

The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1991



EARLY COLORADO AUTO TRAILS
by Jack Morison, P.M.



This early-day postcard touts travel up the Big Thompson Canyon.

From the Editor

It is with some trepidation that I take up the quill, pastepot and scissors as editor of The Denver Westerners' *Roundup*. Not that the task is that formidable, but that I must follow in the steps of some very distinguished colleagues. They have made it a "hard act to follow," indeed. High standards have been firmly established.

It is an editor's job to pull numerous bits and pieces of written and illustrative material together into some sort of coherent body of reading matter, carefully examining those bits and pieces, making them conform to style, accuracy, and some sort of cogent theme. We shall endeavor to carry out this mission, and ask the indulgence and help of our contributors and readers, alike.

Particular accolades and thanks are due to Dr. Hugo von Rodeck Jr., who has compiled a distinguished 11 years of editorship, the longest tenure yet achieved in the post. His work has been marked by a professionalism and dedication seldom achieved in a "volunteer" organization. His steady performance as Registrar of Marks and Brands has facilitated the ongoing work of a whole decade of sheriffs in guiding The Denver Westerners and the Posse. Just one example of his innovativeness has been the initiation of a valuable and detailed index to every issue of *The Roundup* produced in his 11 years at the editorial helm.

Hugo joined the Westerners in May 1965, sometime near his retirement as a distinguished professor of natural history and director of the University of Colorado Museum. He has continued as director emeritus of the CU museum and is a museum consultant and member of numerous professional organizations in that field. He has produced more than 60 papers on natural history, and has appeared as a speaker for the Denver Westerners. His areas of special interest are early natural history; the Mimbres Indians and New Mexico pre-history; and George Armstrong Custer.

All the Denver Westerners join in this expression of our gratitude for your service, Hugo.

—Alan J. Stewart, Ed.

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EARLY COLORADO AUTO TRAILS



Location of this mudhole is unknown, but the scene was common. The car's license plate bears an Oregon (1921) identification. Getting stuck could happen anywhere.

by
Jack Morison, P.M.
Presented Nov. 28, 1990

IMAGINE IT IS 1925. You are behind the steering wheel of a new Buick touring car, somewhere west of Kansas, in eastern Colorado. The sun is low in the western sky.

It has been some time since you passed a farm house, scattering chickens in all directions. Earlier in the day, you spent two hours in a mudhole and \$5 to hire a farmer to pull you out with a team of horses.

You snagged your duster on a strand of barbed wire, trying to close a farm gate. A plume of dust you are raising not only follows you, but settles on everything and everyone in the car. You have ruined both spare-tire casings. The kids are unhappy. Your companions have frequently reminded you that you could have come by train.

You have traveled 80 miles since early morning, landmarks are not lining up with the guidebook, and you are approaching a fork in the road. You have that sinking feeling that you are lost. And then on the section that bears to the right, tacked to a fence post, is a sign with red-over-green bands. That's your trail marker, and you are still on the right road! With luck, you will find a tourist camp before dark, and you won't have to pitch the car tent.

Pioneer motorists had to follow marked trails across the country. There were 35 such interstate routes entering and/or leaving Colorado.

It's uncertain when the first wheeled conveyance entered what is now Colorado, but there is evidence such vehicles were coming into the area on the Santa Fe Trail at least by 1828. The Overland Stage route dipped into the state in 1849, and then by 1859 all kinds of two- and four-wheeled equipment had arrived, from fancy stagecoaches to a so-called wind wagon, which may or may not have made it to Colorado territory—or it may have piled up in an arroyo somewhere in eastern Kansas. [The Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* reported a wind wagon was a "combination flying machine and go-cart." They were designed to replace bull trains on the prairies and had wheels, a deck and sails. Several wind wagons were reported to have crossed Kansas.—Ed.]

On June 7, 1859, the first stage arrived in Denver from the east, making the journey in 71 days. Eight years later, on June 19, 1867, the first train entered Colorado Territory, reaching the first town, Julesburg, on June 25, six days later. Before you could say Union Pacific, the rail line departed up Lodge Pole Creek, going back into Nebraska.

On June 20, 1870, the Denver Pacific reached into Denver from Cheyenne and for the next half-century the railroads ruled supreme.

During 1899, a couple of "rich man's toys," both electrics, were uncrated in Denver, and the auto age was on its way. A Doctor Dartholmew was the owner of one electric that was driven just 25 miles during its lifetime.

D.W. Bruntor was the owner of the other auto, a Waverly Electric. During the next three years, electric, steam, and gasoline vehicles of all makes and sizes appeared on the scene.

In the fall of 1902, 42 Denver automobile owners got together and formed the Col-



Long, straight, smooth stretches of road were hard to find. This section is part of the Glacier-to-Gulf Highway, between Fort Collins, Colo., and Denver.



These travelers in Rocky Mountain National Park are dressed for bad weather, and the rear wheels of car on right are chained and ready on the National Peak-to-Peak Highway.

orado Auto Club. The purpose of the club was to promote better roads. A similar club was organized in Colorado Springs.

During that same year, the Taylor State Road was being planned from Denver to Grand Junction. The state engineer, Mr. McClure, predicted it would be the greatest thoroughfare through the Rocky Mountains. The proposed route ran from Denver to Ft. Logan, up the South Platte River Canyon, and over to Bailey, then down through Eagle River and Glenwood canyons to Grand Junction. The procedure for getting from Bailey to the Eagle River was a little vague. (It's interesting to note that 90 years later, Colorado is still working in Glenwood Canyon on the "greatest thoroughfare.")

As early as 1903, Dr. H. Nelson Jackson, a Vermont physician, and his chauffeur made the first transcontinental automobile crossing. The trip cost the doctor \$8,000. The journey took nine weeks, and Dr. Jackson lost 20 pounds.

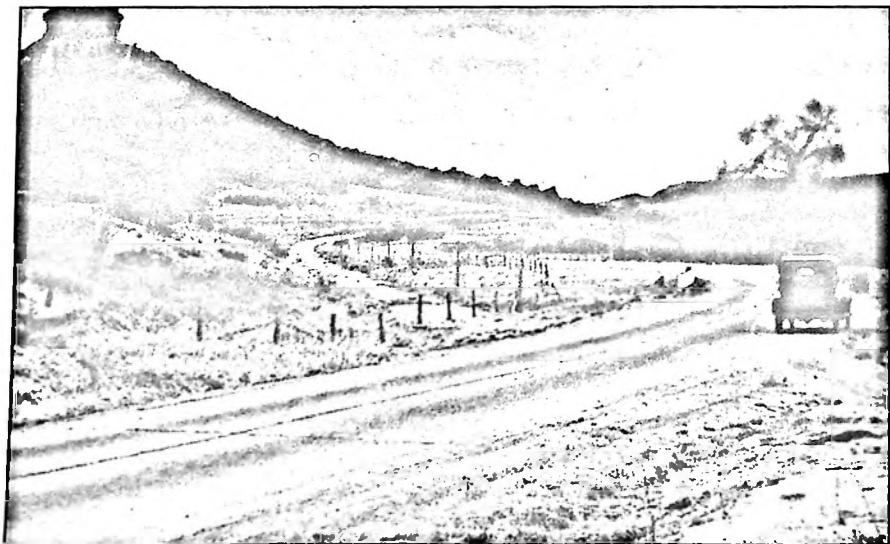
The railroads—seeing the auto as no threat—soon began to promote auto-train travel. A motorist could put his vehicle on a flatcar, and travel by rail to some area of interest where the horseless carriage could be unloaded and used for local touring for a few days. Then the auto would be reloaded onto another train and taken to greener pastures.

In early times, roads that autos could travel without a multitude of problems were mostly within city limits. As town-to-town traffic increased, county governments got involved. For several years, the counties had charge of all highways and since some counties did not have the financial resources of others, roads were of unequal quality:

The Colorado Highway Department was formed in 1910, with a goal of establishing



The Overland Park Campground, crowded with tourists, did a brisk business at Denver. Folding chairs and rockers were popular camping gear.



The Buffalo Highway—and others—is shown here near Castle Rock, Colo., shortly after being paved. Now it's part of multi-lane Interstate 25.



"Pike's Peak Ocean to Ocean Highway" crossed Ute Pass, west of Colorado Springs.

more standardized auto trails. The new department had a budget of \$40,352 and spent \$40,322.54, leaving a balance of \$29.46. (This may have been the last time a state agency stayed within its budget.)

By now, more and more people wanted to test their mechanical wonders in state-to-state travel. The involvement of the federal government and some sort of interstate road system were not far off.

Rufus J. Morison (the author's grandfather) of Traer, Iowa, had made annual train excursions to Colorado since the mid-1890s. About 1910, he decided the family would drive. They left Traer one summer morning and headed west. The roads across Iowa and eastern Nebraska were in good shape, and the family made good time. When they reached western Nebraska, they traveled mile after mile on farm roads along section lines. It was the job of 15-year-old John Morison to sit in the front seat, alighting to open and close gates. John in later years told how they would go a mile, and he would open a gate so the car could go through. Then he would close the gate, hop aboard, and they would go another one mile, only to repeat the procedure, mile after mile, hour after hour.

Gasoline was purchased in hardware stores. On the 11th day of that 800-mile trip, the Morisons could see the lights of Boulder, Colorado. Rather than camp one more night, they drove on, reaching that city about 11 p.m.

By 1911, there was such a clamor for better roads that Good Road associations were formed throughout the country. The first survey of a Denver–Omaha road was completed that year.

J.A. Davis of Sutton, Nebraska, ramrodded this project, and \$6,000 was raised by people along the route to publish a trail guide and to promote the road.

During 1911, an estimated 6,000 autos from other states visited Colorado. By this

time there were 18,000 autos registered in the state, and \$36,767 was spent on road improvements. The main routes or trails into Colorado by this time were: (1.) Julesburg–Sterling–Fort Morgan–Denver; (2.) Wray–Fort Morgan–Denver; and (3.) Lamar–Rocky Ford–Pueblo.

The year 1914 was a milestone for automobilists in Colorado, with concrete paving of the first stretch of roadway. The November 1924 *Colorado Highways* magazine noted, "Back in 1914 there was a stretch of mud on the Morrison Road west of Sheridan Boulevard that was the bugaboo of motorists traveling to and from the Denver Mountain Parks. We have gone to the limit in trying to keep that piece of road out there by the Holstein Dairy in shape for traffic. We have reached the conclusion that the only thing to do is pave a mile of the road, starting at Sheridan Boulevard."

A marked increase in traffic over the Morrison Road was noticed. Motorists went out of their way to drive to Morrison in order to try out the pavement.

By 1915, automobile trail associations were being formed all over the nation. By 1924 there were 461 such trails nationwide, five of them initiated at Alliance, Nebraska. One such trail formed in Denver was the National Park to Park Highway. This route went from Denver to Rocky Mountain National Park, then on to Yellowstone, Glacier, Mt. Rainier, Mt. Hood (then proposed), Crater Lake, Yosemite, Sequoia, then back to Denver following the Midland Trail over Berthoud Pass. This trail was later shifted south to include Mesa Verde, the Grand Canyon, and other points of interest.

The first federal highway aid came in 1916 when a whopping \$38,000 was allotted. By 1920, federal aid had jumped to \$810,051 and the tourists were driving to Colorado.

Denver's Overland Park Auto Camp registered 7,906 vehicles that summer. Overland Park provided 160 acres of camp space with free bath and laundry facilities, reading, writing, and restrooms, a community clubhouse, grocery store, restaurant, and filling station.

In August 1921, the Colorado to Gulf Highway opened, following a route south from Denver through Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Trinidad and eventually Brownsville, Texas. In September, the Monarch Pass road was completed.

By this time, many routes going everywhere were designated as auto trails. Each trail had a guidebook and road markers so that the traveler could find the way. A trail association sponsored a guidebook and markers, and saw to it that roads were maintained by interested merchants and individuals who resided along the route. In some cases there was mismanagement of money, and a few scams, but for the most part, trail associations made an honest effort to serve the traveling public.

Colorado trails deserve special comment. The 35 routes were all "interstates," each had a name, and each had its own sign or marker. Ten of the trails passed through Pueblo and 16 were routed through Denver. Several were isolated, while others overlapped as they traversed the state.

A blue band above a white band over another blue one designated the North Star Highway, shortest trail into the state. This trail started at Sidney, Nebraska, and terminated at Sterling, 40 miles to the south.

The Buffalo Highway marker was a brown buffalo on a white background above a brown band bearing the word, "HIGHWAY" in white letters. This trail followed a north–south route that paralleled modern-day Interstate 25.

The Glacier to Gulf did take a side trip to Estes Park by way of the Big Thompson Canyon and the South St. Vrain.

The Colorado to Gulf followed the Buffalo Highway from Colorado Springs south,



The original pathfinder: many of the early roadways followed old Indian and buffalo trails.

while the Denver Deadwood and the Powder River Trail came as far south on this route as Denver.

The Denver Black Hills Highway came down from Pine Bluff, Wyoming, passing in Colorado through Hereford, Briggsdale, Purcell, Greeley and then the route of present U.S. 85 through Brighton into Denver.

One trail entered the state twice. The Rocky Mountain Highway, marked with a green-bordered white triangle enclosing the green letters "R.M.," entered Colorado from Encampment, Wyoming, near Walden. After nine miles of North Park beauty, the route took a sharp turn to the left and traveled nine miles back to the Wyoming border, heading toward Laramie. From that railroad paradise, the road again turned south and, following a path that paralleled somewhat the old Overland Trail through Virginia Dale, re-entered Colorado, going on to Fort Collins and Denver.

The Plains Mountain Highway had to be one of the loneliest of the trails. It went from nowhere to nowhere, and not through too much. It entered Colorado from Kansas

and traveled west past Two Buttes to Springfield. The route passed through the southern Colorado settlements of Joycoy, Utleyville, Audrix, Kim, Tobe, Trinichera, Laub, Abeyta, Bereja, Garcia, and Beshoar—total population of the bunch about 400—then entered Trinidad. From Trinidad, the Plains Mountain linked the coal-mining communities to the west until reaching its terminus at Stonewall. There was hope at that time that a road would be constructed over Whiskey and Elwood passes so the highway could continue west along the southern border of the state. Stonewall was as far as it got.

The author's mother, Freda F. Morison, came to Colorado in 1919. As they came west, she remembers following the route that had all-yellow signs. These were much easier to manufacture than, for example, something with a brown buffalo. This route was the Golden Belt Highway entering the state at Burlington and continuing into Denver. Today this is basically the route of present-day Interstate 70. Several other trails coincided with the Golden Belt in Colorado.

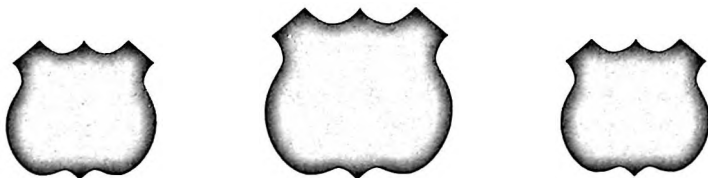
The Blue Line (blue-orange-blue bands), Midland Trail, National White Way, Pikes Peak Ocean to Ocean, Golden Rod, and the Victory Highway all entered the state at this point. The little town of Burlington once had seven interstates! Now there is only one. Of course, I-70 now carries more traffic in one hour than those seven early interstates did in a month.

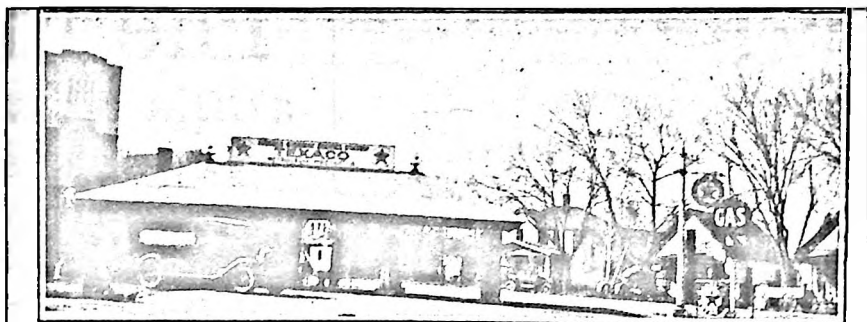
By this time, auto jokes were becoming popular. Such as the only time pedestrians have the right-of-way is when an ambulance is taking them to the hospital. Or the one that related to the 35-mile-an-hour state speed limit. In a western city there was a sign reading, "4,076 died from the effects of gas. 39 inhaled it, 37 put a match to it, and 4,000 stepped on it."

The New Santa Fe Auto Trail followed the basic route of the mountain branch of the old wagon road. For the most part, so did the National Old Trails Road and the Albert Pike Highway. The Colorado route connected Holly-La Junta-Trinidad, with a few side trips here and there, and the Albert Pike going on into Pueblo.

One of the more interesting old trails was the G.P.C.—the Gulf Plains Canada. Much of the old trail can still be followed today, and the gravel portion from Vernon south of Wray to Idalia is just as it was seven decades ago. The road ran down the sidelines of eastern Colorado as far as Holly before stepping out of bounds into Kansas. At Hartman, Colorado, 81-year-old C.E. Dennis remembered that, when he was a boy, the G.P.C. and the New Santa Fe Trail both passed through town. He can point out the house where gasoline was once sold. Locals still refer to the zigzag segment of gravel from Hartman on into Holly as the G.P.C.

Perhaps one of the grandest and most popular of the auto trails was the Lincoln Highway. This famous trail, later becoming U.S. 30 and now I-80, traversed Nebraska and southern Wyoming, reaching from coast to coast. The highway had a Colorado branch, from Big Springs, Nebraska, to Fort Morgan and Denver, before going into





LINCOLN HIGHWAY SERVICE STATION

GAS—OIL—GREASING—TIRES AND TIRE
REPAIRS—ACCESSORIES

The Lincoln Highway Service Station at Fort Morgan, Colo., ran this newspaper ad about 1921, to promote business at the early Texaco filling station.

Wyoming. One of the Lincoln Highway red-white-blue markers, with the blue "L" in the white, has been preserved and is on display at North Platte, Nebraska.

In 1925, the first transcontinental bus service was inaugurated. The route from New York City to Los Angeles followed the Lincoln Highway. The buses were painted red, white, and blue in the same pattern as the markers. For a fare of \$410, a passenger could travel across the continent in only 30 days.

The Rainbow Trail also used the red-white-blue combination, starting in Colorado and heading west. This trail went along the Arkansas River to Salida, then over the old Monarch Pass road to Gunnison. The route followed the Gunnison River to Sapinero where it climbed over Blue Mesa and Cerro Summit on its way to Montrose and Grand Junction, continuing into Utah. Today U.S. 50 follows the old Rainbow Trail and there are several places along the present highway where the old auto road is still visible. The market showed a rainbow within a white background.

The Pikes Peak "O to O" (ocean to ocean) is one of the most interesting of the early trails. This New York to Los Angeles trail was headquartered in St. Joseph, Missouri. As mentioned earlier, the Pikes Peak "O to O" entered Colorado and followed other trails as far as Limon, then angled off through Simla and other communities to Colorado Springs. From there the road continued to the western border of the state by two routes: the first, Canon City-Salida-Gunnison-Montrose-Grand Junction; the other, Ute Pass-Leadville-Tennessee Pass-Glenwood Springs-Rifle-Meecker-Rangely. The Pikes Peak "O to O" had a colorful marker of a red band over white with the letters "PP" on the white. It was reported in the May 1, 1921, *Automobile Roads From Col-*

orado Springs that those red-and-white bands were painted on poles at turns and cross-roads, and also frequently between turns—usually every fifth pole, and occasionally on telephone poles. The road ascended and descended the Continental Divide, over Tennessee Pass, on a 4 percent grade utilizing an abandoned railroad grade which had been widened and improved. This section would have been preceded by the Denver and Rio Grande rail line which went over the pass before the present tunnel was built.

West of Tennessee Pass the Pikes Peak "O to O" at times was reported practically impassable because of heavy gypsum dust covering the road. In places the dust was a foot deep and the road very rough.

In addition to Burlington as a Colorado entry for auto trails from the east, a motorist could also approach the Rockies through Julesburg on the Lincoln Highway; Holyoke on the White Way-7-Hiway, and the Detroit-Lincoln-Denver; through Wray on the Burlington Highway; from St. Francis, Kansas, to Beecher Island, and then on to Wray on the Northwestern Highway. Three trails through Towner, Colorado, were the Kansas-Colorado Boulevard; the Hutchinson (Kans.)-Denver-Joplin (Mo.); and the Bee Line.

The Union Pacific Highway entered Colorado at Cheyenne Wells. The National Trails, the Albert Pike, and the New Santa Fe Trail entered at Holly.

Far to the south, just 10 miles north of the Oklahoma border and entering from Kansas was the Dallas-Canadian-Denver. It entered Colorado and zigzagged its way to Lamar. From Lamar it followed the route of present U.S. 287 into Denver. Today, between the Kansas line and Lamar, the highway is still there in most places, with identifiable wide, sweeping curves at the corners.

The route passed through the now-ghost town of Wentworth, and on to Stonington. The town of Walsh did not exist until 1927, so the D.C.D. continued north through what was Blaine, no longer extant. En route, the D.C.D. crossed Bear Creek on an impressive arched bridge, still standing. The road then passed the base of Twin Buttes before reaching the Springfield-Lamar road at Verdun, now also a ghost town.

The Springfield-Lamar road mentioned above was the T.O.C., Texas-Oklahoma-Colorado, starting at Dalhart, Texas, crossing the panhandle of Oklahoma, and terminating at Lamar.

Motorists on these trails obtained much information from guidebooks, such as landmarks, cottage camps, gasoline suppliers, miles traveled, and various helpful hints. Things worth knowing included:

- To keep your windshield clear of mist on rainy days, rub a sliced onion over the glass with an up-and-down motion.
- While you may not believe in signs, it is safe to assume that "Caution" and "Danger" warnings are not erected for the mere amusement of those who took the trouble to put them up.
- Roads were made to travel on, not to burn up.
- The most obnoxious animal in the world is the road hog. He is as objectionable as any other hog, and you can't eat him.
- Pure vinegar will clean celluloid windows in the curtains of your car.

And quoting directly from the 1926 *Rand McNally Road Atlas*, "Women drivers of motor vehicles should be given special consideration . . . and watching."

Speaking of women and driving, in 1925, Mrs. Myrtle Roe, a teacher from Sterling, Colorado, submitted the best lesson plan for teaching street and highway safety. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce sponsored the contest and 75,000 teachers from every



The road may have changed, but the view is still spectacular. This is D.L.D. cut on Reardon Hill, east of Sterling, Colo.

one of the 48 states submitted plans. Mrs. Roe received a check for \$500 and a trip to Washington, D.C. (This same lady achieved a much lesser claim to fame by being the author's principal during his first three years of school, a wonderful person.)

The Spanish Trail, the D.L.D. (the Detroit-Lincoln-Denver), the Midland Trail, and the Victory Highway all deserve much attention. Following are just some of the highlights on these trails.

The Spanish Trail started at Walsenburg and went west to Utah. It traveled over La Veta Pass to Alamosa, and then more or less followed the route of present U.S. 160 to Wolf Creek Pass, Pagosa Springs, Durango, and Cortez. From Cortez it went north to Dolores then west again to Dover Creek and into Utah.

The D.L.D. was at first called the O.L.D.—the "O" being for Omaha. Except for a mile or two, this road can still be followed as originally routed from the Nebraska state



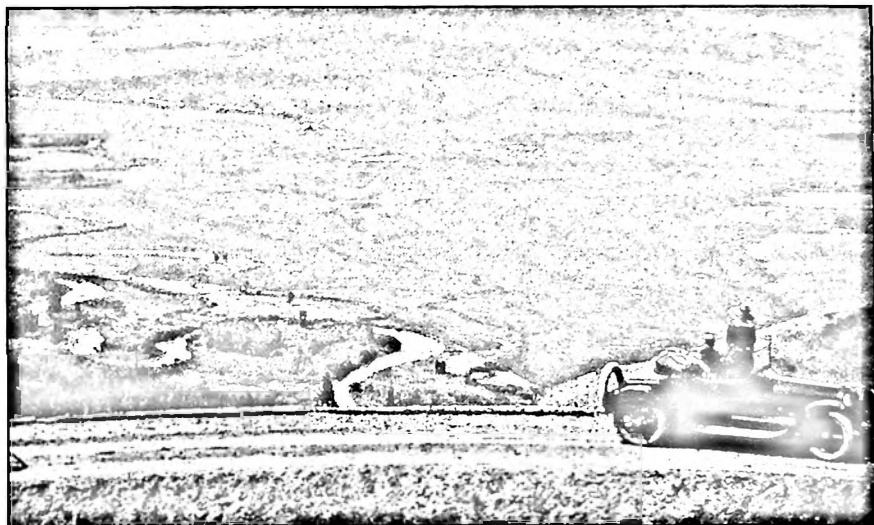
Kay D. Morison, the author's brother, stands at the D.L.D. bridge at Merino, Colo. The Detroit-Lincoln-Denver trail marker is still visible on the concrete post.

line into Denver. Much of the roadway was and still is graveled. At the old Merino Crossing of the South Platte River, the D.L.D. marking can still be seen on the end of the bridge. The portion between Fort Morgan and Hudson, now Colorado 52, is still called by local farmers the D.L.D. Approaching Hudson from the east, a hill is topped and suddenly the whole Front Range of the Rockies lies revealed. The view is breathtaking today, as it must have been in the heyday of the auto trails. Present I-76 gives no such experience. The author has two parcels of land along this highway. One tract is a half mile west of Fleming, Colorado, on a paved section (now U.S. 6). The second is one-half mile along a graveled portion that today is a farm road, but at one time was part of an interstate highway. As one stands along this quiet stretch of road, it is not hard to imagine the multitude of tourists—dust and all—who once passed this way.

The Midland Trail started in Washington, D.C., and terminated at San Francisco Bay. At Colorado, this trail split into several branches, giving the tourist a wide choice of routes. The main highway was via Berthoud Pass. In descending the pass westbound, the trail guide recommended that the motorist “try brakes, shift to intermediate, and cut off ignition for run down hill.”

From Kremmling west, this route skirted Gore Canyon to State Bridge then south to Wolcott and on down the Eagle River. Quoting the 1916 guide, from Gypsum west to Glenwood Springs, “This canyon road is now being made into a 22-foot rock-surfaced boulevard, by men serving penal sentences, who work without armed guards upon their honor not to escape. Owing to heavy rock work and blasting, tourists may not pass the scene of work after 7:30 a.m. or before 4:30 p.m. Time the run accordingly, drive slowly, sounding horn until finished road is reached.” The Midland Trail had for its road marker an orange-black-orange rectangle.

The Victory Highway (No. 35 if you have been counting) followed a route which



The silvery curves of the Yampa River are visible from the Victory Highway on Rabbit Ears Pass, in a picture dating back to about 1922.

today is U.S. 40: Burlington–Denver–Berthoud Pass–Rabbit Ears Pass–Craig, and on into Utah. In May 1922, in order for the Victory Highway Association to maintain this more than 400 miles of road from the Kansas border to Utah—crossing the Continental Divide three times—the Colorado Highway Department graciously donated the use of a heavy truck. The association was to provide a crew to keep the truck in operation.

The goal of the Victory Highway Association was quoted in 1925 by a leading newspaper: "When the Victory Highway is completed it will constitute the greatest monument in all history. From the pyramids to the Peace Palace at The Hague, there is nothing that compares with the gigantic enterprise of proclaiming our part in the World War by means of a paved roadway crossing the continent and linking the two oceans with a concrete chain 3,300 miles long."

Life-sized bronze eagle groups were to be placed on Colorado markers at each county line, with tablets listing the names of those who gave their lives in the Great War.

The legend read, "Starts in New York City–Baltimore, following mainly the Old National Road. Through Colorado via Berthoud Pass and Rabbit Ears Pass to Salt Lake City–Sacramento–San Francisco."

"We must prove our remembrance in the present and send on this message in bronze to all the coming years, 'The United States of America Does Not Forget.'"

The number of these markers actually placed in Colorado is not known.

As early as 1922, the markers were becoming a problem. In some places they were too numerous while in other areas they were missing entirely. The markers were not uniform in size and were very costly.

An association had to choose whether to spend money for signs and guidebooks, or road improvements. Chester Paulus of Denver remembers, as a lad, a woman in Nebraska who lived beside the D.L.D. The traffic and the dust it created made her so angry that, each time markers were erected near her home, she promptly went out and tore them down.

By 1926 when Colorado had a grand total of 191 miles of paved roads, a nationwide standard type of sign had been adopted. By August of that year, 1,500 new U.S. highway markers had been posted along the main interstate trails. The shield-shaped markers bore "Colorado" across the top, a large "U.S." in the center, with the number of the highway.

U.S. 40, 6, 160, 85, 50, and so on were much easier to follow, cheaper to produce and maintain, uniform in style and size, and so much modern. But what sounds more interesting and exciting? "I crossed Colorado on I-70," or "I traversed the state on the Pikes Peak Ocean to Ocean Highway."



AUTHOR'S AFTERWORD

This paper began with a 1925 Conoco road map belonging to my nephew, Darryl L. Morison of Fleming, Colo. Several years ago, my brother Kay D. and son Darryl restored a vintage Conoco delivery truck dating back to the 1930s. Then they began collecting early-day Conoco memorabilia. Several months ago, a friend found the road map at a Kansas auction, and obtained it for their collection.

I was shown the map and, at first glance, it looked interesting. I soon realized this was a real treasure filled with historical information. The year 1925 marked the last use of the auto-trail system before the nation adopted the U.S. Highway designations that are still used today. As I studied the map, I counted 35 interstate auto trails or highways entering Colorado.

Several years ago, I purchased a copy of *The Midland Trail*, a 1916 booklet reprinted by the University of New Mexico Press. Also I remembered, years ago when I was about 12, looking through two or three trail guides that my Aunt Frances Morison had saved from several early trips to Colorado from Iowa. I was fascinated by the directions given in these guides. For example, ". . . turn right at the red barn . . . ford the creek with the left ruts . . . get a run for the next hill . . ." and so on. I knew at once that this map could be the basis for hours of research on what looked to be an unknown topic, so I made some copies of the original, and was on my way.

From the start, my wife Erna and I discovered that material on this subject was very rare. Our first stop was at the Western History section of the Denver Public Library. This bulwark of Western knowledge had nothing on Colorado auto trails, as such, but we were later able to obtain some information from early issues of *Colorado Highways* magazine.

Our next stop was the Colorado Historical Society and again we came up empty-handed. We then went to the Colorado Department of Highways—and "Strike Three." All of the sources mentioned that they would love to have a copy of the map.

I have been a member of the Denver Posse of the Westerners since February 1956 and in that 418 months of membership, the topic of Colorado auto trails had never been covered. I now was really excited, because we had a brand new, unexplored—as far as we could tell—area of Colorado history to unearth.

During the past few months, my wife and I have interviewed old-timers who remember the trails; we have driven hundreds of miles tracing the early roads; and searched through antique shops that might have early trail guides. (One dealer said he hadn't seen one for 30 years, and the rest had not heard of them.)

We visited local museums, libraries, and courthouses, and spent several hours looking through related information. This paper covers some of our findings on this interesting and exciting topic. During our years of having Western history as a hobby, we have concentrated on railroads, wagon roads, ghost towns, mining, and early Denver. Not for one moment did we have any interest in the auto highways of this state, other than that they keep improving so that we don't have to fight the increasing traffic. Now, because of a 65-year-old map, we are off on another tangent.

With many questions unanswered and miles of roads yet to travel, we present the results of our investigation of "Early Colorado Auto Trails, 1915-1925."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

- I would like to acknowledge some people who have been of great assistance to me:
- First and foremost, my wife Erma who, in reality, is my co-author. She has helped in research, the interviews, tracing the trails, and has done all the typing.
 - Kay Morison, for providing the 1925 map and a 1924 U.S. Atlas.
 - Fellow Posse member Ed Bathke, for opening up his auto-trail collection for my research, and for contributing some of the display items for the Denver Westerners program.
 - Cyndi Trombley and Ardie Schoeninger, for lending several items from the 1920s for display.
 - Carl Carlson, for the use of a reprint of a 1927 U.S. Atlas.

- Bob Lewsader, for providing a useful map of Utah.
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- Virginia Bussell, librarian for the Baca County Public Library.
- Freda Morison and C.E. Dennis, Chester Paulus, and other whose names I failed to note, for their contributions of personal experiences.
- And lastly, to Warren Schmidt of Fleming, Colo., who discovered the Conoco map at the Kansas auction.

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

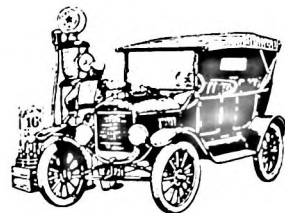
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jack L. Morison is a native of Colorado, and he has had a lifelong fascination with the history of his state. His main historical interests have been the railroads and ghost towns of Colorado. His previous presentations to the Denver Westerners have dealt with the Alaskan and Yukon gold rushes.

Jack has retired as a math teacher, after 33½ years with the Denver Public Schools.

In addition to being a Posse member of the Westerners, he is a charter member of the Ghost Town Club of Colorado; a member of the Rocky Mountain Railroad Club;



also the Front Range Antique Power Association, and the Wally Byam Caravan Club.

Jack and his wife Erma have two children, Charles and Linda, both Denver-area residents. In addition, he is the proud grandfather of John and Jackie Kimmel.



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.*

New Mexico Village Arts by Roland F. Dickey. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1990. 278 pages. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography. Paper, \$24.95.

This New Mexico classic was first published in 1949, and that edition was selected by the American Institute of Graphic Arts as one of the 50 books of the year 1949. It was a work of art from the design on the cloth cover to the beautiful illustrations on the dust jacket and in the book. It now sells for \$50 or more, depending on the vendor.

The second edition was published in 1970, and it was reduced in size and had no color in the illustrations. It sells for about \$3.

This third edition is one that the University of New Mexico Press can certainly be proud of producing. It is nearly the size of the original edition and contains all of the color illustrations. The process used to reproduce the color in this edition was very successful.

There are a few minor changes in the new edition, including a revised preface, a brief look at the situation in 1990, and an updated selected bibliography. The remainder of the book is unchanged.

What does one say about a new edition of a classic work? It is the story of a people and a way of life that has disappeared for the most part, and yet neighbors still gather on a Saturday in Ranchos de Taos to help build or repair an adobe home for a friend. There is still the spirit of the people around, but you have to know where to look for it.

One point of information that I note in passing is the information that "natives make farolitos" and Anglos call them Luminarias. This is a terminology question that I debate every Christmas.

This is the story of a people including their food, housing, clothing, and religious objects,

and it is a great story. It is one of the essential books that must be a part of any New Mexico collection.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Sandia National Laboratories: The Post-war Decade by Necah Stewart Furman. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1990. 858 pages; illustrations. Cloth, \$45.

Such a comprehensive company history, nearly 900 pages, is a bit overwhelming, especially considering that it encompasses only the first 10 years of the Sandia Corp. But this is not a dry recording of the operations of a business. Dr. Furman has fleshed out the history into a vivid presentation of the detailed development of the nation's nuclear arsenal. The story of the atomic bomb is intriguing science, of interest to those of technical bent, yet told in terms for the lay person.

Interwoven with the nuclear weapon development program is the growth of a major national laboratory. It is an informative case history in business development, on just how one goes about building a corporation, solving or averting problems, while heading the special needs of complex engineering development and state-of-the-art technology.

The Sandia history is much more than just a chronicling of the company—the real story is in the people involved, and there were many. The personal tales are what make the book especially enjoyable to the reader. (This reader admits to some bias, having known and worked with a number of the Sandia staff.)

Sandia National Laboratories is a book of engineering science, of business development, and of personal reminiscences; a many-faceted book of modern Western history. It offers much for a wide range of readers.

Edwin A. Bathke, P.M.

Winged Words: American Indian Writers Speak. Interviews conducted by Laura Coltelli. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1990. 211 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography. Cloth, \$22.50

This book, while interesting and well worth reading, is admittedly off-beat for Westerners. The book comprises eight interviews with mostly young Native American writers, presenting their perceptions of their worlds and their contributions to today's literature. All eight writers produce mostly fiction and/or poetry. None of them has written any history; except for personal memoirs.

Bearing the above in mind, the interviews have been well conducted. Dr. Coltelli obviously knows how to get people to communicate. But this material will be most useful to the reader if he has previously read some of the author's work. It certainly helped this reviewer make more sense of Simon Ortiz! Whether one is interested in this body of literature or not, the interviews give insight into being an Indian today and the problems of trying to live in two worlds at once. This alone would make the book important.

The book's only drawback is Dr. Coltelli's feminism which she occasionally allows to boil over. For example, in one instance, she asks a writer, "In trying to define the dilemma that faces a woman in search of herself, what does it mean nowadays to be an American Indian woman?" The addressee answers very wisely, "I don't know." How would Gertrude Stein have answered the question?

Richard Conn, P.M.

Eating Up The Santa Fe Trail by Sam'l P. Arnold and illustrated by Carrie Arnold. University Press of Colorado, Niwot, 1990. 146 pages; illustrations. Cloth \$19.95, paper \$12.95.

The ingredients that went into this publication included a large measure of Sam Arnold's wit and wisdom; a full measure of Carrie Arnold's accurate drawings of places, people, and gear; and a very authentic collection of trail recipes. When you put all this together in one book, you have a unique publication.

Sam Arnold was referred to as a local "P.T. Barnum," and that is an accurate designation for this history buff who thoroughly enjoys

what he is doing, whether it is work or play. His Fort Restaurant is the place to take that out-of-towner who wants to get that feeling of the Old West, and it is easy to recall how Jane Pauley enjoyed trying all his special items prepared for the broadcast of the "Today" program from Denver, but Bryant Gumbel passed up some.

Several years ago, Sam provided samples of Taos Lightning, Injun Whiskey, and Chimajo Whiskey for the members of the Western History Association meeting in Santa Fe, which I enjoyed. He also introduced me to the singing of Alberta Hunter as we followed the Oregon Trail in Nebraska on a jaunt with C.A.M.P. If you belong to just about any history organization that studies the American West, the odds are you will run into Sam and Carrie Arnold.

This book is a great combination of Sam's interests in food and history, and the combination works. My personal preferences to try are the pollo relleno and buffalo tongue, and to skip the moose nose. I have tried and will recommend the posole and the carne adobada. I first tried the carne adobada at Rancho Chimayo in northern New Mexico.

All in all, this is a special book that only Sam Arnold could have put together in such fine style.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Rabbit Boss by Thomas Sanchez. Vintage Books, New York, 1989. 532 pages. Paperback reprint of 1973 original, \$8.95

This novel relates the history of the invasion of Washo Indian territory by whites, as seen by the Washo themselves. Located along the present California-Nevada border, the first to come was a small group of people traveling through the winter snows (the Donner party?) who resorted to the savagery of cannibalism for survival, observed by a Washo who reported this initial invasion of an alien culture.

Alternating chapters tell the story of attempts by their own "primitive" culture in the face of increasing numbers of settlers who take over the lands, develop towns, and introduce "civilized" ways of life.

This is an interesting tale of cultural conflict which resulted as the West was settled.

Earl McCoy, P.M.

Apache Wars: An Illustrated Battle History by E. Lisle Reedstrom. Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., New York, N.Y., 1990. 256 pages. Illustrations, maps, index. Hardback, \$24.95.

In 1977, Ernest L. Reedstrom produced a book, *Bugles, Banners and War Bonnets* (Caxton Printers), now considered a necessary part of every complete Custer-ania library (and has since been reprinted). But *Bugles, Banners and War Bonnets* unfortunately lacked the colorful and accurate uniform plates for which Reedstrom is well known. In 1986 was published *Historic Dress of the Old West* (Blandford Press), authored by Ernest Lisle Reedstrom. This second book had Reedstrom's colorful plates, but a relatively small portion of the book was devoted to Western military history. Reedstrom, now going by E. Lisle Reedstrom, finally has produced a wonderful book that combines his artistic skill with his obvious love of collecting items and lore on the American Indian Wars.

The book is worth the price if one buys it simply for the 16 pages of colored plates detailing Army personnel and Apache hostiles and friendlies. Thus, this book complements such previous works as those by the Osprey *Men-at-Arms Series* on *The American Indian Wars, 1860-1890*, and on *The Apaches*. Additionally, Reedstrom has included numerous photographs and sketches of weapons and equipment, so the book is also similar to the Custer equipment studies of James S. Hutchins.

Also displayed is Reedstrom's growing self-assuredness as a writer. While the volume is not the "Battle History" to end all battle histories on the Apache Wars, it does a good job of providing both the basics and lesser known information on the conflicts. For example, the two chapters dealing with the use of the heliograph fill a gap found in most histories.

Apache Wars is highly recommended for anyone interested in the American Indian Wars. It particularly would be appropriate as a gift. (I got mine for Christmas from brother and fellow Posse member Mark.)

John M. Hutchins, P.M.

The Cherokees: A Population History by Russell Thornton. Univ. of Nebraska press, Lincoln, 1990. 253 pages; illustrations, maps, bibliography. Cloth, \$35.

This is a demographic history of the Cherokee written by a sociologist who traces the history of the tribe from its pre-history to the present. In doing this study, the effects of disease, warfare, and removal and relocation are discussed. In spite of all the problems faced by the Cherokees, they are the largest self-identified tribe in the United States.

The early tribal myths of the origin of the people, including the emergence from the underground, is very similar to that of other tribes, including the Zuni.

There are numerous points of interest to be found, but unless you are into demographics and quantification, this is not the book to read to learn the history of the Cherokees.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Water Mills of the Missouri Ozarks by George G. Suggs Jr., illustrated by Jake K. Wells. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1990. 224 pages, 14 black-and-white figures, 27 color plates, map, glossary, bibliography. Cloth, \$35.

This book is one that you will read and then go through it again and again looking at the wonderful paintings of the 20 mills located south of a line running from St. Louis to the southwest corner of Missouri. Most of the mills are off the beaten path as the sites were based on the availability of a good spring or any other steady supply of water.

The author presents an overview of the history of water mill technology, from ancient Greece to frontier America. The role played by the mills in the settlement of the frontier is explained along with why they faded from the scene with the coming of modern transportation. The history of each of the 20 mills is coupled with the Wells painting of the mill.

Many of the mills have fallen into piles of timbers or bricks, but several have been preserved for one reason or another, and the author provides directions to those survivors.

The collection of Jake K. Wells paintings is now owned by the University Museum at Southeast Missouri State, and the next visit I make to Missouri will take me to Cape Girardeau.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old California by Harlan Hague and David J. Langum. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1990. 317 pages, 18 illustrations, bibliography. Cloth, \$28.95.

In most United States histories, Thomas O. Larkin usually gets only brief mention in connection with his services as U.S. Consul to Mexican-California. In truth, Larkin was one of the most important men in this era in California.

Larkin's early life in the East was of little importance when compared with his life in California. He was one of the first to dream of getting rich by moving to California and entering business. His start in Monterey was aided by his half-brother, Captain Cooper, who gave Larkin a job, a place to stay, and introductions to civic leaders. Larkin's personal life was somewhat complicated. However, Rachael, his future wife, was free to marry Larkin only after the death of her first husband. She could then wed Larkin and assist him with her inheritance.

Larkin moved forward both in business and in his government career. He sent letters to papers in the East extolling the virtues of Mexican-California. He had retained his U.S. citizenship, and was appointed U.S. Consul, and was later selected as a secret agent for the President. His attempt to move California into a peaceful union with the United States was disrupted by the actions of John C. Fremont and the Bear Flag Revolt.

During the War with Mexico Larkin was taken as a hostage by the Mexican officials, and his life was threatened several times. However, he viewed his treatment as being very pleasant, considering Mexico's negative attitude toward the United States at the time.

After U.S. acquisition of the territory, Larkin increased his property investments and became a very rich citizen. He returned to New York for a short while and invested in real estate in that city, but California called and he returned there to spend the remainder of his life. Larkin was most certainly a very important person, and his influence in financial matters continued to grow.

This book is worthwhile for its study of events surrounding the conquest of Califor-

nia, and for a look at the business affairs of the area both before and after the war.

Ray Jenkins, P.M.

One-Room School: Teaching in 1930's Western Oklahoma by Donna M. Stephens. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1990. 190 pages, 11 photographs, one map, bibliography. Cloth, \$19.95.

Reading this book about a young high school graduate teaching in the typical one-room school with pupils in grades one-through-eight recalled stories my mother had told me of her teaching experiences in a similar situation. In the early 1920's she put in her year in the one-room school in Cogar, Okla., and at 92, she still recalls residing with a local family in a one-room house with no privacy, and riding a horse to her school. While one year was enough for my mother, the author's mother taught for several years until having her own children ended her career.

Helen Hussman had grown up on a farm near Seiling and began teaching in nearby in Orion in the fall of 1929, for a salary of \$80 a month. She boarded with a member of the school board for \$20 a month. Her usual walk to school was two miles each way. That first year there were 16 pupils, with all eight grades represented.

Helen was on her own with no real assistance from the county school superintendent or anyone else. She soon discovered that the teachers' meetings were a disappointment. No one offered any advice on how to teach seven or eight subjects in all eight grades, and at the same time. She found no help either in later college courses in education.

This is also the story of a state entering the Depression and the resulting impact on education and the small farmers of Orion. It is a most readable story. The author provides a very accurate picture of this period in Oklahoma history.

The one-room school exists in only a few places today, but some of the basic educational concepts from that environment are being re-examined as possible answers to some of today's school problems.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

In Beaver World by Enos A. Mills. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1990. 271 pages, photographs. Paper, \$9.95.

This is an exact reproduction of Mills' book as it was first published in 1913; the only addition is an introduction by James H. Pickering which includes information about Enos Mills and his life in the Estes Park area of Colorado.

Wigwam Evenings: Sioux Folk Tales retold by Charles A. Eastman and Elaine Goodale Eastman. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. 265 pages, illustrations. Cloth \$25. Paper \$7.95.

This is a reprinting of a work first published in 1909. While the original preface has been dropped, an introduction was added. The book contains 27 folk tales.

Waterlily by Ella Cara Deloria. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1990. 256 pages. Paper, \$8.95.

Waterlily was not published during the life of the author. The reason for this is included in the biographical sketch of the author and in the afterword. The author was a Sioux, and this novel is based on her knowledge of the people.

Myths and Legends of the Sioux by Marie L. McLaughlin. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1990. 200 pages; illustrations. Cloth \$19.95. Paper \$6.95.

The original edition was published in 1916 by the Bismark Tribune Co. The author, who was one-quarter Sioux, was reared in a Native American community and later resided with her husband, who was the Indian agent, at Devils Lake and Standing Rock agencies. There are 38 stories in this collection.

Blood on the Moon: Valentine McGillycuddy and the Sioux by Julie B. McGillycuddy. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1990. 310 pages; photographs. Paper, \$10.95.

A new introduction by James C. Olson includes his opinion of the book. He refers to it as an entertaining story that is well-written. It was written by the second wife of a very controversial Indian agent at Pine Ridge.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Indian Tales and Others by John G. Neihardt. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1988. Cloth, \$25.95; paperback \$8.95.

This Bison Book edition is a reprint of the 1926 compilation of 17 of Neihardt's best short stories. John G. Neihardt (1881-1973) is best remembered as the author of *Black Elk Speaks; Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux*, one of the classic stories of the American Indian. The stories in this collection were written before *Black Elk Speaks*, but they each have the same power to hold the reader's interest.

The stories in this collection range from those about the frontier—"The Alien," "Parable of the Sack," "The Scars," "The Art of Hate," "The Nemesis of the Deuces," "The Revolt of the Sheep," and "The Man Who Saw Spring"—to those about Indians: "The Singer of the Ache," "The Look in the Face," "The White Wakunda," "The Mark of Shame," "Dreams Are Wiser Than Men," "Vylin," "Mignon," and "The Last Thunder Song." Then there are stories about ghosts and the supernatural, such as "The Red Roan" and "Beyond the Spectrum."

This collection does, indeed, contain stories that hold a reader's interest. The book jacket states that one of the stories, "The Singer of the Ache," is considered Neihardt's highest achievement in short fiction. However, my personal favorite among these stories was the final tale in the book, "The Man Who Saw Spring." This is an excellent story about a steamboat caught in the ice on the upper Missouri River and how its crew survived the winter. The ending has a well-done surprise twist.

Long out of print, this collection of short stories is interesting reading for those who enjoy stories with a twist and the touch of a master storyteller.

Keith Fessenden, P.M.



1990 ROSENSTOCK AWARDS PRESENTED

The Fred A. Rosenstock Awards for 1990 were presented at the Winter Rendezvous of the Denver Westerners Dec. 18, at the Lowry Air Force Base Officers Club in Aurora.

Posse member Ray Jenkins presented the 1990 award to the Comanche Crossing Museum, accepted by Emma Michell of Strasburg, Colo.

Dr. Tom Noel, Posse member, presented the Fred A. Rosenstock Lifetime Achievement Award to Carl Blaurock, honorary lifetime Denver Westerners Posse member.

The Fred A. Rosenstock Award was established in 1986 as a memorial to Rosenstock (1896-1986), a charter member of the Denver Westerners and a distinguished Western art and artifacts collector, dealer in rare books, and publisher.

A bequest from the Rosenstock estate was subsequently matched by Denver Westerners member donations to establish a perpetual trust.

Eugene Rakosnik, Posse member and chairman of the Rosenstock Endowment Fund, said interest from the trust fund is used for awards to individuals or organizations who make major contributions to the preservation or study of the Old West. Although the fund is administered by the Denver Westerners, contributions are accepted from anyone who wishes to encourage Western American research and scholarship. (Donations to the Denver Westerners, a registered non-profit organization, are tax deductible.)

Previous recipients of the Fred A. Rosenstock Award have been Duane Smith (1987); Threewire Winter, Steam-

boat Springs High School (1988); and Frances Melrose (1989).

Lifetime Achievement Award winners, both Posse members, have been Merrill J. Mattes (1988) and Robert L. "Bob" Brown (1989).

A biographical sketch of Carl Blaurock was published in the November-December 1990 issue of The ROUNDUP.



Following is an explanatory note on the Comanche Crossing Museum, as it appeared in the awards program:

It all began the evening of July 31, 1968, in the home of George and Emma Michell when they, along with five others, met to organize the historical society and "to establish a museum to preserve items of historical value." They decided that their first task was to erect a marker to commemorate the actual completion of the first all-rail link between the Atlantic and Pacific. This was accomplished on Dec. 15, 1969.

The Comanche Crossing Historical Society has had a number of successful undertakings, but the museum, with its seven buildings, including the old U.P. [Union Pacific] depot, a Halladay windmill, and a U.P. caboose, represents their greatest success. Visitors to this complex will be pleasantly surprised to find a very professional operation with all items cataloged and displayed in a most pleasing fashion.

The people of Strasburg can be proud of their historical society and its museum.



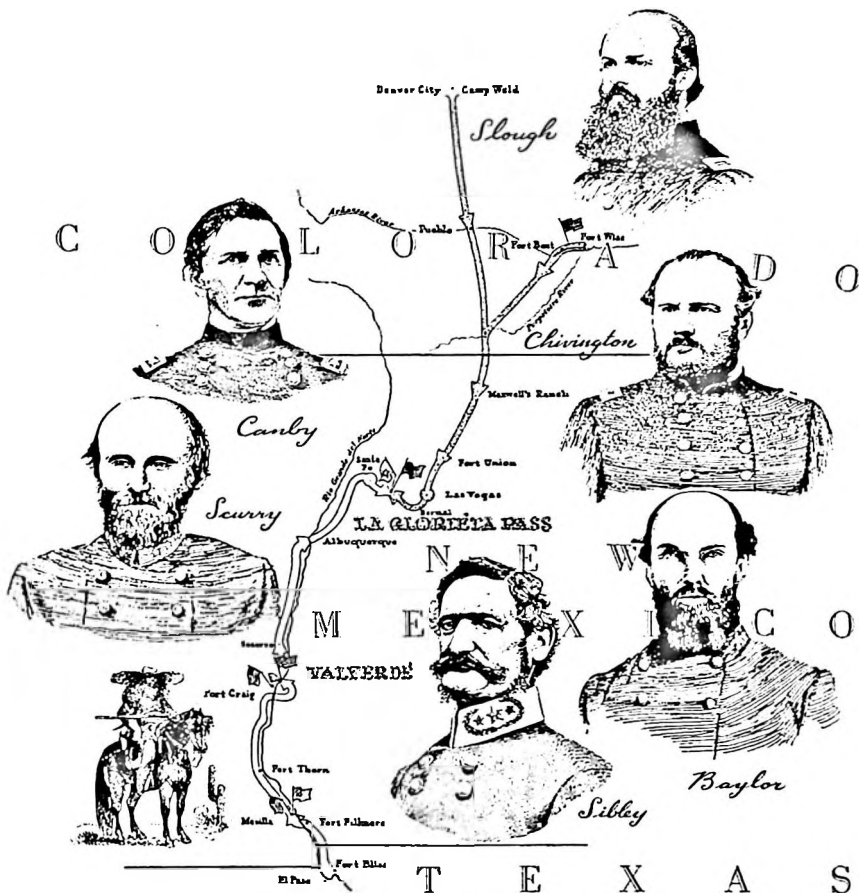


The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

MARCH-APRIL 1991

THE BATTLE OF GLORIETA PASS

by Kenneth Pitman, C.M.



About the Author

Ken Pitman, a Corresponding Member of the Denver Westerners for nearly two years, is the author of "The Battle of Glorieta Pass," featured article for this issue of *The Roundup*.

Pitman is well versed in military matters, having served as an officer in the U.S. Army, stationed in Panama with the Fourth Battalion, Tenth Infantry Division. He left the service with the rank of captain.

Ken was born in a small farming community in central New Hampshire—"a village that's beside Peyton Place." He was graduated from the University of New Hampshire in 1964, with a major in life sciences.

He received his master's degree from the University of Northern Colorado, where he was also an instructor in biology. For the past 22 years, he has taught science in Littleton School District Six, primarily at Heritage High School. He has also taught evening courses at Arapahoe Community College.

Ken stresses he is an "amateur history enthusiast," but the Westerners are indebted to him for his excellent account of the battle at La Glorieta and Apache Pass.



History of the Cover

The cover illustration for this issue of *The Roundup*, about "The Battle of Glorieta Pass," comes from well back in the history of the Denver Westerners, from an early edition of *The Brand Book*.

The map of the battle region, together with sketches of the principals of the period, was drawn by then-Poseman William J. Barker, whose article, "The Forgotten War in the West," appeared in the 1948 volume of *The Brand Book*. The map shows the lines of march by Colorado Union forces and opposing Confederate forces of Texas in the 1862 campaign.

Barker's 1948 biography identified him as a Denver advertising man. A combat infantry veteran of World War II, he was also the founder-editor of *Rocky Mountain Life* magazine, and had a Hollywood background as a set designer and author of movie shorts.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

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The Battle of Glorieta Pass

By

Kenneth Pitman, C.M.

(Presented Jan. 23, 1991)

WAS THE CIVIL WAR battle fought at Glorieta Pass in northern New Mexico on March 26-28, 1862 the "Gettysburg of the West"? What impact did the battles and skirmishes fought in the West have on the outcome of the Civil War?

According to many early Western publications, the First Colorado Regiment kept the West in the Union. In fact, according to *The Golden Jubilee* of April 23, 1909, "Although outnumbered three-to-one, in hard-fought battles, they drove back the invaders under [Maj. Henry H.] Sibley into Texas."

According to this report, had the Confederates succeeded in sweeping through Colorado to the north, they would have been able to hold the Rocky Mountain Region after the "Great Rebellion" was over. They would have split the West from the East, and the conflict would have been between the North and the South and West.

Would this have happened? Or do these observations merely reflect regional feelings of self-aggrandizement? A discussion of the reasons for the conflict at La Glorieta Pass and of the results of that conflict may further sharpen the focus on those questions.

At the time of the outbreak of hostilities during the Civil War, the West was in political and emotional upheaval over what course to follow. Many persons from the South had come to the Colorado goldfields to seek their fortunes. Would those who supported the Union cause prevail?

Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, on February 14, 1862, issued a proclamation declaring the New Mexico region to be organized as the Territory of Arizona. He appointed Col. John Baylor to be the military governor and commander of the Confederate force for that region.

Maj. Henry H. Sibley, an officer in the United States Army, was stationed in New Mexico Territory at the start of the Civil War. He resigned his U.S. Army commission on May 13, 1861, and immediately entered the service of the Confederacy. Sibley, a citizen of Louisiana and a West Point graduate, had fought against the Seminole Indians; engaged in the military occupation of Texas; fought in the Mexican War; and had quelled Mormon disturbances in Utah. He also had overseen the construction in New Mexico of Ft. Union, north of Las Vegas, a major depot with arsenal and storage buildings.

On December 14, 1861, Sibley assumed command of those Confederate troops whom he had enlisted. He named his forces the Army of New Mexico—more affectionately dubbed Baylor's Babes and Sibley's Brigade. The brigade consisted of approximately 3,510 men, described as most hardy, courageous, and efficient. Union troops referred to these men as Texans. A *Harper's Weekly* cartoon of one of Sibley's soldiers portrayed a "Texan" on horseback, armed with a sword, a tomahawk, rifle, pistols, and a bottle of whiskey.

Sibley's Brigade was assigned to drive the federal forces from New Mexico. One of Sibley's officers, Lt. Col. William R. Scurry, was made commander of the Fourth Texas Volunteers. He was a widely respected veteran of the Mexican War, a lawyer, and a politician from Clinton, Texas. A. B. Peticolas, who served under Scurry, wrote in his diary that Scurry was "the best officer, most polished gentleman and most popular Colonel in the whole outfit."

During this same period, Col. Edward Canby assumed command of U.S. troops in New Mexico, with orders to get ready to resist any invasion by Confederate forces from Texas. Canby, born in Kentucky, was a West Point graduate. He had fought in the Seminole and Mexican wars, and was considered both cautious and conservative in military operations.

William Gilpin, first governor of the Colorado Territory, was reputed to be an intelligent, courageous, and patriotic leader. He realized the need to defend the Western territories and pro-



Leaders in the Battle of Glorieta Pass were, left, Union Col. Edward R.S. Canby; and, right, Col. Henry H. Sibley, Confederate commander of the Army of New Mexico.

ceeded to organize the First Colorado Volunteer Infantry. Gilpin's authority to finance such an undertaking was questioned in later years. But, aided by such leaders as Charles Cook, Jep Sears, Dave Moffat, and Joe Chaffee, the governor acquired the necessary funds for the action.

John Slough, a prominent lawyer of Denver City, was made a colonel in the regiment. He had originally come from Cincinnati, where he had been a member of the Ohio Legislature. While not an ideal military leader, he was considered capable. The men did not particularly care for him as he did not communicate well with them. They said he had "an Eastern swagger about him."

John Chivington, presiding elder of the Rocky Mountain District of the Methodist Episcopal



Notable in turning back Confederate invasion were, at left, William Gilpin, Colorado Territorial governor; and Maj. John Chivington, First Colorado Volunteer Infantry.

July 6, 1861 *Harper's Weekly* had this caricature of Texas soldiers in Sibley's Brigade.



Church, was offered the chaplaincy of the regiment, but he insisted upon a fighting post, and was made a major.

Chivington was born in Lebanon, Ohio, of Scottish and Irish descent. His father remarked that he was a born fighter. In addition, he was a staunch foe of human slavery. His men came to have the highest regard for his ability, bravery, and stature. It should be noted that John's brother, Lewis Chivington, became a Confederate colonel and was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek in 1861.

General Sibley proposed to Confederate President Jefferson Davis a military campaign to conquer the New Mexico Territory. A force, raised in Texas, would invade New Mexico, defeat the small and weak Union forces there and capture their supplies. Sibley thought he could enlist large numbers of New Mexicans to augment his Texas army. After defeating the Union forces in New Mexico and capturing Ft. Union, the major U.S. supply center, Sibley would continue north to seize the mining districts around Denver City. Upon obtaining that wealth for the Confederacy, he planned to take the Texans west to Utah where he expected a welcome by the Mormons, who felt alienated from the United States. With Mormon support, Sibley envisioned invading California. There he would seize the mines and warm-water ports of the Pacific.

In January 1862, the Texans moved northward from Ft. Bliss. They encamped for some time at Ft. Thorn, about 40 miles farther up the Rio Grande. On February 7, Sibley set out with about 3,000 men and a large supply train on his expedition to the north. The next major fort encountered was Ft. Craig, south of Albuquerque, under the command of Union Colonel Canby.

Sibley stopped within a mile of the fort and "invited" Canby to leave the protection of the fort, and to fight outside. Canby refused. Sibley decided to bypass the fort and move on to Ft. Union,

prized as a major supply depot.

(It is a myth that Canby and Sibley were brothers-in-law, although both had attended West Point and fought together in conflicts preceding the Civil War. Some of the troops may have believed the tale, but it was false.)

Canby, realizing what Sibley intended, challenged the Confederates at a ford a few miles upstream near the little town of Valverde. The fighting was furious, and at first it appeared Union forces would win, but the Texans eventually took better strategic positions. Finally, Union forces backed away and returned to Ft. Craig. The Texans continued their march, taking Albuquerque and Santa Fe without resistance.

Colorado Territorial Governor Gilpin had begun organizing a militia. The men were rough and unilly, and many came from the mines outside of Denver City. For example, a Sam Cook organized a mounted company of men from the South Clear Creek Mining District. These troops were initially stationed at Camp Weld, two miles north of what was then Denver City.

Most of the men were eager to fight, and were bored with camp life. On occasion they stole chickens, vegetables, bacon, and whiskey from the citizenry. There was almost universal disgust with their behavior. In late February 1862, the "Pikes Peakers," as they were called, marched on New Mexico.

On March 7, 1862, near what is now Trinidad, Colorado, Colonel Slough formed the Colorado Regiment into two columns for the final march to Ft. Union. To the west were the Sangre de Cristo peaks. The columns stayed on the Santa Fe Trail and climbed the Raton Range. On March 8, as they prepared to make camp at the southern end of the Sangre de Cristo spur, a courier appeared from Col. Gabriel Paul, then in command at Ft. Union. Paul sent word of Sibley's successful advance to Santa Fe, and of the impending Confederate attack on Ft. Union.

The already exhausted Coloradans discarded everything but guns, ammunition, and blankets, and resumed the march through extreme cold and snow. They hiked 92 miles in 36 hours and arrived at Ft. Union on March 9. In spite of their heroic feat, the volunteers were not warmly welcomed by the well-trained and disciplined Regular Army troops at Ft. Union, and the Coloradans had to camp on the outskirts of the post. Nor did Colonel Slough help the morale of the Colorado troops with his haughty and distant demeanor.

CANBY'S ORDERS AMBIGUOUS

Colonel Canby was in Las Vegas, New Mexico Territory, at this time. He had left ambiguous orders on protecting the fort. Slough, in his cold way, called attention to his seniority, and boldly assumed command. Slough and Paul disagreed on Canby's orders. Paul wanted to wait as long as possible at the fort, then destroy it before it was captured. Slough wanted to meet the Texans and harass them without waiting for an attack.

Slough drilled the Pikes Peakers for 12 days at Ft. Union, and on March 22 the regiment marched south toward Santa Fe. Of the 1,342 men, there were three detachments of cavalry, and the rest of the troops were afoot. Their artillery consisted of eight small cannons.

Even though Colonel Paul vigorously objected to Colonel Slough's plan, Slough asserted that the best way to defend the West was to leave Ft. Union and to meet the Texans head-on. He further directed that all of his troops be involved. In fact, he took many of the Regular Army troops with him. A few regulars and volunteers were left behind to guard Ft. Union.

On March 25, Slough sent Chivington and an advance force of 418 men toward Santa Fe. Late that night this detachment encamped near Kozlowski's Ranch.

The ranch had served as a rest area for travelers on the Santa Fe Trail before the war. Nearby were the ruins of the Pecos Mission where the early Franciscan friars had introduced Christianity to Pueblo Indians.

Martin Kozlowski, the owner, was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1827. He married in England and came to America, then in 1853 enlisted in the First Dragoons of the U.S. Army. He served five years in New Mexico Territory fighting Indians, then left the Army in 1858 and settled on the 600-acre ranch.



(Courtesy Colorado Historical Society)

Adobe structure was main building of Kozlowski's Ranch.

Chivington decided to use Kozlowski's Ranch as a staging area. A large spring near the ranch provided ample water, and the troops camped on a nearby bluff. They named the spot Camp Lewis after one of the officers in the regiment.

Kozlowski was very supportive of the Union, and complimented the men for not stealing anything from the ranch.

Chivington learned that Confederate scouts had been at the ranch earlier in the evening, inquiring whether any Yankees had been about. A contingent of 20 men from Captain Cook's company was sent to intercept the Texas scouts, and captured them at Pigeon's Ranch, farther up the trail toward Santa Fe. The Confederates were caught before daybreak, with no shots fired.

One captured officer, Lieutenant McIntyre, was a deserter from Colonel Canby's staff, and had fought on the side of the Union at the battle of Valverde. Captain Hall, another Confederate, was a widely known citizen of Denver City. Chivington learned from these men that advance troops from Sibley's force were at the western end of La Glorieta Pass and would be moving toward Ft. Union.

THE FIGHT AT APACHE CANYON

On the morning of March 26, 1862, Major Chivington left Camp Lewis with a detachment of troops to scout in the direction of Santa Fe. Soon they passed Pigeon's Ranch, a hostelry on the Santa Fe Trail. The ranch was named after its owner, Alexander Vallé, a Frenchman. Vallé had a peculiar, birdlike one-two-three-glide style of dancing that observers said was pigeon-like. Vallé proved to be a friendly, amenable, and entertaining host. The ranch had many rooms where the occupants could eat and sleep in private. It had secure areas for animals and wagons, and an adobe-walled yard.

Chivington's detachment continued toward the pass and was near the summit of the divide about one and one-half miles beyond Pigeon's Ranch around two o'clock. As they started to descend the trail through a narrow gulch, they encountered a scouting party from Sibley's lead column, commanded by Confederate Maj. Charles Pyron. Chivington pressed forward, anxious to strike the main body of troops. Battle cries rang out. "We've got 'em this time! Give 'em hell boys! Hurrah for the Pike's Peakers!"

The trail was narrow for another three-fourths mile, until it angled to the right and opened into the long, wide reaches of Apache Canyon. As the Coloradans moved into the canyon, they could see the Texans coming in at the opposite end.

Major Pyron had some 600 men on foot. The Confederates had left their horses resting at the west end of the canyon, and were investigating a report that there were about 200 Mexicans and 200 U.S. Army troops in the vicinity. They had expected an easy victory.

The Coloradans quickly took cover and began firing. The Texans, surprised but unruffled,



(Courtesy Colorado Historical Society)

Apache Canyon as it appears today, at highway entrance.

replied with their two howitzers. Chivington, strong-voiced and impressive in the saddle, took complete control and vigorously exhorted his men to spread out and continue the fight. He ordered Capt. George W. Howland to take his small cavalry unit to the rear, and to charge the Texans at the slightest indication of their retreat.

TEXANS COMPLETELY OUTMANEUVERED

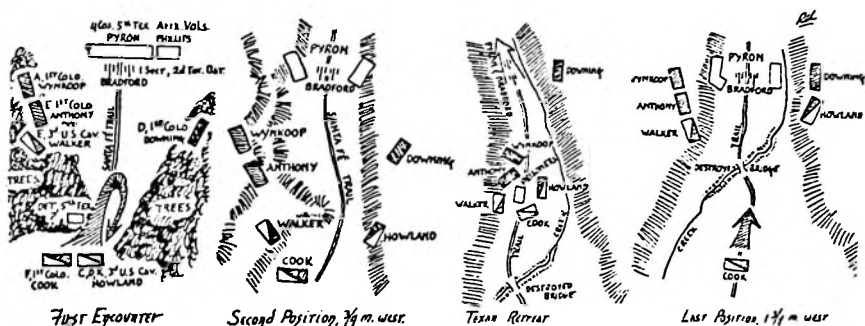
Captains Wynkoop, Anthony, and Walker were sent with their companies to the left along the slope of the canyon, to lay down a flanking fire from above the Texans. Captain Downing's men were sent to the mountainous area on the right. The Texans had been completely outmaneuvered, and the intense gunfire from both sides on their positions forced them to retreat.

An arroyo, in most places 20 to 25 feet deep, cuts through the upper part of the Apache Canyon. At one point, a 16-foot bridge spanned the arroyo. The Texans crossed the bridge, then destroyed it. They set up the two howitzers on their side of the arroyo, and took stations on each side, on the mountain slopes. It seemed to be a strong strategic position.

Chivington's troops, in hot pursuit, were under heavy fire from the Texans' rifles and artillery. Chivington started issuing orders. According to soldiers who served under him, he had a pistol in each hand, and one or two more belted in reserve. He gave his orders with great energy. One of the captured Confederate officers said he emptied his revolver three times at the Colorado major and ordered his company to fire a volley at him. Vallé said of Chivington, "E poot iz 'ead down and foight like a mad bull."

Chivington was angered by Howland's failure to follow orders and to attack the Texans as they retreated. He dismounted the captain's troops and sent them up the canyon's right slope, along with Downing's men. By now, the Texans were becoming impressed with the ability of the Colorado troops.

The rest of the Coloradans were spread out in front, with Captain Cook's cavalry sent to the rear. Soon Chivington ordered Cook to charge. The captain raised his saber in the late afternoon sun, and started the charge with 103 men, mainly those from the south Clear Creek area. They



(Battle maps courtesy Westemore Press)

Battle of Apache Canyon: left: first clash of Union, Confederate forces; second position, 3/4 mi. west; last position, 1 1/4 mi. west; far right, Texans' retreat.

rode faster as they galloped along the well-worn trail. Increasing enemy fire came from both sides of the canyon. The horses jumped the arroyo at its narrowest point. Only one horse failed to make the leap, and horse and rider died at the bottom of the ravine.

The rest of Cook's Clear Creekers went hell-bent through the Texans' line up to the mouth of the canyon. Cook yelled, "We're going back!" and rode through the Confederate lines, crossing back and forth three times. The Texans were almost routed but managed to save their howitzers.

Dusk was approaching, and the hurt and exhausted Confederates abandoned their positions. Both sides had many casualties, and more than 70 Texans were taken prisoner. Chivington set up a hospital at Pigeon's Ranch.

The Confederates asked for a truce late in the evening, to bury their dead and to care for their wounded. A truce was agreed upon until 8 A.M. the next day. Both sides started to prepare for a major battle. Pyron's Texans had been reinforced by Colonel Scurry at Johnson's Ranch, at the western end of the pass. Scurry had made an all-night march from Galisteo, and brought along a large wagon train of supplies.

Chivington was joined by Slough's forces. Neither side broke the truce the next day, March 27. They nervously scouted each other and planned strategy. Scurry, confident of his Texans' abilities, and knowing how they had succeeded at Valverde, decided to attack the Union forces on his own terms.

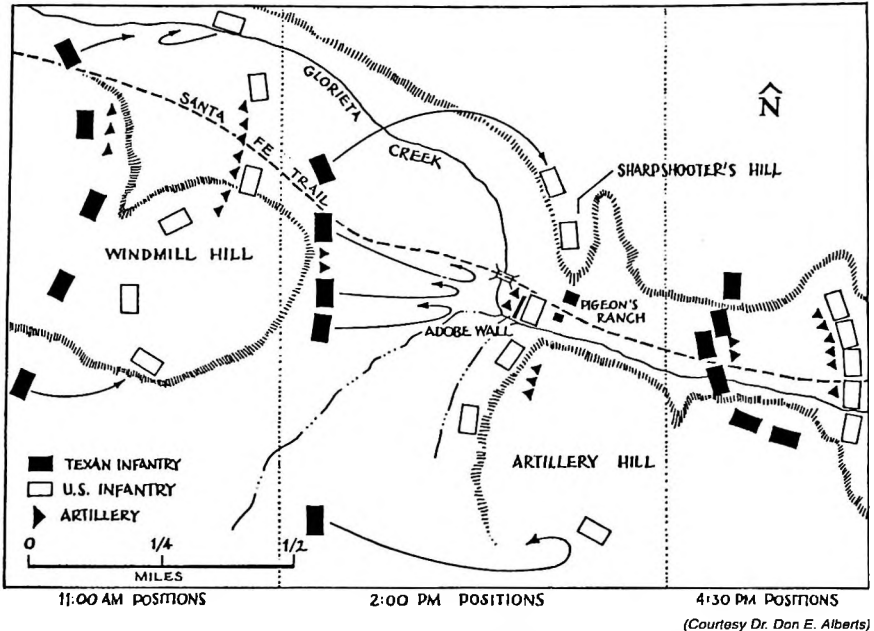
BATTLE AT PIGEON'S RANCH

Early on March 28, Scurry marched eastward with about 1,100 men and three cannons. At about the same time, Chivington set out with some 400 troops on a route to the south to scout the Confederate rear in the area of Johnson's Ranch. It was hoped that the Confederates could be forced to retreat, and Chivington's troops could ambush them.

Colonel Slough was left with about 700 men to face Scurry's Texans. Slough's men were fatigued after a forced march of 35 miles to support Chivington.

It should be noted that the men under Slough had little confidence in his abilities. Some even questioned his loyalty, although this was unjustified. One of his captains in later years stated that he had watched the colonel carefully to detect any action favorable to the enemy. If he had, he said he would have shot Slough on the spot.

Around 10 A.M., Slough's troops reached Pigeon's Ranch. The troops broke ranks to rest and obtain water, and to visit the wounded left there after the fight in Apache Canyon. They were almost completely surprised when pickets rushed back, exclaiming that that Texans were only 800 yards away.



Positions of troops during daylong battle around Pigeon's Ranch at Glorieta Pass.

The battle opened in a gulch about one-half mile west of Pigeon's Ranch. Scurry deployed his Texans on a ridge west of Windmill Hill. Slough positioned his Union troops on the west slope of Windmill Hill. The ensuing battle lasted about three hours. Union troops under the command of Captain Kerbler tried to follow an irrigation ditch to outflank the Texans on the right, but Scurry repulsed their attack.

Confederate Major Pyron attacked Captain Downing's company on the opposite flank, and pushed them back toward Pigeon's Ranch. The federal troops were under heavy fire and outnumbered. Expecting an immediate charge on their position, they retreated 800 yards. They formed a line along the ledge of rocks to the north (Sharpshooter's Hill) and below the Vallé house, across the arroyo and to the wooded bluff to the south (Artillery Hill).

Scurry directed the Texans from the east slope of Windmill Hill, ordering a series of attacks on the Union center. These moves were repulsed, as was an attack against Artillery Hill. However, a Confederate flanking attack against Sharpshooter's Hill succeeded, the Texans took the ridge, and the Union center collapsed. Union forces on Artillery Hill were almost captured.

About 4:30 P.M., Slough set up his final battleline one-half mile east of Pigeon's Ranch. The Union troops wanted to continue the fight, but Slough insisted that they had fulfilled their mission of harassing the enemy.

About that time an ambulance bearing a flag of truce came from the Texas lines. Maj. Alexander M. Jackson, an assistant adjutant and one of the leaders for the whole expedition, asked for a suspension of hostilities until noon the following day to care for the dead and wounded. Morale of the Union troops sank. They thought the Texans would resupply and continue the attack after the truce ended.



(Courtesy Colorado Historical Society)

Pigeon's Ranch, Stanta Fe Trail hostelry, was built by Alexander Vallé.

CHIVINGTON'S MARCH TO JOHNSON'S RANCH

While this fighting had gone on, Major Chivington had taken four companies on a southern route to the rear of Scurry's forces. Charles Gardiner, a member of Company A of the First Colorado Infantry, affectionately called the "Pet Lambs of Colorado," recalled what happened during this maneuver. He said that Chivington's plan was to go around the enemy and head the Confederates off and make them surrender, or slaughter them as they came through. The Union troops were unsuccessful as the Texans "wouldn't drive worth a cent."

Lt. Col. Manuel Chavis of the New Mexico Volunteers was selected to guide Chivington and his men in this plan. Chavis was reputed to be a brave, intelligent, and skillful officer. He led the column to a trail that was south of Pigeon's Ranch. While following this trail for eight miles, the troops could hear the fighting at Pigeon's Ranch. A mounted company was sent forward to scout, at first in the direction of the fighting, then toward Johnson's Ranch. The scouts captured a sentry on the crest of the mountain overlooking the Confederate wagon-train encampment about one-o'clock in the afternoon.

According to Gardiner, the Union troops silently approached a bench of the mountain about 1,500 feet high and directly above the supply wagons.

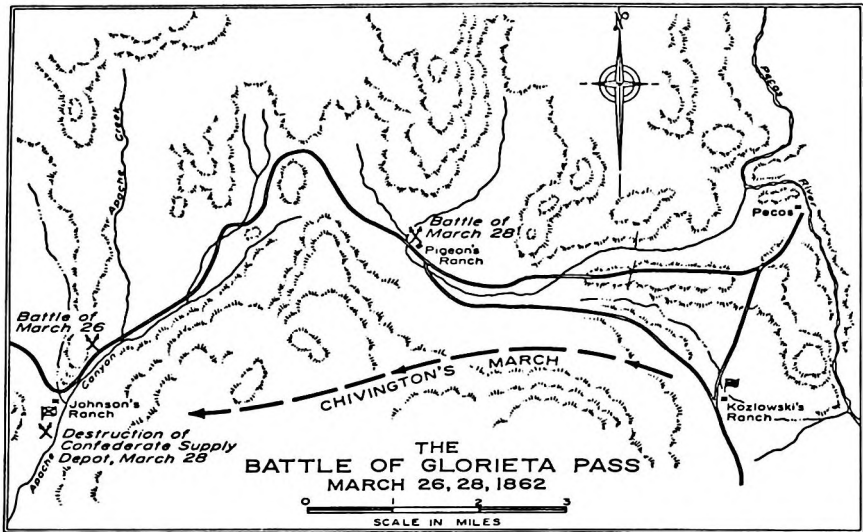
"Then we sat and rested near an hour, watching the unconscious Texans, jumping, running foottraces, etc.," Gardiner recalled.

Colonel Scurry's supply train consisted of 80 wagons, 500 horses and mules, and one field-piece.

Chivington's troops started down the mountain silently. About two-thirds of the way down, one of the officers yelled, "Who are you below there?" One of the Confederate officers replied, "Texans, goddamn you!"

"We want you!" replied the Union officer. The Texan retorted, "Come and get us if you can!"

The Union troops heard the command, "Go for 'em!" and they slid down the steep incline "like wild Indians." The Texans fired two volleys, then broke ranks. Most of them were captured.



(Courtesy National Park Service)

Three battle sites plus Chivington's march on Confederate supply train.

The Union soldiers were allowed to ransack the wagons, but because they had to return over the steep mountain, all of the wagons and most of the supplies had to be destroyed. The sad task of bayonetting the 500 or 600 horses and mules was carried out so that Scurry's troops could not recapture them.

Couriers informed Chivington that he and his troops should return without delay to help Slough. They were cautioned to take a different route back to avoid the Texans. They were guided by a French priest who supposedly knew the trails of the region. His knowledge was questioned by many of the men, but they arrived safely in the Union camp about two o'clock the next morning.

Chivington's troops had inflicted a stunning blow at Johnson's Ranch. The Texans had few options without supplies, and retreated to Santa Fe, leaving their wounded to be cared for by the Union forces.

There are varied reports on casualties, but the best estimates are that Slough lost one-fourth of his men, and the Confederates probably the same.

Canby's troops dogged Sibley's column as the Confederates continued their retreat to Texas. At least on one other occasion the federal forces thought they could defeat Sibley, but Canby refused to continue the fight, stating he didn't want the cost and burden of taking care of Sibley's men.

The overly cautious Canby ordered the Coloradans back to Ft. Union. The men were incensed, and Slough was so disgusted that he resigned his commission. (He was later appointed brigadier general in charge of the military district of Alexandria, Virginia.)

What was the impact of this conflict on the outcome of the Civil War? With only a few thousand troops engaged, it can be argued that the battle was insignificant. But if Sibley had taken Ft. Union and then marched into Denver City, would large numbers of Union troops have been diverted to the West? Would foreign interests have entered the conflict on the side of the South? These questions cannot be answered, but the significance of the battle should not be underestimated.

Why was General Sibley so frequently absent at critical times of decision? His troops felt that alcohol was a major factor in his behavior. Sibley—inventor of the Sibley tent, the Sibley howitzer, and the Sibley stove—years later went to Egypt and became a general of artillery.

Dr. Don Alberts, author of *Rebels on the Rio Grande*, is involved with the Glorieta Battlefield preservation effort. He said there is now a movement to put the area under the protection of the U.S. Park Service. Dr. Alberts, who is also a member of the Westerners in Albuquerque, noted that Pigeon's Ranch is near a paved highway and is subject to vandalism. However, the road may be closed to help save the battle site. Dr. Alberts said Kozlowski's Ranch is now a part of property owned by actress Greer Garson, and it, too, may become a part of the protected area.



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Avalanche areas have their own history

Colorado newspapers have been replete this spring with stories of avalanche hazards. There have been reports of the deaths of several skiers, snowmobilers, hikers, and other unwary unfortunates trapped and crushed under the massive weight of swift-sliding snow. Reports of more than 100 snowslides a day were coming in to the Colorado Avalanche Information Center.

Back-country travelers were advised to avoid narrow valleys and any snow-covered slope steeper than 30 degrees.

Those persons able to survive the weight of the snow can still suffocate if left buried under the hard-packed slide for more than 30 minutes.

For as long as there have been mountains, there have been avalanches. In the Colorado Rockies, the known "chutes" and slide areas have their own histories of death and destruction. In the February 1958 *Roundup*, then-editor Barron Beshoar reported:

A few weeks ago a killer avalanche swept down a steep slope in the rugged San Juans, carrying four Camp Bird miners to their deaths under hundreds of tons of snow.

The slide recalled that many Colorado slides have been operating for so long they have been named, and are widely known to the people of the mountains.

In the San Juans, there are such famous snowslide areas as The Telescope, The Mule Shoe, Guadalupe, Gobbler's Knob, and Blue Point—all named after mining properties. Some, such as the Red Young and the Riley Boy, are named for persons who have died in them.

The famous Waterhole Slide in the southwest part of the state killed seven men and a number of horses in the early part of the century. In the winter of 1905-1906, roaring slides in the Ouray-Silverton-Telluride triangle killed more than 100 persons.

In 1954, there were 33 major slides on a 23-mile stretch of U.S. 550 between Silverton and Ouray. One man and his son, who found their car blocked by a slide, started to walk back for assistance, found their car swept away when they returned to get it.

The slides move with the speed of an express train. The air shocks that travel

ahead of them have been known to toss men as far as 100 yards. What starts them? A small animal, a shot or other loud noise, a tremor in the earth, or some similar reason sets them off.

After a slide passes, it sucks the air with it leaving a low-pressure area in its wake. Buildings standing in the wake of a slide, but untouched by the slide itself, have been known to explode as a result of the normal pressure within the building pushing against the low pressure on the outside.

In the May-June 1985 *Roundup*, the late Thomas "Mel" Griffiths recounted his experiences in 1936 as a fledgling newsreel photographer in filming a major disaster when the King Lease of the Camp Bird Mine, near Ouray, was demolished by a massive slide. Griffiths had worked at the Camp Bird several years earlier and knew the terrain and many of those involved in the tragedy. He rushed to the mine from Montrose to cover the aftermath of the avalanche. The following account is excerpted from Griffiths' *San Juan Country*:

At 9:43 a.m., February 25, 1936, R.F. Dunn, the mine superintendent, walked into the snowshed leading from the Camp Bird mill to the mine adit, bound on the underground tour of inspection. He had just left the shop, where Ralph Klinger, the blacksmith, was sharpening drill steel. Mid-morning, winter peace lay over Imogene Basin. From the 11,500-foot elevation of the mine to the rim of the basin, 2,000 feet higher, a layer of fresh snow buried every rock and ridge under a 10- to 20-foot blanket. It had stormed spasmodically for the past 48 hours, and the fitful flurries were to go on for more hours. But for the time being, a pale sun struggled to pierce through to the white earth.

The flotation mill rumbled and ground away at its 100-ton daily quota of gold-bearing rock. The compressor popped off with an echo-awakening "choof!" The jaw-crusher's metallic crunching shook the mantle of white on the buildings.

Upstairs in the corrugated-iron boarding house, a few hundred feet downhill from the mill and stable, the night shift slept off their labors. Downstairs, Mrs.

Rose Israel, the cook, started her baking for the noon and evening meals. The dishwasher finished the last of the breakfast dishes. A mule skinner, Evan Roberts, warmed himself by the big range, a mug of hot coffee in his hands, and exchanged pleasantries with the kitchen crew; the early-morning struggle with the pack string up the three miles of snow-blotted trail from the end of the road at the old mill had left him chilled to the bone.

Griffiths then reported that Chapp Woods, the mill "super," was in the little pump house below the mill. Woods went to the small shed punctually every morning to check the lubrication of the centrifugal pump and look over the edge of the big tank to note the water level.

"At 9:44 a.m.," the author recalled, "just a minute after R.F. Dunn started into the snowshed, the finely meshed mining operation was shattered. Not a wheel turned. The mill and the blacksmith shop lay in desolation. The lower story of the boarding house was crushed like an eggshell. The mine ad lay under 40 feet of snow, the pump house under 10.

"In the [minute's] interim, some disturbance (a falling rock, a temperature-induced contraction or expansion of the snow, gravity alone—man will never know) had occurred at the headwall of the basin. The blanket of snow slid downward, slowly at first and then with terrifying acceleration. What had started as a small thing grew, through the short span of seconds, into a tons-heavy avalanche of snow, sweeping everything before it. Like the white cloud of powder snow which geysered upward from the snow-swept mountainside, it whirled away the value of \$100,000 worth of physical plant. . . . But more tragic: three lives were lost!

"Mrs. Israel, the cook, heard the slide as it first gathered momentum. She rushed to the door to see it. Walt Rogers, one of the mill men, shouted, 'Rose! Get back!' When she did not stop, he ran and caught her hand to pull her from the door. At that instant the snow struck the building. Mrs. Israel was torn from Roger's grasp, carried outside, and crushed under 14 feet of heavy snow. Walt is alive today; Mrs. Israel is not. Yet only an

arm's length separated them when the avalanche struck.

"Ralph Klinger, the blacksmith, died at his work. Ten hours later they dug his body from beneath the workbench in the shop. It was frozen stiff in such a grotesquely broken shape that the rescue crew had trouble lashing it to a toboggan for the trip to the lower mill.

"Through 28 feverish hours the rescue crew probed through the debris-littered mass of snow with long steel rods, searching for the pump house. The destruction had so altered the landscape that even men who had worked at the mine for years could not tell where the little building should be. It was early afternoon of the next day when one of the rods finally struck the roof of the pump house. Swift shovels sliced through 10 feet of snow. A hole was chopped in the roof!

"There was air inside! But the slight hope this discovery held forth was immediately dashed. Chapp Wood's body was found hanging head down in the water tank—drowned. Investigators concluded that the 'mill super' had been struck by the collapsing roof and knocked into the tank; he had no chance to use the slight air space the pump house afforded.

"R.F. Dunn, the 'mine super' who entered the snowshed just before the slide struck, was trapped by falling timbers from the snowshed roof. Although seriously injured, fortunately he had been seen entering the snowshed by Slim Erickson and Frank Reed just before the havoc. They were safe, themselves, behind a barricade of baled hay in the stable. When the slide came to rest, they snatched up shovels and began digging for him. Three hours later, after uncovering a length of snowshed, they stumbled onto the place where he was trapped.

"A curious incident occurred in the boarding house when the slide struck. Evan Roberts, the muleskinner who was warming himself by the cookstove, was caught between the snowslide, which entered the side of the building, and the hot cookstove. He escaped with a broken pelvis, frostbite on one side of his body and serious burns on the other."

Denver Westerners gain members

Four new Corresponding Members have been added to the rolls of the Denver Westerners, and three C.M.s have been elected to the Posse.

C.M.s are not required to attend a minimum number of meetings during the year, but can engage in all activities of the Denver Westerners except voting and holding office. Sheriff Bob Staadt said Corresponding Members are invited to attend all regular meetings, and to present papers. These papers, if appropriate, may then be published in *The Roundup*. (Many Corresponding Members live outside of Colorado, but maintain contact through *The Roundup*.)

"Our Corresponding Members are encouraged to enter into the activities of the Westerners, and to contribute to the meetings," Staadt said. "They are the lifeblood of our organization, which dates back to 1945. They are the pool of nominees for Posse membership, carrying on traditions of the Denver Westerners."

One of the more unusual new "members" is reported by Posse Member and former Sheriff Ed Bathke of Manitou Springs—the **Pikes Peak Ghost Town, Inc.**

"Ghost Town" is a public museum, displays furnished, full-sized Old West ghost town buildings, all under one roof.

"For a small admission price, the visitor can see a myriad of Western artifacts," Bathke said. The museum, open year-round, was once the machine shop of the Colorado Midland Railway at 400 S. 21st St., just south of the Midland Expressway (U.S. 24) in western Colorado Springs.

Corresponding membership has also been recorded for **Anna Dixon-Asatour** of Los Angeles. A native Coloradan, she is interested in Colorado history and the genealogy of the Conner family of Logan County. She also plans to research and write about Lily Tabor; the old Olin Hotel and other Denver hotels; and Denver-area churches. Her other interests and hobbies include hiking, climbing, tennis, music, and ballet. She plans to move back to Colorado soon.

Scott Becker, Wheat Ridge, another new C.M., has published *Nederland, A Trip to Cloudland* by Isabel Becker, and a variety of other books, through his own publishing

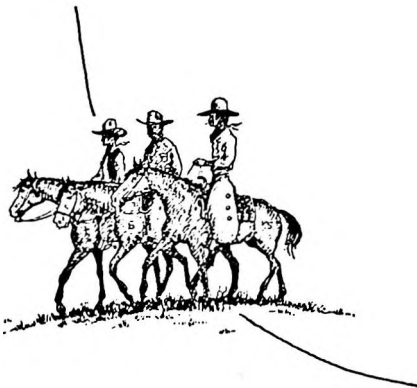
firm, Scott Becker Ltd. A native of Denver and a Colorado State University graduate, he was formerly manager of the Applewood Village Shopping Center. In addition to teaching graphic design and desk-top publishing at Red Rocks Community College, he is engaged in a project to identify and photograph old "side-of-the-building" signs still visible on many older Denver buildings.

John Carlow, Northglenn, has joined the Denver Westerners after attending meetings with Bob Lane, P.M. Carlow is interested in gold mining, the Black Hills, the Sioux Indians, and Gen. George A. Custer. Carlow's hobbies include hunting and computers.

H.W. "Hal" Harnagel of Golden, another new C.M., is interested in finding, exploring, and photographing ghost towns. He is a longtime member of the Ghost Town Club of Colorado. His other interests include hiking, biking, Jeeping in historic places, skiing, photography, and railroad history.

Three Corresponding Members have recently been elected to Posse membership.

David Emrich is a fourth-generation Coloradan and a graduate in economics and political science from the University of Colorado. He has followed in the footsteps of his father, Paul, a filmmaker and a radio engineer. David is an independent film and video editor, and several of his films have been presented on PBS. He also produces educational television programs, and makes TV commercials. He has done research on early-day



OVER THE CORRAL RAIL

(Continued)

filmmaking in Colorado, and has presented a paper on this subject.

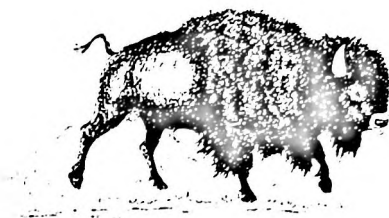
Dr. Marvin N. Cameron was reared in Longmont and was graduated from the University of Northern Colorado in 1953. He received his medical degree from the University of Colorado, and served his internship at Gorgas Hospital in Panama, 1962-63. He had conducted a family practice in Montana, California, and Colorado. He has presented a paper for the Westerners: "Men of Medicine and Medicine Men."

"My real family came to Colorado in 1936 after being blown out of Oklahoma in the Dust Bowl days," he recalls. "My three brothers went to work for a rancher near Longmont. I was only 5 years old at the time . . . When my mother and father died, I was invited to stay with a former school teacher of mine, George Burbridge, who let me remain at his house and attend high school in Longmont."

Dr. Cameron developed a strong interest in Colorado history through his association with the Burbridge family, who first came to the territory in 1859.

Edward S. Helmuth, Castle Rock, has retired after 30 years as an engineer/scientist with Marathon Oil Co. He is a University of Colorado graduate, and has a master's from Bowling Green State University.

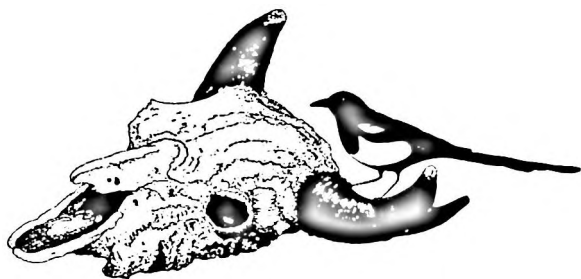
Ed became interested in Colorado history



in the early 1980s when he and his wife Gloria began a project to catalog and visit Colorado mountain passes. This work led to a paper for the Denver Westerners: "Sangre de Cristo—Colorado's Forgotten Pass." He said culmination of the project will include publication of the results of the research. He also plans to work with the U.S. Geological Survey's board of geographic names to secure recognition for many Colorado passes not yet officially named.

The Denver Posse of the Westerners comprises 50 voting members who, by reason of activities and/or accomplishments as Westerners, are elected to fill vacancies in the group. Posse members can vote and hold office. They must maintain regular attendance, and perform various duties, as needed.

Active Posse members may be transferred to Posse Reserve for reasons of health, age, change of residency, longevity of service, or other approved reasons which prevent regular attendance. They can vote but cannot hold office. They may be reinstated to the Posse, if their circumstances change.





Westerner's Bookshelf



Rowdy Joe Lowe: Gambler With a Gun by Joseph G. Rosa and Waldo E. Koop. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1989. 208 pages, 16 black-and-white illustrations; notes; bibliography. Cloth-bound, \$19.95.

In tracing the life of Joseph Lowe, the authors have provided a sample of the hectic period of the post-Civil War frontier, through the cattle towns, to the Colorado mining boom.

Unfortunately for the current crop of revisionist historians, the authors through detailed listings of newspaper references have conclusively illustrated the gunfights and other assorted mayhem which marked the coming of age of the U.S. West.

Joe Lowe's checkered career as teamster, gambler, bar and dance-hall operator, took him through the genesis of such notable Kansas cattle towns as Ellsworth, Newton, and Wichita. Not to leave Texas out, his skills were apparent in Denison, Luling, San Antonio, and Fort Worth.

After his welcome wore out in Texas, Joe journeyed to Leadville, Colorado, in the midst of its most rambunctious days. After the boom there slowed, he moved to south Denver—his final stop—where he operated a roadhouse. Joe's illustrious career ended at 12:55 A.M., February 12, 1899, when he was shot following a protracted argument. His remains rest at Riverside Cemetery in Denver.

Joe apparently had a multitude of wives, some with benefit of law, and some not. He brushed shoulders with many of the West's leading characters—Wild Bill Hickok, Texas Jack Omohundro, Doc Holiday, Bat Masterson, and the Earp brothers, to name a few.

While Joe Lowe was not your typical gunfighter, he was an enigmatic character who could be rowdy, uncouth and ill-mannered on the one hand, but then be kind, considerate, and a man of his word on the other. Through this presentation of his life and times, we have another fascinating slice of the American West.

—Robert D. Stull, P.M.

Atlas of American Indian Affairs by Francis Paul Prucha. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1990. 137 pages. Hardbound, \$47.50.

The *Atlas of American Indian Affairs* is a large-format book of a size considered right for a coffee table. The scant text is confined to notes and references. The major portion of the atlas is—as it should be—maps, maps, and more maps. The maps are divided into sections, such as "Culture and Tribal Areas," "United States Census Enumeration of American Indians," "Indian Land Ces-

sions," "Indian Reservations," "Agencies," "Schools and Hospitals," "The Army and the Indian Frontier," "Aspects of the Indian Frontier," and a "Portfolio of Maps" by Rafael D. Palacios illustrating the areas of major Indian uprisings and battles, from the early 1860s until 1890. Included are maps of the flight of the Nez Percé in 1877, and the Cheyenne breakout in 1879.

For the Indian historian and Indian Wars buff alike, this work fills an important gap in published material that cannot be ignored. It is an extremely valuable reference when studying American Indian history; or in simply locating and understanding the action of a specific Indian engagement and correlating it to the outcome. This book is a must for serious study of Indian history, as it complements all related material published thus far.

—Richard A. Cook, P.M.

California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit by Donald C. Cutter. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1990. 192 pages, 25 illustrations, note, bibliography, index. Clothbound, \$24.95.

This is the first translation of a brief account of the voyage of two Spanish schooners along the Pacific Coast from Vancouver Island to Monterey, California, in 1792. The *Sutil* and the *Mexicana* were commanded by Dionisio Alcalá and Cayetano Valdés. José Cardero, artist on the expedition, seems the most likely candidate as the author of the journal.

In many ways, the most interesting aspect of this book for me was the short biographies of Valdés, Galicano, and Cardero. Their lives after the expedition of 1792 were most interesting, as their careers continued in the service of the Spanish crown. Their ups and downs—especially those of Valdés—seem worthy of a book.

The illustrations by Cardero are some of the earliest known drawings of Spanish California and are mostly of the area around Monterey and Carmel.

The journal's author seemed to be most concerned with the missions and the now extinct Rumsien and Esselen tribes. The journal includes a record of the vocabulary and catechism of the Carmel Mission Indians.

There are a couple of brief references to the Catalonian Volunteers who had been sent to the Pacific Northwest in 1789 to explore and establish the farthest outpost of Spanish colonial North America.

This is volume No. 71 in the *American Exploration and Travel Series* published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

America's National Battlefield Parks. A Guide by Joseph E. Stevens. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London, 1990. 324 pages, photos, maps. Clothbound, \$29.95.

While *America's National Battlefield Parks* is supposed to be a guide, it could be considered a history of America's territorial battles. There are 38 National Battlefield Parks discussed by the author, with numerous photographs and easy-to-read maps.

This reviewer did not look forward to reading a "guide," but found the book to be extremely fascinating.

Each chapter starts with a brief statement as to date, place, those involved and impact of the battle. Information is then given regarding how to get there; gas, food and lodging; visitors center, activities; and handicapped access. This information is followed by a brilliant summary of the battles, with appropriate maps.

A guide map of the battlefield correlates numbers to text, explaining what took place at that particular stop on the tour. (In other words, when visiting the battlefield concerned, don't leave home without the book.)

The author is comprehensive, understandable, and concise in discussing each battle, from the French and Indian War to World War II. Civil War battles predominate in number; Revolutionary War engagements are second.

This reviewer's only criticism is the organization of the book. The work is divided into regional sections, such as North Atlantic, Mid-Atlantic, Midwest, South and West. Thus the reader may find information about a Civil War battlefield followed by a Revolutionary War site.

As far as history is concerned, the guide is not chronological. However, the book is supposed to be a guide, and not a history. Therefore, the layout is probably acceptable.

The book, from a historical standpoint, was difficult to put down, and it is thoroughly recommended not only for those individuals interested in American battlefields, but those fascinated by American military history.

—Richard A. Cook, P.M.

A Long March by Robert H. Steinbach. Univ. of Texas Press, Austin, 1989. 243 pages; nine photographs, three maps; notes, bibliography, and index. Clothbound, \$24.95.

A Long March gives a close-up look at a military career and family life in the post-Civil War Army. Robert Steinbach's biography fills a gap in U.S. military history of the Indian-fighting Army. But he has also contributed to the picture of women on the Western frontier. Utilizing diaries, letters, and other family papers, he recounts the lives of Frank

and Alice "Allie" Blackwood Baldwin, as they shared the "long march" of a life full of danger, excitement, poverty—and marital clashes.

The twin histories reveal a marriage that survived both the harshness of Army life on the Plains and the restrictive ideals of the times, putting husband and wife in "separate spheres." Unfortunately the author seems to take Allie Baldwin out of the context of her era, transforming her into some sort of modern one-woman liberation movement.

During his long career, Frank Baldwin served in the Civil War, the Indian Wars, and the Spanish-American War. He rose to major general and twice won the Medal of Honor.

A recap of Baldwin's Civil War record is followed by accounts of his various frontier assignments, starting in 1866 with the Thirty-seventh Infantry, at Ft. Leavenworth and Ft. Ellsworth, Kansas, and ending in Denver in 1923.

Over the years, Baldwin's career became linked to that of Nelson Miles, as Miles' chief of scouts and staff officer, in campaigns against the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanches, and pursuit of Chief Joseph's band of Nez Percé.

In 1898, the United States went to war with Spain and Baldwin became inspector general of the Third Army Corps. Eventually he wangled a field assignment and in 1899 was assigned to the Fourth Infantry as a lieutenant colonel in the Regular Army. He joined the Fourth in the Philippines in 1900, serving until the end of the Filipino Insurrection and defeat of the Moros. Baldwin won his brigadier's star and in 1903 returned to the United States. He served out the last three years of his career in Denver as commander of the Department of Colorado.

Upon retirement, Baldwin worked arduously on an autobiography, but never completed it. However, he enjoyed reminiscing, recalling tales of his frontier adventures. In December 1911, for example, he spoke before a Denver veterans group on the Montana winter campaign of 1876.

Two years later, Buffalo Bill Cody proposed that Baldwin, Marion Maus, and Nelson Miles recreate in a silent film their final review of the troops at Pine Ridge Reservation in 1890 after the Wounded Knee tragedy. The trio accepted Cody's offer and appeared in the motion picture. In 1915, the U.S. Senate authorized Baldwin's second star.

At the outbreak of World War I, Baldwin, then 75, came out of retirement to serve as Colorado's adjutant general.

In 1921, the War Department invited Baldwin, as a Medal of Honor winner, to services for World War I's Unknown Soldier at Arlington Cemetery in Washington. Back in Denver, Baldwin underwent a day-long interview at his Detroit Street home by Thomas Dawson, curator of history for the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado.

In 1923, in declining health, Baldwin underwent



Bookshelf *(continued)*

surgery at Fitzsimons General Army Hospital. He later died at home in a coma on April 23.

Two years after Frank's death, Allie Baldwin completed her own memoirs, *Tales of the Old Army by an Old Army Girl*. A Los Angeles publisher increased the size of her slim manuscript by adding a section with contributions from some of Frank's old Army friends. This work was published in 1929, a year before Alice Blackwood Baldwin died at age 85.

—Alan J. Stewart, P.M.

Fools Crow by Thomas E. Mails, assisted by Dallas Chief Eagle. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. First Bison Book printing 1990, 278 pages. Originally published by Doubleday, 1979. Paperback, \$9.95.

This is the history and story of the Teton Sioux told in the words of their holy man and Ceremonial Chief Frank Fools Crow. The author was invited in 1974 to attend the first Indian trade show to be held in 80 years at the Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota. The event was almost canceled because of rain. However, Dallas Chief Eagle had sent a full medicine pipe to Fools Crow asking him to come and "divide the clouds" so that the fair could go on. Fools Crow came, performed the ceremony, and the rain clouds dissipated allowing the sun to shine and dry out the ground.

The author has chosen to use the words of Frank Fools Crow to tell the story. The result is a remarkable narrative that relates the history of the Teton Sioux from their early farming days to later days of alcoholism and losing the old customs. Fools Crow talks about his many vision quests; how he became a holy man; and explains in vivid details the Yuwipi, sweat lodge ceremonies, and the Sun Dance. He also explains what these mean to the Sioux, including instances of physical healing. Told in a spiritual manner, Fools Crow reveals a joyful yet mystical nature. He traveled with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and lived to help mediate between U.S. government officials and Indian activists at Wounded Knee in 1873. He traveled to Washington, D.C., to plead for the return of the Black Hills to his people. He died in 1989.

This reviewer found himself re-reading portions of Fools Crow's story in an effort to fully comprehend what the author was saying. This is a remarkable book in that it is not a white man's interpretation of the Indians, their customs and way of life.

The appendix and notes offer a wealth of information, facts, and other articles that could be used by those desiring material for research on the Sioux, their customs, and the legal matters tran-

siring over the years. The author's illustrations add much to this book.

I would certainly recommend this book to anyone yearning to learn the Indian's point of view.

—Roger P. Michels, P.M.

A History of the Jews in New Mexico by Henry J. Tobias. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1990. 307 pages, photographs, bibliography. Clothbound, \$24.95.

The author, emeritus professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, has also written about the Jews of Oklahoma, and his efforts certainly contribute to the study of this ethnic group in the Southwest. His use of the census and other government records as well as unpublished material from the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati has resulted in a useful book filled with statistics on Jews in New Mexico during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This includes countries of origin, occupations, extent of education, and other categories.

The book is missing any feeling for the Jewish community and its individuals. Jewish people are rarely shown as more than statistics. An exception is the description of the contributions by Jewish businessmen in Santa Fe to the construction of Archbishop Lamy's cathedral. Another point of interest concerned the activities of the KKK in New Mexico during the 1920s, limited except for a few instances. I wish the author had zeroed in on specific persons to a greater degree.

Another neglected topic was the "conversos" of New Mexico who have lived for many generations as Roman Catholics while retaining some of their Jewish heritage. More and more research is being done regarding these people, and Frances Hernandez at the University of Texas at El Paso states that up to 1,500 families in New Mexico have an awareness of their special heritage.

This is the first general study of the Jews in New Mexico, and the emphasis is on the demographic aspects, along with some politics and economics. Future authors will be able to build on this information, writing about leading Jewish citizens and their contributions to the development of the state. I am also certain that as more information about the "conversos" is discovered, there will be a book on that topic.

In the meantime, I would certainly recommend a great book about a Jewish merchant that is wonderful reading. It is Harvey Fergusson's *The Conquest of Don Pedro*.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

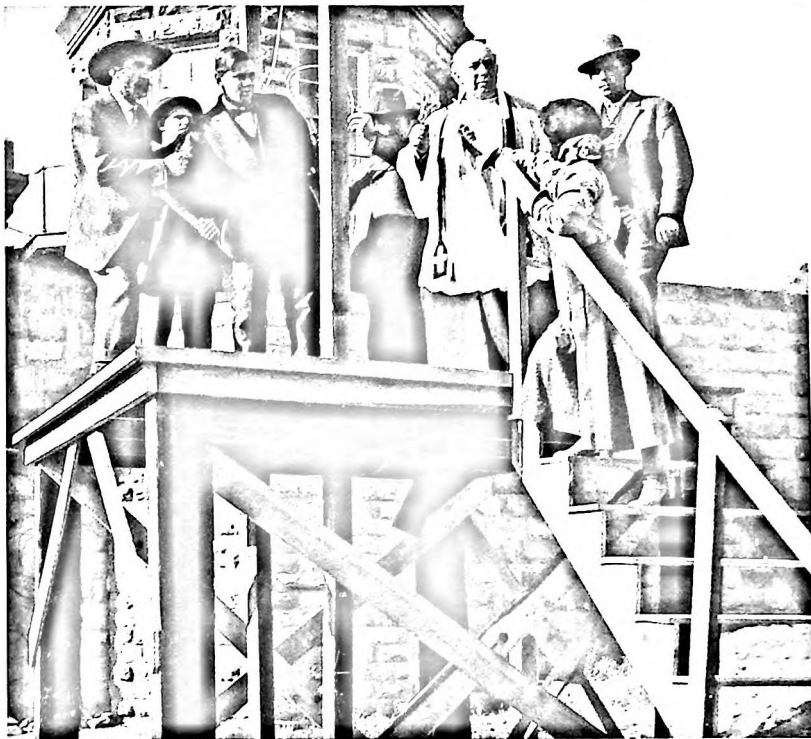


The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

MAY-JUNE 1991

**EARLY COLORADO FILMMAKING AND
THE COLORADO MOTION PICTURE CO.**

by David Emrich, P.M.



(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

Bud Chase as Jim Webster is saved from hanging by his sweetheart, Josephine West as Nell Carter, in a 1914 production, "Pirates of the Plains." State prison guard tower at Cañon City is in rear.

Ben Wayne dies at 91

Bennett M. "Ben" Wayne, 91, a longtime member of The Denver Westerners and Posse, died May 21, 1991, in a Denver hospital. Services and burial were in Mount Nebo Cemetery.

Ben retired in 1972 after a 53-year career as a pharmacist in the Denver area. He was born July 5, 1899, in Kansas City, Mo., and moved to Denver for health reasons in 1919. At age 19, he started work as a busboy at the old Rex Drugstore, 17th and Lawrence streets. Self-taught as a pharmacist, he became a Rex druggist. Later he completed a course from the Capitol College of Pharmacy, and in 1932 passed the Colorado pharmacy examination. He also worked at the Guy Brunert Drugstore, Alan Eber Drugstore, and Pencil Drug Store. He was at Republic Drug, 16th Street and Tremont Place, when a heart attack forced his retirement at age 73.

Survivors include his widow, Ruth, of the home; and a sister, Bessie Wayne, Peoria, Ariz.

As a colorful member of The Westerners, Ben could always be counted on to enliven a meeting with a joke or humorous anecdote. His talks for The Westerners included one in 1982 on downtown Denver's "low-life," and in 1984 on his memories of outstanding Denver eateries.

Ben will be greatly missed as one of the "old-timers."

About the Author

David Emrich is the author of "Early Colorado Filmmaking and the Colorado Motion Picture Company" featured in this edition of *The Roundup*. He is to be commended for unearthing and putting together this interesting history of pioneer moviemaking. David is a new member of The Westerners Posse, and the following brief biography was published in our March/April 1991 issue:

David Emrich is a fourth-generation Coloradoan, and a graduate in economics and political science from the University of Colorado. He has followed in the footsteps of his father, Paul, a filmmaker and radio engineer. David is an independent film and video editor, and several of his films have been presented on PBS.

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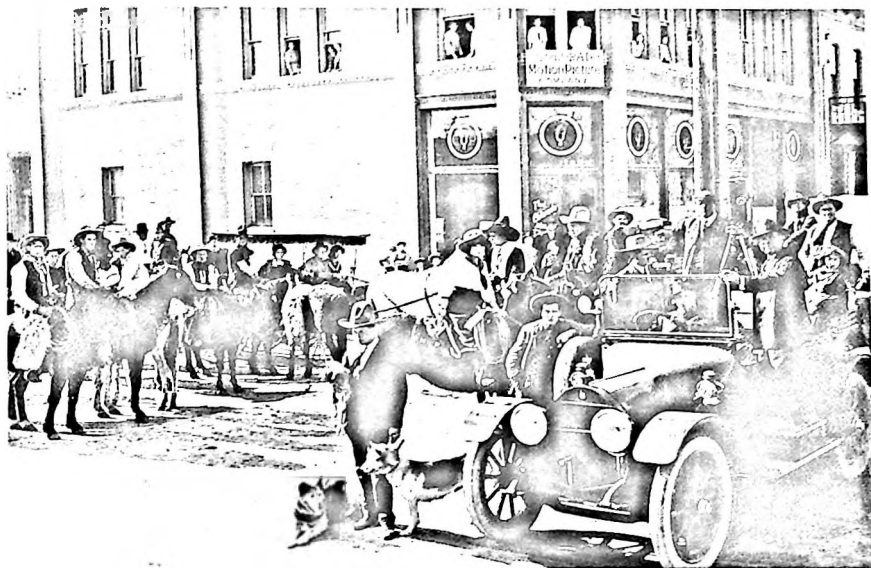
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(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

Employees watch as Colorado Motion Picture Company camera crew sets up in car at Cañon City.

Early Colorado Filmmaking and The Colorado Motion Picture Company

By

David Emrich, P.M.

(Presented Aug. 22, 1990)

COLORADO HAS AN INTERESTING place in the history of motion pictures. Before Hollywood became the center of film production, there was considerable movie-making in Colorado. One of the more interesting chapters in the history is centered around Cañon City and two companies: the Selig Polyscope Company and the Colorado Motion Picture Company. The experiences of these filmmakers are interesting, but they also tell us something about the American West—the West of the pioneer, of dangers, and ultimately, of the success of “civilization” over “frontier.”

Most people think of Hollywood as the birthplace of the motion pictures. But not all movie-making has been in Hollywood and its environs. Early innovations in film production occurred on the East Coast. During the movie companies' migration from east to west, there were stops in Colorado by many of the early production companies. Two reasons drew them west from headquarters in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, or Orange, New Jersey.

First the very low light-sensitivity—an ASA rating of approximately 4—of early motion-picture film stock demanded the bright, almost constant sunshine found in the American Southwest.

and, the growing popularity of Westerns—starting in 1903 with “The Great Train Robbery”—demanded more realistic locations and personalities. Painted backdrops could not provide the dramatic landscapes of the Rocky Mountains.

One of the early filmmakers coming to Colorado was the Selig Polyscope Company of Chicago. “Buck” Buckwalter, a widely known turn-of-the-century Denver still photographer, started making movies for Selig in 1901. He filmed scenes of Denver street life, Ute Indians, mountain peaks, and a few Westerns. Some of these titles included “Runaway Stage Coach” (1902); “The Story of the Leadville Stage” (1904); “Bandit King” (1907); and “Montana Girl” (1907).

Buckwalter's main interest, however, was in the distribution and exhibition of the Selig movies, rather than in their production. Buckwalter worked as the western booking agent for Selig and his companies until 1917, but seems to have stopped shooting movies by 1907.

In the summer of 1911, a more prestigious branch of the Selig company made its way to Colorado. The troupe included Tom Mix, reputed to be one of the three great silent movie cowboy stars and his wife Olive were trick riders, not stars. Even though Tom Mix was not considered a leading man, during his three months in Cañon City, he dominated contemporary Westerns. His riding—not to mention his off-screen activities—became legend.

In the fall of 1911, the troupe also included Joseph A. Golden as producer and director; Marnedman, business manager; Myrtle Stedman, leading lady; and William Duncan, leading man. In August, they shot movies in American City, north of Central City. In September, the troupe moved to Cañon City, staying until winter closed in. Here they made a number of one-reel Westerns (each reel was between 12 and 14 minutes long.)

The Selig company returned in June 1912—without Tom Mix—and shot in the Cañon City area until early January 1913. The shooting schedule was speedy, to say the least—38 titles were shot in only 10 months the Selig Company was in Cañon City. Titles such as “The Bully of Bingo,” “The Telltale Knife,” “The Dynamiters,” “A Cowboy's Mother,” and “The Diamond ‘S’” indicate the style of these films.

Working in those days did not allow much concern for safety. The fast shooting pace and unscripted sequences often resulted in accidents. For instance, Myrtle Stedman was knocked unconscious when the horse she was riding bucked her off into some rocks. A top-heavy stagecoach loaded with people rolled down a 150-foot embankment. Rex Roselli, a “heavy” for the movies, was stabbed in the leg and the *Florence Daily Citizen* of July 11, 1912, calmly reported:

Fortunately the femoral artery was not severed and as the wound was cared for immediately, it was thought that any permanent serious result will follow.

Another accident involved William Duncan, leading man and director of the company, in late summer 1912. He instructed the film crew that, while standing in a doorway, he would raise his hand and yell “cut” to start rolling the film. The second time he raised his hand, a man holding a shotgun came out a beat and then blast the door apart. Unfortunately, the instructions were not followed exactly. The man holding the shotgun fired one signal early, while Duncan was standing in the doorway. Needless to say, Duncan was in the hospital a few days.

Extras were used as extras and as minor players and, on occasion, as leads. A couple of boys starred a local boy, Roderick MacKenzie. In one of these one-reelers, “Roderick's Ride,” he rides “Pony Express style” to get a doctor to save the life of his younger sister. In “The Little Hero,” he lowers her into a well, then lowers himself to escape a raging bear. A supporting actor earned \$5 a day. An extra got \$1 a day. Nevertheless, the economic success for Cañon City interested the city fathers in the motion picture business.

As early as October 1911, there was talk of opening a year-round studio in Cañon City. Tom Mix, the actor-turned-director of the company, let the *Cañon City Record* know that

It is my endeavor to land the proposed studio for this place . . . That nowhere in the United States are the surroundings more adaptable for securing a wide range of pictures than here, and that the climate, coupled with the unusual number of bright cloudless days, renders Cañon City an almost ideal place for the successful prosecution of the company's business.

Yet this studio was never built. In January 1913, the Selig Company moved to Prescott, Ariz., for the winter. Although there was correspondence between Cañon City's Businessmen's Association and Selig, the company never returned to Colorado.

Tom Mix did come back to Colorado, though. In the summer of 1926, the Fox Company—later 20th Century Fox—came to Colorado and shot "The Great K & A Train Robbery" at the Royal Gorge and Glenwood Canyon.

By the end of 1913, any idea that Selig would establish a permanent Colorado studio was abandoned. But there was still hope for Cañon City.

Otis B. Thayer had left Selig in July 1912, for an enterprise called the Cheyenne Motion Picture Company. They made the first movies of the Cheyenne Frontier Days celebration, then apparently broke up. Obie—as he was called—then became part owner and director for the Columbine Film Company in Denver.

Columbine's first production, shot in January 1913 in Denver, was "The Way of the Transgressor," an apparent expose of child-labor conditions. This movie was in the new vein of films that were, in themselves, an exploitation of base social issues. (Another example was the 1913 Universal release about white slavery, "Traffic in Souls.")

"Judge Ben Lindsey's Juvenile Court" was another Columbine Film Company movie. Denver Judge Lindsey played himself in the film. George Creel, a *Denver Post* editorial writer, was the author of the story. Creel later became district attorney, and subsequently headed the Committee on Public Information, official U.S. propaganda agency during World War I.



(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

Denver Judge Ben Lindsey played himself in "Judge Ben Lindsey's Juvenile Court."



(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

Josephine West sits as Obie Thayer directs. Cameraman is Owen Carter.

The film was also a first for a couple of cowboy actors, Bud Chase and Joe Ryan. It also starred Josephine West, an actress who followed Obie away from the Selig company. This movie was shown at the Paris Theatre in April 1913. As with most movies of the day, it played in Denver for just three days.

After making some additional films, such as "The Faker and the Bootlegger," Obie Thayer and Columbine were absorbed into a new organization, the Colorado Motion Picture Company, incorporated on Aug. 30, 1913.

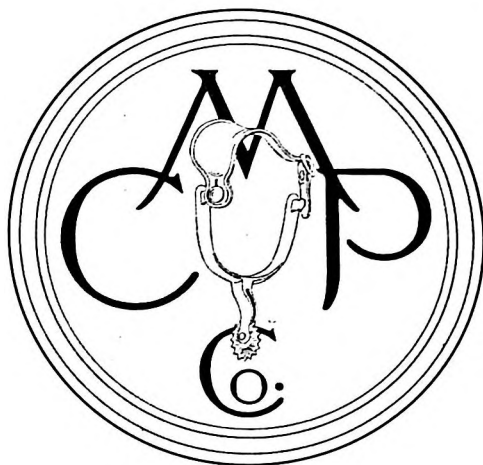
Obie brought his actors and crew to Cañon City in October 1913, in order to use the penitentiary for a three-reel feature film depicting prison life, "The Hand of the Law." Warden Tynan took a leading role in this film. None of the still photos surviving from this movie shows the warden or, indeed, much of the prison. But the *Cañon City Record* of Dec. 25, 1913, stated:

Warden Tynan is conspicuously shown in this remarkable series of pictures, as are also other officers of the prison. The road-building camps and mountain scenery about Cañon City likewise figure in the scenes that are presented.

It is thrilling throughout, and recounts the daring escape of Joe Willard, a convict who gets over the prison walls and escapes to the mountains with the officers of the law in hot pursuit. Two dogs belonging to Bill Wallace are requisitioned by the warden to help run down the refugee, and they play a marvelous role of skill and tenacity in tracking and bringing to bay the runaways. One of the thrills of the drama is where the dogs bring the escaping prisoner to bay on the top of a high cliff and a fight takes place between the pursued and his pursuers, which ends by the man and dogs falling 300 feet down a declivity in an inextricable jumble, the dogs hanging on to the man in a vise-like grip.

Another one of the reels shows Joe Willard in a daredevil act that elicits admiration for its heroism. The sweetheart of the convict on an unmanageable runaway horse dashes past one of the prison road camps where Willard is at work, with the prospect of being thrown off and killed. Willard jumps in the warden's automobile, which is standing conveniently near, and, under high pressure, endeavors to overtake her in the machine and rescue her from her impending fate. He gradually gains on the runaway horse and eventually overtakes it. Leaping

(Courtesy Denver Public Library)
 Colorado Motion Picture Company
 trademark.



from the automobile, he falls upon the animal's neck and finally brings it to a standstill and saves the young woman from injury.

Two quite exciting scenes! Injuries were possible, if not inevitable, in making such movies. (It would be interesting to know what happened to the warden's car!)

Shortly after shooting this film in Cañon City, Thayer presented the Businessmen's Association with a proposal to move the Colorado Motion Picture Company there permanently, on the condition that \$5,000 in preferred stock be subscribed to in Cañon City. The association agreed, providing the city were represented on the board of directors and that Thayer provided a statement of assets and liabilities.

Thayer agreed to two local board members, to serve as secretary and treasurer. He listed company assets (in equipment and film rights) at \$58,300. Other officers of the company included William Foley from Denver, co-owner with Thayer of the earlier Columbine Film Company; and Courtland Dines. Within 24 hours the \$5,000 in stock was sold, and the Colorado Motion Picture Company moved to Cañon City in January 1914.

The reasons for the support the company received were obvious. First, within a year, between 75 and 200 persons were expected to be employed by the company, with weekly payroll of \$1,500 to \$3,500. Second, it was expected that the movies themselves would advertise the region, a concern the town fathers frequently discussed.

The Colorado Motion Picture Company seemed likely to grow. Thayer had found distribution for these movies through a then-new company, Warner Features—soon to be Warner Brothers. Warner contracted for at least one three-reel film every three weeks. From mid-January through the end of August, the production company was reported to have produced 57 movies.

The first of these, "Pirates of the Plains," starred Bud Chase and Josephine West. Chase, playing Jim Webster, is convicted of a murder he did not commit. Josephine West, as his sweetheart Nell Owens, of course, believes in him. She finds the real murderer badly wounded, out on the plains, and hears his confession just before he dies. Nell rushes to save Webster from the hangman's noose. The priest in this movie was played by director Obie Thayer. Jack Donahoo, who played the sheriff, came with the company from Denver. He stayed on in Cañon City and later became the city's police chief.

The second film, "The Range War," was produced in February 1914 and starred Joe Ryan and Josephine West. The movie opens with Josephine West at a ball in Chicago, then continues with the traditional sheepman vs. cattleman conflict. Again, the film was full of stunts. The *Cañon City Record* of Feb. 26, 1914, reported:

In "The Range War," Joe Ryan makes some of the greatest rides of his most exciting and spectacular career as a movie star. In one scene he stops a runaway team, overtaking it on horseback and jumping from the horse to the wagon, then down the wagon tongue to the horses' heads, producing action teeming with danger and uncertainty. At another time, he is dragged by a horse going at full speed. It is apparent from the picture that he is actually dragged and that it is not a dummy that has been substituted.

Again, as so many newspaper stories recounted, there were accidents. Twice during the filming, Ryan was trampled by horses while performing stunts. The *Record* stated that "he received enough injuries in this picture to kill an ordinary man."

Sometimes there were dangers of another kind. Perhaps the strangest story involving this film company deals with a mining war at the Chandler Mine between Cañon City and Florence.

On April 25, 1914, a gunfight broke out between striking miners and guards for the mine owners. Shortly after a truce was called, the movie company started to enact a gunfight of their own—using blanks—for one of their films. The *Fremont County Leader* (April 30, 1914) reported:

Within a few minutes the hill between them and Brookside was bristling with guns containing sure-enough bullets. These were in the hands of strikers who were eager to learn what was going on. The mission of the picture gang was explained to them and they drew off. It is dollars-to-doughnuts the movies [sic] were not comfortable during the short minute of parley.

(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

In a typically hazardous action shot, Joe Ryan rescues Josephine West in "The Range War."



At least two more movies were shot during March, April, and May that year. Unfortunately, no titles have been found for these films. Existing still photos show the first of these was a story about mine claim-jumping. This film again starred Josephine West, and was the last Cañon City movie for Joe Ryan. Jack Donahoo and Obie Thayer again played parts.

A second—untitled—movie also starred Josephine West, in her last film for the Colorado Motion Picture Company. Edmund Cobb, the company's new leading man, arrived in late April, having worked with three of the largest early filmmakers: Lubin Company of Philadelphia; Vitagraph in New York City; and Selig, Chicago. The movie dealt with the kidnapping of Miss West by a man (bandit?) who takes her to a mountain hideout.



(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

Josephine West, right, puts a gun in Joe Ryan's back in "The Range War" scene.



(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

Josephine West and Joe Ryan promote love interest in film, "The Range War."

With each new movie, the company became more ambitious. Another film was shot during June: "Across the Border," about gunrunning along the Mexican-U.S. border during the Mexican Revolution. The cast of hundreds included Troops E and H of the 12th U.S. Cavalry.

Ed Cobb played the lead. Grace McHugh, the female lead, was new with the Colorado Motion Picture Company, and was an accomplished actress and horsewoman, as well as aeronaut and swimmer.

Again accidents were reported in the press. Charlie Reeves, a Cañon City resident who provided horses and acted in many small parts, was kicked in the back by a horse while setting up a shot with a group of horses killed after the explosion of an ammunition wagon.

On July 1, 1914, the company had just started to make its next film when a tragedy struck. A scene for "Across the Border," ruined in developing, was being reshot when Grace McHugh's horse stumbled as she was trying to cross the Arkansas River just above Cañon City. Panicking, she caused the horse to further lose its footing, and she was thrown into the river.

The July 2 *Cañon City Record* reported that, at first, John Keough rode into the river to help her. The newspaper quoted Obie Thayer, who said, "She grabbed his hands so that he could do nothing. In his efforts to break her hold so that he could grab her, the force of the water swept her away downstream. In the meantime, cameraman Owen Carter took off his clothes and jumped into the current alongside of her. He grabbed her and I saw him carry her to the sand bank."

Thayer thought that all was okay. But another witness said Carter then stumbled, hitting his head on a rock, and both he and Miss McHugh fell back into the river. Lawrence Jossenberger, also with the company, having seen them carried on down the river jumped in and was himself



Grace McHugh, from postcard issued by the Colorado Motion Picture Company, to promote movie, "Across the Border."



(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

Jack Donahoo and Ed Cobb confer in military movie, "A Cycle of Destiny."

almost drowned. Grace McHugh and Owen Carter were not so lucky, and both were drowned. At first, some people doubted that the two had really drowned. Owen Carter's mother, for one, believed it might have been an advertising scheme.

"And yet, if it were, Owen would not be a party to such a thing," she told a *Denver Post* reporter. "He would have let me know. He was a good boy, and so considerate of his mother."

Owen Carter's body was found one week later, a mile downstream. Grace McHugh's body wasn't found until two weeks after the accident. Ironically, on the same day the *Cañon City Record* announced discovery of the actress' body, the paper carried a story on Ed Cobb's acting history, and the stunts he performed for "Across the Border." In one of these, he floats down the river for a half-mile and finally comes up against the bank," the writer noted.

The movie that the company had just started filming, "A Cycle of Destiny," was begun again with a new leading actress, Gertrude Bondhill. The *Cañon City Record* reported on July 16, 1914, that the new movie was to be:

... a three-reel Military Indian drama of the period of '65. Otis B. Thayer, director of the company, is showing what he can do, now that he is blessed with pleasant weather, as he made 38 scenes in two days, which is eight scenes more than a one-reel picture.

This movie also starred A. S. Lewis as the "heavy" and Johnny Keogh and Jack Donahoo as Army officers. In September, the company announced it would make another three-reel military play, "In Perilous Paths."

The Colorado Motion Picture Company essentially went out of business and left Cañon City sometime in the fall of 1914. The local legend is that the company was sued by the mother of Grace McHugh and its officers had to fold the corporation.

Thayer most assuredly saw William Duncan of the Selig Company almost drown in the same area in the summer of 1911. Considering this fact, and the other accidents that happened to the actors, the company was a likely target for a suit. But there is no record of any kind of lawsuit being filed in Cañon City or Golden (where Grace was from). There also was never any newspaper story nor any discussion in the Businessmen's Association's notes pertaining to a suit. Moreover, the company's annual report filed with the state in March 1915 noted that the firm was "entirely out of debt." Finally, the Colorado Motion Picture Company was not officially dissolved as a corporation until April 26, 1918. So the real reason the company went out of business may never be known.

Interestingly, a week after the drownings of Grace McHugh and Owen Carter, a movie signaling ultimate consolidation of the film industry in California was shown in Cañon City: "Quo Vadis," an epic Roman film 11 reels in length, was a tremendous hit worldwide. It encouraged filmmakers to produce the large-scale, long movies that we know today as feature films.

The same climate factors that attracted production companies to Colorado drew filmmakers to California. While some movie companies were discovering Colorado, more were discovering Southern California. The dramatically accelerating costs of ever-larger and longer movies led to the consolidation of the industry in the "heaven" that we call Hollywood.

Obie Thayer continued making movies in Colorado for several years. First he worked in Colorado Springs for the Pikes Peak Photoplay Company in 1915 and 1916; then for the National Film Corporation in Denver in 1916 and 1917; and finally, for his own firm, Art-o-Graf Film Company in Denver, 1919-1923. Gertrude Bondhill worked with Obie Thayer at the Pikes Peak Photoplay Company in Colorado Springs until some time in 1916. (The only other notable person to work for that company was Silver Dollar Tabor, who wrote her mother, Baby Doe, of her employment.)

Miss Bondhill then went to New York, performing on Broadway. Later she was on the radio program, "Pepper Young's Family."

Joe Ryan and Bud Chase also went to California and were in Western serials for a number of years.

Ed Cobb left Colorado for California, to work for the Essanay Company, another early major film producer. He rejoined Obie Thayer's Art-o-Graf Films in Denver from 1919 to 1923. He then returned to California, first to make serials, then features for Universal during the 1920s, '30s, and '40s.

Obie was the last to go, finally leaving Colorado for California in 1925.

The concentration of the movie industry in California was nearly absolute. There were almost no further attempts at feature filmmaking by any local Colorado company until after World War II. Hollywood continued to come to Colorado for the picturesque locations that brought producers to the state in the first place. By getting away from the back lots of the East Coast and later the West Coast, the filmmakers were able to portray the West in a more realistic light. In the early days of the movies, people in the *background* of the action were realistic because many were portraying how they themselves had lived. Many of these extras thus relived the cattle drives and Indian fights they had experienced in their youth. The later the movie was made, the less realistic these background elements became.

Primarily, moviemaking was a business. By using the same sets, the same costumes, and the same "professional" extras, film companies could produce movies more economically and safely. The film *industry* necessitated the homogenization of the movies. But in the early, rough versions, there was a realism in the images that can never be duplicated. And again, making these movies was not unlike living on the frontier they portrayed. As the *Cañon City Record* stated in an Oct. 11, 1911 story:

There is a large element of danger to the participants in some of these dramas that are portrayed for the benefit of the camera, and only those of the steadiest nerves and utmost bravery are chosen to take part in their presentation, for most of them delineate the "wild and woolly west" when its frontier was a buffer between savagery and civilization.

This brings us back to Grace McHugh's experience in the movie business. An interview with her was to have appeared in the *Rocky Mountain News* on the day after her death. While the *News* did not print the interview, they did print this short excerpt on July 2, 1914:

Of course, to hold my job, I have to take many chances. I make it a rule to never get excited or hesitate, or even to think of the possible consequences. Often I have narrow escapes and frequently sustain physical injuries, but I never think of them at the time.

This comment is telling in that it displays the extent to which these actors pursued their craft. Grace McHugh represents the raw talent and the will of these early film actors. The Colorado Motion Picture Company expressed this same thought when it issued a postcard with a photo of Miss McHugh on the front, to promote the movie, "Across the Border." On the reverse side, the legend reads:

The tragedy which cost Miss Grace McHugh her life in the production of "Across the Border" robbed picturedom of one of its greatest artists. Young, beautiful, talented and courageous, Miss McHugh had before her the promise of a brilliant life. She was a true actress—a conscientious worker—a woman of character and strength. Her career, short as it was, is an inspiring example of what ability and determination can accomplish.

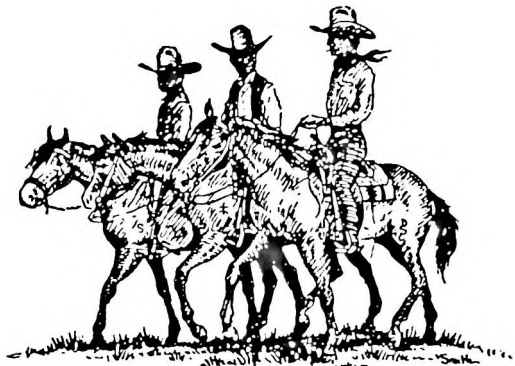
"Across the Border" is conceded by critics to be the best film of its kind yet produced, its remarkable success being due to the originality of the scenario, the realism of the pictures, and the splendid acting of her role by Miss McHugh.

The Colorado Motion Picture Company feels that "Across the Border" is itself a fitting tribute to the memory of Grace McHugh, than whom no more worthy star has appeared in the motion picture firmament.

These words seem to express the point of this paper. Here is a woman of the twentieth century who fearlessly portrayed and, indeed, personified the American "Wild West." But perhaps more tellingly, she represents the business that was—and is—moviemaking, for on the bottom of the postcard, are these final words:

"To be shown at the Cañon City Opera House Wednesday and Thursday, Oct. 7 and 8. Matinee Thursday."

Ultimately, Grace McHugh's death did serve as a publicity stunt.



Over the Corral Rail

Ken Pitman is the newest member of The Denver Westerners Posse, after serving as a Corresponding Member for two years. He was the author of the featured article, "The Battle of Glorieta Pass," in the March/April 1991 issue of *The Roundup*, and his complete biographical sketch was published under "About the Author."

The Glorieta Pass Battlefield is one of 25 Civil War sites listed by the Interior Department for the American Battlefield Protection Program. Much of the battlefield is on private property, and the action authorizes acquisition of land within the site's core area. Glorieta Pass was also scene of a recent reenactment of the battle by Civil War buffs from Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

Past-sheriff, Posse member, author, and history professor, **Dr. Tom Noel**, is writing a biweekly column on Denver and Colorado history, appearing on the "OP-ED" page of *The Denver Post*. One of his first columns concerned early-day voting fraud in Denver.

Merrill J. Mattes, a Posse member and 1979 sheriff, has donated his private library to the Oregon-California Trails Association, headquartered in Independence, Mo. Merrill is a co-founder and director emeritus of the association. He is also a member of the American History Association and Colorado Historical Society. He is the author of *The Great Platte River Road* and *Platte River Narratives*, and is a favorite speaker for The Denver Westerners, having presented numerous papers before the group. Retired as a U.S. Park Service historian, he was for-

merly manager of the Office of Historic Preservation, Denver Service Center, and is widely recognized for his work in the restoration of Ft. Laramie, Wyo.

University Press of Colorado at Niwot has announced publication of *Cache La Poudre, the History of a Rocky Mountain River*, by Howard Ensign Evans and Mary Alice Evans. Howard Evans is professor emeritus in entomology at Colorado State University, and Mary Alice Evans is a CSU faculty affiliate in entomology. Their book explores the river's system from headwaters in Rocky Mountain National Park to its juncture with the South Platte River, detailing its geology, and plant and animal life.

Kansas Heritage Press in Lawrence has released hardcover reprints of two rare works: *Kansas-Its Interior and Exterior Life* by Sara Tappan Doolittle Robinson; and *The Civil War on the Border* (two volumes) by Wiley Britton. The book by Sara Robinson, wife of the first governor of Kansas, is a reprint of an original 1856 classic detailing one pioneer woman's experience in the embattled wilderness that was Territorial Kansas.

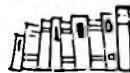
Britton's work, first published in 1899, traces military operations in Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory during the Civil War. A member of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry and later an attache for the War Department, Britton was in a unique position to chronicle the war west of the Mississippi.

—Ed.





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.*

Boomtown Blues. Colorado Oil Shale, 1895-1925 by Andrew Gulliford. Univ. Press of Colorado, Niwot. Bibliography, illustrations, 228 pages. Clothbound, \$19.95.

This is a comprehensive history of the boom-and-bust of Colorado's oil-shale industry. Probably no other industry has had such a glowing future and quick burn out as the oil-shale boom. It could best be described as a sort of sky rocket—brilliant—then phlutt!!

To this reviewer, the first chapter was the most interesting, detailing the early settlement of the Colorado River valley from Dominguez and Escalante, Hayden and Powell, down to the development of ranching and fruit-growing. Coal was easily available and the mines employed many immigrants, mostly Austrians and Italians. After two fatal mine explosions, the miners decided to become farmers.

Some settlers had noticed that oil could be obtained by heating the shale, but it remained for World War I to show that we might need this new kind of oil. President Wilson established a Naval Oil Reserve of some 130,000 acres in Colorado and Utah. This brought the filing of claims on open government land, and dozens of companies sprang up with fake promotions.

I can remember walking along Denver's Seventeenth Street and looking in the windows of brokerage houses at model oil derricks, surrounded by pieces of oil shale. Each derrick was pumping crankcase oil from a hidden pan up through a tube to be drained back to the pan. The stock swindles connected with these companies prompted the formation of the Securities Exchange Commission.

With the end of World War I and cheaper oil available from deeper wells, the dream began to fade, and by 1925 it ended. The Great Depression of the early 1930s did not help. Banks in the valley failed. Abandoned hotels and vacant buildings burned, not to be rebuilt. Then came World War II, and it was soon evident that we needed another source of oil. However, not much was done until the late 1960s.

The real boom started when giant Exxon Corporation entered the picture. They bought out Atlantic Richfield for \$400 million. Twelve acres

which had sold for \$12,000 in 1974 brought \$115,000 in 1979. Grandparents saw their grandchildren bring home more money in one week than they had earned in a year.

It was predicted that the region would need 700 schools, 3,000 teachers, 700 new police and firemen, 200 doctors, and 75,000 new housing starts. A new town, Battlement Mesa, was started across the Colorado River, south of Parachute.

It looked as if the millennium had come. But on April 28, 1982, the Exxon Board of Directors voted to close its Colony Project. On May 2, when one of the contractors was entertaining 400 people at a barbeque, Exxon announced the closing, and 2,100 people were instantly unemployed. One thousand people left overnight.

In 1980, Mesa County had 94,000 people. By 1985 this had dropped to 83,000. Fourteen percent of the houses in Grand Junction were vacant, and Battlement Mesa was referred to as a ghost town. Exxon became a dirty word.

Today, there is a different boom. The condos at Battlement Mesa can be rented for a modest sum, and houses can be bought on very easy terms. A golf course has been built, and the easy living has been directed toward retirees. Some experimental work is being done to manufacture asphalt road material from the shale. And—who knows? The valley may boom again.

—Francis B. Rizzari, P.M.

The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property? edited by Phyllis Mauch Messenger. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 292 pages, photographs. Clothbound, \$32.50; paperback, \$15.95. (The clothbound edition of this book was published in 1989 and the paperback in 1991.)

The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property focuses on the "ethical, legal and intellectual issues related to the disposition of cultural property, particularly archaeological remains."

There are 22 essays covering such topics as the importance and extent of the problem; and ways to improve protection of cultural resources.

Americans have always been avid collectors of

artifacts, including such personages as William Randolph Hearst whose acquisitions from the Egyptian, Greek and Roman civilizations now belong to the State of California. A more recent example was displayed at the Denver Museum of Natural History: Costa Rican material collected by Frederick Mayer, many of the objects coming from burial sites. This museum recently returned to the Zuni tribe war gods from a donated collection. Often, early archaeologists were more collectors than scientists seeking important information.

There are numerous problems regarding the protection of the cultural resources. The essays mention the question of ownership of material on private property; the protection of sites on public lands; the failure of some governments to protect the artifacts in their museums; and the legal questions that arise when laws in different countries conflict.

Many do not realize the damage caused by collecting arrowheads or pottery sherds. Such collectors would be very upset to be told that their hobby is destroying a possible source of information about the past. Others are fully aware of what they are doing but do not care about anything but making a profit.

Pothunters in the Four Corners—including some Navajos—know about markets for Anasazi material, and use massive excavation to find all they can. Too often national and local protection cannot cover wide areas, and the pothunters do not fear getting caught.

This summer I will spend time working in Chaco and Crow canyons to gain additional information about the Anasazi—and I will not collect even one small sherd. All that is found will be studied and then placed in a secure spot for future study.

At Crow Canyon only a small part of any site will be excavated, and the remainder left undisturbed. No one knows what archaeological research methods will be developed in the future.

This book will appeal to anyone with an interest in the preservation of sites and artifacts.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Straight From The Heart: Portraits of Traditional Hispanic Musicians with photographs by Jack Parsons and essay by Jim Sagel. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1990. 108 pages, 53 duotone illustrations. Paperback, \$19.95.

The music of a people is very special to their culture, and this is certainly evident throughout northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. The negative aspect of this is that, as our nation becomes more homogenous, authentic regional culture is fast disappearing. In New Mexico, for example, the same fast-food strips are often found,

as throughout the nation. Or there may be a Santa Fe "style" for the tourist.

There have been attempts to save the culture, and there have been several projects to record music that is still available.

With his photographs, Jake Parsons has placed these musicians in their natural settings, which does a lot more to show them as people, and not just as musicians. One of those pictured is Jose Archuleta of Taos. He had several occupations during his life, but always enjoyed playing his music whenever he had the opportunity. During a break while playing in Los Cordovas, Mr. Archuleta died of a heart attack at age 77. He was doing what he enjoyed.

Jim Sagel's essay about the people of this area and their culture shows evidence of his personal involvement with the Hispanic culture. To appreciate the full impact of the essay, it will help to understand a little Spanish. The author mixes Spanish and English as is very common among Hispanic citizens.

This book was produced for a special readership and might have limited appeal. I must be one of those in that special group, because I found that both the photographs and the essay went a long way in illustrating the culture of this region of our nation.

Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Life in Mexico Under Santa Anna: 1822-1855 by Ruth R. Olivera and Liliane Crete. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1991. 280 pages, illustrations, maps. Clothbound, \$24.95.

This is a social history of Mexico, from 1822 to 1855. It is not the political history of Santa Anna nor any other individual. It is not an in-depth study of any significant aspect of Mexican life, and while authors draw upon "personal letters, business correspondence, hacienda inventories and mining records of the Gordo family," the book does not really discuss this family in any detail. The family is mentioned in scattered references throughout the book.

The book groups much information in convenient categories, with chapters on transportation and communication, Mexicans at ease, and Mexicans at work. Some of this material is worth reading, but some is unnecessary. One interesting aspect is that many things in Mexico just have not changed much from 1855. This is evident in discussions about attitudes toward death and the "Day of the Dead."

The authors refer to Robert Miller's *Mexico*, and I would recommend it as a very good source of information about our neighbor to the south.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Back Trailing on the Old Frontiers by William W. Cheely and H. Percy Raban. John Osterbert, Aurora, Colo., 1990. 162 pages, illustrations. Clothbound, \$75; paperback, \$29.95.

This book consists of 51 articles about the West, originally published in newspapers from March 5, 1922, to Feb 18, 1923. The authors later reprinted 14 of the articles in a book published in 1922. (These 14 are identified in the table of contents of the current publication.)

As the authors were residents of Great Falls, Mont., they were able to get another Great Falls resident, Charles Marion Russell, to illustrate the series. Each article is illustrated with a pen-and-ink sketch.

The articles cover a wide range of topics both geographically and historically and are well-written and worth reading. This just might be the perfect gift to someone to introduce them to Western history, but add a disclaimer regarding the book's historical accuracy.

Information contained is sometimes flawed. Examples of this: Jules Reni instead of Jules Beni; incorrect dates for the Santa Fe Trail; incorrect dates for the founding of Santa Fe; and having H. A. W. Tabor get his riches from the discovery of gold at Cripple Creek.

It is interesting to note the author's attitudes toward Native Americans and other minorities. I doubt that many newspapers would publish these articles today.

The clothbound edition is limited to 500 numbered copies, and the very attractive paperback edition is limited to 1,000 copies.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Denver, Mining Camp Metropolis by Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel. Univ. Press of Colorado, Niwot, 1990. 544 pages, illustrations, appendix, sources, and index. Hardbound, \$29.95.

As noted in the preface, much has already been written about Denver's beginnings, and the second half of the nineteenth century. The authors wisely chose to devote more than two-thirds of their book to Denver in the current century. Although the title carries no hint of a regional scope, Part III is devoted to nearby communities in Arapahoe, Adams, Jefferson and Boulder counties. The reader will find much obscure information in this section—e.g., in Longmont the old Dickens Opera House is currently a better-than-average restaurant. Also, Leonard and Noel have accorded a much kinder treatment to our Native Americans than many other writers.

All of the illustrations are clear and well reproduced.

Among the widely diverse personalities included, you will meet such people as Claude Boettch-

er, Ann Evans, Ralph Carr, "Buffalo Bill" Cody, Ed Bemis, Pat Schroeder, H. A. W. Tabor, Ben Stapleton, Dwight Eisenhower, "Big Ed" Johnson, Joyce Meskis, Barney Ford, Tom Curriegan, and Sen. Dennis Gallagher.

Chapter 11, "Women's Roles and Rights," is particularly well done. Did you know that Denver was the first major city in the world to give women the right to vote? Or that Denver is the 26th-largest city in America?

There is humor in these pages, too. For example, to avoid paying the modest 25 cents a letter charged by stagecoach companies, some Denver residents read their mail then returned it as belonging to someone else and demanded a refund.

Among tidbits of information scattered through the book, I learned that the much-maligned John Milton Chivington put a raft into the swollen South Platte River and rescued the family of W. N. Byers during the flood of 1864.

Chapter 12 treats the turn-of-the-century corruption in Denver's City Hall, a subject some writers have avoided like the plague. The chapter on the Robert W. Speer era is excellent. The same can be said of the period from Quigg Newton through Federico Peña. There are many insights into those years of critical change. Denver's involvement with the Ku Klux Klan appears in Chapter 17. It is very informative.

Likewise, the chapter on the life of the working people of the "Queen City" deserves a second reading.

Before publication of this hefty but very readable book, this reviewer long preferred Robert L. Perkins, *The First Hundred Years*, or Smiley's *History of Denver*, when seeking information about the city. Now I must add this very fine volume.

—Robert L. Brown, P.M.

Juan de Onates's Colony in the Wilderness by Robert McGeogh. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1990. 62 pages, photographs, Paperback, \$8.95.

This book introduces the early history of New Mexico. Its seven chapters take the reader from Cabeza de Vaca to Diego de Vargas, covering exploration to reconquest.

The author covers no new ground, nor gives any new interpretation of events. There are several minor questions of fact, e.g., whether Cabeza de Vaca actually stated that he had seen the Seven Cities of Gold.

In the introduction, a reference is made to construction of a monument and visitor center dedicated to Juan de Onate. There is some controversy over whether the money for those items might not be better used for more productive purposes.

This book is certainly for that person with little or no knowledge of early New Mexico history.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

New Mexico's Railroads, A Historical Survey. Revised edition by David F. Myrick. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1990. Illustrated; index. Paperback, \$16.95

First released in 1970 as a 205-page hardbound volume under the imprint of the Colorado Railroad Museum, this welcome revised edition from the prestigious Univ. of New Mexico Press has been expanded to 276 pages. Numerous well-researched and carefully drawn maps add much explanatory value to the information in this new edition. The illustrations, many not previously published, are well-reproduced and thankfully integrated appropriately with the text.

David Myrick, justifiably recognized for his other authoritative and comprehensive histories of railroads in Arizona and Nevada, reports that in 1914 New Mexico had 11 common-carrier railroads operating on 3,124 miles of track. The story of each of these companies is fully developed; relationships with other lines explained; and all brought up to date.

Supplementing his stories of the big, main-line railroads in the state, the author's research into less familiar carriers covers 13 coal roads; seven lumber railroads; and six lines serving the Southwestern mines. A final fillip provides data on the little-known streetcar lines in Las Vegas and Albuquerque, as well as an interesting discourse on the streetcar and railroad situation in El Paso, where Texas, New Mexico and Mexico join together.

This well-produced work warrants the attention of anyone interested in our sister state and its means of steel wheel on steel rail transport, and the modest price makes for an excellent buy.

—Jackson C. Thode, P.M.

Dan De Quille, The Washoe Giant: A Biography and Anthology by Richard A. Dwyer and Richard E. Lingenfelter. Univ. of Nevada Press, Reno, 1990. 452 pages, one illustration. Paperback edition, \$16.95.

For readers unfamiliar with Dan De Quille, the pen name of William Wright, the editors of this volume in the first 53 pages provide an excellent biography. They have skillfully integrated quotes and observations from De Quille and his contemporaries.

William Wright was born in Knox County, Ohio, where he spent his first 18 years. Then in 1847, his family moved to Muscatine County, Iowa, near West Liberty. In 1853, Wright married Caroline Coleman and over the next four years they had five children.

In the late 1850s, William and his brother Hank caught "gold fever" and headed west as had thousands before them. From 1858 to 1861 William traveled through much of the mining districts of California and western Utah Territory. During his

wanderings he continued the writing he had begun in Iowa. He constantly submitted articles to hometown newspapers and others throughout the West under the name of Dan De Quille. By 1860, he had reached the Washoe area of present-day Nevada and in 1862 went to work for the *Territorial Enterprise*. In early 1863, both he and Samuel Langhorne Clemens were writers for this newspaper.

Dan De Quille's writing skills continued to develop, until those who knew both him and Clemens—later to become popular as Mark Twain—predicted that Dan was the one who would become distinguished. However, De Quille was destined to spend most of his remaining working days in the Washoe area, where his family eventually joined him. He returned to Iowa in 1897, and died there on March 16, 1898.

Dan De Quille wrote several books as well as many articles and stories for publication in U.S. newspapers and magazines. The balance of this volume consists of 42 of these articles and stories, grouped under: "Hard Traveling," "Ho! For the Washoe," "A Silver Man," "Covering the Comstock," "Comstock Characters," "Washoe Zephyrs," "Ghosts," "Nevada Nuggets," and "California Reminiscences."

I enjoyed reading the anthology and would be hard-pressed to name a favorite selection. Dan De Quille's writing style and story-telling ability brought from this reader the same responses and chuckles experienced when reading works of Mark Twain.

Dwyer and Lingenfelter have also provided an impressive "Checklist of De Quille's Writings," with three sections: Manuscripts (by repository), Edition, and Periodical Articles (listed by publication date). I would recommend this book to those who enjoy reading writings from the American West.

—Keith Fessenden, P.M.

Images of Penance, Images of Mercy: Southwestern Santos in the Late Nineteenth Century by William Wroth. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1991. 213 pages, 147 illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Clothbound, \$65; paperback, \$24.95.

This book is published in conjunction with an exhibition of santos sponsored by the Taylor Museum for Southwestern Studies, displayed at the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center. The Taylor Museum has a collection of more than 800 santos, one of the two largest collections of Southwestern santos.

The author was curator of the Taylor Museum from 1976 to 1983, and previously wrote *Christian Images in Hispanic New Mexico*, a more generalized study of sacred and folk art with a special focus on santos produced in New Mexico, 1700 to 1860. Marta Weigle, who wrote the introduction to the second section of *Images of Penance, Images of Mercy*, a University of New Mexico professor,

has written several books, including *Brother of Light Brothers of Blood*, a study of the Penitentes.

Wroth presents a well-researched study of the Christian tradition of penance and mercy, tracing the concept from Europe through Mexico to New Mexico. The Brotherhood of Sangre de Cristo is examined by both Wroth and Weigle, clarifying the relationship of the Brotherhood to the Third Order of St. Francis.

A change in attitude toward the Brotherhood by Padre Martinez is explained by the impact of the United States conquest of New Mexico. After the conquest, Padre Martinez saw the Brotherhood as the "glue" needed to help hold the Hispanic Catholic culture together.

The illustrations of the santos—the majority in color—are grouped by artist, or by area, such as the artists of Taos or southern Colorado. The illustrations are worth the price of the book.

For anyone with an interest in the Brotherhood, the images of their faith or Hispanic folk art, this is a book to be acquired.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

The Upper Arkansas: A Mountain River Valley by Virginia McConnell Simmons. Pruett Pub. Co., Boulder, 1990. 353 pages. Clothbound, \$21.95.

One of Colorado's finest writers has returned to the wellspring. Virginia McConnell Simmons of Alamosa tapped the headwaters of the South Platte in *Bayou Salado. The Story of South Park*, and the upper Rio Grande in *The San Luis Valley and Valley of the Cranes*, and now the Arkansas River.

The Upper Arkansas traces the chronological history and natural history of that jubilant stream, from the silver city of Leadville to the steel city of Pueblo. With camera and note cards, Simmons has prowled every Arkansas Valley settlement and tributary over the past four decades. Combining personal inspections and interviews with library research, she offers a then-and-now narrative and photos that point out the lingering spectacles, ruins, and landmarks.

Readers can follow the Utes to hunting grounds and hot springs, then watch early Euro-Americans struggle to farm in places like Greenhorn and Hardscrabble. The trickle of settlers became a flood with the discovery of gold, and then silver. From the two-mile-high city of Leadville, riches flowed downstream to Pueblo and the Front Range. Little remains of Leadville's past glory. Once the second-largest city in Colorado and the richest and wildest of El Dorados, it has sunk to a current population of 2,629.

Anecdotes shine in Simmons' story: "Romley was relatively sedate, with the exception of an incident when the camp cook killed 14 boarders and the boss with cockroach poison, then married the

widow of the boardinghouse owner." Some of these tales are hard to swallow. Like the one about the Buena Vista judge who "gave up any effort to mete out justice in proportion to the crime, and simply fined all offenders, including murderers, \$10 per offense."

This lively guide resurrects the ghost towns and railroads that haunt the Arkansas Valley. Cañon City and Salida, two of Colorado's most spirited and beautifully preserved small towns, are bright spots on a stream that sometimes turned mean. Poisoned with mine, mill, and human refuse, it killed fish. Ruthlessly deforested along its headwaters, it flooded Pueblo. That deadly, destructive 1921 flood led to dams and the huge, hideous concrete channel that now chaperones the Arkansas through Pueblo. River revival schemes inspired the 1899 establishment of Leadville's National Fish Hatchery and, a century later, creation of a 148-mile long Arkansas River Recreation Area.

Anyone who tackles the new park and the history-rich Upper Arkansas without this book is missing the boat.

—Tom Noel, P.M.

[Reviewer Tom Noel, a professor of history and director of Colorado Studies at CU-Denver, most recently authored *The University Club of Denver* (with Peg Ekstrand) and *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis* (with Steve Leonard).]

The Texas Cherokees: A People Between Two Fires, 1819-1840, by Dianna Everett. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman; 1990. 192 pages, five illustrations, four maps, notes, bibliography, index. Hardback, \$14.95.

Many books and articles have been written about the five civilized tribes—the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Seminoles and Cherokees—and their removal to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. A little known sidelight to this tragic migration is the attempt of a small number of Cherokees under the leadership of Duwali, Richard Fields, Gatunwali and others to settle in northeastern Texas in an area near the present towns of Henderson, Tyler, and Rusk. The Indians occupied up to seven villages according to contemporary accounts. This group's total population probably never exceeded 1,000 individuals.

This book arose from Ms. Everett's doctoral dissertation and covers this interesting sidelight quite thoroughly. The basis of the book is the attempts of this group of Cherokees to gain official title to the land they settled upon, as well as governmental permission to settle permanently in northeast Texas during the 21-year period from 1819 to 1840. The book thoroughly describes the organization of the Cherokee government and social structure. It explains why diplomatic negotiations of

this group of Cherokees with the Mexican government, the government of the Republic of Texas, and other Indian tribes were doomed to failure.

Using contemporary accounts, the author gives interesting views of Cherokee lifestyles during this era. The reader learns how it felt to live as a Cherokee in Texas in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Many aspects of Cherokee culture and lifestyle are covered, such as clans, clan revenge, government, diplomacy, methods of war and tribal customs. The roles of the dual leaders of the Cherokee—the Civil Chief and the War Chief who also doubles as the Chief Diplomat—are explained.

Also covered are those aspects of the history of Mexico and Texas affecting these Cherokees and their failure to gain a permanent home in Texas. Circumstances led to the ultimate forced removal of the Cherokees from Texas in the late 1830s.

The book is organized chronologically through the 21-year period of the Cherokees' stay in Texas, concluding with their merger into the Cherokee nation after their move from Texas. An introductory chapter sets the stage, and an epilogue chronicles attempts of descendants to gain reimbursement for the lands lost in Texas. The notes for the book are extensive and the index is adequate.

This is a book especially recommended for those interested in either Cherokee or Texas history.

—Keith Fessenden, P.M.

Fatal Destiny by Robert K. Swisher Jr. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1991. 317 pages. Paperback, \$14.95.

The author is a good story-teller as was shown in his earlier book, *The Land*, and this is a good story about a poor New Mexico cowboy who meets up with Theodore Roosevelt, fights in the Spanish-American War as a Rough Rider, and goes on to become a wealthy plantation owner in Cuba. It has everything including sex and violence and looks at the history of Cuba from the war to the rise of Castro.

As a work of fiction, this is worth reading while waiting for your plane to be de-iced in Memphis, but it is not historically accurate in many areas. The First Volunteer Cavalry completed their training in San Antonio, not Las Vegas, N.M., and their train ride was to Tampa not Orlando where in the book, Lieutenant Williams and Sergeant Steans walked to the docks. That would be a long walk in Orlando.

Theodore Roosevelt gets special attention and there are several questionable references to him, including his getting someone into the Air Corps in World War I; a meeting with President Wilson; and his death scene. On the basis of reading some of the letters from the Rough Riders that I have, I would question the author's historical accuracy.

Another weak point is the connection between

Batista and U.S. organized crime. In referring to three gangsters, the author named one of them "Spiegel" when I am certain that he was talking about Bugsy Siegel, a buddy of Lansky, one of the others mentioned.

In discussing World War II, the author states that "many thousands fled to Canada." I believe he was thinking of the Vietnam exodus and not WW II. Most Americans migrating to Canada on the eve of World War II and U.S. involvement hoped to enlist in the Canadian armed forces.

My suggestion is to read this book as a work of fiction.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Navajo Wars: Military Campaigns, Slave Raids, and Reprisals by Frank McNitt, with introduction by Robert M. Utley. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1990. 477 pages, one map, bibliography, index. First paperback edition, \$18.50.

The University of New Mexico Press has reprinted one of the best histories dealing with the Navajo and their conflict with the Spanish, Mexicans, and Americans. Originally published in hardback, this first soft-cover edition is as welcome as the 1972 original.

The book is organized into four parts. The first deals with the 300 years of Spanish and Mexican contact with the Navajo from 1540 into 1846.

The second part begins with the coming of Stephen Watts Kearny's Army of the West to New Mexico in 1846, extending to the unratified Treaty of Laguna Negra in 1856. The third part of the book begins with early 1856 and continues into 1858. Part four begins in 1858 with the campaign of Colonel Nelson Miles and continues until the punitive expedition of Maj. Edward R.S. Canby in 1861.

The last three parts of the book deal with the first 15 years of the United States occupation of the area and contacts with the Navajo by Americans—both diplomatic and military—during this time frame. The discrepancy in the amount of coverage between the 300 years of Spanish/Mexican contact and the 15 years of American contact with the Navajo is a noticeable but not fatal flaw in the book.

As Robert M. Utley states in his introduction, "*Navajo Wars* is a work of enduring value, a truth underscored by the welcome appearance of this new edition."

My only regret in reading this book again is that the author unfortunately died before he could write the next volume, covering the period from 1861 forward. This book should be a welcome addition to the library of those interested in the history of the American Southwest and its native inhabitants.

—Keith Fessenden, P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS ✓
ROUNDUP

JULY-AUGUST 1991

**KOKOMO, COLORADO, FROM
BEGINNING TO CLIMAX**

by Robert L. Brown, P.M.



(Collection of Evelyn and Robert L. Brown)

This 1967 photo shows the ghost town of Kokomo, lying at the foot of Jacque Mountain, abandoned and deserted.

In Memoriam:
Dr. Loren F. Blaney

Dr. Loren F. Blaney, a Denver Westerners' Posse member since 1980 and tallyman for the Corral, 1983-1990, was found dead Aug. 14, 1991, at his home in Denver. Interment with full military honors was at Ft. Logan National Cemetery, Denver.

Dr. Blaney, 78, was born Dec. 31, 1912, in Monett, Mo. He received a medical degree from Washington University in St. Louis in 1938. He and the former Elizabeth Jones were married in St. Louis on Feb. 14, 1942.

Dr. Blaney served in the Army Medical Corps from 1942 until 1946, reaching the rank of major. He practiced medicine in Colorado from 1951 until 1984, and in 1964 served as an associate clinical professor of internal medicine at the University of Colorado. He was a member of the Denver Medical Society, American College of Physicians, and the American Society of Internal Medicine.

In addition to the Denver Westerners, Dr. Blaney was also a member of the Friends of Historic Ft. Logan. (Contributions may be made in his memory to this group, in care of 3520 W. Oxford Ave., Denver 80236.)

Survivors include Dr. Blaney's widow and their three sons: Loren of Nederland; Marshall, Aurora; and Peter, Colorado Springs; and six grandchildren.

Over the Corral Rail

Dr. Harry V. Unfug, a Corresponding Member of the Denver Westerners, and a member of the Fort Collins, Colo., Corral, is offering for sale (at no profit) a 1907 Chandler and Price platen press. The handpress formerly belonged to Clyde Stanley of Keota, Colo. Stanley began working at the *Fort Collins Express* shortly after the turn of the century, and the press was used to publish the *Keota Press* weekly newspaper from 1911 to about 1923. The old Chandler has a 10 by 15-inch imprint, and Dr. Unfug says he also has lots of foundry-type fonts, and a complete microfilm file of all issues of the Keota newspaper. Those interested can contact him at 927 Pioneer Ave., Fort Collins, CO 80521

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Kokomo, Colorado, From Beginning to Climax

By

Robert L. Brown, P.M.

(Presented Feb. 27, 1991)

ORIGINALLY THERE WERE 14 towns or settlements within the area that came to be known as the Ten Mile District in Colorado. Moving north down the valley from Fremont Pass the first village was Carbonate City or Carbonateville, located in McNulty Gulch. Ten Mile City and Summit City were next. These two names may have been little more than two different names for the same place.

Robinson's Camp was next, situated south of the larger town of Robinson. Clinton City was sometimes referred to as the southern suburb of Kokomo. Both Kokomo and Recen shared the same principal street and the two towns blended conveniently into each other.

Junction City was described by author Don L. Griswold as having been built on the flat just north of Kokomo and Recen. Chalk Ranch and Beuffers were mentioned by James E. Fell Jr., who spoke to the Denver Posse in 1986. Location of the two settlements was a short distance north of Junction City.

An obscure community known as Graveline existed for a time beyond Buefflers. Wheeler was close to the present Copper Mountain ski resort. Farther north toward Frisco stood a railroad station called Solitude.

The start of the settlement that would become Kokomo is shrouded in confusion, but most sources agree that it began during a harsh winter. The most interesting account is probably the least likely. It describes how the cold blasts of a high altitude blizzard roared across the Ten Mile Valley, engulfing a small party of migrants who were defying the inclement weather in an effort to reach Leadville. A 10-foot snow layer already blanketed the higher slopes. The biting cold took its toll when one member of the party, an elderly Scotsman, expired. Pausing temporarily, a burial party was sent ahead to prepare a grave. While hacking away at the frozen earth, a vein of silver was encountered a few feet below the surface. "Scotty" was stashed in a snowbank. The claim was given a name and became the productive Dead Man Mine. This is the most colorful version of how Kokomo got started. By the way, there really was a Dead Man Mine, and the time is about right.

A second story relates how the Recen brothers—who also had discovered subsoil deposits during the winter of 1878—started the town. A third version likewise favors the Recen brothers, but moves the occasion ahead to early 1879. For the record, Daniel and Henry Recen had worked their Herculean Bar Placer since 1876 and were on the verge of abandoning it by the time of the rush and boom of 1879.

The final—and most likely—account insists that Ainos C. Smith started Kokomo on Feb. 8, 1879. Smith arrived in the west during the Pikes Peak Gold Rush of 1859. He put together the Ten Mile Land and Mining Co. to promote mining and town development. In the winter of 1879, he and a party of acquaintances traveled to Leadville. After a few days of rest they left Leadville and crossed Fremont Pass to Carbonateville. Recognizing the futility of locating a second town in McNulty Gulch, they crossed the valley to the north, staying above the placer of the Recen brothers.

Smith's party established a small settlement on Feb. 8, 1879, and called it Kokomo, for Smith's hometown in Indiana. Kokomo is an Indian name meaning "young grandmother." It was also the name of an Indian village that once existed on the site of the Indiana city of that name.

Surprisingly, most of the first rush came from Leadville. Kokomo was formally incorporated on May 17, 1879, and a post office was established that same month. George Crofutt, author of the *Grip-Sack Guide of Colorado*, wrote that the settlement was incorporated as Kokomo City on June 13, 1879, a rather minor difference. Sale of business lots were brisk in the new community. There were 250 houses put up within six months for the population of 2,000. That's eight persons to a house.

Although the beginnings of Kokomo are nebulous, little doubt exists in regard to the role played by

the Recen brothers in getting things started. They relocated their placer claim a couple of weeks after Smith had established Kokomo. Soon they began to promote their own town and to sell lots. Within a few weeks, a second town was growing up beside Kokomo. It assumed the name of Recen. The two communities grew toward each other and soon met. Most contemporaries were unsure about the dividing line. One reference asserts that the towns were separated by a little rill or stream that flowed from the mountains, running between them and bisecting the meadow. Recen was incorporated in March 1880.

One of Kokomo's most serious problems was transportation. Most of the roads were a quagmire of axle-deep mud for more than half of the year. The closest ore smelters were 20 miles away at Leadville. Although summer should have brought improvement in the roads, constant use made them deteriorate even more. Leadville served as the chief supply center for most of the satellite mining camps. Teams of mules and pack trains hauled freight over the trail linking Kokomo and Leadville. Freight was hauled for 7 cents a pound. It cost \$20 to haul a barrel of vinegar over the road. To improve matters, the Ten Mile Toll Road Co. constructed a grade across the range to Kokomo. Stagecoaches operated over this route between 1879 and 1886.

From the opposite direction, a man named Silas Nott established a stage line from Georgetown across Loveland Pass through Kokomo to Leadville. His original intention was to go over Argentine Pass, down the Snake River, then up Ten Mile Creek. Silas Nott's son Frank said that Argentine Pass was used only three months of the year, then the operation was shifted to Loveland Pass, 1,500 feet lower than the Argentine crossing. However, the Argentine route was used in winter. It was found that the wind blew the snow off the Argentine summit, but not from the top of Loveland. Nott's route, completed on June 1, 1879, came to be known as the High Line Wagon Road. After the new route opened, stages reached Kokomo three times each week. Silas Nott had a preference for Concord coaches, and his line carried passengers and the mails.

Nott had a pledge from both the Union Pacific and the Colorado Central railroads to send passengers from the east directly to Georgetown so they could catch the stage in the morning and be in Leadville the same day. Passengers were charged \$7 for a ticket from Georgetown to Kokomo, or \$10 for the ride to Leadville.

In 1880 the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad extended its line into the valley, following the Arkansas River up from Pueblo, then over Fremont Pass to the Ten Mile District. Fare on the line was \$16.50 for the trip from Denver to Kokomo.

Early in 1881 the South Park Division of the Union Pacific built across Fremont Pass to the Ten Mile District. On Dec. 15, 1883, the South Park was allowed to lay tracks through Kokomo, but was forced to construct a switchback east of the town because of a lawsuit. Later a trestle was built over the D&RG tracks at the lower end of town and a second trestle was erected at the upper end of Kokomo over both the Rio Grande tracks and Ten Mile Creek. With two railroads serving the town, food became more varied. Upon his visit to the camp, George Crofutt wrote that the pioneer larder could be varied by the availability of wild animals nearby. Deer, elk, bear, grouse, and quail were plentiful in the Ten Mile Range. Prices reflected the town's remoteness. Flour sold for \$12 a sack while ham and sugar sold at a mere 20 cents per pound respectively.

Population statistics from some sources stretch credulity to the breaking point. In a few instances the totals for Recen may have been combined with those of Kokomo. For example, in 1879 Kokomo supposedly had 2,000 people. Yet in 1880, it had returned to a 1,500 total. During 1881, the peak year, a statistic of 10,000 persons was reported. Carbonateville had 10 saloons in 1880, Kokomo had 20, while Robinson had 24.

Both Kokomo and Recen had a variety of business houses. In the combined townships there were several hostleries, among them the Woods Hotel, which also had two large tents on the main street. An additional tent "annex" for boarders was pitched on the hillside. Other hotels were the Pennsylvania House, Summit House, and the Western Hotel.

Early in 1882 a fine two-story Masonic Hall was put up. A two-story schoolhouse was also among the town's early achievements. Children frequently reached the school on skis or snowshoes. At least one church, four sawmills, and several general stores were also built.

Three newspapers flourished in the early days. Earliest among them was the *Summit County Times*



Top photo shows Kokomo plus the edge of Recen at right. View is west across the town, with Jacque Mountain in the background. This picture is from the collection of the late Fred Mazzulla and his wife Jo. (Fred Mazzulla was a charter member and former sheriff of the Denver Westerners.) Bottom picture, by Evelyn and Robert Brown, is from the same angle, in 1967.



which began publication in September 1879.

The Ten Mile District was basically a silver-producing area, a contemporary of Leadville but never as rich. For example, Leadville shipped 61 percent of all ores removed in 1880, while Kokomo's share was a mere 1 percent. Shipping costs to Leadville's smelters were in the neighborhood of \$100 to the ton. Although mining developments began with subsoil deposits and the Recen placers, most of the better mines were higher up on Sheep, Elk or Jacque mountains.

The Aftennath Mine yielded between \$80 and \$400 in silver to the ton from carbonate of lead. Ores from the Crown Point and the Ruby Silver assayed at \$500 to the ton. Other notable properties were the Hoodoo, Grand Union, Gilpin, Wheel of Fortune, Silver Blossom, Wilfley, Snowbank and the White Quail. The Mayflower and Enterprise were on Jacque Mountain. There were even a few gold mines on Fletcher Mountain.

Two smelters—the White Quail and the Greer—maintained heavy schedules. Machinery for the first smelter was shipped from Pittsburgh. The summer of 1879 found the equipment bogged down on Webster Pass, months and miles away from delivery at Kokomo, while ores waited on dumps to be refined. The machinery reached the town in the fall. Louis Homan and William Graff of Pittsburgh put it into operation.

Arthur Redman Wilfley was a longtime resident of Kokomo. He came west from Missouri during the Leadville excitement, but decided to settle in Kokomo sometime in 1880. He was associated with a variety of mining ventures such as the White Quail, Snowbank, Forest, and the Robinson. He also built the Wilfley Mill and the Summit Smelter. His crowning achievement was the widely popular Wilfley Table, a most successful device for concentrating low-grade ores.

During the winter of 1880, a snowslide came off Jacque Mountain and nearly buried the town. On Oct. 13 of the next year, a fire almost cleaned out Ten Mile Avenue, Kokomo's principal street. Losses ranged between \$300,000 and \$500,000. The fire began when an oil lamp blew up in the Summit House at 1:00 a.m. It spread so rapidly that the owner even lost the money in the cash box. Massive sheets of flame spread across Ten Mile Avenue and rushed down both sides of the street. Several saloons, a bank, the drugstore, a dry-goods store and some other hotels all burned. Lack of an adequate water system hastened the destruction. Three fire companies from Leadville boarded a D&RG train, but arrived too late. Curiously, no lives were lost except for animals in the livery stable. In common with most of its contemporary mining towns, Kokomo had made no provisions for fighting fires.

The conflagration had a curious aftermath. Actually the damage had been confined to the Kokomo end of the valley. When it was over, the Recen brothers offered lots without cost to all of their burned-out neighbors. Logically, the brothers assumed that the surviving community would continue to be known as Recen. But the families migrating to the town favored the name of Kokomo. A little confusion befell Recen's principal thoroughfare, Pollock Avenue. Because it was a continuation of Ten Mile Avenue, by common usage it became known by the latter name. To muddy the waters still further, Kokomo had a post office, Recen didn't. Postal authorities failed to change the name when the facility was moved downhill to Recen. So in a rather short time Recen lost much of its identity, becoming Kokomo in the process.

By 1882 Recen even looked like the old Kokomo, with platforms attached to homes to enable wives to stand above the level of winter snows while hanging the weekly wash on the lines.

As previously reported by George Crofutt, Kokomo had been known for a time as Kokomo City. The "City" was dropped from the name after the fire. Although much of Kokomo was later rebuilt, the two towns finally effected a merger. While the post office retained its legal designation as Kokomo, Recen became the legal name of the town. Incorporation papers with these changes were filed. Despite this, only one map, issued by Carter Oil Co. in 1950, showed the location as Recen. To most others, it continued to be known as Kokomo.

On Oct. 6, 1883, two years after the fire, an arsonist placed an incendiary device next to a building on Ten Mile Avenue. Fortunately, reporters in a nearby newspaper plant saw the flames and put them out before the town could be incinerated a second time. Curiously, despite the offer of a substantial reward, the "fire bug" was never apprehended and his motives remain a mystery.

Since both liquor and firearms were relatively easy to obtain, there were other crimes too. Some were routine, such as saloon shootings. A few showed remarkable originality. At Robinson many miners got



(Collection of Evelyn and Robert L. Brown)

Above, Kokomo as it looked in 1890. View is north up Ten Mile Valley. Note the schoolhouse at far left. Below, by 1967 Kokomo was deserted. Ten Mile Avenue was street to the right. Larger building at right was the Masonic Hall. The schoolhouse remains standing at left.



their "jollies" by shooting off their guns indiscriminately after dark, night after night.

One evening after a shooting failed to resolve a minor dispute, a posse pursued one of the parties all the way down to Recen. When the man resisted arrest a member of the posse discharged a shotgun directly into the culprit's face.

In August 1884 a disgruntled miner set off a quantity of giant powder in front of a store, hoping to kill the sleeping merchant and his family. The explosion failed to ignite a supply of powder inside the store as had been expected. The man fled and was never apprehended.

When two partners in a mining claim were unable to resolve their differences, the aggrieved party entered his partner's cabin and set fire to the bed, forcing his former associate to flee into the frigid cold in his nightshirt.

In the absence of a more conventional court system, Charles S. Thomas was the judge who rode cir-

cuit among the towns of the Ten Mile District. At a later time, Judge Thomas became the 11th governor of Colorado.

By 1884 people had started to leave the Ten Mile towns. *The Leadville Daily Herald* reported departures at the rate of two a day. When a census was taken in 1885 it revealed a scant population of 2,040 persons in all of Summit County. About half of that number resided in Breckenridge, which based its economy on gold. Robinson, with 367 persons, was in second place, while Recen's total dropped to 207. Just 78 residents were tallied at Kokomo. It was noted that same year that Kokomo no longer had either a newspaper or a bank.

Nationally the Populist or Peoples Party had grown in numbers, mostly as an instrument of agrarian protest. In Colorado the party espoused the cause of free silver while the price of that metal declined nationally in relation to gold. In 1893, Colorado elected the inept Davis Waite of Aspen as governor. Kokomo chose J.D. Humphrey, another Populist, as mayor. Although union labor was another cause espoused by the Populists, Kokomo never had a strike or any serious labor troubles. In fact, the entire Ten Mile area was always nonunion.

Winter was nearly always severe in the valley, with four or five feet of snow on the ground most of the time. Occasionally it delayed the arrival or departure of trains for a day or two. But 1899 was different. That year is remembered as the "Winter of the Big Snow" or the "Winter of the Blockade."

It began with large, feathery snowflakes. Soon the wind heaped it into deep drifts until the town was covered with a thick white mantle. Snow continued to fall without letup until January. Fierce winds blew constantly. Somehow, train service continued until the 17th. The last train pulled out on that date and was unable to return for more than three months. Trains No. 1 and 2 of the South Park were snowed in on Boreas Pass, and a freight with two engines was stuck at Kokomo in 10 feet of snow. During that time, no mail or newspapers were received. Later, letters arrived twice-weekly from Leadville via snowshoes.

Food supplies dwindled until fresh meat was unavailable at any price. Staples were also in short supply. Hunger forced men to go outside on snowshoes to the nearest shipping point where food was available. Coal and wood were brought in only when deep paths could be cut through the mounting drifts. In town the depth of the snow reached the roof level of two-story buildings. *The Denver Republican* reported the depth as 4 to 7 feet on the level, with frequent slides that closed the trails. It was feared that a slide would come off Jacque Mountain and sweep away the entire town.

At school, one girl gave as her excuse for an absence of several days the fact that their front door had not been shoveled out and the back door could not be used as the wind had drifted the snow to a great depth in a single night. By the time a neighbor had shoveled them out, it was too late for school. Snow steps were cut into the drifts, leading down to the doors of homes. Religious services were conducted in homes by one or more devout miners. Other pastimes in the snowy prison were card parties and reading.

Relief came when the tracks were cleared, allowing a rotary plow to reach Kokomo on April 27. It arrived at dusk, throwing snow to such a height as to break windows in homes that stood near the tracks. Some houses were reburied under snow thrown by the plow.

Following repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in 1893, the entire district declined. At the turn of the century only a couple of hundred people were still there. Small quantities of zinc and iron sulfides were mined, helping to sustain the town through the early years of the new century. The final year of operation of the Denver and Rio Grande Western at Kokomo was 1909. In 1914 the first World War breathed new life into the Kokomo economy as the demand went up for zinc and lead. When prices decreased again after 1918, Kokomo slipped into another slump.

Then came a discovery by Charles J. Senter, a veteran of the district who had been there since the late 1880's. Senter found molybdenum on Bartlett Mountain, near the head of McNulty Gulch, not far above the site of that earliest town of Carbonateville.

Molybdenum is useful in making steel more durable. Senter became associated with Otis Archie King, boss of the Wilson Mill. King's crews began to mine molybdenite from Senter's claims. Early in 1918, a mill was put up on Fremont Pass with housing for the workers nearby. The Climax Molybdenum Co. was formed. By 1920 the molybdenum mines were closed but were reopened in the 1930s.

World War II began in September 1939, spiraling the demand for lead, zinc and molybdenum. Many

of the Climax workers lived at Kokomo, helping to sustain the old town. A corporate merger of Climax with the American Metals Co. created American Metals Climax, Inc.

The need for a tailings pond led the company to acquire most of the upper Ten Mile Valley. Colorado Highway 91 was relocated on a higher grade above Kokomo. But the fate of Kokomo was decided in 1965. In a public referendum the town was disincorporated, buildings were leveled and the remaining people moved out, mostly to Leadville. Nearly all of the D&RG grade north of the valley was destroyed by Interstate 70, but the South Park grade, east of the creek, is still used by four-wheel-drive vehicles.

The Climax tailings pond now covers the townsites of Carbonateville, Robinson, Recen, and Kokomo, as the cycle of life in the upper Ten Mile Valley comes to an end.

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About the Author

Robert L. Brown, Posse member and past-sheriff of the Denver Westerners, has spent more than three decades gathering materials for books, articles, and illustrated talks. His programs—often presented with the assistance of his wife Evelyn—are among the favorites of the Westerners. In their extensive research, the couple has explored hundreds of historic sites, ghost towns, and abandoned trails. Quite often, the programs include showing matched pairs of old and contemporary photos, taken from the same vantage point, but separated a century or more in time. His talk to the Westerners Feb. 27, 1991, on Kokomo included such comparisons.

Brown's distinguished teaching record has included Denver University, the University of Colorado, and the Denver Public Schools, with emphasis on Western history and the history of Colorado.

He has written 10 books—one in its 14th printing. Three of these are concerned with ghost towns: *Jeep Trails to Colorado Ghost Towns*, *Ghost Towns of the Colorado Rockies* and *Colorado Ghost Towns—Past and Present*.

Brown's other titles, all regional histories, include *Saloons of the American West*; *Holy Cross—the Mountain and the City*; *An Empire of Silver*; *The Great Pikes Peak Gold Rush*; and *Cripple Creek, Then and Now*. *Up-Hill Both Ways* and *Colorado on Foot* are concerned with the Browns' favorite hiking trails.

Robert Brown is a member of the Colorado Authors League and Western Writers of America. He was sheriff in 1969 of the Denver Corral of the Westerners. Both Evelyn and Bob are active members of the Colorado Mountain Club and the Colorado Ghost Town Club, and for many years they were active hike leaders for the former organization.

In his spare moments, Bob records "talking books" for the Colorado State Library for the Blind. He is also an accomplished artist, and has created many sculptures, as well as reproduced versions of rare Hopi kachina figures.



Tom Noel, left, and Bob Brown, two ex-sheriffs of the Denver Westerners, on July 9, 1988, climbed to the top of Mt. Arps, named for their friend and adviser, Louisa Arps.

Over the Corral Rail

(Continued from Page 2.)

(Phone 482-4510).

Former Sheriff **Dick Cook** of the Denver Westerners has received an inquiry from the acquisitions department, serials division, of the Public Library System of Los Angeles. Information is requested on the Denver Westerners' *Brand Book*, and other publications. (Perhaps it will pay to advertise!)

The *Denver Post* has reported the death on Aug. 10, 1991, of **George W. Kelly**, at his home in McElmo Canyon, west of Cortez, Colo. Kelly, who was 97, was a founder and the first director of the Denver Botanic Gardens, and the first full-time horticulturist of the Colorado Forestry and Horticultural Association. He was the author of 10 books and many articles on Rocky Mountain horticulture. At one time he was a horticulture instructor in the Denver Public Schools. He and his wife Sue operated a greenhouse in Littleton for nearly 30 years. They moved from Littleton to McElmo Canyon in the 1960s. Mrs. Kelly died in 1987. A program on Kelly is being prepared for the Westerners by **Dr. George W. Krieger**, tentatively scheduled for presentation this fall.

The Denver Westerners has received a certificate of appreciation from the Comanche Crossing Historical Society for funds contributed toward restoration of the Living Springs Schoolhouse. **Eugene Rakosnik**, Posse member and chairman of the Rosenstock Endowment Fund, said the organization contributed \$1,000 toward the project.

The photo accompanying this column was contributed by two ex-sheriffs of the Denver Westerners, **Bob Brown** and **Tom Noel**. They note that in 1987, the U.S. Board of Geographic Names designated a 12,383-foot peak on the Continental Divide in Colorado as Mt. Arps, honoring the late Louisa Ward Arps. Admirers of Mrs. Arps, Noel and Brown climbed the peak during an all-day outing on July 9, 1988. They used the Williams Pass route to the crest of the divide, then walked up the remaining 621 feet to the top. At the summit, they placed several rocks on the marking cairn and drank a toast to Louisa Arps' memory. That same day, 88-year-old **Elwyn Arps**, husband of Louisa, and another Denver Westerner, viewed the peak from Williams Pass with a company of friends.



Westerner's Bookshelf



Reviews published in The Roundup are largely about books submitted by publishers to the Denver Westerners. However, all our members are urged to prepare and submit reviews of any books on Western history which they would like to recommend, current or otherwise. In this way, our readers may discover books relating to areas of particular interest to them which might otherwise escape their notice. It is intended that this section become a widening source of information on all aspects of the history of the West.

—Ed.

A Kid on the Comstock Lode: Reminiscences of a Virginia City Childhood by John Taylor Waldorf. Univ. of Nevada Press, Reno, 1991. 198 pages; introduction, 55 photographs, notes, index. Paperback, \$12.95.

Ever wish you were a kid on the frontier? The setting of this book is not the "Wild, Wild West" but it has many of the trappings: Indians, miners, guns, adventure and assorted characters.

John Taylor Waldorf moved to Virginia City, Nevada Territory, about 1872 at the tender age of 3. He remained in Virginia City for only a little more than 12 years, then ran away from home, headed for the ocean. He was to work at many jobs, but fortunately for the reader settled upon the newspaper business. He remained in newspaper work until 1912 when, unable to write editorial supporting Teddy Roosevelt's presidential campaign, he moved into a publicity and public relations career. After conducting a successful senatorial campaign he was rewarded with the position of enrolling and engrossing clerk of the U.S. Senate.

At age 50, he left this position to write at his 46-acre mountain retreat in California. After a year of this relative inactivity, he was hired by Pacific Power and Gas to establish and edit a company magazine, *The Progress*. Finally tiring of the relaxed corporate atmosphere, he returned to newspaper work at the *New York Journal*. After several more years in the newspaper business, he returned to California where he died within a year.

The 18 stories in this volume were selected from his many reminiscences published in the *San Francisco Bulletin* in the early 1900s.

Fortunately for the reader, Dolores Waldorf Brown compiled the selections together with a profile of the author and his family. The selected stories have a timelessness that interests and holds a reader as much today as they did more than 80 years ago. The stories cover all aspects of a boy's life in a Western mining town: recreation, spending money, impressions of people, Indians, the search for firewood on mine dumps, circuses, reading material, running away, picnics and, finally, visits to the home of his childhood.

But what truly sets this book apart is the commentary by Ms. Brown after each story. These concise statements elaborate upon the stories and explain the setting, accepted behavior, historical background, and so forth. The commentaries help the stories come to life, even for those with no interest in history. As icing on the cake, each story is followed by photographs to further illustrate the life of a kid on the Comstock.

I found this book difficult to put down. The reader should retire with the book and read it to the end.

—Keith Fessenden, P.M.

Storied New Mexico: An Annotated Bibliography of Novels with New Mexico Setting by Tom Lewis. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 238 pages, four indexes. Cloth-bound, \$45.00.

Annotated bibliographies are not usually in demand by many readers, but Tom Lewis has performed a service for those of us hooked on New Mexico. The brief annotation for each entry includes a category such as western, juvenile or whatever, whether it is part of a series, and a brief plot line. The indexes include listings by title, theme and genre, location in New Mexico, region of the state and time period.

My first reaction to the book was to go through it and discover just how many of the novels I have in my collection, and I found that even though I really don't collect fiction, I have more than 60 of the titles, and have read others. My second action was to make a want-to-read list of 33 titles and to give the list to a book dealer.

As with any bibliography, new books must constantly be added. I have new novels by Hillerman, Satterthwait and Zollinger on my shelves that are not listed by Tom Lewis. There are some other missing titles, but Lewis may have considered them not to be novels, or not located in New Mexico. However, in covering a topic as broad as novels about New Mexico, Lewis has done a good job and readers such as I really appreciate his effort.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

So Vast So Beautiful a Land: Louisiana and the Purchase by Marshall Sprague. Ohio Univ. Press, Athens, 1991. 416 pages, illustrations, maps, chronology, chapter notes, sources. Clothbound, \$39.95, paperback, \$19.95.

It's always good news when a well-written book is reprinted so that those who missed it the first time around have another chance to obtain a copy. It is even better news when the author is Marshall Sprague—who once made monthly trips up from Colorado Springs to the Denver Westerners meetings. The book was first published in 1974 by Little, Brown & Co.

The Spanish explored the region first. Then the French claimed the entire drainage and gave it to Spain at a later date, but got it back and sold it to the United States. That is what occurred between 1541 and 1803. Louisiana Territory was a little reduced in size from the original claim when France sold it in 1803, but it still stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada and from the Mississippi River to the Continental Divide—close to one million square miles.

The author takes the reader from the very first explorations of Coronado, DeSoto, Marquette, and LaSalle; to the attempts at settlement that were often thwarted by court politics; and finally to the purchase by the United States. A major point of emphasis was the failure of the French to encourage colonization as did the English.

The people who move across the stage in this book are a mixture of success and failure. The naming of New Orleans seems very apt after reading that Philip II, duc d'Orleans was "a dedicated alcoholic, a zealous gourmet, an ardent gambler, a man of many loves."

French reasoning in the sale of Louisiana is interesting. Robert Livingston of New York, selected by Thomas Jefferson to go to France to purchase the port of New Orleans, greatly influenced the thinking of Napoleon Bonaparte and his advisers.

The purchase of Louisiana set the United States on the road to being a world power, and this book certainly is the final word on this historic event.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

The Zuni Man-Woman by Will Roscoe. The Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 328 pages, photographs, map. Clothbound, \$24.95.

The term, "berdache" is used by anthropologists to describe a person who takes on the role of the opposite gender. The Zuni name for this person is "ihamana." The most well-known Zuni who assumed this role was We' wha, who made a major

effort to preserve Zuni traditions and participated in developments affecting native arts and crafts. The author refers to her as an "authoritative innovator."

In the chapter entitled, "The Rites of Gender," the Zuni concept of what determines gender is discussed in detail including the fact that newborn infants were considered to be "raw" until they were socialized or "cooked." It was this socialization process that would determine whether the person was male, female or a third possibility.

The berdache was a fully accepted member of the tribe according to the Zuni, but the Protestant missionaries and the U.S. government saw the role of the berdache in a much different light. Their moral position forced the Zuni to deny the berdache role to the point that the third possibility virtually disappeared. The younger members of the tribe had no concept that this option had once been fully accepted by the tribe. They had accepted the moral opinion of the white man.

The Zuni have been studied to a degree experienced by few tribes in the Southwest, and the impact of these anthropologists, writers, and reformers has had a very negative impact at times. One positive aspect, is that the Zuni have developed an understanding of the importance of their culture. They have gained control of their schools and require that all students take courses in Zuni culture. In fact, the author of this book has spoken several times at Zuni High School and has included We' wha in his presentation. This book is his attempt to present this part of Zuni culture and history to a wider audience.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

The Rocky Mountain Wonderland by Enos Mills. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1991. 400 pages, photographs, notes. Paperback, \$14.95

Great California Stories edited by A. Grove Day. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1991. 275 pages. Paperback, \$10.95.

This is the fourth book by Enos Mills that Nebraska has reprinted in a Bison Book edition. The book was first published in 1915, and several chapters were published previously in magazines, such as the *Saturday Evening Post*. One chapter concerns Mills' work as a guide on Long's Peak. An introduction is included in which James H. Picketing discusses the author's life.

In the *Great California Stories*, Day has selected 21 stories that range from oral history to the Los Angeles of Raymond Chandler. For each selection, the editor has provided an introduction which includes a brief biographical sketch of the author.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Lady in Boomtown: Miners and Manners on the Nevada Frontier by Mrs. Hugh Brown, with an introduction by Walter van Tilburg Clark, Univ. of Nevada Press, Reno, 1991. 160 pages, 40 photographs. Paperback, \$12.95.

It has been my good fortune over the past month to review two excellent books reprinted by the University of Nevada Press. The second book, *Lady in Boomtown*, is a reprint of the 1968 edition published by American West Publishing Co.

The book begins with an eight page introduction by Walter van Tilburg Clark, prefacing Mrs. Brown's narrative with an excellent summary of the history of Nevada's first two mining booms. He compares Nevada's northern mining boom at Virginia City and Gold Hill with the state's southern mining boom approximately 30 years later at Tonopah and Goldfield. He discusses some of the effects of each upon Nevada.

Mrs. Brown begins her story in San Francisco, in 1903 as her future husband proposes to her. She then traveled with her new husband on a three-day journey to Tonopah over three railroads and a stage line. From her arrival in 1903 until 1920, when she leaves Tonopah, she takes the reader through the tribulations of life in a frontier mining town. The reader is introduced to many of those living in this part of the West, ranging from the locator of the initial strike, Jim Butler, and his partner Tasker Oddie, to later visitors, settlers and neighbors.

The reader is introduced to many facets of Western life. In Chapter Four, alone, one is exposed to such interesting items as, "A Piano by Muleteam," "The Fine Art of Muleskinning," "Dresden China in Tin-cup Country," "Riding Breeches and 'Calling' Gowns," "A New Kind of Pioneer," "Celebrated Gunmen" and the "Clamorous Redlight." She also addresses her visit to San Francisco during the 1906 earthquake; dancing 300 feet underground; social events from parades to prize fights; politics; labor troubles; housekeeping; and the day the banks closed. As the wife of Tonopah's leading attorney, Mrs. Brown was exposed to a wide range of experiences and aspects of unknown Western life.

Mrs. Brown addresses her day-to-day life over the 17 years she lived in Tonopah in an informal, easy manner which will interest all readers—male or female, historian or not. The book has only one flaw: it does not have an index. However, even without an index, the book will be enjoyed by all. This book definitely should not be missing from the reading list or library of those interested in mining, Western women or the history of the Battle Born State, Nevada.

—Keith Fessenden, P.M.

My Friends Call Me C.C., The story of Courtney Chauncey Julian by William Gardiner Hutson, Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, N.M., 1990. 126 pages. Paperback, \$10.95.

The reader is unable to determine whether this book is a fictionalized account of Courtney Chauncey Julian's life or only a novel. The story begins with Mr. Julian meeting a newspaperman, William Warren Feeney of the Hollywood Citizen News, while traveling on the Chicago to Los Angeles train. The book then addresses Mr. Julian's activities, often through the perspective of Mr. Feeney, as he starts up three companies, the Julian Oil Corporation, the Western Lead Mining Co., and the CC Julian Oil & Royalties Co. The narrative also includes a partial explanation of his contacts with stockholders in his companies, bankers, purchasers, treasury agents, postal inspectors, the California corporate commissioner, grand juries, and so forth—up to his final indictment for mail fraud in Oklahoma City in the 1930s. C.C. Julian then fled to his native Canada, and traveled on to Shanghai where his luck ran out. There Julian committed suicide and was buried in a small cemetery for foreigners.

The book skips around often, leaving gaps of nearly a year in Mr. Julian's activities, then explains away these gaps with just a paragraph or two. He spent almost a year in Europe and almost nothing is revealed about his activity there. The story is told primarily in an older dialogue style, and the reviewer was unable to maintain his interest in the book.

—Keith Fessenden, P.M.

Exploring the Hohokam: Prehistoric Desert Peoples of the American Southwest edited by George J. Gumerman. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 518 pages, maps, data sheets. Clothbound, \$45.00.

This collection of research papers is Vol. I of the Amerind New World Studies. The authors of the papers studied the vast collection of data about the Hohokam, and presented results of their research at a seminar at the Amerind Foundation near Dragon, Ariz. It was decided to invite a small number of seminar participants who submitted copies of their papers for advance reading by other participants. After discussion, each paper was then rewritten. The resulting 11 papers are published in the volume.

The thrust behind all this research is the great amount of archaeological study in the Lower Sonoran life zone of southern Arizona in the past 15 years. The rapid development of this region and possible damage to Hohokam sites by construction such as the Central Arizona Project have brought

government money for archaeological studies.

In comparing what is known about the Hohokam with what is thought to be known about the Anasazi, it is apparent that there are more question marks about the prehistoric settlers of southern Arizona than about those in the Four Corners. Some major questions include how many people lived in the area; what were the years of settlement; and just how they lived.

There was little information about possible trade connections among these prehistoric peoples, with few references to Chaco and to cotton as a trade item.

In this region, buildings were not made of stone nor are there many logs for dating. There are no ruins to be studied. While the Anasazi have connections with the Pueblo, Hopi, and Zuni, the connection between the Hohokam and the Pima and Papago is not known. Archaeologists studying the Hohokam seem to have a more difficult task.

This reference work contains a tremendous amount of data, and the volume certainly belongs in any library emphasizing prehistory of the Southwest. I would hope that some day there might be a symposium about the Hohokam such as the Anasazi Symposium at Mesa Verde National Park.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

The Last Conquistador: Juan de Onate and the Settling of the Far Southwest by Marc Simmons. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1991. 224 pages, illustrations, maps, annotated bibliography. Clothbound, \$24.95.

In 1598, Juan de Onate led a band of settlers to the upper Rio Grande Valley in what is now the state of New Mexico, establishing the first European settlement west of the Mississippi River. (Most Americans still believe the United States began at Jamestown in 1607.) The author, relying on both primary and secondary sources, does an excellent job of tracing this entrada or formal entry into a new land. The problems facing these early settlers were not what they expected when they packed their fine clothing. The colonists survived by taking shelter, food and blankets from the Pueblo people. They met some resistance, with the largest battle at Acoma Pueblo.

As Onate explored both to the east and the west, his little colony slowly came apart. Some of the settlers returned to Mexico and attacked Onate's administration of the colony. Onate was finally replaced as governor in 1609 and spent the remainder of his life attempting to clear his name of charges brought against him as a result of his actions as governor in New Mexico.

This book is especially worthwhile in its discussion of the Onate family background both in Spain

and in the New World. The family's Basque origin had a strong impact on the strength of the family ties for Onate.

Simmons describes Onate's return to Spain in 1621 to present his case to the king. In his final years, Onate was mining inspector for all of Spain. He was inspecting a mine when he died in 1626.

One wonders why men such as Onate left a wealthy, settled way of life to struggle on the frontier. According to Simmons, "In the career of Juan de Onate, we find the summation of the motives, aspirations, intentions, strengths, and weaknesses of the Hispanic Pioneers who settled the Borderlands."

The disappointments and setbacks Onate suffered in New Mexico did not destroy his dream, which was a part of his Spanish heritage.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Petroglyphs and Pueblo Myths of the Rio Grande by Carol Patterson-Rudolph. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1990. 156 pages, photographs, maps, charts, glossary, bibliography. Paperback, \$29.95.

This book has introduced me to a new way of viewing the petroglyphs and pictographs that I have photographed in several states. I will have to review my slides and photographs and study them in the manner suggested by the author.

The American Indians refer to their petroglyphs as "rock writings" or "writings," and not as rock art as Anglos do. Often what is placed on a rock conveys a message, and a part of the message might include the physical aspects of the rock as well as the location. A problem for non-Indians in reading rock writings is that their thought patterns differ from those of the Indians. This is evident in the metaphors used by the Pueblos.

To read the rock writings, an individual must try to use the metaphors of the people who left the writings, and also be able to understand the metonymies or abbreviations of the entire metaphor. A further complication is that the writings are not straight sequences reading left to right, but each has a directional flow of its own.

Two Pueblo myths are used to illustrate the concepts discussed by the author. These are the Water Boy Myth and the Uretsete and Naotsete Original Myth. In these rock writings found in La Cienega Canyon, the flow pattern is shown; the rock is part of the story; and symbols are used to represent the major segments of the myth. This is not a book to be read and left on the shelf. It certainly will be taken along on my next visit to the rock writings to help me understand them.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Touring Custer Battlefield, Videotape, 1991: Fort Collins, Colo., The Old Army Press. 30 minutes. Price \$25 00, VHS or Beta.

Since this was my first opportunity to review a videotape, there was some apprehension even though I've visited the Custer Battlefield numerous times. As the subject is most likely the most famous of all Indian Wars battlefields, there is definitely a need for such a video. I believe it will be extremely popular with historians, buffs, and non-historians alike.

In the well-done format, the opening scenes show the battlefield today, then some of the more familiar artists' versions of "Custer's Last Stand."

After visiting the national cemetery and museum, the viewer is taken off the battlefield into the valley where the enormous Indian village had been situated. Topographical maps are used to show the routes of the various Seventh Cavalry units. This is well done, and orients the viewer to the battle scenario. During the course of the tape, the narrator points out many markers where officers, troopers and civilians fell. Paintings, illustrations and live re-enactments are utilized to advantage.

From the valley floor, the next stop is the Reno-Bentzen entrenchment area. Sound effects such as neighing horses help the viewer to visualize the confusion of battle. On several occasions, direct quotes from battle participants are narrated by different speakers—one such is that of Capt. E.S. Godfrey by Mike Koury, owner of Old Army Press.

The use of overprint lines on actual battlefield scenes would have improved the video. Even though topographical maps were used well, some location shots were confusing in directional orientation.

One glaring discrepancy was observed when the narrator states that "Gall" led his Cheyenne warriors. I remember Chief Gall as being a Hunkpapa Sioux!

In summary, the video is well done. It tells the story of the battle by examining its key points on location, and most importantly, leaves the viewer with the impression that he or she indeed toured the Custer Battlefield.

—Richard A. Cook, P.M.

The Bentzen-Goldin Letters on Custer and His Last Battle edited by John M. Carroll; illustrated by Lorence Bjorklund, 1974. First Bison Book printing, 1991; Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London. 305 pages. Paperback, \$9.95

The first thought this reviewer had was, "Finally the opportunity to read the Bentzen-Goldin letters is at hand." I learned the title of this book is some-

what misleading.

First, the letters between Theodore Goldin and Frederick Bentzen are mostly the last 115 pages of the book and only one way; from Bentzen to Goldin. There are no letters from Goldin to Bentzen, although Bentzen responds to questions Goldin asked in missing correspondence.

(For those uninformed readers, Theodore Goldin was an enlisted man with the Reno faction during the battle. He died in 1935. Bentzen's name should be familiar to all.)

Secondly, the rest of the book is taken up by letters to and from Theodore Goldin by E.A. Brininstool, Fred Dustin, and others. The letters from Bentzen to Goldin are dated 1891 to 1896, but the rest of Goldin's correspondence is between 1928 and 1934.

One section exhibits several letters Bentzen wrote to his wife immediately after the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Another section involves two manuscripts written by Bentzen, presumably some time after 1890, describing the battle. The manuscripts were found by Bentzen's son in 1898, two years after his father died. An unknown number of final pages from these narratives is missing.

The editor, the late John M. Carroll, is widely known among Custer historians, and readers. What amazes this reviewer is the objectivity in how the material is presented, since Carroll is known to be extremely pro-Custer. The letters are in their entirety and have not been "massaged" and edited to put George Armstrong Custer in a favorable light. Bentzen, in particular, calls "a spade a spade" and doesn't flatter Custer, Elizabeth Custer, or one of the battles longest survivors, E.S. Godfrey.

Overall, this compilation of letters, much of it from primary sources, is an invaluable contribution to any Custer library. Carroll, as editor, wrote both the preface and introduction, and does try to defend his idol by attacking the credibility of Bentzen. However, this adds more "fuel to the fire" and makes the letters more interesting. This book is highly recommended for every "Battle of the Little Big Horn" enthusiast.

—Richard A. Cook, P.M.

Lyon Hunts and Humor—True Life Hunting and Adventure Stories by Tolbert James "Shorty" Lyon, Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, N.M., 1990. 120 pages. Paperback, \$12.95.

In this book, a man whose name is LYON tells us of his experience hunting the mountain LION. Shorty Lyon worked 25 years as a trapper and lion hunter for the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish. His adventures in this job provided him with many interesting escapades which he has put down on paper. His stories have been published in

various outdoor-oriented magazines over the past several years.

This book is a compilation of some of these published articles, along with a few poems, which could give him the current-day title of "Cowboy poet/humorist." Humor is interspersed just often enough to provide the reader with an enjoyable evening or two of reading. The stories put the reader into the action; you feel as though you were along with Lyon on his lion hunt.

Lyon tells of instances in which he followed his prey into mines or caves as the lion tried to elude the hunter. The wile and cunning of mountain lion and bear are central to these stories and provide an educational element in the book. Indeed, this book should be required reading for "animal rights activists" who think the wild animal does not stand a chance against the hunter and his dogs. As an outdoor person, I found the stories to be especially entertaining, although everyone could be intrigued by these bits of lore.

—Edward S. Helmuth, P.M.

Women of the Apache Nation by H. Henrietta Stockel. Univ. of Nevada Press, Reno, 1991. 223 pages, photographs. Clothbound, \$24.95.

The title of this book may not accurately represent the contents. While there is emphasis on the Apache women, much of the material concerns tribal history, especially the male leaders such as Cochise and Geronimo; the present state of the Apache cemetery at Ft. Sill, Okla.; and other topics with little direct connection to Apache women.

The author did interview several Mescalero women on their reservation in New Mexico, and in the vicinity of Apache, Okla. The thrust of these interviews is unclear and the information gathered often seemed without purpose. In the section about Mildred Imach Cleghorn, for example, was the useless information that, "Believe it or not, up to 18 people can sleep there overnight," and that she planted a tree that, "now spreads its branches and offers to shade automobiles, people and dogs." Such extraneous tidbits obscure some of the worthwhile knowledge about Apache women.

The book begins with two chapters on the Apache past, including the leadership roles of women in fighting and planning battles. There is also a discussion of the puberty ceremony for women, now so costly that not all young women can have it. The latter is an example of how important aspects of Apache culture seem to be dying.

This book includes some interesting information about the Apache, but the author should have done a better job of editing the information.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Pawnee Passage, 1870-1875, by Martha Royce Blaine. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1990. 362 pages, black-and-white illustrations, three maps, notes, bibliography, index. Hardbound, \$27.95.

The Pawnee are prominent in the history of the western United States because of their role as scouts for the Army during the Indian Wars. But what of the tribe, itself? What of the tribal members the scouts left behind? What were they like? What were their beliefs? What happened to them?

The author, whose late husband was Garland J. Blaine, head chief of the Pawnee, answers these and many other questions. She skillfully draws the reader into all aspects of the Pawnee culture. We are led through discussions about Pawnee customs, myths, planting, religion, ceremonies, and lifestyles. She presents this often dry material well, without losing the reader's interest.

The relationship between the Pawnee and whites is explored in interesting detail. Attitudes of the Pawnee's white neighbors in Nebraska, and the tribal agent's actions—or lack of action—is explored. Horse stealing by other tribes and the devastating effect upon the Pawnee is illustrated. The Pawnees' relationship with other Indian tribes is also investigated, especially their unique relationship with the Sioux.

Mrs. Blaine addresses the history of annuities paid by the U.S. government to Indian tribes in general and especially to the Pawnee. Use of these payments by the Pawnee is examined, with the results exposed. She does an excellent job of revealing the Pawnee love of their Nebraska homeland and the sadness when they lost this home in the 1870s.

Both the bibliography and index are excellent and of great aid to the serious reader. This book is Volume 202 of the University of Oklahoma Press' *Civilization of the American Indian Series*.

It is obvious that the author has a long term love of the subject matter. Her work is both informative and interesting. This volume is a definite plus on any bookshelf specializing in the American Indian.

—Keith Fessenden, P.M.





The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1991

**SANGRE DE CRISTO:
COLORADO'S FORGOTTEN PASS**

by Edward S. Helmuth, P.M.



(Courtesy Colorado Historical Society)

New Mexican Gov. Juan Bautista de Anza is credited with naming the Sangre de Cristo (Blood of Christ) mountains and pass in September 1779, after defeating Comanche Chief Cuerno Verde (Green Horn).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Edward S. Helmuth's interest in Colorado's mountain passes has paid off for *The Roundup* with an interesting paper, "Sangre de Cristo: Colorado's Forgotten Pass."

A native of Ohio, Ed worked for Marathon Oil Co. as an engineer/scientist for 30 years. He retired early this year and, coincidentally, became a member of the Posse. He was drawn to Colorado after a 1956 visit, but interest in the state's history deepened in the 1980s when he and his wife Gloria began studying Rocky Mountain passes.

The work entails researching the origin of the passes. Ed's October 1990 paper was on one of the earliest-used routes, Sangre de Cristo Pass. Helmuth said the long-term project will culminate in publishing research results. He also is working with the U.S. Geological Survey's board of geographics names in designating many as-yet-unnamed passes.

Helmuth has a B.S. degree from the University of Colorado and an M.B.A. from Bowling Green (Ohio) State University, and is a past-member of the Society of Petroleum Engineers. He and Gloria have two children, Ron Helmuth of Denver and Kim Zehender of St. Croix, USVI.

Ed and Gloria recently moved from Castle Rock to Buena Vista, but he admits they didn't go by way of Sangre de Cristo Pass! It now takes him about five hours (round-trip) driving to attend the monthly Denver Westerners' meeting!

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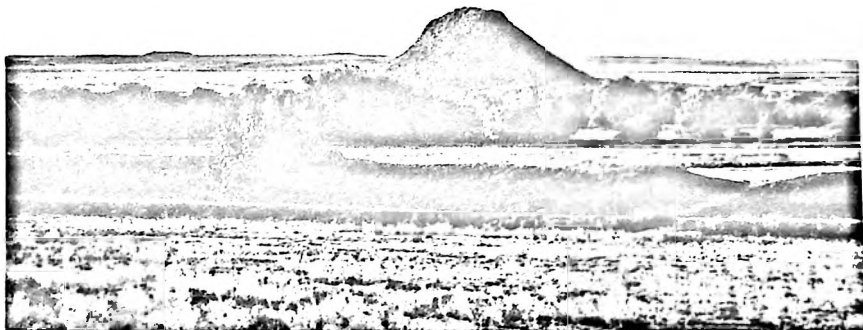
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Sangre de Cristo: Colorado's Forgotten Pass



(Author's Collection)

In 1779 Juan Bautista de Anza's forces camped at the foot of Huerfano Butte. The butte is a prominent landmark for the pass area, and is visible on the east side of Interstate 25, 10 miles north of Walsenburg.

By
Edward S. Helmuth, P.M.
(Presented Oct. 24, 1990)

VARIOUS MOUNTAIN RANGES have been barriers to people and animals. Passes were used to breach these ranges, in order to move from point to point in as little time as possible. Sangre de Cristo Pass was an early-day route that had extensive usage. At one time it was the principal passage from Spanish Territory to the Arkansas River Valley, even though in today's world, Sangre de Cristo Pass is not familiar, and the remembrance of it is largely limited to historians.

No public road exists today over the pass. Other passes in the region have become more prominent in modern usage: La Veta and North La Veta—highway routes; Pass Creek Pass—road; Veta—railroad; Mosca—a trail. Access to Sangre de Cristo today is over land owned by the Forbes Land Co. The pass is virtually ignored by the many travelers who go by only a few hundred yards from the saddle of the pass. If the traveler looked upward, he could see traces of the pass in the old ruts along the slopes, where wagons crossed from the Oak Creek area to Sangre de Cristo Creek, and southwest into the San Luis Valley.

By the early 1700s and for about 70 years, the Comanches used the pass to move from the High Plains of eastern Colorado through the San Luis Valley, on their way to New Mexico to plunder the Spanish villages and to trade with the Taos Pueblo Indians. They crossed the Sangre de Cristo Range at an angle, ascending a branch of the Huerfano River to the top of the pass, then descending along Sangre de Cristo Creek into the San Luis Valley. The trail was smooth, wide in most places, and had a gradual grade. Yutas (Utes) rode up from the south in the fall, to visit their cousins, the Comanches, and to hunt buffalo with them. By 1749 Louisiana French fur traders had reached the area and Comanches guided these traders through the valleys, up and over the pass.

During 1768 Governor de Mendenueta of New Mexico led a group of 546 men from Taos over the pass to the Arkansas River Valley on the way to retaliate against marauding Comanches.

In September 1779, then-Gov. Juan Bautista de Anza and hundreds of soldiers used the pass to return to New Mexico, after defeating a band of Comanches under Chief Cuerno Verde (Green Horn) in the Arkansas River Valley, near present-day Rye, Colorado. De Anza is credited with naming the pass when his party was camped in the willows near the Huerfano Butte. A brilliant sunset colored the mountain range to the west a bright blood-red color. He could see a feeder branch of the river coming down from a smooth dip in the "Blood of Christ" range to his southwest. The next morning, de Anza followed his Ute guides up to that dip. By evening, they had climbed 3,000 feet over 20 miles of a trail that ran up South Oak Creek from Badito Cone. This trail brought him to the tree-covered top of the pass. On the other side was a grassy valley, ringed by aspen trees. De Anza named the place Sangre de Cristo Pass, and descended along a gradual drop into the San Luis Valley. He quickly recognized the importance of the pass as an easy path through the mountain ranges to the high-country valleys beyond. His mind on building a Spanish empire, he realized Sangre de Cristo Pass would help such a plan.

By the early 1800s, French and American trappers were using the pass to move from the plains to the beaver streams of the Southwest. James Pursley and Baptiste La Lande came from Missouri in 1804 and 1805, by way of the Arkansas River. It is believed they were escorted over the mountains by Indian guides through Sangre de Cristo Pass. In October 1806, New Mexico Gov. Facundo Melgares and 600 Spanish dragoons journeyed to the Arkansas River area, hoping to intercept the expedition of Zebulon Pike. They did not find Pike, and returned to Santa Fe, using Sangre de Cristo Pass.

Pike, with a band of 23 hardy souls, reached the area in January 1807. He reported finding some sort of civilization near the pass. This is the first indication of any settlement there. Pike's shivering party could see the Spanish Peaks, with the dip of Raton Pass, off to the left, and the dip of Sangre de Cristo Pass and the San Luis Valley to the right. Pike endeavored to cross the dip of Sangre de Cristo Pass, but the party was turned back by heavy snows.

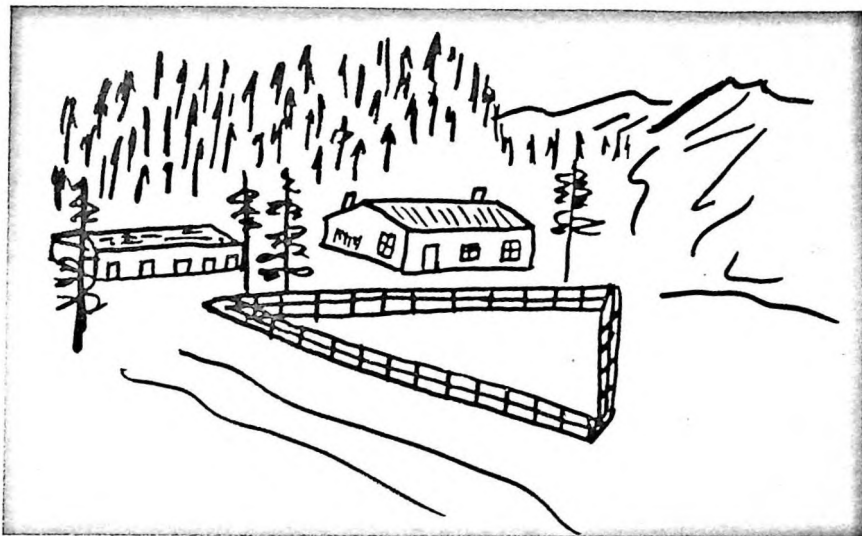
Reports indicate that Pike did not cross into the San Luis Valley through Sangre de Cristo Pass. Rather, he used one of the westerly crossings of the range. Spanish Governor Alencaster ordered lookouts placed on Sangre de Cristo Pass to capture Pike's party if they appeared along that route. Later, they were captured in the San Luis Valley.

By 1810, American fur traders were using the pass regularly to cross from the upper Arkansas River to Taos. James McLanahan, Reuben Smith, and James Patterson from St. Louis were arrested in New Mexican territory after crossing over the pass with a Spanish guide. John McKnight, A.P. Chouteau, and Jules De Mun, trapping in 1816-1817 near the headwaters of the Rio Grande River, had their pelts confiscated.

In 1818 Lt. Jose Maria de Arce was sent with militia from Taos over the pass (called in his journal "The Gap of the Sierra Blanca") to search out hostile settlers in the Arkansas River valley.

A Spanish officer, Luis de Onis, read a French report early in 1819, which described an "easy footpath" up South Oak Creek between Sheep and Dike mountains and over the Sangre de Cristo Pass into the valley, then south to Taos and Santa Fe. This report had actually been written by De Mun in 1818. Based on the information that the pass was a place where a handful of men could hold off an entire army, de Onis asked Governor Melgares to build a fort on the pass. Melgares reported back in May 1819 that one had been erected on the east side of the pass. Sometime within the next several months, the fort was destroyed by Indians, or whites dressed as Indians (according to a Spanish survivor). Three-hundred Spanish soldiers were sent to reinforce the fort; however, it was abandoned soon after. As a result of the Mexican revolution on Aug. 24, 1821, Iturbide Augustin I crowned himself emperor. Melgares continued on as governor in New Mexico, but he let his mud fort on the pass dissolve in rain.

The pass fortification was described by one source as a triangular stone enclosure on a hill about five miles east of the summit. Another source called it a small mud fort, half way down South Oak Creek, between the summit and Huerfano River, about five miles. The fort was positioned to protect one of the most vulnerable access points. It was built on a little plateau as the trail left Oak Creek, and commanded a good view of the Huerfano Valley where the Taos Trail wound from Badito Cone to Sangre de Cristo Pass. Six badly armed militiamen were assigned to the fort. They



(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

On Oct. 3, 1872, Charles S. Richardson, Central City civil and mining engineer, made this sketch of a building he called the "Summit House" at the top of Sangre de Cristo Pass. He and some other travelers spent the night at the facility.

proved no match when attacked by 100 or so Indians, thought to be Comanches. Ensign Don Jose Antonio Valenzuela repulsed the attack, but was unable to counterattack with his small force. Five of the six troops were killed in the skirmish.

In 1934 an exploration party consisting of Dr. LeRoy Hafen, Mr. and Mrs. Tim Hudson of Gardner, and Emmet King of Walsenburg found the crumbling ruins of native rock walls which bounded the enclosure. They reported scrub oak grown up around the walls and much evidence of treasure hunting over the years.

By the time the fort was built, the route had become well established. Sangre de Cristo had become a popular trail from the Arkansas to the Rio Grande. The route was known as the Taos Trail by 1820. In historical writings, the Taos Trail was sometimes confused with the Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail. The main Santa Fe route did not enter what is today's state of Colorado, skirting to the southeast. The Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail did enter the southeast corner, passing by Bent's Old Fort, and headed south, over Raton Pass.

In the 1820s, the Taos Trail was used to transport goods from the Missouri River settlements into New Mexico. Mexican, American, and Canadian mountain men used the trail during the 1820s and 830s, carrying trade goods to Indians and pelts back to Taos, Santa Fe, and the Arkansas River.

When Hugh Glenn, a trader, learned that Mexico had declared its independence, he was camped with a group of 20 men near Pueblo. He decided to seek permission to trap in the Rio Grande area, part of the newly independent country. He and four of his party joined up with soldiers bound for Santa Fe. They traveled the well-worn Sangre de Cristo trail, following the Huerfano River, past Cone, leaving the river valley, crossing the pass, going down Sangre de Cristo Creek, then up the east side of the San Luis Valley into Taos. This route was so often used by trappers that it came known as the "Trapper's Trail" as well as the Taos Trail.

New Mexico eased its trade policy. The Taos Trail led people over the pass and then onto the extensive Sangre de Cristo Land Grant, but settlers didn't stay. They moved on through to other opportunities in the south. In the winter of 1821-1822, 20 Americans arrived in the Arkansas and Huerfano river region, now part of Huerfano and Pueblo counties. They set up a camp next to Indian settlements, to trade with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Arapaho tribes. The group remained there until January then moved on to Taos over the Sangre de Cristo Pass.

Soldiers escorted Maj. Jacob Fowler—for whom the town of Fowler was named—over the pass. They left Pueblo on Jan. 29, 1822, en route to Taos. Crossing Sangre de Cristo Pass on Feb. 5, they entered the San Luis Valley, which they referred to as “an open plain of great Extent.”

A diary kept by Fowler gives much detail and fact about travel over the pass. They went from the Arkansas to the St. Charles River, across to the Greenhorn River, then up the Huerfano River to the pass area. Fowler talked about the “Spanish Road” when he wrote that on Sunday, Feb. 3, 1822, they set out early, going south along the foot of the mountains for about 10 miles to a creek where they saw the remains of a Spanish fort. He reported it appeared to have been occupied about a year earlier. They camped at the old fort location and posted guards to watch over the horses, after making only 15 miles that day.

The following day they headed out in a high and very cold wind, going southwest about two miles to a mountain peak and along a ridge until they reached the saddle and started down the other side, along Sangre de Cristo Creek for about 10 miles to a good stopping point for the night. Again they made about 15 miles.

In the 1830s virtually all travel between the Arkansas Valley and New Mexico was over Sangre de Cristo Pass. In 1832 John Gantt opened trade with Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians on the Arkansas, at the mouth of the Purgatoire River. He bought some of his supplies in Taos, and used the Sangre de Cristo Pass to get back and forth. Later both Gantt and Charles Bent built a fort near the present side of Pueblo.

Settlements like Pueblo, Hardscrabble, and Greenhorn in the Arkansas Valley sprang up in the 1840s and travel between these communities and Taos increased. The *Trinidad Daily News* (Aug. 28, 1881) reported that in the 1840s, Lucien Maxwell, Kit Carson, and Timothy Goodale made a trip from Pueblo to Taos in one day, using the Sangre de Cristo Pass route.

Early travelers along the Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail openly commented upon its difficulty; it is more likely that people working for Bent and Ceran St. Vrain took the easier Taos Trail over Sangre de Cristo, rather than the longer, rougher, Raton Pass route. In 1842 John Hawkins and Dick Wootton (who later developed Raton Pass) hauled a valuable mixed cargo of beaver pelts and Spanish silver across Sangre de Cristo Pass to Bent's Old Fort on the Arkansas River.

Dick Wootton tells this story about the pass:

At one time when coming through Sangre de Christo [*sic*] Pass, with a small party of prospectors, I came near running into an Apache ambuscade, where my career as a gold hunter would have been very suddenly cut short, had I not discovered the presence of the Indians in the nick of time. I always made it a point never to ride into any place which looked like a good hiding place for the savages, without taking a careful survey of the situation in advance.

That was what I did when we were about to enter a narrow defile in the Sangre de Christo, and a quick sharp eye, which has, no doubt, saved my scalp a good many times, enabled me to discover an Apache, lying flat on the rocks above, so close to the road we should have taken in going through the pass, that we should have been powder-burned when they fired on us.

I could only see the one Indian, - and though I knew there were more of them - and he had covered himself with dust and looked so much like a rock, that I think nine out of ten of the mountain men even would have passed along without noticing him.

I didn't know how many Indians a shot would scare out, but I knew that the one I saw would be a dead one, and so I raised my gun and fired. At the crack of my rifle he sprang up, but only to tumble over, as dead as Julius Caesar, a second later.

At the same instant the very rocks seemed to turn into Indians, and they jumped out of a score of places, where we could see no sign of them before. My party commenced firing on them then and the Indians ran. They did not stop until they got out of reach of our guns, and we passed along in safety.

Rufus Sage recorded a trip he took from Lancaster Lupton's fort on the South Platte River to New Mexico using the Taos Trail.

Charles Autobee took mule pack trains over Sangre de Cristo Pass from Taos to El Pueblo in 1844, where goods such as buffalo robes and beaver pelts were loaded onto wagons and taken east. He also hauled flour and whiskey (in 10-gallon casks) to trade with the Indians.

Weather was sometimes severe in the mid-1800s. During the spring of 1843 a group of about 15 Canadian and American trappers left Taos for Ft. St. Vrain. They did not reach the northern outpost until around the last of June, as they were detained by severe late-spring snowstorms in crossing Sangre de Cristo Pass and the Arkansas-Platte Divide.

In late September 1844 George and Juana Simpson and their baby; Juana's sister Cruz; and Joe Coyle, Asa Estes, and three Mexican mule drivers left the settlement of Hardscrabble for Taos. On the first day they reached the St. Charles River just south of Pueblo, where they were caught in an unseasonable snow storm. For the next seven days, they traveled only 60 miles through wind and snow, nursing their campfires at night to keep the baby warm. After the storm subsided, they made the top of Sangre de Cristo Pass. Here the men had to dismount and beat a path through the snowdrifts. Juana's horse stumbled and fell, throwing her and the baby into a snowbank. Juana was unconcerned; she came up smiling with her baby intact in her arms, and resumed her place in the cavalcade as if nothing had happened. On the other side of the pass they saw a Ute village and several Indians moving along Sangre de Cristo Creek, with a large number of cattle and sheep.

In 1846, a Mormon party of 55 people went from Taos, over the pass on to Pueblo, under the leadership of a Lt. W.W. Willis.

Adventurers from all over the world were learning about this "new" country. In January 1847, a young Englishman, George F. Ruxton, started his journey back to United States territory from New Mexico, by way of the San Luis Valley, Sangre de Cristo Pass, and Pueblo. He comments on entering an exceptionally windy valley, called El Vallecito, known as the "Wind Trap" among mountain men. From this uncomfortable place his party climbed Sangre de Cristo Pass and exited the valley. His book, *Wild Life in the Rocky Mountains*, is a good representation of Colorado during the 1840s and gives a graphic description of a stormy crossing of the pass.

Some New Mexicans rebelled against American settlers in January 1847. Taos Pueblo Indians formed a mob and killed Gov. Charles Bent and every American they could find in Taos. John Albert, a Greenhorn resident, was near Taos at Arroyo Hondo (about 12 miles north of Taos), site of Simeon Turley's distillery—home of the famed "Taos Lighting." Turley and others escaped by digging a hole from the distillery into a granary. Albert reached a log fence and lay concealed underneath it as the mob rushed past. Under cover of darkness, he crept off into the piñon-covered hills and escaped to the north, passing through the San Luis Valley, over Sangre de Cristo Pass and on toward Pueblo. He had shot a deer on the east side of the pass and wrapped its skin around him. This kept him from freezing until he reached Greenhorn.

Indian activity continued. During the winter of 1847-48 a campaign led by Col. Benjamin Beall and guided by Kit Carson engaged Apaches east of the pass, and two chiefs were taken captive.

A delegation of about 50 men left Greenhorn to look for gold on the western slope of the Sangre de Cristo Pass in 1849, but not enough quality ore was found to justify further exploration.

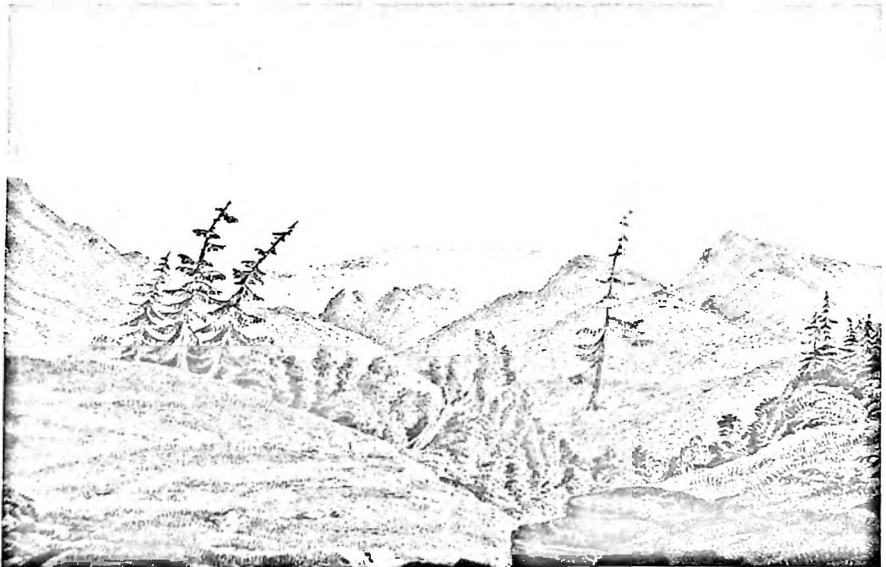
By 1852 the United States government had taken action to protect settlers. The Army built on Ute Creek—one stream north of lower Sangre de Cristo Creek near the west foot of Sangre de Cristo Pass—the first military base in Colorado: Ft. Massachusetts. (The base was relocated and named Ft. Garland in 1858.) Raiding Indians were deterred only slightly. As the northernmost of a string of forts along the Rio Grande from Texas through New Mexico, Ft. Massachusetts was nearly 50 miles from the settlements on Culebra and Costilla creeks and also several miles off the Sangre de Cristo Pass Trail, which the Army intended to protect.

Around the first of February 1853, Tom Autobees left the Rio Colorado with a train of 60 pack mules and 25 men. The snow was so deep on the west side of Sangre de Cristo Pass that the party traveled only 10 miles in eight days. At the summit they spent another day stamping a path through a mammoth drift that lay across the trail. But on the eastern side of the pass, at the headwaters of the Huerfano, the climate changed to early spring and the snow disappeared.



(Courtesy Denver Public Library)

Lithographs from sketches by Richard Kern, an artist with the Fremont expedition, show two different views from the summit of Sangre de Cristo Pass. Top is view looking northeast from a camp north of the summit Aug. 11, 1853. Bottom view is looking down Gunnison's Creek.



Word went east about the availability of routes in the new country: Sen. Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri urged building a railroad along the Taos Trail. In 1849 he urged support of the rail line and indicated his knowledge of the principal geological feature of the area, when he remarked:

When this mighty work shall have been completed and the commerce of the East is brought over it, and the iron bands connect the oceans, a grateful country will carve out of the granite pillars of the Huerfano Butte, a statue of Columbus, pointing to the West and exclaiming "There is the East! There are the Indies!"

Huerfano Butte, a little volcanic cone and the intersection of two radiating volcanic dikes, is a landmark on the east side of Interstate 25, about 10 miles north of Walsenburg and 39 miles south of Pueblo.

There was much discussion in the East about developing a rail route along the 38th parallel. This demarcation line crosses the Sangre de Cristo Range near present-day Crestone. During the next four decades many explorations, both publicly and privately funded, would come through seeking the most advantageous route for the railroad. Army men and explorers were regular visitors to the Taos Trail.

Three competing expeditions looked for a route, and the question of the Pacific Railroad was a hot issue. Congress authorized four surveys, and various governmental and private groups competed during the years of survey for the "best" route.

Of the three survey parties entering and crossing the San Luis Valley in 1853, two were backed by Senator Benton and one was authorized by the Army. All the passes in the Sangre de Cristo Range in the area were considered for a railroad crossing. Opinions differed on the advantages of the others over Sangre de Cristo Pass. In the end, no railroad was ever built through any of the four main passes on the east side of the range.

In the first week of June 1853, a small, hard-riding party of 12, under the leadership of a retired naval officer, Lt. Edward F. Beale, came through. Beale was going to California where he had been appointed U.S. commissioner of Indian affairs. But he was also to make observations for Benton on the Central Route to the Pacific. Gwinin Harris Heap, Beale's cousin, took notes on their journey. Heap's account is considered one of the classic records of Western travel. He remarked on the clear, icy streams, luxuriant grass, flowers, plentiful antelope and deer. The party stopped overnight on June 4 near the summit of the pass. The large mountain meadow, numerous springs, dark pines, and the views back out to the eastern plains are mentioned in his journal. They traveled 26 miles that day.

Heap reported that an excellent wagon road might be built over the mountains through Sangre de Cristo Pass, but believed a better road could be developed over Robidoux's Pass (today's Mosca Pass). He noted that Sangre de Cristo Pass was more suitable for travelers on horseback. Beale wrote a letter from Santa Fe on June 9, 1853, commenting, "The Pass Sangre de Cristo is an excellent one. . . ."

When Capt. John Gunnison approached the pass in August, looking for a railroad route, he used the Huerfano Butte as a landmark. He had been assigned the task of exploring the most central possible railroad route across the country. Marcelino Baca of Greenhorn was hired to lead part of the survey party to Ft. Massachusetts. Baca led the party over Sangre de Cristo Pass to the fort, then returned to his home. Gunnison and his party of U.S. topographical engineers—32 strong, with 18 wagons and an ambulance—went over the pass. They concluded it was acceptable for a rail crossing. They moved up the Huerfano several miles along its southern bank, then crossed to the north side to the ford of the Taos Trail. Their route lay from Huerfano Butte to the base of the Sierra Blanca; thence to the summit of Sangre de Cristo Pass, down Sangre de Cristo Creek, and into the San Luis Valley. It took them four days to cross the pass, as much work had to be done on the six-mile trail, clearing away overgrowth to make future crossing easier. There was such a "sidle" in places that the mounted riflemen roped the wagons and hung on for dear life on the upside to keep them from toppling.

The astronomer Homans put the pass summit at 9,219 feet, only 240 feet under today's figure.

Gunnison pronounced the scenery to be, ". . . very fine, the views extending far back over the plains. . . . The bold peaks tower loftily above us, whitened here and there by lines of snow."

The abundance of grouse, pheasant, deer, bear, and trout impressed the explorers. They were also surprised at the loss of endurance experienced by both men and animals in the rarified atmosphere.

"Even though the number of mules per wagon was doubled to 12 on the summit of the pass, they could not accomplish what six mules could do under ordinary circumstances," Gunnison reported. "Likewise, the achievements of our strongest men were reduced to less than half their normal performance."

During the easy descent to the Army's new Ft. Massachusetts, Gunnison also explored southeast of the pass. Other possible routes into the San Luis Valley were surveyed before they left the area, but Sangre de Cristo was the only pass recommended by Gunnison for a railroad.

The third explorer in 1853 was John Charles Fremont. He was now 40 years old, leading his fifth expedition, a party of 21 men. They crossed Sangre de Cristo Pass in December without incident. Fremont's father-in-law, Senator Benton, was still very interested in the region. He wrote to the editors of the *National Intelligencer*, on July 26, 1853: "Ft. Massachusetts is a new fort established two years ago at the creek Trinchera, in the valley of San Luis, nearly opposite the Pass of El Sangre de Cristo. . . ."

The survey parties' use of the pass confirms that the Taos Trail was well known and used.

At Christmastime in 1854, tragedy struck in a massacre of settlers at Pueblo and along the Arkansas River. Ute Indians were retaliating for the death of two chiefs who died from smallpox.

[Janet Lecompte, in *Pueblo, Hardscrabble, Greenhorn*, noted that the inexperienced David Meriwether, installed in 1853 as territorial governor of New Mexico, was seeking to pacify the much-abused Utes. In the fall of 1854, Meriwether met with Chief Chico Velasquez and another chief concerning the murder of a Ute by a Mexican. Seeking to please the Ute chiefs, the governor presented each with gray cloth coats made for them and decorated with red-and-yellow braid, brass buttons down the front, and a rosette on each shoulder. Unfortunately the Mexican murderer escaped from



(Author's Collection)

Capt. John Gunnison, left, and John Charles Fremont both took exploration parties over Sangre de Cristo Pass in 1853. Gunnison sought a railroad route, and Fremont was on his fifth expedition through the Rockies.

jail. And the two chiefs—proudly wearing their new coats—contracted smallpox on their way back to their people, and died. Some of the Utes believed that the governor had purposely infected the coats with the deadly pox. After the death of Velasquez, they went on the warpath.—Ed.]

Farm plazas at Pueblo, and on the St. Charles and Huerfano rivers were attacked. Just after the first of the new year, J.W. Atwood, John Jurnegan and Gunnison's guide, Marcelino Baca, set out for Sangre de Cristo Pass and New Mexico to summon help. Immediately the commanders at Ft. Union, Ft. Marcy at Santa Fe, the camp at Taos, and Ft. Massachusetts began secret preparations for an all-out campaign in the spring against the Utes and their supposed allies, the Jicarilla Apaches.

Under the command of Col. Thomas Fauntleroy of Ft. Massachusetts and guided by Kit Carson, the Army attacked Indian encampments on Cochetopa Pass, Poncha Pass, and across the Sangre de Cristo onto the plains. The Utes surrendered in the summer. In the short period of two years, the pass was used by the Army for both peaceful and warring expeditions.

In 1858, Ft. Massachusetts was renamed Ft. Garland and relocated to the northern end of the San Luis Valley and the western entrance to the pass. A Colonel Francisco, an Army sutler, used the pass numerous times on business trips to Colorado City, Denver, and Pueblo, between 1856 and the early 1860s.

Albert D. Richardson crossed Sangre de Cristo Pass on Oct. 27 and 28, 1859, with his pony, Liliput. He later printed his thoughts of the West, maintaining that travel on the Taos Trail was safe, even for a man traveling alone, in his book *Beyond the Mississippi*. (However, a record of the area noted the death of an American on Oak Creek, killed at the hands of an early-day bandit, in July 1859.)

At Santa Fe, Richardson met up with Kit Carson. Together they rode to Taos, then Richardson continued alone across the pass. His book gives an interesting account of crossing the pass.

In early 1860, prospecting interest was stirring in the San Juan Mountains. Many notable pioneer names were prominent in a migration from Denver to the new mining area. That year, Sarah Chivington, daughter of the recently arrived Methodist clergyman, the Rev. John M. Chivington, married "Noisy" Tom Pollock, erstwhile executioner of pioneer Denver. The newly wedded Pollocks started for the San Juans, presumably traveling along with a wagon party headed up by Stephen B. Kellogg. The party had 11 sturdy Army wagons, each with either six or eight oxen. They went by way of Colorado City and Pueblo, then across old Sangre de Cristo Pass. This passage, difficult at any time, was doubly treacherous under the added hardships incurred in a December ascent. The necessity of road building in places and a lack of forage for their stock were among the difficulties encountered in the 14 days required to cross.

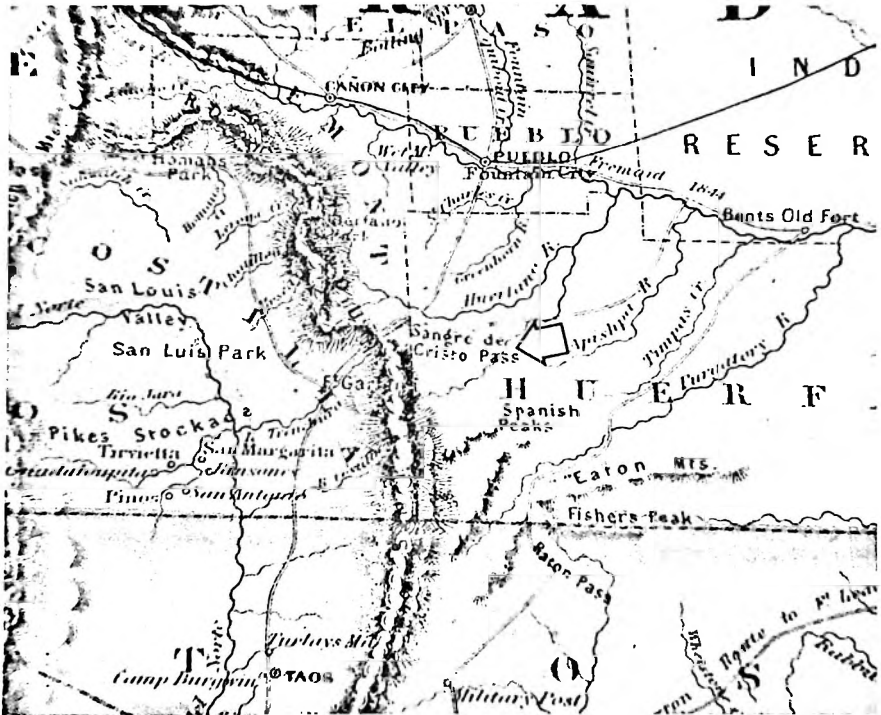
The streams were frozen, forage was scarce, and the roadway had to be hacked out of the frozen ground to accommodate heavily laden wagons. Trees had to be cut to furnish browse for the cattle, which had to be guarded day and night to keep them from straying or stampeding. The draft animals were fed bread moistened with snow. The Pollocks finally reached the Silverton area by April.

In 1861, Charles Baker and other mining parties used the pass to go to the San Juans. These miners used the customary route, down the east side of the Front Range to the Huerfano, across Sangre de Cristo Pass, and on through the San Luis Valley. The Baker group encountered so much snow on the pass that they were forced to cut trees to supply food for their stock. Still they lost 12 yoke of oxen.

Through the first half of the nineteenth century the Sangre de Cristo area had become increasingly well traveled. Word of the Taos Trail and Sangre de Cristo Pass had spread to Denver.

On March 19, 1861, a military express from Santa Fe brought a March 9 edition of the *Santa Fe Express* to Denver in just 10 days, instead of the usual 40 the postal service needed to go to Missouri, then to Denver on the Platte River route. Faster delivery of newspapers was a boon to an editor, and the greatly shortened time was a convenience to people along the route from Denver to "the Mexican towns." The Denver express came up through Ft. Union and Ft. Wise. Another route went eastward over Sangre de Cristo Pass from Ft. Garland to Cañon City, where it made weekly connection with a private pony express link to Denver.

The Civil War touched Colorado and Sangre de Cristo Pass. A group of new Colorado Volunteers marched from Cañon City to be mustered in at Ft. Garland in December 1861. Their forced march through the winter snow was made to allow them to participate in the Civil War battle at Glorieta



(Author's Collection)

Sangre de Cristo Pass appears (arrow) on Johnson and Ward map, dated 1864.

Pass against the Confederate invasion from Texas, in March 1862. [See March-April 1991 *Roundup*.—Ed.]

Captain Dodds' Independent Company left Cañon City on Dec. 7, 1861, marching 110 miles to Ft. Garland via Sangre de Cristo Pass. Later, as Company A of the Second Colorado Infantry, they proceeded to New Mexico and on Feb. 21, 1861, they fought in the battle of Valverde under Col. Edward R.S. Canby against Southern forces commanded by Col. Henry H. Sibley.

Capt. Jim Ford's Independent Company left Cañon City on Dec. 12, and arrived at Ft. Garland Dec. 21, 1861. As Company B, it set out for Santa Fe, breaking snow a great part of the distance, and joined the garrison at Ft. Union.

Some miners on their way to the San Juans must have decided to prospect the Sangre de Cristo Range and surrounding areas. U.S. Surveyor General Case wrote on Dec. 12, 1863, "The Baca Grant No. 4 is located on the great line of travel between Denver and Santa Fe, and thousands of experienced miners have been traveling over the Sangre de Cristo, and have found no gold or other valuable minerals."

One of the few examples of crime on the pass is part of the Espinosa (or Espinoza) family story. In 1863 a series of crimes was committed by members of the Espinosa family against their enemies-at-large, newcomers into the Colorado Territory. One brother (his name may have been either Vivian or Felipio Nerio), murdered a man in Conejos. After a short stay with his family, he set out

again, accompanied by a young nephew, toward Sangre de Cristo Pass, with a plan to ambush Gov. John Evans who had been in Conejos to meet with the Utes. The men were unsuccessful in attacking the Evans party. However, they did strike out at a man named Philbrook and a Mexican woman on the pass. The outlaws killed the mule team and captured the woman but the man escaped and walked to Ft. Garland to report the crime. One of the Espinosas was later killed near La Veta Pass.

In 1866 William (also called One-Arm) Jones procured a contract to transport mail weekly from Pueblo to Santa Fe by way of the mountain route, over Sangre de Cristo Pass and through the San Luis Valley. The points to be served en route by his two-mule buckboards (for mail, express freight, and passengers) were south from Pueblo to the settlement on the St. Charles River (called Rio San Carlos) and Hermosilla on the Huerfano River; from there they went west over the pass to Ft. Garland in the San Luis Valley. Jones publicized that his route was 150 miles and two days shorter than any other line. The Barlow and Sanderson route of that day went roundabout by way of Bent's Old Fort, 137 miles farther, according to distances published in Denver papers.

A *Rocky Mountain News* article on March 23, 1867, reported that the spring snow was much deeper than in other years and mule or wagon trains suffered severely and were compelled to put back. Fires and shovels were used to try to open passage for the wagons. Only pack animals could get through. The article indicated acceptance of the pass as a "regular route."

This period of history of the pass is represented by its use as a regular supply route to the San Juans, although the days of favor for the Sangre de Cristo route were fading. La Veta Pass was now under consideration for the Denver and Rio Grande Railway. Although Sangre de Cristo Pass remained the main route for mail, express, and passengers, interest was diverted as a shorter, more rugged toll road was built over Mosca Pass. The Denver and Santa Fe Stage Lines owned by Billy Jones ran until 1870 when Barlow and Sanderson bought the line and operated it for several years until the railroad over La Veta Pass gained prominence.

Charles Richardson, a civil and mining engineer from Central City, crossed Sangre de Cristo Pass just after noon on Oct. 3, 1872. He noted the magnificent views, brown sand-rippled formations, but saw no fossils. He sketched a view of the top of the pass, with the building he called the "Summit House." He visited with other travelers while staying overnight at the Summit House. Another traveler was from Cañon City, one from Pueblo, one from Chicago. His notes tell of a horse thief who had been tracked to the area, and his pending arrest.

The Army Corps of Engineers sent Lt. E.H. Ruffner and his expedition to the area in the summer of 1873. They noted in August that, ". . . other passes in the vicinity are lower and far better suited for a wagon road to Ft. Garland than the Sangre de Cristo Pass, over which the road now passes."

Ruffner's report described the approach to Sangre de Cristo Pass, giving exact mileages.

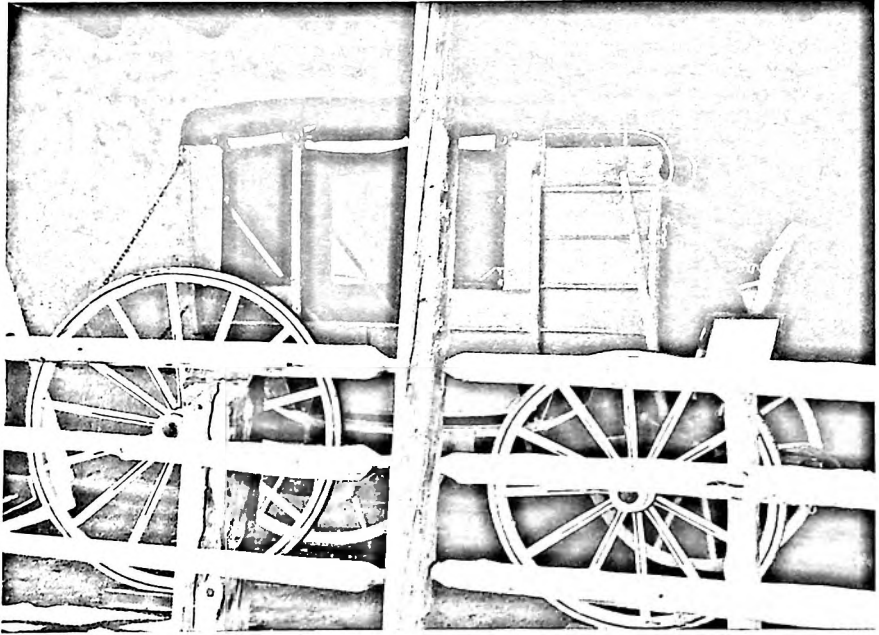
No profile was obtained of this pass, but others sufficiently demonstrate its uselessness as a railroad pass. For a wagon road between Pueblo and Ft. Garland, it is the most direct pass that can be obtained, and for that reason will probably not be abandoned for a lower route. . . . The best grade to be obtained, in the eastern ascent of the pass, is not less than 6 in 100 for certain distances of one-third of a mile, and it must be blocked by snow for a long season; otherwise, it exists . . . and is in fair condition.

George M. Wheeler was the next widely known explorer to lead a government party over the pass. He was followed by a group assigned by Ferdinand V. Hayden. This U.S. Geographical and Geologic Survey party consisted of A.D. Wilson, Franklin Rhoda, and Frederick M. Endlich, constituting the southern or first division of Hayden's survey. They crossed the pass early in the summer of 1875.

A popular route to the San Juans at the time of the Hayden Survey involved taking the Rio Grande railroad from Denver to Colorado Springs. At this point the traveler was obliged to obtain his own conveyance, since there was no public transportation from there into the San Luis Valley. One road led through the Sangre de Cristo Pass and struck the valley at Ft. Garland.

The author of the "From the San Juan Country" column in the March 11, 1874, *Rocky Mountain News* reported a triweekly stage running from Pueblo to Del Norte.

The morning I took transportation in one of these prairie schooners there were seven more passengers bound for Del Norte. . . . Two days later we reached [the town of] Badito and as it was almost impossible to cross the range, most lay over two or three days. . . . Snow lay 10 to 15 feet deep in places when we fi-



(Author's Collection)

This old stagecoach, parked at Ft. Garland (restored), made trips over Sangre de Cristo Pass in the service of Barlow and Sanderson Stage Lines. Barlow and Sanderson began operations after buying out Billy Jones' Denver and Santa Fe Stage Lines in 1870.

nally started out. The pass is by no means easily traveled in summer and during winter it is as rough as going up a ladder feet first. I merely give an account of this in justice to the traveling public.

Alonzo Hubbard, a farmer, teamster, and businessman from Illinois, arrived in the San Luis Valley in 1874, by way of the Sangre de Cristo Pass road which now had a stage coming and going—with the help of the passengers, who usually had to push. It took his group four days, April 14 to 17, to travel from Badito to the summit and down to the Trinchera; a spring snow caught them just before they attained the summit.

The next March, Hubbard brought his family out to his new home. In writing down memories of the trip, a daughter related the story of crossing the pass.

We caught up with a heavily loaded mule wagon train climbing the steep grades with a great deal of cracking of whips and other noise. A young bride, who, with her husband, was traveling with them, joined my mother and I who were walking. This was her first experience "roughing it" and she had been crying at the way they were beating the mules.

Lewis Barnum, the Pueblo superintendent of Barlow and Sanderson Stage Lines, died suddenly in January 1876, from pneumonia, at the Summit House atop Sangre de Cristo Pass. He had been

at the pass working out preliminary plans for a stage route from the Huerfano River, by way of Badito, over Sangre de Cristo and across the San Luis Valley to the San Juans.

In 1877 the *Atlas of Colorado* was published. Among the roads shown in the atlas was one running 300 miles from civilization at Pueblo across Sangre de Cristo Pass and the San Luis Valley, then up the Rio Grande to a new silver camp in the San Juan Mountain, called Silverton.

In 1877 and 1878, the railroad was built over La Veta Pass. A group headed by railroad builder William Jackson Palmer decided to use the west side of Sangre de Cristo Pass as the west slope of the lines. However, in 1880 the railroad crossed over Raton Pass, making travel from the Front Range into New Mexico much easier. Sangre de Cristo Pass fell into disuse.

A March 1892 (reprinted 1920) Huerfano Park topographic map shows the trail over Sangre de Cristo Pass with a double solid-line designation to indicate a wagon road still existed at that time.

In March 1927, cowboys and ranchers used the pass to move cattle from winter range on the east slope, up and over Sangre de Cristo to summer range in the higher country near Alamosa. They did not find it a hard climb; they opened gates to get across the country and were able to travel more than 50 miles a day.

In the 1930s, Dr. LeRoy Hafen, accompanied by other historians, located possible remains of the old Spanish fort built on the pass. They felt the remains to be those of a corral. There was evidence the site had been ransacked by treasure and relic hunters prior to their arrival. They found several mounds which could have been graves, but they did no excavating. Later that decade, the Right Rev. Howard Delancy spent some time actively searching for the ruins. He noted that wagon ruts were still plainly evident from the air.

One legend has it that Spanish gold is buried near the site. Supposedly an early resident, when he needed money, would show up in stores at Gardner and offer as payment for goods, an eight-sided Spanish gold piece. The story was that this old man had found a cache of these coins inside the walls of the old fort or near it.

San Luis Valley historians searched out the pass in July 1968. They drove to North La Veta Pass, parked near some aspen trees, and climbed the hill toward where Sangre de Cristo Pass should be, judging by two maps—Hayden's 1877 and the Rio Grande National Forest of 1947. They found the old road. The panorama from the pass ridge was surprisingly open down to the High Plains to the northeast. It seemed a shockingly easy pass. Later the same year, members of the Huerfano County Historical Society and friends visited the pass and trail. They decided to investigate the route, to check mileages and sites in old records. This preliminary work led to an expedition of the San Luis Historical Society in 1972. This group was successful in putting together a "Taos Trail Walk." On June 25 that year, approximately 90 people walked the parts of the trails that were still accessible, in order to appreciate the ancient route.

In August 1990, the author visited the pass after obtaining permission from Forbes Ranch personnel. Various trails still exist in the summit area. Indications are that pass traffic followed a couple of different routes during the period of its heaviest use, although both routes cross the saddle within 200 yards of each other. The older and now unused trail drops from the pass, then makes a steep ascent of an adjacent ridge where it meets the newer trail. The new trail follows the ridge contours and shows modern use, probably for cattle movement. The point where the two trails meet provides scenic views to the north and east. Badito Cone and Huerfano Butte may be seen from this spot.

It is possible to get fairly close to the summit of the pass by using public roads. The east side of the pass can be ascended by taking ranch roads which run some miles up Oak Creek from Badito Cone. The west side of North La Veta Pass follows the old Sangre de Cristo Pass trail. Take the Pass Creek Pass road, just to the west, to visit some of the same ridge terrain as that of Sangre de Cristo Pass.

The old pass road is visible only as faint ruts on various parcels of fenced-off private land. Near the top of North La Veta Pass, on the west side, look to the north to see the old trail as it runs up the hill and down the valley. These ruts should be marked and preserved. Their history represents nearly a century or more of travel *before* the Santa Fe Trail. Sangre de Cristo Pass, though now nearly forgotten, is the true "old pass" of Colorado.



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Westerner's Bookshelf



Reviews published in The Roundup are largely about books submitted by publishers to the Denver Westerners. However, all our members are urged to prepare and submit reviews of any books on Western history which they would like to recommend, current or otherwise. In this way, our readers may discover books relating to areas of particular interest to them which might otherwise escape their notice. It is intended that this section become a widening source of information on all aspects of the history of the West.

—Ed.

The Bozeman Trail, Vols. I & II by Grace Raymond Hebard and E.A. Brininstool. Univ. of Nebraska Press (Bison Book), Lincoln and London, 1990. Copyrighted by authors, 1922. Originally published by Arthur H. Clark, Cleveland, 1961. Vol. I, 369 pages with 27 illustrations, two maps, index. Preface by authors; introduction to the Bison edition by John D. McDermott; introduction to the original work by Brig. Gen. Charles King (repeated in Vol. II). Paperback, \$11.95. Vol. II, 281 pages with 16 illustrations, one map, separate index. Separate introduction by McDermott; King introduction repeated. Paperback, \$10.95.

The Bison Book two-volume paperback reprint of *The Bozeman Trail* by Grace Hebard and Earl Brininstool makes a landmark work readily available to Western history buffs—without straining the budget. Acquisition of this reference set is particularly timely, with the renewed interest in the Indian Wars, as evidenced by Terry C. Johnston's award-winning trilogy: *Sioux Dawn* (The Fetterman Massacre, 1866), *Red Cloud's Revenge* (Showdown on the Northern Plains, 1867), and *The Stalkers* (The Battle of Beecher Island, 1868).

Beyond the Indian Wars, however, the Hebard-Brininstool accounts have been termed the definitive work on the Bozeman Trail by Denver Westerner Merrill Mattes, an authority in his own right with *The Great Platte River Road*, and other published materials. Nearly two-thirds of Vol. I of *The Bozeman Trail* is devoted to background on the westward migration over the Santa Fe, Oregon, and Overland trails. Vol. I also describes frontier freighting, the Pony Express, telegraph lines, mail routes, Ft. Laramie, and the three new, poorly defended posts along the Bozeman Trail: Ft. Reno, Ft. Phil Kearney, and Ft. C.F. Smith.

The Bozeman Trail was mapped out by John Bozeman 1863-1865 as the shortest route to the Montana gold fields, winding from Julesburg on the South Platte, past Ft. Laramie to the Powder River, and continuing over the Big Horn Mountains to the Yellowstone River and west to Virginia City. The Sioux, led by Red Cloud, were enraged by this violation of treaties protecting their hunting grounds. In-

dian battles are described in grim and bloody detail, with accounts from participants' reports, journals, and letters. Vol. I culminates with a chapter on the Fetterman disaster.

Vol. II follows on the heels of the Fetterman Massacre, when thousands of the victorious Sioux surrounded Ft. Phil Kearney. The authors tell the story of John "Portugee" Phillips' heroic 236-mile ride in sub-zero weather to Ft. Laramie for reinforcements. The second volume contains vivid first-person accounts of the Wagon Box and Hayfield battles. Also included are revealing descriptions of Jim Bridger, who served as guide for the Powder River Expedition; and Chief Red Cloud, whose tactics led to the eventual abandonment in 1868 of the Bozeman Trail and its chain of forts.

John D. McDermott, author of *Fortorn Hope: The Battle of White Bird Canyon and the Beginning of the Nez Perce War*, wrote prefaces for both volumes in this Bison Book edition. He comments that much research has been accomplished since the Hebard-Brininstool work was published, and notes some minor errors. He points out the startlingly outmoded view of the Sand Creek battle, and use of such "condemnatory" descriptive phrases as "blood-thirsty savages."

However, he agrees with publisher Arthur Clark that *The Bozeman Trail*, with its many eyewitness accounts of the events of the period, is ensured a secure place as a source book in basic studies of the Bozeman Trail and Sioux War of 1866-68.

More telling are the remarks by Brig. Gen. Charles King, U.S.V. Ret., [see Mark Hutchins' review in this *Roundup of Campaigning with King*] who was solicited by Hebard and Brininstool to write the introduction as the country's leading authority on frontier service. Of the Bozeman Road, King wrote:

The sorrows and sacrifices of the Army ordered to hold and defend it, our people have long forgotten, if indeed they ever knew. Solemnly had Red Cloud given his word and warning. It was scoffed at by the powers at Washington, and the Army paid with its life blood for the blunders of the Interior Department. . . . It meant death, per-

haps by torture, if a battle went against us, and unlimited abuse at the hands of the Eastern press and pacifists if the victory were ours. It involved more peril, privation and hardship than did service in the Civil War and yet, for years, our senators, in Congress assembled, refused to confer brevets bestowed for bravery, on the ground that it was *not* warfare! . . .

—Alan J. Stewart, Ed.

Henry M. Porter, Rocky Mountain Empire Builder by Mark Foster, Univ. Press of Colorado, Niwot, 1991. 184 pages, 35 illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Clothbound, \$19.95.

Mark Foster's carefully researched and extensively annotated biography of Henry Porter is an interesting "lens" through which to examine aspects of Denver and Colorado history. While Henry Porter is known to many Denverites as founder and benefactor of Porter Hospital, relatively few know of his influence on the economic history of Denver and Colorado.

Foster traces the life of Henry Porter from his birth in 1838 in Lancaster, Pa., and the family's westward migration to Missouri the following year, through the rigors of Missouri farm life. By age 20, Henry was supervising a crew building telegraph lines in Missouri (Jefferson City to Kansas City). The Civil War years found him repairing telegraph lines for Pope's Army of the Mississippi, and experiencing a brief capture by Confederate Rangers.

In 1862, Porter organized a wagon train to bring merchandise to Denver, commencing a successful freighting business. The remaining 1860s were spent in Denver. Then business enterprises in New Mexico drew him south to Elizabethtown, where he pursued successful merchandising and cattle interests.

He moved back to Denver in 1881, and from that time until his death in 1937, Porter was involved in extensive land and business enterprises, including railroads, the Denver Tramway Co., the Smith Ditch, Colorado Fuel & Iron, and numerous other ventures, such as real estate investments in Washington State, Texas, and scattered Colorado locations. Later life philanthropy particularly included Porter Hospital (whose foundation underwrote the publication of the book), and Colorado Women's College.

While not as widely known as many more flamboyant contemporaries, this Horatio Alger sage personified many interesting facets of the years of Manifest Destiny, the westward migration, the post Civil War years in Denver, and the New Mexico cattle industry. Colorado's business development into the half century from 1886 is reflected in the life of this remarkable individual.

—Henry W. Toll, Jr., P.M.

Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890-1990 by Gerald D. Nash. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 330 pages, bibliography. Clothbound, \$29.95. Paperback, \$15.95.

The material in this book was first presented in 1990 as the Calvin P. Horn Lectures in Western History and Culture at the University of New Mexico. The previous lectures in the series, given by such historians as Robert Utley and David Weber, were directed at a wide audience interested in the Lincoln County War and the Hispanic Southwest. The Nash lectures were directed at those interested in the historiography of the American West, probably a smaller group.

As I read the book, I was transported back to my graduate years at the University of Missouri, and I heard again the voice of Dr. Lewis Atherton discussing arguments for and against the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner; the identity of the West as a special region, including the ideas of Walter Prescott Webb; the urban aspects of the West as described by Richard Wade and Robert Dykstra; and, finally, the myth of the garden as discussed by Roderick Nash and R.W.B. Lewis.

Of course it has been more than 20 years since I was in Dr. Atherton's seminars and was his advisee, and there are a few additional historians discussed in this book. What struck me was that, during the 20-year interval, there have not really been any new major works to challenge the pre-1970 intellectual concepts.

There has been much research on the role of minorities in the West, certainly needed to present a more balanced picture of the Westward Movement. Then there have been those who spend their time and energy attacking the entire Westward Movement, presenting a completely negative view.

One of the major points made by Gerald Nash was that the historians' values and the times in which they live have a very strong influence upon their interpretation of history. The Civil Rights Movement had a tremendous impact on many historians who studied and wrote during the 1960s. This is not a new concept, as graduate students are taught to examine the historian and his times to learn what influences helped bring about his position on people and events.

I really enjoyed reading this book as it served as an excellent refresher course for me and brought back all the battles over the major concepts in the history of the American West that I experienced in my graduate work.

I would suggest that this book would appeal to historians such as myself, and to those who were never lucky enough to have had someone like Dr. Atherton and would like to have a good short course in the historiography of the American West.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

The Buckskins by Albert Booky. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1991. 236 pages. Paperback, \$12.95.

The Falconer by Jorge A. Gutierrez and James K. Omiya. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1991. 173 pages, maps. Paperback, \$14.95.

Indian Pottery of the Southwest by Marcia Muth. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, 1990. 32 pages, illustrations. Paperback, \$6.95.

The first book listed above is a work of fiction based on history that includes a little of everything. The two main characters are mountain men who guide the Wyandot Indian nation west, and have run-ins with Comanches, Apaches, and New Mexican officials before finally settling down as ranchers in the Jicarilla Mountain area.

The second book listed is also a work of fiction that ranges from Spain to the New World and attempts to deal with the roots of the Hispanic personality. In doing this, the influence of the Moors who conquered Spain is examined through a character known as "the Falconer."

The last work is a selected bibliography of Southwestern pottery that includes books, periodicals and government publications.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography (3 vols.) by Dan L. Thrapp. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1991. 1,698 pages. Paperback, \$60.

This valuable reference set was first published by Arthur H. Clark Company in 1988, and now is available in paperback from Nebraska Press. Anyone with an interest in the history of the frontier will find the set a most useful tool. The listings range from the early explorers such as Coronado to Bill Boyd, better known as Hopalong Cassidy. There are approximately 4,500 entries in the three volumes.

It is most interesting to see who made it and who was left out, as well as the space given to the individual. It is difficult to understand why two bucking horses had their own entries, while Richard King, founder of the famous south Texas ranch, was denied his own entry. The author also presents the standard Anglo view of Gov. Manuel Armijo as being a terrible person in all respects. In fact, the values of Dan Thrapp are very evident throughout the set. This is not a neutral, objective encyclopedia of fact.

Another problem was a real neglect of the people important in the history of Colorado, such as Tabor and Stratton. This is certainly a reference set to supplement others, such as *The Readers Encyclopedia of the American West* by Howard R. Lamar. The two complement each other, as while Lamar's contains information about people, places, events and things, Thrapp's contains information about a great many

more individuals. Certainly this three-volume set needs to be accessible for ready reference.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Campaigning with King: Charles King, Chronicler of The Old West by Don Russell, edited and with an introduction by Paul L. Hedren. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1991. 187 pages; illustrations, index. Clothbound, \$25.

Don Russell once said of Charles King, "His stories are an exact reproduction of life in frontier Army posts and on Indian expeditions. They form a highly valuable contemporary view of an aspect of Western life in a historic period. His books are not art; they are photography."

This is a fitting tribute for the long-awaited biography of the man who not only wrote about the frontier Army, but served in it as well. This book will no doubt be the definitive study of Capt. Charles King's military and literary careers. Russell traces King's life from early childhood in New York City and Milwaukee, where he knew family friends such as Gen. Winfield Scott, and future Gen. Arthur MacArthur.

Even at an early age, King was exposed to soldiering and drill. During the first two years of the Civil War, he was a drummer and mounted courier in his father's command (the famous Iron Brigade), until being appointed to West Point.

Russell chronicles King's career as an officer in both the artillery and cavalry in detail. As Russell explains, the Fifth Cavalry had no better publicity agent than Charles King. Though he spent only nine years with that regiment, they were most fondly remembered by King. Forced to retire from the military because of an arm wound that plagued him for the rest of his life, King turned to writing.

Charles King's literary career spanned the years 1880 to 1914. During this time, he produced some of the best fiction and nonfiction of the period. His most famous nonfiction work is undoubtedly *Campaigning with Crook*, an excellent account of the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition in 1876.

Almost all of King's fiction deals with the Army. His subjects range from the seasoned men in blue to their dependents.

The people and plots King wrote of were based on his own exploits, or those of others. Though King's writing style may seem dated to some, it makes for good reading. His books were almost always critically acclaimed and well-received. In all, Charles King produced 66 volumes: 53 works of fiction, four major biographies, and selections in nine anthologies of short stories. Two additional novels were published in magazines, as well. No wonder he has been called "America's Kipling."

—Mark E. Hutchins, P.M.

New Mexico's Buffalo Soldiers, 1866-1900 by Monroe Lee Billington. Univ. Press of Colorado, Niwot, 1991. 272 pages, illustrations, photographs, maps, bibliographical essay. Clothbound, \$29.95.

Unlike some of the claims regarding the roles played by black men in the settlement of the West, it is a hard fact that nearly 4,000 black men served in the United States Army in the Territory of New Mexico between 1866 and 1900. These men played a vital role in the battles with the Apaches and helped settle civil disputes in Colfax and Lincoln counties in New Mexico.

Not only did these men face the normal hardships of frontier Army life, but they also faced prejudice and discrimination which increased their burdens. This attitude about blacks was found among the white officers who commanded them, and the white civilians whom they were protecting. To win the respect of the whites, the black soldier had to accomplish more than his white counterpart.

The author has done a thorough job of researching, and he has overlooked little significant information. There is even a discussion of desertion rates, indicating black soldiers did not go over-the-hill as often as white soldiers.

While one chapter reports the prejudice and discrimination that faced these men, it was such an important aspect of their lives, it should have been described in more detail if possible. This book fills an important gap in the history of New Mexico regarding the role played by black soldiers. Their successes in the Spanish-American War with the 10th Cavalry—for example, leading the charge up San Juan Hill—helped finally to bring about the promotion of 62 noncoms to officer status. During their time in New Mexico, none of the noncoms had made it to the rank of second lieutenant.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Route 66 Across New Mexico: A Wanderer's Guide by Jill Schneider. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 225 pages, photographs, maps. Paperback, \$14.95.

This was an enjoyable book to read, and difficult to put down. It will be taken along on my next trip along what once was Route 66 (until it was replaced by Interstate 40). You can trust the directions but, as the author warns, "Don't put all your faith in this book. Memories are notoriously inaccurate, and wanderers are notorious storytellers." The stories are often told by the "Peddler," a traveling salesman the author met in the bar at LaPosada in Albuquerque. He had traveled Route 66 during the forties and fifties, selling his wares in all the towns along the way but doing more business west of Albuquerque.

He tells about the people and places that he remembers along the way, including Longhorn Ranch with its famous brand.

In the past couple years, there has been renewed interest in Route 66 as indicated by several new books and the republishing of Jack Rittenhouse's 1946 guide. This book differs from the others in presenting the folklore of the famous highway, and describing possible side trips. The traveler can also use the book to discover stretches of Route 66 that can still be driven. One could argue with a few of the historical facts about Acoma Pueblo, but this is not a history book. It is a guide for someone who desires to wander across New Mexico physically or from their armchair. Either way you go, you will enjoy your trip on Route 66.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Uranium Frenzy, Boom and Bust on the Colorado Plateau, by Raye C. Ringholz, Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 310 pages, 2 maps. Paperback, \$14.95.

This is the first paperback edition of a book originally published in 1989 by W.W. Norton. It is an excellent introduction to the uranium rushes of the Colorado Plateau in the 1950s and 1960s, touching upon many aspects of these rushes, including their causes and abrupt ends. The federal government's involvement in creating the frenzy is well covered. Also mentioned extensively is the government's failure to react to the long-known health hazards in the Uranium mines.

The activity of many of the individuals and firms instrumental in developing the uranium industry is discussed. The history of the uranium rush is covered through three main story lines: the rags-to-riches-to-rags story of prospector Charlie Steen; the story of the U.S. Public Health Service attempts to force the Department of Energy to correct unsafe practices in the mines; and trading on the Salt Lake City penny stock market.

This book is history on a personal level. Through interviews with those who lived through the uranium booms and busts and other research, the author presents an interesting overview of uranium mining on the Colorado Plateau.

The book is a good starting point for those interested in a general history of the uranium boom. I believe it is the first book to address the general scope of the uranium boom. Other historians may build upon this work with more detailed studies of various aspects of uranium mining's booms and busts. This book belongs in all libraries of those interested in the mining history of the west or just those interested in contemporary western history.

—Keith Fessenden, P.M.

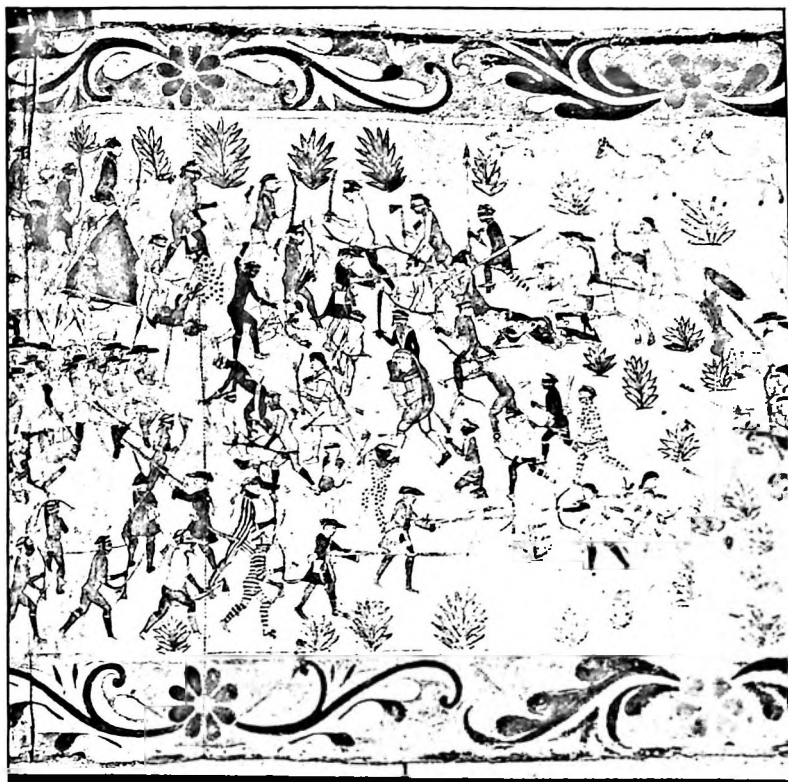


The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1991

THE SEGESSER PAINTINGS

by Thomas E. Chávez, Ph.D.



(Illustration courtesy Museum of New Mexico)

Section from the third panel of Segesser II painting shows French troops and their Plains Indian allies attacking Spanish soldiers and Pueblo Indian auxiliaries. Father Juan Mínguez (carrying crucifer) was slain in the attack.

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In years past, many community leader have been officers and members of the Corral. The Denver Westerners has always relied upon its members to tell others about the organization, to keep the Corral growing. However, in recent years, membership figures have been declining.

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—Ed.

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(Illustration courtesy Museum of New Mexico)

Enlarged view from the center panel of Segesser II shows Plains Indians attacking Spanish troops from the Presidio at Santa Fe.

By
Thomas E. Chávez, Ph.D.

(Presented August 27, 1986)

IN 1758 FATHER Philipp von Segesser von Brunnegg, a Jesuit priest stationed in the Province of Sonora, sent "three colored skins" or hide paintings to his brother in Switzerland.¹ Until recent times, two of the paintings have remained in possession of the family. Now, these recently re-discovered paintings of Spaniards and Frenchmen and Oto, Pawnee, Apache, and Pueblo Indians have been returned to this continent.

By his act in 1758, Father Segesser set in motion a series of events which would span several centuries, tying the present to historical events that occurred a half century before the shipping of the paintings.

During the first decades of the eighteenth century, New Spain's northern Province of New Mexico had become an increasing source of consternation for Spanish officials in Mexico City. New

Mexico had just suffered a major Indian rebellion that, for 13 years, had prevented any Spanish settlement.

New Mexico was an important link in New Spain's northern line of defense. The province had become an advance bulwark against the pressures of the Plains Indians and a theoretical bastion against the western pretensions of the French, who had established themselves in the lower Mississippi River valley and in the Illinois country.

Prior to 1719, evidence of a French presence west of the Mississippi River is sketchy. René-Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle, tried to establish a French settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi River. La Salle's plans went awry before he disembarked from his ships. The sieur was eventually murdered while his settlement of 180 people failed, with possibly a half-dozen survivors. One of these survivors was 17-year-old Jean l'Archèveque who had helped kill La Salle and was ultimately found by the Spaniards. Archèveque moved to Santa Fe where he became a fairly prominent merchant and founder of the New Mexican Archebeque family.²

By the 1690s Canadian *coureurs de bois* (explorers, traders) had traveled along the lower reaches of the Missouri River and probably farther west onto the Plains. A series of maps published by Frenchman Guillaume Delisle also adds testimony to French intrusion into Spanish territory. In the 1703 map, Delisle correctly placed the Pawnees on the Platte River, but did not note the Padouca Apaches. Two of his subsequent maps dated 1718 and 1722 accurately located both Indian groups. None of his maps noted El Cuartejejo,³ a settlement of New Mexican Pueblo Indians on the Plains.

As early as 1702 a *memoire* of Pierre Le Mayne, sieur de Iberville, mentioned a number of Missouri tribes, the most important being the Oto Indians, the Pawnees' neighbors. Other reports from the French settlements in the Illinois country indicated, without doubt, that they knew of New Mexico and "their mines." A map based on a report by former New Mexican governor Diego de Peñalosa for the French government contains a cartouche of Indians working in mines, supposedly in New Mexico.⁴

New Mexico's information of French intrusion came largely from expeditions out onto the Plains northeast of Santa Fe and Taos. Diego de Vargas, governor of New Mexico, had heard rumors of Frenchmen as early as 1695.⁵

Ten years later Juan de Ulibarri led an expedition to bring back some recalcitrant Pueblo Indians from a settlement called El Cuartejejo, near the present Colorado-Kansas border. He returned with more tales. The renegade Pueblos had, in effect, enslaved themselves to the area's Apaches, whom the French called "Padoucas." The Padoucas invited Ulibarri and his soldiers to join them in making war on the Pawnees and their French allies. To drive the point home, the Apaches showed Ulibarri French trade goods and weapons captured from their Pawnee enemies.⁶

New Mexico also suffered incessant Apache and Comanche raids. Several expeditions were dispatched to reprimand the Indians. In 1714, Vargas' old friend and colleague Juan Páez Hurtado led a major expedition of more than 200 men—including 146 Pueblo Indian auxiliaries from at least nine different Pueblos—onto the Plains. Hurtado's expedition resulted from Spanish concern over raiding and counter-raiding among Plains Indians. Such activity disrupted alliances the Spanish had forged among various tribes. Suspicion was growing that the French had instigated much of this agitation.⁷ Hurtado was guided by the Pueblo scout Joseph Naranjo who seems to have been used on most, if not every, expedition of the period. Naranjo, a native of Santa Clara Pueblo, was a famous scout and warrior of his day, and the Spanish paid him an unusual tribute by referring to him as a "captain."⁸

New Mexico's concern was not unfounded. Four years later, Frenchman Charles Claude du Tisne tried to achieve contact with the Padouca Apaches and Comanches. He realized both tribes bordered New Mexico. Tisne traveled southwest into Osage country and then into southern Pawnee country in northern Oklahoma. On his expedition, he traded all his firearms and received, among other things, a mule with a Spanish brand.⁹ New Mexicans heard of Tisne's visit to the southern Pawnees almost before he returned. The Comanches were disturbed about their Pawnee neighbors acquiring muskets and conveyed the information to New Mexico.

Reports of French activity in Texas, coupled with New Mexico's problems convinced the authorities in Mexico City that action had to be taken. Governor Antonio Valverde y Cosío understood the frightening implications of French intrusion. He therefore organized a punitive expedition against the Comanches who had just raided some New Mexican settlements. While on the Plains, the governor intended to seek information about the French. Thus Valverde left Santa Fe in 1719 with an army of 60 garrison troops, 40 settlers, and 465 auxiliary Indians. He did find irrefutable evidence of French presence. Back home, Valverde convened a council of war to consider the new evidence and the viceroy's communiques of concern.¹⁰

Viceroy Valero had received reports from other areas, as well as word from Madrid, that a state of war had been declared between France and Spain. With the subsequent loss of Pensacola to France in 1719, the viceroy became convinced of a mounting French threat on the Plains. New Mexico needed to act.

In the middle of June 1720, Valverde dispatched an expedition under the leadership of his lieutenant governor, Pedro de Villasur. Forty-two royal troops, three civilians, and 60 Pueblo Indians headed northeast to ascertain the location and strength of the French. The expatriate Frenchman Jean l'Archèveque, now Juan de Archibeque, went along as an interpreter, for the Spanish really believed they would encounter Frenchmen. The expedition went to Taos, through Jicarilla, and on to El Cuarteletejo. In Cuarteletejo they picked up some Padouca allies and continued in a northeasterly direction to the Platte River (Río de Jesús María) in eastern Nebraska. They followed the trail up the Loup River until they came to a Pawnee encampment. Villasur tried to open a dialogue with the Pawnees, but to no avail. When he heard from a number of sources that a white man was living among the Pawnees, he attempted to contact the man with a letter written in French by Archèveque. Again, no answer.

Sensing a hostile situation, Villasur ordered his army to retreat to the confluence of the Loup and South Platte rivers, where they set up camp on a grassy plain. At daybreak of the next day, August 13, 1720, the Pawnees, with Oto allies, slipped across the river and attacked. They caught the New Mexicans by surprise and in disarray. Their initial volley apparently included some musket shots. A major battle ensued in which all but 13 of the New Mexicans were left lying dead in the tall grass. Villasur, Archèveque, and the expedition's only priest, Father Juan Mínguez, all died.¹¹ The famous scout Naranjo was among the dozen Pueblo allies who were killed. Fortunately, the beleaguered New Mexicans inflicted heavy losses on their attackers, and the survivors and their allies were able to retreat unmolested.

The ambush was a major catastrophe for New Mexico. The casualties amounted to a third of the province's best soldiers. Former governor, Feliz Martínez, who was Valverde's rival and antagonist, wrote to Viceroy Valero:

... in the villa of Santa Fe, thirty-two widows and many orphaned children, whose tears reach the sky, mourn the poor ability of the governor; pray God for his punishment, and await the remedy of your justice.¹²

Martínez attempted to place the blame for the Villasur massacre on Valverde. The result was an eight-year investigation. Valverde defended Villasur, whom Martínez accused of incompetence and inexperience. Valverde reported that Frenchmen participated in the battle, while Felix Tamariz, one of the survivors, testified that he did not know who was involved. The investigation culminated in a mild reprimand and a small fine for Valverde. In the same order, Valverde was absolved for his judgment in choosing Villasur to lead the expedition.¹³

Thirty years later and, coincidentally, after the French and Indian War eliminated France from the American continent, Father Segesser sent his gift to Switzerland. His correspondence gave no indication that he knew what the paintings depicted, or how they came into his possession. He merely described the paintings as curiosities.¹⁴

All of Father Segesser's letters and two of the three paintings have remained in the possession of the Segesser family. Those letters and family tradition have helped establish the origin of the paintings. Research has established that Heinrich Victor von Segesser owned the paintings in 1890.

Four years later he sold them to Paul von Segesser, the trustee of the Segesser Palace in the Rueltingasse who, in turn, left them to his son Joseph Leopold. Joseph left them to his son Hans Ulrich von Segesser who left them with his nephew, Dr. Andre von Segesser, who sold them to New Mexico's Palace of the Governors.

The paintings could have languished as family curiosities, and possibly disappeared altogether, had it not been for Gottfried Hotz. Mr. Hotz was a former seminarian at Kusnacht in Zurich. He was a member and professor of the Geographical-Ethnological Society of the Geographical Society of Zurich. More importantly, he concentrated on his real interest through his profession as curator of the Indian Museum in Zurich. As a scholar of American Indian history and culture, he became the connecting link between the early eighteenth century New Mexican expeditions, the paintings, Father Segesser, and the present.

Hotz first learned of the existence of the paintings in 1945. With the cooperation of Hans Ulrich von Segesser and his mother, Mrs. Josefina von Segesser, Hotz devoted himself to the complex task of identifying and establishing the origin of the paintings. He traveled to the United States and Mexico and corresponded with everyone he could. His inquiries aroused the initial interest of the Museum of New Mexico, whose curators apparently did not know of the paintings. Dr. Bertha Dutton first received Hotz's inquiries and referred them to E. Boyd, curator at the Museum of International Folk Art.¹⁵

Boyd and fellow Santa Fean Oliver LaFarge became very interested in the paintings and kept up a long correspondence with Hotz. LaFarge wrote to Hotz that "Miss Boyd and I are agreed that, whatever their actual origin, these paintings may be of great historical importance." LaFarge added that Hotz had "made a real contribution in calling attention to these paintings."¹⁶

One of Boyd's colleagues was overwhelmed, writing that news of the paintings had her in a "tizzy" and "if you [Boyd] get them in your mitts . . . I'm drooling."¹⁷

After spending years researching eighteenth century Spanish expeditions, Indian tribes, terrain, and colonial art, Hotz began to form some conclusions. His work resulted in a book published in 1955 entitled *Indiansche Fellmalereien Aus Schweizer Privatbesitz*. Aided by an exhibition at the Indian Museum in Zurich, word of the paintings quickly spread among academic circles. In 1970 the University of Oklahoma Press issued an English translation of Hotz's work, entitled *Indian Skin Paintings from the American Southwest: Two Representatives of Border Conflicts Between Mexico and the Missouri in the Early Eighteenth Century*. The book was published as Volume 94 in the prestigious *Civilization of American Indian Series*.

[The University of New Mexico Press this year has reissued Hotz's work in a paperback edition. This is identical to the University of Oklahoma Press version, but with the major addition of 14 color plates and six black-and-white illustrations. See book review in this issue of *The Roundup*.]

Hotz concluded that the paintings depicted two New Mexican expeditions. Segesser I, he wrote, is a painting of Pueblo Indian auxiliaries with Spanish weapons and on horseback attacking a tipi

On the following pages are three separate but overlapping pictures of the Segesser II Hide Paintings. The panorama, painted on bison skins and stitched together with sinew, depicts the massacre on Aug. 14, 1720, of the Pedro de Villasur expedition at the confluence of the Loup and Platte rivers in Nebraska. Attacking the force of Spanish soldiers and Pueblo Indian auxiliaries were French troops and their Plains Indian allies. The French are wearing tricornered hats, while the Pawnee and Oto attackers wear headbands and are painted in various patterns to represent particular warrior societies. The Spanish presidial soldiers from the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe are wearing flat-crowned hats and are intermingled with accompanying Pueblo Indians, many of them mounted. All but 13 of the Spanish troops, including Villasur and Father Juan Minguéz (figure carrying crucifer), were slain. (All pictures were provided through the courtesy of the Palace of the Governors, Museum of New Mexico.)







village of Indians on foot. He theorized that the rendering depicted a punitive expedition led by Valverde.

Segesser II, Hotz continued, showed Spanish and Pueblo troops surrounded by other European soldiers and naked Indians. He identified the battle as the ambush of the Pedro de Villasur expedition. Hotz even identified Villasur; Father Mñguez; Villasur's chief aide José Domínguez; Joseph Naranjo; and Archéveque, as well as the battle's location. His book is the product of a remarkable feat of ethnological detection that has added to, and stimulated the further study of the Indian, Spanish, and international intrigue in eighteenth century western America.

For the most part, subsequent research has verified Hotz's assumptions. However, the precise expedition depicted in Segesser I has become a subject for speculation. The painting could represent any one of numerous expeditions that sought to punish marauding Plains Indians. Every New Mexican expedition beginning with Vargas' re-entry into New Mexico in 1693 included Indian allies. Most scholars, but not all, believe that the artists of the paintings were probably Spanish-trained Mexican Indian artists who had the benefit of receiving eyewitness descriptions. Both paintings have ornate baroque borders indicating European influence. The consensus is also that the paintings may have been commissioned to adorn the walls of some influential military man on New Spain's northern frontier.

As documents, the paintings bolster Valverde's point of view. Segesser II has Frenchmen and Indians attacking a hopelessly outnumbered and outmanned Spanish contingent. Segesser I shows the beginning of what will obviously be a successful attack on nomadic Indians.

The story of the Segesser paintings came full cycle in 1984. Acting on information supplied by Marsha Gallagher, curator of the Joslyn Museum of Art, and Dr. James Gunnerson of the University of Nebraska Museum, the Palace of the Governors staff began corresponding with Dr. Andre von Segesser.¹⁵ The staff felt that the Palace of the Governors would be the most logical repository for the Segesser paintings.

Segesser II actually includes contemporary drawings of royal presidio troops who were stationed at the Palace. Those men, Spanish as well as Pueblo Indians, are ancestors of many of today's New Mexicans. The staff became committed to bringing these rare and important statements of Southwestern colonial history to Santa Fe.

Fortunately, Dr. Segesser, the most recent owner, was pleased to hear of the Palace's interest. He, too, felt that the paintings should be taken to New Mexico. Before arrangements could be made, however, a number of questions had to be answered.

Could the paintings withstand travel and the different climate of New Mexico? What is the true value of the paintings?

To answer these questions, the Museum of New Mexico Foundation arranged for an inspection of the paintings and sent the author to Zurich. On Feb. 11, 1985, the author; Dr. Renata Wentel-Lukas, and Dr. Gunter Gall of the Ledermuseum in Offenbach, West Germany; Dr. Hans Kelker, a chemist from the Hoechst Company in Frankfurt; Charles Bennett, head curator of the Palace's history collections; and Dr. Segesser met to inspect the paintings at Sotheby's in Zurich.

The consensus of everyone involved was that the paintings could, and should be sent to New Mexico.¹⁹ This was reaffirmed when, on a subsequent trip to Lucerne, Switzerland, Howard and Merion Kastner represented the Palace in a meeting with Dr. Segesser.

With these assurances, the Museum of New Mexico's Board of Regents, with funding from the Museum of New Mexico Foundation, endorsed a request for an 18-month loan. While in Santa Fe, the paintings could be properly inspected by the museum's conservation staff, exhibited at the Palace, and officially appraised. Hopefully, their presence would generate enough local support to raise funds to allow purchase of the paintings for the Palace of the Governors. Dr. Segesser agreed to the proposed plan, and, on March 11, 1986, after a trip strewn with delays, the paintings arrived at the Palace of the Governors.²⁰

At this point, the Museum of New Mexico Foundation paid for the design and construction of the exhibition which opened Aug. 30, 1986, with a private preview fund raiser, attended by Dr. Segesser.²¹

The New Mexican Endowment for the Humanities granted support for a symposium of historians, anthropologists, and art historians focusing on the paintings, to generate further knowledge about them and their context. Thirty-three scholars from throughout the United States and one from Mexico attended the two-day conclave. They compared research and ideas after most, for the first time, viewed these important documents of yesteryear.

The afternoon of the last day was devoted to a public forum. More than 200 people participated.²² As a result, the New Mexico Endowment for the Humanities received its first-ever national award for one of its funded programs.²³

Other funds were secured through public donations. The money was used for further research, publicity, conservation work on the paintings, shipping costs from Switzerland, and a payment to Dr. Segesser to extend the loan.²⁴

After an extended period of negotiations, during which the Smithsonian Institution offered to purchase half interest in the paintings, Dr. Segesser and the Palace came to an agreement.²⁵ With the help of the New Mexico State Legislature—especially Sen. Les Houston and Rep. Max Coll—the acquisition price of \$395,000 was appropriated and the paintings became the permanent possession of the State of New Mexico, to be housed in its history museum at the Palace of the Governors.²⁶

Since their arrival, the paintings have generated much interest. Scholars from as far away as the Vatican have come to the Palace in Santa Fe to see them. The public is now enjoying the experience of seeing these valuable artifacts of borderlands history on exhibition at the Palace of the Governors. The paintings are truly a window through which we can view a part of the Southwest's cultural heritage.

Both paintings consist of bison hide, rectangularly cut, tanned and smoked, and stitched together with sinew to form long surfaces for the colorful art work. Segesser I now measures 13 feet long by 4 ½ feet wide. Segesser II measures 17 feet by 4 ½ feet.

Inescapably, the paintings have suffered through the years. One of the original three paintings was lost, with no record concerning its disposition. Both of the surviving paintings have pieces missing, and are worn and faded. They were heavily used by the Segesser family. Apparently both paintings were used as tapestries or wall decorations. Nail holes are evident on their borders. Color differences because of fading in Segesser I indicate where a border, probably of wood, framed the painting. The backsides of both paintings had received a coat of glue. Finally, the natural pigments of both paintings have faded.

Segesser I has been cut up with sections missing. A rectangular portion cut from the lower left side apparently was removed to fit the painting around a door or window. This may have happened in the nineteenth century when the painting probably hung in the Huenenberg Castle, a Segesser family home near Ebikon, Switzerland. Family tradition indicates that the painting hung on a second floor wall, the measurements of which match the cutout.²⁷ Border pieces in the upper left and on the extreme right are missing with no clue to their whereabouts.

A fourth missing section about 30 inches wide, showing an Indian tipi village, may some day be recovered.²⁸ According to Hotz, this section was cut out and given to a painter named Benz by Heinrich Viktor von Segesser-Crivelli, who owned the paintings from 1890 to 1894. Benz sold the section to architect August am Rhyn some time before 1908. August am Rhyn still had the piece in 1960.²⁹ The Segesser family trust recently acquired this piece from a third party. Upon hearing this good news, the author flew to Switzerland to meet with Dr. Ludwig von Segesser to talk about the possibility of the Palace of the Governors acquiring this integral piece. To date, negotiations appear hopeful.³⁰

Segesser II is by far the most complete of the two paintings. Only one piece of the painting's extreme right is missing. This section depicts a Pueblo Indian auxiliary apparently guarding the horse herd during the attack. This portion was still with the original painting in 1976 when it was photographed for a *Time-Life* publication.³¹

Early pictorial representations of historical events in what is now the United States are extremely rare. This is especially so in the Southwest. Some of the early cartographic works depict Indians, flora, and fauna.

There is a seventeenth century manuscript drawing actually depicting an event that occurred in Sonoyta, Sonora, Mexico.

Similarly, Father Adam Gilg, S.J., did a 1693 drawing of a strolling family of Seri Indians, again, in Sonora, Mexico.

Various late eighteenth century Spanish chroniclers illustrated their reports and numerous illustrations of *mestizaje*, or people of various blood mixtures, have been discovered.³² Some Southwestern Indian pictographs—notably the painted cave in Bandelier National Park 30 miles west of Santa Fe—have illustrations of Spaniards on horseback with flat, wide-brimmed hats similar to those in Segesser II.

There are several early images of colonial life in the eastern United States in the pictorial scenes of artists John White (dated 1585-1587) and Jacques le Moyne (1564), reproduced by Dutch engraver Jean Theodore de Bry. De Bry also illustrated Sir Francis Drake's meeting with Indians in Alta, California. Nonetheless, many scholars feel that the size, detail, and, in effect, recent re-discovery of the Segesser paintings are as noteworthy as any other colonial pictorial representation.³³

As historical documents, the paintings are reminiscent of early Spanish colonial codices. These sixteenth century codices were done under the tutelage of priests, especially Franciscans—most notably Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Sahagún used Indian artists to document testimony from Indian elders. This type of manuscript art flourished until around 1600, although Mixtec contributions continued until around 1660.³⁴

A notable example of persistence is a group of Techialoyan manuscript paintings of various Mexican villages. These documents were painted from 1700 to 1743, and are contemporary with the Segesser paintings.³⁵

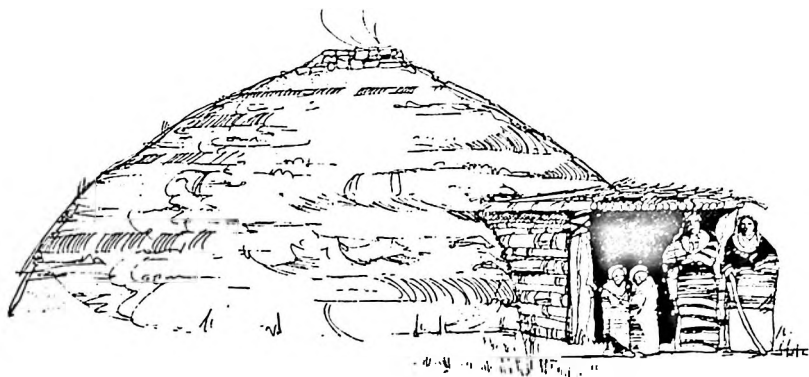
Despite the relatively late date of the Segesser paintings, they share some similarities with manuscript art. They are historical documents that could have been done to accompany written reports.³⁶ The style of the paintings, especially of Segesser I, brings back memories of some of the post-conquest codices.

There is no doubt that the Segesser paintings are among the most novel and important artifacts of Colonial New Mexico history. As aesthetic paintings they are striking, and as hide paintings they are unique.

As documents they have already begun to impact historical thought for the period.

As artifacts, they are probably the most valuable ever acquired by the Palace of the Governors.

Most importantly, their presence in the Palace of the Governors brings together more than two-and-a-half centuries of history.



ENDNOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821* (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 97; and Fray Angélico Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period* (Albuquerque: The University of Albuquerque, 1973), p. 129.
3. Guillaume Delisle, *Carte du Mexique et de la Floride des Terres Angloises...*, Paris, 1703 (original); *Carte d'Amérique dressée pour l'usage du Roy*, Paris, 1722 (original); *Carte de la Louisiane et Cours du Mississippi...*, Paris, 1718 (photocopy), History Library, Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.
4. Bannon, p. 127; and map, "Le Nouveau Mexique, Appelé aussi Nouvelle Grenade et Marata, avec partie de Californie," 1656-88, Vicenzo Maria Coronelli, History Library.
5. Alfred B. Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman; University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), p. 13.
6. Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, p. 176.
7. Bannon, pp. 128-29.
8. "Testimony on behalf of Antonio Valverde y Cosío", No. 308, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM)*, Frames 1016-1018, State Records Center and Archive (SRCA), Santa Fe; and "Diary of the Campaign of Juan Páez Hurtado, 1715," in Thomas, *After Coronado*, pp. 94-98.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
10. "Diary of the Campaign Led by Governor Valverde, 1719," as translated in Thomas, *After Coronado*, pp. 110-133.
11. One source states that Father Mñquez was taken alive by the Indians and held prisoner in their village. There he was asked to show the Indians how to ride a horse. However, as soon as he mounted the animal he sped away and escaped. Whether or not this story is true, Father Mñquez never made it back to New Mexico. Henri Folmer, "Contraband Trade Between Louisiana and New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, (July 1941), p. 258.
12. Felix Martínez to Viceroy Valero, 1720, as quoted in Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, p. 204.
13. Order of Juan de Oliván Revollo, May 25, 1727, No. 1728, SANM, Role 6, Frames 497-499.
14. Father Philipp von Segesser to Ulrich Franz Josef von Segesser, April 11, 1761, as quoted in Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, p. 9.
15. "Palace of the Governors: Report on the Segesser Paintings," p. 1, History Library, Palace of the Governors.
16. Oliver LaFarge to Hotz, November 20, 1959, Segesser File, Box IV, Palace of the Governors.
17. Jane Ivancovich to Boyd, November 3, 1959, *ibid.*
18. Segesser Report, p. 2.
19. Dr. Gunter Gall to Dr. Thomas Chávez, July 9, 1985, Segesser Report, pp. 34-35 I.
20. *Santa Fe Reporter*, March 12, 1986; *Albuquerque Tribune*, March 12, 1986; and *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, March 13 and April 9, 1986.
21. "Revenues," January 1987, Folder 6, Box I; memorandum, James Pahl to Sandra Edelman, July 9, 1986, Folder 3, Box II; and Folder 1, Box IV, the Segesser file.
22. Audio and video records with transcripts of the Segesser symposium, August 7 and 8, 1986, collections, Palace of the Governors.
23. The Helen and Martin Schwartz Prize for Public Humanities Programs, November 14, 1977. Awarded at the annual meeting of the Federation of State's Humanities Councils. (New Mexico was co-winner with North Dakota.)
24. In-loan agreement, No. 1986.057.2, May 11, 1987, Museum of New Mexico, Folder 3, Box II, Segesser file. (The fee was applied to the purchase price.)
25. Charles Bennett to Richard Ahlborn, June 23, 1987; Lonn Taylor to Thomas Livesay, August 21, 1987; "Amendment to Agreement for lease with purchase of the Segesser I and Segesser II Hide Paintings," June 16, 1988, Folder 3, Box II; Taylor to Livesay, July 10, 1987, July 30, 1987, and August 21, 1987; Livesay to Taylor, September 14, 1987; "Agreement for Purchase..." undated and unsigned; Livesay to David Phillips and Bennett, October 8, 1987, Folder 4, Box III, Segesser file.
26. Section 6, 1988 Appropriations Act (HB2), second session, 35th Legislature, January and February 1988. The total purchase price was \$400,000. (See footnote 24 above.)
27. Hotz, *Skin Paintings*, pp. 11-12.
28. *Ibid.*, plate 3.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

30. The meeting took place on Sunday, February 5, 1989, at the Segesser family home in Lucerne. Doctors Andre von Segesser and Ludwig von Segesser met with the author. Chávez to Dr. Ludwig von Segesser, February 23, 1989; Ludwig von Segesser to Chávez, March 16, 1989, and Andre von Segesser to Chávez, April 4, 1989, Folder 1, Box V, Segesser file.

31. *The Spanish West* (New York: Time-Life, 1976), pp. 72-73.

32. For examples see *The Malaspina Expedition: "In the Pursuit of Knowledge. . ."* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1977); *El Mestizaje Americano* (Madrid: Museo de America, 1986); and Pedro Alonso O'Conroy, *A Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, Sean Galvin (trans.), reproduction, (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1972 [Original in 1774]).

33. Dr. Bernard Fontana to Dr. Thomas Chávez, March 31, 1986. File 1, Box II, Segesser file.

34. Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), pp. 3, 30-31, 37, 47, and 55.

35. Donald Robertson, "Tschalovan Manuscripts and Paintings with a Catalogue," *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Vol. XIV (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975), pp. 262-264.

36. Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, pp. 9 and 55.
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About the Author

Dr. Thomas E. Chávez, director of the Palace of the Governors, Museum of New Mexico, in Santa Fe, appeared before the Denver Westerners on Aug. 27, 1986, at a memorable Summer Rendezvous at Four Mile House Historical Park in Denver. His topic was, "The Segesser Paintings and International Intrigue in the Eighteenth Century." Chávez's five-year-old paper, revised and updated in line with recent events in New Mexico, appears in this issue of *The Roundup*.

As a historian, Chávez has a special interest in the Spanish colonial period and the American West before 1877. He has published numerous articles on the Spanish Southwest, and has several books in progress on early New Mexican history, as well as an anthology of Segesser hide paintings literature.

Chávez holds a Fulbright Fellowship for study in Spain on the role of the Spanish regiments who fought the British in the American Revolution. He has been responsible for more



Four Mile Historic Park

than 20 exhibitions in six institutions on various aspects of Western and Southwestern history.

Members of the Westerners are urged to take any opportunity to view the Segesser hide paintings, now in permanent patrimony of the Palace of the Governors Museum, in Santa Fe. Charles Bennett, curator of collections at the museum, said the paintings will be on display until June 1992. They will then go on a four-venue national tour, starting with a three-months exhibit at the Los Angeles (Calif.) County Museum of Natural History.





Westerner's Bookshelf



Reviews published in The Roundup are largely about books submitted by publishers to the Denver Westerners. However, all our members are urged to prepare and submit reviews of any books on Western history which they would like to recommend, current or otherwise. In this way, our readers may discover books relating to areas of particular interest to them which might otherwise escape their notice. It is intended that this section become a widening source of information on all aspects of the history of the West.

—Ed.

Indian Skin Paintings from the American Southwest by Gottfried Hotz; translated by Johannes Malthaner. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1970. 248 pages, 20 illustrations, 3 maps. Hardbound \$9.95 (1970 price). This work has been reprinted in a 1991 edition, by the Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, under the title, **The Segesser Hide Paintings**. A foreword by Dr. Thomas Chávez, director of the Palace of the Governors, Museum of New Mexico, has been added. Also new are 14 full-color plates and six black-and-white illustrations. In other respects, the 248-page volume is identical to the 1970 version. PRICE OF THE NEW PAPERBACK EDITION WAS NOT AVAILABLE AT PRESS TIME.

In August 1986, Dr. Thomas Chávez, director of the Palace of the Governors, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, spoke to the Denver Westerners on the "Segesser Paintings." Recently, through the kindness of Denver Westerner Ray Jenkins, I have had the privilege of reading this book, subtitled *Two Representations of Border Conflicts Between Mexico and the Missouri in the Early Eighteenth Century*, which analyzes the Segesser Paintings in an admirably scholarly manner. Now that the Museum of New Mexico has made the aforesaid paintings a permanent part of its possession, any opportunity should be taken to view the paintings, now on exhibit in the Palace. I consider the paintings a major contribution to the history of the West.

The author of the book is a retired teacher and presently curator of the Indian Museum in Zurich, Switzerland, as well as a member of geographical, geological, and ethnographical societies in Zurich. The translator is professor emeritus of modern languages at the University of Oklahoma. I can think of no better way to review the book than to present here the book's own synopsis:

Shortly after World War II, Gottfried Hotz, of Zurich, Switzerland, a scholar of American Indian history and culture, came across an exciting discovery. In the course of studying Plains Indian art, he learned of the

existence of two wall-sized skin paintings in Lucerne. The paintings were in the possession of collateral descendants of Father Philipp Segesser, an eighteenth-century Jesuit missionary to the Indians of Sonora Province, Mexico. Father Philipp had sent the works, the products of Indian artists, to his family as gifts.

In the years following his discovery, Mr. Hotz devoted himself to the difficult but ultimately rewarding task of establishing the origin of the paintings, identifying the incidents they portray, and determining their significance in the history of Colonial New Spain.

Each of the paintings, called Segesser I and Segesser II, consists of three large skins (probably bison) sewn together. They are among the best preserved skin paintings in the world. According to the author's painstaking analysis of details of setting and figures, Segesser I depicts a punitive expedition against Apaches in 1714 by Valverde. It was Valverde who, six years later, as governor of New Mexico, ordered the Villaur expedition into present-day Nebraska. It was an ill-fated expedition which ended in the massacre of all but 13 of the Spaniards in the party.

That massacre is the subject of Segesser II, a fact Mr. Hotz established through the close study of the painting and comparison with contemporary records. He was even able to identify figures representing important members of the expedition, including Villaur and his chief aide, as well as the attackers, whose true identity has long been a subject of dispute among historians. He also determined the locale of the massacre. Moreover, he concluded that almost unquestionably the artists of both paintings were eyewitnesses of the events they portrayed.

The book is the product of a remarkable feat of ethnohistorical detection. It adds a new dimension to the history and understanding of the Indian and the Spaniard in eighteenth-century America.

—Hugo von Rodeck, P.M.

Acoma: Pueblo in the Sky by Ward Alan Minge. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 263 pages; 27 black-and-white photographs and 25 color photographs; bibliography; maps. Paperback, \$22.50

This is a revision of the 1976 edition, the major addition being the chapter entitled "Epilogue: Toward Self-Determination" which carries the story of the pueblo from the seventies to the nineties. The book is the result of a 1973 National Endowment for the Humanities grant for the production of four tribal histories. The author, Ward Alan Minge, was selected at that time and was assisted with research by Karen Garcia.

The archaeological evidence regarding Acoma Pueblo is very weak as the author states in the bibliography. The Acoma people believe that they did not migrate to the area but have always occupied the mesa.

The first contact with Europeans came in 1540 when members of Coronado's expedition arrived in Acoma. In 1599, battles between the Spanish and the residents of Acoma resulted in death for many Indians and slavery for others. These hardships for the people of Acoma caused problems for Governor Onate during his *residencia*, which was a formal evaluation of his actions as governor. The role of the Acoma people in the Pueblo Revolt of 1650 and the reconquest by de Vargas is examined.

The first representatives of the United States to arrive at Acoma were under the command of Lieutenant Abert, arriving in October 1846. Abert described the village on the mesa, the friendliness of the people, and the food that was given to the guests. The problems between the pueblo and the United States came later over the question of land ownership. As happened throughout New Mexico, the legal dispute over ownership was confused by the system of land grants given by the Spanish and Mexican governments. This confusion was increased by the U.S. court system and the U.S. custom of land ownership. This conflict is still not completely resolved. There have also been legal conflicts between Acoma and Laguna pueblos over a number of issues.

In recent years, tourism has become an important source of revenue for Acoma, as more and more people come to view the pueblo on the mesa and the San Estevan de Rey Mission and convent. It is a very special place to visit, and I recommend it as the best pueblo to see in New Mexico.

Pottery has become another important source of income with many of the potters using Mimbres pottery figures on their products. There is a list of Acoma potters in the book's Appendix Six and I found the names of the women who made some pots that I own.

There are several areas regarding the pueblo not covered in the book for one reason or another, but

this is still a good source of information about Acoma Pueblo and its people.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Earth Horizon: An Autobiography by Mary Austin. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 413 pages; photographs, afterword. Paperback, \$16.95.

Mary Austin has been forgotten by too many people, and that is unfortunate as her books and articles are both interesting and, in some cases, ahead of their time. She also played a significant role in literary circles on both coasts as well as in England.

I agree with her publisher who, when she submitted the manuscript for *Earth Horizon*, told her that the first sections were too detailed and subsequent sections too brief. While she must have expanded the final sections, the reader will find the problem of balance still exists, and will read in detail about her early life and feel a need to learn more about the years when success took her to Europe and finally to Santa Fe and Taos.

I believe I would have liked meeting Mary Austin, and I have enjoyed reading several of her books, but I do not believe that I would have enjoyed being around her very often. Her personality was unique.

Throughout her autobiography, Mary Austin uses the third person most of the time, with occasional use of the first person. This may be attributed to a defense mechanism she developed as a young girl when she split her life into "Mary herself" who faced life's troubles and was rejected by her mother, and "I, Mary" who could disassociate from others and have the courage to attempt to succeed.

Her writing career extended from 1892 to 1934. She wrote 35 books and hundreds of magazine articles, plays, and poems. I especially enjoyed *Land of Little Rain* and *The Basket Woman*, and I hope that her autobiography will bring renewed interest in Austin's works. There is an afterword by Melody Graulich, who also wrote the afterword for *Cactus Thorn*. This novella was rejected by Austin's publisher, and it was not published until 1988, by the University of Nevada Press.

Mary Austin deserves to be remembered for her many literary accomplishments, but two achievements in New Mexico deserve notice: Establishment of the Spanish Market in Santa Fe, renewing interest in Spanish culture; and obtaining funds to preserve the Santuario at Chimayo.

To fill in some gaps in Austin's life after—or even before—reading *Earth Horizon*, I would recommend reading *I-Mary* by Augusta Fink, and viewing the KRMA-TV production, "Land of Little Rain" produced a few years ago.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

The Great Platte River Road by Merrill J. Mattes. Univ of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1967. 600 pages, 9 maps, 35 black-and-white illustrations, bibliography. Clothbound, \$37.50; paperback, \$15.95.

In his exhaustive research for *The Great Platte River Road*, Merrill Mattes studied more than 800 narratives, journals, and eyewitness accounts of people who "funneled up the Platte and the North Platte." There are more than 3,000 quotations woven into the text from sources which tell of the overland experiences. These include quotations from the many females who kept diaries. "Most of the female writers were unmarried, but of marriageable age, 16 and upward."

Readers will particularly enjoy the author's treatment of the outfits used by the great migration. He dredges up comments debating the qualities of mules versus oxen. The joy of Belle Somers' family knew no bounds when "an ox reappeared in the desert, having survived only because he stumbled upon a water hole." The book makes us feel that we almost converse with the individuals who made this trek.

Circling the wagon trains rarely happened "except in novels and television programs." In the paragraphs dedicated to camping along the trail, the research shows that easterners were squeamish at first about using buffalo chips for cooking, but eventually grew to like the chips for ease of burning. Accounts of deeds of endurance and "quiet heroism by women along the trail speak eloquently of themselves in the immigrant journals.

Exhaustion and hardship brought out the best and the worst in the immigrants. Mattes also found testimony where the hardship of walking across the plains improved people's health, and upgraded their potential for stress and hard work. Mattes estimates that during the period of 1842-1849 more than 30,000 people died along the route. Deaths listed in the accounts resulted from sickness, accidental shootings, rattlesnake bites, amputations, alcohol poisoning, broken bones, and assorted other events.

Mattes discusses the Platte River stations, posts and ranches, and lists each site with its distance from Ft. Kearny. Material selected from the journals makes the reader feel as though he were stopping at each station along the route.

To understand the jumping-off places for the "great Platte River road," the author believes it is important to understand Kansas City and Independence, Mo. Mattes mentions the Old West Port Inn in Westport, owned by Emmet Kelly from Kansas City. The Inn is a wonderful pub, the oldest brick building in Westport, and a pub in which the author of this review has toasted many a brew along with the locals.

This book with its excellent maps builds in the reader the desire to visit every travel site mentioned

in the text. An ideal summer vacation would be to use the book as a guide to follow the trail across Kansas, Nebraska, and into Wyoming. One can still see the historic ruts left by the thousands of wagon wheels and read the names written on the rocks by the pioneers.

[*The Great Platte River Road* by Merrill Mattes, a Posse member and former sheriff of the Denver Corral of the Westerners, was first published by the Nebraska State Historical Society in 1969. At that time, Mattes noted that the book was the culmination of more than two decades of research, with eight years required to produce the manuscript. The first edition went out of print after sale of 7,500 copies. Frequently cited as a reference in many later Western historical works, Mattes' book came out as a paperback in its second edition in 1979. The latest edition has been published under the auspices of the University of Nebraska Press.—Ed.]

—Dennis Gallagher, Guest Reviewer

Coronado's Land: Essays on Daily Life in Colonial New Mexico by Marc Simmons. Univ of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 195 pages, illustrations. Clothbound, \$19.95.

Marc Simmons has focused his life on the history of New Mexico, with a natural extension up the Santa Fe Trail, and his efforts have produced a large collection of excellent books and articles. In this work, he presents 20 essays dealing with the daily life of the people, ranging from chamber pots and privies to playing cards to irrigation. I would guess that some of these may have first been published as part of a historical series he has written for local newspapers in New Mexico, such as the one in Socorro.

One question that came to mind in reading the essay about watchtowers, or "torreones," was the statement that only parts of the structures survive at Talpa and at Lincoln, with a reconstruction at Old Cienega Village Museum.

I once visited a private home at el Rancho de las Golondrinas that incorporated a tower into the structure of the house, with the tower room being used as a bedroom. I was informed that the tower, not the remainder of the house, dated back to the early days on the El Camino Real.

In the second section of the book, Simmons the historian provides a most interesting lesson regarding the primary sources used by historians in New Mexico. Wills are wonderful documents which give a researcher an accurate look into the past. I discovered this in reading the will of Don Severino Martinez, listing everything he owned including four plates, four spoons, and a cup of silver. All three documents included in this book will certainly prove interesting to the reader.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Converting the West: A Biography of Narcissa Whitman by Julie Roy Jeffrey. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1991. 256 pages, 14 illustrations, 3 maps, bibliography. Clothbound, \$24.95.

Narcissa Whitman is the No. One celebrity in the roll call of women known to have migrated westward along the Platte-South Pass-Snake River route which became the celebrated Oregon Trail, the Sesquicentennial of which will be celebrated in 1993.

First, she was the first white woman to cross the continent accompanying her equally famous husband and fellow missionary, Marcus Whitman. And second, after 12 years of hard labor at the Whitman Mission, she, Marcus, and 14 others died violently at the hands of Cayuse Indians whom they had attempted in vain to Christianize.

No other female to make the western trek can conceivably rival Narcissa in fame, but in the fashion of current revisionist historians, Julie Jeffrey makes a strenuous effort to deglamorize Narcissa and reduce her to ordinariness.

Jeffrey's research has been thorough and no one can fault the accuracy of what she finds about Narcissa, mainly from her own *cutente* extensive letters and diaries. The missionary was less than a saint, with human faults and weaknesses. Jeffrey not only catalogues these defects but seems to emphasize them, then draws demeaning conclusions, in effect chipping away at the orthodox view of Narcissa as heroic and immortal.

Jeffrey has every right to do this. In fact, if she hadn't approached her subject this way there would have been little point in writing one more book about Narcissa Whitman. At the same time, we hasten to concede that, without endless variations of common themes, like Oregon trail missionaries and Custer's Last Stand, Ph.D.s and university presses would be hard put for new themes to write about or publish!

The author wisely makes short work of the Whitman's transcontinental journey; that has been covered elaborately by others. The bulk of her book deals with Narcissa's growing up and maturing in rural New York; her piety, and circumstances leading up to her involvement with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and quite unromantically—according to Jeffrey—along with the equally pious Marcus Whitman as neophyte married missionaries, going 3,000 miles west through the wilderness to convert the heathen.

The tribe selected for conversion was the Cayuse Indians, and Whitman Mission was established 30 miles north of Ft. Walla Walla on the Columbia River. Again, the focus is on Narcissa's few joys and many tribulations, including the difficulty of bridging the cultural Grand Canyon separating missionaries and pagan aborigines.

This book ends abruptly with the infamous mas-

sacre because that was of course the end of Narcissa's diary-keeping. In our view, at this point a brief summing up of the subject's unique place in American history would have been appropriate, but perhaps it was just as well left undone. Jeffrey's summation could only have been a tiresome recapitulation of Narcissa's shortcoming.

In fairness to the author, I would recommend the book to all who want a balanced view of the subject. My only problem with Jeffrey's approach is that it reinforces the current academic mood to deglamorize Western history, turning neophyte readers away from the traditional focus on our Pantheon of Western heroes and heroines. Her perspective is summed up in the heavily sarcastic title, *Converting the West*, for, as Jeffrey insists, the famous Whitmans didn't really convert any Indians, "no, not one."

—Merrill Mattes, P.M.

The Magnificent Mountain Women: Adventures in the Colorado Rockies by Janet Robertson. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln 1991. 219 pages, photographs. Clothbound, \$21.95; paperback, \$9.95.

Janet Robertson's book, *The Magnificent Mountain Women*, will interest the general reader. It has particular appeal for mountaineers, Colorado historians, and, naturally, women in general.

Commencing with an account of the Pikes Peak Climb in 1858 by the party which included Julia Archibald Holmes, the volume contains accounts of the accomplishments of more than two dozen mountain women, including several present-day active mountaineers.

From the tales of the early lady climbers of Pikes and Longs peaks, accounts range from detailed descriptions to thumbnail sketches. Various chapters are devoted to outdoor sportswomen, botanists, modern recreationists, and those who sought the mountains as a refuge, enduring rugged living conditions. Interspersed are accounts of Virginia Donaghe McClurg and Lucy Peabody who played pivotal roles in Mesa Verde's designation as a National Park, and of "Doc Susie" Anderson of Middle Park fame. There are many well-chosen photographs of historic interest and of present day figures.

There is considerable Estes Park and Longs Peak material. Of particular interest to this reviewer was the section on Agnes Vaile and her climbing death on Longs Peak. The incorporation of Elinor Kingery's description of that event counterbalancing the more generally known "Hewes-Kiener manuscript" account makes Robertson's one of the most objective descriptions of that tragedy.

I commend the book to all who are interested in the Colorado mountains.

—Henry W. Toll, Jr., P.M.

High Line to Leadville by Doris B. Osterwald. Western Guideways, Ltd., Lakewood, Colo. 1991. 160 pages, maps, black-and-white and color photographs. Paperback, \$9.95.

Adding yet another lustrous star to her excellent series of illustrated and authoritative mile-by-mile guidebooks, Denver Westerners Corresponding Member Doris B. Osterwald presents the history and development of Colorado's newest passenger railroad, in the high mountains between Leadville and the summit of Fremont Pass at Climax.

The newborn Leadville, Colorado & Southern Railroad preserves the last surviving segment of the 1854 route of the fabled Denver, South Park & Pacific line between Denver and the Cloud City. Built as a narrow gauge, and operated in that form until August 1943 by the successor Colorado & Southern, the line was converted to standard gauge and utilized steam, then diesel, until October 1986, when the Climax Molybdenum mine ceased production. In December of the following year the line—now but a tiny part of the Burlington Northern system—along with two diesel-electric locomotive units, five cabooses, 14 other cars, 1,600 tons of steel rail, 45,000 track ties and a roundhouse, was sold to Stephanie and Kenneth Olson of Leadville for the sum total of ten dollars (\$10.00 cash)! Thus was born the Leadville, Colorado & Southern Railroad, opened for business on Memorial Day 1988.

This new pocket-size guidebook, replete with detailed maps and historic and modern-day photos, well reproduced and many in color, devotes 40 full pages to a mile-by-mile guide of a train ride over the full length of the line in both directions. The following 55 pages provide a most unusual and concise "time-line," utilizing side-by-side columns, for Leadville and Colorado railroad history, from 1854 to 1990. Another informative section briefly reviews, in layman's terms, geologic and natural wonders seen during the train ride. The final 25 pages are a treasure of old photos illustrating "Railroading Along the High Line."

Well produced and modestly priced, this handsome little book offers a fresh perspective on the historic Leadville-Climax area, and entices the reader into enjoying a new tourist experience in railroading. Highly recommended.

—Jackson Thode, P.M.

A Quilt of Words by Sharon Niederman. Johnson Books, Johnson Publishing Co., Boulder, Colo., 1990. (Hardback, 1988.) 220 pages, 33 photos. Paperback, \$9.95.

Sharon Niederman has assembled 15 excerpts from women's diaries, letters, and original accounts of life in the Southwest, recorded in a 100-year pe-

riod, 1860-1960. She points out that the authors of the diaries and journals never hoped for any audience beyond their families, friends, and descendants. However, both the journals and quilts represent two art forms of pioneer women and share some similarities. Each is assembled from bits and pieces, and scraps of life—or fabric. The result, in both, is both utilitarian and artistic.

A Quilt of Words won the Border Regional Library Association 1989 Southwest Book Award for literary excellence and enrichment of the cultural heritage of the Southwest. It also won the National Federation of Press Women's first prize for history in 1989.

A writer and lecturer, Niederman pioneered many women's studies courses at Metropolitan State College in Denver, and taught writing at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, her present home. She is also the author of *Shaking Eve's Tree: Short Stories of Jewish Women*.

The memoirs recounted in *A Quilt of Words* range from an oral account by an 85-year-old unidentified Yavapai woman at San Carlos Reservation, to the first-person story of Margarita Graciella Armijo, who was born in 1936 in Albuquerque. There are also accounts by Marietta Palmer Wetherill ("Chatelaine of the Chaco"), Beatrice Nogare ("Life in the Southern Colorado Coal Mining Camps"); Mary Cabot Wheelwright, the daughter of a prominent Boston family; Grace Mott Johnson, Taos sculptor, feminist, and civil rights activist; and many others, whose stories add a new dimension and color to Western history.

Not all of the memoirs achieve the same level of interest. However, this anthology by a woman, about women—but not just for women—can indeed widen the reader's perspective.

—Alan J. Stewart, Ed.

Fort Phil Kearny, The Hated Post on the Little Pincy, VHS or Beta Videotape, 30 minutes. The Old Army Press, Fort Collins, Colo., June 1991. \$30.

Old Army Press has put yet another Indian Wars videotape on the market. This time it concerns Ft. Phil Kearny, headquarters post on the Bozeman Trail from 1866 to 1868.

As most Indian Wars students know, Ft. Phil Kearny was the site of two of the most famous Indian fights in the history of the plains: the Fetterman Massacre in December 1866; and the Wagon Box Fight seven and one-half months later.

The video starts off with a brief history of the Bozeman Trail. It describes the southern post, Ft. Reno, and the most northern, C.F. Smith, with drawings and current scenes before getting on with Ft. Phil Kearny. Living re-enactment groups, along with old photographs and paintings, are interspersed

throughout the entire tape. A well-done stockade model of the post displayed at the museum on site is an excellent visual aid. All in all, the presentation narrated by Jerry Keenan tells the story accurately, and entertains as well. However, there were some problems this reviewer noted.

One scene using an old movie clip depicts charging Indians at the Fetterman Massacre in summer. I recall that the ground was covered with snow in December. Several times during the presentation, discussion between people on camera and narration were going on simultaneously, leaving the viewer straining to hear both. On another occasion, one of the history experts, Sterling Fenn, was talking while the wind was blowing in the microphone. This was somewhat distracting to say the least.

One of the highlights of the video was the use of a diorama of the Wagon Box Fight from the Gatchell Museum in Buffalo, Wyo. This was the skirmish the Indians called "The Medicine Fight" because of the Army's use of breech-loading rifles. A re-enactment group and Keenan demonstrated the reloading procedures with each type rifle, the muzzle loader versus the breech loader.

In spite of the glitches indicated, the video is extremely interesting and, for the most part, quite accurate. It is well worth adding to the collections of Indians Wars buffs and historians.

—Richard A. Cook, P.M.

Protestantism in the Sangre de Cristos: 1850-1920 by Randi Jones Walker. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 173 pages, notes, bibliography, maps. Clothbound, \$27.50.

Randi Walker, pastor of the East Valley Congregational Church in North Hollywood, Calif., has attempted to present the role of Protestant denominations in northern New Mexico during the period from the conquest to 1920, and to examine their impact on the Hispanic Roman Catholic communities. What he discovered was that the role and impact were slight, except for the schools as established by the Protestants. One interesting aspect was that the Presbyterians did not split into Anglo and Hispanic Presbyteries, and this may help explain why there are several successful congregations in the state such as the one at Ranchos de Taos.

There is a term that fits most of this book: factlets. There are a lot of facts, but too often that is all. Much of the book reads as if it were written to satisfy a requirement for an undergraduate course. There are several instances where the exact information is presented, and at times there are contradictions, such as on one page when Hiram Reed leaves New Mexico in 1851, and on a later page, when he leaves in 1853. There are also several mistakes in the index.

At times the author does not seem to have a good grasp of the history of New Mexico and the culture of the area of northern New Mexico. He also dances around the concept of Manifest Destiny, instead of using some of the very strong statements made by U.S. senators regarding their opinions of the Mexican people.

The topic is a good one and should be further researched, with perhaps more emphasis on the plaza schools and their teachers.

—Ray E. Jenkins, P.M.

Promise to the Land: Essays on Rural Women by Joan M. Jensen. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1991. 319 pages; illustrations, index, footnotes. Clothbound, \$27.50.

This book is a compilation of essays by a history professor who directs the women's studies program at New Mexico State University at Las Cruces. In the essays Joan Jensen attempts to place rural women in their proper perspective; she feels they have been neglected in favor of urban women by the feminist movement.

Only three women receive individual attention. First, the author recounts her sojourn in a California commune in the early 1970s. She depicts rural life as few have experienced it, and one might wonder whether these "rural communists" did much, if anything, to positively influence the rural scene. Second, Jensen describes in detail her German grandmother who immigrated about 1892 to rural Wisconsin. The third woman profiled is a Lithuanian friend who left a Baltic rural life to come to America in 1949 to seek work in her new home.

Other chapters treat groups of women in their specific locations and times: New Mexico farm women in the first half of this century; women who harvested hops in the 1850s in places as diverse as upstate New York and Washington State; Seneca women, before and after the American Revolution; plantation women and their female slaves in Maryland.

All the material is meticulously documented with 40 pages of reference notes, and a detailed index. It is possible that *Promise to the Land* would be a welcome reference in women's studies, but the lack of personal anecdotes or references to these women as individual personalities gives the reader the feeling that the subjects are two-dimensional creatures, with height and width, but absolutely no depth.

This book lacks many elements that make for pleasantly informative reading, and is difficult to critique. This reviewer admits to having been graduated from college before women's studies became a part of the curriculum—and feels her education was none the worse for not having been exposed to it.

—Marjorie Wiegert Hutchins, Guest Reviewer