. There they may be secured in the enjoyment of governments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier, and between the several tribes. There the benevolent may endeavor to teach them the arts of civilization; and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth, destined to perpetuate the race, and to attest the humanity and justice on this Government.

This emigration should be voluntary: for it would be cruel as unjust to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers, and seek a home in a distant land. But they should be distinctly informed that, if they remain within the limits of the States, they must be subject to their laws. In return for their obedience, as individuals, they will, without doubt, be protected in the enjoyment of those possessions which they have improved by their industry. But it seems to me visionary to suppose, that, in this state of things, claims can be allowed on tracts of our country on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain, or passed them in the chase. Submitting to the laws of the States, and receiving, like other citizens, protection in their persons and property, they will, ere long, become merged in the mass of our population.

The selection of John McPherson Berrien of Georgia for Jackson's Attorney General also bore this policy out. Berrien heartily advocated the removal of the

Indians to regions west of the Mississippi.

Mons. de Toqueville, in speaking of our treatment of the Indians, stated,

The ejection of the Indians very often takes place, at the present day, in a regular, and, as it were, legal manner. When the white population begins to approach the limit of a desert inhabited by a savage tribe, the Government of the United States usually dispatches envoys to them . . .

He goes on to say that after being subjected to feasting and gifts, they are asked to sell their lands because the government will give them lands further west "where beasts of chase are found in great abundance."

. . . Half convinced, half compelled, they go to inhabit new deserts, where the importunate whites will not permit them to remain ten years in tranquility. In this manner, do the Americans obtain, at a very low price, whole provinces, which the richest sovereigns of Europe could not purchase.

Jackson's message had expressed kindly consideration of the Indians, but the policy was there. The Indians were to be given a choice of remaining or emigrating westward. If they stayed, they had to submit to the state laws. As far as Jackson was concerned, his policy represented an effort to deal justly with the Indian problem.

During the same month as Jackson's first annual message, the Georgia legislature passed a law extending its power over the Indian territory, anticipating that Jackson would support the action. Subsequently, when an Indian by the name of Corn Tassei killed another in the territory, Georgia immediately apprehended him, declared him guilty and sentenced him to be hanged. The Cherokees appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court on the grounds that the State of Georgia lacked that authority. The Supreme Court upheld that appeal, but Georgia defied it anyway by executing the accused just a few days before the decision was handed down.

Upon this defiance by the State of Georgia, former President John Quincy Adams, now a member of Congress, wrote in his diary,

The resolutions of the Legislature of Georgia setting at defiance the Supreme Court of the United States are published and approved in the Telegraph, the Administration newspaper at this place . . . The Constitution, the laws and treaties of the United States are prostrate in the State of Georgia. Is there any remedy for this state of things? None. Because the Executive of the United States is in League with the State of Georgia . . . This example will be imitated by other States, and with regard to other national interests - perhaps the tariff . . . The Union is in the most imminent danger of dissolution . . . The ship is about to founder.

Another act Georgia directed against the Cherokees who had refused to emigrate was one in December, 1830, which prohibited whites with exception of agents of the Federal government, to live within the former Cherokee reservation without authority from the state. As a result, two missionaries, named Worcester and Butler, appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court after arrest for violating that specific Georgia statute for which they were sentenced to four years at hard labor. In March, 1832, Chief Justice John Marshall decided against Georgia by stating that "the Cherokees constituted a definite political community over which the laws of Georgia had no legal force." Again, Georgia defied the decision, and supposedly, Jackson remarked, "Well: John Marshall has made his decision: now let him enforce it." By the time of Jackson's third annual message, his Indian removal policy had progressed further and he remarked to the 22nd Congress that,

The internal peace and security of our Confederated States is the next principal object of the General Government. Time and experience have proved that the abode of the native Indian within their limits is dangerous to their peace and injurious to himself. In accordance with my recommendation at a former session of Congress an appropriation of half a million dollars was made to aid the voluntary removal of the various tribes beyond the limits of the states. At the last session, I had the happiness to announce that the Chickasaws and Choctaws had accepted the generous offer of the Government and agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi River, by which the whole of the State of Mississippi and the western part of Alabama will be freed from Indian occupancy, and opened to a civilized population. The treaties with these tribes are in a course of execution, and their removal, it is hoped, will be completed in the course of 1832.

At the request of the authorities of Georgia, the registration of Cherokee Indians for emigration has been resumed, and it is confidently expected that one half, if not two thirds of that tribe, will follow the wise example of their more westerly brethren. Those who prefer remaining at their present homes will hereafter be governed by the laws of Georgia, as all her citizens are, and cease to be the objects of peculiar care on the part of the General Government. During the present year, the attention of the Government has been particularly directed to those tribes in the powerful and growing State of Ohio where considerable tracts of the finest lands were still occupied by the aboriginal proprietors. Treaties either obsolete, or conditional, have been made extinguishing the whole Indian title to the reservations in that State; and the time is not distant, it is hoped, when Ohio will be no longer embarrassed with the Indian population. The same measure will be extended to Indians, as there is reason to anticipate success.

It is confidently believed that perseverance for a few years in the present policy of the Government, will extinguish the Indian title to all lands lying within the States composing our Federal Union, and remove beyond their limits every Indian who is not wishing to submit to their laws. Thus will all conflicting claims to jurisdiction between the States and the Indian tribes be put to rest. It is pleasing to reflect that results so beneficial, not only to the States immediately concerned, but to the harmony of the Union, will have been accomplished by measures equally advantageous to the Indians. What the native savages become when surrounded by a dense population, and by mixing with the whites, may be seen in the miserable remnants of a few eastern tribes, deprived of political and civic rights, forbidden to make contracts and subjected to guardians, dragging out a wretched existence, without excitement, without hope and almost without thought.

But the removal of the Indians beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the States does not place them beyond the reach of philanthropic aid and Christian instruction. On the contrary, those whom philanthropy or religion may induce to live among them in these new abode, will be more free in the exercise of their benevolent functions, than if they had remained within the limits of the States, embarrassed by their internal regulations. Now, subject to no control, but the superintending agency of the General Government, exercised with the sole view of preserving peace, they may proceed unmolested in the interesting experiment of gradually advancing a community of American Indians from barbarism to the habits and enjoyments of civilized life.

Georgia's actions had been nothing less than nullification which the South Caroli-

nians were quick to seize upon for their own purposes regarding matters not pertaining to Indian problems. Jackson's leniency to Georgia and its neighbors has not been really defined; however, it is supposed that he was sympathetic to each State in establishment of jurisdiction over its territory. It is also noted that he did not ignore South Carolina during the nullification issue! Meanwhile, the Indian emigration was proceeding and in emulating Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi took similar steps to extend authority over their Indian lands. In 1832, the Creeks were gone and by the spring of 1833, the Choctaws and the Chickasaws had done likewise. Only the Cherokees remained and in December 1833, Jackson again reiterated his reasons for their removal as well. A portion of that tribe realizing that further resistance was useless, relented, but another segment held out. By the close of 1835, all Cherokee lands east of the Mississippi were relinquished.

Between 1829 and 1837, 94 treaties, the majority transferring land title, had been signed, and before Jackson left office, he was able to report to Congress that,

With the exception of two small bands living in Ohio and Indiana, not exceeding fifteen hundred persons, and of the Cherokees, all of the tribes on the east side of the Mississippi, and extending from Lake Michigan to Florida, have entered into engagements which will lead to their transplantation.

It was not long after that the Cherokees were added to the list and some forcibly ejected by the Army in 1838 on the infamous "Trail of Tears."

This policy had not been accomplished without opposition, but much was for political effect. Both Henry Clay and John Calhoun voiced opposition to the Indian removal policy, but in reality believed in it, just wanting to discredit the Jackson administration.

There were also many objections by people on humanitarian grounds to include religious and other social groups; however, overall, the country seemed to approve of the President's Indian removal policy as being best for all concerned.

In the summer of 1830, Congress itself had responded to the administration and passed an act for encouraging and facilitating the removal of the southern tribes to a territory set apart for them west of the Mississippi. In June 1834, this territory was defined in an act by Congress. Both these acts will be discussed in the next portion of this treatise.

According to James Parton, one of his many biographers, Jackson carried out his Indian policy for removal "cautiously, but unrelentingly, and not always without stratagem and management." Parton goes on to say that in discussing the Indian situation with a Mr. Henry Schoolcraft, who carried out Jackson's policies as an Indian Commissioner negotiating treaties, Schoolcraft stated that,

General Jackson was direct and explicit in giving instructions. He knew the white man, and he knew the red man, and he knew how each was accustomed to treat the other . . .

In a report from the Office of Indian Affairs, Department of War in November 1834, one Elbert Herring stated that,

. . . The interposition of the Government of the United States, in behalf of the Indian race, is now a matter of history. That race seemed to be fast sinking in the overwhelming wave of white population; both physically and morally, it was unable to withstand the competition. It became degraded and wretched and was rapidly vanishing from the face of the earth. The policy instituted for their protection was

not only humane, but was also essential to the object, if, by any means, it might be attained. As such, it has carried the national sympathy along with it, and is now, as it were, incorporated with our national feelings . . .

Such was U.S. official reaction to Jackson's policy!

The government's policy was not without its more fearful problems such as the Black Hawk War in 1832, when Sac and Fox Indians under the leadership of Black Hawk attacked white settlements in the old Northwest. Indian victories were short-lived however, and, in time, Black Hawk was captured and their land *west* of the Mississippi was ceded. Within a decade, all Iowa was to be free of Indian claims.

While the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians presented Jackson with problems of a more social, humanitarian and constitutional nature, the Seminole Indians of Florida provided armed resistance to white intrusion and retreated into the depths of the Florida swamps in 1835-36. The Army tried unsuccessfully to root them out with little success except through treachery. Eventually, they too, in 1842, were for the most part removed west of the Mississippi.

Overall, Jackson's Indian removal was a major operation for which there was no precedent. The general attitude of the whites was callous and indifferent. Politicians were always ready to seek profit from funds allocated to finance the migrations while some unscrupulous agents tricked the Indians into unfair agreements. On frequent occasion, prospective white settlers moved in and took possession of Indian lands before preparations for the Indian migration were complete. State governments defrauded the Indian regularly and the Federal government made only half-hearted attempts to protect them.

Removal of the Indians, of course, did not end their troubles since almost always they arrived at their western destination destitute and demoralized. Their survival depended upon government charity and dishonest contractors, not to mention agents, who kept them from receiving what had been rightfully accorded to them.

In retrospect, and as an explanation for Jackson's policy of removal Martin Van Buren, Jackson's successor, observed,

That great work was emphatically the first of his (Jackson's) own exertions. It was his judgment, his experience, his indomitable vigor and unrelenting activity that secured success. There was no measure in the whole course of his administration of which he was more exclusively the author than this.

Was it a policy conceived in the spirit of humanity? But then Van Buren was a Jacksonian Democrat too, wasn't he?

As for Jackson, once his objective was reached, he, in his seventh annual message delivered to Congress in December 1835, wrote at great length on what the Indians were to receive in the extent and richness of their new lands. He was very optimistic in his address and even acknowledged a "moral debt" to the Indians which would be paid by grants already stipulated in the treaty. Though Jackson has borne a large amount of criticism of the Indian removal and the way it was accomplished due to his policy, there is no evidence that he shared any hatred or dislike for them as a race. Was it thus that they received such treatment simply because it best served the immediate interests of national growth, unity and white protection?

#### IV. CONGRESSIONAL ACTS FOR INDIAN REMOVAL DURING THE JACKSON ADMINISTRATION

During his campaign for the Presidency, Andrew Jackson made the Indian problem a campaign issue. Consequently, shortly after his inauguration, he urged Congress to enact what became known as the "Indian Removal Bill". After much bitter debate, it was passed and became law on May 28, 1830.

In the Senate, the attack on its passage was led by Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, ably supported by Senator Sprague of Maine, who spoke for six hours against the bill. He fought to establish the Indians claim to independent authority over their lands and the protection of those rights by the Federal government. In the House, Representative Storrs of New York, Ellsworth of Connecticut and Everett of Massachusetts gave long speeches of the same nature. The administration did not lack its supporters and these men repeated Jackson's policy again and again to point out that it was in the best interests of the Indians. Jackson's followers insisted that opposition to the bill was purely party politics and that all the sudden feeling for the Indian was nothing more than a measure to defeat the President in a first important act. Jackson supposedly said, that opposition to the bill was part of the "secrete workings of Duff Green, Calhoun and Co."

As debate was progressing in Congress, both houses were flooded with "memorials", praying that the government protect the Indians from injustice and oppression. As the argument went on, more such "memorials" deluged Congress, mostly from New England and the East. Most came from religious and other social humanitarian groups as has been previously mentioned.

When the votes were counted, the removal bill passed by only a small majority, but the "agitation" against the administration regarding the matter grew stronger as more "memorials" continued to pour in. In addition, the Senate demanded that Jackson account for his enforcement of the Federal government's action in Georgia. Jackson, of course, responded with strong rationale for his course of action in withdrawing Federal troops from Indian lands in Georgia as that state extended its unlawful authority over the territory.

In the end, Jackson got what he was after as did Georgia; the authorization to remove the Indians even though it was, at that time, only on a voluntary basis.

This act provided in general terms the policy which had been already worked out in several special cases of exchanging lands west of the Mississippi for those held by Indian tribes. It also provided that, as has been discussed, these exchanges would be voluntary and "that payment should be made for improvements relinquished." Also, it gave governmental guarantees that the new home would be of a permanent nature. A second act of July 1832, entitled "An act to provide for the appointment of a commissioner of Indian Affairs, and for other purposes", established the first authorization for the post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This act involved the basis for the government's administrative authority and declared that the President would appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate such an officer under the Secretary of War.

As a result, commissioners were sent among the tribes to induce and negotiate such treaties that would move the Indians westward. The Indians of the southern tribes were Jackson's primary concern, but in due time, such commissioners moved into the territory above the Ohio River.



On June 30, 1834, Congress adopted another measure which was called "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes and to preserve peace on the frontiers." This established an area west of the Mississippi, and west of the Missouri, Louisiana and Arkansas Territories as "Indian Country". A second bill was enacted which supplemented the one passed in 1832, and created a Department of Indian Affairs to include the definition of its many functions.

Regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War were to be enforced by local agents. Two such agents were to be assigned to "Indian Country". One actually was established at the new Choctaw Agency in 1834, and the other remained in St. Louis to supervise the immigrant Indians in Kansas and the surrounding locale.

The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834, was similar in many ways to one that had been enacted in 1802, by giving a general definition of "Indian Country" that had been contained in the previous legislation. Due to a number of treaty sessions, the older bill had become obsolete. The new act dealt with a system for licensed traders and imposed a more detailed form of control over such traders than had originally been in force. The bill also relaxed the requirement for all American citizens to bear an official passport into "Indian Country". Other provisions of the bill dealt with subversive activities among the Indians and prosecution of crimes.

By the enactment of the "Indian Removal Bill", the tribes who agreed to exchange their lands were assured in following treaties that they would be able to control their own affairs, enjoy their own form of government and make their own laws. However, the latter was to be regulated by Congress as seen by the Act of 1834. Jackson's Indian removal policy had now received official legislative sanction as in actuality, it was to prevent the danger of collision among the Federal and various state governments, as well as the Indians and whites themselves. Finally, it was to halt further encroachment and decay of the Indian communities so that they could become "interesting and civilized".

The act of 1834 also led to perpetual protection of the Indian by establishment of a ring of forts around the territory keeping the red man in and the white man out.

#### V. CONCLUSION

It was not long after that the white frontier crossed the Mississippi crowding the tribes further west from their "permanent" settlements. Missouri had become a state in 1821, and its Indian inhabitants were moved to Kansas. As Arkansas became settled with whites, the Cherokees and other tribes living there were pushed into Oklahoma. Arkansas became a state in 1836, and was free of Indians! As mentioned, Iowa was admitted to the Union in 1846, and all its Indian population was moved west of the Missouri River, except for a small portion of the Sac and Fox band. "Thus, by the end of the 1830's, many displaced tribes were living west of the Iowa-Missouri-Arkansas line on tracts of land guaranteed (as always) to them in perpetual ownership."

But the purpose of this treatise is not to go further than the period of Jackson's administration which has been covered extensively.

The reaction of the Indians was seldom recorded, but here are some comments by one old Indian chief in 1839.

Here we are, surrounded by white men, who found their prosperity on individual property in the soil, and yet they prohibit us, as a tribe, from dividing our own lands among ourselves, and laying the foundation of our own improvement. Not only so, but when we, as individuals, acquire their knowledge, and adopt their

manners, they still prohibit us from owning individual property in the soil, either of our own lands or of theirs. In such circumstances, our advance in civilization is impossible. Our people associate only with the outcasts and lowest of the whites, because all others exclude us from participation equally in their rights and in their society. We adopt their vices, because an insurmountable barrier is placed between us and their virtues. We become miserable, degraded, extinct.

Indian problems to the Indian might have been more bearable if they had not been in vain. The idea of a permanent frontier had scarcely been thought of when it ceased to exist. The promises and treaties made to the Indians became worthless as the scraps of paper they were made on.

By 1834, a milestone in American Indian Policy had been reached and its formative years were over. The continually changing boundaries in "Indian Country" seemed to be over and relations with the tribes were somewhat stabilized. Jackson and his administration took pride in what had been accomplished as noted in his seventh annual message. He felt that the nation could look forward to less troubled times. Actually, reasons for lack of complete success were due to dishonest administrators and the continuing necessity to economize which has not seemed to change in almost a century and a half of government. On the plus side, and overall, the Indian removal policy, as advocated by Jackson, prevented much open conflict between the Indians and whites which allowed the inevitable advance of civilization with a specific degree of orderliness. Perhaps this was judgement enough of Jackson's policy.

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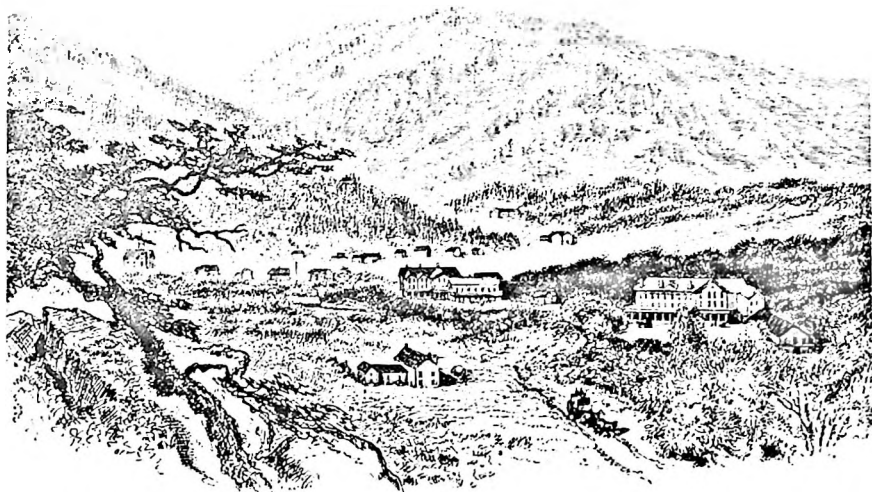
*The* DENVER WESTERNERS

# ROUNDUP

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1984



## MAJOR COLORADO STAGECOACH LINES Thomas J. Noel, P.M.



COLORADO.—BAYTROT SPRINGS, AT THE BASE OF PUEBLO PEAK, THE LEADING PLACE OF POPULAR RESORT IN COLORADO.—SEE PAGE 167.

Stagecoaches brought tourists and health-seekers to Manitou Springs before the Denver & Rio Grande railway completed its Manitou branch in 1880. Illustration courtesy Denver Public Library

*Also in this issue*

**DR. JOHN PARSONS' COLORADO MINT**  
Ivan W. Brunk

## VOICE FROM OUTER SPACE

Putting out a small organizational magazine like the ROUNDUP is a singularly unrewarding activity. It is as if no one reads or uses the publication, and as if the Editor is talking to himself and must rely entirely upon himself to maintain quality and to initiate any changes or improvements.

Authors seldom or never express any pleasure, satisfaction, or dissatisfaction with their published articles. They never agree, or disagree, with sometimes extensive or even spectacular editorial modifications from their original manuscripts, probably because they never read the printed version.

The general readership writes no "Letters from the Readers", and expresses no opinions regarding the content of the magazine, pro or con. The Editor ultimately concludes that no one really reads the ROUNDUP and one wonders whether anyone would notice if we were to run, as a test, a completely meaningless or nonsensical rigamarole to find out if we really do have a readership.

The only response we have had from all you out there was a correction from a CM in California of the date of the establishment of Westerners International which we had misquoted. You have no idea how welcome was this evidence that *someone* actually reads what we put out.

The only way a publication like the ROUNDUP can progress or improve is in response to comments, criticisms, and suggestions from you readers. What do you like; what do you dislike; what do you want; what improvements do you suggest??? Start them cards and letters coming.

The Editor

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## MAJOR COLORADO STAGECOACH LINES

by

Thomas J. Noel, P.M.

On May 7, 1859, the first stages—they traveled in pairs for safety—rumbled into Denver. A crowd of pioneers, wearing slouched hats, tattered woolen shirts, buckskin trousers, and belts sagging with knives and pistols, cheered while a few Indians watched in silence. This Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company (L. & P. P.) coach had traveled 687 miles to connect the Pike's Peak Gold Regions with "the states." L. & P. P. had invested an estimated \$250,000 in 52 Concord stages, 1,000 mules, stagestops at twenty-five-mile intervals, and "sober, discreet and experienced drivers."

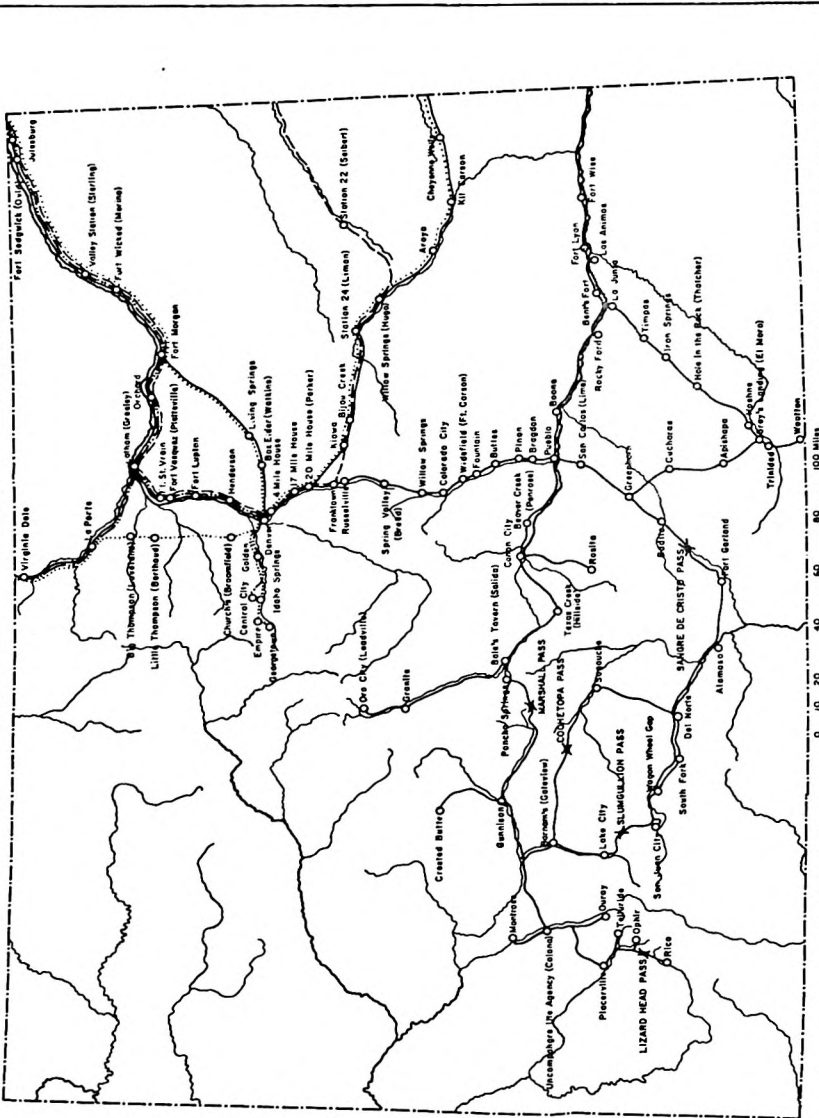
Subsequently dozens of other stage lines criss-crossed Colorado. Most of them were short-lived due to the extreme distances and climate, to Indian raids and bandits, and to the intense competition to capture federal mail subsidies. Practically all of the Colorado lines used the sturdy coaches made in Concord, New Hampshire by the Abbott-Downing Company. This carriage of white oak reinforced by iron and suspended on broad leather straps, was, as Mark Twain wrote in *Roughing It*, "a great swinging and swaying stage, of the most sumptuous description—an imposing cradle on wheels."

After operating for a month on the Republican River-Cherry Creek Route, the L. & P. P. switched to the South Platte River route into Denver. In the spring of 1860, the high plains freighting company of Russell, Majors, and Waddell reorganized the L. & P. P. as the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company (C.O.C.&P.P.). This firm shortened the time from Leavenworth to Denver to six days, reduced the Leavenworth to Denver fare from \$200 to \$75, and extended the route to Central City and via the Central Overland Trail to Placerville, California. Still the C.O.C.&P.P., dubbed the Clean Out of Cash & Poor Pay, suffered the same financial woes as its predecessor.

Ben Holladay, king of western stagecoaching, purchased the remaining assets of the C.O.C.&P.P. at auction in the spring of 1863. The Holladay Overland Mail and Express Company continued to use the South Platte River route into Denver and saved a day's travel by using the Fort Morgan cut-off.

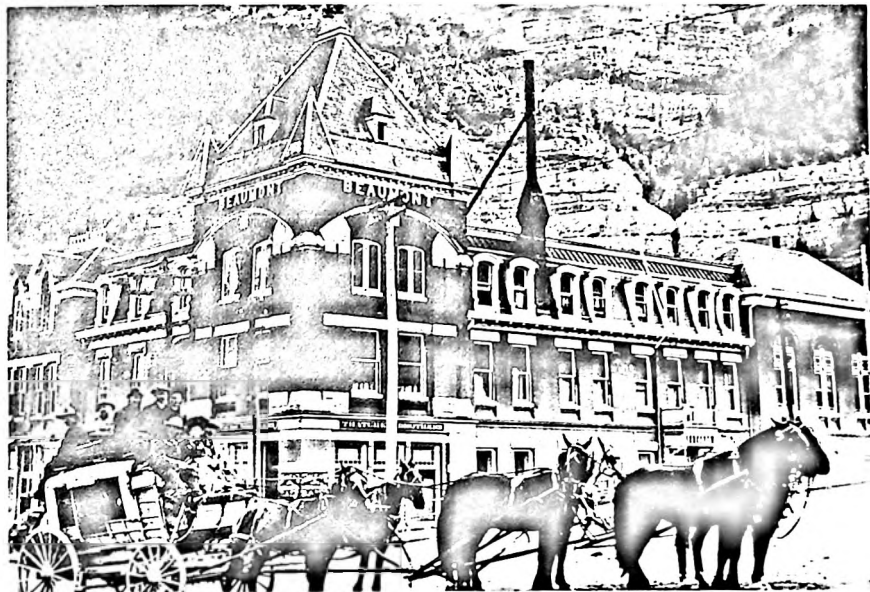
Holladay's Overland reigned until 1865 when David A. Butterfield (no relation to John Butterfield for whom the St. Louis to San Francisco Route was named) established Butterfield's Overland Dispatch stage between Atchison, Kansas and Denver via the Smoky Hill Trail. In 1866, Holladay bought out David A. Butterfield and sold that line and all the Holladay lines to Wells, Fargo and Company. Wells Fargo, the Western branch of the American Express Company, came to dominate western stagecoaching. In Colorado, the San Francisco based firm operated South Platte, Smoky Hill, and mountain routes until it stopped all Colorado stage operations in 1875.

MAJOR STAGE COACH LINES



- Barlow, Sanderson and Co. (1866-1884)  
(Fort Wise, Western and west to Denver)
- ..... Wells Fargo (1866-1875)
- - - Central Overland, California and Pike's  
Peak Express Co. (1860-1862)
- - - Holiday Overland Mail and Express Co.  
(1862-1866) (Julesburg to Denver)
- - - Butterfield's Overland Dispatch  
(1864-1866) (Cheswain Wells to Denver)

While Russell, Majors, and Waddell, Ben Holladay, the Butterfields and Wells Fargo fought for control of interstate lines, numerous local firms built feeder stage lines within Colorado. By the early 1860s, the Denver and South Park Stage Line tapped the gold mining towns of Fairplay, Tarryall, and Buckskin Joe in South Park and also crossed Boreas Pass into Breckenridge. Other lines built over the Golden Gate Canyon-Guy Hill and the Mount Vernon Canyon-Floyd Hill routes to Black Hawk, Central City, Idaho Springs and Georgetown. By the 1870s, local lines had pushed over Berthoud Pass into Grand County, over Loveland and Argentine Passes into Summit County and over Weston Pass to Leadville. Eventually stagecoaches reached most western slope towns. On the eastern slope, stage lines climbed up populated front range canyons—Cache La Poudre, Big Thompson, Left Hand, Boulder, Clear Creek, the South Platte and its North Fork, Arkansas, Huerfano, Cucharas, and Purgatoire.



Barlow & Sanderson, operators of Colorado's largest stagecoach network, operated in Ouray and the rugged San Juan Mountains until 1884. Illustration courtesy Denver Public Library

Colorado's most enduring and most important stage empire was that of Barlow and Sanderson. Bradley Barlow and Jared L. Sanderson, both veterans of Santa Fe Trail freight, mail, express and passenger service, formed a formal partnership in 1866. Their Southern Overland Mail and Express Company operated between Kansas

Author Noel will appreciate suggestions for augmenting or improving the map and/or text.

Map by Richard E. Stevens

City and Santa Fe on the Mountain Branch of the old Santa Fe Trail. Another branch continued up the Arkansas River to Pueblo and Canon City. In 1870 Barlow and Sanderson added the Denver and Santa Fe Stage to their growing operations and in 1876 they opened the first major line into the San Juan Mountain mining region of southwestern Colorado. Daily stages followed the Rio Grande River westward from Alamosa to Del Norte and then on to Lake City. Another B & S route pushed up the Arkansas River to the silver city of Leadville and by 1880 the company had extended its lines over Marshall Pass into Gunnison. While railroads replaced stages in Eastern Colorado after 1870, B & S continued to operate in the San Juans until 1884.

During the 1870s and 1880s stagecoaches retreated as railroad construction advanced. While many stage lines went out of business, others survived by connecting railheads to remoter regions. Until the advent of the motorcoach, a few stage companies carried on as relics of Colorado Territorial days when gruff drivers yelled "All aboard!" and cracked the "ribbons" to get horses or mules rolling with Concord coaches full of gold dust, passengers, express freight, and the U.S. mail.

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## DR. JOHN PARSONS' COLORADO MINT

by  
Ivan W. Brunk

Recent editions of the "Redbook" (*A Guide Book of United States Coins*) have included illustrations of "Updated 2½D and FIVE D Pikes Peak Gold" coins with this information: "JOHN PARSONS & COMPANY, Tarryall Mines — Colorado 1861. Very little is known regarding the mint of John Parsons and Co., although it is reasonably certain that it operated in the South Park of Colorado, near Tarryall, in the summer of 1861." This statement is not only incomplete, but also misleading. The main problem is that present-day Tarryall, a hamlet of about a dozen houses, is located about thirty miles downstream (near Tarryall Creek), from the Tarryall of 1861. Both sites are in Park County, Colorado, but today's Tarryall, in the Tarryall Mountains, did not come into existence until 1896, and was at first called Puma City.

There should be no doubt as to the location of the Parsons mint in 1861. *The Rocky Mountain News* of September 24, 1861 reported: "Gold coinage in Colorado Territory is getting to be quite a large business. Besides the extensive establishment of Clark, Gruber & Co. in this city, there is a mint in Georgia Gulch and another in Tarryall, besides a number of assayists in different mining towns, who refine gold and run it into bars." Stone (1918) indicated: "In the year 1859 Dr. John Parsons came into the South Park country from Quincy, Ill. In 1860 he brought out dies and presses and established a mint at Tarryall. Here he coined gold pieces of the \$2.50 and \$5 denomination which were in free circulation in Denver and surrounding country." And the *Westerners Brand Book* (Denver, 1948) stated: "Dr. John Parsons, of Quincy, Illinois, and since 1859 in the Pikes Peak region, brought out dies and presses and set up a mint at Tarryall near the mouth of the canyon northwest of Como, where the railroad later passed to cross the range to Breckenridge.

*The Rocky Mountain Gold Regions* (1861) had this description of Tarryall: "This city, situated in the centre of what is known as the *Tarryall Diggings*, has now a population of about 400; has several hotels, stores, express offices, etc. Its position in connection with the surrounding country, is such, that it must ultimately be the depot for that vast country whose riches and mineral resources are yet in their infancy. Parties going to Canon City, California Gulch and the San Juan mines pass through here. Rich quartz mines are being opened, and quartz mills erected in the immediate vicinity, which will be the means of building and concentrating a business capital at Tarryall, which will make its effects felt throughout the mining regions."

The *Miner's Record*, a weekly newspaper, was established at Tarryall on July 4, 1861, but suspended operations after only eleven issues. This item appeared on September 7, 1861: "We were shown one day this week by J. B. Stansell, Esq., some new coin of the denomination of two dollars and a half, which was coined by Dr. J. Parson of Tarryall Mines. The specimens we saw were the first that had been coined, and, although they were not as even and perfect in form as is usual in gold coin, were fair samples of Pike's Peak coinage. . . . We understand Dr. Parson designs

removing his coinage machinery to Buckskin Joe, where he will establish a mint for the coinage of gold of different denominations."

The *Miner's Record* gave this account of the history of the Tarryall mines: "On the 13th day of July, 1859, fourteen men . . . following up Chicago creek, crossed the Snowy Range at its head, and passing through the Buffalo Park, reached the Bayou Salado—now called Tarryall creek, on the 19th of July, and pitched their camp on the bank of the stream, just below where the main portion of Tarryall City now stands . . . near the camp a hole was sunk and good 'color' obtained . . . on the following day they followed up the stream and sank a second hole just below the junction of the main branches . . . good pay was struck, 'and the company made preparations to tarry-all.'"

### JOHN PARSONS & COMPANY

Tarryall Mines — Colorado 1861

Very little is known regarding the mint of John Parsons and Co., although it is reasonably certain that it operated in the South Park of Colorado, near Tarryall, in the summer of 1861.

#### Pikes Peak Gold



	Ex. Fine
(1861) Undated 2½ D. ....	\$20,000
(1861) Undated FIVE D. ....	30,000

From *Guide Book of United States Coins*, 29th Ed., 1976, by R. S. Yeoman. Permission Western Publ. Co. Inc.

*The Rocky Mountain News*, on August 13, 1859 reported: "About two weeks ago reports came in of rich discoveries in the South Park on the head waters of the Platte. Five days ago the rush began for the South Park; ever since a continual stream of miners have passed through our streets." The diggings were worked during the summer and fall of 1859 and about 150 men spent the first winter there. Mining again flourished on Tarryall Creek in the spring of 1860 and the new town of Hamilton sprang up. On June 13th *The Rocky Mountain News* reported: "This young city, laid out on the nearest suitable ground to the Tarryall mines, is growing by all precedent." By late 1860 it was estimated that Tarryall and nearby Hamilton had as many as 3,000 or 5,000 residents. The United States census of 1860 lists the names of nearly 1,000 persons at "Tarryall, South Park," (October 11-12, 1860). In addition, more than 10,000 were included for "South Park," (July 1860). Almost all of these persons were men and the majority were miners.

In 1861 thirteen large placer operations were going strong, recovering gold flakes as large as watermelon seeds. But by the fall of 1861, the activity was slowed

down by the lack of water, and by 1868 only a few hardy souls were in the area. Bowles (1869) had visited the gold regions of Colorado and found only a few persons at Tarryall and Hamilton. There was a revival in the early 1870's but the improved hydraulic placering methods were hampered by the water shortage, and by 1875 all profitable placering had ended.

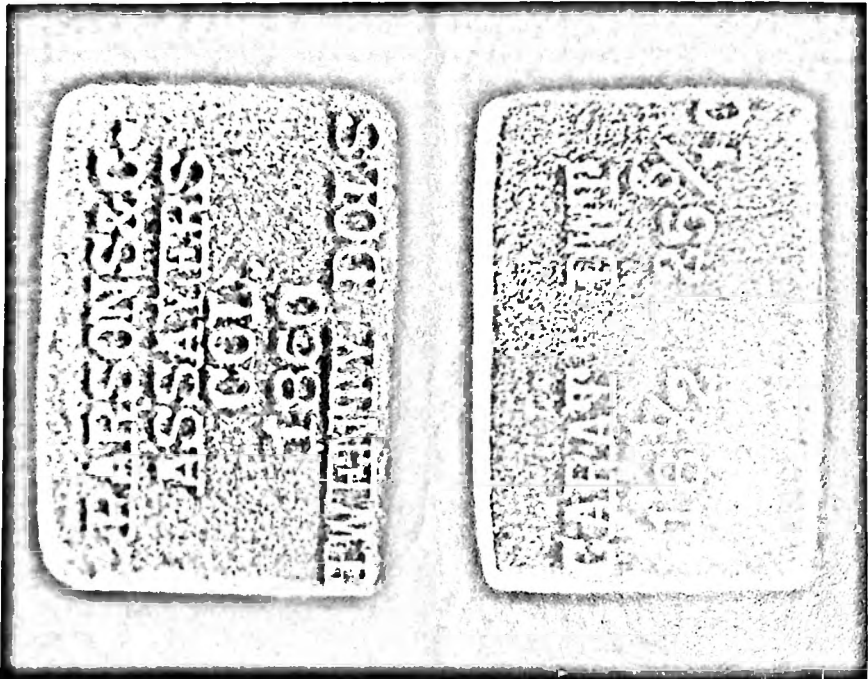
The Bonomos (1969) stated: "Arrival of the railroad in nearby Como in 1879 finished Hamilton and Tarryall for the white folks. Thereafter, it became a Chinatown housing mostly laborers who either reworked the placer beds or were employed in the coal mines of Como and King. The Chinese miners were particularly industrious and managed to make hydraulic placering operations pay until the early 1930's. Around 1912 crude dredging methods were tried for awhile. The vast heap of rubble created by the dredges wiped out the last remaining vestiges of Hamilton and Tarryall, and today the sites are buried under tons of rock."

In 1896 gold was discovered in the Tarryall Mountains along the eastern rim of South Park. The 1969 account indicated: "The principle camp was called Puma City and the area hit its peak in 1897 when nearly 1,000 were working the surrounding mines . . . at its peak, 15 or 20 properties were shipping ore. The town faded around 1900, and today is called Tarryall. The site is roughly ten miles southeast of Tarryall Reservoir on the Lake George Road." The Tarryall of 1861 was about thirty miles northwest of today's Tarryall.

There have been different opinions as to the significance of the word ORO on the Parsons coins, which were undated. The *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine* (1939) had this footnote: "The name 'Oro' on the coins would indicate that when the dies were made it was expected that the mint would be established at the town of Oro in California Gulch, near present Leadville." But in the catalogue of the *Garrett Collection Sales* (1979) it was pointed out that ORO is the Spanish word for "gold".

Either of these statements could be correct, for the author found Dr. Parsons in California Gulch in 1860, the year before his coins were minted at Tarryall. The 1860 United States census for California Gulch, August 6, 1860, lists: "Jno. Parsons, 43, Physician." In the same household with Dr. Parsons were: "Joseph Nuthank (?), 44" and "Elmon Peabody, 29." No occupations were given for the latter two, but they may have been part of "Parsons & Co." It appears that Dr. Parsons made a \$20 gold ingot in 1860 while at California Gulch. This is shown in *The Standard Catalogue of United States Coins* (1957) with this information: "Unique, discovered in 1952, this piece was authenticated by John J. Ford, Jr. the following year." The ingot has "PARSONS & Co ASSAYERS COL. 1860 TWENTY DOLS" on the obverse and "CARAT 18 ½ DWT 25 6/10" on the reverse. *The Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of United States Coins* (1976) indicated that it was unique, and in the Smithsonian (Lilly) collection. The Parsons gold coins are very rare and valuable. In 1979 a \$2½ coin sold for \$85,000 and a \$5 piece realized \$100,000.

Coquoz (1967) indicated that the first doctor came to the Leadville area in 1863. But Dr. Parsons and other physicians were there in 1860, as indicated by census records. It has been unclear whether the correct name of the doctor was Parson or Parsons. The *Adams Official Premium List* (1909) stated: "It is pretty certain that



Obverse and reverse of gold slug from Parsons Mint. Actual size about  $1\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{7}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$  inches. From collection Robert and Evelyn Brown; photo by Robert Brown, P.M.

the name of the senior member of the firm was 'Parsons' and not 'Parson' as appears on the coins. The omission of the final 's' was probably due to a mistake on the part of the engraver. In all the newspaper references to him the name was spelled 'Parsons,' and a veteran Denver assayer, who knew the Doctor personally, stated that he was sure the name was spelled with the final 's.'"

It may be that Dr. Parsons did not mint any coins after 1861 because of the diminished mining activity at Tarryall, but since the coins were not dated, it is possible that he did make some after 1861. In 1862 Congress approved a bill establishing the Denver Branch Mint and in 1863 the buildings and equipment of Clark, Gruber & Co. were sold to the U.S. Government, but the mint did not begin operations until 1906. At any rate, in 1864 the U.S. Congress passed a law forbidding the issue of gold coins by private individuals.

Dr. Parsons was found first in Quincy, Adams County, Illinois. The first Quincy city directory, published in 1849, lists a Jacob Parson. Dr. J. Parsons is included in the 1855-56 directory, and John Parson, physician is in the 1859-60 directory. John Parsons and Dopheny L. Dunster were married in Adams County on September



Ute Indian camp near Old Tarryall. Courtesy Colo. Hist. Soc.



Present appearance of the site of Old Tarryall and the Parsons Mint. Courtesy Colo. Hist. Society.

19, 1849. They are in the 1850 U. S. census for Adams County, City of Quincy, North Ward: "John Parson, 34, Physician" and "Daphney Parson, 31." In addition to being in the 1860 census in California Gulch on August 6, 1860, Dr. Parsons was in the 1860 Illinois census (June 9, 1860), Adams County, City of Quincy, 1st Ward: "John Parsons, 54, Physician with "Dafney Parsons, 36." In the same household were Warren D. (or L.?) Parsons, 10, and Charles A. Parsons, 2, probably their sons.

The Parsons family was found in the 1870 U. S. census for Colorado, Arapahoe County, apparently outside the city of Denver. John is 53, farmer, and Dapheny is 52. Warren, 20 (born in Illinois) and Helena, 8 (born in Utah) with them, are probably their children. It is not clear where Dr. Parsons was born. The 1850 census indicates "Ia." The 1860 Illinois census shows "Ind." and the 1860 for California Gulch lists "Wis." In the 1870 census his place of birth is Indiana. The 1880 census for Routt County, Colorado includes Warren L. Parsons, 28, born in Illinois. It indicates that his father was born in Indiana and his mother in Massachusetts. All of the census records for Dapheny show that she was born in Massachusetts.

It appears that Dr. Parsons was in the Denver area by 1864. On September 17, 1864 John Parson obtained eighty acres of land in Arapahoe County, by deed from Elias Gilbert and wife, for \$200. On June 9, 1874, John Parson and Dapheny L. Parson, his wife, executed a trust deed to secure the payment of a promissory note for \$1000, payable six months after date, with interest at the rate of 1½% per month. A trustees deed dated September 15, 1877 indicated that the note and part of the interest were defaulted, and the property was sold at public auction for \$1000.

Items in *The Rocky Mountain News* show the varied interests and activities of Dr. Parsons. In 1868 he was a judge at the Colorado Agricultural Fair and witness in a suicide case. In 1871 he was one of the incorporators of the Denver Aqueduct Company and at one time was its president. In January and February 1873 he was a speaker at or participated in four cattlemen's association meetings. Bancroft (1890) stated that John Parsons was the leader of a company exploring for silver in the Gunnison country. The reports were so satisfactory that an expedition was organized to return and explore the whole Gunnison area. After several months, the company returned to winter at Denver. Furnaces and machinery were purchased and all things placed in readiness to commence mining as soon as spring should come. The first exploration was apparently in the spring of 1873 and the second in the spring of 1874. Bancroft indicated: "Before spring arrived a panic had occurred in business circles, which put an end to the schemes of the Parson company." Although Parsons is identified as a botanist by Bancroft, this is probably an error. And the business panic which occurred may have been the reason for the default of the \$1000 note by Dr. Parsons.

*The Rocky Mountain News* of July 20, 1873 has this item: "Dr. John Parsons, of Denver, who has been absent in the South Park and immediate vicinity for some weeks past, has just returned to his home. The doctor has been prospecting over in Lake county, and brings home some wonderful stories of silver discoveries made in the vicinity of the Mount of the Holy Cross, south west of Mts. Lincoln and Bross. He brings some of the ore with him, which are very good specimens of rich deposits.

He reports to us that there are miles and miles of surface indications, as wide in many places as fifty feet, which yield up to \$200 per ton silver, and some much higher than that. The doctor is confident that the loads (sic) will excel those of the Emma and other leading mines of Utah and other sections of the country. It is probable that there will be an influx of prospectors to this newly opened section of Colorado, and that ere long it will become one of the leading mining camps of the territory."

Apparently Dr. Parsons was not a practicing physician during the time that he was in the Denver area. The Denver city business directories did not include his name under the listing for physicians. However, the following advertising appeared at least two times in the year 1872 in *The Rocky Mountain News*: "HOTELS—SPRINGBANK HOME, there are a few rooms vacant at this retreat for invalids where board and medical advice can be obtained. DR. JOHN PARSONS."

After July 2, 1874, when an item in *The Rocky Mountain News* indicated that Dr. Parsons had been elected vice-president of a fish hatchery association, the index of that newspaper did not mention Dr. Parsons again, until this appeared on January 29, 1881: "Dr. John Parsons, a Colorado pioneer who came here in 1858 from Quincy, Ill. died in Utah on the 12th instant. He lived 3 or 4 miles down the Platte until a few years ago when he removed to Salt Lake City."



Photo courtesy Colorado Historical Society.

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Anyone interested in further information on the Parsons Mint, including an extensive bibliography and a portrait of Parsons should consult *Dr. John D. Parsons, a Colorado Pioneer* by Edwin L. Young, in THE NUMISMATIST, Colo. Spgs., Sept., 1983.



#### OUR AUTHOR

Ivan W. Brunk is retired from the U. S. Weather Bureau after over 30 years service as meteorologist. He was born in Indiana and reared in three other states; in fact he and his siblings and both parents were all born in different states — real peripateticism! He is author of several articles on severe weather, on Great Lakes levels, church history, and genealogy. He and his family live at 3421 Montilla Court, Sarasota, Florida 33582, phone (813) 924-4538, but come to Colorado Springs each summer.

#### CUSTER NOTE

"General Custer and the "Old Seventh" were a hard drinking, hard fighting outfit. All regiments were hard boiled and hard drinking in those days. An old sutler's ledger of the time disclosed the fact that many of the officers of the post ran heavy liquor bills, but there was never an entry against George A. Custer. He did his best to have a sober regiment."

Philip W. Whiteley, M.D. ms. (Ref. to Pride, W. F., *History of Fort Riley*, Fort Riley 1926, p. 38) Ms. in Colo. Hist. Soc. Library.

#### HISTORIC LIVING COSTS

"On and after Thursday, March 5th, board at the Mountain House will be as follows: Board without lodging, six dollars per week; board with lodging, seven dollars per week." (*Central City Register-Call*, 1874)







## Westerner's Bookshelf



**Oklahoma Seminoles: Medicines, Magic, and Religion** by James K. Howard, with Willie Lena. Univ. Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1984. 300 pages, 108 illustrations. hardbound, \$19.95

Serious Indian fighting in this country goes back a long time. As a result of the Creek War, in Florida and Georgia (1813-14) the Seminoles (from the Spanish Cimarones: "wild") split from the Creek Confederation to remain in Florida and later support the British and Spanish in the War of 1812. In the first Seminole War, 1817-18, Andrew Jackson led 2000 Americans and Lower Creeks to push the Seminoles farther east and south, but could not defeat them. For years all attempts at treaties or the establishment of reservations failed. Jackson's 1830 Indian Removal Act called for the cession of all Indian Lands in the Southeast and removal of the tribes to west of the Mississippi. Under Chief Osceola, the Seminoles resisted this forceful eviction, resulting in the second Seminole War, 1835-42. That was the most costly of all of the Indian wars, taking the lives of 1,500 soldiers at a cost of twenty million dollars. It resulted in the forced removal of about 2,800 of the Seminoles to the Indian Territory, but many remaining in Florida kept up twenty more years of guerilla warfare. By the third Seminole War, 1855-59 only about 240 more of the tribe were deported. There was much dissatisfaction with the location, quality, and amount of land allotted to the Oklahoma Seminoles, but they gradually settled down to begin slow assimilation. Years later, with the discovery of oil in central Oklahoma, many members became wealthy.

This book is an amazingly complete but well written and lively account of the culture, traditions, and present life of the Oklahoma Seminoles. A major source is interviews and sharing of experiences with Willie Lena, a 70-year-old town chief, who was raised by his grandparents in the traditional tribal ways. Willie is an accomplished artist, and the book is illustrated by more

than a hundred of his vivid line drawings and watercolors. There are chapters on healing remedies, ceremonies, magic, sports, supernatural legends, and the everyday life of these people.

For the chapters on remedies, the author and Willie collected specimens of 51 plants, identified them, and described their healing properties. Most require that the Medicine Man blow bubbles through the liquid preparation through a long "sacred" hollow tube. To treat a boil or abscess, a small clean wood chip is placed on the sore spot, and then the patient's sister-in-law has four tries to shoot the chip with a small bow and arrow, to break open the boil. If this method is used for a sty, they say one "must be careful not to injure the eye".

The detailed chapters on magic and witchcraft tell of many old beliefs. One of their strongest medicines is that of the giant horned snake. The author, with Willie, has taken part in many dances and ceremonials including the summer Green Corn Ceremony and stick ball games. These are described in meticulous detail with illustrations of the paraphernalia, costumes, and the action. Other sports, supernatural legends, even mortuary practices, are covered.

James Howard has produced a valuable and complete account of the Oklahoma branch of the Seminole Indians, much enriched by the first hand details and vivid illustrations supplied by his collaborator, Willie Lena. Written in smooth easy style, the book is fascinating to read. Unfortunately the author died before publication of the book.

Robert K. Brown PM



**Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900**, by James C. Martin and Robert Sidney Martin. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1984. 174 pp. ill. with 50 plates.

This is a book about Texas and how it emerged from the early 16th Century maps when the Gulf of Mexico was first being depicted until 1900 when it was superbly mapped by the U.S. Government. The book consists of about 40 pages of general historical background followed by 50 maps, each reproduced with a page of descriptive material. Eight of the maps are reproduced in color; one wishes that they all could be.

As you read the book you can visualize the emergence of the state of Texas from a largely unknown and uninhabited border area over a time span of 400 years. The authors illustrate this process with the 50 maps and their effort is scholarly and thorough. They use the most important maps, some very rare. The descriptions are well done and suitable for the general reader. The introduction is almost too general as it would almost have to be. If the book is to be faulted it is in the implication that it covers the entire Southwest. It covers Texas well but the occasional forays into the rest of the southwest are too scanty to be thorough. They do whet the appetite for a similar book that focuses exclusively on that region. The title is simply too ambitious but if you want a map book about Texas-this is it.

Paul F. Mahoney, C.M.

**The Modern Cowboy**, by John R. Erickson, Photographs by Kris Erickson, Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, (1981), First Bison Book Printing, 1984 Paperback \$6.95.

This contains much material drawn from earlier writings by Erickson; primarily, *Panhandle Cowboy*, published in 1980 and a magazine article entitled "Pasture Roping over the Years", published in two parts in *Cattlemen Magazine*, in 1979.

If you are looking for a book about John Wayne, Roy Rodgers, or Hopalong Cassidy, you will be disappointed. If authentic cowboys and cowboying is your meat, then step up and help yourself. The book is illustrated with numerous, excellent photographs made

by Kris Erickson, the author's wife. The combination of text and illustrations makes the best description of the work and life-style of the modern American cowboy to be found. Erickson is a seasoned Texas rancher who not only knows his subject first hand, but has researched extensively the literature of the cowboy. The authentic modern working cowboy has found a champion and spokesman.

The book is divided into four major parts: (1) The Modern Cowboy — what he looks like and wears, his wife, horse sense and cow sense, vices, and recreations; (2) Tools of the Trade — horse, pick ups, trailers, pasture roping then and now; (3) What Cowboys Do — winter, round ups, summer, windmills, fall, calving; (4) The Bottom Line — the modern cattle business, economics of cowboy and rancher. The last part contains a section on books about cowboys. The author gives his personal appraisal of the work of such writers as Andy Adams, Phillip Ashton Rollins, J. Frank Dobie, J. Evetts Haley, Fay Ward, Ben K. Green, Spike Van Cleve, Elmer Kelton (a novelist), Jane Kramer, and Larry McMurtry. This appraisal is revealing and valuable.

If the book can be said to have faults, they are minor and stem from the fact that all of the pictures and text depict cowboying in a single region, the Texas and Oklahoma panhandles. A primary writer's dictum says that an author writes best about those scenes and events with which he has had most experience, but it would strengthen the promise of the book's title if experiences and working methods were drawn from Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, New Mexico, Arizona, California, or even Florida, which in some years ships more beef cattle to market than even Texas.

The University of Nebraska Press has done a service for modern Western history lovers by bringing this book out in the popular Bison series of paper backs, providing much exposure to the general public. If you have an active interest in live, modern American cowboys, you won't go wrong with this book.

Mel Griffiths, P.M.



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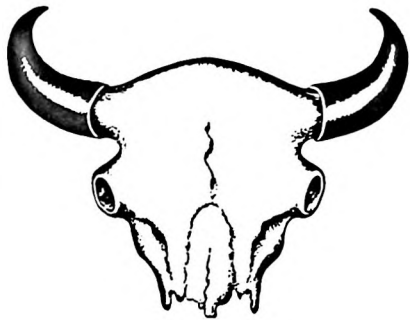
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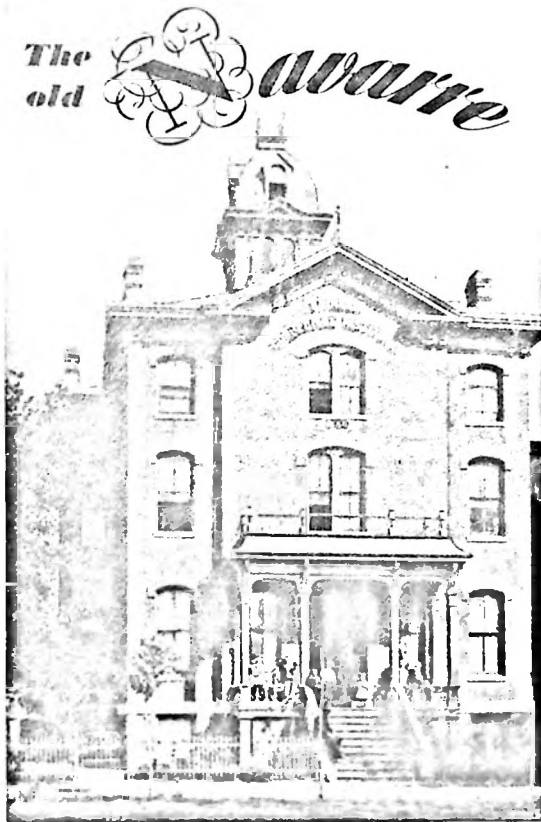
# ROUNDUP

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1984



## MEMORIES OF OLD DENVER EATERIES

Bennett M. Wayne, P.M.



The Navarre Restaurant when Johnnie Ott was proprietor, at 1727 Tremont. The restaurant served a high class of customers in a building with a checkered history but which is now on the National Register of Historic Places. Courtesy Colo. Hist. Soc.

## FOR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION

We hope that most of you will have responded generously to the suggestion on your dues notice labeled "Donation". At the present time such gifts are used to defray the costs of publication of the ROUNDUP, but we hope that in the course of time there may be a nucleus for the establishment of a capital fund which will not be expended but will be deposited in a savings account, the interest only of which will help support the activities of the Denver Westerners.

We should also not overlook the possibilities of "Living Wills" in which a sizeable gift to the Denver Westerners is set aside to draw interest for the donor during his lifetime, but will revert to the Westerners at his death.

## OUR AUTHOR

**Bennett M. Wayne** is a genuine Denver old-timer, having arrived in 1919. In a previous talk before the Denver Westerners (ROUNDUP, July-August 1982) he summarized an entertaining history of what he called the "low-life" of downtown Denver during the second quarter of our century and following.

An article in the Denver Post regretting that, until the present, there had "not been a good restaurant in Denver for 100 years" prompted Ben to present a resume of the *many very good* restaurants which some of the rest of us also experienced, in my case since 1921.

Ben talks from brief notes, and his oral presentation was illuminated by a myriad anecdotes and incidents which unfortunately we do not have here, but which may have been captured by a couple of tape recorders we saw in operation. Perhaps we'll have them later.

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## MEMORIES OF OLD DENVER EATERIES

by

Bennett M. Wayne P.M.  
Presented 24 October 1984

Long years ago dining out in Denver was not only fun and a pleasure but it was gratifying. The food was good and there were so many nice restaurants in town. Wherever you went you met so many people that you were acquainted with. Were people friendlier? Today you go out and it is a city of strangers and even the food is not what you thought it should be. Don't tell me that I am getting old and crotchety! That may be true, but I still maintain the food lacks delectableness! The tables then had tablecloths and cloth napkins, no placemats and paper napkins!

There are so many reasons for this decadence. First, so few restaurants have genuine chefs. Most have fry cooks or some that put on a tall white hat and this gives them the ego to call themselves chefs. Now there are fast-food places and hurry-up submarine sandwiches, also the incomparable micro-wave oven, frozen dinners and frozen yogurt.

People also dressed up to dine out. Now you can't tell whether they own the place or just came in from plowing the north 40!

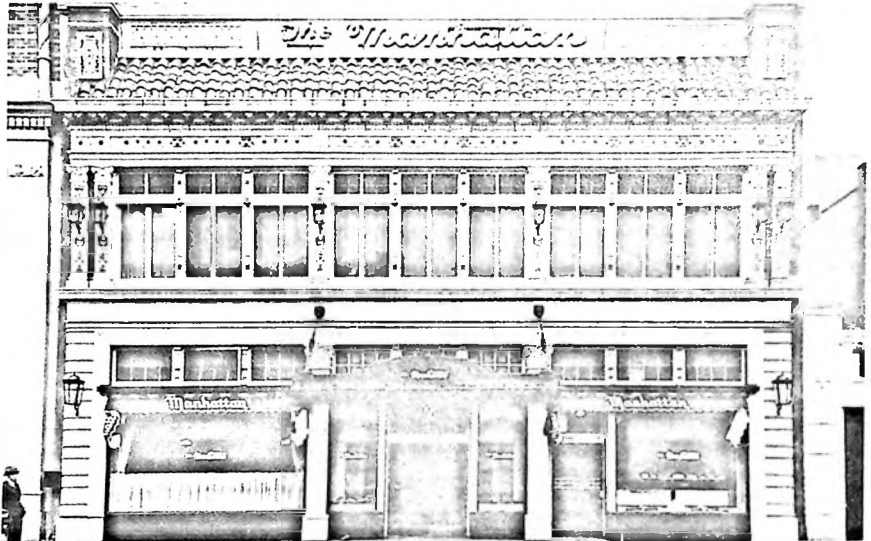
A long, long time ago when I first arrived in Denver by train, there was a large arch in front of the Union Station that read "Mizpah." I had no idea what it meant and neither did the people I asked, not even the Red Cap (what ever became of them?) or the policeman. That landmark is long gone and I wonder why? Recently I read a review in the News of a gourmet restaurant, stating that two people could eat dinner for \$85.00, wine included! Another writeup on a restaurant wrote that two lamb chops cost \$18.00. My old Manhattan restaurant menu of 1932 listed three lamb chops for 65 cents! There is an awful lot of inflation around but I believe there is exploitation too!

It is sad that most of the youngsters of today will miss the taste of good food and the odor of home cooking. I can still remember coming home from school on a Friday and the odor of baking and cooking would permeate the air! That was an odor you can't conjure up from TV dinners or micro-wave ovens. There were no additives, preservatives nor coloring and they never counted the vitamin contents, but it sure was good eating. We have been computerized, mechanized and victimized!

The first restaurant where I had dinner in Denver was in the Oxford hotel, near the Union Station. That was really a nice place to eat. This was where I saw my first lobster, served by a waiter. I had eaten crawdads in Missouri but this was an overgrown one! I found out later that the prices here were a little higher than the usual restaurant fare, for they catered to the gourmet diners and society. The black boys in Kansas City (we called them colored then) made a living carrying a basket of crawdads and singing "crawdads, they are red hot."

The Manhattan restaurant between 17th and 16th streets on Larimer was the finest restaurant in town in that era, and the most reasonable. A steak dinner with

all the trimmings was 70 cents! Today's salad is a little lettuce, one cherry tomato and a slice of red cabbage. The Manhattan served a combination salad that had lettuce, radishes, cucumbers, green onions, tomatoes and whatever vegetables were available. The table had a clean white tablecloth and a white cloth napkin! Each table had 3 bottles of different kinds of dressing. A plate on the table contained 3 stacks of bread about 8 inches high, consisting of white, rye and whole wheat and as soon as you sat down you received a glass of water. Johnny Winslow was the manager and he was constantly walking up and down the aisles to see if everyone had everything they needed. They were always busy and if you had an empty chair at your table they asked if you would mind if they sat someone there.



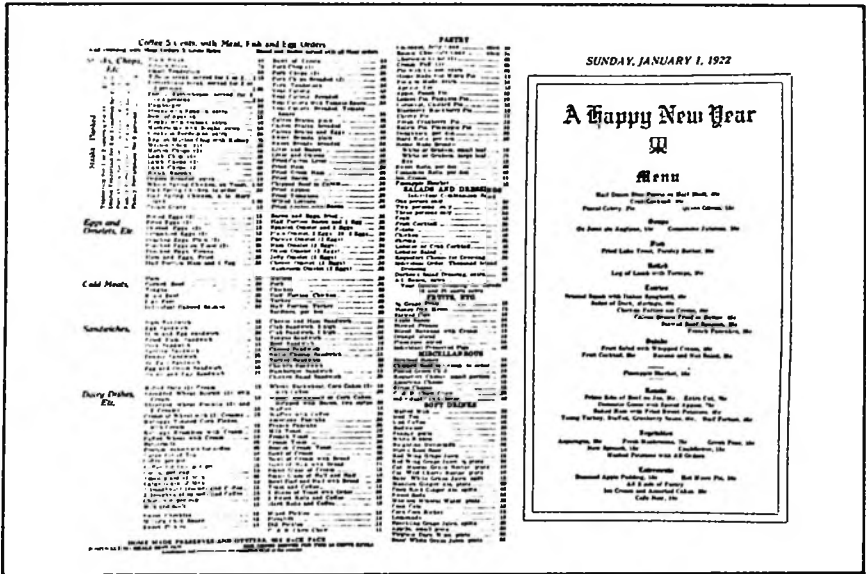
The old Manhattan Restaurant at 1633 Larimer Street. Denver's finest in its time. Photo Colo. Hist. Soc.

Their steaks were absolutely delicious and were prepared the way you wanted. You could order french fried onions and there would be a platter of them fresh from the kitchen, the likes of which you have never tasted. I don't know what they did to them but they were altogether different from what you get today! If you have never eaten there you really missed something!

In later years on 17th street between Arapahoe and Lawrence was the gourmet restaurant of Joe Awful Coffee, a place of fun and good food. Joe always had a relish dish on each table not like you see today. He had a large relish dish with pickles, olives, black and green, tomatoes, radishes and other goodies and refilled if you requested more. Joe served one of the best steaks in town. When the mood inspired him, Joe would bellow out at the top of his voice an aria from some opera. Joe sang it pretty but it came out rotten! Also on Curtis street was Mrs. Rosen's Kosher



restaurant, a few doors west of the Rivoli theatre. That was a good restaurant until Mrs. Rosen got the inspiration to go out in front and leave the cooking to her underlings. What a waste of talent — the restaurant didn't last very long.



Menu from the old Manhattan Restaurant. Photo Colo. Hist. Soc.

I must tell you about Wasserman's delicatessen on 18th street between Curtis and Champa. Wassy had his meats sent from Chicago but he cooked them here. He had the real old-fashioned corned beef, pastrami, and tongue. All the boys from uptown came there for lunch and they loved kidding Wassy. Business was good at Wasserman's. There was a bar across the street that closed, and Wassy bought the booths to spruce up his place. One day two lawyer customers of Wassy's started ribbing him. I was sitting in the first booth and he turned to me and said, "Ben, I fix up a high class place but I can't get rid of the low class customers!"

On the corner of 18th and Champa street was Lund's Swedish pancake restaurant. People flocked there from all over town. Those pancakes were really delicious.

There were several restaurants around town owned by Mr. McVittie. Mac always had signs in his windows reading "Mac, your coffee is great."

On California street between 16th and 17th was the good old Edelweiss restaurant, notch more elegant than the Manhattan. When you were showing off you went here. The food was very good. They later moved to Glenarm street where Mr. Ichotski really spruced up the place. This was where Leonard Cahn, sports writer for the Rocky Mountain News, held his dawn patrol. They gathered from 10 P.M.



On Broadway was the Blue Parrot restaurant and the Charcoal Broiler, Waldman's, Bennett's, and the Golden Lantern. On Tremont place was the notorious Navarre. The Navarre was a showplace and had good food. They had waiters who carried big wooden bowls of salad and you could have as much as you wanted; also a salad dressing that I have never tasted since. The Navarre had a choice menu, the food was exceptionally good, and prices were a little higher. They catered to a nice clientele.

Down the street was Boggio's Italian restaurant. Boggio was maitre d', owner and overseer. He saw that everyone was treated royally and the food was good. Boggio had a wine cellar and enjoyed showing the female customers around.

Also on Broadway at 1st Ave. was Murphy's restaurant. The young folks liked it there. The chili was terrific and the french fries were delicious.

Come to think of it, there was a restaurant called Old #10 which was a couple of railroad cars fixed up with beautiful drapes and booths, and which served very fine steaks. It was located off either 10th or 11th street on Wazee or Market street.



Charpiot's Restaurant, the "Delmonico of the West", was located on Larimer Street next door to Tammen's wholesale variety and souvenir store, across from the old Manhattan Restaurant. Photo Colo. Hist. Soc.

Lou Coffee opened a steak house in the old Colorado Hotel building on 17th street. Lou and his brother Charlie had a nice business and catered to a good class

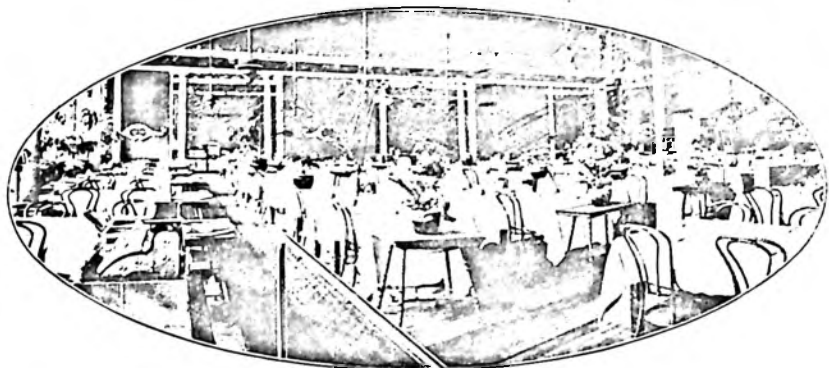
of people. In that same building, on the corner was the Colorado restaurant operated by the hotel. It was reasonably priced and had a varied menu.

Across the street was the Red Wing restaurant under Greek management and they too did a nice business, but it seems that the restaurant business has left downtown Denver. What nicer place to eat than the old Baur's on Curtis street near 15th street. Baur's made their own ice cream and candy. They specialized in mihaj pie, candy and sundaes.

The Dutch Mill restaurant was across the street from the Denver Post newspaper on Champa street. The Denver Post had an electric scoreboard for scoring the World Series of baseball. The lights lit up for a hit and the ball was on a string that traveled wherever the ball was hit.

1629-1641 Welton Street

Denver, Colo.,----- 190



*Have just had an Elegant Meal at the famous Home Dairy Restaurant,  
the largest and best appointed restaurant in the United States.*

Postcard from the Home Dairy Restaurant, 1907. Photo Colo. Hist. Soc.

Maybe you remember Garrity's that later became the Brass Rail? It was located on Champa street. They had a steam table and a little Chinese man made the sandwiches, standing over his domain like a sentry. He would have a big hunk of beef and a large ham in front of him for the sandwiches. He fixed a ham that was unique in taste! One day when he wasn't so busy I asked him what he did to the ham that made it taste so good and he said, "I'll tell you part of what I do. I use brown sugar, lots of cloves, chunks of pineapple and some honey, but you'll have to guess the rest!"

I once almost ate at Gano Senter's restaurant across from the Loop on 15th street. As I started to go in a friend of mine spoke to me and said, "You're not going in there. are you Ben? That's a Ku-Klux Klan hangout and Gano is a big shot in the organization."

I can't leave out telling you about Joe Buckman's Chicken restaurant in Jarre Canyon. You turned off at Castle Rock and went up the canyon a short distance and he really served you a meal. They put up their own preserves, pickles, and vegetables.

Saliman's on 15th and Glenarm street served some mighty good food. When the restaurant moved to 17th street it lost its glamor!

One place I failed to mention was the Sun Drug at 16th and Curtis street. they had a good fountain and also a balcony where they served food. A fellow named Angelo was the man in charge. Angelo was a strict disciplinarian and watched every plate or dish that was served. Angelo could slice bread (that was before bread came already sliced) faster than any other person I have ever seen.

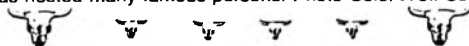
There are many things or happenings that may sound insignificant to many of you, but they are significant to me as they have left an imprint on my memory of years gone by. There are a lot of things I would like to remember to forget, but there are so many memories that I cherish.

I do know what it is to be young, but so many of you don't know what it is to be old!



*VIEW OF  
BUCKHORN EXCHANGE RESTAURANT  
One of Denver's most interesting and popular places  
SITTING AT THE BAR  
COLD AND HOT LUNCHEONS AT ANY TIME  
We make a specialty of Steak Dinners.*

Historic Buckhorn Exchange Restaurant, 1000 Osage Street. Henry Zeitz, founder, leaning on the bar opposite bartender. Has hosted many famous persons. Photo Colo. Hist. Soc.



**Kachinas: A Selected Bibliography** by Marcia Muth. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1984. 30 pages, paper, \$4.95.

This small publication offers a brief introduction to what a Kachina is both to the Indian and to the collector of Indian art. Included is a collection of eight full-page black and white drawings of selected

Kachinas done by Glen Ströck. The selected bibliography contains a listing of over one hundred references to sources of information regarding Kachinas. This book will be a positive addition to anyone interested in this important aspect of the culture of the American Southwest.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.



## Westerner's Bookshelf



**Jackson Hole Journal**, by Nathaniel Burt. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1983. 231 pp., 32 illus., map, index. \$16.95 hardbound.

The title of this book conjures up images of bearded and buckskinned mountain men, followed by cowboys and Indians, all cavorting in the shadow of the magnificent Teton Range of northwestern Wyoming. The Teton Range is in this *Journal*, all right, but the book has nothing to do with the exciting early history of Jackson Hole when it epitomized the raw western frontier. This book is about the relatively tame twentieth century. It deals with two stages of this recent period, the era of genteel dude ranching and affluent Eastern dudes who had their own private brand of excitement, and the era of the "Jackson Hole controversy" over the creation and extension of Grand Teton National Park.

In fact this is not history in the academic sense. It is a personal memoir of a man who was born on the Bar BC Ranch in 1913, and grew up there and lived through it all. As to its virtues as a memoir, my reactions are mixed. It is honest reporting about colorful scenes and characters in the continuing comic opera that was the dude ranch business. While the endless anecdotes about quaint, famous, often wealthy, and sometimes villainous characters are amusing, I found myself bored by the hundreds of people with meaningless names dragged on and off stage. I mean, the behaviour of the inhabitants of this fake Shangri-La may intrigue a lot of people today living in Jackson, Wyoming, but who gives a hoot, so to speak, in Peoria?

Through it all the author, a genuine poet in his own right, honestly reveals his own feelings, not only about the amours and the prat-falls, but about his own infatuation with the magnificent wilderness setting of all this human trivia. This is the aspect I can empathize with — Mr. Burt's rhapsodic feelings about Jackson Hole itself, including the sublime Tetons. I have visited and vacationed there frequently — the first time in 1930 when the original Park was

first created — and have always been haunted by its magic.

Nathaniel's parents, Struthers and Katharine Burt, were both prominent authors as well as pioneers in the dude ranch business. In a sense this is also a biography of Struthers Burt, whom I first met in 1940 in a visit to the "Hole" by The American Pioneer Trails Association. He was in the forefront of the long and bitter campaign to preserve Jackson Hole as an addition to Grand Teton National Park, whereby it would be a proper setting for the Tetons instead of an agglomeration of unregulated honky-tonks. He was one of a tiny minority of "Jackson-Holers" who were *for* rather than *against* the Government on this issue. It is to the vast credit of this small band as much as to the machinations of the National Park Service that in 1950 Jackson Hole got the blessings of Congress as part of the National Park system. Ironically, many of the bitter opponents of the 1930s and 1940s are now grumbling all the way to the bank with the wealth brought to the Park and Jackson, Wyoming by an annual influx of 3 million awed tourists.

Merrill J. Mattes, P.M.

**The Taos Guide** by Kathryn Johnson. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1983. 64 pages, illustrations, paperback, \$5.95.

There are numerous books about Taos and the area of New Mexico that surrounds the town, but this small book of sixty-four pages will provide first-time visitors with all the necessary information needed to enjoy their visit to this very special place. The author touches lightly on topics that range from geology to where to eat, and for those readers who want to dig deeper into Taos, the book includes a short suggested list of books that are available. To these I would add *Winter in Taos* by Mable Dodge Luhan, *If Mountains Die* by William Davis and John Nichols, and *The Milagro Beanfield War* by John Nichols to the list of books about Taos. This is the best brief introduction to Taos that is available today.

Ray E Jenkins, P.M.

**William de la Montagne Cary** by Mildred D. Ladner. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1984. 242 pages, 16 pages of color illustrations, 59 black and white illustrations, maps. Hardbound, \$39.95.

This is the third publication in The Gilcrease-Oklahoma Series on Western Art and Artists. The subject of this biography is a 19th century illustrator who specialized in western American subjects. In the documentary style of Charles M. Russell and Frederic Remington, William Cary's work showed a West and the people in it that were rapidly changing. His paintings and engravings were an attempt to capture this aspect of America.

Cary gained his knowledge of the American West during two trips that he made in 1861 and 1874. After both trips, he used his sketches to develop his paintings. His first journey west was with two other young men, William M. Schieffelin and Emlen N. Lawrence who were also from New York. They were aided in their adventure by men such as Pierre Chouteau and Major Alexander Culbertson. Their travel took them by steamboat up the Missouri River, overland to the Pacific Northwest, down the coast to San Francisco, and back to New York by steamer. Cary used the sketches made by him on the trip as the basis of the illustrations that he sold in later years to several magazines and newspapers. His second trip to the West in 1874 was made under contract with "Harper's Magazine." He secured permission to accompany the Northern Boundary Survey party to the North Dakota-Montana region that he had seen on his first trip. On this trip he was struck by just how much life in the West had changed in only thirteen years.

The book is a combination of an incomplete biography of William de la Montagne Cary, travel accounts by Cary and Schieffelin, and the story of the acquisition of Cary's work by Thomas Gilcrease. The major strength of the book is the travel accounts and the reproduction of much of Cary's work. The major weakness is that the author must not have been able to discover information about several major parts of Cary's life. Three important unanswered questions are; why did the three young men go west in

1861, why did Cary not join the Union Army during the Civil War, and what exactly was he doing during certain periods in his life that are not discussed in the book.

Explanation of a statement regarding the grizzly: the author states that the grizzly is "found in abundance in Alaska and have penetrated as far south as the Sangre de Cristo mountains." In the lower forty-eight, the grizzly is apparently now found only in the Yellowstone National Park and Glacier National Park areas, and if the National Park Service continues its past policies, the grizzly will soon be gone from Yellowstone. This book presents information regarding an artist not as well known as many other artists that painted the West, but Cary is certainly a person that made a very significant contribution to our understanding of the West before settlement. The accounts of the adventures of Cary and Schieffelin make very interesting reading.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

**Fur Trade and Exploration: Opening the Far Northwest 1821-1852**, by Theodore J. Karamanski. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1983. 330 pages, 8 Maps, 24 ills. Hardcover, \$22.95.

"Brown gold", the precious beaver pelt desired by so many in the early 19th century was the basic motivation for young Englishmen and Scots to open the far Northwest via the Hudson's Bay Company. The Far Northwest consisted of northern British Columbia, the Yukon, western Northwestern Territories and eastern Alaska. This vast area included thousands of square miles of untouched wilderness, rivers, streams, and hostile Indians.

The basic history of the Hudson's Bay Co. is well known to the student of history and this book is a fine additional chapter in Northwestern history. The text reads as a diary in many places and with its excellent maps, illustrations, and exhaustive bibliography this volume is a must for anyone interested in the North American fur trade.

Eugene Rakosnik, P.M.



**Cripple Creek Days** by Mabel Barbee Lee. Foreword by Lowell Thomas. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1984. 270 pages, 30 ill.. Paperback \$7.95

"Cripple Creek Days" is a delightful book dealing with the life of the author when as a small girl she and her family lived at Cripple Creek, Colorado. She arrived there as a child in 1892 and personally experienced the hardships as well as the joys of a booming mining camp. "The World's Greatest Gold Camp". Her father was a stubborn individual who spent his life prospecting; he lacked the temperament of the typical miner.

As a result of her father's occupation and the family's residence in Cripple Creek, Barbee Lee became well informed on the hardships and vicissitudes of mining and life in a gold camp. Her mother Kitty was a beautiful woman who suffered over the years during their struggles for an existence in Cripple Creek.

Alcohol, sexual activities, and money were always strong motivating factors in the historical development of the mining regions of Colorado. The author has skillfully woven the threads of sin into the fabric of life at Cripple Creek around the turn of the century. The gold camp panorama is pictured as seen through the eyes of a small girl and later as viewed by a beautiful young woman. The language used would be socially acceptable in homes as distant as miner's huts on Poverty Gulch or the Colorado Governor's mansion in Denver. Teenagers as well as senior citizens will readily grasp the essentials as the story unfolds.

The Lees became acquainted with many former Coloradoans while they were at Cripple Creek. A few of the notables were Lowell Thomas, Jack Dempsey, Dr. Whiting, Albert I. Carlton, W.S. Stratton, and Richard Roelefs.

The book covers the many mines in the Cripple Creek area including the Golden Cycle, the Tornado, the Doctor Jackpot, the Molly Kathleen and the Gold Coin and Battle Mountain. Historical coverage on the railroads is excellent. They were the Midland Terminal Railroad and the Florence and Creek Railroad.

Events and places of significance that add

interest to the book were the wreck of the Florence and Creek Railroad in 1894, the Towers where Theodore Roosevelt was entertained in 1901, home of W. S. Stratton, Continental Hotel on Myers Avenue, Bennett Avenue in 1894, Cripple Creek's Great Fire of 1896, Pisgah Graveyard, Independence Depot in 1904, Anaconda 1898, Mines on Battle Mountain, Views of Cripple Creek, and Poverty Gulch.

The book is highly recommended both for the subject matter and the excellent black and white illustrations. The original book which was a hardback is considered a collectors item. It is available at several Denver Bookstores at prices ranging from \$15.00 to \$50.00.

Robert C. Accola, C.M.

**The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie.** Introduction by William H. Goetzmann (Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1874) 269 pp. Paperback \$6.95

This is a reprint of the original Pattie edition published in 1831 in Cincinnati by Timothy Flint, a noted dime novelist of the day. Dealing with adventures in the early fur trade of the Southwest, it has been a prime source of data for historians. It is not an entirely reliable source, however. Professor Goetzmann points out that Pattie's chronology is frequently in error by one or more years, some of his claims to discovery (i.e. Yellowstone Park) are the result of geographical ignorance, and his self-portrayal as the leader or hero of certain exploits and escapades is patently exaggerated. Notwithstanding these defects, Goetzmann ranks Pattie along with Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, and Jim Beckwourth as "an authentic culture hero . . . of American mythology."

Sorting out facts from myth, it appears that Sylvester Pattie of Kentucky and his eldest son James Ohio abandoned eight motherless younger children to an unknown fate to seek wealth in furs on the Upper Missouri. In 1825 at Council Bluffs they switched plans and joined others to head for Santa Fe. Among young Pattie's adventures in the Southwest were the alleged rescue of a Mexican maiden from Indian captors, and the massacre of Michel Robidoux's party of French trappers on Gila River. Pattie's claim



to be the first American to behold the Grand Canyon of the Colorado may be valid, but it appears that, despite his assertion that he reached the Upper Yellowstone, he probably got no farther north than the Upper Platte. At no time is there evidence that he participated in any of the successive annual rendezvous of the Rocky Mountain fur traders.

After discounting Pattie's wilder geographical claims, Goetzmann still credits him with having seen "more of the West than any man excepting Jedediah Smith and Peter Skene Ogden." In 1828 the two Patties went from the mouth of the Colorado River to Lower California where they were imprisoned by the Mexican Governor, and the elder Pattie died in jail. From here via northern Mexico James Ohio made it back somehow to the States, old beyond his 26 years, broke and penniless, and "ready to sell his story to whoever would pay."

Pattie's narrative is rambling and disjointed, but offers much good reading for fanciers of early frontier history. Milton Quaipe calls him "the forerunner of all the blood and thunder tales of Indians and the Wild West." It helps to understand that while Pattie himself was authentic, and many of his movements have been confirmed by the cross-checking of historians, his epic story is interwoven with strands of fiction, whether accidental or on purpose. It is part of the fun for every reader to try separating the dross from the gold.

Merril J. Mattes, P.M.

*New Mexico: A New Guide to the Colorful State* by Lance Chilton, Katherine Chilton, Polly E. Arango, James Dudley, Nancy Neary, and Patricia Stelzner. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1984. 640 pages, illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$35.00 cloth, \$17.50 paper.

This was first published in 1940 as a volume in the American Guide Series which was a project of the Work Projects Administration. A group of New Mexico writers have now written the first major revision in forty-four years. While the years have brought change in some areas such as paved roads and increased population, the interesting point made by the new edition is that much

of what makes New Mexico a very special place has remained the same.

The authors have written this new edition with "three groups of people in mind: those who are now traveling in New Mexico, those who plan someday to do so, and those who have toured in our state at sometime in the past." Another group of readers would certainly be those people who have an interest in the history of the Southwest as the book is about a state that is a very important part of the region.

The revision follows the format of the original edition, but in many ways, this revision is completely new. The topical chapters retain the same titles, such as history and literature, but the information is more than just an update. The book contains a series of eighteen tours that cover the state by traveling the main highways with the addition of side tours. The new edition does not have the outstanding photographs of Laura Gilpin and Ernest Kneec, but the photographs contained in the new edition are very good. Carol Cooperrider's strip maps and city maps are a positive addition, and the pen and ink drawings done by Katherine Chilton make the book something special.

An interesting way to use this new edition is in conjunction with the original edition to discover what changes have occurred throughout New Mexico. It is also worthwhile to compare the chapters on literature to discover what books made both editions and what a large number of excellent books about New Mexico and its people have been written since 1940. The bibliography of the new edition is a good source to use in studying the state.

It is often easy to point out mistakes in any book of this magnitude, and while the authors have done a fine job of checking information, on page 334 reference is made to Mabel Dodge Sterne renting a house from Doc Martin when she arrived in Taos. According to Frank Waters in *To Possess the Land*, she rented the home of Arthur Rochford Manby for \$75 a month.

It is often the case that just when a person believes that his knowledge of certain areas is complete along comes a book that provides new vistas. This is certainly one of those books.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

**Santa Fe Then and Now** by Sheila Morand, photographs by John Swenson. Santa Fe, Sunstone Press, 1984. 96 pp., photographs. \$14.95, paperback.

Santa Fe Then and Now is the book to have with you on your next visit to "The City Different." The book will enable the visitor to see the city with a widened perspective even if you are very well acquainted with Santa Fe. One will look at the buildings, including those on the plaza, with a new understanding of the changes over the years.

Using photographs from the city's past, from the collection of the Museum of New Mexico, the author attempts to present a few of the many architectural developments that have changed the look of the city. With each set of photographs, the text presents some of the well-known as well as the lesser-known information about the building or area.

Another plus for the book is the very helpful map printed with each photographic section of the city. This makes it very easy for the reader to find the site of the photograph while touring Santa Fe. The book also has a brief bibliography of books about Santa Fe.

One of the purposes for the publication of *Santa Fe Then and Now* is to illustrate that change in the city has been at a slow rate for most of the life of the city. Recently Santa Fe has become the "in" spot and this is producing an increased rate of change which threatens the very aspects that have made the city such a very special place.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

**Dude Ranching: A Complete History**, by Lawrence R. Borne. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1983. 322 pp., illus., appendix, notes, bib., index, \$24.95 cloth.

This is a substantial and important book but neither the book nor its dust jacket provides any information about the author and his credentials. His acknowledgements suggest that he worked with Professors Clifford P. Westermeier and Robert A. Athearn at CU-Boulder before completing this as his doctoral dissertation at the University of Northern Kentucky.

Borne writes well and has the virtue, exemplified by his preface, of acknowledging the limitations and shortcomings of his work.

He focuses on the Rocky Mountain West, the stronghold of dude ranching, and surveys its development from the 1870s to the present. Considering the lack of records and the reluctance of many ranches to open what records they do have, Borne does a cracker-jack job. His research included working on Johnnie Holswarth's Neversummer Ranch, which was purchased by the U.S. Government in 1974 to help expand Rocky Mountain National Park. This \$1.5 million buy-out may have helped Bourne reach his conclusion that dude ranching has declined because "of the hostility of the federal government, especially the National Park Service." The two other problems discussed by Borne in his conclusion are "the general desire of vacationers for short, rushed trips; and the failure of dude ranchers to define their industry and make clear the type of vacation they offer."

Borne, who hankers after the old time ranch without cocktail lounges, television and therapists, commends dude ranchers as pioneer conservationists perpetuating relics of the vanished horseback frontier and as "the grandparents of most of the resorts, lodges and inns throughout the Rockies" today. This diligently documented, gracefully written survey finds and fills a hole in the literature of the Rocky Mtn. West.

Tom Noel, P.M.

**Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846-1861**, by Robert W. Frazer. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1983. 232 pages, clothbound, \$22.50

Robert W. Frazer, well known to historians interested in western military activities, has come up with a detailed study of the influence of the U. S. Army on Southwest economic development. Beginning in 1841 and ending at the outbreak of the Civil War, Frazer manages, in fairly simple language, to tell the reader what types of supplies, equipment, and livestock were needed by the Army, where they were procured and how much they cost. Such does not make exciting reading, but the author at the same time explains the policy of each successive department commander from Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny in 1846 to Colonel Edward R. S. Canby in

1861. While discussing the ideas and moves of the various department commanders, the author very adroitly establishes the military strategy in the area, the disposition of forts and the logistics needed to support them.

Although the text seemed to bog down from time to time in competitive prices and contracts, most of the nine chapters are well written and easy to comprehend. The only regret this reviewer has is the lack of frequent sketch maps to show where each cantonment was located in relation to others without having to refer constantly to the front of the book.

For those interested in the U. S. Army effort in the Southwest this book is a must, as it gives insights on military strategy not available until now. Frazer has contributed an outstanding scholastic work to the history of the area and if one does not mind hearing how much corn and flour cost from year to year and the like, I heartily recommend it for the military historian.

Richard A. Cook P.M.

**Fabulous Frontier**, by William A. Kelehar with a new introduction by Paul Horgan. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1982. xi - xxii + 330 pages, ill., map, foot notes, index. Paperback

This work, originally published in 1945 and again in 1962, is a collection of biographical studies of prominent New Mexicans in politics, the law, industry, and literature during the second half of the nineteenth century and those years in this century leading to New Mexico statehood in 1912.

The author is a unique personality who successfully combined a successful law practice in Albuquerque with that of historian. His roots in New Mexico plus his legal experience uniquely qualify him to address a group of people about whom the author himself states, "Most of them were loveable old rascals, colorful, adventuresome." Some of the characters from out of the West which are covered in the work are: John S. Chisum, Patrick Floyd Garrett, Thomas Benton Catron, James John Hagerman, Albert Bacon Fall, Albert J. Fountain, Oliver Milton Lee, Charles Bishop Eddy and William Ashton Hawkins to name a few. The original text is highly readable and provides a background

fabric of the formation of our neighbor to the south.

Unfortunately Mr. Horgan has seen fit to "verify" the original author by massive foot notes that often nearly fill a page or carry across several pages. These are frankly disruptive and can loose the original authors train of thought if not ignored to be read at a later time. It's too bad Mr. Horgan did not stop with his excellent introduction.

Robert D. Stull, P.M.

**Cow-boys and Colonels, Narrative of a Journey Across the Prairie and Over the Black Hills of Dakota**, by Edward Baron de Mandat-Grancey. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1984. Pp. 352. Paper, \$7.95

In 1831, the French Government sent Alexis-Henri-Charles-Maurice Clerel, Comte de Tocqueville, an assistant magistrate, to examine prisons and penitentiaries in America. On his return, he wrote his classic *Democracy in America*, published in 1835 and 1940. This was the first comprehensive study of political and social institutions in the United States.

Fifty-two years later, in 1883, another Frenchman, the Baron Edmond de Mandat-Grancey visited the United States, and on his return to France wrote *Cow-boys and Coronels* from a journal he had kept while traveling through the Black Hills of Dakota Territory. While this effort did not equal de Tocqueville's classic, it was published in 1884, and provided the European public with his observations of life in America's wild west for the one month he experienced it.

As this reviewer expected to read about army and ranch life on the frontier, there was some disappointment. Baron de Mandat-Grancey was a French noble and military officer, and he was astute at observing and commenting on minor occurrences which most individuals would either overlook or feel that they were not important enough to report. In this way, the author's work is a valuable contribution to the history of the western frontier of the 1880's as it is a first hand account of a foreigner's observations of customs, life, the countryside, food and farms of Dakota Territory.

Early on, de Mandat-Grancey explains that everyone is called a military rank whether they served in the military or not;

captain being the lowest, major very common, and colonel, the most prestigious. Hence, the title "Cow-Boys and Colonels". Very few "Cow-Boys" were encountered in his observations. Most of the book concerned various modes and conveyances of travel, the nature of the surrounding country and a very major interest in mines to include organization and equipment. There are also some interesting comments regarding several of the area mining towns such as Deadwood, Custer, and Rapid City.

The author does manage to discuss the Indian problems and relates the Custer fight as it was told to him. Somehow, it was the wrong year ("Autumn, 1877"), the wrong place ("near Bismark"); and not only was Custer killed, but General Crook as well ("Not one escaped"). Either de Mandat-Grancey was confused, or the story had been embellished by the time it reached his ears.

*Cow-Boys and Colonels* is an entertaining and interesting personal account, and this publication of it is simple to read. So, for pure enjoyment of reading history of the late nineteenth century frontier through the eyes of a foreign traveller, it is recommended, but it will never attain the academic stature of de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*.

Richard A. Cook, P.M.

**Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890** by Leroy Hafen and Francis Marion Young. Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1984. Preface, introduction, illustrations, maps, three appendices, footnotes, index. 427 pages, cloth, \$24.95, paper, \$8.95.

This excellent reprint was first published by Arthur H. Clark in 1938, and the copyright is held by the Fort Laramie Historical Association which permitted the reprint. Of all of the books and articles published about Fort Laramie, this is one of the best. Fort Laramie is so intimately involved with the settlement of the West that this is much more than a history of a trading post that later became a U.S. military fort. These two eras divide the book, further divided into chapters labelled The First Fort on the Laramie, The Coming of the First Emigrants, etc.; The Emigrant Tide, The Civil War and the Uprising of the Plains Indians, etc., etc. While this may seem far-ranging for a book about the fort on the Laramie,

the fact is that Fort Laramie was involved in nearly everything that happened in this part of the country for over fifty years.

This history is somewhat dated, ending in 1938 with the fort abandoned and in ruins. An additional chapter could be added to describe the work of restoration and stabilization that has made Fort Laramie a premier attraction for historians and tourists. The National Park Service has done a great job on Fort Laramie, due in no small measure to the fine work of our brother Westerner Merrill Mattes.

The authors, writing in a less partisan period, have avoided the partisanship so common today among writers describing forces involved in the settling of the West.

The book is thoroughly enjoyable, but the University of Nebraska could have omitted the illustrations because the reproduction is of such poor quality it is difficult to see what they represent. The maps are excellent.

W. H. Van Duzer, P.M.

**Outlaws of New Mexico** by Peter Hertzog. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1984. 48 pages, paper, \$4.95.

This publication lists some of the most interesting characters in New Mexico history from "A" to "Z", but the definition of "outlaw" seems to depend on the author, as a number of New Mexico politicians seem not to have been included in the book. This includes those members of the Santa Fe Ring of territorial days.

One is tempted to try to find a relative or two in the listing, and in my case it was Tom Jenkins who "shot Lizzie Zeller, a lady of the evening, because she had accidentally shot his brother." It is also interesting to discover the relatives of friends in the listing. While this is certainly no great addition to the history of New Mexico, it certainly is an interesting book to read.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.



## SEEING THE ELEPHANT

Defined as "nineteenth century slang for seeing the world, widening one's experience." (From VERBATIM. XI (1), 1984).