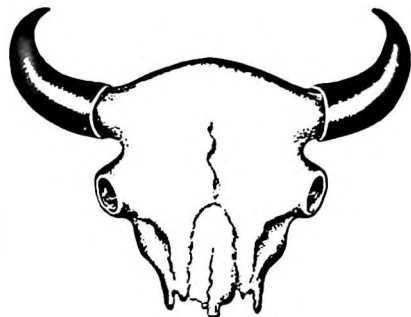


The DENVER WESTERNERS

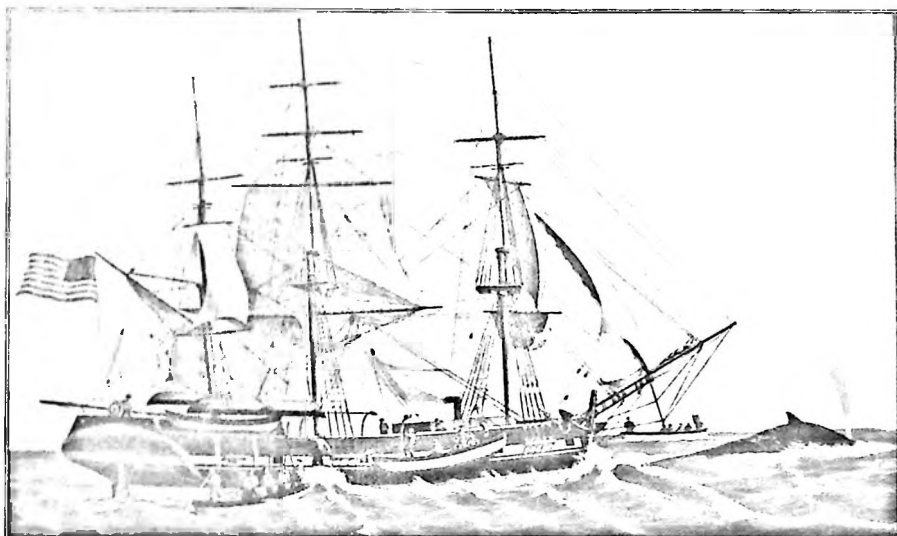
ROUNDUP

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1988



THE CIVIL WAR'S LAST BATTLE

Mel Griffiths



AMERICAN WHALER.

OUR SPEAKERS

Thomas "Mel" Griffiths is a long-time major bulwark of the Denver Westerners and a man of many diverse talents. In addition to having presented 7 programs to the Denver Posse he has published 2 books on his subject of geography, especially of Colorado and the Rocky Mountain area, and has to his professional credit some 35 scientific papers. Mel was Deputy Sheriff of the Denver Westerners in 1980 and Sheriff in 1981.

He is an expert photographer, having honed his skill during World War II when he progressed from Private to Captain in the US Air Corps in the Reconnaissance Wing. His extensive experience looking at the earth from aloft is especially useful to his aerial geographic studies, which have extended from Alaska through the entire United States to Mexico and Brazil and as far afield as Africa and Antarctica.

Before all this, he was born in Wyandotte, Oklahoma, moved to Colorado with emphasis on the Montrose area. He has attended George Washington University, he has Bachelor's and Master's degrees from the University of Denver and his Ph.D. from Northwestern University. He is retired after 30 years as Professor of Geography at Denver University.

Robert and Evelyn Brown have spent more than three decades gathering material for their programs, exploring hundreds of historic sites and ghost towns. Their presentations consist of matched pairs of old and contemporary photographs taken from the same angle but a century or more apart.

Evelyn Brown is an accomplished porcelain artist. More recently she has devoted her talents to the watercolor medium. Robert Brown's teaching experiences include the University of Denver, the Denver Public Schools and the University of Colorado. His teaching areas are Western History and the History of Colorado.

He has written eight books. Three are concerned with ghost towns and are titled *Jeep Trails to Colorado Ghost Towns*, *Ghost Towns of the Colorado Rockies*, and *Colorado Ghost Towns—Past and Present*. The others, *Saloons of the American West*, *Holy Cross*, *The Mountain and the City* and *An Empire of Silver* are regional histories. *Uphill Both Ways* concerns Colorado's hiking trails. The newest book, *The Great Pikes Peak Gold Rush*, was published in 1985. In spare moments he records talking books for the Colorado State Library for the Blind.

(see page 20)

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THE CIVIL WAR'S LAST BATTLE

Mel Griffiths P.M.

Presented 28 October 1987

The last offensive action of the Civil War took place 2½ months after Lee's surrender at Appomattox and a month and a half after the capture of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy. Strangely enough, the action, which happened in the last week and a half of June, 1865, occurred, of all places, off the coast of Siberia, in Bering Strait, geographically the seas between Russia and Alaska.

In these days of modern communications, when most of the world knows almost before it happens that Gorbachev has sneezed or gone to the bathroom, such a snafu seems impossible. Unfortunately it soured relations between the victorious Union and Great Britain for a matter of seven or eight years, and eventually cost the British government about \$125,000,000 (in 1982 dollars) paid to America in reparations. One wonders, these days with Kuwaiti tankers flying American flags while they ply the Strait of Hormuz.

The ingredients out of which this imbroglio was fashioned included whaleships, whale oil, bowhead whales, walruses, ice, gales, stove and burned ships, the first mineral oil well at Titusville, Pennsylvania, and dozens of men, both north and south, who were too stubborn to alter their ways.

The whale fishery comes first. Why puny man, with all his guile, would pit himself against the largest mammal on earth still puzzles me. Bowhead whales can reach a length of seventy feet, weigh sixty tons, and carry a coat of blubber up to a foot and a half thick. The largest elephant or mammoth is puny by comparison. The blue whale is even larger.

From its very beginning, the whale fishery made it possible for hunters to capture and kill a creature 600 times their own size. The essence of the hunt involved sneaking up in a small boat on an unsuspecting whale, fastening the boat to the whale by a thrown, toggle-headed harpoon bearing a 1,350-foot line of about ¾-inch diameter, of loose-knit manila, with a tensile strength of 6,000 lbs. When first struck the whale usually sounded (dove) but surfaced again ahead of the boat to which he was attached. If the whale did not run for the shelter of the ice or shake out the harpoon and its embedded toggle the boat usually caught up with him as he tired. He was finally dispatched with a sharp lance. The dead whale was then towed to the whaleship, or vice-versa, where it was cut into slabs of blubber which were melted down in the rendering plant (try works) built of bricks on the deck. The oil was stored below decks in barrels which were carried for that purpose, knocked down.

The bowhead whale yielded a second product which enhanced its value to its captors. This was the baleen (whalebone) which was found in numerous plates on the upper lip around the mouth of the whale. In the wild, the whale swims slowly, open mouthed, through nutrient-rich water straining out the very small plankton caught by the baleen's fringes or hairs. The whale then closes his mouth, expels the water, swallows the plankton, and repeats the maneuver. This whalebone, before

the days of plastics, had value as a stiffener in corsets, combs, and similar items. The oil was used in lamps of that time, acted as a lubricant, and sometimes found its way into candles.

If whales were scarce, or a crew was unsuccessful in catching any, they would turn to walrus. They were easily killed with a rifle, were much smaller than whales, and their oil was inferior. Walrus ivory made a poor second to whale baleen, but anything was better than nothing.

A secondary by-product of walrus hunting, of questionable value, was the male walrus's baculum (penis bone) about 18 or more inches in length, which played a part in ceremonies among eskimos and whalers.

Whaleship voyages were not always the fabulously rich undertakings which have been sometimes thought. John R. Bockstoce, in his book, *Whales, Ice, and Men* gives the following examples: "In 1851 when the Benjamin Tucker returned to New Bedford from the Arctic on her fourth voyage with a cargo of 73,707 gallons of whale oil, 5,348 gallons of sperm oil, and 30,012 pounds of whalebone, at then current prices the gross value of her catch was \$47,682, the net \$45,320 (\$525,712 in 1982 dollars), and an ordinary seaman on a 1/160 lay [share] earned \$253.25 (\$3,285.70 in 1982 dollars) for two years' work. . . . Hohman has calculated that the average earning of an ordinary seaman on a whaling voyage in the period from 1840 to 1860 amounted to less than twenty cents per day, equal to one-half to one-third of the pay for a comparable job ashore." Owners, although their share of the profit or loss was greater, did little better. Bockstoce has further observed that, "In 1837, during a profitable phase of the industry, 25 percent of the voyages were losing propositions; and by 1858, a time of slump for the industry, the number of losing voyages was greater than 64 percent."

These figures tend to strengthen one's view of man as an inveterate gambler. Las Vegas seems to have a sure thing. Yet, despite these odds, many New England fortunes were based on whaling, all of which shows the inscrutability of lady luck. Gambles against Arctic ice, gales at sea, stove boats, being frozen in the pack ice, scurvy, starvation, and a scarcity of whales, all added to the odds.

When trapped in the ice, stove, or dismasted, so that rescue was unlikely, a whale ship captain, after gathering all nearby captains for their opinions, as a last resort would auction his ship and contents to the highest bidder before abandoning it—ship, gear, baleen, and barrels of oil. During hard times bids got as low as \$13.00. This was all the captain and crew sometimes had to show for two or more years' of hard work.

Whale ship crews, particularly ordinary seamen, were not the cream of mid-century society. They were usually recruited from New Bedford, New York, Boston, San Francisco, or Honolulu waterfront dives by outfitters, universally known as "landsharks." Use of the term "shark" was deliberate. The "landsharks" contracted with the captains or agents of the whale ship, at so much per head to deliver crewmembers at sailing time. Many a fore-castle hand woke up in a hammock or bunk, nursing an oversize head from whiskey or laudanum, after his ship had already left her moorings.

In his book, *A YEAR WITH A WHALER*, Walter Noble Burns remarks: "I was given a sailor's canvas bag, a mattress, a pair of blankets, woolen trousers, dungaree trousers, a coat, a pair of brogans, a pair of rubber sea boots, underwear, socks, two flannel shirts, a cap, a belt and a sheath knife, a suit of oil-skins and sou'wester, a tin cup, tin pan, knife, fork, and spoon.

That was all. It struck me as a rather slender equipment for a year's voyage. A runner footed up the cost."

"'Why,' he said with an air of great surprise, 'this foots up to \$53 and your advance is only \$50.'

He added up the column of figures again. But he had made no mistake. He seemed perplexed.

"I don't see how it is possible to scratch off anything," he said. "You'll need every one of these articles."

He puckered his brow, bit the end of his pencil and studied the figures. It was evidently a puzzling problem.

"Well," he said at last, "I'll tell you what I'll do. Bring me down a few curios from the Arctic and I'll call it square."

"I suppose my outfit was really worth about \$6—not over \$10." This was written in 1913.

A curious story is told about one phase of windjammer trips. At the port of Boston, one foreign port was reported to provide the biggest cockroaches in the world. This was Calcutta, India. Of course, they infested the quarters of the crew in the forecabin during each voyage. In his book *The Challenge*, A.B.C. Whipple includes the following in one of his footnotes: "China clippers that included a stop in Calcutta attracted a particularly large species of roach. Historian Samuel Eliot Morison exaggerated only slightly when he recorded, 'An arrival from Calcutta in Boston was sometimes announced by a pack of terrified dogs running up State Street pursued by an army of Calcutta cockroaches.'"

This and numerous similar tales during early windjammer days constantly raise the question of "mutiny." It is surprising that it occurred as few times as it did. Both men and masters of sailing ships were hard characters in those days.

Bering Strait, the fifty-mile-wide ribbon of water, ice, and flat-topped islands which connects the Bering Sea on the south to the Chukchi Sea to the north—the formerly dry ground over which people crossed from Asia to North America in late Paleolithic time—was first opened to the American whaling fleet from New England and the Hawaiian Islands in the summer of 1848. Captain Thomas Roys, master of the sailing bark *Superior* was the instrument of opening. Capt. Roys had heard about the possibilities of Bering Strait and the Arctic Ocean, beyond, from the Russians at Petropavlovsk, when he was convalescing there from broken ribs delivered by the flukes of a fighting humpbacked whale. Roys bought charts of the unknown waters for \$100 from the Russians and ventured into the Arctic Ocean. The voyage was fruitful, although his seamen were fearful. It opened up the Arctic whaling grounds, which were to flourish for the next twenty years or more. Whaleships were mostly outfitted in New England and the Hawaiian Islands, although they were later to come from the U.S. West Coast, principally from San Francisco.

However, our story is not alone about the northwest whale fishery. During the Civil War, four years before the Confederacy's eventual defeat, they had no navy.

The Northerner's blockade of the South's principal harbors was slowly strangling them, while Northern shipping, particularly to Europe, went on in both American bottoms and foreign bottoms.

The Confederacy saw hit-and-run raiders, such as the *Alabama* and *Florida*, as instruments which would harass the North's commerce, particularly with Europe. The South needed ships, and fast, and Great Britain was the best source; but Great Britain had declared neutrality early in the war, thus cutting themselves off as a source of warships.

In this state of affairs, as their agent the South dispatched James D. Bulloch, in June 1861, to Great Britain. He was unsuccessful in commissioning ships to be built because of Britain's neutrality so he decided to purchase, secretly, suitable ships and have them retrofitted elsewhere as raiders. He had the *Florida* retrofitted in this way, while the *Alabama* was his second raider. The *Alabama* made mincemeat of Union commercial shipping until she herself was sunk in 1863 by the U.S.S. *Kearsarge*.

In the autumn of 1863 Bulloch found just the vessel he had been looking for, a vessel fast under both sail and steam. The engine gave her a distinct advantage over a sail-only vessel. She was the just-built *Sea King*, ready for her maiden voyage to Bombay, India. She had a length 222 feet, a 35-foot beam, and over 1,100 gross tons. She was big and fast. She had one important disadvantage: she looked very much like the *Alabama*.

Bulloch and any other Southern sympathizers in Britain stayed completely away from her since, as Bulloch noted: "Her fitness for conversion to a cruiser were manifest at a glance." Rumors were already flying about.

When the *Sea King* had finished her maiden voyage to Bombay and return Bulloch was delighted that she had logged 330 miles in 24 hours at one period, under sail alone. Bulloch now sent a sympathetic British subject, Richard Wright, to buy the ship. Bulloch planned to send the *Sea King* on another voyage, as before, but to rendezvous at sea, where she would be fitted as a Confederate warship and her name changed. To do this he needed a rendezvous ship to supply crew and guns. For this purpose he bought the iron propeller steamer, the *Laurel*. She was loaded with guns, armament, and crew and sent on a commercial trip, ostensibly to take a limited amount of "freight and passengers" to Havana. Meanwhile, *Sea King* visited several British ports and took on various cargo for her next trip to Bombay under her new master, G.H. Corbett. Corbett had been given Wright's (Bulloch's) power of attorney to sell the *Sea King* "at any time in the next 6 months for not less than 45,000 pounds sterling."

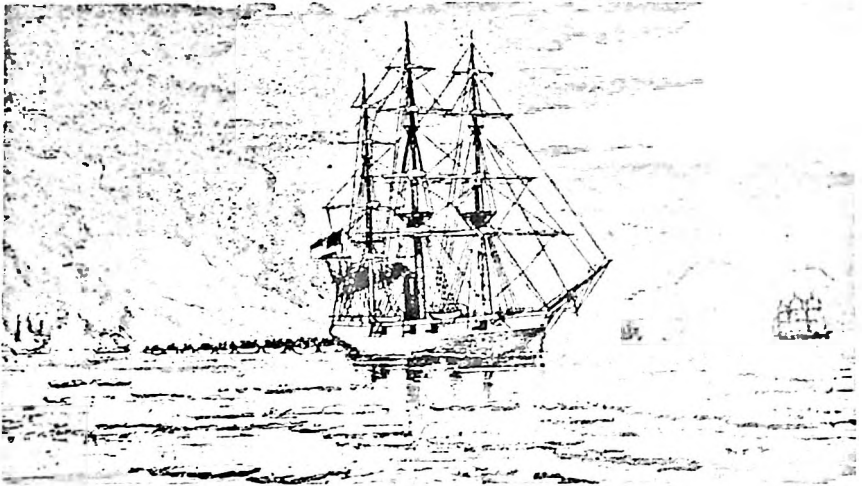
By arrangement, the two ships rendezvoused at Funchal, on the island of Madeira, a Portuguese possession off the northwest African coast. The *Laurel* had departed her home port earlier and beat the *Sea King* by three days. The two vessels then retired to Desertas, an uninhabited island to the southeast of Funchal, where they transferred gear and armaments during the next frantic 36 hours in a jumble on the *Sea King's* deck and in her hold. Fortunately they were undetected. Immediately, Capt. Corbett announced to his crew that he had sold the *Sea King* to



Captain James I. Waddell, C.S.N.; Master of CSS Shenandoah.
Courtesy U.S. Navy

the Confederate government. Capt. James I. Waddell, C.S.N. then appeared on deck in a Confederate naval uniform (he and 34 confederate men and officers had slipped aboard the *Laurel* in Liverpool). He took charge of *Sea King* and announced that she was now commissioned as the CSS *Shenandoah*, a Confederate raider. He asked the former *Sea King's* crew to change loyalties, but all except 4 out of 51 elected to go back to England. The newly commissioned *Shenandoah* was so short handed that the officers had to help before they were able to lift the anchor.

Bulloch had given plain and simple orders: "You are about to proceed upon a cruise in the far distant Pacific, into seas and among the islands frequented by the great American whaling fleet, a source of abundant wealth to our enemies and a



The *Shenandoah* towing prisoners in their whaleboats, June 25, 1865.

From Cornelius Hunt's *My Last Cruise*

Courtesy Old Dartmouth Hist. Soc. Whaling Museum, New Bedford, Mass

nursery for their seamen. It is hoped that you may be able to damage and disperse that fleet, even if you do not succeed in utterly destroying it."

The *Shenandoah* now set sail for Australia by way of the Cape of Good Hope. There, at Melbourne, Southern sympathizers and a friendly governor, who nevertheless warned Waddell that Great Britain was neutral, permitted the ship to be put in dry dock to be refitted, repaired—a crack had been found in a main shaft bearing—and her crew be augmented by some 50 new men.

Meanwhile, the Union was frantically pursuing the raider with her fleet and diplomatic protests. All to no avail!

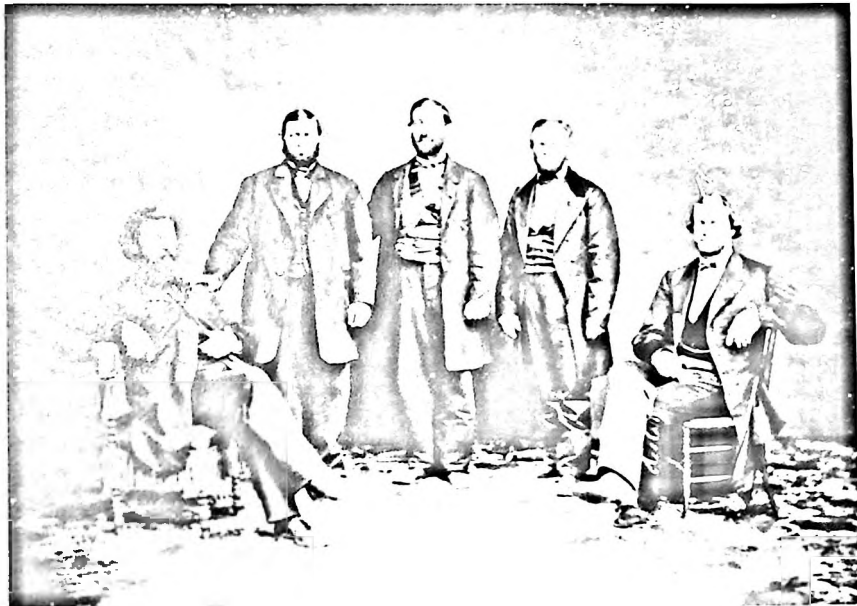
The *Shenandoah* had captured her first prize as a raider off the West African port of Dakar, shortly after transferring cargo and crew at Funchal and Desertas. She captured four more Union ships before heading for Melbourne by way of the southern route, far south of the Cape of Good Hope. She avoided Cape Town, where Union ships might have caught up with her.

Newly outfitted and with her crew augmented, once clear of Melbourne Heads, the raider headed directly north through the western Pacific. Bockstoce has noted, "As a fast ship in an era of slow communications, the *Shenandoah* had every advantage of surprise."

The *Shenandoah* took four prizes in the eastern Caroline Islands. Waddell put the captured ships to the torch, after gutting them, and put the 130 crewmembers ashore, where they lived on yams and bananas with the natives for five months until rescued and taken to Honolulu. Most important of all, Waddell had now augmented his haul from the captured ships with marked whaler's charts of the Sea of Okhotsk

and Bering Sea, showing places most likely to yield whales. These were more valuable than even his own guns.

Once through the Kurile Islands and into the Sea of Okhotsk, the *Shenandoah* ran north along the west coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula. On May 27 he took his first prize in the Arctic, the New Bedford bark, the 55-year old *Abigail*. This was 48 days after the surrender at Appomattox.



"Captains of the whaleships captured and burned in the North Pacific on the 21st and 22nd of June, 1865, by the rebel cruiser *Shenandoah*"; the last act of expiring insolence."
 Courtesy Old Dartmouth Hist. Soc. Whaling Museum, New Bedford, Mass.

The *Abigail's* captain, Ebenezer Nye, first ran toward the *Shenandoah* thinking she was a Russian vessel, but was surprised to see the Russian flag replaced by the Confederate colors.

Nye had several dozen barrels of whisky aboard, which he had intended for trading on the Siberian shore. They were labeled: "To be used in case of sickness." The first party sent from the *Shenandoah* to transfer cargo found the barrels and got roaring drunk. The second party did likewise, then a third!! The master's mate, Cornelius Hunt, later wrote, "There was not a dozen sober men on board the ship except the prisoners. We never captured a prize that created as much excitement as this, and we never captured one of so little value."

Thomas Manning, the 2nd mate of the *Abigail*, at this juncture decided to change loyalties from the Union to the Confederate cause. He was familiar with the Arctic

whaling grounds and, though disliked by the *Shenandoah's* crew for being a liar and turncoat, he guided the *Shenandoah* to the greatest concentration of whaling vessels. Sailing back out of the Sea of Okhotsk, back through the Kuriles, and north again along the east coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula, the *Shenandoah* reached Cape Navarin by June 21, 1865. After a day of fog, the *Shenandoah* began, on June 22, 1865, what has been described as a duck shoot, 74 days after the treaty of peace was signed at Appomattox.

Although he never admitted it afterward, there is reason to believe that Capt. Waddell, through some circumstantial and some direct evidence, may have known that the South had lost the war. But we still don't know for sure. Waddell would probably not have admitted the loss even if he had known it.

The procedure in taking prizes was as follows: ships were captured by threat of being blown out of the water; a small prize crew was put aboard the captured vessel; then it's whole crew was transferred to the *Shenandoah*. Extremely valuable plunder went to the *Shenandoah*. The whale oil, if any was present, was scattered from broached casks, and the vessel was set on fire and burned to the waterline. About one out of seven vessels was spared burning, was loaded heavily with prisoners, and was sent under bond to San Francisco.

The melancholy list of the carnage was as follows:

June 22-23	June 28
WILLIAM THOMPSON—burned	WAVERLY—burned
MILO—bonded	FAVORITE—burned
JIREH SWIFT—burned	BRUNSWICK—burned
SUSAN ABIGAIL—burned	HILLMAN—burned
SOPHIA THORNTON—burned	NASSAU—burned
EUPHRATES—burned	ISAAC HOWLAND—burned
June 25-26	MARTHA 2ND—burned
GENERAL PIKE—bonded	COVINGTON—burned
GENEARL WILLIAMS—burned	CONGRESS 2ND—burned
NIMROD—burned	NILE—bonded
Wm. C. NYE—burned	JAMES MAURY—bonded
CATHERINE—burned	
ISABELLA—burned	
CYPSEY—burned	

The first ships were taken at Cape Navarin, just south of East Cape, on the Siberian side of Bering Strait; the last were taken close to East Cape, between it and the Diomed Islands in Bering Strait. In total 20 ships were burned and four were bonded and sent south.

Waddell did not trust, or was actually probably afraid of, the ice in the Chukchi Sea. He turned back south on 29 June, 1865, a little north of East Cape, and ran for safety. He quickly became aware of the war's end by the presence of the bonded crews, and news from a hailed ship; he was now branded as a pirate! By marvelous good fortune he avoided detection by the network of ships which were searching for him. He sailed far south into the so-called "Roaring Forties" south of Cape Horn,

and eventually made it back to Liverpool, undetected, through the crowded Atlantic.

The *Shenandoah* returned to Liverpool on November 5, 1865, thirteen months after her departure from that same port. During her voyage, she was the only Confederate ship to circumnavigate the globe, covering 58,000 miles, had flown the Confederate colors more than six months after the end of the Civil War, had taken 1,053 prisoners, destroyed 34 vessels valued at \$1,361,983 (\$8,580,600 in 1982 dollars) and caused the loss of two more.

The Tribunal of Arbitration met and finally settled the case against Britain on 2 September, 1872. The award to America was \$15,000,000 (\$125,000,000 in 1982 dollars) which the U.S. immediately invested in bonds at 5%. The U.S. then set up a Board of Commissioners of Alabama Claims, which tried cases of individual losses, such as wages, insurance, vessels, etc., etc., which was still meeting well after the mid-1880s.

Meanwhile, the *Shenandoah* was sold to the Sultan of Zanzibar and was lost in the Indian Ocean in 1879.

Captain Waddell stayed in England for the next ten years, finally getting a post as captain on a vessel of the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. He was finally pardoned by an act of the Hawaiian government, for sinking a vessel of Hawaiian registry, thus gaining Hawaiian citizenship. He finally moved to Annapolis, MD, dying there in 1881. The settlements which resulted from his depredations were still being settled at the time of his death. The Civil War was 16 years in the past; by then some of the rancor had gone from its confrontations.

Whaling went on in the Arctic for another twenty or so years, with constantly diminishing returns. The mineral oil well strike at Titusville, Pennsylvania, plus the birth of plastics and the changes in styles of women's undergarments eventually saw the end of Arctic whaling. Oil for the lamps of China now came from the ground rather than the backs, sides, and bellies of whales.

REFERENCE

Whales, Ice, and Men by John R. Bockstoce. Univ. of Washington Press, Seattle, 1986. 400 pages, 5 appendices, biblio., numerous ill., index. Published in association with the New Bedford (Mass.) Whaling Museum, where the author is Curator of Ethnology for the Old Dartmouth Historical Society.



Forget the hasty, unkind word;
Forget the slander you have heard;
Forget the quarrel and the cause;
Forget the whole affair, because,
Forgetting is the only way;
Forget the storm of yesterday.
Forget the knocker, and the squeak;

Forget the bad day of the week.
Forget you're not a millionaire;
Forget the gray streaks in your hair;
Forget to ever get the blues . . .
**BUT DON'T FORGET TO PAY
YOUR DUES!**

(Trinidad Historical Society)



The Locations of the Franklin and Baker Mining Companies

The Baker mine was a promising silver mine discovered in the early 1860s near Grays Peak in Clear Creek County, Colorado. The Franklin was discovered in 1865 in Gilson Gulch above Idaho Springs. They were both well known. The name of the Baker mine survives in Baker Creek and Bakerville, a turnoff on I-70.

In the mid 1860s the mines were sold to a group of Quaker investors from Pennsylvania and those investors produced a series of reports and related paper material on the properties. One of the investors kept a collection of the material. We were able to obtain this collection a year ago and it contained several copies of this map. The map is undated but, judging from the related material it would appear to have been drawn about 1870.

The purpose of the map is not clear. In part it conveys that these are deep and rich properties located near cities and a proposed railroad, so the map is partially promotional. Its main purpose was probably to inform the investor and provide information on the specific locations of the mines at a time when maps of Colorado were few and poor. The map is substantially better than most maps of the period. Today it is one of very few that provide such excellent detail of this part of Colorado at the time. We believe that the few we turned up are the only surviving copies. All are in the hands of Colorado collectors and institutions. The maps were with a large collection of paper related to the mines. This collection is now with the Denver Public Library and has shed considerable light on the workings of the mines from 1865-1875.

Paul Mahoney P.M.



Western's Bookshelf



Book reviews in this and other issues are based on books sent to the ROUNDUP by book publishers. Those of you who come upon other books on Western history which you can recommend, current or otherwise, are urged to prepare a review and submit it to the Editor. In this way our readers may find their way to pertinent publications on Western history of particular interest to them which might otherwise escape their attention. We intend that this section be a source of information on the history of the West. Your suggestions are welcomed! *The Editor.*

The Drums Would Roll—A Pictorial History of U.S. Army Bands on the American Frontier, 1866-1900 by Thomas C. Railsback and John P. Langethier. Arms & Armour Press, Dorset, England, 1987. (Distributed in the U.S.A. by Sterling Publishing Co., Inc.) 63 pages, photographs. Hardbound, \$14.95.

"... bands played an important part in the social life of several posts in the west," say the authors of this small but informative book about an organization of the army that has received little attention in the past. To help break the monotony and boredom of garrison life and raise morale, they offered concerts for the enjoyment of officers, enlisted men, and their families. These concerts by talented musicians also delighted local citizens fortunate enough to hear them. As a result, army bands did much to promote good relations between the troops and the civilians living near the post. The fondness for military music brought these two groups together rather than isolating them from each other. Military bands also gave a certain pomp to many martial ceremonies that ranged from parades to daily guard mounts. They were also usually in attendance at weddings and at funerals.

The first half of the book contains the text which describes in three short chapters the beginnings of the U.S. Army bands from the Revolutionary period to the post-Civil War era. The second half consists of a number of photographs showing different regimental bands at different posts throughout the West (including Fort Logan). The authors mention that strict uniform regulations were not always adhered to and this can be seen quite clearly in the photos. No two bands were ever dressed the same.

Included also are two appendices. One lists the types of music the bands played which ranged from marches to classical, and

the other shows the different instrumentation of various military band organizations.

This book would be an interesting addition to the library of the person who enjoys the study of the Army of the frontier West.

Mark E. Hutchins, C.M.

Town Building on the Colorado Frontier by Kathleen Underwood. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1987. 181 pages, photographs. Cloth, \$24.95.

This reviewer-historian with a scientific background, was intrigued by *Town Building on the Colorado Frontier*. This is a book primarily for the serious historian; a sociological study, well-fortified with supporting data and statistics. Even so, the early history of Grand Junction, Colorado, is well presented—the exploratory period, the town founding and the Grand Junction Town Co. role, the D&RG RR role, and formative episodes—highlighted by the town's water system problems. We're too often accustomed to a narrative flow, and profuse illustrations; scholarly treatments of the histories of Western towns are seldom seen in popular literature.

The development of the town from the sociologist's viewpoint should give the historian a different, refreshing perspective. The comparisons and contrasts of Grand Junction, first as a pioneer settlement in 1885, and then as an established small town of 1900, are the major features of the book. Historical researchers can profit by paying attention to the author's clear explanations of her sources and how she used them, and take note of what information is available, and how it can be pieced together.

Although this photo collector always likes more illustrations, the section of 21 photos of early-day Grand Junction is a good representation for this academic work.

Edwin A. Bathke, P.M.

Aztec Ruins on the Animas: Excavated, Preserved, and Interpreted by Robert H. Lister and Florence C. Lister. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1987. 120 pages, black and white photographs, maps. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$13.95.

In the preface, the authors state that "This volume documents in words and pictures the excavation and preservation of the Aztec Ruins, a major Southwestern archaeological site in the San Juan Basin of northwestern New Mexico." It can be safely stated that they accomplished their purpose.

In the text, the Listers have presented the traditional archaeological interpretation of the events connected with the Aztec Ruins. This interpretation was first presented by Earl Morris who excavated the ruins and rebuilt the Great Kiva.

The complete story of Earl Morris was published by the University of New Mexico Press in *Earl Morris and Southwestern Archaeology* in 1968. This work was also written by the Listers. The current publication devotes itself entirely to the study of Aztec Ruins. Earl Morris had grown up in the area and was selected by New York's American Museum of Natural History to lead the study of Aztec from 1916 through 1921. In 1934, Morris returned for the reconstruction of the Great Kiva which was done under the direction of the National Park Service using W.P.A. funds. Many of the photographs in this work were taken by Morris during the excavation and reconstruction phases.

Aztec is one of several Anasazi settlements that combines both the Chaco and Mesa Verde influences. During the Chaco period it served as an outlier in what is now called the Chaco Phenomenon which seems to have been a system of distribution of food and other trade goods.

One of the more interesting sections is the one that deals with the search of the ruins for artifacts and just how difficult that search was because of the collapsed upper floors and the tons of dirt and trash. There was also the accumulation of both animal and vegetable waste which resulted in unpleasant odors and a disagreeable slime.

The major strength of the book in my opinion is the many excellent photographs. Especially interesting to those who have visited

Aztec will be the photographs of the reconstruction of the Great Kiva. This book should be added to the libraries of all those who have an interest in the Anasazi.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.
A River Runners Guide to the History of the Grand Canyon by Kim Crumbo. Johnson Publ. Co., Boulder, 1981. paper.

This short history of the exploration of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado is both interesting and informative. The format of the book is a mile-by-mile coverage of the rapids and the landmarks encountered in the canyon. A strip map at the back of the book allows the reader to place the areas being discussed.

The descriptions begin at the upper end of the canyon near Lee's Ferry with discussions of such as the Escalante Expedition of 1776. Another was the Stanton Brown party who attempted to run the river in 1859. In the short space of thirty-two miles, they suffered three drownings and near starvation. They pulled out and abandoned their effort after going only a short distance into the canyon. In 1923, the United States Geological Survey Expedition under the leadership of Colonel Claude Birdseye attempted to map the canyon. At mile 25.5, the party lost a canvas boat to the Cave Springs rapids but continued on through the canyon without any other major surprises.

In 1944, Harry Aleson and and Georgie White (later the first woman outfitter on the river) explored the Colorado River in a most unique way. At Diamond Creek located at mile 225, they put on bathing suits, lifejackets and tennis shoes and jumped into the river. They rode the 65,000-cubic-foot-per-second river fifty miles down to Lake Mead. Talk about a wild ride! The author of the book discusses just how some of the rapids received their names, including *Willie's Necktie*. Wilson B. Taylor fell out of a boat at this spot in 1950, and a rescue line was thrown to him. This line wrapped a turn or two around his neck, and he was pulled to safety in this most unceremonious manner, which resulted in the rapids being named for the rescue method. The Grapevine rapid at mile 81.5 has the distinction of claiming a jet boat in 1960. An attempt was made to run the canyon upriver in four jet boats, but

in this rapid, Fireball Young managed to sink his eighteen foot jet boat nose first.

Mr. Taylor, who gave his name to the rapids called Willie's Necktie, later died of a heart attack in the canyon and is buried there.

The adventures of people such as Aleson, White and the others are typical of the courageous people who have explored the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. This book gives an entertaining account of many of these river runners, and it is certainly a must for anyone who has an interest in outdoor adventure and history.

Stan Moore, C.M.

New Mexico Odyssey by Toby Smith. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1987. 200 pages. Paper, \$11.95.

In the tradition of Ernie Pyle's *Home Country*, John Steinbeck's *Travels with Charley*, Charles Kuralt's *On the Road*, Toby Smith takes the reader on the road as he travels to the places around New Mexico and visits with the people who have been shaped by those places. He follows the trails such as old "Route 66" where it can be found, and New Mexico 18 which goes through a less-traveled area of the State. Smith also journeys along such geographical features as the Rio Grande and the Continental Divide.

Toby Smith is assistant editor of the *Albuquerque Journal's Impact* magazine, and his articles have also appeared in publications as diverse as *The Wall Street Journal*, *Sports Illustrated* and *McCalls*. A previous collection of his articles was published by UNM Press. Its title was "Dateline: New Mexico."

To be successful doing this type of journalism, a person must have that special talent of being able to strike up a conversation with a complete stranger. A part of being able to do this is to have an interest in people and show this interest. Smith shows that he has this ability.

My favorite article was the one entitled "Hurd's People" which was the story of some of those who served as subjects for the paintings of Peter Hurd. The family of Jose Herrera had this honor several times including Dorothy Herrera in the "Eve of St. John." Some of the family members still see this as

an honor, but there is also the feeling that they should have received some of the money made from the sale of the paintings.

In the preface, Toby Smith refers to another travel writer who traveled through New Mexico in 1884 on his walk from Cincinnati to Los Angeles. Charles F. Lummis told the story of this trip in his book, *A Tramp Across the Continent* which was first published in 1892. As someone once said, Lummis pulls the long bow in this story, but it does make interesting reading. Several chapters described his adventures in Colorado and make interesting reading.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Time Exposure by William H. Jackson. Univ. New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1986. 341 pages, sketches, photos. Paper, \$9.95.

William Henry Jackson's autobiography was first published in 1940 when he was ninety-seven years old, and the first edition has been a much desired item on the rare book market for some time. This reprint edition is very welcome to those with an interest in Jackson and his contributions to Western history.

William Henry Jackson was an artist who became a photographer. He served in the Union Army in the Civil War and, still desiring the active life, he went west. He had the good fortune to get hooked up with the expeditions of the publicity-loving government explorer, Ferdinand V. Hayden. Jackson traveled throughout the West with Hayden's expeditions and was active in the first explorations of the areas that became Yellowstone and Mesa Verde National Parks. In fact, Jackson's photographs of these two attractions were instrumental in their becoming National Parks. This was the start of a photographic career that would include working for the railroads and running a studio in Denver.

He lived to be ninety-nine years old and seemed to enjoy life right up to the end.

William Henry Jackson writes with a far-sightedness and mellow style that seems to have come with age and long practice. It is a delight to read, and the University of New Mexico Press is to be thanked for making it readily available.

Paul Mahoney, P.M.

Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90 by Thomas W. Dunlay, Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1982. 209 pages. Paperback, \$8.95.

This is a welcome addition to the records of the Indian Wars period of 1860-90. There are few books available that deal with this aspect of the Indian Wars. To many Plains Indians, scouts, whether tribal or military, were called "wolves," and in sign language, they were described by the gesture of two fingers held up, over the head, symbolizing the ears of a wolf. Hence the title, which is an historiography of the Indians who scouted and soldiered for the U.S. Army during the post Civil War frontier expansion.

Although Dunlay concentrates on the period 1860-90, he does a brilliant job in the first chapter of summarizing the Indian-military relationship in pre-Civil War America. What the author really does in the remaining chapters gives the reader much food for thought. In other words, why the Indian probably did what he did; why some former hostiles led military expeditions against other Indians, and sometimes even against their own tribe. Experiences from both the Plains and the Desert Wars are numerous throughout the course of the text, and in general support the author's thesis that why and what Indian scouts accomplished for the Army should not be a surprise at all. Dunlay also elaborates upon the "military attitude" of professional soldiers during that era; for example:

"One gains the impression that the strongest adverse reflections on scouts capabilities or reliability tend to come from the more conventional type of officer, who depicts himself in reminiscence as conforming closely to the stereotype of the military mind. Such reflections come infrequently from men who had long and successful service as scout commanders."

Dunlay concludes his narrative by describing the Army's unsuccessful experiment with Indian companies and 5-year enlistments during the early 1890s.

In this reviewer's opinion, the author has achieved a milestone in Indian Wars history,

and "Wolves for the Blue Soldiers" should be required reading for all concerned. His analysis of contemporary attitudes, and both psychological and physiological pressures facing the Indians, make it extremely worthwhile to read.

Richard A. Cook P.M.

I Fought With Custer, The Story of Sergeant Windolph, Last Survivor of the Battle of the Little Bighorn as told to Frazier and Robert Hunt, Foreword by Neil Mangum. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London. 236 pages, preface, ills., maps, biblio., index. \$22.95 cloth, \$6.95 paper.

Mangum's foreword, ably written by one of the current Custer experts leads into the story. The preface details the Hunts' discovery of Windolph, their interviews with him, and their preparation of the manuscript. Windolph was with Troop II under Benteen, so he was not a survivor of the Custer fight. His "survivorship" was that he was the last known living trooper of all the 7th Cavalry at the Little Bighorn.

Windolph's account of the campaign is straightforward and simple. In spite of all the theories and conjectures in the thousands of words written about the battle, it is plain from Windolph's account that Custer simply did what any good cavalry commander would have done when his presence was discovered by the enemy—he sent Reno to hit the village, Benteen to prevent the enemies' escape, while he planned to strike the village from another angle. When both Reno and Beenteen disobeyed orders, probably saving their own skins, the Indians were able to take the cavalry piecemeal. It was a fight in which everything went wrong, capped by the misleading information as to the number of hostiles, disseminated by the Indian agents to cover their misuse of Indian rations.

The last half of the book is devoted to discussions of various elements of the battle, and is not Windolph's account. The discussions are well done and fair to the participants. The photographs and maps provide additional interest to the book. All in all, this Bison Book should be on the shelves of all Custer nuts, whether pro or con.

W.H. Van Duzer, P.M.

Essays in Maya Archaeology by Gordon Randolph Willey. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1987. 232 pages. Cloth \$27.50, Paper \$13.95.

For the scholar of the Maya civilization, this collection of essays should prove to be a very useful reference tool regarding recent interpretations of the culture of the Maya. All of the essays have been previously published either as chapters in books published by the School of American Research or in journals of anthropology. Four of the essays were written as summary chapters and have references to other essays in that particular collection. Topics discussed include *The Maya Collapse*, *Pre-Hispanic Maya Agriculture*, and *Postclassic of the Maya Lowlands*.

This is not a book for the person who has little background knowledge and who wants to find out about the Maya civilization; it is for scholars, written by a scholar. The essays look at different interpretations of this culture and attempt to present the most recent scholarship.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Blankets and Moccasins: Plenty Coups and His People, the Crows by Glendolin Damon Wagner and Doctor William A. Allen; foreword by Fred W. Voget. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1933 (Bison Book 1987). 104 pp., ills. Cloth \$24.95; paper \$8.95.

This book is based on the personal recollections of Doctor Allen whose close association with the Crow Indians began shortly after Custer's defeat at the Little Big Horn. In his various roles as gold seeker, blacksmith at Fort Custer, and dentist in Billings, Montana, Dr. Allen through his close friendship with the subject of the book, Chief Plenty Coups (A-Leek-Chea-Ahoosh) whose life from childhood to death at an advanced age and as presented by principal writer and co-author Mrs. Wagner, offers the opportunity to touch upon most aspects of Crow philosophy and customs and to recount as many as feasible of the regional events which occurred during the life of the principal subject.

The point of view, as one might expect, is highly sympathetic with the Indian, his philosophy and his fate. As usual, the expres-

sions of sympathy seem to disregard the course of events which have made the "glad, wild life" of the aboriginal Indian highly impracticable. Nevertheless, the book seems an authentic presentation of the aboriginal Crow culture as remembered and regretted, and a well-expressed tribute to "a wild people who have not yet learned how to clutch successfully at civilization's weapons."

Hugo von Rodeck Jr., P.M.

Civil War on the Western Border; 1854-1865 by Jay Monaghan. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London (1955) 1985. 454 pp., index. Cloth \$26.95; paper \$9.95.

This is one of the most absorbing history books I have ever had the pleasure of reading. Being a non-professional American history buff with a fragmentary factual background in the subject(s), I need all the help I can get to fit the facts I pick up in my reading into a coherent whole. Monaghan writes history the way good fiction authors write fiction; he makes people and events come as genuinely alive as are the deathless creatures of our best fiction, with the added advantage that this is (and was) for real.

The book is concerned with pre-War Kansas-Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Illinois, Texas, and adjacent or related areas. The 18-page double-columned index is key to many too many important personalities who dominate the Civil War period in other areas to make it feasible even to try to mention them here. Such early slavery-vs-free-state battles as Carthage, Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, Prairie Grove and others, again too numerous to mention, furnished tinder which flamed more brightly farther east and south in the better-known actions of the War of the Secession.

Such less-written-about figures as John Brown, Charles Quantrell, Albert Pike, Stand Watee and John Ross, etc., etc., all make a picture of such complexity that one wonders that one War could settle anything.

All in all, this aspect of the American Civil War rounds out a picture of the socio-political situation during the 1854-1965 period which is ill-drawn by the less-detailed summary treatments in the more widely-read Civil War histories.

Hugo von Rodeck Jr., P.M.

Plains Folk by Jim Hoy and Tom Isern. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London, 1987. 190 pages, black and white pen drawings, index. Hardbound, \$17.95.

This is a collection of 96 short articles, each about two pages in length, which first appeared as syndicated columns in newspapers in many towns and small cities of the Great Plains. The titles of the stories are as homespun as are the people and places that are described: "Tree Claims," "Hessian Flies," "Loading Horses," "Shocking Wheat," "Sounds of the Schoolyard," "Used Tires," and "POWs on the Plains."

The authors define the Great Plains as an area which extends northward from Central Texas through Montana and North Dakota and into the Canadian provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. This north-south direction defined the seasonal movement of the bison, the waterfowl, and the Indians. Later it marked the routes taken by the cattlemen who drove their steers south from Alberta and north from Texas to be shipped out of Kansas and Nebraska. Today it is the migratory road of the custom combiners as they follow the wheat harvest. The authors, both Kansas natives, contend that the Plains have produced a culture that is distinct and unique to our continent.

Jim Hoy is chairman of the English Department and Tom Isern a history professor at Emporia (Kansas) State University. Because of their rural roots, these men are familiar with the subjects that they treat. Because of their academic qualifications, each one of the 96 items is absolutely grammatically correct and historically accurate. For the person researching the area and the time between 1910 up to the present, *Plains Folk* would provide a wealth of minutiae, parts of it more interesting than others.

No doubt these columns were eagerly anticipated and enjoyed by the Plains folk who read them in their local papers. To the nostalgia buff they would certainly conjure sights, sounds, and smells of times past. However, reading these commentaries in book form is not recreational reading at its best. The short items as they appear here, skip lightly from subject to subject without any kind of continuity, and the reader has difficulty focusing his mind on so many men-

tal snapshots. Isern, the history professor, is especially prosaic; Hoy is more descriptive, but none of the writing is excitingly colorful. Perhaps their very straight-forward, factual style helps convey the feeling of the monotony and flatness of the Great Plains about which they are writing.

Marjorie Wiegert Hutchins
My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882 by Miguel Antonio Otero with introduction by Cynthia Secor-Welsh. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, (1936) 1987. 372 pages, photographs. Paper, \$12.95.

The original publication of this autobiography of Governor Otero was published in 1935, but this edition of his life as a young man is better than the original for two reasons; first, the addition of photographs which were not in the first edition, and second, the well-written introduction. Secor-Welsh takes a long hard look at Miguel Antonio Otero who played an important role in Territorial New Mexico including serving as Governor from 1897 to 1906. While this volume includes only the first twenty-five years of his life, the introduction takes a look at his entire life.

The most interesting aspect of Governor Otero's life in my opinion is how he was caught between the Anglo and Hispanic cultures. My question is, just how Hispanic was he other than politically. Like many others past and present, he used his Spanish surname for political purposes when it aided his election or appointment to office, but his friends, business associates and feminine acquaintances were decidedly Anglo. This is evident in the organizations he belonged to in Las Vegas including the Las Vegas Rod and Gun Club. Even his business dealings in commerce or mining included very few Hispanics.

In his first volume, Otero tells the story of his first twenty-five years. Along with his family, he moved west through Kansas to Colorado and then New Mexico. His descriptions of what it was like to grow up in towns such as Hays City, Kansas, Trinidad, Colorado, and become a young businessman in Las Vegas, New Mexico, are very well written. He brings famous men such as Uncle Dick Wootten, Clay Allison and others into his his story of the area.

While the book is decidedly written from Otero's perspective, it certainly does contribute to our picture of this period of westward expansion. Otero's style of writing is most readable and his books are most interesting reading.

The UNM Press reprinted this volume to help commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of New Mexico statehood. This is a real service to those who might not want to spend the \$70.00 or more to acquire the original edition of this work. For these people who have an interest in New Mexico history, I hope that UNM Press will reprint *My Life on the Frontier, 1882-1897* and *My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1906* as in some ways these two volumes are even more interesting than volume one.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

High Noon In Lincoln: Violence on the Western Frontier by Robert M. Utley. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque. First Edition, 1987. 265 pages, maps and illustrations, acknowledgements, abbreviations, notes, sources and index. Cloth, \$22.50.

The University of New Mexico Press and former Chief Historian and Assistant Director of the National Park Service Robert M. Utley have produced the latest and best book on the two-year period of lawlessness in Lincoln County, New Mexico known as the Lincoln County War. To those of us who have visited Lincoln and read the various books on the War and so-called Billy the Kid, this account is a welcome study of the events and characters of the tumultuous times in New Mexico.

Utley's scholarship and research are evident throughout the book. His practice of placing the footnotes in a separate section at the end of the book, together with an involved list of sources provide almost an encyclopedia of the subject.

For any Westerners who are unacquainted with the Lincoln County War, it was a collision between one group of ranchers, storekeepers, cowboys and their friends and supporters, and another similar group. The war lasted about two years and involved not only the natives of the area,

but the Ninth U.S. Cavalry, its officers and men stationed nearby at Fort Stanton, Governor of New Mexico Lew Wallace, the Civil War general who wrote "Ben Hur," and federal officials up to the president of the United States.

The author's declaration in the preface that there were no heroes in the Lincoln County War may be debated, as well as his conclusion that the "war" was caused by greed for money and power. Many of the persons, Hispanic and Anglo, fought, suffered and often died for what they believed. "Greed" for money and power often developed this country and the West into what we prize today. At any rate, Lincoln survived the "war" and exists today much as it was in the 1870s.

While Utley thinks that there were no heroes in the "war", he cannot resist pointing out that the adenoidal juvenile delinquent sometimes known as "Billy the Kid" left an "enduring legacy to the world" and was a youth of "sunny disposition."

The excellence of the book would consume paragraphs of praise. Briefly, this is the best book on the subject and highly recommended.

W.H. Van Duzer, P.M.

Son of Manitou by Albert R. Booky. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1987. 152 pages. Paper, 10.95.

In the 152 pages, this novel takes the reader from the deathbed of President Andrew Jackson near Nashville, Tennessee, to the Lincoln County War in southern New Mexico. That is a large amount of time and place to cover in so few pages.

The major character in the book becomes the superhero with no weaknesses, who is an expert in all phases of frontier life. He actually would have to have been the son of God, as the Mandans named him.

While there is some solid information in the book about the West, the story belongs more to the old Saturday matinee where the hero always wins and reality takes second place.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.



Custer's Chief of Scouts; the Reminiscences of Charles A. Varnum edited by John M. Carroll, with Charles K. Mills. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, (1982) 1987. 192 pp., 7 ills., 2 append., index. Cloth \$18.95, paper \$6.95.

Charles Albert Varnum (1849-1936), West Point 2nd Lieutenant 1872, assigned to the 7th Cavalry. After several brief military assignments in the South he went to the Dakotas in 1873. He participated in the Stanley Yellowstone Expedition, the Black Hills Expedition of 1874, and the Little Big Horn campaign of 1876. He remained in continuous military service until in 1907, at the age of 58 he became advisor to the Idaho militia, then Professor of Military Science in the University of Maine, and finally recruiting officer. In July 1918 during the mobilization for World War I he was promoted to Colonel and became disbursing officer at Fort Mason in San Francisco. He had served in the 7th Cavalry for 32 years; he died at 87 years.

Varnum's experiences at the Battle of the Little Big Horn are detailed in his autobiographical account, as is his later testimony during the investigation of Reno's actions at the Little Big Horn. This testimony is reported in full as Appendix B. Varnum also took part in the Nez Perce campaign and in the Wounded Knee affair in 1890.

Appendix A of the book is a detailed chronological outline of Varnum's life, from 1872 to 1904 compiled from Army records by Charles K. Miller and completed to his death in 1936.

Editor Carroll has meticulously footnoted the autobiographical reminiscences which form the main body of the book. These notes, along with the 6-page double-columned index, present a painstakingly prepared glossary of much of the personnel and activities of the 7th Cavalry and related organizations, for which it is a useful reference.

Near the end of his career Varnum received the Medal of Honor for his heroism at Wounded Knee.

In all, the book is an extremely important contribution to the history of the 7th Cavalry and the Indian Wars.

Hugo von Rodeck Jr., P.M.

(from page 2)

Robert and Evelyn Brown

Mr. Brown holds memberships in the Colorado Authors League, Western Writers of America, and he served as Sheriff of the Denver Posse of the Westerns in 1969. Both Evelyn and Robert Brown are active members of the Colorado Mountain Club.

OVER THE CORRAL RAIL STANLEY ZAMONSKI HONORED

Posseman Stanley W. Zamonski, at the Denver ceremony on 11 November 1987 entitled *Freedom Day: a Bicentennial Celebration of the Constitution*, was awarded the Governor John Evans Award as one who "typifies the pioneer spirit that built our state and nation." This, and seven other awards originated by the American Freedom Coalition were presented at the Governor's mansion in recognition of the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution.

"Zamonski is one of Colorado's leading photographers and has donated his collection to the Colorado Historical Society. He has served as Curator of the Buffalo Bill Cody Museum in Denver since 1978."

Congratulations from the Denver Westerners!!

ALAN CULPIN

Alan Culpin, who spoke to us on "Uncle Dick Wootton" (23 Sept.), was born in Taipch, Formosa in 1939, and escaped the clutches of the Japanese by coming to America. In 1944 he went in convoy to Britain, where he was educated in private schools. During those years, he also travelled all over the world. In 1957, he came to Colorado to attend the University of Colorado, where he earned BA and MA degrees in history, with a specialty of Western American History under the late Dr. Bob Athearn.

In 1973, he located the only job in his profession, and began teaching at Red Rocks College. However, with the coming decline in higher education in Colorado, he started an antiquarian book business on the side to provide security against the future loss of jobs. He left the teaching profession in 1985, and has devoted himself to books and research ever since. His shop on West 32nd Avenue is considered one of the finest of its kind in the country.

The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

MARCH-APRIL 1988



THE ANASAZI PEOPLE OF THE FOUR CORNERS Ray E. Jenkins



Cliff Palace, Mesa Verde National Park

FIRST ROSENSTOCK AWARD

The first recipient of the newly-established Denver Westerners' Rosenstock Award is Duane A. Smith, Professor of History at Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado. Prof. Smith has written 17 books, with two more to appear soon, on subjects including Horace Tabor, mining camps, Mesa Verde, and Colorado Governors. We are looking forward to hearing from Prof. Smith directly later this year when he can leave his classes to address us personally.

The Rosenstock Fund has been established by contributions from individual members of the Denver Westerners, from the Posse itself, and most especially from matching funds contributed by the Rosenstock family. It is expected that an award will be made annually for contributions to our knowledge and understanding of the history of the Rocky Mountain West. Nominations for subsequent awards should be delivered to Eugene Rakosnik, Chairman of the Rosenstock Fund Awards Committee, 3434 S. Ouray Way, Aurora CO 80013.

LIMITED ROUNDUP SALE

Bound ROUNDUPS for 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985: \$4.00 per volume; 1986, \$7.00; 1987, \$9.00; plus \$1.00 per volume mailing charge. Sets of six consecutive volumes: \$35.00 p.p. Order from the Tallyman, Dr. Loren F. Blaney (address on page 2) or pick up at a meeting.

YOUR DUES ARE DUE!!

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THE ANASAZI: PEOPLE OF THE FOUR CORNERS

by

Ray E. Jenkins

Presented 24 January 1988

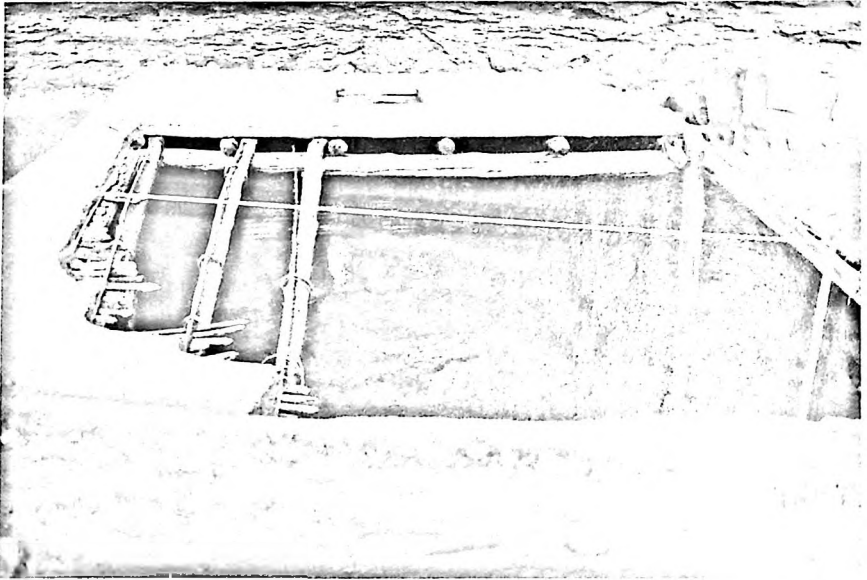
In the Four Corners region where the states of Colorado, Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico join, there once lived a prehistoric people who have been given the name, Anasazi. While they have been studied by archaeologists for many years, there is still much that is not known about them, especially their social organization. There are several areas of controversy including just what was the purpose of the large complexes such as those in Chaco Canyon, and what was the round underground room used for? In truth, there is much more than is unknown than known regarding the Anasazi.

The Navajo word, Anasazi, is most often translated to mean 'ancient ones,' but the word may be translated as 'alien ancient ones,' 'enemy ancestors,' or 'ancestors of the alien people.' Because of the conflict between the Navajo and the Hopi, possible descendants of the Anasazi, which continues to the present over control of the land, the Navajo may view the Anasazi as enemy ancestors.

At the 1927 Pecos Conference, the period of the Anasazi culture was divided into nine stages starting with the Oshara Tradition and continuing to the present. The Oshara Tradition was that time when the ancestors of the Anasazi were wandering throughout the greater Southwest as hunters and gatherers with no permanent settlements. Their major weapon was the spear, with which they used the atlatl to aid in accuracy and distance. These people left very little behind for the archaeologist to study.

The first group to be classified as Anasazi were given the name of Basketmakers by Richard Wetherill, a rancher in southwest Colorado, who developed a strong interest in these earlier settlers. He gave them the name because of the very fine baskets woven by them for use as storage containers and cooking vessels. At first, the Basketmakers were wanderers with no permanent homes, but with the introduction of farming they began to settle down and build dwellings of a temporary nature as well as storage pits. The crop that was first cultivated was maize, or corn, which had first been domesticated in Mexico around 4000 BC and had slowly made its way north. The Basketmaker would plant the seeds in a favorable area and then move on to hunt and to gather wild plants and nuts. Toward the end of the growing season, the people would return to collect what crops had grown and had not been collected by the birds and animals. During this period the turkey and the dog were domesticated but neither seems to have been used as food.

A number of changes occurred around AD 450-750 in the life style of the Basketmakers. There was the introduction of the bow and arrow which was a major advance in hunting, and with the arrival of beans as an important source of protein there was a need for something to cook them in other than baskets lined with pitch. The development of pottery made it possible to utilize this new food source. It is suggested that all or most of these new items were introduced to the Basketmakers



Pit House, Step House; Mesa Verde National Park

by neighbors to the south. Some authorities have suggested that the additional protein may have stimulated the population into a cultural leap forward.

As the importance of farming increased, the people were forced to remain in the areas near their fields and to build more permanent housing. The dwelling that came about was the pithouse which was dug about twenty-four inches into the ground, after which a framework of poles was placed over the pit and covered with soil to provide walls and roof. The house was entered through an antechamber, and the main room was divided into cooking and other areas. It was a single-family dwelling with food storage pits sometimes separated from the house. The depth of the house into the ground put it below the frost line and provided superior thermal qualities. Over the period of time, the size of the pithouse grew and certain changes included a roof entrance.

Fire was a major threat to the pithouse and its occupants, and most of those that have been excavated have been burned. There is the possibility that there was a custom or ritual that required the house to be burned if someone died in the house; the Navajo have a similar custom. If someone dies in the hogan, no one will live in it again.

Another change that fooled archaeologists for a while was the discovery of skulls that had a different shape from those examined previously. It was thought that a new group of people had moved into the area until someone suggested that the use of a hard cradleboard had flattened out the back of the childrens' heads causing a wider skull. This was also the time of the introduction of cotton, the full-groved axe,

and the corrugated pot which was a better conductor of heat than a pot that was smooth on both sides. While crops were providing more and more of their food, they were still hunters and gatherers with uncultivated plants contributing a large percentage of their vegetal food. One of those plants was the yucca which furnished food along with soap and materials for sandals.

As a result of these numerous changes in their life style, the Anasazi advanced into what is called the Pueblo period. The pithouse was dug deeper with the antechamber becoming the ventilator and the banquette above the ventilator being enlarged to form a recess which resulted in a keyhole shape for the room. The above-ground storage rooms became living areas during the warmer times of the year, and the underground round rooms developed other uses. Stephen Lekson spoke of these rooms at Chaco. He said, "In my opinion, almost all the 'Kivas' at Chaco Canyon were simply elements of domestic building, one room of several (together with rectangular living rooms and storage rooms) making up a 'home' or the basic unit of domestic building." (*Great Pueblo Architecture of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico*, p. 6). It is just possible that this was the role played by these rooms in most cases. The fact that there is a sipapu or "spirit entrance" hole in the floor of some of these round rooms has resulted in the room being considered to be religious in nature. A future archaeologist studying a modern dining room and finding a straw inlaid cross and a retablo of the Holy Family on the walls might be just as easily misled. The underground rooms are easy to heat in cold weather, and all seem to have hearths, but many of the large rooms above ground show no evidence of fires. A Ute once stated that the body heat from six men had made an underground round room comfortable on a cool day. There is also the belief that these rooms were used at times for the exchange and redistribution of goods. There might have been a number of uses that were not religious in nature.

There are instances where rooms above ground seem to have been designed to increase warmth. At Chimney Rock near Pagosa Springs, Colorado, some rooms were massed to increase the insulation factor. At Chaco Canyon the round rooms above ground often had a square wall built around them, and the space between the two rooms was filled with soil for support and for insulation. It is also interesting that none of the round rooms had a sipapu in the floor.

Two other architectural features for which there seems to be no answer as to their purpose are the T-shaped doorway and the tri-wall structure. The greatest concentration of T-shaped doorways is found at Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde with the second largest concentration in the Mexican state of Chihuahua. Often at Chaco these doors open onto a plaza or onto the roof of an elevated round room. At one time, the explanation for the shape of the door was that it made entering the room easier if one had a load on his back, but as of now, no-one has come up with a reason for the shape based on archaeological evidence. The tri-wall structure is located in several areas including Chaco Canyon and Aztec Ruins. It might have served a religious purpose, but again there is no definite answer as to its use.

Beginning in some areas around AD 1000, there was a growth of population that was coupled with a more sedentary life style. This resulted in the development of larger communities. Farming had become a full-time occupation with the Anasazi

constructing checkdams and water-control devices in an attempt to increase yields of corn, squash and beans. This new development reached its greatest heights in the San Juan Basin and is known as the Chaco Phenomenon. Nothing shows this better than the Chacoan art which became the norm for the Anasazi world, and both pottery and turquoise jewelry were outstanding.



Long House, Mesa Verde National Park

In the Chaco region, where 2528 archaeological sites have been inventoried and twenty-seven have been excavated or tested, there are still many questions regarding the lives of the people who lived there. They built a road system of over three hundred miles, and yet they had no wheeled vehicles or draft animals to use the roads. There are steps leading out of Chaco Canyon that connect with the roads which run straight with no curves, and which have curbs in some sections. They were from twenty-five to forty feet wide and they connected the smaller settlements now known as outliers. Two examples of these towns were Aztec in New Mexico and Chimney Rock in Colorado. It is thought that the roads served an economic purpose by bringing crops to Chaco for distribution to communities that had experienced a crop failure. There could also have been a ceremonial purpose with people coming to celebrate a special event with specific rituals. It is possible that the large complexes were used for religious purposes or for distribution of food and not as living quarters for a year-round population.

Complexes such as Pueblo Bonito show careful planning and several stages of construction. There are over 1,000,000 dressed stones used in Pueblo Bonito with

many of the rooms being twice the size of rooms in other buildings. The complex faces south to take advantage of passive solar heating and contains one-half of all the corner windows and doors found in all the buildings. One of the corner windows could have been used to predict the winter solstice. It may have been used alone with the Sun Dagger located on Fajada Butte in Chaco Canyon. The construction of Pueblo Bonito is superior to any construction at Mesa Verde, and this is very easy to see by studying the construction of the rear wall.

The farmers in Chaco depended on runoff and not on streams to provide the water that was necessary for their crops. On top of the canyon, the water was channeled into specific runoff areas and directed down into the canyon where irrigation systems delivered it to the fields. As to the amount of water available in runoff, a one-hour summer storm has produced 540,000 gallons from one small side canyon. There is the distinct possibility that this runoff created problems at times and a large amount of the water was lost for irrigation purposes.

The society that developed in Chaco Canyon was extremely complicated and included a possible three-level hierarchy. There is much that will never be known about their social organization. One question is why the small villages were located on the south side of the canyon and the large complexes on the north side? There is not really much of a comparison between the modern Pueblo society and that society that developed in Chaco. Gregory L. Steward stated that "Similarities between modern Pueblo and the Anasazi are mainly the result of similar adaptations to similar environments." (*Proceedings of the Anasazi Symposium, 1981, p.157*).

A second area of Anasazi concentration was in the area around Mesa Verde. While it is estimated that over 30,000 Anasazi lived in the Montezuma Valley at the peak of population, only about 3500 lived on the mesa. Recent archaeological studies done in connection with the damming of the Dolores River have produced a comprehensive view of the total area.

No archaic or Basketmaker II ruins have been discovered on the mesa, probably as the result of people moving around, building on top of previous sites, and even reusing materials. Examples of the pithouse are found both on top of the mesa and in the caves used again in the Pueblo period. Several pithouses were excavated in Step House by the Park Service, and they also did a reconstruction. On top of the mesa, Badger House was opened to the public in the summer of 1987, and a number of other pithouses of special interest are located there.

On the mesa top more than one thousand checkdams were used to slow the runoff and to develop small plots for farming. Water was also stored in reservoirs such as Mummy Lake and two others that have been located. Long irrigation ditches were constructed to carry water to the fields and these ancient people seemed to understand that by slowing the runoff some of the water was able to percolate down through the sandstone and emerge as seeps or springs in the cliff dwelling areas.

The period of AD 1100-1300 was the classic period of Mesa Verde, with the masonry becoming better and better and the pottery designs more attractive. The sites from this time contain an exceptionally high number of small underground round rooms referred to as kivas, and at Long House there was a conversion of rooms to kivas along with a reduction in size of other kivas. There was also a greater than

usual number of storage rooms which raises a question, as storage rooms are often associated with great kivas and none have been excavated.

We really do not know what the big houses in Mesa Verde are like because they have not been studied. The result of a combination of lack of money, the desire to study them carefully, and available time has prevented this work. There are three great kivas that could be excavated at Kiva Point on the Mountain Ute Reservation, and other major structures are located at Goodman Point and Bug Point, including one structure with a base of about 900 feet.

Several structures such as Far View House would have been most difficult to live in during the winter, and as the climate became colder and the supply of wood decreased, more of the habitations on the mesa top might have become unsuitable. The last great building on the mesa top was Sun Temple which was never completed as the people moved into the cliff dwellings which provided warmer living conditions.

A smaller Anasazi group was located in Northern Arizona in the Kayenta area, and this location put them outside of the mainstream as is evident in their pottery during the Pueblo II and Pueblo III periods. Theirs was a more rugged region which helped keep life simple. They may have chosen to live in the cliff dwellings so that the valuable farmland would not be wasted and because it provided better protection from the weather. There was a nearby water supply for drinking and cooking, and streams may have supplied the irrigation water. The construction of their buildings was very poor compared to Chaco and Mesa Verde, and the major sites of Betatakin, Keet Seel, and Inscription House were not occupied over a long period of time. At Betatakin there was a peak population of about 125 people who built and used 150 rooms during a period from AD 1250-1286. There is a question of whether or not there were any underground round rooms or kivas here. There is one possible in the ruin and another one up the canyon. The people who lived at Betatakin came as a group and left as a group.

Keet Seel which is considered the best Anasazi ruin in Arizona was built and occupied during AD 1250-1300 with a population between 125 and 150 living in about 150 rooms. During this time, a number of changes were made in the rooms with several conversions of living areas to granaries, and several of these granaries were filled with corn and sealed when the inhabitants left. At Keet Seel one of the kivas was paved with slabs and had no sipapu.

There are six interesting aspects of the Anasazi culture that should be discussed. They are health, burials, cannibalism, the Mexican connection, Kokopelli, and why it all came to an end about AD 1300.

What little we know about the medical history of the Anasazi has been deduced from the remains. A major dental problem was worn teeth that resulted from the sand that was eaten along with the ground corn, and there were also the problems of tartar and pyorrhea. Many people over the age of twenty-nine had degenerative arthritis which was located in the spinal column for many. Poor hygiene, resulting from a lack of water and crowding, helped spread infections and resulted in diarrhea and respiratory problems. The turkeys that were kept in close proximity to dwelling units helped spread bacillary dysentery. Infectious diarrhea was probably endemic, and with other medical problems, the average Anasazi was dead by the age of forty.

There is a real mystery as to who was buried and where they were buried. Jesse Fewkes believed that he had found a special room at Mesa Verde that was used for cremations and that a round stone enclosure on the mesa top contained bone ashes. Richard Wetherill stated that he had evidence of cremation at Step House where bodies had been burned together with pottery in one large room. Neither of these discoveries has been substantiated by more recent archaeological work. Two groups of people who lived south of the Anasazi were the Hohokam who cremated their dead and the Mogollon who buried their dead in pits beneath their dwellings.

In Northern Arizona in the White Mountain region cinerary burials have been discovered where bodies were burned and the remains placed in grey vases. One major problem in studying the burials is the Navajo pothunters who have let greed overcome tribal taboos. Tsegi Canyon has been severely damaged by these pothunters for a number of years.

There is some evidence that burials indicated status as some were buried in a most elaborate way. At Yellowjacket, a young man was buried with a mat under his body and another across the center of his body, and a bowl placed near his head. In Jensen Canyon near Mesa Verde, John Wetherill uncovered a grave that contained a matting, five bodies with seventeen arrows across the head, and three infants on top of a large mat under which was an adult. Another burial was under a sandstone slab and buried with the man were his personal possessions.

In Kinboko or House Canyon near Marsh Pass a most interesting burial was discovered in 1914 by Alfred Kidder and Samuel Guernsey. In a three-foot-deep cist, there was the mummified upper body of a young woman with only one foot and no legs. The bones of an infant were scattered in her grave, and under her body was a possible trophy that may have once been tied around the woman's neck. It was the complete skin from the head of a man. The skin had been cut in three sections for removal from the skull and had been cured or tanned before being sewn back together. The hair was arranged in a most elaborate style, and the face had been painted several colors. No one today seems to know the reason for this item in the woman's grave.

At another location, the body of a man had been cut in half and then sewn back together before burial, and instead of sandals, the body wore moccasins. At Canyon del Muerto, a grave was opened that contained a pair of forearms and hands lying palms up, side by side, on a bed of grass. The wrists were wrapped with three necklaces with abalone shell pendants. There were two very fine pairs of sandals in the grave. There have also been graves in which only the skull was present.

A number of burials have been found in the refuse dump or midden that is a part of nearly all settlements. It was not a sign of disrespect to be buried there as the earth was considered sacred, and all things are from the earth and will return to the earth. It was also an easy place to dig a grave.

There is a scarcity of burials in Chaco Canyon with only seven hundred being recorded. It may be that others have been found, looted and not reported. It is also possible that many burials were in alluvial fill or in the fields and that rapid decay destroyed the remains. Another possible reason for the lack of burials could be that the major buildings were in use for only certain times of the year and there were



Spruce Tree House, Mesa Verde National Park

not that many deaths. At Kin Kletso there are seventy-six burials unearthed but Kin Kletso was built by outsiders who differed greatly from the earlier residents of the canyon. At Aztec Ruins most of the burials are from the Mesa Verde occupation after the withdrawal of the Chacoans. There are still more questions than answers regarding the disposal of the dead.

Another aspect of the Anasazi that invites a great number of questions but few answers was cannibalism. In San Juan County, Utah, there are at least fifteen documented sites that show evidence of cannibalism. At one site there are the mutilated bones of ten to fifteen people, and these bones indicate that the bodies were cut into pieces and scraped clean, and the bases of the skulls were broken open for the contents. In a twenty-two-room Pueblo in Mancos Canyon, Colorado, bones have been broken open for the marrow, the skulls cleaned and all bones broken. The fact that the vertebrae, torso and pelvic bones are missing would indicate that perhaps the people were killed at another location and that the bodies were butchered with only the meaty parts brought home.

In Northern Arizona, the remains of twenty-five to thirty humans were in a six-and-a-half-foot pit. While the vertebrae and pelvises were missing, there were a few ribs, feet, and hands. The arms and legs were broken into pieces four or five inches long which would be stewpot size. The ends of the bones were charred, but the middle sections of the bones would seem to indicate that they were cooked with the meat on the bone. In Penasco Blanco at Chaco, the debris of what has been referred to as a cannibal feast consisted of human bones, cracked open, and charred skulls. The question, is was this the remains of a religious ritual or were the Anasazi just hungry?

The amount of influence from Mesoamerica on the Anasazi culture is a topic that has aroused the interest of a number of researchers. One point of view is that

there was a process that took several thousand years but by the first century AD there was a chain of communities from Jalisco to New Mexico and Arizona. Both material goods and ideas traveled up this *pochteca*-like trade route with corn, squash, beans, cotton, macaws, and copper products coming along with new ideas in water control, human sacrifice, trophy heads, the Kachina Cult, and certain architectural features. The introduction of the great kiva which was thirty to sixty feet wide and two to five feet deep might be based on the circular community structure in Jalisco and could have been used as a *pochteca* trading center.

Some question this impact because of a lack of artifacts, but if a comparison is made with the amount of artifacts from the Spanish entrada, there is a similar amount of artifacts. The lack of artifacts of foreign or exotic nature is the rule and not the exception. The question is was the decline of Chaco related to the withdrawal of the *pochteca*?

According to several sources, the Kachina Cult was introduced about AD 1100, and the first deity depicted in rock art was a kachina known as Kokopelli whose image is seen from Mexico to the Pajarito Plateau in New Mexico. He is also a modern Pueblo kachina known as the Assassin Fly Kachina or the Humpbacked Flute Player. This kachina is often pushed into the back areas because of the non-Hopi restrictions on phallic exhibitions. He bears a resemblance to the Mayan god, Ek Chuah, and has a long nose, black body, humpback, and exposed genitals. The hump contains gifts for the women he seduces. The Hopi have added a female counterpart, Kokopelli Mana who seduces the men she catches.

There are still a few authors who try to make a mystery out of where the Anasazi moved to when they left the Four Corners area, but there is a consensus among archaeologists that the move was eventually to the Rio Grande, Zuni, and Hopi Pueblos. The real question is, why did they leave when they did? It was not a sudden event such as was considered by Nordenskiold and others who saw outside attackers such as the Navajo and Apache as the reason for leaving. It is now established that the Athabascans came into the area about one hundred years after the Anasazi had moved on to other places. There is almost no sign of warfare even in the guise of the raiding of anyone, including the Piutes who were mentioned at a recent conference. When the people left it was peacefully and in good order with small groups, possibly clans, leaving over a period of time.

In the Hovenweep country, the move was first to the heads of the canyons where water was available. Those in southwestern Utah held out longer than those in the Dolores Valley as they moved to the cliffs where it was drier and cooler and food storage was improved. This last item had become especially important as was seen in the building of a food storage complex in AD 1260. The narrow canyon provided springs and seeps and a greater diversity of plants and animals which was very important as the people were depending more on hunting and gathering than they had done for a number of years.

The question is, why did they leave? First, it was rare for any site to remain occupied longer than about one hundred years because of a reduction of available resources such as wood and game. At this point, there seems to have been a combination of reasons that often varied from place to place. In some areas, there had

been a rapid growth in population that strained the situation in both a physical and mental sense, and yet the small sites seem to have been abandoned first as new ideas are not as rapidly accepted by non-marginal groups. Often there was a local extinction of game and the carrying capacity of the land was reduced.

The people of Chaco started leaving about AD 1000, and the last major construction was in AD 1120. There was a later reoccupation, but everyone was probably gone by AD 1300. Did the eleventh-century collapse of the Toltec Empire and the overthrow of their outpost at Casas Grandes have any effect on Chaco? Was it a combination of several things including loss of ground cover, arroyo cutting, changes in precipitation patterns, alkalization of the fields, disease, social and/or religious breakdown, or was it just that times change and it was time to move on? It could have been any or all of these factors.

Tree rings are a better indicator of winter moisture than summer moisture, and while winter moisture dominated before AD 800, there was a shift to summer rains from AD 750-1100 which when combined with the removal of forest cover would increase the runoff and reduce the amount of water available for crops. This combined with several other factors would have had a decided impact over this long period.

It seems that the more that is discovered about the Anasazi the less is really known. Over the years, some have believed that they had the answer to the social organization of these people. One of these was Neil Judd who described the daily lives of the residents of Pueblo Bonito for the readers of National Geographic. Another group was the employees of the National Park Service who, well into the 1970s, told how 1000 people lived in Pueblo Bonito and that 7000 lived in the canyon. The problem is that archaeology can not determine social organization and come up with all the answers, but if answers are not available, some people will make them up.

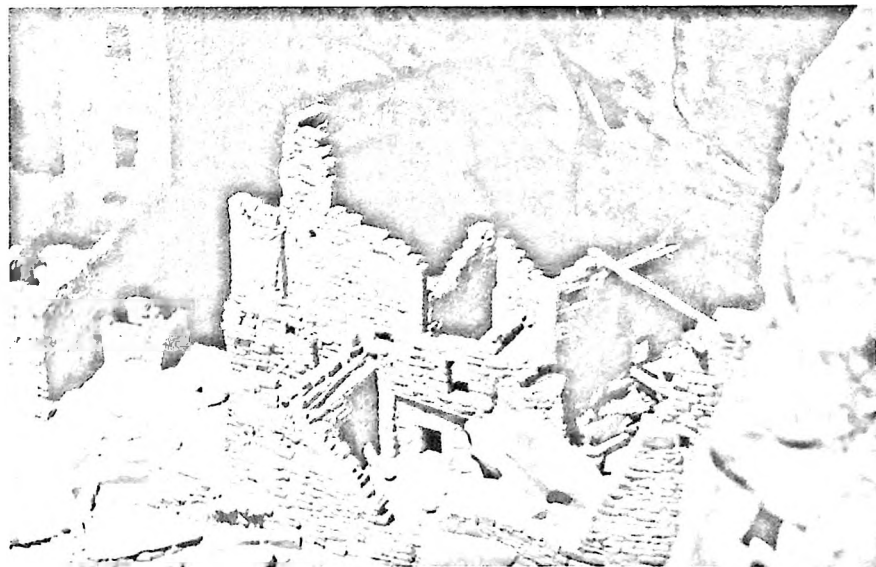
As Paul Grebinger wrote, "In Southwest archaeology there has been a substitution of analogies from present behavior and its material products for archaeologically derived description and explanation of past behavior." (*Discovering Past Behavior—Experiments in the Archaeology of the American Southwest*, p. 1). This ethnographic analogy which is a comparison with the modern Pueblo is full of possible mistakes, a number of which have been made in the past.

There are many facts that will never be discovered regarding the Anasazi, but archaeologists and others who have an interest in this topic will continue the search for information because the Anasazi lived in an area that still draws people to it in a spiritual way, and it is fun trying to find the answers.

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Square Tower House, Mesa Verde National Park



Westerner's Bookshelf



Bandit Years- A Gathering of Wolves by Mark Dugan. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe. 128 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

This slight paperback deals with stage bandits who concentrated their nefarious efforts in the southwestern corner of Colorado and northern New Mexico. Their target was the Barlow-Sanderson Stage Line, which served the rapidly expanding San Juan mining area during the late 1870s and early 1880s.

The author lists 14 robberies or other criminal acts which were carried out against the Barlow-Sanderson line between September, 1880, and June 1881, by just four principal bandits, Billy Leroy, Bill Miner, Charley Allison, and Hamilton White III. They all shared a contempt for the law-abiding course of rectitude. One of them, Billy Leroy, along with his led-astray older brother, Silas, met his end at the hands of a lynch mob in Del Norte, Colorado. The other three were eventually captured and served out penitentiary sentences.

The primary motivation responsible for the robberies was the declining importance of the stages in the face of the narrow gauge railroad lines which were extending their tracks onto the San Juan mining district. At least two factors were paramount. Stage line revenues were declining, making for carelessness and a sort of malaise, and railroads, with their locomotives, streams of cars, and numerous passengers were much harder to burglarize than was a single stage coach and its limited numbers of driver, guard, and passengers.

Documentation for the book includes pictures of the bandits and the locale, and photostats of court records and letters. The bibliography contains newspapers, books, periodicals, public records, letters, and unpublished manuscripts and material. Each section and chapter has its separate set of notes at the end of the book. A sketch map begins the book and an index ends it.

This book chronicles a short period of time and a limited part of two states. It comes under the rubric of "local history," but it is very adequate for it modest claims.

Mel Griffiths

The California Trail, An Epic With Many Heroes by George R. Stewart. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London (1962) 1983. 339 pp., maps, mileage charts, index. Paper \$8.95.

This is one of the most graphic and gripping accounts of the causes, facts, routes, equipments, difficulties, dangers, and solutions confronting and resolved by a transcontinental migration of some 165,000, mostly men but also women and children, in a rather brief period of years. This engrossing account tells of the western movement from east of the Mississippi River across the Great Plains and the western mountains to the Pacific coast into what is now California by way of unmarked trails where the unschooled travelers must learn to traverse and survive deadly deserts, flooding rivers, trackless mountains, virtually impassible canyons, bandits, and thieving or murderous Indians, while undergoing alternate feast and famine, all the while living in a wagon or on a saddle.

Beginning in 1841 and 1842, rising to a crescendo in 1844 and becoming rather more steady in the 50s, the lands of the Oregon and California territories were populated by Eastern Americans, leading to the ultimate settling of our continent.

The author has digested an enormous amount of detail about the motivations of the emigrants and the information, or lack of it, with which they embarked on an adventure of which they had a minimum or no previous knowledge. If it had not been that most of them were accustomed to frontier or rural demands on hard work and ingenuity, the survival rate would have been calamitous in view of the primitive nature of their resources. The result is a compendium of collected information and advice which would have stood those emigrants in good stead.

I have a feeling that this is the definitive treatment of the mechanics of the westward movement; I shall view with great interest any subsequent guide to crossing a continent with the minimum of every necessity.

Hugo von Rodeck, Jr., P.M.

Doctors of Medicine in New Mexico: A History of Health and Medical Practice, 1886-1986 by Jake W. Spidle, Jr. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1986. 384 pages, illustrated, cloth. \$29.95.

Like its counterpart in Colorado, New Mexico's state medical society had modest beginnings, tracing its origins to a meeting of local physicians in the town of Las Vegas in 1882. Four years later, the local group became the nidus of the state society and it is the evolution of that organization, now a century old, that Dr. Spidle, a professor of history at the University of New Mexico, describes.

An organizational history, filled with documentary data of little interest even to its members, can be deadly dull—and there is plenty of such data available in this book. Fortunately, however, Dr. Spidle goes beyond names, dates, and places to delve into some of the features and challenges of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century medical practice. It is here that the frontier flavor of medicine in early New Mexico comes through. Thus, we learn that Dr. Howard Thompson carried a "sawed off" Colt .45, "with that heavy auxiliary medical appliance dangling from the horn of his saddle" when he made housecalls in rough-and-tumble Lincoln County. Indeed, horseback trips of fifty miles were routine, and one doctor made a housecall 200 miles away. A few non-medical society topics, such as New Mexico as a haven for tuberculars, the role of women physicians, and public health issues receive a good deal of attention in the book.

Dr. Spidle's style is literary and readable, even when he discusses the more mundane aspects of Medical Society history. Grateful for what he does include of New Mexico's early medical history, one would like to see him turn his attention to such topics as Hispanic and Indian medicine, health and disease in the mining camps and military posts, and so on. Medicine in New Mexico, like its recorded history, predates its Medical Society by centuries and there are many fascinating tales to tell. One such story is how the Spanish brought vaccination to the upper Rio Grande Valley in 1799 by using a human chain of orphan boys to maintain the virus across the ocean and then north from Old

Mexico. I hope Dr. Spidle will favor us with a medical follow-up.

Dr. Robert H. Shikes, P.M. (Reserve)

Bowler Hats and Stetsons: Stories of Englishmen in the Wild West by Colin Rickards. Bonanza Books, New York, 1966. 204 pp., frontispiece, photo ill., sources, biblio., index. Hardback, price??

The subtitle indicates the theme(s) of the 22 chapters, the first six of which are concerned with such summarizing subjects as "The Englishman in the West," "The Writers," "The Miners," etc. The remaining 16 are very brief, centered on specific Britons who formed the nuclei of events or developments, such as "Sir George Gore, eighth baronet, of Manor Gore, County Donegal, Ireland;" William McGaa, of early Denver; Col. Henry B. Carrington and the vicissitudes of Fort Phil Kearney; "Poker Alice" Ivers; Joshua Abraham Norton, "Emperor of the United States and Protector of Mexico;" William Barclay 'Bat' Masterson; Henry 'Billy the Kid' McCarty; John Henry Tunstall of the Lincoln County War, who led Billy the Kid into his subsequent career, and others whose names are less immediately recognizable.

Several chapters call special attention to the British characters involved in well-known events such as the Little Big Horn battle which, because of special emphasis, would seem to have been largely or exclusively British. Some subjects are conveniently condensed, like the career of Walter James Collinson of early cattle history when Kiowas and Comanches still made ranching interesting. There is special attention to the Cornish miners, some of whose quaint customs and legends are recalled.

This small book is packed with interest and is hard to put down. It is recommended for its lively recounting of some subjects which are not elsewhere easily encountered, not to mention the emphasis on the parts played by the British in the 19th Century West.

Hugo von Rodeck, Jr. P.M.

An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre by John C. Bourke. Univ. of Nebraska Press (Bison Books) Lincoln, 1987. 112 pages. Paperback, \$4.95

An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre was first published in February 1886 by Charles Scribner's Sons, following other books and articles by Capt. John Gregory Bourke, unofficial "press agent" and staff officer for Brigadier General George Crook. *An Apache Campaign* preceded Bourke's more familiar *On the Border with Crook*, published by Scribner's in 1891.

Bargains in books are increasingly rare. For the modest \$5 price, *An Apache Campaign* is a good buy for those interested in military annals of the West. The new edition is a true reprint of the original book, right down to antique typefaces and a dozen line drawings of campaign activity, Apache scenes, weapons, equipment and paraphernalia. The full-color cover illustration—a new touch in the 1987 version—is "*The Picketts*" by Charles Schreyvogel, courtesy of the Denver Museum of Western Art.

An interesting addition to the original text is a lengthy foreword by Joseph C. Porter (author of *Paper Medicine Man: John Gregory Bourke and His American West*). Porter considers *An Apache Campaign* to be a key source in frontier military history, quite a claim for the slim, 112-page volume. Indeed, Porter's 20-page introduction, complete with footnotes and bibliography, almost overwhelms the main work. But Porter does put Bourke and his book into perspective.

Bourke joined Crook's staff in 1871 as *Aide-de-camp*. A veteran cavalry officer, the Captain through his writings had already established a reputation as a skilled Indian ethnologist and folklorist. He was widely accepted by the reading public as an authority on Western affairs.

Crook fought Indians in the Pacific Northwest and during the early 1870s in Arizona. Later he was a key figure in the 1876 Great Sioux War. Then increasingly bloody raids in the Apache homeland spurred the Army to recall Crook to Arizona in 1882.

The Chiricahua Apaches, made up of vestiges of the Chihenne, Bedonkohe, Chokonen and Nednai Apaches, hid out in the Sierra Madres in Mexico. From that remote

stronghold, they raided in Mexico and Arizona and constantly threatened Crook's efforts to establish peace in Arizona. In a typically daring move, the General planned a military expedition into the Chiricahuas' hideout, with the permission and cooperation of the Mexican government.

Crook believed it was futile to use only U.S. soldiers against the Chiricahua, and that only Apaches could hunt down the renegades. He began enlisting Western Apaches and by the spring of 1873 had put together a force of 193 scouts. Assembling these Indian allies and 50 soldiers, Crook cut all communications and led his force into Mexico.

Bourke vividly recorded fascinating details of the Apaches, their culture, towns, and the terrain encountered in the campaign. He was convinced that the Chiricahuas were the most dangerous opponents Crook had ever faced, and noted that the Apache leaders—Geronimo, Loco, Nana, Bonito, Chihuahua, Chato, Ulzana, Mangus, Zele and Kayatennae—were intelligent and courageous, physically powerful, with great stamina and endurance.

Despite the rugged mountain terrain, Crook's Apache scouts found the Chiricahua stronghold, and led the force to the hideout without being detected. After one sharp skirmish, Crook was able to open negotiations with the Chiricahuas.

In a belligerent and confident pose, the General proceeded to talk Geronimo and the Chiricahuas into returning peacefully to the San Carlos Agency. On June 10, 1883, Crook herded 384 of the Chiricahuas across the border into Arizona and back to the reservation. The remaining renegades eventually returned to San Carlos, where Crook and Bourke hoped to set up their own Indian policy Bourke ended his *An Apache Campaign* on this confident note.

Unfortunately, within days of Crook's return, critics threatened to destroy his accomplishments in Mexico. Arizonans demanded the arrest and trial of the more notorious Chiricahua leaders and the civilian Indian agent at first refused to accept the Apache warriors at San Carlos.

During the autumn of 1883, Naiche, Zele and their bands straggled back to Arizona,

and in February 1884, Mangus and Chato finally crossed the border. In March, Geronimo and his followers arrived and in May 1884 the last of the Chiricahuas crossed over.

Crook and the Indian Bureau continued to clash over who would control the Chiricahuas at San Carlos. Bourke charged that the "Indian rings" were undermining Crook's goal of making the Apaches self-sufficient. A disillusioned Geronimo and his band finally fled the reservation in May 1885. All of Crook's efforts to retake Geronimo failed.

In February 1886, *An Apache Campaign* was published. In March, Crook established a tentative truce with Geronimo, only to be undercut by the "Indian ring." Geronimo again fled, and Crook resigned his Arizona command. Brig. Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Crook's successor, eventually accepted Geronimo's surrender, then banished the Chiricahuas to prisoner-of-war camps in Florida.

Alan J. Stewart, P.M.

The House of the Governor: A Maya Palace of Uxmal, Yucatan, Mexico by Jeff Karl Kowalski. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1987. 320 pages, 201 ills., maps, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$49.50.

This is a revised and updated version of Jeff Kowalski's doctoral dissertation and, as most dissertations, it is extremely detailed. The result of such a detailed analysis is that the greatest benefit would be derived by those who have a strong background in Mayan history and who desire detailed information regarding the architecture of the Maya. The facet of the work that most would appreciate is the photographs and the reproductions of the art.

The author uses the building known as the House of the Governor as a focal point as he discusses the many aspects of these people during the ninth and tenth centuries. That the palace may have housed the great Uxmal ruler, Lord Chac is a conclusion reached by the author after a thorough study of native and colonial documents. It may have served as the administrative center for the area of northern Yucatan.

Kowalski has developed a thorough chronology of Puuc-style architecture which is found at several sites in northern Yucatan. At Uxmal, other major buildings such as the Pyramid of the Magician and those of the Nunnery Quadrangle are studied as to their relationship to the House of the Governor. The tools of construction along with the methods such as the use of the transverse vault are discussed. Several chapters cover the different types of architectural sculpture including the human, long-snouted masks, serpent-headed hieroglyphic bands, and stepfrets.

For the majority of general readers, this work is too detailed, but there are a number of interesting points brought up by the author about the Maya. This is still a lot of the unknown, and a major reason for this is the need for archaeological digs in the area of Uxmal to discover the trash middens and any possible burials. The policy of sweeping the house at the start of the new year has resulted in very little in the way of personal effects being found in any of the buildings. A lot of work needs to be done to develop a more complete picture of these early Americans.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Fry Breads, Feast Days, and Sheeps: Stories of Contemporary Indian Life by Kris Hotvedt. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1987. 47 pages, woodblock prints. Paper, \$6.95.

Through the combination of a simple text and her woodblock prints, Kris Hotvedt takes the reader on a visit to the Pueblos and Navajos of New Mexico and Arizona. The prints show events in the daily and seasonal lives of these people including ditch cleaning at San Felipe Pueblo, the coming of the Rivermen at Cochiti Pueblo, and the Navajo Fair at Window Rock, Arizona.

This book should interest those who have studied the Pueblo and the Navajo as well as those who are starting to learn about them. Kris Hotvedt has that special feeling for these people, and it shows in the woodblock prints she has included in the book.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Distant Justice—Policing The Alaskan Frontier by William R. Hunt, illustrated by Dale Bryner. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1987. 382 pp., 21 halftone illustrations, 17 line drawings, 1 map, notes, bibliography, index. Hardback \$24.95.

When the United States bought Alaska from the Russians for \$7,200,000 in 1867, the expression "Seward's Folly" or "Seward's Icebox" had currency in the lower 48 states until well after the turn of the century. Only as various mapping and investigating government agencies such as the United States Geological Survey, the U.S. fisheries Bureau, the Department of Revenue, the U.S. Army, the U.S. Navy, and the Justice Department began to collect information did first, the agencies of the government, and finally the average U.S. citizen become conscious of Alaska. This ignorance on the part of the ordinary citizen, to say nothing of those responsible for government in the new territory, was responsible for the slow development of justice in Alaska.

The author of this book is a historian with the National Park Service in Anchorage, and an emeritus professor of history at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

When Alaska was first acquired the enormity of the task of administering so large a territory (one-fifth the size of the entire lower 48 states and sparsely settled) daunted those in charge. It is easy to see how neglect and outright dishonesty led to unusually slow development of a justice system which would earn the respect of those who were being administered. Practically none of those in Washington who were responsible for the justice system of the new territory had any idea of the size and scope of the task which faced them. Trial and error shaped the slow development of a bureaucracy which would work in the new land.

The author traces the development of a legal system. He lays much stress on criminal justice. Alaska's first settlers were a hard lot who were often trying to get away from the legal constraints of the states (or even the countries) from which they had immigrated. Hunt's numerous tales about the mistakes made by Washington bureaucrats who had no idea of the size or the climate of the new territory, scandals which followed out-

right dishonesty, and unusual political favoritism in the appointment of administrators, all add spice to the narrative. Gold seekers, with little knowledge of the new territory, tried again and again to cheat Alaskans.

Great distances and cruel winters also had a major part in hampering the administration of justice. The military proved to be both a blessing and the bane of many Alaskans. The story is carried up to the advent of statehood in January, 1959. The influence of military building and occupation during World War II is barely covered at the end of the book, and the oil strikes on the south coast and the North Slope are not mentioned at all. Over a billion dollars was brought to the territory during World War II. The oil boom has had a comparable impact during more recent times.

Dale Bryner's small sketches are scattered throughout the text, adding a touch of nostalgia and sometimes humor to the bald-faced narrative. The reader will meet such characters as Jack London, Soapy Smith, Nellie ("Black Bear") Bates, and Deputy Marshall Bert Hansen who freighted the frozen corpse of Oscar Gustofson from Iditarod to Fairbanks by dogsled in the winter of 1909 for a competent post mortem to prove whether his accused murderer had shot him in the front or the back. The corpse's frozen head was broken off in the process.

Mercifully, footnotes for each chapter are brought together at the end of the book rather than scattered through the text. Besides the notes for its 20 chapters, the work contains a good bibliography, and a more than adequate index.

Mel Griffiths

With the Nez Percés; Alice Fletcher in the Field, 1889-92 by E. Jane Gay, edited by Frederick E. Hoxie and Joan T. Mark. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London: 1981, 174 pages. Paperback, \$7.95.

Everyone interested in frontier history is well aware of the 1877 Nez Perce War. They are also knowledgeable to some extent regarding the exile of Chief Joseph and his people to the Indian Territories. But how many actually are familiar with the Nez

Perce after they returned home in 1885? Some tribe members of course, had rejected hostilities and remained on their assigned reservation, not because they wanted to satisfy the white man, but because they believed that would better serve their purposes.

After a general history of the Nez Perce by the editors in the introduction, the reader meets Alice Fletcher and her companion, Miss E. Jane Gay. Miss Gay's letters and photographs provide the "meat" of this particular manuscript as it gives the reader a first-hand account of Nez Perce life and the administration of specific Federal law.

The Federal law involved is the 1887 General Allotment Act, commonly referred to as the "Dawes Act". This act responded to much criticism of the reservation system and was the beginning of forced integration for the Indians by establishing private property and individuality. The three main parts of the law stated that (1) each Indian would receive title to a piece of land (within the reservation). The intention was to provide every family a working farm; (2) all "surplus" land would be sold and opened for white settlement; (3) every Indian receiving such an allotment would become an American citizen. As usual, the Indians were not consulted by the government, or given a choice.

Jane Gay and Alice Fletcher had met during the early 1880s, but only Miss Fletcher had previous experience (as an anthropologist and government worker) in dealing with Indians, on the Omaha Reservation in 1882. This also consisted of individual allotment of Indian land under a special act, and at its conclusion she began to be recognized as an authority. Alice Fletcher lobbied for a General Allotment Act and continued to raise money for Indian education and home building. In 1889, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs appointed Fletcher a special agent and sent her to Idaho to carry out the "Dawes Act". Her friend, Jane Gay, accompanied her there and in 1890, 1891 and 1892 as well.

Miss Gay's letters during this period are lengthy and very descriptive not only of the Indians themselves and their daily life but of their land, and of the difficulties encountered during each of their four trips. A

number of Nez Perce were uncooperative, as well they should have been. A highlight was the meeting with Chief Joseph in which Miss Gay related:

"Chief Joseph came to see the Allotting Agent at Lapwai. He cannot be persuaded to take his land upon the Reservation. He will have none but the Wallowa valley from which he was driven; he will remain landless and homeless if he cannot have his own again. It was good to see an unsubjected Indian. One could not help respecting the man who still stood firmly for his rights, after having fought and suffered and been defeated in the struggle for their maintenance."

With the Nez Percés is an interesting and little-known account of the Nez Perce moving into the Twentieth Century. This reviewer found it fascinating even though the subject was less than monumental in the annals of frontier history. Miss Gay writes well and one does not at any time find it boring. The book is certainly recommended for those interested in Indian culture and life at the close of the frontier.

Richard A. Cook P.M.

New Mexico's Best Ghost Towns by Philip Varney. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1987. 204 pages, 176 photographs, 12 maps. Paper, \$13.95.

In the past there have been several good books published about the ghost towns of New Mexico including *Haunted Highways* written by Ralph Looney of the Rocky Mountain News, but what Philip Varney has done is to give us a guide to the most interesting ghost town sites in New Mexico. The premise behind this book is that it will be used as a guide, and this is carried out in the appendices which provide assistance in reading topographic maps, photographing ghost towns, and driving and walking in New Mexico.

The state is divided into eleven areas with a good map provided for each, showing the locations of the ghost towns and the roads leading to them. In nearly all cases a set of directions is provided in the text and at the conclusion of each group the author presents an evaluation of the importance of each site,

road conditons, trip suggestions, and a list of appropriate topographic maps.

In the discussion of each site, the history of the town in presented along with current information regarding what there is left to see and whether or not the site is open to the public. A number of sites are closed to visitors as a result of vandalism in the past. Closed sites include Loma Pardo which I would have liked to visit as it served as the entertainment center for the soldiers from Fort Union. A number of town in the area around Raton are on company property and are also closed to the public.

The author's photographs included in each chapter add to the understanding of what is left today as the oldest photograph was taken in 1978 with most being taken in the period of 1979-1980. Since then, I would guess that there has been some deterioration due to weather and unthinking people, but I would hope that most of the buildings are still there as photographed.

While I have visited a number of these sites, I do want to make it to Shakespeare on some second Sunday of the month for the tour given by Rita and Janaloo Hill. One town that I looked for in the Las Vegas area and did not find listed was El Cerrito which was the subject of a government study in the early 1940s but now is home to only a few, but this is certainly a small omission.

Before you head out to visit the ghost towns in New Mexico, read the books by Ralph Looney and others that are available, but when you make that visit be certain that you have a copy of *New Mexico's Best Ghost Towns* with you.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840 by John L. Kessell. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1987. 592 pages, bibliography, over 350 ill. Paper, \$17.95.

Pecos National Monument is located only three miles off Interstate 25 between Las Vegas and Santa Fe, but only a small percentage of those traveling the Interstate take the Rowe exit and drive the short distance to the Monument. Pecos was one of the most important pueblos during both the pre-Spanish and Spanish periods of New Mexico

history. Its location was right on the trade route between the nomadic buffalo hunters of the high plains and the village farmers of the Rio Grande, and Pecos was often the trading center for many tribes. It was also important in relations with the Spanish from the very beginning when a Plains Indian the Spanish called the Turk was introduced to Francisco Vasquez de Coronado and convinced the leader of the expedition to look for Quivira, a rich land to the east.

It was also at Pecos that historians considered descriptions of a very large church to be an exaggeration until excavations during the 1960s revealed the foundations of a fortress church destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The church was of a type that had not been found north of Mexico City.

The people of Pecos played a major role in the Reconquest, led by Don Diego de Vargas, and the subsequent relations between the Spanish and the Pueblos. With a steady decline in population, due to warfare with the Plains Indians and disease, Pecos was abandoned in 1838 with the few remaining residents moving west to Jemez Pueblo.

Author Kessell does an excellent job of covering the history of Pecos Pueblo during the years of Spanish contact. The text is complemented by a large number of drawings, maps, and photographs. It is evident both in the text and the bibliography that the research for this book was complete. This is a very accurate account of the role that the people of Pecos Pueblo played in the history of the Southwest.

The book was originally published by the National Park Service in 1979 and soon became a most difficult book to find. This is a reprint, not a revision, with only a cleaning up of some minor mistakes in spelling and punctuation. A few facts are still incorrect, but they are very minor. Because of the cost, the color plates in the original edition are not reproduced in this reprint edition, but all the other illustrations are included.

This is certainly an essential book for all those interested in the Spanish-Indian relationship, and especially the attempts by the church to establish the Roman Catholic religion in the Pueblos.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

MAY-JUNE 1988



BY MULEBACK TO OBSCURITY Paul Mahoney



FORT MASSACHUSETTS

At the foot of the Sierra Blanca; Valley of San Luis
U.S.P.R.R.EX. & SURVEYS. 38TH & 39TH PARALLELS. PAGE 38.
(see page 5)

EMPTY SADDLES

We note with great regret the death of Agnes Wright Spring on 20 March 1988, in Fort Collins. She was 94 and the only Honorary female Posse member of the Denver Westerners. Her long and distinguished service as State Historian with the Colorado Historical Society will be noted here *in extenso* when her history reaches the Editor.

Davidson G. Hicks, 1928-1988. Dave was born in Trenton, Missouri, 18 December 1928, he is interred in Fort Logan National Cemetery, as a veteran and staff member of the *Pacific Stars and Stripes* in Tokyo and Seoul.

In 1954 he received a degree in journalism from the University of Kansas. He was employed by newspapers in Kansas and Iowa, and in Denver by the Rocky Mountain News and The Denver Post. He had his own public relations and publishing firm, and published several children's books and community histories: he wrote and published *Colorado History on Postcards* and *Denver History on Postcards*.

He was a member of the Society of Professional Journalists/Sigma Delta Chi, the Denver Press Club, the Posse of the Denver Westerners, and the Colorado Historical Society.

Married in 1953 to Ruth Main, in Cripple Creek, he is also survived by a son, two daughters, and six grandchildren.

George W. Hart, 87, died February 17 in St. Joseph Hospital. Private services were held. Mr. Hart's ashes will be scattered over the Pacific Ocean. Mr. Hart was born in Victor. He married Ann Cousins of Denver in 1923, and worked on engineering projects in Mexico, Colorado, New Mexico and California. After World War II, he became the U.S. State Department chief engineer for harbor rehabilitation in Okinawa, Korea, Pakistan and Indonesia. Mr. Hart was a member of the Retired Federal Employees, the Gray Panthers and the Denver Westerners. He is survived by his wife, Ann Hart of Denver; a daughter, a sister, and a granddaughter.

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BY MULEBACK TO OBSCURITY

Four Little-Known Colorado Explorers

by

Paul Mahoney, P.M.

Presented 27 April 1988

The day seldom passes that over a million people cannot see Longs Peak and Pikes Peak, two prominent Colorado mountains named for their famous explorers. These two mountains are not the only western landmarks named for explorers. Wyoming has Fremonts Peak; New Mexico, Wheeler Peak; and Utah, Kings Peak. There are many others, even a Mule Peak in the Uintas. There are, however, explorers just as brave, who took risks just as great as these famous men, for whom there is no mountain named and whose efforts were not crowned with fame and glory. I am going to speak of four of them. Three were Army officers; Lt. Francis T. Bryan, the first explorer of part of northeast Colorado; Capt. Randolph B. Marcy, who made the first winter crossing of the Colorado Rockies, and Lt. Charles A.H. McCauley, who mapped much of western Colorado. The fourth was a civilian steamboat captain, Samuel Adams, who was the first man to descend Colorado's Blue and Grand Rivers.

Their obscurity does not stem from the fact that they did not seek glory. Only Lt. Bryan avoided fame to the point of avoiding the event most likely to grant it and finally achieved some notoriety for reasons having solely to do with his longevity. Captain Marcy wrote several books, now quite collectible by aficionados of Western travel literature, and he did achieve the most fame then and now. Captain Adams publicized his efforts as widely as he could but largely met ridicule by political figures of the time and by historians of today. Lt. McCauley wrote perhaps the most elaborate reports of any Army officer of his day and attempted wide publication. For his efforts he was criticized by his fellow officers and his craftsmanlike reports were never published outside official channels.

Here we will shed a little light on the activities of these men and then return them to the obscurity that they have somehow earned.

In the 1850s, the Army was responsible for the exploration of the West and many of the routes we now take for granted were still unknown. A major potential pass on the Continental Divide was Bridger's Pass, south of I-80 in today's Wyoming and in 1856 Lt. Francis T. Bryan of the U.S. Topographical Engineers was sent to make a reconnaissance of the route from Ft. Riley to this Pass. He was to travel by the conventional Platte River route on the way out and by a route to the south, through today's Colorado, on his way back.

Lt. Bryan was a North Carolinian and graduated for the University of North Carolina before graduating from West Point in 1846 and being assigned to the Topographical Engineers, then considered the most desirable assignment for new officers. His work was entirely on the plains and it was natural for him to receive this assignment.

We will not go into his trip up the Platte to Bridgers Pass except to note that he failed to locate the pass, locating a second one instead. He was to begin his return to Ft. Riley via the Cherokee Trail that ran up the Front Range connecting Pueblo with the Overland Trail and he entered Colorado about a mile east of Virginia Dale on September 1, 1856. He proceeded south roughly following today's Route 287 to Fort Collins and then down the Poudre to Greeley and the South Platte River. Nothing eventful had happened although he noted several popular camping spots that should be easily recognizable today. His party proceeded down the Poudre to the mouth of Crow Creek where he waited for a second party that had explored the trail along that creek, south of Cheyenne.

While at Crow Creek, they noted the remains of some adobe trading houses, probably a vestige of the Platte River fur trade, although I can find no other reference to them. They headed north on the Platte to a spot about 14 miles northeast of Brush, near Marino. A man died and was buried here before they turned due east following an Indian track into the sandhills. This was the part that they had really come for. Until this point, the trails were reasonably well known and the trail further on the Republican had been understood since Fremont. The purpose of their trip was to investigate an Indian trail connecting the Platte with the Republican. The Republican was a well-known trail along its major fork—the South Fork. At about the current Kansas-Colorado line, it develops a middle fork or the Arikaree and a North Fork then also called Rock. It was this fork that the party was supposed to locate and they were to report on the feasibility of a wagon road between this fork and the Platte. The trick in crossing the area was to head east into the sandhills, over to the drainage of the Republican and then head south, depending upon the scattered sources of water, until reaching Rock River. It was not a particularly easy route. Water was sometimes scarce, grass occasionally poor and the ground too sandy to permit easy wagon travel, but they reached Rock River in the vicinity of Yuma or Wray about a week after leaving the Platte. Here, they had a standoff with a large party of hostile Cheyenne and endured two days of steady rain before leaving Colorado and our immediate concern.

Lt. Bryan was the first American official to explore this little known area and the road he found was feasible. The problem was that it did not go anywhere and roads to nowhere do not fire the imagination or bring fame and glory. Thus it was with Lt. Bryan. His road appears on a few maps, but it was not used; and within a few years, it and Lt. Bryan slip entirely into obscurity.

The Army's need for information on the roads to Bridgers pass had been based on the concern for events that were occurring beyond the Pass.

In the late 1850s, a series of events had precipitated the episode known as the Utah Expedition or the Mormon War. By 1857, several thousand U.S. troops, commanded by Albert Sidney Johnson, were bottled up near Fort Bridger by a few determined members of the Mormon militia. The Army needed to get to Salt Lake to enforce national authority despite Mormon resistance. To do so, it needed supplies, particularly horses and mules. To meet this need, Johnson ordered Capt. Randolph

B. Marcy to leave Camp Scott near Ft. Bridger in November 1857 and journey across the Rocky Mountains to obtain the supplies in New Mexico. Captain Marcy was well known; he had been in the Army since 1832 and he had commanded explorations in Texas that were widely published. The attempt to cross the mountains in winter was considered by most to be dangerous, even foolhardy, as it had never been accomplished before. Mountain men and Indians customarily stayed out of the high country in winter. But, duty is duty; and Marcy with forty soldiers and thirty civilians, including one woman, left Fort Scott in November 1857 for the journey. They planned to head north of the Uintas, down the Green and over to Grand River, and then up the Gunnison, crossing the mountains at Cochetopa pass. Once they were across the pass and into the San Luis valley, they would be near the posts of New Mexico, notably Fort Massachusetts, and thus safety and supplies. Snow hindered the journey from the start but they did work their way into Colorado above the Book Cliffs near Grand Junction and proceeded down the river to about the site of Montrose. Here they ran into a large number of Utes who discouraged them from proceeding, but orders were orders and they marched on up the trail, roughly following the Gunnison and then over toward Cochetopa Pass. They struggled in the snow most of the way, lost the trail and finally found the pass thanks to the guidance of one of the herdsmen, Miguel Alona. They arrived in the San Luis valley shortly after New Year's Day in 1858. They had suffered incredible hardship, run out of rations, many had frozen feet and one man died of overeating when they finally reached help; but they did get across to friendly soil and they did reach Fort Massachusetts and the milk and honey, or horses and mules as it were. (See cover picture) Once they obtained the supplies, Marcy and his men set out to return on the Cherokee Trail along the Front Range of Colorado. Reinforced to prevent a Mormon incursion against his treasured mules, he had over 600 men and perhaps thousands of animals with him as he passed up the Jimmy Camp trail from the Colorado Springs area. Here, in May of 1858, while camped east of Monument Pass he was caught in a severe spring storm that all of us have experienced. The storm scattered the animals and over 100 died, as well as two of the men. One man, whose name appears to have been Michael O'Fallon, was buried near the camp next to Kiowa Creek in one of the prettiest spots along the range. Large rocks were piled on the grave to keep the wolves away, and then the party moved on, crossing the Platte at the site of Denver and then Bakers crossing and eventually back to Utah. Within a year, a sign marked Michael Fagan appeared at the spot where O'Fallon had been buried, and it became known as Fagan's Grave, a landmark on the trail.

Captain Marcy is somewhat better known than the other three individuals in this paper, but there are a few things about his accomplishments in Colorado that do not receive much attention and these I would like to emphasize. First, he did make the first successful winter crossing of the Rockies—an accomplishment that the better-known Fremont had failed to do at the cost of eleven lives. Second, in leaving behind the grave of O'Fallon, he left the only tangible evidence observable today, of any of the early explorations in Colorado.

42D CONGRESS, }
1st Session. }

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

{ MIS. DOC.
No. 37.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL ADAMS.

[To accompany bill H. R. No. 260.]

COMMUNICATION

FROM

CAPTAIN SAMUEL ADAMS

RELATIVE TO

The exploration of the Colorado River and its tributaries.

APRIL 15, 1871.—Ordered to be printed.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 29, 1867.*

SIR: I take the liberty in this communication to call your attention to a few facts in reference to the great commercial importance of the Colorado of the West as being the central route between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In the individual and difficult enterprise of demonstrating that it was capable of being ascended with steamers for over 620 miles from the mouth, I have, in connection with Captain Trueworthy, been engaged for the last three years. In the spring of 1864 I descended the river 350 miles on a small raft, everywhere seeing the most unmistakable evidences that this natural thoroughfare had been much misrepresented by published reports, as well as by the exaggerated statements of those who professed to be familiar with the rapids, cañons, &c., of the same. I made my representations to Captain Trueworthy, of San Francisco, who consented to come to the Colorado for the purpose of relieving the mining community of the imposition which was practiced upon them, as well as upon the Government, by the only steam navigation company on the river, which for over ten years had monopolized the entire trade of the Colorado for 300 miles from the Gulf, this company being a branch of the powerful Combination Navigation Company of California, which controls at will the commercial interest, as well as each of the navigable waters of that State.

Every effort was made in San Francisco to prevent the expedition starting upon its mission. Insurance companies lent their aid by refusing to grant a policy of insurance upon the steamers, schooner, and cargo going to the mouth of the river, after agreeing to insure upon the same terms as they had other vessels going to the same destination. Arriving at the mouth of the river without insurance, this opposition manifested itself in a more formidable manner to prevent the purpose of demonstrating the navigation of this highway, so national in its character. At this time there was a bill drawn up to secure from Congress an appropriation of each alternate section of the most valuable mineral land along the river for 700 miles, and also to get the sum of \$250,000 appropriated for the purpose of removing obstructions said to prevent the navigation of the river, which have subsequently been proved to have

The Civil War burst and fell before our next adventurer appeared in Colorado.

Samuel Adams was a Pennsylvanian. He went west and in time became engaged in steamboating where he acquired the title captain. In the 1860s, steamboating was seriously engaged in on the lower Colorado River to supply the military and others. There was even a Mormon port at Callville near the site of Boulder Dam. The railroad was to make it all irrelevant, but at the time it was considered important. The commercial importance of the river appealed to Adams as it did to others, and he conceived the idea of navigating it from its headwaters to Callville. John Wesley Powell had a similar idea and in 1869 was preparing to descend the river from a point on the Green River. Apparently Adams met with Powell's party at this point, but he did not join with Powell. Instead in 1869, he journeyed to Breckenridge, Colorado where he organized his own expedition to float down the river. The concept was simple. It was about 1,000 miles from Breckenridge to Callville with a drop of 6,000 feet. Assuming a uniform drop of 6 feet per mile, a boat would have easy sailing for the entire trip. Of course, the drop is not uniform—it can vary from smooth water to waterfalls very suddenly.

For the amount of sheer gall involved, it is hard to beat the Adams' expedition. Adams must have been a very persuasive man. Not only did he recruit ten companions, but the towns gave him a rousing sendoff complete with celebrations and the presentation of a flag and a dog. The four boats were locally made and of poor material and design. There is no reason to assume any of the men had experience in white water boating. Surely, some sober soul must have suggested that the boats be launched from a spot far down the Blue below the rapids but this was not to be and they were launched from Breckenridge and Silverthorne with resultant swamping and sinking almost from the start.

They left Silverthorne on July 14 in four boats with ten men. Their papers and maps were lost in wrecks on the first day and they spent three days resting. By July 30, they descended the Blue River to Kremmling. Five men went back at this point. Two boats had been sunk. Adams urged that the presence of the rapids above argued for smooth sailing below. After a few days rest, they set out down the Colorado in two boats on August 3. After four slow and disastrous days both boats were demolished and three more men went home. Adams and the others built a raft and pushed on. Within a few days, even these men would not continue. So, abandoning the trip, Adams and his men headed back by foot, possibly up the Eagle River, arriving at the foot of Mt. Lincoln within a few days. They had reached, perhaps, the junction of the Colorado with the Eagle River although they do not mention it. Adams told his story to whoever would listen, including the government, from which he requested \$20,000 in compensation for his efforts. Had he not done so or even been more modest in his claim, history might have treated him better. After all, the effort might be described as heroic as well as foolhardy and Adams could be regarded as either a farsighted dreamer or impractical fool.

But when one makes large claims fueled with rhetoric, it takes large amounts of rhetoric to shoot one down. Adams made at least three formal claims, possibly six, and received some support from the Congress, but in the end he received no

money and the death knell was probably Senator Washburn's report in 1875 where he concludes

"The whole paper is a complex tissue of errors and exaggerations . . . he discovers fields of wild grain unknown to botanists in North America . . . he discovers mines of precious metals of fabulous wealth . . . he states that those opposed to his exploration of the Colorado River cut down the timber along its banks so he could procure no fuel for his boat . . . Mr. Adams made no map . . . he has determined no latitude or longitude . . . and in described parts which he has probably seen, he often errs in giving correct position by several hundred miles. Whatever may have been the services of Mr. Adams, they were rendered without any authority of law, and your committee, seeing no reason why the Government should be called upon to pay for them, report back the bill referred to them and recommend that it be indefinitely postponed."

This judgment has been echoed by the historian Wallace Stegner and seems to be the final one of history unless some more sympathetic historian takes another look. But so far none has.

Our last explorer is another Army man on official business.

Lt. Charles Adam Hokie McCauley was born in Maryland and graduated from West Point in 1870 to enter an army long on tales of glory and short on promotional opportunity. He was assigned to the Third Artillery. At the time, each military district was assigned an Engineering Officer and the one for the District of Missouri, which included Colorado, was Lt. E.H. Ruffner. These officers were responsible for exploration and map making, but they often borrowed officers to do the work. Such was the case here, for Lt. Ruffner borrowed Lt. McCauley several times in the 1870s to do work assigned to his office. It was a time when miners were pouring into the San Juans and the Army feared a problem with the Utes. The nearest troops were stationed at Fort Garland in Colorado and Fort Steele in Wyoming, both too far away in an emergency. The roads to the area were not well known. McCauley was assigned to help lay out a new road over the Wolf Creek Pass and to survey the site at Pagosa Springs for a new Fort Lewis. He was also to make a thorough reconnaissance of all the roads in the area. McCauley took to the task. He wrote several reports on the area that were the most elaborate produced by any officer of the time. They are filled with maps and illustrations, pictures of the Springs, layouts of the fort, the other detail even extending to the mining operations. His map of the area and the connecting roads to New Mexico was a model of clarity and usefulness. His pictures and descriptions are among the first and best we have of the area and were to serve the Army well at the time. In 1878, McCauley was transferred to the Third Cavalry and stationed at Fort Steele. He was active in northern Colorado and sketched and mapped the northwestern part of the state including the road over which Major Thornburg was to march in his attempt to rescue Agent Meeker and his family. McCauley's writing and sketching efforts were not limited to the military. He wrote a scientific paper published by the Hayden survey somewhat to the approbation of his fellow officers, and he contributed sketches to *Harpers* following the Meeker

APPENDIX S S.

ANNUAL REPORT OF LIEUTENANT E. H. RUFFNER, CORPS
OF ENGINEERS, FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE
30, 1878.

EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF ENGINEER,
Fort Leavenworth, Kans., July 22, 1878.

SIR: In rendering you my annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878, I regret to say that the operations of the office have been very meager. There being but a small sum at my disposal, no opportunity has arisen to conduct surveys, and beyond the routine calls upon the draughtsmen no maps have been prepared.

An edition of sheet No. 2, Department of the Missouri, revised and corrected to date, was engraved and issued last fall.

The total mileage of journals of marches and scouts recorded in this office for the calendar year 1877 was 7,214; and the mileage of reconnaissance in the southwest of Colorado, conducted by Lieut. C. A. H. McCauley, my assistant, was 2,030 miles.

The report of Lieutenant McCauley, herewith submitted, illustrates what may be done by the indefatigable energy and untiring industry of one man. The results of his observations are given in a shape which presents the present condition of that section of country in a manner which will be of interest to all connected with it. Great credit should be given to Lieutenant McCauley for his systematic collection of notes and carefully prepared report, and it is suggested that a large edition of it be prepared separately for distribution to the many who are seeking information of this section.

A second report on lines of communication between Colorado and New Mexico, in which much of Lieutenant McCauley's notes were used, was submitted to the department commander on January 11, 1878, and was printed March 9, 1878, as Ex. Doc. No. 66, House of Representatives, Forty-fifth Congress, second session. This report covers 38 pages of print and is accompanied by three maps. In accordance with its recommendations an appropriation was made by Congress of \$5,000, to commence the roads required. This amount will not complete what was desired, as the estimates called for \$24,000.

I have employed my spare time during the year in the compilation of a work which has been thought necessary, and of which the title-page and table of contents are herewith submitted. The manuscript of this work is now in the hands of the Chief of Engineers.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

E. H. RUFFNER,
First Lieutenant of Engineers.

The CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, U. S. A.

massacre. Taken together, his work is among the best done by any officer at the time and is one of our best summaries of activity in the area at the time. But today, he and his efforts are substantially forgotten. The hot spring at Pagosa Springs is used to supply hot water to a motel and the original Fort Lewis nearby for which McCauley labored, is not even marked by a plaque although several buildings in Pagosa Springs may date from the old post. Of all the old soldiers who are mentioned in this paper, Lt. McCauley probably put forth the most effort for the least notice at the time and now.

Like this old house, once part of Ft. Lewis, his work is forgotten.

What happened to these men? It has been said by a reputable historian that the pass Bryan located was named Bryans Pass and that he later served in the Confederate Army. I can find no pass named for Bryan now or ever. The Army's maps of the period make no mention of it and this is where you would expect to find it. Nor did Bryan have a Confederate war record.

The Civil War affected the careers of both Lt. Bryan and Captain Marcy, but in radically different ways. Lt. Bryan, a North Carolinian, resigned from the Army at the beginning of the Civil War, and he was one of twenty-six officers of the Army who served in neither the Northern or Southern armies. He sat out the war and never was in the military again. He was to live a long life in St. Louis, his wife's home. When he died in 1917 he was the oldest living graduate of West Point as well as the oldest living graduate of the University of North Carolina.

The war was good to Captain Marcy. Army to the core, but old for field service, he was assigned to the Office of the Inspector General where he served out the war. After the war, he was made the Inspector General. Retired as a Brigadier General in 1881, he died in 1887. His commanding officer in Utah, Albert Sidney Johnson, became a high ranking Confederate General and commanded the Confederate forces at Shiloh. He was mortally wounded on the first day of that battle in an area called the Peach Orchard.

Captain Adams spent several years in Washington, D.C. attempting to collect from the government. Finally he returned to Pennsylvania and joined the Pennsylvania Bar, but never forgot his efforts and the monies supposedly owed to him by the government. His claim was even mentioned in his obituary for when he died in 1915, he was the oldest member of the Pennsylvania Bar, and some said he was also the craziest.

Lt. McCauley left the combat arms and joined the Quartermaster Corps in 1881 as Captain. He remained in the Quartermaster Corps for the remainder of his career retiring as a full Colonel in 1909. I can find no record that he ever wrote anything for publication again after his early experiences in Colorado.

These men, all important in their way to the beginnings of Colorado, are forgotten today. I am not suggesting that we run out and name mountains for them or even small hills, but I do feel that they and others like them deserve more attention than they have received. Perhaps a plaque to mark their achievements would be enough: in Wray to commemorate Lt. Bryan, on top of Cochetopa Pass for Captain Marcy,

and in Pagosa Springs for Lt. McCauley. Perhaps somewhere on the Colorado River we could place a marker for Samuel Adams, but perhaps in Adams' case, it would be best to leave well-enough alone.

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COLOROW CAVE

Colorow Cave, where the 1988 Summer Rendezvous will be held on August 24th, is referred to in the Denver Westerners ROUNDUP for April 1962 as "a space between uptilted rocks so characteristic of the region south of Morrison, Colo." At that time it was conjectured that it might be covered with a plastic roof over a gap of several yards in the 'ceiling'. "The cave, according to legend, was used by the Ute chief Colorow. Early settlers report that the place provided shelter for the Indians. It . . . resembles a large room with high vaulted ceiling. As the floor is level it has provided a good place for meeting—after tables and seats had been added."

"The first westbound stage stop out of Denver was reportedly at this ranch, and travellers stopped for the night there before going up Sawmill Gulch. A little town called Piedmont is said to have been located on the land."

"The Denver Westerners' midsummer meeting . . . for some years has been held in the cave through the courtesy of the owner, Posse Member L. Drew Bax."

"This may be the last opportunity [Saturday 25 August 1962, when 'complimentary refreshments' were served] for a rendezvous at the Cave."

The April 1962 ROUNDUP announced the sale of the cave.



H. von Rodeck Jr.

Suggestions for ROUNDUP Contributors

Consult a recent issue of the ROUNDUP for style. Anything for publication in the ROUNDUP, including titles, should be typed in capitals and lower case letters (not all capitals), double-spaced, on 8½ x 11 inch white paper, paragraphs indented, with a minimum of one inch margin on all sides.

Do not capitalize whole words and do not underline anything; these are the Editor's responsibility to indicate type styles and to ensure adherence to ROUNDUP style.

For *REVIEWS* observe a recent copy of the ROUNDUP for style, for title (*not all capitals*) and author name, publisher's name and location, year of publication, number of pages, illustrated?, tables?, maps etc.?, and prices bound and paperback.

Reviews are frequently too long, but also can be unnecessarily short. Strike a happy medium—*from one to two double-spaced pages, favoring the former*. It is your Editor's policy *not* to edit your copy—if we do not have space for a too-long review we must put it aside for a future issue. Don't try to reproduce the book—rather tell succinctly what the book is about; how much it covers, and how well it is done, with pertinent comment on content, style, clarity, and errors. Do not discourage the reader from wanting to read the book for himself, merely indicate enough to let him estimate whether he would like to see it or not.

H. von Rodeck Jr., Editor



Westerner's Bookshelf



Book reviews in this and other issues are based on books sent to the ROUNDUP by book publishers. Those of you who come upon other books on Western history which you can recommend, current or otherwise, are urged to prepare a review and submit it to the Editor. In this way our readers may find their way to pertinent publications on Western history of particular interest to them which might otherwise escape their attention. We intend that this section be a source of information on the history of the West. Your suggestions are welcomed! *The Editor.*

The Aztec Empire: the Toltec Resurgence by Nigel Davies. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1987. 352 pages, 2 maps, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$39.50.

This is the third volume of a trilogy about the Toltec civilization written by Nigel Davies. In this volume Davies looks at the Aztec Empire that lasted almost a century before being destroyed by the Spanish, led by Hernan Cortes. The prime focus of the book is an attempt to determine how the Aztec Empire grew and why the Aztecs felt this need for expansion.

Throughout the book, the author presents the viewpoints of other scholars who have researched and written about the Aztecs. He then presents his own conclusions regarding the motives behind the conquests, as well as other points under discussion. Regarding expansion, Davies refutes those who hold to one major reason and ascribes the expansion to a number of causes, including both economic and religious.

Two other topics that I found most interesting were the role of the *pochteca* merchants and the control of conquered regions. The *pochteca* merchants seemed to serve as an unofficial arm of the government and at times even as agents of the Aztec empire. As they traveled into areas not controlled by the Aztecs they would serve as spies and were involved in military actions. These merchants traveled in large numbers and were most often armed. They traveled throughout the area and there is evidence to believe that they went as far north as Chaco Canyon in present day New Mexico.

The methods used by the Aztecs to retain control of the areas included the threat of ruthless reprisal in case of rebellion or failure to pay tribute, mass deportations, and the establishment of strong points. It is likely that the first method mentioned was the one

used the most, but evidence exists for the use of the other two as well. While there were strong points at Oaxaco, Oztoma, and Tuxtepec, there was not a system of garrisons as was used by the Roman Empire.

Davis discusses the role played by religion, including human sacrifice which he believes has been somewhat exaggerated. One major problem in the area of religion is determining the relative position of the gods to each other. It is impossible to prove whether or not Texcatlipoca outranked Huitzilopochtli in the Mexican mind. The relative position of these two gods is important in determining whether or not religion was a leading motive for Aztec conquest.

The final question that Davies addresses is just how much longer the Aztec Empire would have lasted if it had not been brought down by the Spanish; he has no definite answer.

This work is a very well-researched study of a most important empire. While there are still a number of major questions regarding the Aztec people, the answers will have to wait until some major new sources are discovered. Davies has used what is available now.

Ray E. Jenkins, P. M.

I Fought With Geronimo by Jason Betzinez with Wilbur Sturtevant Nye. Univ. of Nebraska Press (Bison Books), 1987. 209 pages, Paperback, \$7.95.

This volume was originally printed in 1959 by Stackpole Books while Betzinez was still alive. This reviewer has a recollection of Betzinez appearing on "I've Got a Secret" in 1958, a television appearance which is mentioned in Colonel Nye's brief forward.

The book is outstanding. Betzinez, whose adult Apache name was originally Batsinas, knew personally many of the Apache celeb-

rities involved in the later Apache wars of the 1870s and 1880s. He witnessed or participated in a number of fights or massacres involving United States or Mexican troops, although he never apparently attained actual warrior status while away from the reservations with Geronimo and other leaders. Thus, Betzinez' account provides accurate information on the Indian side of those brutal times. For example, he recounts his second-hand, although very credible, version of what happened to young Charlie McComas, who was kidnapped after his parents were killed by the Apaches in New Mexico. The author also supplies interesting anthropological information on the various Apache customs, including the fact that Apaches only used smoke to indicate generally "trouble, come and investigate." (Our Tuscon brethren, whose corral publication is named after the smoke signal, probably have been suppressing this tidbit for years.)

However, what is most impressive about the book is Betzinez' perspective in presentation. Not only was he an American Indian, his outlook destroys both idealized and mean-spirited stereotypes of the Apache. It is true that Betzinez may not have been typical of the Apache (or any other ethnic group, for that matter). His book is critical of the nomadic and warrior-oriented life to which he was exposed, often involuntarily. While it is common to read about Apaches as the perfect fighting machines, Betzinez reminds us that no one likes to have loved ones killed or to be a fugitive, against whom all hands are raised. The author here does not glorify the Apache blood feuds, the Indians' human weakness for alcohol, the violence inflicted on wives by their husbands, the rugged desert life, or the dependence on government handouts. Betzinez was thankful for both Christianity and his acquired "civilized" skills and values. I am afraid that the American-Indian-Movement types of today would convince themselves that Betzinez was merely reciting the story that Col. Nye (the well-known historian of Fort Sill) wanted to hear.

One is impressed by Betzinez' charity and optimism. He praises those who were kind to him, both in his early, nomadic years and in his later "civilized" life as he learned a

trade and integrated himself into American society. By the time I reached the end of the book, I knew that I had been reading the words of an exceptional man who was a good human being and a sincere, practicing Christian. I know also that Jason Betzinez would appreciate my assessment.

This book is highly recommended by the reviewer as indispensable reading for anyone interested in the human condition in general and the Apache wars in particular.

John M. Hutchins, P.M.

Marks in Place: Contemporary Responses to Rock Art by Linda Conner, Rick Dingus, et al. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1988. 145 pages, 60 duotones, 26 color plates. Cloth \$45.00. Paper \$24.95.

This is an art book; it is not an archaeological study of paintings and carvings done on rock by prehistoric native Americans, nor a history book about these prehistoric people. It is a book of photographs of rock art taken by five different photographers, and the work includes essays about rock art by several writers. These essays give the personal response of the photographer to the ancient art in several instances.

While most of the photographs are of the actual carvings in the rock, John Pfahl's color photographs are of the rock art sites now covered by the waters of Cochiti and Navajo Reservoirs. Rick Dingus has drawn lines around and through his photographs in an attempt to accomplish his goal of adding to reality; what he has accomplished is to detract from the photographs. Steve Fitch used flourescence to achieve a uniqueness to his work, but the photos of Linda Connor proved to be the most rewarding in studying the prehistoric art work. In her short essay, Connor expresses a strong feeling for the work and the locations of that work by the ancient ones.

In a too short essay, Polly Schaafsma attempts to discuss the different aspects of this ancient art. In the few pages she was given, she does a commendable job, but it would have added to the book if her essay had been longer.

Many of these photographs were on display at the Colorado Heritage Center last year.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Bisti by David Scheinbaum with essays by Spencer G. Lucas, Garrick Bailey and Andrew Davies. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1987. 1212 pages, 50 photographs. Cloth \$29.95, Paper \$14.95.

There is a little known area in Northwest New Mexico called the Bisti Badlands. It is located in the San Juan Basin and is an area in which there is an almost total lack of vegetation, but it does contain a wealth of fossils, human history, and coal deposits. There has developed a conflict between those who want to preserve this unique area and those who want to strip mine the coal. Some of the coal deposits are found very close to Chaco Culture National Historic Park which was a major Anasazi center around 1200.

"Fossils and Formations" by Spencer G. Lucas describes the geological significance of the area, pointing out that here is found evidence of the extinction of the dinosaur and the beginning of the age of mammals. There is also a brief discussion of the geological formations to be found in Bisti.

Garrick Baily's essay, "People of the Bisti," mentions the Anasazi but concentrates on the history of the Navajo. Their use of the land, especially for the raising of sheep, had a strong impact on the region. Their need for more and more grazing land brought the Navajo into conflict with both the Hispanic herdsman and the Anglo rancher. He presents a very good if very brief history of the Navajo.

"A Bisti Elegy?: The Future of the San Juan Threatened" by Andrew Davis is the concluding essay, and it is the main reason for writing the book. Starting off with a well-written description of the area, Davis emphasizes the possible destruction of the region by mineral operators. There is no real need for the low grade coal found here, and yet the companies such as Public Service Company of New Mexico want to strip mine a land that can not be restored to anything close to its original state. The Navajos are also against the leasing of this land, but the B.L.M. as usual represents the will of the large corporations and not the will of the people.

The concluding section of the book is a series of photographs by David Scheinbaum whose love for the Bisti resulted in this pub-

lication. As mentioned in the foreword of the book, a most interesting aspect of the photographs is that there is no sense of scale. It is almost impossible to decide if you are seeing a large cliff or a pile of rocks, or seeing an aerial view of a large formation or a ground shot of a small formation.

It is a most interesting book about a region of New Mexico that I plan to visit during my next visit to Chaco Canyon. Some of this very different region has already been destroyed, but a little is now preserved, and it it to be hoped that more can be saved from destruction by strip mining.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Mapping the North American Plains: Essays in the History of Cartography, edited by Frederick C. Luebke, Frances W. Kaye, and Gary E. Moulton. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, with the Center for Great Plains Studies, Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1987. 252 pp., ills. maps, index. \$39.50 hardbound.

This magnificent collection deserves more than the ordinary brief review. The interests of the many who should know, and may use these maps and their commentaries deserves at least a detailed review of the subject coverage.

Exploratory Mapping of the Great Plains Before 1800, Ralph E. Ehrenberg. (5)

Mapping the Missouri River Through the Great Plains, W. Raymond Wood. (7)

Patterns of Promise: Mapping the Plains and Prairies, John L. Allen. (11)

Indian Maps: Their Place in the History of Plains Cartography, G. Malcolm Lewis. (3)

"A Chart in His Way", Indian Cartography and the Lewis and Clark Expedition. James P. Ronda. (3)

The Scientific Instruments of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Silvio A. Bedini. (8)

Practical Military Geographers and Mappers of the Trans-Missouri West, 1820-1860. John B. Carver Jr. (7)

Mapping Kansas and Nebraska: The Role of the General Land Office. Ronald E. Grim. (13)

Mapping the Interior Plains of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to 1870. Richard I. Ruggles. (7)

Mapping the Quality of Land for Agriculture in Western Canada. James M. Richtick. (12)

Mapping the North American Plains: A Catalog of the Exhibition. Ralph E. Ehrenberg. (27)

The numerals in parentheses are the number of maps, photographs and views included in each of the chapters, a total of 103. The articles accompanying the maps ". . . show the ways in which the maps of the West illustrate the hopes, ambitions and occasionally also the despairs both of the cartographer and the society in which he lived."

All in all the book is as fascinating to the non-cartographer with an interest in American history as it would be to the more specifically map-interested reader. It only to be regretted that the reproduction quality of the maps themselves (as reproduced in the book) is not good enough to permit those who love to explore maps, to use them in detail as may of us would like to do.

Hugo von Rodeck, Jr. P.M.

Kit Carson: A Pattern for Heroes by Thelma S. Guild and Harvey L. Carter. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1988. 379 pages, photographs, maps, bibliography. Paper, \$9.95.

As one reads this very fine biography of Kit Carson, the major thought that comes to mind is why wasn't he literate? Even though this work is based on all available material about Carson, there are still too many gaps in his life story. There are just too many instances in which the historian must hazard a guess as to the reason Carson acted as he did.

Harvey Carter wrote "*Dear Old Kit: The Historical Christopher Carson*" which was published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1968, and was aimed at Carson scholars. This present work attempts to present much of the same material in a more popular form and incorporates some information that was not available in 1968. The present work was first published in 1984.

While the major focus of this book is the life of Kit Carson, the authors present his

life as a part of what was happening in the frontier movement during Carson's years. Other people and other events are discussed in relation to the activities of Carson.

His life is well known by those who have studied the westward movement, and he is probably equally recognizable to the average American as Daniel Boone. His running away while serving as an apprentice has been written about by many authors, but we now know that the saddle maker to whom Carson was apprenticed came west over the Santa Fe Trail in 1827. Carson's travels over the Santa Fe Trail and his adventures as a fur trapper are discussed, and the evaluation is that Carson was young and green but did his best at all times. He was not the best of the free trappers, but he carried his share of the load.

His special skills stood out after the fur trapping days when he guided Fremont through the West, led Union troops against Rebel forces, defeated the Navajo, and served as Indian agent to the Utes. In all of these endeavors, Carson stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries.

Upon his death at Ft. Lyons, Colorado Territory, in May of 1868, the West lost one of its most famous sons. Edgar L. Hewett wrote, "He fixed in my mind a pattern of heroes . . . of quiet, steel-nerved courage . . . an ideal of what a real man should be." It would have been great to walk in his shadow.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

A Guide to Places On The Colorado Prairie 1540-1975 by Ray Shaffer. Pruett Publ. Co. Boulder, CO, 1978. 386 pp, 30+ county maps, abstract, biblio, 16-page double-column place-name index. Out of print.

This useful publication, unfortunately out of print, invites comparison with *A Gazetteer of Colorado* by Henry Gannett, Washington 1906. The latter has been indispensable to this reviewer for many years, but is signally abetted by the work under present consideration. This brief notice is intended to call renewed attention to this more recent contribution to the demography of an important segment of the West.

Hugo von Rodeck, Jr., P.M.

The WPA Guide to 1930s Colorado with a new introduction by Thomas J. Noel. Univ. Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 1987. 640 pages, maps, photographs. Paper. \$12.95.

This is *THE* guide to "the highest state." As it was first published in 1941, it describes a time in our state's history when, as Tom Noel's grandmother stated, that Colorado's cool clean air was "air that's never been breathed before." At that time the smelters were shut down and the massive auto pollution had not arrived on the scene. It was a time when Aurora had a population of 3,494; Boulder had 12,831; and Broomfield's population consisted of 125 people and even more animals. Colorado A & M enrolled only 1,892 students in 1939, and CU had approximately 4,000. It was a time when Denver had two railroad stations, five radio stations and thirty-six motion picture houses "including one for Negroes." The Windsor Hotel, the Tabor Grand Opera House, and the Chappell House still existed.

This book really serves two purposes. First, it is a great time capsule to open up and examine Colorado, especially the Front Range cities before the growth after World War II. Secondly, it is still the best guide available on what to see and do in Colorado. It is sometimes necessary to add current information and current maps, but the essential information is still accurate. You still ski at Winter Park, Berthoud Pass and Aspen, but you now have still more choices. The favorite scenic drives are still the ones that people take to see the mountains and to view the aspens in the fall.

Included are several essays on the land, natural history, the people (which is the history from Folsom man to the 20th century), the economic base which excludes any mention of tourism, and the arts which discusses topics from architecture to books about the state. These sections are especially valuable today. The photographs taken around the state and the maps of cities such as Denver, Colorado Springs and Pueblo add to the interest of this book.

This publication was one of the most successful of the state guides that were produced by the Work Progress Administration; we should be grateful that the leaders of the

New Deal considered it necessary to find work for writers and historians.

For the money, this is certainly a best buy. Anyone interested in Colorado should have a copy of this in their personal library and should also take it on the road with them as they travel around our state.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Death on the Prairie: The Thirty Years' Struggle For the Western Plains by Paul I. Wellman. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1987. (Reprint; original, 1934.) 298 pages, photos, bibliography, index. Paperback, \$8.95.

This was one of the first books about the western Indian wars that this reviewer read as a boy. Though it had been many years since I had last read it, it still remains an interesting and readable account of the conflict between the Red Man and the U.S. Army.

This historic account begins with the confrontation involving the Minnesota Sioux, called by many the Minnesota Massacre of 1862. The narrative then moves westward as the author describes the fight at Sand Creek, the Fetterman disaster, the Battle of the Washita, the Adobe Walls Battle, the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the Nez Perce War, the Meeker Massacre, and the Indians' last gasp at Wounded Knee in 1890.

Along with these major battles and some lesser known skirmishes we read of the more famous Indian leaders—Red Cloud, Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, Black Kettle, Little Crow, Chief Joseph, and many more. We also meet the prominent army leaders of the period—Generals Crook, Miles, Sheridan, and Custer—as well as the unsung heroes such as Lieutenant W. P. Clark and Captain Adna Chaffee.

It should be mentioned that Wellman also wrote a companion volume, *Death In The Desert*, which follows the Apache Wars. While not as detailed as Robert M. Utley's *Frontiersmen in Blue* and *Frontier Regulars*, *Death On The Prairie* still stands as a book that western history buffs, whether they are newcomers to this subject or are old campaigners, will find good reading.

Mark E. Hutchins, C.M.

Letters From Honeyhill by Cecilia Hennel Hendricks. Pruett Publ. Company, Boulder, 1986. 704 pages, photographs, index. Hardbound, \$22.95.

Cecilia Hennel was 30 years old in 1913 when she married John Hendricks and moved to his northwestern Wyoming homestead. Cecilia possessed a master's degree in English and had been on the faculty of the University of Indiana. John had received severe injuries at San Juan Hill and chose to become a honey producer in an area of Wyoming where clover grew abundantly and where the dry air was beneficial to his health. Their courtship had been conducted primarily by correspondence, but their union, which lasted until his death in 1936, was a singularly happy one.

Letters From Honeyhill is a collection of the daily letters which Cecilia sent back to her family in Bloomington. She was the fortunate possessor of a typewriter, and she had the foresight to ask that all correspondence be saved in lieu of keeping a diary. From these very descriptive and detailed letters we clearly envision the terrain, the Hendricks' home (which was comparable to farm living in other rural areas of the time), the neighbors (who were progressive and well educated), and the State of Wyoming as it developed its statehood. Cecilia and John established themselves as solid citizens; she was a candidate for state superintendent of schools in 1926, and John served on the state board of agriculture. Their opinions were sought and respected by state and federal officials.

Life was not easy for the Hendricks family which included three children by 1921. Every home improvement and every purchase of farm equipment was the result of careful planning, and the family in Bloomington was generous with financial help.

Cecilia and her children had traveled many times by train to Indiana. In 1931 she and John agreed that the best way to combat depressed honey prices and growing indebtedness would be a return to Indiana for her and the children. There she resumed her university teaching, and the children adjusted to life in a college town. They re-

turned each summer to Honeyhill, and in late 1931 the correspondence ceased.

This book is a beautiful example of the lost art of letter writing. These letters have provided a window through which we have glimpsed the intimate family life and have become aware of the high moral values that John and Cecilia instilled in their children. No amount of "reaching out to touch someone" by telephone could have taken the place of the communication provided by these well-written letters.

Marjorie Wiegert Hutchins

Platte River Road Narratives: A Descriptive Bibliography of Travel Over The Great Central Overland Route to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, Montana, and Other Western States and Territories, 1812-1866 by Merrill J. Mattes. Foreword by James A. Michener. Univ. of Michigan Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1988. Pp. xiv + 632. Hardback \$95.00.

"This is a life's work prepared by Merrill Mattes, longtime historian with the National Park Service. It is the best bibliography of its type which I have ever seen. There are 2082 entries, all dealing with the central route of immigration into the West. Each entry includes a detailed physical description of the account, a description of the route taken, a paragraph on unique historical qualities of the document, and a paragraph of analysis by Mattes regarding the quality of the manuscript, its publishing history and editing, if any, and other unique comments. Also included are the repositories where the original document is held, publishing history, and a unique rating system of 1 to 5 stars based upon the historical and literary value. This work will become a cornerstone for any library which contains holdings on Overland migration. The work will not be readily available in book stores due to the fact that the publisher is allowing only a minimal discount to the trade."

Publisher's Announcement

**REVIEWS CONTINUED
ON PAGE 19**

1849 MITCHELL MAP

Many of us understand that Colorado was once divided among the neighboring Territories of Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico and Utah but few know that western Colorado was once considered part of California as is shown on this map.



Before the Mexican War the Southwest was part of Mexico, although Texas exerted a claim to portions of it, New Mexico included the Upper Rio Grande valley and some outlying lands. The remainder, with the exception of a small portion south of the Gila, was part of Upper or New California as opposed to Lower or Old California, known today as Baja California. While it was geographically poorly defined it extended to include lands not specifically part of New Mexico, i.e., most of Colorado's Western slope and portions of the lands claimed, however speciously, by Texas. The United States took over this land in 1848 but did not redefine the boundary until 1850 when California was admitted as a state with its current boundaries.

The map shows southwestern U.S. with the 1848-1850 boundaries. The Oregon Trail, Fremont's route to California, and the Old Spanish Trail was shown and, on the right, one can make out the Texas claim to New Mexico. The map was published by Mitchell, a Philadelphia map maker whose maps of this area were very important in the 1840-50s. Today they are quite rare.

Paul Mahoney P.M.



Westerner's Bookshelf



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Colorado Homes by Sandra Dallas, with photographs by Kendal Atchison and Sandra Dallas. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London, 1986. 272 pages, 361 black and white photographs, index. Hardbound, \$42.50

Colorado Homes is a "coffee table book" but a coffee table book with a difference: its concept and composition are directed toward readers who will see in this collection of photos and accompanying text a history of Colorado as reflected in the architecture of its homes. It documents a changing society from its pre-territorial beginnings to the present.

Colorado's first inhabitants, Cliff Dwellers and Native Americans, are recognized with pictures and references to Mesa Verde dwellings and to tepees. These people, like later citizens, used available materials to provide shelter. Colorado's first settlers arrived to seek gold and silver, and the history of their homes is traced from the temporary mining shacks to the ornately lace-trimmed frame dwellings remaining in Black Hawk and Georgetown. Early comers had not intended to stay, but most of them soon put down permanent roots.

Residences of Denver, Colorado Springs, and other growing cities reflected the tastes and origins of the silver, cattle, and railroad barons—elegant Italianate and Greek revival mansions, French chateaus, Germanic

castles, English manor houses. The Spanish adobe's most notable example is the Baca House in Trinidad. The Victorian influence was evident in homes large and small throughout the state. Bungalows and cottages on the streets of Colorado's small cities and towns and modest farmhouses are also included. The twentieth century is represented by the moderne style of the art deco period, the "flying saucer house" at Genesee, and mountain condos at Breckenridge. Colorado homes have mirrored the social and economic levels of their occupants.

The accompanying text profiles some of the "movers and shakers" of their times, and describes in some detail many of the interior furnishings of their homes. One can say, after studying this book, that Colorado has produced no architectural style of its own, the biggest tribute that can be paid to some of the tasteless turn-of-the-century monstrosities is that they have acquired a nostalgic charm of their own and are being restored by a segment of the population who sees in them a link to Colorado's past.

Photos of existing homes were made by Kendal Atchison and her daughter, Sandra Dallas. Photos of extinct buildings were provided by the Denver Public Library Western History Department and the Colorado State Historical Society

Marjorie Wiegert Hutchins

Davy Crockett: A Handbook by Richard Boyd Hauck. Univ. of Nebraska (Bison Books), Lincoln, 1986. 169 pages. Paperback, \$6.95.

This is one of several Crockett biographies that were published or reissued to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the fall of the Alamo and the War for Texas Independence. However, this one (originally published in 1982) is a mixture of history, folklore, and contemporary culture that distinguishes it from the pack.

The volume is broken down into three main sections. The first is the historical Crockett, and it stands very well on its own. It traces Crockett's background, his experiences in the Creek Indian wars, his political career, and finally, his expedition to Texas that ended at the Alamo. Hauck concludes that Crockett was not a "hick" politician, but that he gave that portrayal to gain votes. Hauck also points out that the first reports of Crockett's murder as a prisoner of Santa Ana appeared shortly after the event, although the American public was reluctant to accept that passive, albeit still heroic, death.

The second section of the volume deals with the growth of the Davy Crockett mythology. It traces the numerous books, plays, songs, motion pictures, and television shows that have kept the Crockett legend alive. It includes information (and illustrations) on such examples as John Wayne's 1960 portrayal and, most importantly to this "baby-boomer" (who had a fur "coonskin" cap in 1956), it discusses the Fess Parker series produced by Disney.

The third section of the book goes into the "Crockett idiom" and Crockett's use of colorful language and humor. This section (which is probably of more limited appeal than the previous sections) is followed by a discussion of Crockett source materials.

Overall, the book is interesting reading. It is a study in historiography and the counterplay between fact and fiction, rather than being a relation of "pure" history. But this is helpful, for a reader of history ought to be made aware of such problem and influences, especially in this day of television miniseries and docu-dramas, wherein much fiction can pass for fact in "living color."

John M. Hutchins, P.M.

Campaigning With Custer 1868-69 by David L. Spotts, edited by E. A. Brininstool. Photographs, maps. Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1988. Cloth, \$19.95, paper \$6.95.

This book, first published in 1928 by the Wetzel Publishing Company, is available once again at a reasonable price from the University of Nebraska Press.

In 1868, after the failure of "Peace Commissions" and Forsyth's scouts' battle on the Arickaree, the Indians continued their depredations in Kansas, and the governor of Kansas appealed to Washington for help. The result was General Sheridan's ordering Custer and the 7th Cavalry to find and punish the Indians, which was successfully accomplished at the Battle of the Washita, proving the value of fighting Indians in the wintertime.

The Governor of Kansas, Samuel J. Crawford, raised a mounted regiment, the 19th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and served as its Colonel. This regiment accompanied the 7th Cavalry, but did not participate in any of the fighting. David Spotts, a twenty-year-old youth from Indiana, had come west to attempt farming in Kansas. When the call went out for volunteers for the 19th Kansas, Spotts volunteered, although under age. He kept a diary during the six months he was in the regiment, and this is an interesting account of the life of the volunteer, including both pleasures and hardships. Upon discharge, Spotts returned to Indiana having had his fill of life in the wild west.

Following the end of the diary is a short account of soldiers being marooned in a blizzard, and accounts of the two white women captured by Cheyennes and liberated by Custer at Elk Creek, western Oklahoma. The artist Schreyvogel pictured this incident in the famous painting "Custer's Demand".

W.H. Van Duzer, P.M.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

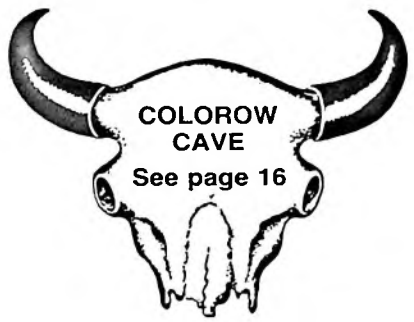
R O U N D U P



The DENVER WESTERNERS

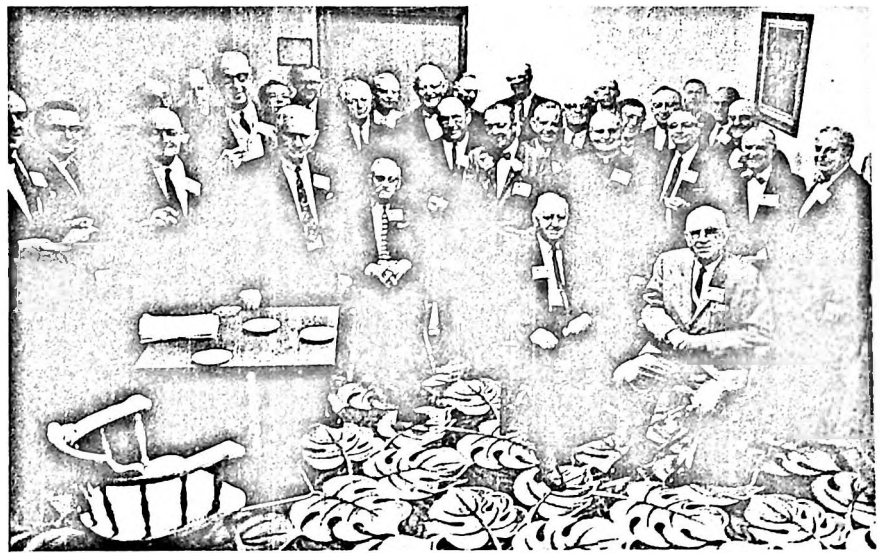
ROUNDUP

JULY-AUGUST 1988



AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF THE DENVER WESTERNERS

Merrill J. Mattes



DENVER WESTERNERS, OXFORD HOTEL 1967

Geo. Eichler
Bob Perkin
Stephen Payne
Forbes Parkhill*
Carl Mathews
Fletcher Birney*
Bob Cormack
Scott Broom

Alan Swallow
John Lipsey
Dabney Collins*
Henry Toll
Francis Rizzari
Dr. Campa*
Bill Powell
Herb White

Gerrit Barnes
Chas. Ryland*
Nevin Carson*
Fred Rosenstock*
Kenny Englert
Armond Reeder
Art Carhart*
Dick Ronzio*

Dr. Whitely*
Ed. Bemis*
Numa James*
Erl Ellis*
Wm. Jackson*
(*Sheriff)

RIZZARI HONORED

Posseman Francis Rizzari has been inducted into the Jefferson County (CO) Historical Commission's Hall of Fame.

"Rizzari, a longtime member of the Denver Posse of the Westerners and the Colorado Historical Society is a writer, historian, photographer, photographer and mapmaker who has chronicled Jefferson County and Colorado history for many years." (Sentinel, 19 Nov 87).



FORT LEWIS COLLEGE HISTORIAN WINS ROSENSTOCK AWARD

Regional historians rarely receive the recognition they deserve, but Duane A. Smith won the first Fred Rosenstock Award, which will be given annually to those in the arts and humanities by the Denver Westerners, for outstanding contributions to Rocky Mountain history.

Smith, a history professor at Fort Lewis College in Durango, has written 17 books, with two more being published, on subjects that include Horace Tabor, mining camps, the Mesa Verde, and Colorado governors. This year's award was \$250.

Rosenstock was a celebrated book and art dealer who was on his way to California in 1920, stopped in Denver to get his broken glasses fixed, and stayed for 65 years. He died in 1986 at 90, but Rosenstock Arts still is being operated on East Colfax Avenue. (See picture on page 7)

Nominations are open for next year. Contact the Denver Posse of Westerners for information, 3434 South Ouray Way, Aurora, Colorado, 80013.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF THE DENVER WESTERNERS

Merrill J. Mattes P.M.
Presented 27 January 1988

Introduction

An earlier and briefer version of this paper was read by Merrill at our meeting on January 27, 1988. It was originally prepared by him to present at a special program commemorating the start of the Westerners movement, at the annual convention of the Western History Association at Los Angeles, on Thursday, October 8, 1987. That session was chaired by David Dary, President of Westerners International, and the commentator was Sandra Myers, President of the Western History Association. The two other panelists, representing the two other earliest corrals of Westerners, were Fred Egloff of the Chicago Corral and Arthur Clark of the Los Angeles Corral.

Aside from his long association with the Denver Westerners, Merrill was co-founder of the Omaha Westerners in 1954, also a co-founder and the first Sheriff of the San Francisco Westerners in 1967.

The Editor

The Denver Westerners was the very first of over one hundred offspring of the original Chicago Westerners, founded in that city early in 1944 by Leland Case, editor of the *Rotarian* magazine and Elmo Scott Watson, Professor of Journalism at Northwestern University. Both of these men thought the Westerners was such a grand idea they looked around for another likely location for such a group, and the frontier town of Denver seemed to be the ideal choice. When Leland Case, in his missionary role, arrived in town he contacted Herbert O. Brayer of the Colorado State Archives, who in turn called a meeting of likely prospective members. This was held on July 25, 1944 at the Denver Club, to determine interest in forming a new "corral" or second group of Westerners. The following eleven attendees became the true "Founding Fathers" of the Denver Westerners: Edwin Bemis, Herbert O. Brayer, Virgil V. Peterson, LeRoy R. Hafen, Fred Rosenstock, Edward Dunklee, Hicks Cadle, Temple Buell, Levette Davidson, William MacLeod Raine, and Thomas H. Ferril.

After an opening pitch by Leland Case these men agreed to organize as a Denver "chapter" of Westerners, with annual dues of \$5.00, to meet regularly on the 4th Friday of each month, and to publish a monthly mimeographed "Brand Book." Regular membership would be limited to thirty members, but a "corresponding membership" would be offered to "those men interested in the activities of the Westerners but who reside outside the City and County of Denver." The dues for these auxiliaries would be \$3. per year; no limits were placed on their numbers but evidently, from the above language, you couldn't join in this category if you were a man and lived *inside* the City and County of Denver (except as an invited Posse member), and you couldn't join as a woman in either category! That, at least, was the thinking in 1944.

Herb Brayer was elected Acting Sheriff, pending permanent organization at a future meeting, date not then determined. The speaker at this historic first gathering

of the clan was visitor Elmo Scott Watson, holding forth on the subject of the Battle of Wounded Knee, the final tragic episode of the Plains Indian Wars as covered by newspaper correspondents. It should be noted parenthetically that soon thereafter Watson moved to the Mile High City for his health, becoming briefly an instructor in journalism at Denver University before his untimely death. (It was my privilege to know both Watson and Case, having met them for the first time in 1944 at a regular meeting of the Chicago Corral, where I presented a paper on Old Fort Laramie. Later I was stationed in that city for a few months, near the end of the war. I ran into Leland Case again in 1966 in San Francisco when he showed up on another missionary project to form a San Francisco Corral of Westerners.)

The second organizational and first regular meeting of the Denver Westerners was held on January 25, 1945, again at the Denver Club, at which time the first set of officers was formally elected. These were Edwin A. Bemis, Sheriff; Edward V. Dunklee, Deputy Sheriff; Herbert O. Brayer, Registrar of Marks and Brands; and Virgil V. Peterson, Roundup Foreman. Also at this time it was decided that the regular or charter members would constitute a "Posse," as distinct from the term "Corral" used at Chicago. Other evidence of a maverick spirit—which would set a precedent for all subsequent Westerner groups—was that, contrary to the urgings of Leland Case, there would not be any formal affiliation with the parent Chicago Westerners. Later Westerners groups would spring up all over the country but their only allegiance to other Westerners would be of a spiritual nature, so to speak, every group making its own rules.

Also at this time it was reaffirmed not to admit women as members of the Posse, though it is not clear if it was intended at this time also to exclude women from corresponding membership. That this actually may have been the case is gleaned from the fact that in the *Brand Book* published as v. 2, n. 2 in May, 1946, the only woman identified is one Velma Linford of Wyoming, referred to vaguely as the lone "Contributing Member," but we don't find that woman or that peculiar category of membership cropping up again. However, the evidence is that after a few years a few women began to appear, after all, as "corresponding members," without any further fuss.

The twenty-one *bona fide* "Charter Members" of the Denver Westerners (as distinct from our "Founding Fathers,") are listed in v. 1, n. 1 of the monthly *Brand Book* (March, 1945). These are Edwin Bemis, newspaperman; Herbert O. Brayer, archivist; John T. Caine III, Director, National Western Stock Show; Arthur Carhart, author; George Curfman, M.D., D & RG Railroad; Levette J. Davidson, University of Denver; Edward V. Dunklee, Attorney; Robert Ellison, retired oil executive; Thomas H. Ferril, poet; LeRoy R. Hafen, Colorado State Historian; Paul D. Harrison, O.P.A.; E. W. Milligan, Kistler's Stationery; Lawrence Mott, Denver Public Library; Dr. Nolie Mumey, surgeon and historian; Forbes Parkhill, O.P.A., author; Virgil V. Peterson, archivist; William Macleod Raine, author; Fred Rosenstock, book dealer; Charles B. Roth, author; B. Z. Wood, Colorado Women's College; and Arthur Zeuch, photographer.

In v. 2, n. 5 (May, 1946) the list of Posse members had gone up to twenty-seven.

Among new men who by special dispensation might also be considered "charter members" (because they joined within one full year of organization) were Alfred Bailey, Dabney O. Collins, Robert Eagleston, W. W. Grant, Henry W. Hough, Ralph May, Henry Toll and William S. Jackson. At the same time a few "originals" like Robert Ellison of Wyoming had dropped out. (Dr. Mumey appears on the first list but not on the second, in view of his later distinguished career with the Westerners this must be viewed as a clerical error.)

In v. 2, n. 5. also appears (possibly for the first and last time) a list of corresponding members, all stalwart males, a grand total of seventeen, including a stray from western Nebraska, the humble author of this article.

It should be noted here that at the time of this writing only one man, who was both "founding father" and "charter member", is still living, and that is the Poet Laureate of Colorado, Thomas Hornsby Ferril. At the same time we should note that Fred Rosenstock, Dabney Collins, Dr. LeRoy Hafen, and Dr. Nolie Mumey are four of the founders who passed away in recent years and are, therefore, remembered by many of us.

A word of tribute to the first fully ordained Sheriff of the Denver Westerners. This was Edwin A. Bemis, a Colorado native of 1887, owner and editor of the *Littleton Independent*, Associate Professor of Journalism at C. U. and President of the Colorado Press Association. Today he is memorialized for his civic works by the naming of the Bemis Public Library in Littleton. I remember meeting Ed Bemis on one of my early visits to Denver while stationed with the National Park Service at Scotts Bluff National Monument in western Nebraska; this was when I accepted an invitation to give a paper on "The Legend of Colter's Hell" at a meeting of the group at the downtown Quorum restaurant. About thirty years later, after I moved from California to Littleton and became a member of the Littleton Rotary Club, I learned that this same Ed Bemis was a founder of that club also. Though he was then still living I didn't meet him again because he was impaired and confined to a rest home.

Take note that another charter member and early Deputy Sheriff was Henry W. Toll, brother of Roger Toll who as Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park was my first boss in the National Park Service. One of our most recent Sheriffs was Henry W. Toll, Jr., a distinguished forensic physician. Another of our early Sheriffs holding that title was Walter Gann, a railroad man who earlier had been a genuine lawman Sheriff in Logan County, Kansas. I wonder if any other group of Westerners can claim that their rollcall of Sheriffs and Deputy Sheriffs includes a father and son, and also a *bona fide* rather than a make-believe peace officer.

In 1988 the Denver Westerners became forty-five years old, if we may count the 1944 meeting of the "Founding Fathers" as the first meeting. Each year we have had a separate new sheriff, so Dr. Hugo von Rodeck is our 45th Sheriff. I don't think we had that many consecutive deputy sheriffs because I understand that some deputies stayed in that position for two or more years. Also, while it has been customary for deputies to move up into the sheriff spot, not all deputies have followed this tradition.

Because this claims to be a "brief history" you will be relieved to learn that I am not going to run through the history of all forty-five administrations but if the Sheriff

who happens also to be the Editor of this periodical wants to insert a list of the names of Sheriffs and Deputies for all forty-five years, he is free do to so. (See p. 15) A number of these later Sheriffs and Deputies will be identified in other ways as we give an overview of certain activities.

Over the years there have been many changes in format. Now we have four categories of membership, a Posse of fifty members instead of the original exclusive thirty; Reserve status for veteran Posse members whose health or other consideration does not permit their regular attendance; Honorary members, who seem few and far between; and an unlimited number of Corresponding Members, including women, who can live anywhere in the United States or foreign countries, as well as within the confines of "the City and County of Denver." The latter category numbered well over eight hundred at one time, so the attendance of local Corresponding members at meetings had to be limited. Today there are far fewer such Corresponding members so all are now urged to attend meetings. This decline in the number of Corresponding members doubtless relates to the subsequent formation of Westerner groups elsewhere. While we still have such members all over the country, the majority of them live within a day's drive of Denver. Some of our very strongest residents seem not to mind the 130-mile round trip. John Bennett and Ed Bathke are among the stalwarts in this fearless group, who keep attending our meetings in addition to those of the relatively new Westerners outfit which now meets in the Springs.

Incidentally, while living in Nebraska and California I was, of course, a Corresponding Member. In 1972 I became a Denver area resident and had the honor of soon becoming a Posse member here. One way or another I have been a member of the Denver Westerners continually now for forty-four years, beginning in 1945. This gives me the dubious distinction of being "oldest living member" if you are willing to credit my lengthy stretch as a corresponding member. Of course there are others still alive and well, such as Francis Rizzari (1951), Dick Ronzio (1959), John Bennett (1963), and Bob Brown (1964) who have been Denver Posse members much longer than myself.

Despite the original Friday meeting night formula, we have been meeting on the 4th Wednesday of each month for as long as anyone still alive can remember. Our traditional meeting place for over thirty years was upstairs in the Denver Press Club building on Glenarm Street. Our meetings were adorned by an inscribed buffalo skull which had to be transported to each meeting by the Deputy Sheriff, who has always doubled as program chairman. During my incumbency as Sheriff, 1979, members voted to break tradition and move elsewhere. After brief stints at the Denver Union Station restaurant and the Golden Ox on East Colfax we have settled in at the Continental Inn at the intersection of I-25 and Speer Boulevard, which offers a magnificent view of the spectacular downtown Denver skyline.

We meet every month except July. Ladies are invited to our annual Christmas program, also to our summer Rendezvous in August. The Four Mile House on the old Smoky Hill Trail, Colorow Cave, and Sam Arnold's Fort Restaurant, both near Morrison, are some of the more exotic places where we have held Rendezvous.

Speaking of Colorow Cave, Dave Dary, President of Westerners International, sent me an article entitled "History of the Westerners" by J. E. Reynolds, published



A group from the Denver Posse. *Standing* (left to right): Dr. Eric Douglas, Denver Art Museum executive; Charles B. Roth, sales analyst; Dabney O. Collins, advertising man. *Middle row* (left to right): John T. Caine, stock show manager (astride western saddle) and Dr. Nolie Mumey, M.D. (holding cigar store Indian). *Foreground* (left to right): Fred M. Mazzulla, attorney (holding rare photos); Forbes Parkhill, author (behind stone head); Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen, state historian (with powder horn); and Fred A. Rosenstock, book dealer (with theater bills).
(Photo courtesy Orin A. Sealy, *Denver Post*)

in the Los Angeles Westerners annual publication for 1957. This throws light on a fascinating development in Denver ten years after the founding of the Westerners there: "The Denver Posse's geographical location has made it an ideal place for an Inter-Posse Rendezvous. . . . It was decided to call all the Corrals and Posses to meet [there] on July 31, 1954. . . . At this first Inter-Posse Rendezvous a tradition was established, thanks to Denver's gracious host, Westerner L.D. Bax. On Mr. Bax's ranch near Morrison is Chief Colorow's Cave, an impressive amphitheatre carved by nature." (Actually, this is not a true limestone cave; it is a large room resulting from gigantic overhanging and overlapping slabs of red sandstone, similar to the ship-sail formations of Roxborough Park south of Chatfield Reservoir, and the monoliths of the famous Garden of the Gods at Colorado Springs.) "That first evening of the Inter-Posse Rendezvous witnessed 150 members and guests gathered in this natural assembly hall where food, drink, and entertainment were enjoyed by all. . . . Representatives from New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Tucson, Black Hills, and Laramie were present," as was "the Dean of all good Westerners, J Frank Dobie." As it turned out this "tradition" lasted only until 1958, when around 220 Westerners and friends convened to hear Walter Campbell alias Stanley Vestal speak on Dodge City. (I happened to be in town and drove with Fred Rosenstock to that convention.) We continued to rendezvous on our own at the Cave until 1962. We still have our annual rendezvous in August, at various places, but only as a local affair. The original

concept of a get-together of several posses or corrals has long since been supplanted by the custom of the annual Westerner's Breakfast at October conventions of the Western History Association.

It is appropriate, at this point, to say a word about the Western History Association (WHA), which has established a close symbiotic relationship to all Westerner groups. The WHA, of which I am a charter member, had its initial organizational meeting at Santa Fe in 1961, and was composed of academics, professional historians, and ordinary laymen with some special interest of their own in Western American history. Thus it attracted many people belonging to various Westerner groups. Soon after the founding of WHA the energetic and ubiquitous Leland Case, promoter of Westerner groups around the country, decided to create something called Westerners International, at the place of his retirement, Tucson, Arizona. This was not an "administrative" headquarters because Westerner groups never cottoned to the idea of being "organized" nationally, but it could be called an information center which distributes periodic informational bulletins—including occasional updated rosters of all Westerners Corrals and Posses, and their officers. Also, and the main point of this paragraph is, WI promoted the idea of having all those Westerners who happened to be in attendance at a WHA meeting have a meeting all of their own to discuss mutual programs and problems. Even more important was the idea of having an annual "Westerners Breakfast" at the WHA convention hotel, with the arrangement and program the responsibility of the local Corral or Posse. It should be noted that recently, after the death of Leland Case, WI has been moved to Oklahoma City, where it is headquartered in the National Cowboy Hall of Fame.

To get back on the main track, a distinguishing feature of the Denver Westerners has always been our publication program, most notably thirty hardcover volumes—the famed Denver Westerners Brand Books—which were published annually from 1945 through 1974. A full set of these books is now worth over \$1,000, for they contain a wealth of detailed information about Denver, Colorado, and Western frontier subjects which cannot be found anywhere else, and they were written by men who were rock-bottom authorities in their field. Unfortunately, we have suspended this series because of prohibitive publishing costs, while the price of these out-of-print volumes—usually limited to editions of five hundred or less—has soared. Each of these volumes had a dedicated editor who gave untold hours to the task, and these works are a lasting tribute to them as well as to the authors.

On the other hand, we continue to publish our periodical magazine, and have done so without interruption since 1945—in itself a tribute to the enthusiasm and dedication of a long series of editors and contributors stretching over four decades. As previously noted, our periodical started out as "the Brand Book," which is quite confusing in retrospect because that is the name also of the annual publications which were true *bona fide* books. I am told that the Postmaster is responsible for dropping this name for the magazine because, he said, "if its a 'book' we got to charge you book rate for mailing." Accordingly, it was re-named the *Roundup*, and I am informed by Dick Ronzio—who has the only complete set of these periodicals that I know about—that this switch occurred in 1953. I understand that they were issued on a monthly basis (except for July) from 1945 through 1972. In 1973 it was reduced to

nine issues a year, and since 1976 it has been issued on a bi-monthly basis. We have had a long list of editors, but the most durable is present Sheriff Dr. Hugo von Rodeck, retired University of Colorado Professor, who has edited this magazine for the last eight years, and who agreed to become this year's Sheriff only on condition that he be allowed to continue also as *Roundup* editor. It should be noted that Francis Rizzari also served as editor of the *Roundup* for a number of years, and this was at a time when it was issued monthly, not just bi-monthly.

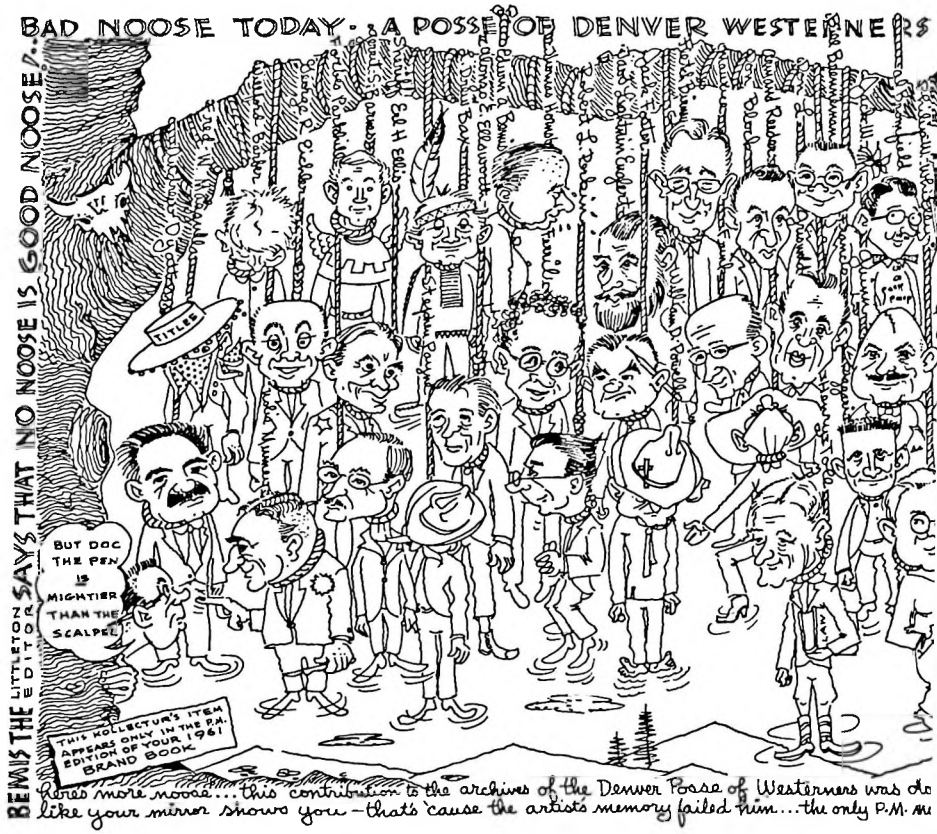
Although the *Brand Books* are now seemingly extinct, our *Roundups* have been given a new dimension. All issues beginning in 1982 have been bound annually, in slim hardcover volumes, for separate sale.

The Denver Public Library, Western History Department, has been designated as the official repository for all publications of the Denver Westerners, as well as for any and all extant official records.

I calculate that in over forty years of operation close to five hundred talks or papers have been presented at our meetings. It would be folly to attempt to describe the immense range of subject matter that has been covered, let's say ranging from the fur traders' annual mountain Rendezvous to the goings-on in Denver's Red Light District, or from Zebulon Pike to Carrie Nation. However, I would say that the most common categories covered at our meetings have been early mining towns, early railroading, and the assortment of influential, and sometimes colorful or eccentric, characters who seem to gravitate, as they still do today, to the Rocky Mountains.

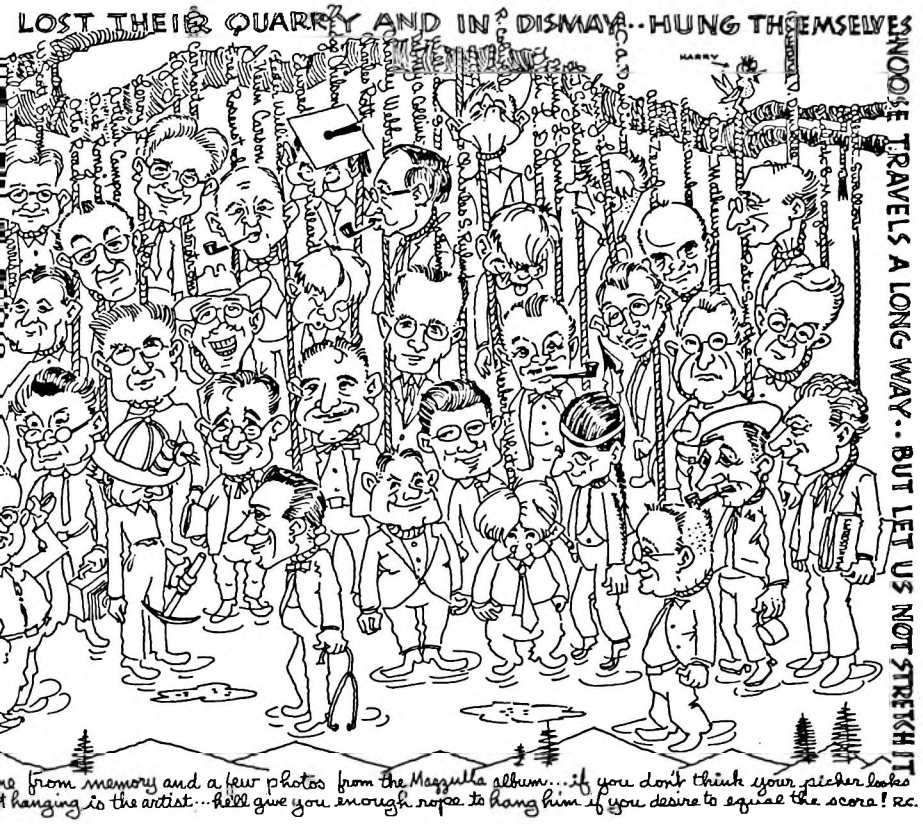
To better humanize this presentation, let's identify some of the notable Denver Westerners—many of them having served as Sheriff—who have made significant contributions to western history. Foremost among these was Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen, charter member of both the Denver Westerners and the Western History Association. His outpouring of major works published by Arthur H. Clark is probably unsurpassed by anyone. My all-time favorite is one of his earlier works, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West*, a copy of which I bought from him in 1938 in his Colorado Historical Society office when I visited him in quest of data on that fort, then just acquired by the National Park Service. Other writers or specialists of note, also now deceased, include Forbes Parkhill (*Last of the Indian Wars*), Arthur Campa (*Hispanic Culture in the Southwest*), Arthur Carhart (*Our National Forests*), Dabney Collins, (*Land of the Tall Skies*), Maurice Frink (*Cow Country Cavalcade*), Robert Perkin, (*The First Hundred Years: The History of the Rocky Mountain News*), and Nolie Mumey (*The Life of Jim Baker*). Also there is Fred Mazzula, who became the No. 1 authority on early day prostitution in Colorado, and Erl Ellis, another charter member of the Western History Association, who wrote books on territorial and state boundary surveys. Nor would we dare to omit the name of Fred Rosenstock, one of the premier publishers and book dealers in the field of Western Americana.

Among these still alive and well I might name Mel Griffiths, a historical geographer; Robert L. Brown, an authority on ghost towns; Richard Ronzio and Francis Rizzari, connoisseurs of narrow gauge railroad history; Jackson Thode, authority on the material culture of transcontinental railroads in their heyday; and the prolific Dr. Thomas J. Noel, Associate Professor of History at the University of Colorado at Denver, another member of WHA, who is described in a recent issue of our *Roundup* as "the



current outstanding historian for Colorado, particularly for the Denver area. He has authored seven books" mainly about Denver's historic buildings and neighborhoods, and three more are on the way. I hope it is permissible also, while dwelling on Denver Westerner authors, to mention my own writings on the fur trade, Indians wars, and the covered wagon migrations, notably *Great Platte River Road*, now in its third edition, and my new *Platte River Road Narratives*, a "descriptive bibliography" of early travel to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, and other points west, via the great central overland route.

Over the years we have had an open door policy about guests at our meeting, in the sense that members may bring male guests to any meeting provided advance reservations are made. This, in fact, is how new corresponding members are brought into the fold, and many of these, in time, and depending on their attendance record and willingness to present a program of their own, have in turn been invited to fill



vacancies on the Posse roster. Doubtless our most illustrious guest—it was not in the cards for him to become a member of any Westerner group—was James Michener, generally regarded as the most successful and best known American novelist. I brought him to one of our meetings during the winter of 1972-73, while he took temporary residence in Denver to work on his best-selling novel, *Centennial*. (I believe that Bob Brown, one of our most frequent and illustrious speakers, was the speaker that night.) Michener had gotten hold of a copy of my *Great Platte River Road*, which tells all about the covered wagon migrations, so he contacted me to consult with him about this phase of his novel. Together we also made a memorable visit to Fort Laramie, a pivotal locale in his plot. Fifteen years later he generously agreed to write the Foreword to my new book.

Now a word about the interesting symbiotic relationship between the two different Westerner groups now located in Denver. I believe Denver has the unique distinction

among American cities of sheltering, not only the second-oldest Westerner group in the world, but *two* Westerner outfits within its confines, living peacefully side by side. How come?

To my knowledge there were no women in any Westerner group in 1962 when the Western History Association held its first annual meeting in Denver, following its organizational meeting in Santa Fe the previous year. Of course many Denver Westerners took advantage of the opportunity to attend WHA sessions, as did Westerners from other Corrals and Posses, but there was no scheduled meeting among Westerners themselves. In 1976 the WHA met again in Denver to help celebrate Colorado's statehood Centennial, and this time things were different. That same year the Colorado Corral of Westerners had been formed to accommodate both sexes, and they made their presence known in a hurry. In accordance with by then standard practice the annual Saturday morning breakfast for all Westerners was held in the Brown Palace Hotel, featuring readings by poet Thomas Hornsby Ferril, charter member of the original Denver group. A wrangle quickly broke out between the old and new Westerners of the Denver area, about who should preside at the breakfast program. This burning issue was finally resolved when it was discovered that I was a dues-paying member of both groups, so I was given the honor.

Reflecting the now famous Women's Rights Movement, the Colorado Corral was born at a meeting of women and mainly younger men in the suburb of Littleton, where I live. Francis Rizzari and I both attended this meeting, I suppose mainly out of curiosity but also, in my case, because several of those interested were younger fellow National Park Service historians. Unlike Francis, I decided to join them because it seemed they would be meeting closer to home and I could bring my wife to their meetings any old time, instead of just twice a year. There was no law, however, that said you couldn't belong to *both* of these parallel organizations, and there has been no time conflict because the Colorado Westerners elected to meet on the third Thursdays. Jim Bowers, Loren Blaney, Stephen Pahs, Tom Noel and others have also hooked up with the Colorado Westerners and occasionally attend their meetings without in any way impairing their loyal attendance at Denver Westerner meetings on the following week.

Despite the leavening of a few seasoned Denver Westerners in their midst, the Colorado Westerners have proven to be totally independent and unpredictable. To begin with, Leland Case of Westerners International tried to get them to adopt the name "Littleton Westerners" since that was where they first met, and there has never been any other Westerner group that's had the nerve to take for themselves the name of an entire State. All appeals to reason, however, fell on deaf ears and even though the Colorado Westerners are composed entirely of people living in the Denver metropolitan area, they figure they are one up on the Denver Westerners by taking unto themselves an even more prestigious name. Furthermore, they never met again in Littleton, as far as I've heard and, indeed, they have meetings at different places all over town, and almost never twice in a row in the same place. Let it be affirmed that they too, however, have had excellent programs, but their orientation is more social than literary; they have never attempted a periodical—other than meeting notices—and so remain innocent of any rival publications. Just twice

in our mutual history have the Denver Westerners and the Colorado Westerners had a joint meeting, the first being that famous WHA breakfast in 1976, and the second being a get-together at the Fitzsimmons Officers Club at Christmas time, 1979, arranged by myself as Sheriff of the Denver club and General Jim Weir—also of the Denver Westerners—who happened also to be Sheriff of the Colorado club. Any stray thought that the two clubs might eventually merge has been dashed by the realization that no one in either camp has, since 1979, suggested a return engagement. What it boils down to is that the Colorado Westerners have demonstrated that they are here to stay and they want to stay independent. That seems to settle the status of lady Westerners in the Denver area.

In all fairness it must be observed that the relatively new neighboring Pikes Peak Corral in Colorado Springs is a mixed group, and the San Francisco Westerners, which I helped organize in 1967 as a standard all-male affair, has since been converted from all-male to co-ed, with lady officers, yet, and we hasten to admit that that seems to be the big trend elsewhere. Meanwhile, the Denver Westerner remain happily behind the times. We do invite the ladies to our August and Christmas meetings, and we have had many delightful Christmas programs given by ladies, including such notables as Agnes Wright Spring, Caroline Bancroft, Muriel S. Wolle, Myra Ellen Jenkins, Louisa Arps, and Maxine Benson-Cook, so in principle we have nothing against ladies. It's just that, well, we are old-fashioned frontier-type Westerners and we cling to the old-fashioned notion that once a month it's nice for the fellows to get together and have a fandango all by themselves.

I would like to conclude, on a more serious note, about the future of the Denver Westerners. I believe they will still be around, meeting regularly, forty years from now, assuming that the world isn't irreparably damaged by a nuclear disaster or collision with a comet. The Old American West will continue to be a magnet of intellectual interest because we will always be charmed by the siren call of the frontier—the always melodramatic and colorful cutting edge of civilization. So soldiers and Indians, early miners and railroaders, homesteaders and cowboys will always be staples in our cultural heritage.

All of us could cite experiences of people who kindled our special interest in western history. I was hooked, so to speak, before I met Fred Rosenstock, but my long friendship with him was certainly one of the important factors in stimulating my interest in research and publication in this field. I first met Fred when attending a Westerners meeting here in 1945, as an out of town visitor. We kept up intermittent correspondence on historical matters, and in 1960, while I was living in Omaha, he published my book, *Indians, Infants, and Infantry: The Frontier of Andrew and Elizabeth Burt*. My manuscript had been turned down by two other publishers but Fred said he would be glad to publish it and, while by no stretch of the imagination a best seller, this book we referred to as "I-I-I" has become a staple for collectors and teachers of history courses. When the copyright expired recently, the University of Nebraska Press published a second edition. Fred and I were kindred spirits, and that's what I like about the Westerners. Its where you go to mingle with kindred western spirits. I don't think of it as "living in the past." I think of it as deriving strength and vision from the past, not always heroic, but always intensely human.

That's why I was immensely pleased by the establishment by the Denver Westerners, and the splendid support so far, of the Fred Rosenstock Foundation. It provides a more solid tangible link between the past and the future. It helps to encourage students, scholars, teachers, and authors of Western frontier history to dream their dreams, and to labor towards the goal of transforming their visions of the past into reality for present and future generations.

This paper is based primarily on my own personal recollections plus suggestions by George Godfrey, Francis Rizzari, Henry W. Toll, Jr., and Gene Rakosnik; also the following publications and letters:

Herbert O. Brayer, editor, 1945 Denver Westerners Brand Book No. 1 (Denver, 1946, hardcover), front plate roster of Denver Westerners.

Denver Westerners Brand Book (periodical) v. 1, nos 1 & 2 (March, 1945).

Denver Westerners Brand Book (periodical) v. 2, n. 5 (May, 1946).

Edwin A. Bemis, "Conception and Birth of the Denver Westerners," Denver Westerners Brand Book No. 18 (Denver, 1969), pp. 369-374.

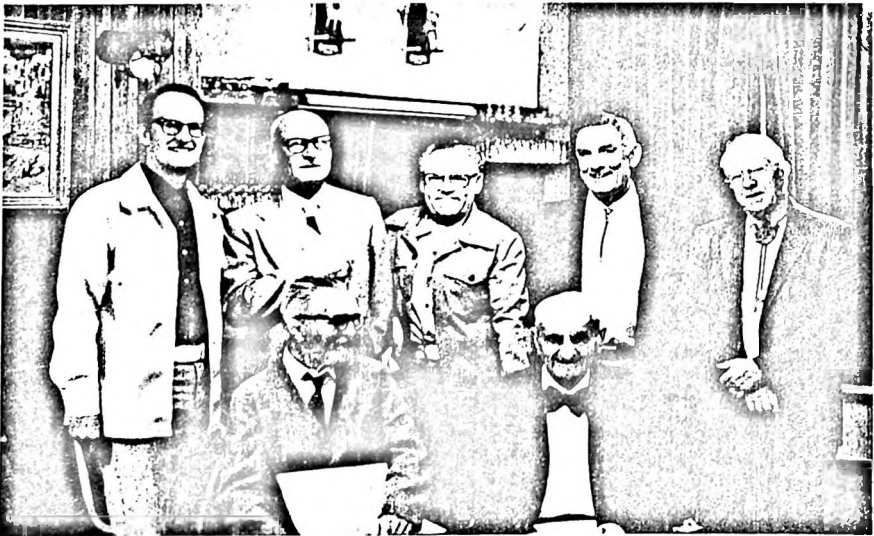
Martin Rist, "Twenty-five Years on the Range," Denver Westerners Brand Book, v. 25 (1969), pp. xvi-xxiii.

J.E. Reynolds, "History of the Westerners: A Monograph History of the Corrals and Posses," reprinted from Westerners Brand Book No. 7 of the Los Angeles Corral (Glendale, 1957).

LETTERS

Ed Bathke, Manitou Springs, letter of February 2, 1988 to Merrill Mattes.

Robert Woodhams, Littleton, letter of February 2, 1988, to Merrill Mattes.



Westerners at the Denver Press Club: October 1977.

Standing—Edwin A. Bathke; John F. Bennett; Robert L. Brown; Dr. Lester Williams; George P. Godfrey

Seated—Henry Clausen; Dr. Nolie Mumey

Photo from George Godfrey

SHERIFFS AND DEPUTY SHERIFFS OF THE DENVER POSSE

	SHERIFF	DEPUTY SHERIFF
1944	Herbert O. Brayer Acting Sheriff	
1945	Edwin A. Bemis	Edward V. Dunklee
1946	Forbes Parkhill	Arthur Zeuch
1947	Charles B. Roth	Judge Wm. S. Jackson
1948	Arthur Carhart	Henry W. Toll
1949	Dabney Otis Collins	B. Z. Woods
1950	Dr. Levette J. Davidson	Walter Gann
1951	Walter Gann	Fred Rosenstock
1952	Fred Rosenstock	LeRoy Hafen
1953	Dr. Phil Whitely	W. Scott Broome
1954	LeRoy Hafen	Fletcher Birney
1955	Ralph Mayo	Maurice Frink
1956	Maurice Frink	Francis Rizzari
1957	Judge Wm. S. Jackson	Francis Rizzari
1958	Harold Dunham	W. Scott Broome
1959	Fred Mazzulla	Dr. Lester Williams
1960	Fletcher Birney	Charles S. Ryland
1961	Charles S. Ryland	Robert L. Perkin
1962	Erl Ellis	Robert L. Perkin
1963	Robert L. Perkin	Herbert P. White
1964	Numa James	Kenny Englert
1965	Nevin Carson	Guy Herstrom
1966	Guy Herstrom	Richard A. Ronzio
1967	Dr. Arthur Campa	Wm. E. Marshall
1968	Wm. E. Marshall	Robert L. Brown
1969	Robert L. Brown	Wm. D. Powell
1970	Dr. Nolie Mumeey	Dr. Lester Williams
1971	Dr. Lester T. Williams	Edwin Bathke
1972	Edwin Bathke	Richard Ronzio
1973	Richard Ronzio	Jackson C. Thode
1974	Jackson C. Thode	Dave Hicks
1975	Dave Hicks	Dr. Robert W. Mutchler
1976	Dr. Robert W. Mutchler	Wm. Van Duzer
1977	Wm. Van Duzer	Ross V. Miller, Jr.
1978	Ross V. Miller, Jr.	Merrill Mattes
1979	Merrill Mattes	George P. Godfrey
1980	George P. Godfrey	Mel Griffiths
1981	Mel Griffiths	Alan Stewart
1982	Ray Jenkins	Stanley Zamonski
1983	Richard A. Cook	Robert D. Stull
1984	Robert D. Stull	Richard D. Akeroyd, Jr.
1985	Richard D. Akeroyd, Jr.	Eugene Rakosnik
1986	Eugene Rakosnik	Dr. Henry W. Toll
1987	Dr. Henry W. Toll	Dr. Hugo von Rodeck, Jr.
1988	Dr. Hugo von Rodeck, Jr.	Dr. Thomas J. Noel

1988 SUMMER RENDEZVOUS AT COLOROW CAVE

Bernard Kelly

Members of the Denver Westerners, their wives and their guests, will tread in the footsteps of a colorful Indian chief when they assemble for their Summer Rendezvous in Colorow Cave. (Colorow, intended to be pronounced as we pronounce Colorado, except to omit the 'd' sound.)

The cave is a gap in the Dakota sandstone of which Red Rocks and the Garden of the Gods are a part. In his book, *Caves of Colorado*, Lloyd E. Parris says that Colorow Cave should more rightly be described as a natural corral than as a shelter cave. It is of a huge oval shape with overhanging ledges and a narrow entrance at the east end. It has a width of 50 to 75 feet and a height of 80 feet to the overhead opening which proved handy in Colorow's time for it allowed the smoke from his council fires to escape.

Again, according to Parris, in the 1870s Colorow Cave was simply called Indian Cave. "In fact," he writes, "the road leading to the cave was known as Indian Cave Road. During the 1920s and through the 1950s, the cave was known as the Bax Ranch Cave." Later the cave was given the name of Colorow, the renegade Indian chief.

The cave is on property that was once known as the Willow Springs Ranch. It is said that Arthur Ponsford, then the owner, once used the cave as a corral for 2,000 sheep. Later, W. W. Dornell saved a large herd of cattle from freezing by driving them into the cave during a violent winter storm.

Colorow Cave has been used for various purposes. William N. Byers, foun-

der of the *Rocky Mountain News*, attended a concert in the cave in 1860. He called it "Mother Nature's Hall." It has been the place for starting and finishing the summer rides of the Roundup Riders of the Rockies. In 1969 it was used for practice by the Colorado Underground Rescue Team, and it has been used by climbers for rope practice. In 1962 the floor of the cave was lowered and flagstone was laid. It is now the community center of Willow Brook.

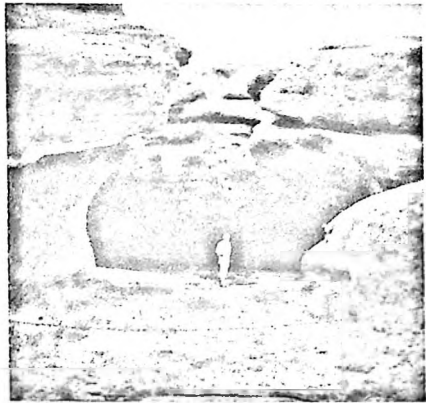
And Colorow? He, like Ouray, was a mixture of Ute and Apache blood. There the likeness ends. Ouray was a man of peace and dignity. Colorow occasionally visited towns clad in a plug hat and black frock coat which was split up the back to accommodate his 275 pounds. Parris relates that Colorow, a warlike man, nevertheless had a way of making peace as winter approached. He and his band would then come down and set up camp near the cave which now bears his name. From there he and his men went around among the settlers' homes demanding handouts. He usually got what he wanted without question—bread or biscuits with sugar or sweet syrup. When the weather warmed, he and his men went back on the warpath.

(MORE: TURN THE PAGE)





To reach Colorow Cave from Denver, drive west on West Belleview Avenue, about 4 miles west of Kipling Street, through the hogback. It's the first community to the south, and a sign there reads Willow Brook. If you pass the fire house on the north side you've gone too far! At Willow Brook enter the



area, bear to the right, and keep going about a half mile.

The cave itself is in a large, isolated sandstone block just off Colorow Drive, just beyond the corner of Colorow Drive and Cedarbrook Drive. Park along the road in front.

CUSTER BATTLEFIELD GUN IDENTIFIED

A Model 1873 Springfield Carbine donated to the Society in 1958 has been confirmed as one of the firearms used in the June 25-26, 1876, Battle of the Little Bighorn. The gun was purchased from a Sioux Indian about 1900 by Fred Ebener of Chadron and later acquired by George Evans.

The carbine was matched to a cartridge case excavated from the battlefield by the National Park Service during the Custer Battlefield Archeological Project. Using modern ballistic testing, cartridge cases recovered from the battlefield have been com-

pared with firearms suspected to have been used at the Little Bighorn. The firing pin impression on the battlefield cartridge matched the impression left by the Society's gun on a modern cartridge case.

According to Park Service archeologist Doug Scott and firearms expert Dick Harnon, the cartridge case that matches the Society's carbine was found in a position occupied by 7th Cavalry under Lt. James Calhoun. (From Nebr. State Hist. Soc. *Historical Newsletter*)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS' TREASURES

Hugo von Rodeck Jr. P.M.

Most long-lived special interest organizations accumulate and preserve regalia, equipment of some sort, emblems, symbols, or the paraphernalia of office. The Denver Westerners has a small assortment of such items most of which, appropriately enough, are of historical interest to the membership. However, most of the members are not actually aware and certainly not knowledgeable about these properties and their histories. Because of the gradually changing personnel of the group, such information should be repeated from time to time to avoid it being lost to memory.



The Sheriff's badge bears on its reverse the inscription

PRESENTED TO
ELMO SCOTT WATSON
BY THE
WESTERNERS - CHICAGO POSSE
MAY 22 - 1950

Elmo Scott Watson with Leland D. Case founded the Westerners Chicago Corral "in a Chicago suburb" on February 25, 1944. The Denver Westerners was founded January 26, 1945, becoming the second 'Corral' of what is now a part of "Westerners International, a Foundation, to stimulate interest and research in frontier history." Subsequent to Elmo Watson's death Mrs. Wat-

son, being in Denver at the time, presented this original Sheriff's badge to the Denver Posse, which has proudly used it since.

The gavel which is cased with the Sheriff's star was made from a piece of wood found on a scrap pile at old Fort Union, New Mexico, made into a gavel and presented to the Denver Posse by a founding member of the Denver group, the late Dr. Nolie Mumey, who has done so much to enhance our traditions and has contributed so much to the significance of the Denver Westerners.

The carrying box, fitted inside to house



the Sheriff's star and the gavel, was beautifully crafted and carved with a bison skull by Dwight deWitt, of Castle Rock, Colorado, Posse and later Reserve Member. Subsequently it has been inscribed with the names of successive Sheriffs, from 1969 to the present.

Another beautifully crafted piece of Posse furniture is a tongue-and-grooved table-top lectern made, like the gavel box, by Dwight deWitt and, like the gavel case, carved on its front with a similar bison skull. This too has been inscribed with the names of the successive Sheriffs, beginning in 1969 and continuing through the present.

At the June 1957 meeting of the Denver Posse, Justice William S. Jackson (Sheriff)

accepted a 100-year-old bison skull, the emblem of the Posse. The skull was the gift of W. C. (Slim) Lawrence of Moran, Wyoming, who delegated Dr. Nolie Mumey to make the presentation. It has recently been enclosed in a glassed case which should preserve it in perpetuity; however, it is now so heavy that it can no longer conveniently be brought to meetings and has been given a foster home in the Western History section of the Denver Public Library.

As benefits an historical organization, the Denver Westerners itself has achieved a certain historicity which it cherishes through the preservation and presentation of these evidences of its own history.

Hugo von Rodeck Jr. P.M.

ANTOINE ROBIDEAUX'S ROCK



On September 15th 1987 Posse members, Earl Boland, Francis Rizzari, Bob Brown and their wives met at the Rizzari's place in Cedaredge. With Ray Frost the group left in two 4-wheel drive vehicles to search for the Robideaux Rock. They spent most of the day examining one canyon after another, traveling over many miles of nearly impassable roads. Late in the afternoon they found it. Evelyn Brown spotted it first. The location is in Utah, west of Grand Junction and north of Highways 6 & 50 near Harley Dome and the old railroad station at Westwater. There a poor road turns north for 15 miles up Westwater Canyon to the Roan Cliffs, some Indian pictographs, and the Robideaux Rock.

Fortunately, the 1837 inscription has been protected by a rock overhang and is still readable. It lies behind an abandoned corral where a thick growth of bushes makes it difficult to see. Unfortunately, no historical marker exists to direct interested parties to the site. Antoine Robideaux was an early 19th century fur trader and trapper who built Fort Uncompahgre (Fort Robideaux) near Delta. His name was also perpetuated at Robideaux's Pass (Sangre de Cristo Pass).

The inscription reads "Antoine Robidoux passed here November 13, 1837 to establish a trading house on the River Green or Uinta."

From Francis Rizzari & Robert L. Brown. (See also Denver Westerners ROUNDUP July/August 1977). Photo by Ray Frost.



MEETING DATES

For those who may need to be reminded, The Denver Westerners meet on the evening of the 4th Wednesday of each month except July, and with the possible exceptions of the Summer and Winter Rendezvous (August and December) which *may* be scheduled on other than the usual day.

It may also be emphasized that the Summer (August) and Winter (December) Rendezvous are LADIES' NIGHTS, and all ladies are welcome and cordially invited.

YOUR DUES ARE DUE!!

Dues were due on January 1st! They become delinquent on March 1st when your name may be deleted from the mailing list.

Posse and Reserve	\$27.00
Corresponding Membership	\$17.00
Honorary	Optional

Make checks payable to The Denver Westerners and mail or hand to Loren Blaney, 5508 E. Mansfield Ave., Denver, CO, 80237



Westerner's Bookshelf



Heroic Fort Sedgwick and Julesburg; A Study in Courage by Fred H. Werner. Werner Publications, Greeley, CO 1988. 100+ pp, 30+ ill, 4 maps. Paper \$7.50 + \$1.50 postage.

Fort Sedgwick came into being as a result of the Indian resistance to the wave of whites who were streaming into the western areas of our country. In order to protect the settlers as well as wagon trains who traveled westward, military posts were built at strategic points.

Fort Sedgwick was built in 1864 near Old Julesburg. It was named after General John Sedgwick of Civil War fame, who was killed near Spottsylvania on January 7, 1865.

On November 29, 1864, an event occurred that was to have repercussions for many years to come. Colonel Chivington and his Colorado Volunteers attacked an Indian village located at Sand Creek and killed many women and children, as well as warriors. Some call it the Sand Creek Battle while others refer to it as the Sand Creek Massacre. The facts later established that Chivington had treacherously attacked a peaceful Indian village and this precipitated swift action on the part of the Indians.

January 7, 1865, over a thousand Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes attacked Fort Sedgwick and nearby Julesburg. They plundered the town and killed fifteen cavalrymen who were defending the fort where many people had gathered for protection against the Indians.

The Indians ranged up and down the South Platte River—killing, raiding and burning the stage stations, ranches, wagon trains and anything else that crossed their path of destruction.

Attacks were also renewed against Julesburg and Fort Sedgwick on February 2, 1865. The citizens of Julesburg fled to the fort and the town was again burned and pillaged by the vengeful Indians. Many heroic feats were recorded by the embattled settlers and soldiers. The most daring one was when Captain O'Brien and Lieutenant Ware, along with a small squad of men,

broke through the circle of Indians around the fort, reaching safety only after a death-defying dash through literally a "wall of Indians."

The events detailed in this book were but a forerunner of the Custer Battle and other Indian battles during the 1870s. A better understanding of the entire panorama concerning conflict with the Indians may be gained from a study of the period immediately preceding the large scale battles that occurred later."

Publisher's Review



Platte River Road Narratives: A Descriptive Bibliography of Travel Over The Great Central Overland Route to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, Montana, and Other Western States and Territories, 1812-1866 by Merrill J. Mattes. Foreword by James A. Michener. Univ. of Michigan Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1988. Pp. xiv + 632. Hardback \$95.00.

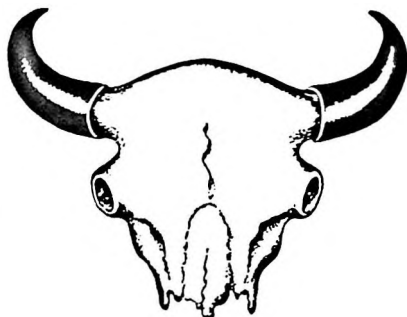
"This is a life's work prepared by Merrill Mattes, longtime historian with the National Park Service. It is the best bibliography of its type which I have ever seen. There are 2082 entries, all dealing with the central route of immigration into the West. Each entry includes a detailed physical description of the account, a description of the route taken, a paragraph on unique historical qualities of the document, and a paragraph of analysis by Mattes regarding the quality of the manuscript, its publishing history and editing, if any, and other unique comments. Also included are the repositories where the original document is held, publishing history, and a unique rating system of 1 to 5 stars based upon the historical and literary value. This work will become a cornerstone for any library which contains holdings on Overland migration. The work will not be readily available in book stores due to the fact that the publisher is allowing only a minimal discount to the trade."

Publisher's Review

The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1988



MINES AND MINERALS OF CLEAR CREEK COUNTY, COLORADO AN HISTORICAL APPROACH John M. Shannon



Stamp Mill, Alice Colorado

Photo by Dan Kyle, USGS

MINES AND MINERALS OF CLEAR CREEK COUNTY, COLORADO AN HISTORICAL APPROACH

by
John M. Shannon
Presented 23 March 1988

EARLY DAYS AND IDAHO SPRINGS

After mining in California for a number of years, George A. Jackson, a cousin of Kit Carson, returned to his home in Missouri in 1857. The following year he came to the Pike's Peak region, more to hunt and fish than to mine. He wintered with Tom Golden at the place where the town of Golden was eventually built; from there he ranged both north and south (whether for gold or game is not clear.)

During January, 1859, he and a companion known as Black Hawk tramped the mountains toward the source of Clear Creek (at the time still called Vasquez Fork, Creek, or River), with Jackson eventually going ahead alone, no doubt crossing Squaw Pass. Apparently he was the first white man to see the hot springs which later made the town of Idaho Springs a famous resort.

Going a little farther west and up the next creek, he camped as he had done on the first creek (Soda Creek); the fire he built melted enough snow to expose the ground and thaw it enough to dig a little with his hunting knife. Using a tin cup to do the washing, he had soon placered enough dirt to show him that this was no doubt a worthwhile site. Marking his site for later identification, he returned to his camp.

This discovery occurred January 7, 1859, and was along the road on the north side of Chicago Creek about halfway between the old Jackson and Waltham concentrating mills.

Further development of Jackson's discovery had to wait until Spring. On April 17 he took a party of men (most of whom were from Chicago, for which the creek was subsequently named) and some supply wagons back to the place he had previously marked. The going was extremely difficult; since there were no roads, the wagons had to be disassembled, carried over barriers and obstructions, and reassembled several times before they arrived at their destination. Having no lumber, the wagon boxes were converted into sluices. The place was called variously Chicago Bar, Jackson Bar, Jackson Diggings, or Sacramento City, and in 1860 became the town of Idaho (the 'Springs' was not added until the Idaho Territory became a reality and there was confusion over where to send the mails).

The work of the first seven days netted the men nineteen hundred dollars in gold, which Jackson took back to Auraria and used in payment for more supplies. Because of this, news of the strike spread rapidly and the area soon swarmed with prospectors, some of whom were knowledgeable, but most of whom were ignorant of mining procedures.

The more important of the newer developments on the upper reaches of Clear Creek at the time were at 'Spanish Bar'—probably so-called because it had been discovered by a small party of Mexican miners—some three miles above Chicago Creek, and consisting of the creeks and bars from the mouth of Fall River to a point below the Stanley mine; and 'Grass Valley' bars about the same distance below the mouth of Chicago Creek.

On the 13th of May, William N. Byers, Richard Spris, William M. Slaughter and Henry Allen, with six or eight others, left Denver for Jackson's Bar, arriving there on the 14th. On the 15th, having secured a claim, they set up a 'long tom' which they had taken with them, and began sluicing. Only indifferent results were obtained. On the 16th, Byers and Allen explored the valley of Vasquez Fork to the junction of its two sources which rise in the mountains above the present town of Empire and Georgetown respectively. The entire face of Douglas Mountain was examined, and evidences of lodes observed. In all probability these were the first white men to penetrate this region. On the 17th they staked off some claims on Spanish Bar and on the 18th prospected the mountainsides north of the creek between Idaho and Fall River. When they returned to Jackson's Bar, they received the news of Gregory's strike on the North Vasquez, which created a wild rush to that area.

Idaho Springs was the first settled town in the county. About 200 miners were attracted there, many of whom remained over winter, and in 1860 the town was perceived to be a fixed entity. In 1861 the Seaton Quartz mine and first stamp mill were erected and run pretty steadily for two years on surface material from the Whale Mine (later known as the Stanley), Lincoln, and other lodes in the vicinity.

GEORGETOWN

George Griffith, leaving his brother David in Russell Gulch in the spring of 1859, finally arrived at the camp that was then called Sacramento. He continued to prospect upstream until he arrived in a much less populated area. As was the case so often, he accidentally discovered a lode claim while taking a rest. He staked the claim and immediately returned to Russell Gulch to get his brother. That summer the two brothers and three other men took out \$500 in gold and by common consent called their camp 'George's Town'. The spring of 1860 they returned with another brother and his wife, and with their father staked the entire valley as a homestead and built a cabin.

By 1866 there were really two camps a half mile apart, separated by a small creek. The original camp, Georgetown, was located on the flat beside the creek, but as more men arrived buildings were constructed at the base of Leavenworth Mountain and this 'suburb' was called Elizabethtown after Griffith's sister. When the place was granted a postoffice in 1866, a public meeting was held and both camps agreed to combine under the name of Georgetown.

Other deposits were discovered in this vicinity, but richer diggings elsewhere drew the miners away from this locality.

EMPIRE

It was about the 1st day of August, 1860, that Edgar Freeman and H. C. Cowles, two very persistent prospectors, climbed over the mountains from the diggings at Central and dropped down into the valley of Empire. They prospected and found two bits of wire gold on Eureka Mt. Those miniature specimens of the precious metal sparked discovery of the Empire and Keystone lodes and the organization of mining districts. People came from Gilpin County, building cabins and bringing prosperity for several years.

D. C. Daley, one of these miners, has the distinction of discovering the first silver lode in Colorado, the Ida Lode on Silver Mt. near Empire, in September, 1860. It was assayed and found to contain 100 oz. of silver per ton. Nor was this an isolated case. Documentation exists regarding two silver claims in the Union District (Empire) and one in the Lincoln District (Alice). But in the rush to find gold, the silver 'leads' did not get the attention they should have had until 1864.

From 1860 to 1865 Empire was very prosperous owing to the ease which which gold could be sluiced from decomposed quartz lodes and treated in the same way as placer gravel. This superficial, oxidized portion of the lodes extended down to a depth of 40 feet or more where sulfides were encountered containing gold in a free state. The sulfides were not amenable to the same simple treatment as the oxidized deposits but amalgamation in sluices and in stamp mills at Empire continued until 1875. Desultory production was made there until 1924.

LAMARTINE

The town of Lamartine grew around the Lamartine mine which was discovered in 1865 and in later years was supervised by Silas Hanchett of Idaho Springs.

LAWSON

Lawson is located six miles below Georgetown and owed its existence to the Red Elephant group of mines which were discovered in 1876. Previous to that date it consisted solely of a wayside inn known as the 'Six Mile House', which was kept by Alex Lawson for whom the town was named.

SILVER PLUME

There are several versions of how Silver Plume got its name. One version is that it honors a national political figure, James G. Blaine, who was known at the 'Plumed Knight.' Another is that the name was first applied to a mine in the district because the white streaks of silver appeared plume-like in the rocks.

Whichever is true, it seems most of the early notoriety of Silver Plume stems from the story of Owen Feenan and the Pelican Mine. It seems that Feenan discovered the Pelican Mine two years earlier while working at the time in another mine and kept his discovery to himself. Becoming dangerously ill and believing that he was going to die, he confided to two friends the location of his mine. For more than a year he hovered between life and death and when he finally recovered, it was only to learn that the mine had been opened in the spring of 1871 and that he had been completely left out of the transaction.

The early history of Silver Plume is rife with the squabbles between the Pelican and the Dives, the other of the famous mines in the district. At one time there were more than twenty suits and counter suits pending between the two mining companies.

The best producers in the district were the Pelican-Dives, Payrock, Corry City, Dunderberg, Burleigh, Seven-Thirty, Terrible, Mendota, Baker, and Stevens.

ABOUT SOME OF THE MINES

IDAHO SPRINGS MINES

Gem and Freighter's Friend

These mines are located on the summit of Seaton Mountain about 1½ miles from Idaho Springs. The Gem Mine was discovered in 1866 by Capt. Hall and the Freighter's Friend was located about the same time. The Gem workings consist of a shaft with 18 levels and the lode was cut by the Argo Tunnel in 1900 about 7,860 feet from the portal. The Freighter's Friend workings comprise one shaft with five levels. Both the mines have produced rhodochrosite and the Gem also reportedly contained small enargite crystals on the faces of pyrite crystals.

Specie Payment

This mine located on Bellevue Mountain was discovered in 1875. It showed an uncommon amount of quartz in vugs, in places accompanied by crystals of pyrite and chalcopryite. Free gold also occurred in some of the quartz vugs. A specimen from one of the veins showed quartz crystals in a vug plated at the tips with pyrite crystals. The gold ranged between .7 and 7.09 ounces per ton.

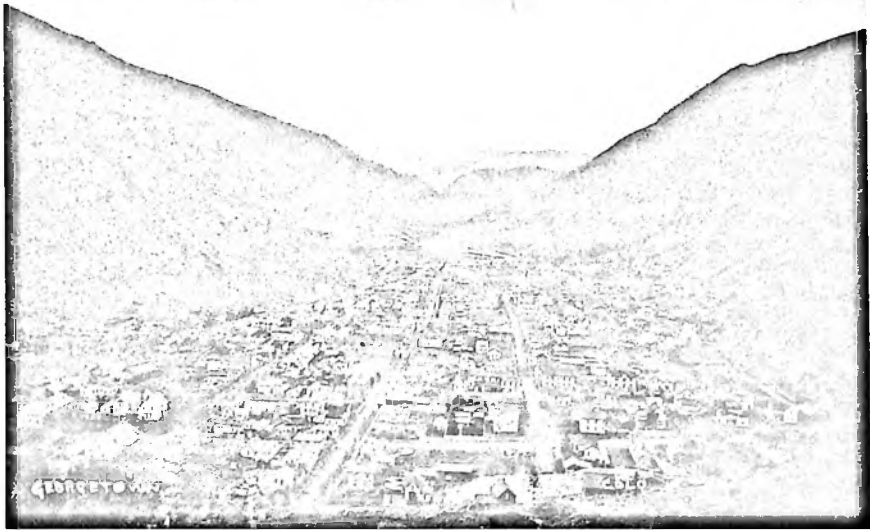
Dixie

The Dixie is a recent discovery, comparatively speaking, having been discovered in 1939; but it has to be mentioned because some of the outstanding gold specimens from Colorado have come from the Dixie. In the Mid thirties, Leroy Giles and three other men visited with Mr. Fenicle, a long time miner, well known in Clear Creek County. The men wanted to know if Mr. Fenicle could recommend a place for them to look for a mine—they were interested in doing a little gold mining. The story goes that Mr. Fenicle, always willing to help fellow miners, told them of an outcrop down on Ute creek they might check on. Needless to say, that outcrop turned into the Dixie Mine and all the men were well repaid for their little mining venture. In its beginning years, the mill refused to treat the ore because it looked like country rock, but after a guarantee of treatment costs, the ore was milled and found to contain 13.5 ounces of free gold per ton. This was the first commercial shipment made by the owners of the Dixie Mine.

GEORGETOWN MINES

Griffith

The Griffith was perhaps the first lode to be known in Clear Creek County, having been discovered in the fall of 1859 by George Griffith. Its discoverers thought they had found a gold lode and indeed the surface ores were very rich and supposedly contained enough gold to repay sluicing. It was worked as a gold mine for several years, but some of the first operations opened a large vein of ore carrying sixty ounces of silver and one and one half ounces of gold per ton. The Griffith produced very crystallized barite, commonly lining druses in vugs.



Georgetown, Colorado, Clear Creek County. About 1892.

Colorado Central

The Colorado Central was discovered in 1872 by William P. Linn and in the first 30 years produced over \$8,000,000. It is located in Leavenworth Gulch southwest of Georgetown. One description of a descent into the mine to see the ore in place indicated quite a trip:

"A nearly perpendicular descent of 150' in the main shaft, then a drift nearly 100' west to the West Shaft which by the way is as dry as an average congressional record is to a clerk in a drug store. Down the West Shaft along a drift west and down another shaft about 30' in depth to another drift were was found a vein varying in width from 3-6' and consisting of galena and ruby silver."

From the mine came free crystals of barite and polybasite. Fissures were sometimes lined with chalcedony upon which crystals of barite had been deposited. Occasionally tetrahedrite, pyrrargyrite, and proustite were found as free crystals on the walls of druses. Calcite also occurred lining the walls of some of the fissures.

Lamartine

The Lamartine was discovered in 1867 by three gentlemen searching for a gold mine, but as the surface indications were not very good, the three sold out to a Mr. Himrod of New York City. Mr. Himrod sank a shaft in 1888 and found the Lamartine ore body at a depth of about 100 feet below the surface. Total production to 1905 was \$2,361,039. The silver in the better grade of ore amounted to 150 ounces per ton. From this mine came very distinctive specimens of tetrahedrite or tennantite with siderite and chalcopyrite.



Silver Plume and Mines.

SILVER PLUME MINES

Mendota

This mine was discovered in 1865 by D. Tooker and the ore shipped from it averaged \$275 per ton. The mine contained vugs with free quartz crystals upon which had been deposited calcite and siderite crystals. Sometimes crystals of galena occurred in vugs with minute crystals of pyrites.

Dunderburg

Located in 1868, the Dunderburg contained barite as clear crystals lining walls of vugs and associated with quartz. It also contained galena much the same as the Mendota.

Seven-thirty

First located in 1868 as a single claim, the owners acquired numerous other claims through the years until 1896 when they transferred the entire group to the owners of the Dives-Pelican Mine. From the Seven-thirty came native silver in flakes and fine crystals of barite.

LAWSON MINES

Jo Reynolds Mine

The Jo Reynolds claim was located in 1865, but it was not until the completion of the railroad in 1877 that any amount of mining was done. From 1877 to 1907 the property was worked almost continuously. From the Jo Reynolds came flakes of native silver and crystals of polybasite.



Joe Reynolds Mine, Lawson, Colorado, about 1900.

Alice

The first operations of the Alice Mining Co. date back to the early eighties and involved attacking the overlying gravels by the method of hydraulicking, but lasted only a short time as the gravels averaged only 5 or 6 feet. Abandoning the hydraulicking, the early operators erected an old-fashioned slow drop stamp mill in which was profitably milled the oxidized ore for three seasons. The operations ceased, however, when the ore changed to sulphides and the mill which saved only the metallic gold proved unadaptable to treat it profitably. At one time the property encompassed approximately 1000 acres. They found in the Alice pockets of high grade ore in vugs with crystals of both iron and copper pyrites, quartz crystals, and at times native silver.



Although not directly related to the foregoing, the following letter gives us an idea of the every-day happenings in a mining camp in the early days and is offered for the general interest of the reader. The rather abrupt ending is the result of pages missing from the original letter.

(Postmarked Mountain City, Colo, Feb. 6, 1866; addressed to Capt. N. A. Frye, Salem, Massachusetts)

BAY STATE GOLD MINING COMPANY
Empire City, Colorado Territory

Dear Father and Mother

October 15th, 1865

I wrote Mother a short letter on Wednesday last from Denver City, where I had gone with Mr Cobb and Willie to see them off for home. They probably left on Friday or Saturday morning on Hollidays Stage Line. They, with a party of four others, had chartered a coach to go on, Butterfields Overland Despatch, but when we arrived at Denver we found that Butterfield had not had a coach in from the east for seven days and that there was all sorts of rumor about Indian depredations, etc. So under the circumstances they decided to go on the other line, which will bring them home by the 28th or 20th inst. Mr. Wise of Boston and myself were to drive home (Friday) Thursday morning and intended to start very early, but it was half past eleven before we got started, and as we had forty-five miles to make before reaching Central City, we had to hurry. The first eighteen miles to Golden City being over a good smooth road, we made in two hours. Then came the hard work, the rest of the way being a greater part up hill, and a very rough and rocky road, and to make matters worse the ponies began to tire out, and we had to take turns in driving and whipping. It was half past four when we got to the Michigan House, twelve miles further and stopped an hour for dinner. We had twelve miles further to go, and a high steep mountain to cross. As we reached the top of this mountain it had just begun to be dark. To the bottom is just four miles and a very steep and rugged road and it looked rather risky, but we pushed on trusting to the horses and they brought us safely down. As we turned into the Blackhawk Valley, which is a deep gorge between two high mountains, it was so dark that we could not see the horses heads. The road here runs along the side of the creek, on the left and the mountain on the right. The track is only wide enough for one team and about one foot on the left there is an abrupt decent (descent) of thirty to forty feet to the creek. Fortunately we did not meet any teams and trusting to the horses, we got along nicely, though we were very glad to see the lights of Blackhawk City. We got home about halfpast eight.

Three weeks ago to day we had a great time here at Empire. The "Ute" Indians, the only tribe friendly to the Whites, receive from the govmt. annually, presents to quite a large amount, and this year they decided on this spot to give the presents to one portion of the tribe. So the morning before, Saturday, they began to come straggling in. As they live over the great snowy range it was some two or three days journey for them and they were very much separated. They encamped on the level ground, across the creek, directly opposite the front of our house, and only about three hundred yards off. As soon as the lodges were pitched they began to come to town and wander about. As Willie and I were sitting in the office, busy writing, the door opened slowly, and two of them stalked in and two dirtier, greasier looking objects I never saw in my life. Both of their faces were painted bright red in streaks, and one wore his hair, strait and as black as jet, flowing over his shoulders, and the other wove his in two immense braids, two inches in diameter at least, plentifully bedaubed with pork fat, and looking as it had not been touched since it had been

done up, which might have been any number of years ago. As they entered the door the both said, "How", in a deep guttural tone, by which they mean How do you do. We replied "How" in a most solemn tone of voice and invited them to sit down, which they did very awkwardly (awkwardly) on the edge of the chair, with their feet drawn up on the ring. For some time they sat perfectly motionless, without moving a muscle of their face. Finally one of them, the best looking, struck his breast with his hand and said "Me Jakim" big warrior" good Indian" you", pointing to Will, "What name"(.) Will told him his was colonel and that he was a big chief. The fellow repeated "Colonel" several times until he had it fixed in his mind, and then went off into a torrent of Indian and broken English, amongs which we could distinguish the words—Jakim, Big chief, Fort Larimie, Big chief, Salt Lake City, paper etc, and he appeared to be very earnest about something. Finally we made out that he was going to Fort Laramie and to Salt Lake City and wanted a letter from the Big chief colonel to the Big Chief at those places. So Willie wrote him a letter—which began with a latin quotation from Cicero, and ended with a description of the bearer etc etc, recommending him to the mercy of any he should meet etc. We then put it into a large envelope and put a large quantity of sealing wax on the back and stamped it with a silver half dollar and then directed it to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City and gave it to him. Without saying a word he put it in his breast and they both stalked out of the room.

We had calls from several others during the day. They are the greatest beggars I ever saw. Everything they saw that they wanted, they had no hesitation in asking for, and if denied they would coolly walk up and pocket it, and then it would take considerable "palaver" to get it back again, but they were afraid to steal anything, though no doubt they had the will strong enough. Sunday morning we went away on a trip to Argentine, some twenty miles away, with Mr. Cobb, Professor Denton of Boston & several others in the party. We camped out Sunday night and did not get home until Monday Evening at dark, when we found the Indians all arrived, and the place fairly alive with them. As we rode up to the door on a gallop & dismounted, there were a dozen Indians standing around who almost insisted on getting on a having a ride, and we had the hardest work to get rid of them. Over opposite the house things looked very lively. A large number of lodges were pitched and their fires were burning brightly. They had not begun their Evening performance then, but as we were at supper we heard them at it and after we got through we went over. There was a large open space cleared of spectators, and four huge wood fires burning brightly at the four corners. On the inside were about a dozen Indians—whether men or women I could not tell, standing up in a row, each with either, an instrument which sounded something like a drum, or a string of bells, and all singing at the top of the voices, and keeping time to the music by swaying their bodies from side to side. The song was a monotonous repetition of the same notes, sometimes higher, sometimes lower, but always the same, this was kept up without intermission hour after hour. The squaws and "papposes" formed into two colums, led off by one of the chiefs, squaws, who wore a red blanket to distinguish her, followed by the others in single file with each ones hands resting of the hips of the one in front of her. The chiefs squaws each had a long pole with something on the top, which they carried upright.



Westerner's Bookshelf



BOOK REVIEWERS. It has been suggested, as an aid to our continually faltering treasury, that reviewers of books (recognizing that privilege of retaining the book in their own private libraries) might consider the alternative of returning books to the Posse for auction or making a voluntary contribution to the exchequer for the privilege of retaining the book.

The Mythic World of the Zuni as written by Frank Hamilton Cushing and edited by Barton Wright. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1988. 192 pages, 27 illustrations, glossary of native terms. Cloth, \$19.95.

Frank Cushing recorded these myths during the period that he lived with the Zuni during the 1870's. The myths were first printed in the "Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology" in 1896, and the twenty-five myths reprinted in this current work are but a small sample of the Zuni oral tradition.

To study the myths of a people allows one to gain an insight into their history and values. While the actual history is buried in the myth, it can be discovered, and this is evident in several of the stories that Barton Wright has included in this book.

Wright has written an annotation for each of the stories, and this certainly adds to the understanding of what exactly happens. The reader has a much better feeling for the relationship between the myth and actual events and locations. Wright also compares the Zuni myths to those of the other Pueblo peoples and discusses how one group has borrowed from the other in developing their particular view of the world. I do wish that the annotations had been placed in closer proximity to the myth being discussed, but the slight inconvenience of having to flip back and forth is no real problem.

Recently I listened to the Hopi creation myth being told at sunset across from Cliff Palace at Mesa Verde and was able to make a comparison between the Zuni and Hopi stories. While there are several similarities, the Zuni myth has much more to do with water.

I recommend this as another source for learning about the culture of the tribes of the Southwest United States.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Apache: The Long Ride Home by Grant Gall. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe. 1988. 112 pages. Paper, \$9.95.

The British author of this work uses the fictional character of Pedro Bautista as the device to present a study of the life of the Chiricahua Apaches. This short novel is an obituary of these people who were finally brought down by the United States Army.

While the life style of the Apache is somewhat idealized by Fall, the work does offer the reader some understanding of tribal organization, courtship, and the raiding way of life of these people.

Short novels such as *Apache* serve a most useful purpose by appealing to those readers who are not likely to sit down and wade through a long scholarly work on the Apache or other topics. This is an interesting story that reaches an important audience.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Border Patrol by Alvin Edward Moore. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1988. 95 pages. Paper, \$10.95.

Commander Moore served as an officer of the United States Border Patrol during a period from 1926 to 1928, on the Arizona-Mexico boundary. He has written of eight of his adventures during this time and has included a most interesting event that was related to him by a prospector whom he met and talked with in Patagonia, Arizona.

It is sometimes said that fact is stranger than fiction, and this book seems to reinforce that statement. Moore is saved by a beautiful undercover agent while he was under cover on assignment in Mexico, and in another adventure he is bringing a large amount of gold out of Mexico during a revolution when he is rescued by a famous Mexican bandit and escorted to safety in the United States.

All in all the stories are fun to read: Moore certainly crammed a lot of adventure into a couple of years on the border.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Augusta Tabor, A Pioneering Woman by Betty Moynihan. Cordillera Press, Evergreen, Colo. 128 pages, illus., bibliography, index. Paper, \$7.95.

For the past 100 years, whenever the Tabor story appeared, Baby Doe was the main subject. Tabor's first wife Augusta was practically ignored after the divorce and Tabor's marriage to Baby Doe. This bothered Betty Moynihan so she finally decided to follow Augusta's life and see how she fared. After years of running down every clue available locally, she received a grant from the Colorado Humanities Program. This enabled her to contact other sources, from Maine to California, and finally to visit the family of Phillipe Laforgue in France. He was one of Augusta and Horace's great-grandchildren. Here she found early photographs, a diary, and some scrapbooks.

Mrs. Moynihan then meticulously coordinated this material with what she had gathered previously and the result is a fascinating book. It follows the Tabors from Maine to Kansas and to the gold fields of what is now Colorado. Then through South Park, along the Arkansas River to Oro City in California Gulch. Then to Buckskin Joe, back to Oro City, Leadville, and finally Denver.

Although Augusta had managed the family money through the mining camps, after the divorce she became a very astute and successful business woman, dealing mostly in real estate. One of her properties was the lot occupied by Guldinan's famous Golden Eagle in Denver. She also donated to many charities and played a large role in the founding of the Unitarian Church. Her generosity in all civic matters was unmatched, but through it all, she was a business woman. When she died, she left an estate of one and one-half million dollars. Included in this was \$315,000 which was owed her, reflecting her generosity to her family and friends. Although she kept precise records of every transaction, it was evident that she never expected repayment.

Here at long last is a much-needed book to complete the Tabor story. Betty Moynihan's style of writing is free and easy, making the book most pleasant to read.

Francis B. Rizzary, P.M.

Creator of the Santa Fe Style: Isaac Hamilton Rapp, Architect by Carl D. Sheppard. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1988. 160 pages, 102 halftones. Cloth \$22.50, Paper \$12.50.

This is a biography of Isaac Hamilton Rapp which includes a discussion of his buildings in Trinidad, Colorado, Las Vegas, New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and other locations. This is discussed in six chapters and several appendices.

The major thrust of the book is to determine what exactly is the "Santa Fe Style" and how it came about. This information is found in Chapter Six. The men who provided the force behind the development of the "Style" were Edgar Lee Hewett, Sylvanus C. Morley, and Jesse Nusbaum. Their first effort was in changing the portal of the Palace of the Governors to a more "Hispanic" style. They along with others wanted to design a style of architecture distinctly New Mexican. Their purpose was to "advertise the unique and unrivalled possibilities of the city as the Tourist Center of the Southwest." History has certainly proven the success of their effort.

The key to this particular style was the Colorado Supply Company Store at Morley, Colorado, which had been designed by Isaac Rapp. The use of this design is evident in the New Mexico building at the Panama California Exposition at San Diego in 1914. The next building that was built using this style was the Museum of Fine Arts in Santa Fe which was followed by other buildings in Santa Fe including the last major commission in the city, the La Fonda.

Rapp then retired to Trinidad, Colorado, where the only new construction was the Country Club, which may have been designed earlier.

The author seems to have had a two-fold purpose in the writing of this book. One was to bring to attention a very successful architect, the other being the development of the Santa Fe Style. It would have been interesting if more research had been done on the development of the Style that dominates Santa Fe today and just how the city ordinances were passed that perpetuate this style.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Water in New Mexico: A History of Its Management and Use by Ira G. Clark. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1987.

How does one review, in 500 words or less, a book that has 696 pages of text (double-columned), 21 pages of bibliography, 5 pages of cases, 24 pages of index and 1,778 footnotes? Obviously, one doesn't. One walks away after reading it all, a little numbed and very much overwhelmed.

Fortunately, Dr. Clark's prodigious effort (the dust-jacket blurb says it was twenty-five years in the making) is of value to those interested in water law and hydrology throughout the arid West, and not just to New Mexicans. The author escapes parochialism by tracing the federal government's efforts in water development, land use, waste disposal, soil conservation, weather modification, forest and grazing programs, water and air quality, and all the other myriad federal activities that affect water and water use. This enables the reader to compare the efforts of his own state to adjust and accommodate with the ability of the New Mexico bureaucracy to take advantage of these programs. And New Mexico certainly does take advantage of them. Grant applications by New Mexico bureaucrats has become an art form. Dr. Clark points out instances where departments have obtained grants to supply required matching funds for other grants.

However, this is not simply a chronicle of largesse offered and largesse received. It is a comprehensive account of the history of water and water use in New Mexico, with its rich and varied tapestry of pre-Columbian, Spanish, Mexican, Indian and Anglo-Saxon backgrounds.

This book is so huge, so comprehensive, that a reviewer can only touch on a few highlights. If this review serves only to alert those interested to the fact that a rich new resource is available, good. If interest is piqued so that a more in-depth excursion is undertaken so much the better.

This history of water use begins appropriately with the Moors, irrigators in countries with little water, and begins not with the Moors at the time they invaded Spain, but with the Koran, that compendium of all useful knowledge.

Among other things we never knew until we encountered Dr. Clark is that the Koran permits the upstream user to irrigate first, but "only to ankle depth."

He describes the irrigation systems of the Hohokam of Arizona and the Anasazi of New Mexico, and tells us of the water traditions of the Spanish conquistadores and Mexican emigres.

From the two latter groups evolved the "acequia madre"—the mother ditch of the community—and the "mayordomo" who made the system work. It was the mayordomo, elected democratically by all who took water from the ditch, who apportioned the water and it was the mayordomo who required every able-bodied user to contribute his fair share of labor to repair and maintain the ditch.

The acequia madre and the mayordomos are so much a part of the pattern of rural life that they were recognized by New Mexico statutes, and survive today.

Although Clark's field is history, he does not overlook the impact of economics and politics in the development of New Mexico's water rights.

New Mexico, a poor state by any economic measurement, and one of the most arid in the United States, has achieved maximum development of its limited water resources by being blessed with brilliant leadership and a well-honed political capacity for participation in every federal program available.

Appropriately enough, Clark gives great credit to Stephen E. Reynolds, New Mexico's state engineer for more than a quarter of a century. Clark calls this "an extraordinary achievement considering the sensitivity of water users when their water rights are at stake". This reviewer believes this tenure is even more remarkable considering the intensity and volatility of New Mexico politics.

However, I think Reynolds would be the first to acknowledge that the road to his success was smoothed by the support, throughout much of his career, by two very powerful New Mexico United States Senators—Anderson and Chavez.

What Clark does not give Reynolds credit for (and I consider it a phenomenal achievement) is fostering, nurturing and success-

fully completing the first major joint effort of the U.S. Corps of Engineers and the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation—the rehabilitation of the channel of the Rio Grande in central and southern New Mexico. Long before the shotgun marriage that produced Pick-Sloan, Reynolds succeeded in getting cooperation, over a period of several years, of these two traditional federal bureaucratic rivals, and he deserves a special niche in history for this accomplishment.

Clark concludes with a chapter entitled "Retrospect and Prospect", which is more prospect than retrospect. He correctly concludes that the principal problems remaining concerning New Mexico water rights are the determination of the nature and extent of unquantified Federally reserved water rights, particularly Indian ones, and the continuing problem of insufficient supply. These problems are the same problems facing the remainder of the arid West, and do not lend themselves to easy solution.

The book has defects, as any project of this magnitude must certainly have, but they pale into insignificance when compared to the excellence of the work as a whole.

The book sadly needs a comprehensive, detailed map of New Mexico. Names of rivers and places mean little without a map, even to one with a reasonable knowledge of that fascinating state.

The illustrations are few, not very good quality, and not very interesting. There should either be a great many more, or none at all.

The enormity of the effort has resulted in a work that was published in 1987, but has seemingly been suspended in a time warp since 1983 when the last events are chronicled. Much has happened in the changing world of national and New Mexico water developments, and a supplement is already seriously needed.

However, it is difficult to find serious fault with such an epic endeavor. The book was a labor of love for Dr. Clark, and, believe it or not, a pleasure to read.

The book is obviously for the specialist and would be even if the price were not \$50, but it will be a valuable addition to many research libraries.

Raphael J. Moses, C.M.

The Hopi Photographs: Kate Cory: 1905-1912 by Barton Wright, Marnie Gaede, and Marc Gaede. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1988. 164 pages, 69 duotone plates. Cloth \$35.00, Paper \$19.95.

During her seven years with the Hopi, Kate Cory produced an important photographic record of the life style of these people who had taken her in and allowed her to remain for reasons of their own. Some 642 negatives remain from those years along with several paintings. The paintings are in the Smoki Museum in Prescott, Arizona and in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

Her photographs achieved a very high technical quality even though she worked under most trying conditions. Her work shows the daily life of the Hopi along with their ceremonial events through the year. Some of these ceremonies are no longer being practiced by the Hopi.

This is not merely a book of photographs that you will look at once and put on the coffee table to gather dust. These need to be studied for what they reveal about the people and their life.

The authors have placed quotations from a wide variety of sources with each of the plates, and this adds to the reader's understanding.

I only wish that the essay on the life of Kate Cory had been more than five short pages. All it really provides is frustration as it creates many questions about this woman's life and presents very little actual information about why she lived with the Hopi, why they took her into their villages, and exactly what her life was like in Prescott. She deserves a book if the information about her is available.

Kate Cory developed a special relationship with the Hopi which is seen in her work. I wish that it were possible to see the other 573 photographs that she did. This is certainly a book for anyone with an interest in the Hopi and their way of living.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.



Trail of the Snake, from Big Bend to Baja by Michael A. Williamson, Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1986, 127 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

This small paperback contains the account of more than 27 years of field work and laboratory experiences of a trained herpetologist. "Snakes alive!" might have been the sub-head in the title. There are 43 black and white illustrations and one map in the text. The quality of the illustrations is rather poor, but one doesn't know whether to blame the printer or the photographer.

Most of the stories have to do with snake collecting in the desert regions of the southwest U.S. He describes the animal's habitat, as well as the other animals which occupy the same territory, although Williamson has a preference for rattlesnakes he doesn't slight the other fauna of the desert.

In his foreword, Williamson says, "I am profoundly grateful for the spirit of cooperation shown by my wife, Mabel, and two daughters, all of whom have adjusted admirably to living in a house filled with snakes and other crawling things; at one time as many as 140 including alligators, gila monsters, cobras, and a fourteen-foot reticulated python named Luther." One wonders that there was room left for humans. Being anything but a snake lover, your reviewer still has squeamish visions of a twenty-eight-foot anaconda dispatched with a shotgun back of the mess hall at Amapa in northern Brazil during W.W.II.

To further set the stage, Williamson says in the foreword, "This is my story of travel and adventure, whether it be witnessing the incredible bravery of a mother hawk defending her nest in a fight to the finish against a hungry Great-horned owl, an encounter with an enraged female Black bear defending her cubs against the indiscretions of a human intruder, or listening to the melodious call of a Red-winged blackbird defiantly proclaiming its territorial legacy. We will encounter many marvelous creatures: a snake that "walks" across the hot desert sands, another so deadly that its venom is reported to kill a human in twenty minutes; a lizard that "barks" like a dog and another that actually runs a fever when it is ill. And, last, a species of lizard in which there are no males, only females. All these creatures and many

more will be met in the following pages, and hopefully they will become your friends as they have become mine. For all living things—even the poisonous ones—are a part of the overall scheme of things; the intricate interrelationship of all life. Surely, man's own salvation lies in his ability to learn to live in harmony with living things around him."

This reverence for nature permeates the entire book. Although I am far from a snake-lover, after reading Williamson's book, I found myself fascinated by them, and more willing to live and let live than I had once been. Unfortunately, I came away from the book feeling that I knew more about (bagging) capturing live snakes than I needed to know or cared to know. As a compendium of knowledge about snake capturing the book is quite complete, but it serves better as a field manual than as a general adventure book. A dedicated nature lover should find this book has an important place in his library.

Mel Griffiths, P.M.

Ten Thousand Miles With a Dog Sled, A Narrative of Winter Travel in Interior Alaska, by Hudson Stuck, D.D.; F.R.G.S., Archdeacon of the Yukon. Introduction by Terrence Cole. Univ. of Nebraska Press, (Bison Books), Lincoln and London, (1914) 1988. 420 pages, 53 b&w photos, 1 photogravure frontispiece, 1 map. Paperback, \$11.95.

Stuck's first claim to fame came in June 1913 when he led three companions to the summit of Denali (Mt. McKinley) 20,320 feet above sea level, the highest peak in North America.

The first ten chapters of *Ten Thousand Miles* depict, in vivid fashion, a number of winter sled trips which the author made with a guide in connection with the Episcopal Church's missions and hospitals in interior Alaska. (Hudson Stuck was the Episcopal Archdeacon of the Yukon). He worked from a meticulous daily diary; no incident escaped his notice. The result is one of the finest travel books ever written. The farthest north locations were on the Kobuk, Koyukuk, and Porcupine rivers, and Kotzebue sound, just south of the Brooks Range in northern Alaska, while the farthest south was on the

Kuskokwim River, and at Iditarod and Flat. East and west extremities were at the Bering Sea and at Yukon Territory in Canada. He covered almost six degrees of latitude and twenty three degrees of longitude. Winter temperatures as low as 60 degrees below zero fahrenheit were met, while the myriad conditions of ice, snow, and water (overflows) added spice and danger to the undertaking.

The last four chapters of the book deal with separate topics: The Natives of Alaska, Photography in the Arctic, The Northern Lights, and The Alaskan Dogs. Seventy years of photographic advances in equipment and emulsions have made the photography chapter dated, although Stuck's observations on dealing with low temperatures are still as cogent as the day they were written. The other topics will be new and true to even the most sophisticated reader.

Hudson Stuck was born in London, England, Nov. 11, 1863, lived in England and the southwest U.S. for 40 years until going to Alaska in 1904. He always retained his British citizenship.

The editor of this new edition says, "Stuck never hesitated to express his opinion or speak the truth as he saw it, and he never backed away from an argument. Pioneer Alaska residents were not pleased to read Stuck's contention in *Ten Thousand Miles with a Dog Sled* that the main contribution of the U.S. Army to Alaska—besides the construction of the telegraph line—was an increase in the consumption of whiskey and wood, or that commercial agriculture in Alaska was a hopeless delusion. Miners in Alaska did not care for Stuck's conclusion that the net result of the gold rushes to Alaska was a handful of rotting cabins and ghost towns, creeks that were 'stripped, gutted and deserted,' and a 'diseased and demoralized native population.' " The diminutive Archdeacon, who was 5 feet 10 inches and weighed only 140 pounds, was much more often right than wrong in his political stance.

I can do no better than quote from the new edition's editor, Terrence Cole: "Hudson Stuck's classic tale of winter travel in Alaska . . . is one of the most detailed and realistic portraits of pioneer Alaska ever writ-

ten. Stuck had a gift for words, and his accounts of the places he saw and the people he met are memorable." As an old sourdough I will add that the descriptions are lyrical travel vignettes, whether they dwell on the Aurora Borealis, a dingy road house, a mission school, or a beloved, gravely wounded, lead dog about to be put down by a compassionate stranger. It's a wonderful travel book about interior Alaska 80 years ago.

Mel Griffiths, P.M.

Christopher Columbus by Gianni Granzotto. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1987. 300 pages, eleven maps. Paper, \$9.95.

The author is an Italian who is recognized in the fields of history and journalism. This work is based on six years of research and writing as well as on a retracing of Columbus' first voyage. The author and five others accomplished this in a small boat. The book was translated into English by Stephen Sartarelli.

There are a number of mysteries about Columbus the man and about his voyages of exploration. This confusion is the fault of many, including Columbus and members of his immediate family. His enemies, of which there were many, added to the problems of discovering the "truth."

Granzotto has combined the writing skills of the journalist with the research skills of the historian to produce a most readable comprehensive study of Columbus, including what drove him to persist in attaining his goal of sailing west to Asia. His evaluation of the famous explorer is as balanced a view of a complex person as may be possible today. Columbus' writings were often lost or destroyed which, along with a seeming desire to keep his private life private, leaves the researcher with a lack of information that prevents a more complete examination of the man.

The reader of Granzotto's effort will want to know more about Columbus than is possible, but he will put down the book with the feeling that he has gained an understanding of Columbus that is not possible by reading Samuel Morison and others who have written about the Admiral of the Ocean Sea.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Justified by Honor; Highlights in the Life of General James William Denver by Edward Magruder Cook. Higher Education Publs. Inc., Falls Church, Va., 1988. 176 pages, many ill., bibliography. Hardbound, \$14.95.

A librarian recently commented, "I didn't think Denver, Colorado, was named for a real person." James William Denver (1817-1892) was indeed a very real person, once a formidable figure nationally, but now almost unknown, notably and most regrettably in his namesake city.

Author Cook's widely researched and sprightly biography of General Denver should have a wide distribution, especially in the Denver, Colorado area and most especially in the schools. It could go a long way toward correcting a situation in which even the presence of General Denver's portrait in Colorado's Hall of Fame in the Capital dome has not been sufficient to make him a household word as a "real person."

The Denver family ["of Antwerp—d'Anvers—Danver—Denver"] arrived in Virginia in 1799, possibly from the small town of Denver on the east coast of England. James William Denver was born near Winchester, Virginia in 1817. After a varied experience with farm life while growing up, and later with surveying and engineering, he went to Missouri as a surveyor (shades of George Washington!). He did some school-teaching, studied and then practiced law in Nebraska, and edited a newspaper. This all came to a halt when he decided to take part in the Mexican War. He recruited a company of troops, was commissioned a Captain, and saw extensive active service in Mexico.

After the Mexican War he led a party of 49'ers to the California gold fields but instead of mining he entered politics. He was elected to the state Senate, during which time he successfully fought a duel, which activity was widespread and popular at that period, but which may have cost him a try at the presidency of the U.S. in 1876 and again in 1884.

He became a U.S. Senator. President Buchanan named him U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He became Governor of "Bleeding Kansas" and was involved in the establishment of that state as well as of Colo-

rado. During the Civil War he became a Brigadier General under General William T. Sherman, but after distinguished service, upon the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation he resigned his commission as a matter of principle because he felt that the Government had exceeded its powers under the law.

Among his other achievements he urged stathood for Colorado and suggested the name "Colorado", both in 1876.

General Denver died rather suddenly in Washington, D.C. at the age of 75, from a complex of ailments. A man as widely active and as uniformly successful in all his endeavors should be better known, particularly in his namesake city, and this book is a superlative introduction.

Hugo von Rodeck Jr. P.M.

The Rocky Mountain Journals of William Marshall Anderson; The West in 1834, by William Marshall Anderson, Edited by Dale L. Morgan and Eleanor Towles Harris. Univ. of Nebraska Press, First Bison Book printing, Lincoln and London, 1987. 430 pages, photo of Anderson, one map. Paperback, \$9.95.

This book was originally published in 1967 by the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, Calif. The editors have added a section entitled *A Galaxy of Mountain Men, Biographical Sketches*, which is 144 pages in length, as well as 23 pages of bibliography, and 14 pages of notes in small print and double columns. The "Galaxy", bibliography, and notes are particularly useful to this edition of the book.

Anderson's section of the narrative is divided into two parts: a "Narrative" and a "Journal". Both cover the same period and journey, but from a slightly different perspective. How this came about is explained in the footnotes. The "Journal" is followed by short Anderson miscellanea such as ethnological notes, and short articles which appeared from time to time by Anderson in current periodicals.

To me one of the most interesting parts of the book was found in the *Galaxy of Mountain Men*, which was supplied by the editors. I counted at least 44 short biographies of mountain men, from William Ashley to

Nathaniel Wyeth, and including such Indian chiefs as Bracelette de Fer (Shoshoni) and Rottenbelly (Nez Perce). These are arranged alphabetically, for easy reference. In length these run all the way from a quarter page to as much as seven or eight pages each. The editors have rendered a valuable service in compiling this substantial contribution to one of the early classics of fur trade literature.

William Marshall Anderson joined William L. Sublette's journey to the Rocky Mountains in 1834. He was more interested in matters of health than in the fur trade as such, but his diary describes the route west at this early time, being one of the first to do so. This trail diary was expanded later into a journal, on his return to Kentucky where his family had extensive holdings.

Anderson was present at the two sites of the 1834 Rendezvous, the first on Green River and the second on Ham's Fork, a tributary of the Green. He was one of the first to describe accurately the landmarks of the Oregon Trail.

The editors have provided a meticulous annotation of the text, developing a well-rounded picture of the fur trade in 1834. As is noted above, their *Galaxy* provides one of the most accurate and useful compendiums of the fur trade era and its actors. I recommend this book without hesitation to any historian of America's West.

Mel Griffiths, P.M.

Tim McCoy Remembers the West, an Autobiography, by Tim McCoy with Ronald McCoy. Preface to the Bison Book Edition by Ronald McCoy. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London (1977), Bison Books, 1988. 274 pages, copiously illustrated, bibliographic notes, 6-page index of proper names. Hardback \$26.95; paperback \$8.95.

When I was asked to review this book I assumed it would be about a movie actor's experiences in interpreting the West. Instead, it is the story of an 18-year-old boy, attracted to the cowboy life he had read about, who leaves home and becomes a real cowboy. Almost to the end of his days in his last home at Nogales, Arizona, he remained the cattleman, from which life he was periodically diverted by the many other aspects of his career.

He was born in 1891 in Michigan. His father was a Civil War veteran, a police chief, and a C.A.R. It was during this time that Tim played drums and bugle, as a prelude to his future varied career. He met Buffalo Bill Cody through his father, Chief of Police of Saginaw, Michigan, and was enthralled. At the age of 18 he quietly left home for the West, with which he was involved for the remainder of his life.

In brief resume of his adult career, he punched cattle with a number of outfits in Wyoming, during which time he became interested in the Indians, particularly the Arapahoes. He became friendly with one of them, and learned their customs and their language, especially the sign language. His widened acquaintance with the Arapahoes and subsequently other groups led to an expertise in Indian ways and languages which turned out to be influential in his later movie career in which he began as an Indian expert, and later as an actor-principal in some 100 Western films.

His ingenious persistence led to a commission in the cavalry in World War I, later to an association with General Hugh Scott. He became Adjutant General of Wyoming at age 31, owned a 2500-acre ranch, was married, with three children, and "was bored." He was invited to Hollywood to expedite the recruitment of five hundred Indians to make the movie *The Covered Wagon*, for which he delivered an interpretive Prologue for the benefit of the audiences; later this was repeated in England. He took part in "The Greatest Show on Earth," the Ringling Brothers-Barnum and Bailey Circus, as usual to act not only as part of the show, but to ride herd on the Indians.

In 1924 he maneuvered an interview with Wovoka, the Paiute who initiated the Ghost Dance which led to the debacle at Wounded Knee. For the remainder of his life, as an "Indian expert", he came in contact with a veritable Who's Who of the movie world. He made an ineffectual attempt at a revival of the wild west show. He rejoined the military as a Colonel in World War II, saw service in Germany and France with the Air Corps.

In January 1978 he died at Fort Huachuca, having lived a most extraordinary life.

Hugo von Rodeck Jr., P.M.

Glory-Hunter, a Life of General Custer by Frederic F. Van de Water. Photos, maps, drawings. Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1988. Paper: \$10.95.

This book was first published in 1934, by Bobbs-Merrill Co., and has been out of print for many years. Again, the University of Nebraska Bison Books is to be congratulated for providing a well-done printing of one of the primary source books on Custer.

It is well recognized that George Armstrong Custer is a controversial figure and one hundred and twelve years after his death at the Little Big Horn, interest in the man and the battle increases rather than diminishes.

This book is for the anti-Custer people. The author has undoubtedly done a great deal of research but he has failed to find much good in Custer, but a multitude of flaws and sins. Even the sketch on the cover of the book shows a man not to be trusted to sell you a used car.

Van de Water is so critical of Custer throughout his life, including his Civil War record, that the reader ends up doubting that anyone could be such a completely dastardly cad and still retain the confidence of such men as General Sheridan, and become a national hero.

This edition contains an introduction by Paul Andrew Hutton which to some extent attempts to balance the pro and anti Custer factions. Anyone reading this book should also read Col. Graham's *The Custer Myth* to get a more balanced view of Custer and his career.

W. H. Van Duzer, P.M.

The Bullwhacker: Adventures of a Frontier Freighter, by William Francis Hooker. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1988 (Original, 1924). 167 pages, ill., paperback, \$5.95.

Many people went west in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to improve their health in a drier climate. William Francis Hooker was one of those when, at the age of sixteen, it was feared that he might have the tuberculosis that had killed his mother.

Though he was on the northern plains only between the years of 1873 and 1877, they were years of close calls and adventure. Mak-

ing his way to Cheyenne, he joined a bull train and within a year was driving lead teams on these ox-team freighters to such destinations as Fort Fetterman, the Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska, and to other spots on the Cheyenne, Medicine Bow, and Sidney trails. This is a collection of Hooker's experiences.

It was while he was a bullwhacker that Hooker had several close calls, not just with Indians but with a dangerous outlaw and a posse that nearly hanged him; he served a brief stint in the Fort Fetterman guard house when he ventured into a restricted part of the parade ground to get a closer look at the fort's new Gatling gun. During this period he also spent some time as a cowboy in the Black Hills and in northern Colorado. By 1877 Hooker felt he had seen enough of the west, and he and a friend decided to walk from Cheyenne to Omaha. Half way through Nebraska the friend left to work on the railroad, and Hooker finished the journey alone. He worked at a number of odd jobs in Iowa and Illinois before finally returning to his family in Wisconsin.

Though the book is small, it makes for good reading. It is a detailed account of traveling the northern trails during an exciting period. The western adventures of William Hooker must have strengthened his constitution for he died in 1938 at age 82.

Mark E. Hutchins C.M.



NOMINATIONS FOR THE POSSE

Posse Members should remember that vacancies occur in the 50-man Posse, and nominations which should be made to the Membership Chairman are always in order. Nominators should heed the requirements for Posse membership as presented in the by-Laws, which include **Regular Attendance** at meetings over a period of time; **Active Participation** in Westerners' activities (more than mere attendance); **Presentation of Research Paper(s); Writing and/or Research** in Western history; or other demonstration of active interest and willingness to participate in the study and preservation of the cultural heritage of the American West.

The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1988



UTE INDIANS IN COLORADO

Richard Conn



Ute Chief Pe-ah (The Black Tail Deer), photo by William Jackson in 1868 in Washington. A typical Ute shirt of cloth body and leather sleeves and neckflaps. Note also the silver forehead ornament.

AGNES WRIGHT SPRING

The Denver Westerners would be remiss in its duty if it failed to mark the passing of its only woman Honorary Posse member and legendary Westerner, Agnes Wright Spring, who passed away on March 20, 1988, at the age of 94.

Mrs. Spring was not only recognized by our Corral as being one of the great Western historians, but was inducted into the National Cowboys and National Cowgirls Halls of Fame and was given the National Heritage Wrangler Award and University of Wyoming Distinguished Alumni Award. She was State Historian for both Wyoming and Colorado. She published 22 books and more than 600 articles and stories and a play. At the time of her death, although nearly blind, she had republished her book on Colorado Charlie, *Good Little Bad Man* and was working on another book and a project of a doll representing Amelia Jenks Bloomer, the first white woman to climb Pike's Peak. We shall not soon see the like of Agnes Wright Spring again.

(For a more extended review of Agnes Spring's career and accomplishments see Colorado History News, May 1988, page 11, published by the Colorado Historical Society.)

THOMAS HORNSBY FERRIL

The Denver Westerners notes with regret the passing of Thomas Hornsby Ferril, Poet Laureate of Colorado, at his home in Denver on 28 October 1988, at the age of 92.

Tom Ferril was a prolific author who composed poetry from his childhood to his last days, finally by dictation because of failing hearing and eyesight. He attended Denver schools and graduated from Colorado College in 1918. He worked on both the Denver Times (now extinct) and the Rocky Mountain News. He was press agent for a time for Denver movie theaters, and from the early 1920s for the Great Western Sugar Company for 42 years.

He published several volumes of poetry, his first in 1925 which won a Yale award. His play "Magenta" is still being presented in Denver. Another play, "... And Perhaps Happiness" won an award in 1957 and was presented at Central City. He contributed to national magazines and published two volumes of collected newspaper columns.

Ferril was one of the 11 founders and one of the 21 charter members of the Denver Westerners. In the July-August 1988 issue of the ROUNDUP magazine he was cited as "at the time of this writing only one man, who was both 'founding father' and 'charter member', is still living, and that is the Poet Laureate of Colorado, Thomas Hornsby Ferril."

Hail and Farewell!

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UTE INDIANS IN COLORADO

by

Richard Conn P.M.

Presented 24 August 1988

Until the middle 19th century, Colorado's mountains and western slope were the exclusive homeland of the people we call the Utes. They had lived in this region for a very long time and made their living by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plant foods.

The Utes speak a language of the Shoshonean language group, which means that their speech was related to that of the Shoshoni tribe to the northwest, to the Paiutes and others in the Utah-Nevada Great Basin region, to certain Californian tribes, to the Comanches of the west Texas plains, and such other dissimilar peoples as the Hopi in Arizona and the mighty Aztecs of Mexico. Scholars assume that all related languages came originally from one original dialect, and by inference all who speak them are distantly related. In this case, it seems likely that the Utes have never strayed far from the ancient Shoshonean homeland in their intermontane region while others spread out east, west, and south.

Tribal legends and recent archeological research agree that the Utes have lived in western Colorado and adjacent parts of Utah for a very long time—possibly several thousand years. Their most ancient ancestors may even have been those who hunted the giant ground sloths and mammoths so long ago. Over the centuries since, as Colorado's climate cooled and warmed alternately, a distinct pattern of stone tools, house types, and other archeological remnants gradually emerged which scholars agree represents the first truly Ute culture. But, once established, this old and simple Ute way of life changed very little and very slowly. Evidently these people were happy in their environment and felt their simple technology was sufficient for coping with it.

But change did come to the Utes. First it came in from the north as Athabascan-speaking wanderers appeared sometime around the 5th or 6th century AD. These newcomers had long ago left their Central Canadian home and trekked south down the Plains. Here they lived for some time, learning to grow corn, make simple pottery, and build log and earth houses. Many of their ancient village sites are scattered over Nebraska and eastern Colorado. Some of these Canadian immigrants in time wandered into the Southwest to become ancestors to the historic Navajos and Apaches.

These early Athabascans probably lived very much like the Utes, hunting and gathering. But they also considered raiding a standard economic activity and would frequently steal garden produce from Anasazi villages to the south. They also at times captured Anasazi children whom they kept as slaves. In time the Utes would try a little raiding themselves.

A much greater change came to the Utes indirectly in the late 16th century when the Spanish appeared in the Rio Grande valley bringing horses. News of these

incredible animals spread rapidly and in time parties of Ute tourists trudged south to the fledgling settlement of Santa Fe to gawk. After conquering their initial panic, some Utes traded their well-tanned deerskins for the old and lame riding stock the Spanish were willing to sell and gradually became very good riders.

With horses in their camps, Ute life was never to be the same again. Travel now moved at unimaginable speed, hunting was so much easier (especially when on the trail of large game like elk and bison), and moving camp could be done in a fraction of the time it used to take. After bringing their new horses home and keeping them a season or two, the Utes discovered that their lands contained many acres of excellent pasture upon which their little herds began to grow. But not nearly fast enough! So it was back to the Spanish settlement to bargain for more horses. The Spanish liked the soft Ute-tanned deerskins and were always glad to trade for them, but there was no surplus of horses in New Mexico and so prices were high. Here the Utes tried the Athabaskan system of getting something economically and took up the "midnight requisition" method. It worked, and by the mid-18th century they were rich in sleek, tough mountain ponies.

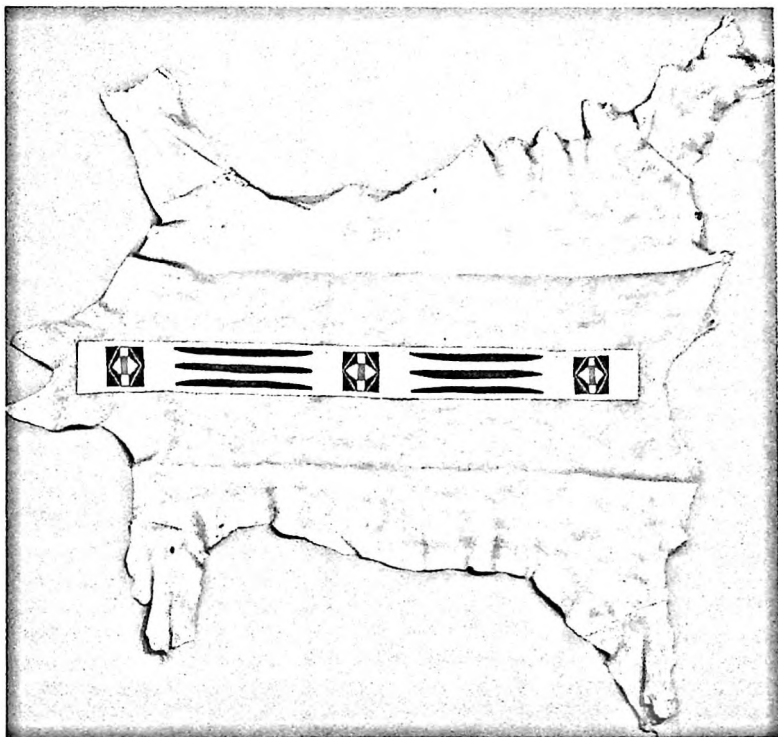
Just as the Utes had heard about horses from their southern Apache neighbors, now the Shoshoni and others came calling to marvel. But let it be noted here that those who have themselves acquired something cheap aren't always willing to pass along the savings. The Utes saw at once the potential profit in trading horses to their northern and western neighbors, but at good prices and with their own corrals well-guarded. In time, Ute-raised stock had passed all the way to the Salish tribe of western Montana and into eastern Oregon and Washington. This lucrative trade probably continued right up until the Utes moved onto reservations.

Another important consequence of Ute horse raising was an increased interest in travel. Now they would regularly go east onto the plains in search of bison and other game. There they met the Cheyenne and Arapaho, who had recently moved in from the northeastern plains, and who impressed the Utes with their fine clothing, well-furnished tipis, and attractive riding gear. Very soon, the Utes abandoned their casual brush huts and moved into comfortable tipis of their own. They also began spending more time and attention on themselves: decorated clothing, painted faces, and even silver jewelry. To their credit, although they did borrow some Cheyenne and Arapaho ideas with little change, they did also develop some distinct kinds of decoration all their own.

One of these was the man's shirt made with a body of wool trade cloth and sleeves of deerskin, as seen worn by Pe-ah in 1868 on the cover of this issue. No other tribe tried this combination of materials in the same way. Pe-ah is also wearing a small silver button on his forehead. This ornament in this place, and many more elaborate versions of it, were a Ute style. The painted and beaded elkskin on page 5 shows another Ute specialty: the wide decorative band with red wool cloth "sausages" outlined in large white beads. The beaded band here was probably first a shoulder strap for a man's bandolier bag, and many old photos show Ute men wearing them. There are other examples of Ute ingenuity in adapting new materials like glass beads and wool cloth as well as decorative ideas from other tribes. There was a particular

woman's dress design and the widemouthed pipe bag, to prove that the Utes did develop their own decorative art.

While the Utes were doing these things, the Spanish had settled themselves into New Mexico. The first recorded visit of Utes to Santa Fe had been about 1660. In 1675, Governor Otermin signed a treaty with them, which suggests the Spanish felt them important enough to seek out their good will. During the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Utes stayed neutral and were rewarded by Governor de Vargas after the Spanish returned in 1692.



Ute elkskin robe, 1880s. The central section is painted yellow and the wide beaded band shows the red cloth "sausage-shaped" inserts surrounded by white beadwork popular among the Utes from the 1860s to 1880s. In the Denver Art Museum; formerly in the L.D. & Ruth Bax Collection.

In 1706, Spanish eyes began to look north and west both for gold and for a direct overland route to California. That year, Juan de Ulibarri explored north into Colorado, visited several Ute camps, and saw Pike's Peak a full century before Zebulon Pike himself. Various other Spanish expeditions followed throughout the 18th century. After several decades of getting lost and nearly starving in western Colorado's tumbled

canyons and mountains, they finally succeeded in locating a route which has been called the Spanish Trail. This actually seems to have been several alternate paths which would get you through Colorado onto the Utah deserts from where you could follow the sun or a compass to the Sierras. Today we know there isn't an easy, direct route west through southwestern Colorado and can respect Spanish persistence in looking for one.

During all this exploring, the Utes had more direct contact with the Spanish than ever before and began to take a negative view of having all these strangers poking around in their territory. No doubt they were also a bit annoyed that they couldn't sell the Spanish many horses since the trail blazers had brought their own. But the Spanish would buy slaves, both out of compassion and for their practical value as servants. The Spanish were pushovers for captured Navajo children, and frequently bought them to save them from probable mistreatment and starvation. Slavery as such was a foreign notion to the Utes since they had no need for a cheap labor force, and all accounts agree that captives were treated well. But there was the profit to be made. One author has even recorded the practice of selling Ute children to the Spanish, after coaching them in exactly when to run away and where the rescue party would be waiting.¹

All this changed when the Southwest became part of the United States. First, the Mormons moved into Utah and in 1848 Brigham Young was appointed Territorial Governor by President Fillmore. And, although Governor Young legalized slavery and the Utes had this further market for their horses and captives, there was now a growing population of strangers settled permanently in their midst.

Brigham Young's appointment also made him Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and he began the process of setting aside tracts of land for Indian reservations so that white Americans could come in and occupy the remainder. To the Utes, who had long been lords of the whole land, this idea was incomprehensible and Brigham Young had a difficult selling job. His main opponent was Walkara, leader of the Uinta Utes who held out for many years. But finally, weary of arguing and fighting, Walkara accepted the idea and moved onto what would become the present Uintah-Ouray Reservation in northern Utah.

The Colorado Utes continued to live freely, but on the plains gold had been discovered and ambitious men were looking ahead to highways and railroads running west to the Pacific Coast. First, though, they had to get rid of the Indians. The Cheyennes and Arapahos were driven from the Colorado plains in a series of bloody fights, and then eyes turned west over the mountains. In the middle 1870s, the U.S. Government decided to collect the Colorado Utes onto a reservation on the White River. Their supervisor was to be Nathan Meeker, a disciple of Horace Greeley's views. Meeker's story has been well told by several authors² and need not be repeated in detail here. Meeker, like many well-meaning persons at his time (and ours), failed to understand that many of the world's peoples are simply not impressed by the Protestant Ethic of Hard Work and, like the Utes, did not want to become farmers. They were quite satisfied with their laid-back lifestyle and saw no reason to change just to please a stranger.

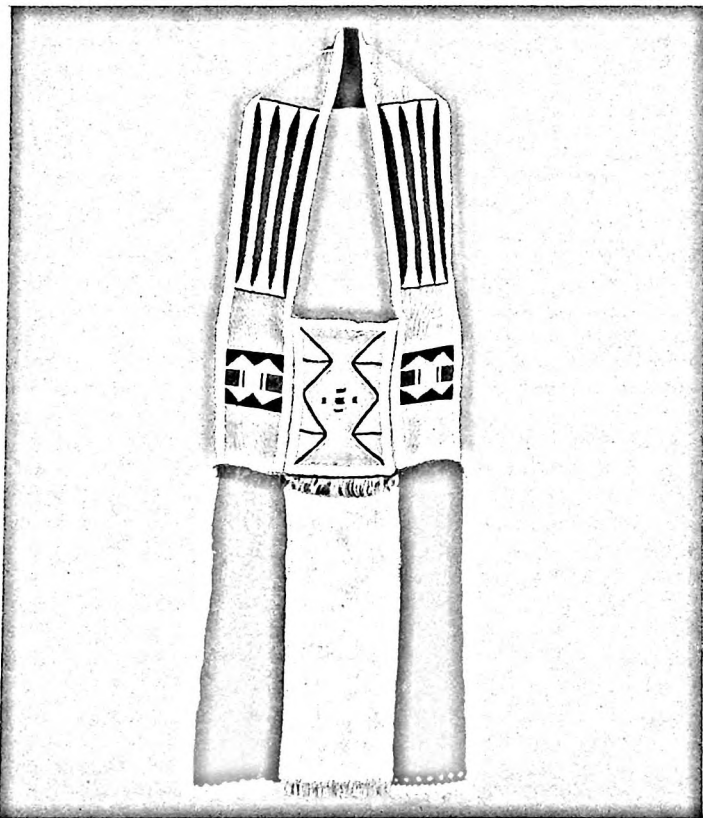


A Bear Dance near Ignacio around the turn of the century. This was an annual Ute festival to celebrate the return of spring.

To understand this, one must consider the relaxed way in which traditional Ute society was organized. First, there was tribal identity. One was a Ute because he spoke the language and you could figure out who his family were. This set him apart from all those strange other people—brown and white alike. But something far more important was one's own family. Besides those at your own fireside, there were aunts, uncles, grandparents, and even distant cousins making up a support group one could always depend upon. It can be said correctly that families were the matrix holding Ute society together. But moving beyond the family circle, associations became looser. In theory, every Ute belonged to a band. This was a number of families living in the same general area under the nominal direction of a respected headman. Band membership was not, however, a lifetime matter. Most people had friends in other bands and a visit to them could easily stretch into years. Professor Omer Stewart learned something which illustrates this fluidity.³ In studying the various treaties between the Utes and the U.S. Government, he noted that one man had signed several treaties, but each time as a representative of a different band. Although this probably confused the authorities in Washington, any Ute of the time would have found it perfectly logical. Obvious, they would have said, that man was a trusted leader who would have been chosen to represent whatever group he was currently living among.

So what about the so-called Ute chiefs? Historical accounts mention these men—Nevava, Walkara, Taiwi, Ouray, and others. However, these people were not chiefs

in the same sense as Pontiac or Red Cloud. There was no formal tribal selection process and no bureaucracy to support the leader's orders. The Ute "chief" was in fact an experienced and respected person entrusted with making certain decisions for the common good and who represented his people in dealings with outsiders. So long as he held his people's confidence, he kept the job. And when a Ute leader did sign a treaty, he was really only committing himself and his family to abide by it. All other band members were free to act at their own discretion. U.S. government negotiators never seem to have understood this concept, and many misunderstandings resulted.



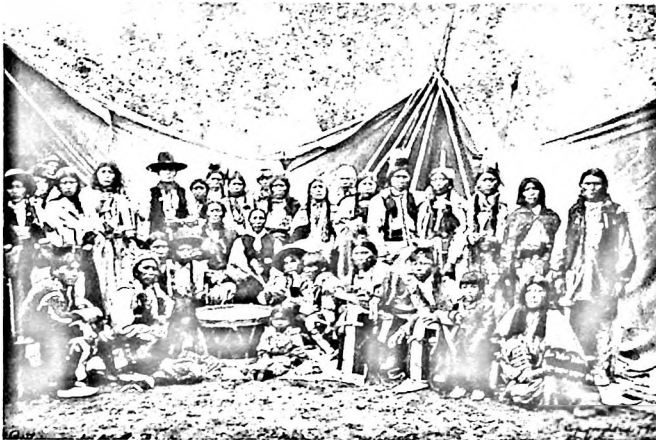
Ute man's bandolier pouch. The strap was worn over the head and one arm so that the pocket rested on the hip. Also shows the red cloth and white beadwork pattern the Utes favored.

Nathan Meeker pursued his Utopian plans until his Ute charges rebelled and killed him. Of course, the U.S. Army came and the White River Utes were moved onto the two southwestern Colorado reservations where their descendants live today.

Some also went to join their relatives in Utah.

Ute history does not end with Nathan Meeker or even with the long, dark night of reservation life until the Indian Reorganization Act in the 1930s. Today, the Utes are successful as cattle and horse ranchers. Realizing that they live in an area popular with tourists, the Colorado Utes have tribally-operated campgrounds and motels and, most recently, have begun developing historic Mancos Canyon as a Tribal Park. The Utes are still part of Colorado's life and people and further chapters of their story are waiting to unfold.

1. Reference No. 9, p. 65.
2. References Nos. 3, 5, 7, 9 & 11
3. Personal Communication



"Getting Ready for the Pow-wow", photo copyrighted in 1902 by H.H. Tammen. Shows a mixture of traditional and White Man's clothing common at that time.

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Westerner's Bookshelf



Mormons on the Missouri, 1846-1852 by Richard Bennett. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1987. 360 pp., 31 ill., 3 maps. 10 tables, notes, biblio., index. \$24.95 hardbound.

If you are inclined to yawn at the title of this book, let me caution you that this thoroughly researched and brilliantly written work treats exhaustively, and for the first time ever, one of the most fascinating episodes in Western frontier history, the six-year occupation and monopoly by the westward-fleeing Mormons of the Council Bluffs-Omaha area. Most people associate the Mormons with two locations, Nauvoo, Illinois, from which they were expelled in 1846, and Salt Lake City, their "New Zion" in the Utah Desert. Little understood is the fact that in the interim Mormon settlements on both sides of the Missouri constituted a frontier community unique in American history.

Here was the precarious refuge to which the Mormon faithful fled from Nauvoo, and which became an anvil on which their distinctive and seeming fanatic society was forged by the hammer of the wilderness hardship. Although Brigham Young led his "Pioneers" to Utah in 1847, it would be five more years before all the faithful could be moved to Salt Lake, and for another decade beyond that the Council Bluffs/Omaha area continued to serve as a jumping-off point for fresh waves of Mormon converts from Europe.

The Federal government has proclaimed the Mormon route from Nauvoo to Salt Lake City to be the "Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail," and Salt Lake City itself is not only a Mormon shrine but a popular attraction for non-Mormon tourists. But few people in Council Bluffs today are aware of the fact that their town was first called Kaneshville, and that it was founded by Mormons, while few Omahans are aware of the site of the huge but ephemeral Mormon village called Winter Quarters, which has vanished without a trace but for the nearby modern Mormon Bridge and the old Mormon cemetery on a nearby bluff.

In my own research, focusing on the Oregon-California Trail along the south side of the Platte, and the trail along its north side known variously as the Mormon Pioneer Trail or non-Mormon Council Bluffs Road, I have noted numerous emigrant descriptions of Winter Quarters and Kaneshville, and the three Missouri River ferries there, and have deplored the lack of a book that told the complete epic story of the early transient Mormon communities. At last that lack has been filled in impressive fashion with a monumental amount of research in Mormon archives.

There are twelve chapters in this book, which begins with the forced exodus of the Mormons from Illinois and their terrible late winter trek across Iowa. Although Brigham Young first intended to flee all the way to the Rocky Mountains in 1846, circumstances compelled that the "Saints" winter on the Missouri River instead. By virtue of furnishing a "Mormon Battalion" to the U.S. Army to follow Colonel Kearny via Santa Fe to California, the Mormons were permitted temporarily to occupy Omaha Indian land on the west side of the river despite federal law to the contrary. It was at this fabled "Winter Quarters", composed of over 800 log huts, a temple, and stores, that the church hierarchy and practices, and a peculiar communal society, achieved the format that would be transplanted at Salt Lake City. Here also, because of primitive conditions, overwork, semi-starvation, and occasional Indian hostility, there was much suffering and death, hardships which, rather than demoralize seemed actually to fortify Mormon resolve and communal spirit.

In the spring of 1847 Brigham Young and his first band of emigrants, called the "Pioneers," followed an old trapper trail along the Platte to South Pass and Great Salt Lake. While a few thousand others followed later in 1847 and 1848, in the latter year the Government required that the Mormons vacate the Indian land, and they withdrew across the Missouri to scattered farms and villages, but established their capital in Mil-

ler's Hollow, which soon became Kanesville in honor of Colonel Thomas Kane, a government negotiator who was also a Mormon sympathizer. In 1849 unaccustomed Mormon prosperity arrived in the form of California-bound gold-seekers who were glad to pay for goods and services (including ferry service) at this last outpost of civilization. While these "gentiles" continued to flow through Council Bluffs in the fifties and sixties (Omaha was not established until 1855) the Mormons, under pressure from the priesthood, gradually withdrew from the area. By 1852 they had officially abandoned the Missouri River except as a jumping-off point for future Mormon emigrant trains.

Excellent graphs, illustrations, and maps, and attractive jacket and binding, as well as Bennett's fine scholarship and fact-filled narrative, combine to justify the price of this book.

Merrill J. Mattes, P.M.



Cycle of Seasons in Corrales by Ruth Armstrong. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1988. 92 pages, photos. Paper, \$8.95.

Ruth Armstrong believes that Corrales, New Mexico, is a most special place to live, and by the time you have read her book, you will have a strong tendency to agree with her. After reading about the changing seasons, the people of Corrales and the bosque, there will be only envy of the author and her family for having the opportunity to live in such a wonderful area.

The village of Corrales is located on the west bank of the Rio Grande just north of Albuquerque. It is not a suburb, as it long ago developed its own identity. Ruth Armstrong has illustrated that specialness in a series of twelve essays that take you through a year in Corrales. This trip is a combination of nature study, village history, and family reminiscences.

There are books that inform or entertain, but *Cycle of the Seasons in Corrales* is a book that will leave you with a warm pleasant feeling toward Corrales, New Mexico, and its people.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Season of Fire, Season of Faith by William Kenneth Firmage. Ashley Books Inc., 30 Main St., Port Washington, N.Y., 1983. 336 pages. Hardback \$16.95.

This is an historical novel based on the experiences of the then recently-founded Mormon faith, and its history from its origination in New England. It relates the assemblage from all over the world of converts, to their persecution, and to their travels as far as Nauvoo, Illinois. The events recounted are historically accurate and many of the persons are historically correct. The narrative, revolving around a double love story, involves the central character, Kate Morrison, a Mormon convert, in love with one man, a dedicated Mormon, and devotedly loved by another, an agnostic. The story, however, is realistic rather than overly romantic, and paints very forthrightly the trials and challenges faced by the migrating Mormons. The persecutions and punishments undergone by the faithful as they wander from place to place, without remaining in one place long enough to become settled, are related rather coolly, including individual killings and family massacres.

The story leaves the migrants in Nauvoo, from where we know they proceeded westward to Utah, leaving the reader looking forward to a sequel to take these characters, and the Mormons, to their ultimate destination.

This reviewer, although being primarily interested in the history of the Mormon hegira rather than fictional personalities involved, found that this story gave flesh to what has always been (to him) a distant, rather indistinct episode; this account added flesh and bones to the period. The book is by a 5th generation Mormon whose great-grandfather joined the church in Europe.

It is to be regretted that the book contains an unnecessary number of typographical errors and misspellings, as well as an unfortunate four-time misspelling of 'Morman' on the dustcover. In spite of these, this reviewer was caught up in the story and read it nearly non-stop. Others are reported to have done similarly. It is recommended.

Hugo von Rodeck Jr.



The Story of the Little Big Horn by Colonel W.A. Graham. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London (1988) 224 pages, photographs and maps. Paper. \$8.95.

This is a new reprinting of a book that obviously has stood the test of time. It originally appeared in 1926 and is included as "High Spot 112" in Tal Luther's 1972 bibliography, *Custer High Spots*. Col. Graham's work is well written and can be consumed easily in an afternoon.

In reading the book, I thought it was obvious that Col. Graham was an Army Judge Advocate. It reads like a persuasive yet inoffensive legal argument, with occasional citations to relevant evidence and expert opinion to be found in the endnotes. If this is Col. Graham's legal argument succinctly defining Reno and Benteen (while not defaming Custer), then it is a good companion piece to his well-known collection of raw evidence. *The Custer Myth. The Story of the Little Big Horn* probably would be the best introductory volume for someone who subsequently wants to wade into the sea of Custer controversy.

The book, however, is somewhat dated, if one assumes the validity of more recent volumes on the subject. In the included preface to the 1941 edition, it states broadly, "Little that is new, and nothing of any moment has been discovered since 1926; and as the years pass, it becomes increasingly unlikely that anything of importance will be discovered." This simply is not so. For example, Col. Graham relies on the famous "Enlisted Petition" to support his defense of Reno and Benteen. Custer students are well aware that scholarly allegations have been made about the petition's veracity and the source of the signatures. Also, the Colonel ends with the assertion that General Custer's body was not mutilated, an assertion that was still put forth in 1926 while Mrs. Custer yet lived. On the other hand, the recent archaeological volume by Scott and Fox supports Col. Graham's statements about the hostiles being well-armed. In any event, the point remains that much good work has been done since this volume's original publication, including works sifting through the various Indian versions of the battle.

The actual paperback book here has a couple of minor shortcomings not found in

earlier hardback printings. As with many recent *Bison* reprints, a brightly-colored cover has been insisted upon. Some of these covers have had incongruous illustrations and the Thomas Hart Benton painting of "Custer's Last Stand" on the cover here, while good art, does not match Col. Graham's style of writing. Additionally, while I believe earlier printings of the book had a "fold-out" map of the supposed location of bodies on the battlefield (and which was one of the best selling points of the book), the map here is bound in and the center-fold cannot be seen. Finally, it would be nice for Nebraska Press to provide new forewords for these facsimile reprintings. On the plus side, this printing has kept in an appendix article by Col. Robert Hughes, originally published in 1896.

John Milton Hutchins, P.M.

Sioux Indian Religion, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1987. 230 pages, illustrations. Hardbound, \$17.95.

This book contains twelve papers prepared for a symposium on *American Indian Religion in the Dakotas: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Authors include anthropologists and religious leaders presenting the background of traditional Lakota religion together with a variety of experiences and points of view about religious practices today.

Part one, entitled "Foundations of Traditional Sioux Religion," presents papers on the historic traditions, along with descriptions of current practices related to the Sacred Pipe and the Lakota Sun Dance. Part Two, "Christianity and the Sioux," reviews the introduction of Christian missions on the Sioux reservations to specific religious denominations under President Grant's administration. The role of religious schools and the competition between Christian denominations is discussed, with some thoughts on changes developing in some churches to integrate elements of the traditional religion in present-day Christian worship.

Part Three is "Traditional Religion in the Contemporary Context," and begins with a presentation by a female Sioux anthropologist who emphasizes the need for girls and women to participate in some of the traditional rituals today in order to regain

a sense of their historic role and their responsibilities as "carriers of culture." A psychiatrist who has worked with a mental health program in the area discusses the significance of a healing ritual which becomes a form of group therapy for the person who has a problem, involving community and family relationships and interactions rather than concentrating on diagnosis or sickness. The leader of the Native American Church in Sioux settlements tells how he combines the peyote rituals and fundamentalist Christian theology to develop his version of a contemporary integrated religion.

All of the papers, whether prepared by academicians or by people directly involved in the religious practices, require concentration to follow the significance of their presentations. It is a good collection of information and perspectives on Indian religious history and developments, without any attempt to present judgment on current trends or predictions for future directions.

Earl McCoy, PM

Westward the Women, An Anthology of Western Stories by Women, Edited by Vicki Piekarski. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, (1984) 1988. 179 pages, paperback, \$10.95.

This small book makes one emphatic statement: good western writing knows no gender boundaries. The volume contains short stories of twelve representative women writers whose lives extend from the last half of the nineteenth century to the present, but the editor emphasizes that this dozen is only a small number of the women who used the West as a background for their fiction and whose stories appeal to all readers of frontier stories. Women who moved west recorded the story of their migrations in the form of published letters and narratives. The natural outgrowth of these recollections was the writing of fiction using this same setting.

Piekarski mentions many notable woman writers of western fiction—Helen Hunt Jackson, Edna Ferber, Honoré Willis Morrow, Laura Ingalls Wilder were just a few. This collection of stories was chosen because it represents a wide variety of subjects dealing with the West, ranging from humor to pathos to mythology. The collection covers a broad

spectrum of human emotions—cultural clash, loneliness, friendship, and sorrow.

"On The Divide" by Willa Cather is typically Cather—stark realism; the humorous "The Day the Cook Fell Ill" by B.M. Bower is reminiscent of Clarence Buddington Kelland; Helen Eustis's "Death and the Red-headed Woman" is a rhythmic fantasy that appeared in 1950 in *The Saturday Evening Post*; Leslie Silko, an American Indian, gives an old Indian myth a contemporary setting in her "Yellow Woman"; Peggy Simpson Curry's "Geranium House" is a happier pioneer tale than is Marie Sandoz's tragic "The Vine"; and Dorothy M. Johnson reworks the Cynthia Ann Parker story in "The Lost Sister." The other stories are laid in the South, the Southwest, and California and deal with life on the frontier. All of them are memorable.

This reviewer couldn't help but remember the days when every popular magazine was a forum for at least a half dozen excellent short stories by successful and budding writers of fiction. Now short stories seem to appear only in collections, and a collection of many writers such as are represented in this volume is rare indeed.

Marjorie Wiegert Hutchins

Coyote Tales From The Indian Pueblos by Evelyn Dahl Reed. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1988. 63 pages, ill., bibliography. Paper, \$6.95.

No matter how many coyote stories a person reads, you never seem to grow tired of reading them. Maybe this is why the cartoon battles between Roadrunner and Wiley E. Coyote continue to be popular.

Many of the stories about the coyote have a universal theme and are found in cultures other than the Pueblo. The "Pine Gum Baby" of Santa Clara Pueblo sounds very much the same as the Tar Baby of Uncle Remus. Coyote is a trickster in many instances with his trick seeming nearly always to backfire. He is the repository of numerous human traits both good and bad.

These fifteen stories along with the fine illustrations represent a broad spectrum of Coyote activities. Their purpose is to model what society expects of its members as well as to entertain. It is a fun little book to read.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Signs From The Ancestors: Zuni Cultural Symbolism and Perceptions of Rock Art by M. Jane Young. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1988. 333 pages, maps, photos, drawings, biblio. Cloth, \$24.95.

Jane Young has written a most complete study of the rock art that is found in the area that surrounds Zuni Pueblo in Western New Mexico. The rock art studied covers a time span from A. D. 400 to the present. Many of the Zunis today look at some of the oldest rock art as messages from the past to the present-day tribal members. They are not always certain as to the meaning of the message, but they are certain the messages are contained in the symbolism of the petroglyphs. As stated by Polly Schaafsma, this book is "a clearly written exploration of the underlying structure of Zuni perceptions of the universe as they bear upon interpretation of rock art, this volume is a major and significant addition to rock art research and Pueblo ethnology."

While some chapters are a little more than the person with an average interest in rock art would be interested in reading, the overall thrust of the book provides a wealth of valuable information for rock art enthusiasts. Two items of interest were the restrictions placed on the author by the Zuni as regarding certain areas that she was not allowed to visit because of their religious nature, and the possible decline of interest among younger members of the Zuni Pueblo in the rock art. Another interesting speculation was in reference to the bullet damage to petroglyphs of animals. The damage might not be the result of vandalism but of hunters following an old custom of shooting arrows at the figures to bring good luck in the hunt.

The purpose of the survey conducted by the author was to document what is regarded as a very important aspect of the Zuni cultural heritage. Also it was the hope of the Zuni Tribal Council that this study would aid in decreasing vandalism.

The photographs and the drawings of the rock art add to the value of the book, and the appendix lists thirty-four sites with a brief description of what can be seen at each site. There is also an extensive bibliography which could aid in further research in this subject.

Another book published by UNM Press that would be an excellent companion to this study is *The Mythic World of the Zuni*. Young discusses the relationship that exists at times between the symbols found in the rock art and some of the Zuni myths.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Trails Among The Columbine Russ Collman, Guest Editor. Sundance Publications, Ltd., Denver, 1988. 191 pages, \$32 hardbound.

This volume is the latest in a series begun by Sundance in 1985. It contains five rather specialized articles, all dealing with one or another aspect of life in southwestern Colorado.

The first is by Edna Mason and is called "Peeking Through the Aspens." It is an overview of the animals and birds indigenous to Lake City and Hinsdale County in spring. The accompanying photographs, both black-and-white and color, are striking.

Next is a lengthy piece titled "The Lake City Branch" by editor and railroad buff Russ Collman. It tells the story of the Creede Branch of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad and, incidentally, of the rowdy town of Creede. Built in 1891, the line operated until a final train entered Creede in 1956. Curiously, its tracks are still in place. Many photographs, including some very rare pictures from PM Dick Ronzio's collection, complement the article.

Ron Ruhoff, another Westerner, has been a regular contributor to this series. His chapter is called "Back Country Adventures in Mineral and Hinsdale Counties." Ruhoff takes the reader to scenic and historic places along the trails to Slumgullion, Wolf Creek, Engineer, and Cinnamon Passes. A fine, clear map and superb photographs, many in color, add much to this article.

Grant Houston's article tells of the colorful past of Lake City, seat of tiny Hinsdale County. Again, pictures, some quite rare, illustrate this interesting research.

Finally, Russ Collman ends the book with a chapter on the D&R.G.'s obscure Lake City branch. Many photographs, including a striking view of two trestles, complement the piece.

Robert L. Brown, P.M.

A Tenderfoot Bride by Clarice F. Richards. Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1988. 226 pp., illus. Cloth, \$18.95, Bison Paperback, \$6.95.

This volume is a facsimile reprint (with somewhat enlarged print and pages) of the 1920 edition. I discovered my 1920 copy in a "junkie" shop in Meeker eight years ago, paid a dollar, and soon found that the original, like many memoir books from a more genteel era, had changed the names of the characters and didn't even pinpoint the location of the story. Thus it was, I thought, a mediocre book of limited historical interest.

But this time Nebraska Press had done it right! This book of memories of a Colorado ranch wife was obviously republished to meet the current demand for Western books about and by women. Because the volume was virtually fictionalized, Nebraska got Colorado's own Maxine Benson (the Dec. 1986 speaker for the Denver Posse) to write an excellent and well-researched introduction that connects correct names to characters and otherwise vastly improves the book.

The book itself is somewhat romanticized, melodramatic, and possibly exaggerated. Ms. Benson touches upon this in her introduction; Adams' *The Rampaging Herd* also notes an inaccuracy of a "supernatural" tale in the memoir.

Nevertheless, the volume contains a woman's view of turn-of-the-century ranching near Kuhn's Crossing, in Elbert County. (Shaffer's *A Guide to Places on the Colorado Prairie, 1540-1975* actually pinpoints the site.) It contains character studies and anecdotes describing cattle ranching, horse breaking, sheep (!) raising, a plains blizzard, a train holdup, and cavalry remount buying. It also contains hints of Colorado's equivalent of the notorious Bender family of Kansas, inspiring one to go digging up a sod root-cellar.

I would recommend this book, particularly for family-type gifts. The introduction greatly enhances the book; I wish Nebraska would include up-to-date prefaces in all of its reprints. Now about their book-cover art . . .

John Milton Hutchins, P.M.



Wild Towns of Nebraska by Wayne C. Lee. Claxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, ID, 1988. 147 pages, illus., biblio., index. Paperback, \$14.95.

Pot-boiler novels written about the Old West, Grade B western movies of the twenties and thirties, pulp magazines about the "true" West—all of these pale when compared to the true stories related in this book. These stories of the past taken from newspapers, books, and other archival material present a side of the early settlement of Nebraska that is quite different from the one we picture when we think of pioneers moving west with families and household effects to build homes and establish law-abiding communities as they wrest a living from the virgin prairie.

Wayne C. Lee has selected ten early towns in five different areas of the state—river towns, railroad towns, Texas trail towns, Black Hills trail towns, and ranch towns—and explored their history of violence which accompanied the settlement of Nebraska. Because of its diverse geography, Nebraska probably was a microcosm of the West, and what took place in Nebraska reflected in varying degrees what was taking place in the other states being settled after the Civil War. Indians were still a threat to settlement, but more often drifters and settlers alike had to arm to protect themselves from their own kind.

Each town's crimes are described in capsule form, but they follow so closely one upon the other that the reader soon becomes satiated with so much lawlessness. The contents of the book would be more effective if it were read in small doses. These stories couldn't help but add a great deal of color should a person be researching any one of these towns.

The author was a farmer and a rural mail carrier. In 1977 he retired early to devote his time to writing. He has written 2 other nonfiction books, 50 books of fiction, and over 600 short stories, serials, and 3-act plays. He taught creative writing at North-eastern Junior College in Sterling, CO and is active in various writing guilds.

Marjorie Wiegert Hutchins.



Alaska, A History of the 49th State by Claus-M. Naske and Herman E. Slotnick. Second Edition, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London, 1987. 349 pp., 8 appendices, notes for each of 15 chapters, a bibliographical essay, and complete index, Hardback, \$27.95.

The first edition of this book was brought out in 1979 by a small press in Grand Rapids, Michigan. It is good to see that it now has been published in a second edition by a great university press, which should give it more availability. Although it is meant to be a primary resource it is, at the same time, a very well-told story which will serve the general reader.

It is arranged chronologically in fifteen chapters, from the land and its native peoples to the oil boom and a retrospective chapter which looks back over all that has gone before. Eight appendices cover such items as lists of governors, important placer gold discoveries, important federal district court judges before statehood, delegates to congress, population, and profiles of the thirteen Native Regional Corporations. The notes are arranged chapter by chapter, and are very complete both as to citation and explanation. Instead of listing a bibliography alphabetically, by type, the notes serve this purpose while a "Bibliographical Essay: The Sources of Alaska's History" takes its place. This serves the general reader well, since it gives some feeling of the worth and reliability of the citations. The two-column text has a spate of illustrations (105), from small to full page in size. The captions are very complete. The text also contains some 15 maps which help explain obscure points.

This new book is sure to find its way onto the shelves of every library in the country where it will serve as an indispensable reference work. Furthermore, it deserves to find its way into the libraries of all the many who have an interest in the history and development of the country's 49th state. I recommend it highly. (A further note: the dust cover of this new edition bears a false-color photo mosaic from space showing the whole state of Alaska.)

Mel Griffiths, P.M.

Cavalier In Buckskin, George Armstrong Custer and The Western Military Frontier by Robert M. Utley. Series Editor's preface, and preface by author. Photos, maps, sources, index. Hardbound, \$19.95.

This book is the first in the University of Oklahoma's Western Biography Series, and in choosing Bob Utley to write a biography of General Custer, the University chose a top hand whose credentials are without a flaw. The subject is one which immediately captures the interest of any Westerner and Utley's writing style makes the book easy and enjoyable reading. The fact that this book is a Book of the Month Club and History Book Club Selection says all that is necessary as to its lasting value.

In Utley's preface he says he has wanted to penetrate the "enigma of George Armstrong Custer", but did not succeed. Good! If authors, psychiatrists, and others succeed in stripping our heroes and famous men (and women) physically and mentally naked we would soon lose interest in them.

In this reviewer's opinion, Utley has written the ultimate biography of Custer. For the first time, an author has fairly presented the good and bad that research reveals about Custer. He even presents some evidence to indicate that Custer was unfaithful to his wife Elizabeth, and that Libby also may have been tempted to stray.

Utley sums up Custer's life aims: "... my every thought was ambitious ... not to be wealthy, not to be learned, but to be great. I desired to link my name with acts and men, and in such manner as to be a mark of honor, not only to the present but to future generations."

"George Armstrong Custer's restless spirit may rest in contentment above the Hudson [West Point cemetery] for in death he achieved his life's ambition."

W.H. Van Duzer, P.M.



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