

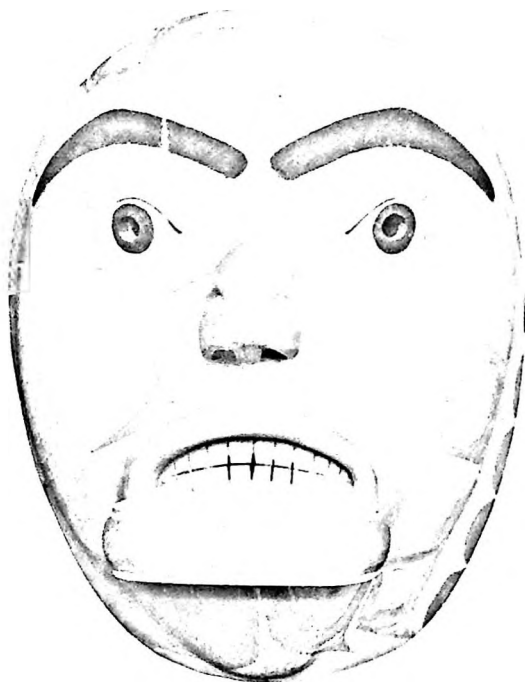


The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1997

**THE BOSTON MEN AND THE MARITIME
FUR TRADE: 1785-1845**

by Richard Conn, P.M.



(Courtesy Peabody-Essex Museum: Salem, Mass.)

Mask, representing a legendary Haida noblewoman, is a native carving collected in British Columbia in 1827 by Capt. Daniel Cross.

About the Author

Posse Member Richard G. Conn's paper, "The Boston Men and the Maritime Fur Trade: 1785-1845," was presented before the Denver Westerners Oct. 23, 1996. In his job as Chuck Wrangler for the Denver Westerners, Dick Conn was probably not often thought of as "chief curator emeritus" of the Denver Art Museum. Although now retired, he is busy teaching five classes in American Indian art and art history at Denver University and CU Denver.

As detailed in the January-February 1995 *Roundup*, Dick is a distinguished expert in Native American art. He has also had a long association with the Denver Westerners and received the 1994 Fred A. Rosenstock Award for Lifetime Achievement in Western History.

Conn was born in 1928 near Puget Sound, Wash. As a University of Washington graduate student in anthropology, he studied Indians of the Northwest. He first came to Denver in 1955, in connection with a Denver Art Museum exhibit for the Peabody Essex Museum of Salem, Mass. He became acquainted with the Denver Westerners through L.D. Bax, longtime member and owner of the Bax Ranch near Morrison, Colo., site of Colorow's Cave—known during the 1920s through the 1950s as the Bax Ranch Cave. Colorow's Cave traditionally was the scene of the Denver Westerners annual Summer Rendezvous, 1953 through 1963. A one-time use of the cave by the Westerners was again allowed in 1988.

From 1959 until 1966, Dick was a member of the Spokane, Wash., Corral. He was chief curator (1966-1969) of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg, and from 1970 to 1971, he was director of the Heard Museum in Phoenix. As curator of the Denver Art Museum, he produced exhibits and publications attracting worldwide interest. He received the Golden Eagle Feather Award from the Native American Chamber of Commerce for his 1993 exhibit, "Into the Forefront: Native American Art in the 20th Century." The same exhibit also won the 1994 Governor's Award for Excellence in the Arts.

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The Boston Men and the Maritime Fur Trade: 1785-1845

By

Richard Conn, P.M.

(Presented October 23, 1996)

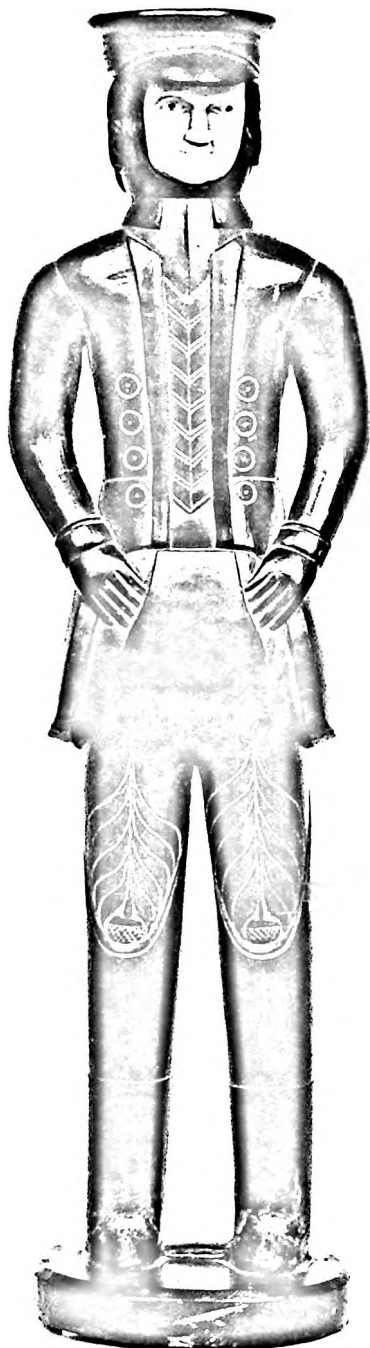
THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH centuries had been ages of exploration for Europeans, during which they found all sorts of valuable things in their voyages here and there. Some of these were the spices of the East Indies, the gold of the New World, and the furs from eastern and central Canada.

Seafarers from the Thirteen Colonies were eager to join in this search for riches, but during the Colonial years, they had been expected to stay within the Atlantic, so as not to compete or interfere with British trade enterprises. Above all, the East India Company held tightly to its royal monopoly on the spice trade. But after the Revolutionary War, American ships were free to go where they would and soon were venturing into the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

While the spice trade still held considerable profit and thus interest for the Yankee entrepreneurs, other possibilities for commerce began to appear. One important potential resource was the fur trade. There had already been considerable overland activity in North America beginning with the Dutch in the seventeenth century, and European fur traders had gone inland from the Atlantic Coast almost to the Pacific by the late eighteenth century. Most of the furs taken went to Europe and, specifically, England. Here again the trappers and traders confronted a royal monopoly: the Hudson's Bay Company.

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century, however, a new source came to light along the north Pacific Coast—an area which is today Alaska and British Columbia. Here, in the late 1770s, Capt. James Cook had met and described native people wearing full-length cloaks of sea-otter fur. He also mentioned the large numbers of these animals in the waters of this region. At about the same time, an unnamed British captain, calling in Canton, learned that the Chinese would pay higher prices for prime furs than could be gotten on European markets. Furs were to the Chinese symbols of wealth and position. And, having hunted their own native fur-bearers almost to extinction, they now had to look to foreign suppliers. This word of a ready supply and a waiting market quickly sent ships sailing from England and the United States and the maritime fur-trade period began.

There had been, since the middle eighteenth century, Russian fur-hunting activity in the Aleutians, the Pribilof Islands, and later along the Alaskan coast. But in this latter area, they found the native people, especially the Tlingit groups, hostile to foreign presence. Thus, Russian progress south along the coast was slow and often dangerous. Most furs taken by Russians went back to their own markets in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Only at the end of the maritime trading period did the Russians begin to have



contact with, and to deal with, other Europeans active in the north Pacific region.

When the English and American traders arrived on the coast, they soon learned that trading with the native people would be quite unlike any previous experience they had had in the Northeast and Great Lakes. First, they were surprised when the natives disdained their beads and trinkets and firmly demanded iron. This was because the natives had learned at first contact how valuable iron could be in their lives.

All along the Pacific Coast, wood was the principal raw material from which the natives built their houses, their large canoes, their weapons, and fishing equipment, and most of their domestic goods. They even made some of their clothing from shredded tree bark. When the first Europeans made landfall, they often came ashore to cut wood to replace damaged spars or other ship's timbers. The natives, seeing them do this with iron saws and axes, realized what a boon this magical new material would be to them. So they demanded iron first and foremost, and would deign to look over the other trade goods only when their needs for the metal had been met.

The traders soon learned to satisfy this demand. They would buy up scrap iron at home, and then put the ship's blacksmiths to cutting out blanks, drilling attachment holes, and sharpening cutting edges during the long voyage around Cape Horn. As the traders became conversant with native tool types, they could prepare these in advance and arrive with just what the native woodworkers wanted.

(Courtesy Denver Art Museum)

A merchant ship's officer was depicted in the 1830s by an anonymous Haida carver. The statue was done in ivory and carbonaceous shale.

From this period comes an unusual story which shows the importance attached to iron. An American ship came to Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island, and its captain somehow managed to offend deeply the local head man, Maquinna. In order to save face, Maquinna and his relatives massacred the crew and plundered the ship. But first they captured the ship's armorer, one John Jewitt, whom they had noticed forging iron tools. They also removed as much metal from the ship as possible before burning it. Poor Jewitt remained as Maquinna's slave for several years, supplying the village with harpoon points, spearheads, and woodworking tools. He was finally found by another American ship and ransomed.

An even greater surprise for the Europeans was the manner in which trade was conducted. The native people already had their own formal trading system by which they dealt with tribes from the interior. Now they simply extended the old trading system to their uninvited visitors. This system called for opening and closing formalities. Each side prepared feasts for the other. The natives were treated to ship's biscuits, salted meat, rock-hard cheese, and dried vegetables, all washed down with a few tots of rum. The natives, in their turn, offered grilled salmon, edible seaweed, and dried berries—all totally without salt. Ship's journals of the day and subsequent data gathered from the natives indicate that neither the natives nor their visitors were impressed with the other's cuisine! After the banquets, speeches were made, and trading partners assigned. This last element meant that one person—in this case, one shipmaster—was assigned an individual of perceived equal rank with whom he was expected to trade. There was no opportunity to approach others in hopes of getting a better bargain.

In the course of these formalities, the natives noticed that their visitors were apparently members of an extended tribal group since they spoke somewhat the same language. But it was clear that they belonged to two different clans with different totems.

One group had the double blue cross on a red and white field and always insisted upon drinking a toast to some legendary being named King George before they ate. The natives called them "King George Men."

The others had a similar totem of stars in a blue sky with red-and-white stripes and often talked about a mythical place called "Boston." These were called the "Boston Men."

Having observed the niceties and traded their goods for as many furs as possible, the traders set sail for China. As the eighteenth century came to a close, Canton was the only Chinese port open to foreign merchants. Upon arrival, they found the Emperor's bureaucracy ready for them. There were inspectors, customs collectors, and representatives of Chinese mercantile companies on hand to do business. The situation at Canton was much like that on the North American coast, except that one had more freedom in visiting several merchants to make the best bargain. But, even with all the bureaucratic restrictions placed upon foreigners and the slow pace of concluding trades, the English and American traders made a better profit on their furs than they would have at home.

These profits were usually not taken in gold, but in commodities which could be sold at home, such as silks and porcelains. To a lesser extent, the traders also bought Chinese furniture, art objects, and curiosities. The silks and porcelains were in demand both in England and among the rising middle class of the United States, and both could be bought and later sold for substantially less than analogous goods made in England or Europe.

When the Chinese saw how avidly the Americans and British bought up their porce-

lains, they undertook some clever market research. They asked the traders to show them examples of their own favorite domestic porcelains which they skillfully copied. In time, the Chinese would acquire actual pattern books of British and other porcelains from which they would develop whole inventories of wares made exclusively for export. In comparing these "export porcelains" with the ceramics meant for home consumption, one can see a great difference reflecting Chinese vs. European taste. The Chinese copied unfamiliar European forms, such as pitchers with baroque handles, teacups with handles, and so on. They also often incorporated into their decorations European images such as full-rigged ships, people in Western clothing, and plants and animals unknown in China. Many fine examples of these "export porcelains" went back to England and the United States and survive today as treasured antiques.

While the activities of the maritime fur traders were basically commercial and aimed at profit, there was a beneficial aspect to their work as well. In most every East Coast American port, there was some kind of shipowner's association which was concerned with improving the quality of marine commerce. One important example was the East India Marine Society in Salem, Mass. Founded in 1799, this organization was open only to shipowners and masters who had sailed beyond Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. The members were expected to keep detailed records of their voyages, make hydrographic charts of harbors, landfalls, and so forth, and to collect both natural and "artificial" curiosities wherever they could. This latter term was coined by Captain Cook himself and refers to man-made objects. All these observations, records, and artifacts were to be turned over to the East India Marine Society when the captains returned to port. Today, many of these objects survive and can be found in various New England museums and libraries.

The maritime fur trade came to an end in the middle 1840s. The Hudson's Bay Company had been hurrying west to assert their monopolistic right to all fur trade in what would soon become Canada. Technically, they would be out of their territory since their charter granted exclusive trade rights in Hudson's Bay and all the watershed draining into it. Thus their privileges properly ended at the Continental Divide. But, they advanced west into the Nass and Skeena valleys to establish their trading posts. However, the factor which really ended the trade period was the depletion and near extinction of sea otters. By the mid-1840s, it was estimated there were only a few thousand of these animals left, and an international agreement was drawn up to protect them. The whole period had lasted only about 60 years.

The maritime fur trade seems to have benefitted all the participants but the sea otters, themselves. The native people of the north Pacific Coast made good use of their metal tools and entered into an era of great activity and artistic development. Photos taken in the 1860s and later show coastal villages fronted by virtual forests of totem poles and with flotillas of canoes drawn up before large, impressively decorated wooden houses. Today this tradition of carving survives and contemporary native artists produce handsome works eagerly sought after by collectors and museums.

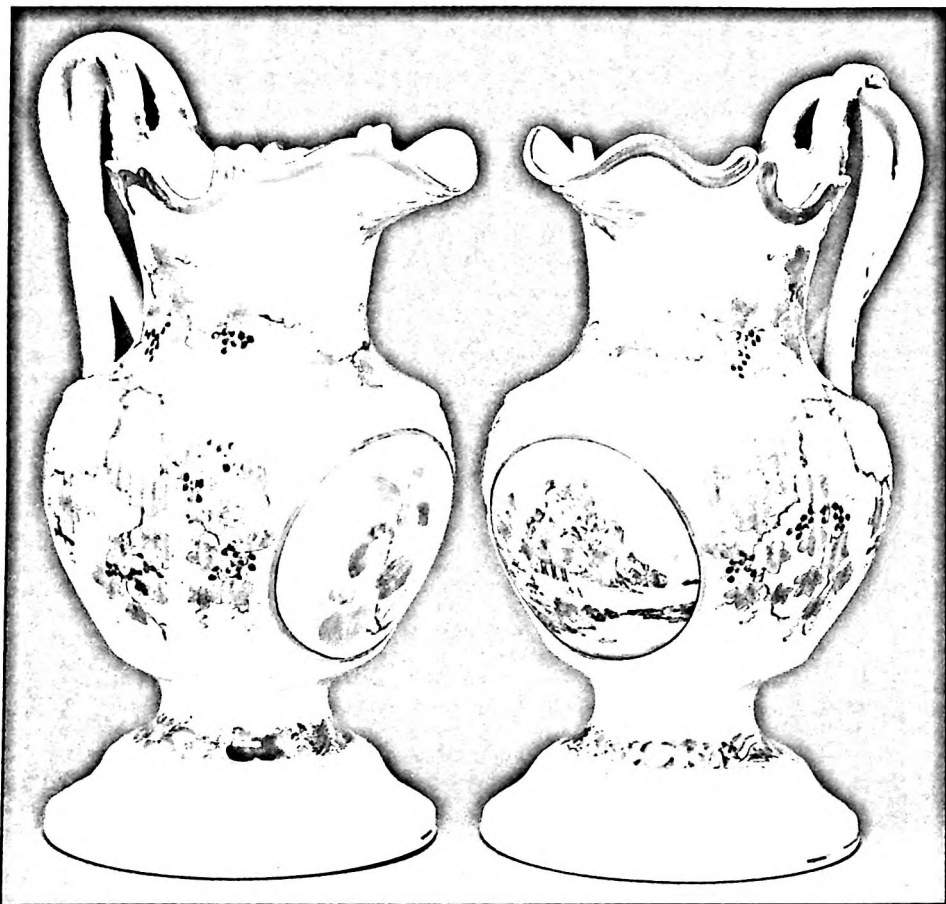
Although the East India Marine Society gradually became inactive in the later nineteenth century, its collections of artifacts and data it had gathered continued to provide information to later travelers. Today, these resources are still available to scholars.

Ships' owners obviously did very well. The value of furs received considerably outweighed the cost of the scrap iron. Money received from the furs far exceeded the cost



(Courtesy American Museum of Natural History)

Newetee Village, British Columbia, in the 1880s. Note signs over doorways: on left, "CHEAP," and right, "BOSTON."



(Courtesy Peabody-Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.)

Pair of porcelain ewers was made in China about 1790. Note the Chinese-style landscape and floral motifs, combined with the European-shaped pitchers. "Export porcelain" reflected both European and Chinese tastes.

of the silks and porcelains they brought home. Thus, they made a profit at each stage of trading.

The New England region also profited indirectly in that the luxury goods the traders brought home could be acquired more reasonably than otherwise. Most people could

have a fine porcelain bowl on the mantelshelf and Madame could flaunt her beautiful silk gowns while serving tea from delicate Chinese porcelain cups.

Today, no such trading exists. The native people of what is now British Columbia live mostly as commercial fishermen with diesel-powered fleets and, in most cases, native-owned canneries. The Chinese are probably producing more electronic equipment than either silks or porcelains, and what of the latter they do make is usually to be found for sale in Hong Kong boutiques. The shipowners of New England are involved in maritime shipping to and from all parts of the world. The sea otter population has rebounded to an encouraging degree, and one can again see these bewhiskered fellows lounging in the kelp beds from California to the Aleutians. Perhaps the sea otters are having the last word after all!

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Rosenstock Awards Presented

The annual Winter Rendezvous of the Denver Westerners, Dec. 11, 1996, at the Wyndham Garden Hotel in Denver, marked the 10th year for presentation of the Fred A. Rosenstock Awards, established as a perpetual trust to recognize the work of individuals and organizations.

The Virginia Dale Community Club received honors for the 1996 Fred A. Rosenstock Award for Outstanding Contributions to Colorado History, accepted for the VDCC by Elizabeth Larson. Posse Member Roger Michels presented the award. Posse Member Thomas J. Noel recapped the history of Colorado's only surviving Overland Trail stage station for the awards committee.

The VDCC received a \$30,000 State Historical Fund grant to preserve the National Register site, four miles south of the Wyoming border and one mile east of U.S. 287 in Larimer County. Noel traced the history of the stage station, beginning with the outlaw Joseph A. "Jack" Slade, hired by the Overland Stage Company to open the station on Dale Creek, hoping to keep him from robbing the stage. Slade opened the stage stop in 1862, naming it for his wife Virginia and the Dale Creek location. The same year, Ben Holliday acquired the line, extending it from Omaha to California, and establishing a southern branch running into Colorado, with a stop at Virginia Dale. In 1868, the Union Pacific built its railroad through Tie Siding, Wyo., eight miles to the north, and the stage stop was abandoned. The site was subsequently a residence, post office, and store. The Virginia Dale Home Demonstration Unit acquired the stagehouse in 1950, and began efforts to preserve it as a historical attraction.

Accepting the award for the VDCC was Elizabeth Larson, coauthor with Darleen Zollinger of a historical booklet, *An Introduction to Virginia Dale and the Overland Trail Stage Station* (1966, the Red Mountain Press, Livermore, Colo.), as part of a fund-raising effort. (The 40-page paperback includes maps, illustrations, and references, and may be ordered through Gladys Ellerman, VDCC president; 12817 N. County Road 15, Wellington CO 80549; phone 970/568-7830.)

Named winner of the 1996 Fred A. Rosenstock Award for Lifetime Achievement in Western History was Sandra Dallas, a member of the Denver Westerners since 1992, and recently announced as a new Posse Member (November-December 1996 *Roundup*). In the awards program, Tom Noel reviewed Sandra's career as a Western/regional writer—of "thousands of newspaper and magazine stories, three novels, and 10 nonfiction books." He said Sandra's nonfiction works "range from ghost town guide books to architectural books, from art history to history books, illustrated with her talented photography."

She has been an officer and board member of Historic Denver Inc., and has won the Western Heritage Wrangler Award from the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, and was named "Colorado's Exceptional Chronicler of Western History" by Denver University and the Denver Public Library. She is a member of the Denver Woman's Press Club, Western Writers of America, the National Book Critics Circle, Women's Forum of Colorado, Women Writing the West, and the Denver Visiting Nurse Association.

A native of Washington, D.C., Sandra received a B.A. degree from Denver University in 1961, and that same year began work for *Business Week* magazine as an editorial assistant. She subsequently was Denver bureau chief for the magazine (1969-1985 and

1990-1991) and senior correspondent (1986-1989). She has written numerous book reviews, and began reviewing for *The Denver Post* in 1961. Starting in 1980, she began writing a regional book review column for *The Post*, which she continues in addition to her other freelance work. Sandra is married to Robert T. Atchison, and they have two daughters, Dana and Kendal.

Over the Corral Rail

Swan songs are not particularly appealing—especially when “sung” by a lame duck! At any rate, this will be the last *Roundup* for your faithful Editor (and spouse). We took over this job from a distinguished historian and educator, Dr. Hugo G. von Rodeck, who held the post for some 11 years. We have not quite equalled his longevity, having produced 37 issues of *The Roundup* since the January-February 1991 edition. Of course that doesn't include a previous stint as *Roundup* editor in 1974, back when Jack Thode was the esteemed sheriff.

The late Dave Hicks, then deputy sheriff, dragged me, “kicking and screaming” from the editorial staff of *The Denver Post*, over to the Denver Press Club to become a member of the Denver Westerners, but really to edit *The Roundup*. We also produced an overdue *Brand Book*, which turned out to be two volumes in one, XXX and XXXI. (There were no subsequent *Brand Books* after that, until the Golden Anniversary *Brand Book*, Vol. XXXII.)

We had a lot of help from some fine old-timers—Francis Rizzari, plus three who have now Gone West: Coulson Hageman, Dick Ronzio, and Charlie Ryland.

There are one or two likely candidates for the *Roundup* editorial post, so we'll leave it at that, until a successor is named. But it's been a great ride, and we thank you, one and all, for your help, encouragement, and friendship! (If you're ever in southeast Arizona, look up the Stewarts in Sierra Vista, a little over an hour out of Tucson, 30 minutes from Tombstone, and an hour-and-a-half from Nogales, U.S.A./Mexico.)

* * *

Turning to more mundane matters, you

probably noticed that there were a couple of things wrong with the November-December '96 *Roundup*. First of all, the publication apparently didn't beat the Christmas postal glut (despite being delivered to the Denver Postoffice around mid-December). The issue also contained a reference to payment of dues—supposedly facilitated by the inclusion of a mailing envelope for members. If you looked for it, there was no envelope included with *The Roundup*. Our printer had the dues envelopes, but they were inadvertently omitted. We won't charge members interest on their dues, but we do hope for prompt payment, now that the mailing envelopes are available!

* * *

Congratulations to Reserve Members Dick Bowman and Pete Smythe. Both were announced by Sheriff Ken Gaunt at the Winter Rendezvous as lifetime honorary Posse Members of the Denver Westerners. (Pete was in attendance to accept the honor, but Dick was absent because of ill health.) Pete is a widely known Denver radio and television personality—and mayor of the mythical East Tincup. In the olden days, Pete provided music and entertainment for gatherings of the Westerners at Colorow's Cave and elsewhere. A sampling of his humor, “Springs for the Wagon and Grease for the Wheels,” appeared in the Sept.-Oct. 1989 *Roundup*, plus a full biographical sketch of his career. Dick Bowman is familiar to the Denver Westerners as the longtime Keeper of the Possibles Bag, which he often refilled with prizes for members at his own expense. More seriously known as a real estate investor and developer, Dick has become renowned as a collector of Western art. See the Golden Anniversary

Brand Book for his chapter on prominent artist Gerard Curtis Delano, and a brief biography of Dick's adventurous career.

* * *

A note from **Earl McCoy**, our Book Review Chairman and resident expert on the history of Ft. Logan—see his chapter in the Golden Anniversary *Brand Book*, "From Infantry to Air Corps: A History of Fort Logan"—has corrected an item in the recent paper about Estabrook Park and the Berger family: "In the 'About the Author' column in the last issue [November-December 1996] of the *Roundup*, it is stated that Bart Berger's great-grandfather, Henry Clay Merriam, was the first commander at Fort Logan. He was, in fact, the third, since the post opened October 31, 1887, and Merriam did not arrive until October 18, 1889, (Some writers claim that there was an earlier commanding officer while the two companies of 18th Infantry were camped outside the military reservation, but the fort officially did not begin until 10/31/1887). Merriam commanded Fort Logan from 1889 to 1897, the longest that anyone was in charge at the post. Bart and I have discussed this, and I have shown him the listing of Commanding Officers from the Post Returns microfilm."

* * *

Corresponding Member **Louis E. Gelt, Esq.** has reported a change of address from 100 Park Avenue West in Denver, to 5240 S. Shalom Park Circle No. 1215, Aurora CO 80015. He states that he came to Colorado on June 15, 1915, when he was 8 years old. "Now I'm 88, and in a wheelchair," he adds. A previous call from Louis indicated that he is no longer able to attend meetings of the Denver Westerners, but would enjoy a visit, or a card from any of the members.

R. Dean Cleveland, 4836 E. Cliff Road, Port Clinton, Ohio 43452, has been reported by Membership Chairman **Ed Bathke** as a new Corresponding Member. He learned of the Denver Westerners through Posse Member **Richard A. Cook**, in connection with Dick's award-winning paper on his grandfa-

ther: "Rufus G. Cook, Frontier Justice of the Peace," in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Roundup*. Dean indicates an interest in Dodge City and Fort Dodge, Kansas. "I was born in Dodge City 2/26/28. My paternal grandfather ran a general store and was postmaster at Fort Dodge. My maternal grandfather, Rufus G. Cook, was the subject of my cousin's recent article in *Roundup*."

* * *

The Denver Westerners lost a good friend in the death Dec. 1, 1996, of **Agostino D. Mastrogiuseppe Jr.**, 57, curator of photographs at the Denver Public Library. Memorial services were Dec. 17 in the DPL's Gates Western History Reading Room. Entombment was in Moscow, Idaho.

He was born Nov. 7, 1939, in Morgantown, W. Va. He earned a master's in history from West Virginia University, and became assistant curator of the WVU collection. He was an Army veteran of Vietnam.

In 1970, he went to work at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and in 1974 came to the DPL Western History Department. He earned a degree in librarianship from Denver University. He was a member of the Colorado Railroad Historical Foundation, Daguerreian Society, Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, and the Society of Rocky Mountain Archivists.

Many Denver Westerners were grateful for Mastrogiuseppe's help in their search for historical materials. Contributions may be made to a fund in his name at the Golden Railroad Museum, Box 126, Denver 80201.

* * *

Ex-Sheriff **Ken Gaunt** has confirmed plans for a March 8 tour of the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers Exhibit at the Colorado Historical Society Museum, 1300 Broadway in Denver. Led by **Jean Afton**, coauthor and a Corresponding Member of the Denver Westerners, the tour will start at 10:30 a.m.

Following lunch, **Kay Wisna**, curator of Western Art Archives, Denver Public Library, will conduct the group on a tour at 1:30 p.m. in the Western History Department.



Westerner's Bookshelf



Reviews published in *The Roundup* are largely related to nonfiction books submitted by publishers to the Denver Westerners. However, all members are urged to review any books related to Western history which they would like to recommend—current or otherwise. In this way, *Roundup* readers may learn about works relating to their areas of particular interest which might otherwise escape their notice. It is hoped this section will be a widening source of information on all aspects of the history of the West. —*The Editor*

South Pass, 1868, James Chisholm's Journal of the Wyoming Gold Rush by James Chisholm. Introduced and edited by Lola M. Homsher. Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1960. 244 pages. Paperbound, \$12.

South Pass, 1868 is a re-issue first released in 1960 and is considered a must for the Western historian's bookshelf. This new edition reinforces this book's status as a "classic" of American West literature.

The introduction by Ms Homsher is fast-paced and enticing, opening the door to Cheyenne's turbulent and violent beginnings with the use of factual reports and documents. The Chicago newspaper journalist James Chisholm's expedition to Cheyenne and on to South Pass is retraced in the light of the late 1860s bringing to eloquent life this colorful, raw, and dangerous segment of our Western American history.

James Chisholm's journal of Wyoming's South Pass mining district contains riveting passages of adventure, travails, and life on the American Western frontier. Reporting on the construction of the transcontinental railroad, Chisholm's correspondence rings true to the times and people of the railroad. It is easy to visualize the reported events of hard, back-breaking labor and the intensity of life in the railroad towns, with many of the towns still flourishing alongside I-80 in southern Wyoming.

And when James Chisholm journeys north to the South Pass mining district as a solitary traveler on foot we begin to realize the bravery and tenacity of this "big-city" reporter.

He ventures beyond the South Pass mines and explores the vast country of the Wind River Mountains, sometimes alone and other

times with small parties of men, by foot and by mule. His encounters with mountain men, Indians, beasts, and wild weather are both exciting and chilling, leaving the reader with a respect for Chisholm's intellect and courage in the face of daunting challenges. This book, in its entirety, encourages the reader to finish the book in one sitting and "panning for nuggets" with later readings.

Lola Homsher has added numerous footnotes and included 18 pages of Supplementary Notes in the back of the book. This editorial layout makes the book an excellent reference to the history of South Pass in 1868, and at the same time makes reading this book a pleasure.

—Michael R. Crowe, C.M.

Alias Frank Canton by Robert K. DeArment. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1996. Index, photographs, illustrated maps by Rosemary DeArment Walter, endnotes, bibliography, and dust jacket; 402 pages. Clothbound, \$29.95.

This volume is the long-awaited full-length biography of Joe Horner, alias Frank Canton, by experienced researcher, writer, and historian Bob DeArment. It is worth the wait. It is definitive. It is worth the money. It is outstanding. While, as indicated below (and as at least implied in my chapter on Horner/Canton in our Golden Anniversary *Brand Book*, I still believe that Frank Canton was a sociopathic and amoral person when it came to money, honesty, and violence, I may be, perhaps, jaundiced (or enlightened?) by having dealt with such individuals much of my professional life. Nevertheless, DeArment has done a wonderful job of presenting as complete and

as fair a job that one person could do. He has taken and sifted his exhaustive work and, tentatively at least, come to the not-unreasonable conclusion that Canton was, if not heroic, at least made of the stuff of which heroes are made.

To summarize the life of the subject of this book, Joe Horner (as most readers know) was a Texas hellion who changed his name and became active in law enforcement in Wyoming, Alaska, and down Oklahoma-way. Whether he thereby changed his stripes is the question facing biographers and students of the West. DeArment, without being preachy or at all politically correct, sets out the facts (as far as he can tell) and gently steers the reader through the lies, the rumors, the hearsay, and the mythology. He does not hide the undisputed bad facts (such as Canton's racism). It is only in a very few places where the author (at his peril) steps beyond his objective vantage point and opines speculatively about what somebody probably did, probably thought, or probably said.

It is a wonderful job of synthesis that DeArment has done. He has written the book that I only had time to dream about. While writers such as Shirley, Hunt, Breihan, and myself have made some use or some mention of contemporary news accounts, national and state archives, the Bancroft interviews, university collections, extant oldtimer recollections, and obscure reminiscences, Bob has taken all of them to turn out a model in Western biography. Slim, indeed, is the list of trails that this detective and historian has failed to uncover and pursue.

And, as noted, DeArment has done a great job of being skeptical of his own evidence and, even if he accepts it (such as occasionally in the case of Canton's *Frontier Trails*, his context and notes make his reservations clear. As an example, although the biography closes with the comment by one Adjutant General Barrett, made for public consumption at the time of Canton's death, "Here lies a man," the endnote makes clear that DeArment is very well aware that Barrett later wrote that adjutant generals (such as Canton and himself) merely "come and go." DeArment thus knows that some of the official sources and news accounts that he uses are partisan, and

that fact may or may not affect this accuracy.

This book will not end the Horner/Canton debate. There are, as DeArment knows, some good evidence trails that are still to be pursued. I, myself, know of at least two or three that bear investigation and which might help my current view that, as to poor old Frank, "here lies a crook." (And even I have acknowledged that Canton, at least, was a loving family man, which many of my legal clients or prosecutorial targets were not.) But those of us who follow DeArment will be like Australian cattle dogs, nipping at the heels of a big old bull. This biography will never be surpassed.

Based upon conversations with DeArment, I know that the volume has been edited down. Oklahoma University, I might venture to say, did a job that lives up to its excellent reputation in producing the final product.

DeArment has produced several fine first-class books. With this one, he can rest on his laurels. But I reckon he's already thinking of his next book.

—John M. Hutchins, P.M.

American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly by Francis Paul Prucha, S.J. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994. Tables, illustrations, maps; 578 pages. Cloth-bound, \$45.

Noah Webster defines "anomaly" as "deviation from the common rule." In Father Prucha's usage it refers to the unusual situation of dealing with a people who already occupy a territory into which you have begun to move. Chief Justice John Marshall summed it up in 1831 saying, "The condition of the Indians in relation to the United States is perhaps unlike that of any other two people in existence."

This book is a document of these strange relations and how they changed over time. At first, Europeans treated the native peoples as sovereign nations. For example, there was the French alliance with the Hurons in the sixteenth century and later William Penn's agreement with the Delawares. But, as Prucha documents, all this changed as the power of the Europeans grew while that of the Indian nations diminished until, by the 1870s, they

were declared to be wards of the U.S. government and treaty-making ceased altogether.

In addition, there is consideration of jurisdiction over native peoples—whether it was rightly a matter for the federal government or whether individual states had rights in such matters as well. There is also a chronological list of ratified treaties and a valuable compilation of source materials.

Father Prucha has long been known for his outstanding scholarship and for his contributions to the study of American history. This meticulous, concise book will confirm our respect for his work and will long stand as a primary source on both treaty-making and Native-European relations in general. It is certainly required reading for any serious student of American history. What more can be said?

Now, what is needed is a companion account of treaties from the Indian perspective. Father Prucha notes his reasons for not devoting more attention to this, but perhaps even he did not realize what a formidable task it would have been. Remembering that American Indian culture exists in many variations, it can be understood how tribes like the Iroquois with a formal political structure would have perceived diplomacy of any sort quite differently than the more loosely organized groups in the West.

—Richard Conn, P.M.

Southwestern Pottery: Anasazi to Zuni by Allan Hayes and John Blom. Flagstaff: Northland Publishing, 1996. Bibliography, index, 130 color plates; 192 pages. Clothbound, \$40; paperback, \$21.95.

In *Southwestern Pottery*, Hayes and Blom bring together a lot of information about Southwest Indian pottery, based on several years of intensive collecting and reading available literature. They amassed 1,400 pieces of pottery, 1,100 pieces of which are pictured in the 140 color photos in this book.

Their major contribution is the presentation of the history of pottery development—and sometimes the decline of pottery quality and quantity—from prehistoric cultures such as Anasazi and Casas Grandes to present-day pottery production. They have

accumulated examples of pots of the various periods to illustrate the stages of development.

Southwestern Pottery was written as a guide to starting a pottery collection—the book the authors wish they had had when they started buying. They review the history of “Pottery Country” and “What to Look For,” followed by a description of prehistoric pottery. “Modern Pottery” presents the historic and current pottery from pueblos and reservations, in alphabetical order, starting with Acoma and concluding with Zuni. Their written descriptions of phases of pottery styles are matched with color photographs on the facing pages. This section is very well organized and useful. Information about families of pottery makers and trends in each community are delineated.

Since they ignored the common advice to buy “the biggest, best and finest example you can afford,” choosing instead to collect smaller pots at lower prices, their illustrations do not show some of the higher quality work now being produced. They have included lots of pottery moccasins and poster-paint decorated tourist stuff which many collectors will want to skip over.

This book is a valuable overview of Southwestern Indian pottery, particularly because of the broad scope of Native American communities included and the historical perspective for developments and changes in each area. It will be useful as an addition to other materials such as Francis Harlow's *Historic Pueblo Indian Pottery* and *Modern Pueblo Pottery*, and Rich Dillingham's book on *Fourteen Families in Pueblo Pottery*.

—Earl McCoy, P.M.

Overland: The California Emigrant Trail of 1842 - 1870 by Greg MacGregor. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1996. Five maps, 83 black-and-white photographs, notes; 208 pages. Clothbound, \$75; paperback, \$37.50.

Overland is a book of photographs. Written by a teacher of photography, Greg MacGregor visually takes the reader from Independence, Mo., to Sacramento, Calif. Forty-two photos follow the combined California

and Oregon trails from Missouri through Kansas, Nebraska, and Wyoming to the Raft River in Idaho. Thirty photos then continue along the California Trail through Idaho and Nevada to California. Two photographs are of the Hastings Cutoff in Utah. The photographs are all horizontal, large (7" by 9 3/4") and printed on quality paper.

Associated with most photos are quotes from contemporary diaries, journals, and travel guides. These quotes sample the hardships, hopes, tragedies and humor experienced by the travelers. Also, a limited amount of text describes the trail's geography and history. The introduction, written by Walter Truett Anderson, gives additional trail history, but emphasizes his experiences in being introduced to the trail.

The photographs are all present-day scenes. Many show man's intrusion along and in the trail: a concrete plant, power plant, oil refinery, junk yard, sewer plant, a housing development.

Other photos show the pristine wilderness and open space that still exist along some segments of the trail today. Independence Rock and Devils Gate in Wyoming are examples. Excellent photos show the trail in the 40 Mile Desert of western Nevada: an emigrant grave, oxen remains and remnants of burned wagons. Diary entries from this section of the trail are especially good and enhance the power of the photographs. The author has done a better job on the western end of the trail, the segment which he has studied and visited the most. Missing though, are photographs of the Carson Pass route in California.

A few photos are especially strong in visual and historical content, such as the trail across an Idaho golf course. Well known landmarks such as Chimney Rock and Scotts Bluff, Neb., are shown with an artistic flair. Photographs of more obscure places show the trail's diverse terrain.

A few photos do, however, sacrifice historical significance for artistic value, such as the photo of trees and a picket fence at Fort Bridger. Hardly significant to the emigrant trail. The final photo in the book, a school in Sacramento, seems to have no connection to the trail.

Weaknesses in the book are the maps and

the many misspellings of geographic places. Six of the 25 sites and towns on the Nebraska and Wyoming maps are incorrect. Misspelled are: Fort Kearney, Dobytown, Mitchell Pass, Grattan, Fort Caspar and Jeffrey City. Other map flaws include landmarks and trail segments shown on the wrong side of waterways. Missing is a detailed map of Idaho. The California map is too simplistic. Sites featured in the photographs and text should be on a map. The map of Nevada is much more accurate, again reflecting the authors better understanding of the western portion of the trail. Several photo captions, again in Nebraska and Wyoming, have misspelled or incorrectly labeled geographic names.

But these errors should not detract from the book's strong point, the photographs. For the trail novice, the book provides a good background and visual introduction to the trail. For the more advanced trail reader, it is a good companion book, showing many scenes described but not adequately pictured in other trail books.

—Lee Whiteley, P.M.

North From Texas: Incidents in the Early Life of a Range Cowman in Texas & Wyoming 1852-1883 by James C. Shaw; edited by Herbert Brayer. Texas A&M Univ. Press, 1966. 109 pages. Paperback, \$9.95.

Published previously in 1952, this short narrative is valuable in two ways: it's a day-to-day record of an 1879 trail drive from Texas to Wyoming and the Dakotas; and its chapter notes are good history by themselves, thanks to editor Herbert Brayer.

Shaw was a straitlaced young Texas school teacher who decided that, to see the West, he would join a trail drive as a cowboy. He drank liquor sparingly and took to heart warnings by veteran cowmen that he should avoid "bad men" on the cattle trails.

The book's homely details leave the reader with a good idea of how the cattle drives were organized, how cowboys handled a stampede, how the herds were divided upon arrival, and what the cowboys were like. Shaw touches briefly on the relationship of black crew members to their bosses.

After the drive was finished, Shaw settled

in Wyoming and became a leading stockman, residing in the state until his death at 91 in 1943. His many associations with other stockmen spurred the editor to include 10 pages of notes listing the biographies of many of them. Like Shaw, they were strong characters who helped shape Wyoming and the Western cattle industry—an excellent bonus for an already charming little book.

—Lee Olson, P.M.

The Legal Culture of Northern New Spain, 1799-1810 by Charles R. Cutter. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1995. Notes, index, illustrations; 239 pages. Clothbound, \$39.95.

There is an impression among many non-Hispanic scholars that life along the Hispanic Frontiers of present New Mexico and Texas was not idyllic. What Nature did not do to you with droughts and freak weather, the Apaches perhaps would. Further, it is assumed, that the Spanish regimes were corrupt and abusive of their own people. Cutter, a professor of history at Purdue, effectively challenges this latter notion by citing many instances in which civil officials and even the litigants themselves worked for a benevolent justice.

Cutter points out at the beginning that the notion of justice was fundamental to Spanish society, and that the King himself was thought of as the supreme judge whose role was to maintain society through just and prudent administration. However, he repeatedly reminds us that there were differences between the way courts were held in Madrid or Mexico City and San Antonio or Santa Fe. As successive governors noted, there were virtually no persons trained in law in these remote provinces. But, there were standard Spanish books of law which were available in New Mexico and Texas, with which the local officials became conversant.

In contrast to many works on the Hispanic Southwest, this book seems to be written from an "insight" viewpoint. That is, it deals mostly with internal legal procedure, and there is little comparison with whatever was happening elsewhere in North America. Cutter's knowledge of Southwestern history, and this

approach, strengthen his assertion that the Spanish legal system, even as modified in the provinces, worked for the welfare of its people.

Of special interest are those situations where Indians are involved. Although they were considered "minors" without legal rights by Spanish law, there are cases in New Mexico where Indians stood as witnesses in trials with their testimony held as truthful and valid. Further, various Pueblo groups learned to deal effectively with Spanish rule in maintaining their lands. For example, in 1816, Cochiti Pueblo sent a delegation all the way to Mexico City to press for disputed rights. They won!

This book is certainly a "must" for anyone interested in the Hispanic Southwest. It is filled with information which presents a balanced and corrected view of some aspects of eighteenth century life in Nueva España.

—Richard Conn, P.M.

Confederate General of the West: Henry Hopkins Sibley by Jerry Thompson. Texas A&M Univ. Press, College Station, 1996. Illustrations, maps; bibliography and index; 424 pages. Paperback, \$16.95.

Civil War and Western Americana historians best remember Henry Hopkins Sibley as the Confederate general who led an army on an expedition from Texas into New Mexico in 1862. It was hoped that he would conquer and take possession of the Southwest as part of President Jefferson Davis' Confederate States of America.

In his book on the life of this complex and controversial figure (first published in 1987), author Jerry Thompson presents to the reader a thorough and well-researched biography of the military career of a soldier whose character flaws and poor leadership are far better known than his successes. What made Thompson's work challenging was that none of Sibley's private letters has survived, making it hard to separate the military man from the private person. According to the author, he did not fit the mold of a "convenient historical stereotype."

On the plus side, Henry Hopkins Sibley could be highly intelligent, inventive, and pro-

fessional. He was good-natured and kind, as well as daring and defiant. He was also caring and loved by those who knew him well. Sibley also had his faults. He could be vain, very authoritative, inflexible, and, especially argumentative. He was patronizing and obstinate a good deal of the time. Sibley, like many southerners, was a cultured and well-educated gentleman who loved his country but loved his native state more. He was a schemer and extravagant dreamer. This can certainly be seen as major factors in his Civil War campaign in New Mexico.

Henry Hopkins Sibley was the youngest of four children, born to Samuel Hopkins Sibley and Margaret I. McDonald. Born in Natchitoches, Louisiana, on May 25, 1816, Henry was descended from a family with a long record of distinctive service in both civil and military careers, dating back to the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. In 1823 Henry's father died, leaving the boy's mother to care for the children and face unpaid debts. It was decided by family and friends that the only way to satisfy the creditors was to sell the family property at a public auction. With the money Margaret made from the auction, all accounts were settled, and she and the children moved to Missouri.

To further his education, in 1830, Henry was sent to the Grammar School of Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, where he seemed to do well. After two years at the school, Henry returned, not to Missouri, but instead to Louisiana to live with his grandfather who had become his legal guardian because the boy's mother was in ill health. Henry would later remark that his grandfather was a great figure and an influence on his life.

In 1833 Sibley entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Like many before and since, it was a struggle for the 17-year-old cadet. Because of a poor score in one subject, he had to repeat his third year at the academy. Sibley also seemed to have more discipline problems than other cadets.

Upon his graduation in 1838, Sibley was sent to the Second Regiment of Dragoons. As an officer in the Dragoons, Sibley served in Florida against the Seminoles. He took part in the War with Mexico in which he was promoted to captain, and ended the conflict as a

brevet major. It was while soldiering on the Texas frontier that Sibley devised and first developed the military tent that would forever bear his name. Sibley helped to patrol and keep the peace in Kansas during the winter of 1855-1856 when sectional disputes between Free Soilers and proslavery forces were fighting one another.

He took an active part in what became known as the "Mormon War" in Utah from 1857 to 1860. After spending a severe winter there, Sibley started on a design for a stove to use in his tent. It was during this duty that Sibley became a good friend to Maj. Edward S. Canby.

In 1860 and 1861, Sibley and Canby would also campaign against the Navajo, in a region they would come to know quite well two years later: New Mexico.

From the time of his graduation from West Point up to 1861, it would seem that Sibley had a fairly good and commendable career as an officer in the U.S. Army. During the War with Mexico, he received his brevet to major for bravery and appears to have done well as a field officer in the years following. Sibley also had his share of disagreements with some of his superior officers, as well. One such disagreement led to court-martial charges, preferred by Col. Philip St. George Cooke in Utah. A feud had existed between the two since 1849, when Sibley was on recruiting duty in the East. Sibley was found innocent of all charges except two, and was released from arrest.

Prior to 1861, as the rift between the North and South widened, Sibley may not have given much thought to the political issues dividing the country. All that changed, when Louisiana followed the other Southern states in seceding from the Union. It was at this time that he gave serious thought to his future in the U.S. Army. Henry Hopkins Sibley made the biggest decision of his military career on April 28, 1861, when he submitted his resignation from U.S. service, in hopes of obtaining a high rank in the Confederate army. Sibley's wife had hoped he would remain loyal to the United States.

Leaving New Mexico, Sibley headed straight for Richmond, Va., where he obtained an appointment to see President Jeffer-

son Davis. Sibley had known Davis while the latter was Secretary of War under President Franklin Pierce. The Confederate president was quite interested in the plan that Sibley submitted on how U.S. arsenals and garrisons could be overrun by a brigade of Texas Confederate troops. With captured foodstuffs and supplies, Colorado and the region's gold fields could be taken, as well.

From the very beginning, the campaign went wrong. Sibley underestimated his opponent who at Ft. Craig and Valverde, N.M., happened to be his friend, U.S. Army Col. Edward R.S. Canby.

Several sources on Civil War history—including *Glory, Glory, Glorieta* by Robert Scott [see March-April 1993 *Roundup* book review by John Hutchins]—say that Sibley and Canby were brothers-in-law. This is not true.

Sibley expected large amounts of supplies to fall into his hands, as his Army of New Mexico moved north to Ft. Union, N.M., and Colorado. In this he was much disappointed. Perhaps Sibley's biggest blunders were his many strategic and tactical mistakes. Some, then and now, feel the major cause of the campaign's failure was Sibley's addiction to alcohol.

Thompson believes it is hard to determine just when alcohol began to affect Sibley's capability to command, and to make decisions. This was to become a major problem throughout his remaining military career, during the Civil War and later.

Of course, Sibley was not the only general during the war who had a fondness for the bottle. For some, liquor acted as a stimulant, but in Sibley's case, because of heavy drinking, alcohol acted as a depressant. In short, this would be the partial reason for another court-martial, following his command at Bayou Teche, La., in 1863—when he was found not guilty on all charges—and his near court-martial after the New Mexico campaign in 1862. The other cause for his actions, says the author, was that Sibley seemed to be seriously ill at Valverde and Bayou Teche. By the close of the Civil War, Sibley would be a general without a command.

With the cessation of hostilities between the North and the South in 1865, Sibley, like

many who had fought on the losing side, found times difficult. In December 1869, he accepted a five-year contract as a high-ranking officer in the Egyptian Army. One of his major tasks in Egypt was to supervise the construction of that country's coastal fortifications. Besides bringing his military experience and knowledge, he also brought along his chronic alcoholism.

It was his constant drinking, mounting debts, and squalor that ended his services in Egypt.

The last few years of Henry Hopkins Sibley's life were painful. He suffered badly from colic, causing him to increase his drinking even more. He died on Aug. 23, 1886.

As far as this reviewer knows, this is the first major biography written about the ill-starred Confederate general. [For further reading and a reference list covering Sibley's period, see "The Battle of Glorietta Pass" by Posse Member Kenneth Pitman in the Golden Anniversary *Brand Book*, or the March-April 1991 *Roundup* article by Pitman.]

To some readers, this biography may seem a somewhat sympathetic portrayal. To others, the book reveals a historical figure, "with the bark off." This is one book that deserves a place in the library of any enthusiast of the Civil War and the American West.

—Mark E. Hutchins, P.M.

In Search of the Old Ones: Exploring the Anasazi World of the Southwest by David Roberts. Simon & Schuster, New York, and elsewhere, 1996. Map of Anasazi archaeological areas in the Four Corners region; 30 black-and-white photos; Appendix and Anasazi Chronology; glossary, selected bibliography, and index; dust jacket; 272 pages. Cloth-bound, \$24; paperback, \$12.

It's refreshing to read a book that entertains while it informs, much like the works of Edward Abbey, and maybe it entails getting off the beaten path of scholastic book publishers. David Roberts is the author of eight previous books, most recently, *Once They Moved Like the Wind: Cochise, Geronimo, and the Apache Wars*.

Roberts might be one of those "effete Easterners," but he mentions growing up in Boul-

der, Colo., where his father was an astronomer, and he recalls boyhood visits to Mesa Verde. He now resides in Cambridge, Mass., and is a contributing editor at *Men's Journal* magazine.

The author is a hands-on historian (which verges on oxymoron-ism). He has traveled the Southwest, seeking to learn more about the Anasazi, searching for answers to the mystery of "the abandonment," why the Old Ones turned away from their sophisticated civilization, epitomized by the splendor of still-enduring cliff dwellings.

Visiting little-known Four Corners sites and hiking into remote areas, Roberts has made some spectacular finds of his own. At the same time, he has interviewed many persons in the field—both professional and lay archaeologists.

Roberts is not a pot-hunter—indeed, he tells of finding whole pots and baskets amid undisturbed ruins which he is careful to leave as found. But he does seek adventure in solitude, off the beaten and official paths.

"For a decade and a half," he recalls, "I have sought out Anasazi ruins in the Southwest; during the last five years, my curiosity about those pre-historic agriculturalists has grown to become a passion. Like most devotees of the Anasazi, I began with the national parks and monuments: Mesa Verde, Canyon de Chelly, Chaco Canyon, Hovenweep, Montezuma Castle, Pecos, Bandelier.

"In 1987, on a three-day hike into Utah's Grand Gulch, for the first time I came across Anasazi ruins in the backcountry—unexcavated, unrestored, with potsherds and corn-cobs still strewn in the dirt where the last dwellers had left them. I camped on alluvial benches where the ancients had once planted their crops; I drank from the springs that had sustained them. That trip changed everything for me: a passive admiration for the Anasazi, of the sort one feels in a museum, turned into something like a quest What I sought was some connection with the Anasazi that I could feel beneath my fingertips as well as in my mind."

He says of the Anasazi that, more impressive than their construction is their "permeation of a country so difficult to travel in today that most of it remains uninhabited. Yet

everywhere you go, in the most remote and unpromising corners of that country, you find a scattering of flint flakes here, a sherd or two of gray utilitarian cookware there, to testify to the passage of the ancients."

Of particular interest is Roberts' review of the December 1888 discovery of Mesa Verde and Cliff Palace by two Colorado cowboys, Richard Wetherill and Charlie Mason. They literally stumbled into the ancient site, while searching for lost cattle from the Wetherills' Alamo Ranch, near Mesa Verde ruins. Roberts tells the story of exploration and collecting by the four Wetherill brothers. (The fifth and youngest brother did not share the enthusiasm of his siblings for prowling the ruins.)

The archaeological efforts of the Wetherills were shamefully frustrated and neglected by professionals, and the author gives a full account of the mishandling of the family's contributions in tracing the Anasazi. Roberts tells, for example, of finding many sites throughout the region with Richard Weatherill's "W" mark of discovery and, in some instances, penciled inscriptions and notations on a nearby rock or ledge.

Space does not permit tracing Roberts' ramblings through many Anasazi sites in the Four Corners states. One example is the archaeological cornucopia of Utah's Grand Gulch Primitive Area. Roberts' camera was along on his hikes, and the numerous quality photos include Wetherill inscriptions at Sandal House and Surprise Valley, and views of Jailhouse Ruin in Bullet Canyon, Keet Seel, Tsegi Canyon, Montezuma Creek, Bluff, Cedar Mesa, Slickhorn Canyon, Moon House, Lower Butler Wash on the San Juan River, Rainbow Bridge trail, Mystery Canyon, and Grand Gulch.

There are many sidelights of interest, too, such as his care and feeding of llamas on a wilderness trek, or a rattlesnake encounter.

Then there's the mystery of the now-famous "Taos hum," which turns out to be more of an Anasazi "hum."

I heartily recommend this book for any armchair explorer of the Southwest. (Or if you can still get out of that armchair, this book will inspire you and guide you on your own "expeditions.")

—Alan J. Stewart. Ed.

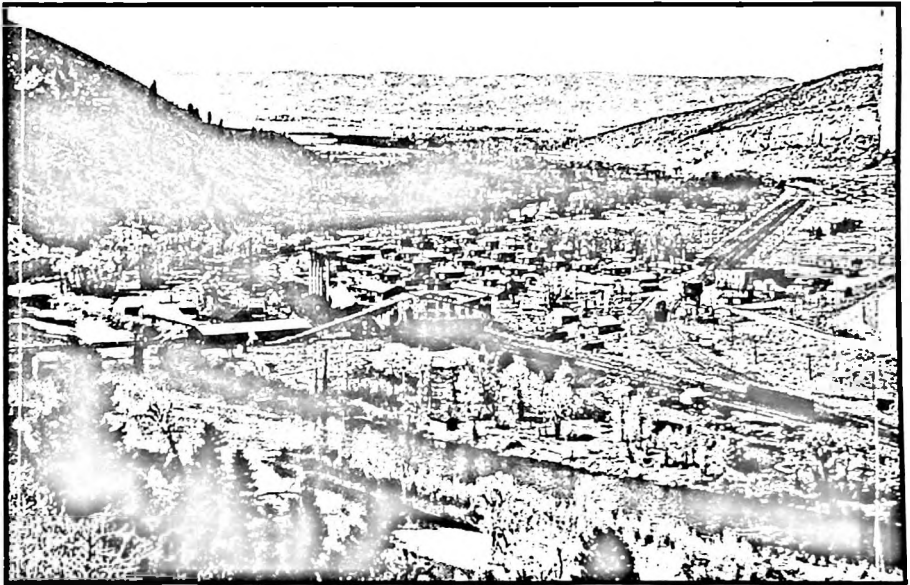


The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

MARCH-APRIL 1997

**THE MAKING OF A GHOST TOWN:
MOUNT HARRIS, COLORADO**

BY ERMA MORISON, C.M.



(Courtesy Colorado Historical Society)

AN OVERVIEW OF MOUNT HARRIS SHOWS A BUSTLING
COMMUNITY, WITH THREE COAL MINES AND A
POPULATION AT ITS PEAK OF SOME 1,295 RESIDENTS.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Corresponding Member Erma Morison's paper, "The Making of a Ghost Town: Mount Harris, Colorado," was presented to the Denver Westerners Feb. 26, 1997.

Erma Morison is a native of Colorado and has been a resident of Denver since 1941. She is a graduate of Denver Public Schools and attended the University of Northern Colorado.

Erma has had an avid interest in Colorado history since the mid-1950s. The areas in which she has been most involved have been ghost towns, railroads, and early auto trails. She has been very active in sharing these interests and activities with her children, grandchildren, and friends.

In 1977, Erma served as president of the Ghost Town Club of Colorado. With her husband, Jack Morison, she has co-led many field trips in Colorado and the Western United States. One of her biggest challenges was in 1980 when she and her husband floated the Yukon river from Whitehorse to Dawson City in their rubber raft.

Erma became a corresponding member of the Denver Westerners in 1993. This is her first presentation to the Westerners.

WESTERNERS' PROGRAM DATES

Mark your calendars for the 1997 remaining Denver Posse of the Westerners meeting dates. Except for the Annual Posse meeting and the Summer and Christmas Rendezvous, all meetings will be at the Executive Tower Inn.

Regular meetings: March 26, April 23, May 28, June 25, Sept. 24, Oct. 22, Nov. 26. July—annual Posse meeting (date and location to be announced). Aug. 23—Summer Rendezvous, Littleton Museum (details to be provided). Dec. 17, Christmas Rendezvous, Wyndham Garden Hotel, 1475 S. Colorado Blvd.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

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THE MAKING OF A GHOST TOWN

MOUNT HARRIS, COLORADO

BY ERMA D. MORISON, C.M.
(PRESENTED FEBRUARY 26, 1997)

In searching the titles of the Denver Westerners' *Roundups* of the past 50 plus years, I learned that no one had written a paper concerning the Mount Harris, Colo., mining area. Because my husband, Jack Morison, and I share an interest in Western history—especially mining camps—I decided to research this vicinity and share with the Westerners the story of the creation of a ghost town.

I have a personal interest in this region because I was born seven miles west of Mount Harris at Hayden, Colo., which is 25 miles west of Steamboat Springs.

Ghost towns are of interest to many people, and Mount Harris is a good example of the type of town which shows little evidence today of what was once a thriving community.

Though traditionally a Ute hunting ground, the Yampa Valley also was visited by the Arapahoe, Gros Ventre, Sioux, Shoshone, and Cheyenne Indians. Indian designs or Indian pictographs remain visible under the eroded sandstone cliffs near the site of Mount Harris. Local residents call this area the rimrock. On top of this formation is one rock so loose it rocks in the wind. Many in the area refer to it as the "old rocking chair."

Rattlesnakes also were common in the sandstone cliffs. In the early days, there was a prizefighter in the

area who would catch rattlers and place one around his waist as he entered the ring. He was referred to as Jack "Rattlesnake" Carson. Many boxing matches were held in town, but it is unknown to this author as to how successful the rattlesnakes were in aiding Carson's career.

SURVEY PARTIES VISITED

Today, on top of the rimrock, the ground has been plowed and wheat fields are abundant. Years ago it was a natural wildlife habitat.

Several survey parties crossed the mountains into what is now Routt County during the 1860s and 1870s. E. L. Berthoud and Jim Bridger led the first such party in July 1861, searching for a railroad route to the Pacific. Ferdinand V. Hayden surveyed the last major effort in the area for the U.S. Geological Survey in 1873, staying near the site of the town which bears his name.

Routt County was created by the first Colorado General Assembly less than a year after Colorado became a state. On Jan. 29, 1877, Gov. John L. Routt, the last territorial and the first elected governor of Colorado, signed a bill establishing the county which bore his name and contained the future site of the town of Mount Harris.

Until 1914, when Rabbit Ears Road was opened for summertime

travel only, the Gore Pass Road from Toponas and the Sheephorn Canyon Road from State Bridge provided the only access from Middle Park and Denver. The first highway into Routt County was built with private funds as a memorial to those who gave their lives in World War I. It was known as the Victory Highway. It was incorporated under Kansas law in 1921 and provided one of the first transcontinental links between New York and San Francisco. Road work in Routt County, over Rabbit Ears Pass into Steamboat Springs and on to Craig, was completed in 1923. In the early 1930s, the federal government reconstructed the road over Rabbit Ears Pass and, in 1935, the road was designated as US 40.

DAVID MOFFAT'S IMPACT

An early settler in the area was James Wadge, who used his coal mine to provide fuel for settlers along the river. He sold his ranch and coal land when the railroad reached Mount Harris, and he moved to Hayden.

The beginnings for the area coal camps occurred in the early 1900s when David Moffat was funding the building of a railroad from Denver to Salt Lake City, Utah. Moffat went in search of potential customers. He knew that natural resources, such as coal, were in the area and would aid him in developing business and industry. Moffat contacted people in Chicago, looking for individuals with money who would be interested in opening coal mines in Routt County. His reasoning was that if he could get the mines open, there would be a need for

the railroad. In Chicago, George and Byron Harris were among those contacted.

Moffat, who made a great portion of his fortune in the goldfields of Cripple Creek, Colo., envisioned a railroad from Denver through this area. He organized the Denver Northwestern and Pacific in 1902. Six years and \$9.8 million later, the railroad wound its way into Routt County, reaching the town of Yampa in August 1908, Steamboat Springs in December 1908, Hayden in December 1912, and Craig in 1913.

Because financial limitations forced Moffat to build the line over Rollins Pass, the cost of keeping the tracks open through the winter reduced profits from cattle, sheep, and coal. Moffat died from exhaustion in 1911 while attempting to raise additional money.

The railroad was reorganized as the Denver and Salt Lake in 1913, but track never was laid past Craig. To this day, old-timers refer to the route as the Moffat Road. Moffat's private car, "The Marcia," named after his daughter, remains on display in Craig.

In early years, the whole vicinity known as Mount Harris had three major mines.

COAL MINES OPENED

First opened and largest of the three was the Colorado-Utah Coal Company, also called the Harris Mine. This mine employed more than 300 men and was operated from June 12, 1914, to Jan. 31, 1958.

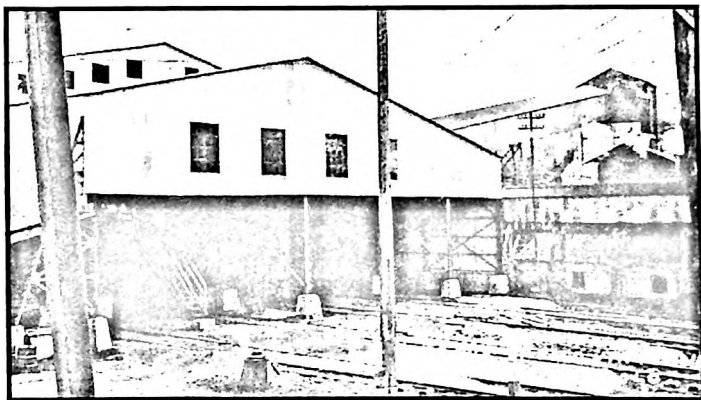
In 1916, the Victor American

Fuel Company, owned by John Osgood of Redstone fame, opened the second mine in the area. This was two years after the town of Mount Harris was founded. The camp and tippie (a structure where loading or unloading occurs) north of the town and US 40 was located on the James Wadge homestead. Because the tunnel was across the river from the Harris tunnel, coal was moved over a long wooden trestle crossing the highway to the railroad tracks. In the 1920s, the company tunneled under Gibraltar Rock west of the tippie. This mine also was known as the Wadge Mine. Homes in the Victor American Camp were so close to Mount Harris that it gave the appearance of one town. While most miners used Mount Harris facilities, the Victor American camp had its own company store, boardinghouse, and bathhouse for employees.

The Pinnacle-Kemmer Company, the third and smallest mine,

imported men from Wyoming to work its mine east of the Wadge. The P-K Mine, which never was successful, was closed in 1940.

The first mines in Routt Country were underground and employed a tunnel--usually on a steep grade with a pitch that could be as high as 14 percent. Two lesser mines in the general area, the Haybro and the McGregor, used a vertical shaft to reach the coal beds. Once the beds were accessible, two methods of mining were employed. The room-and-pillars method was the more common and required using picks and shovels to create a large room--the roof of which was supported by pillars of coal--where digging could occur. While probably the safer method, it required skilled miners. The other technique, known as the "longwall," exposed a length of the coal vein, leaving room to pick up the coal before again moving against the bed. Although this required less-skilled labor,



Erma D. Morison Collection

TIPPIE OF THE COLORADO-UTAH COAL COMPANY, THE FIRST AND LARGEST OF THE THREE MAJOR COAL MINES IN MOUNT HARRIS.

the process was more dangerous because the longwall of the tunnel was more apt to collapse on the miners.

BLACK POWDER OUTLAWED

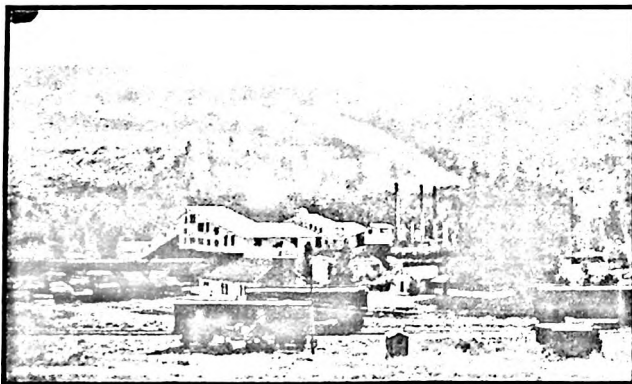
To eliminate the need for expensive cutting machinery, miners used black powder to "shoot the bed." This process broke up and freed the coal but increased the risk because it produced highly combustible flames and fumes. After black powder was outlawed in the 1950s, mines were forced to use permissible explosives.

Techniques of moving coal also changed. Conventional mines used cutting and rocker machines which were powered by steam and compressed air in the 1920s. They were converted to electricity in the 1930s. After the coal was loaded into cars, it was removed from the mine by as many as eight mules or a steam hoist and dumped into a tippie. Conveyor belts were used to transport the coal to

the tippie. When the tippie was lower than the mine, it could be fed by gravity. The tippie contained a series of screens which sized and separated the coal into lump, nut, stoker, or fine slack.

Mount Harris coal was considered to be an excellent grade of coal and was in high demand. Both my father and oldest brother worked for a time at the Harris tippie. An interesting note is that Mount Harris coal was in such demand that a "Mount Harris" sticker was attached to each of the larger lumps. The local boys and girls were hired to apply these stickers with a glue that tasted like syrup. It is said that some lumps were overlooked but that others might have up to 10 stickers!

Miners tried to work as many hours as possible because time was a source of their pay. There was no guarantee of an eight-hour day. Each miner was assigned a number, and



Erma D. Morison Collection

A VIEW OF MINING ACTIVITY WITH RAILROAD CARS FROM THE DENVER AND SALT LAKE RAILROAD IN THE FOREGROUND.

numbers were posted daily in the pool hall. A miner worked if his number was on the board. This system gave the company complete control as to who worked and how much they might earn. To survive and put food on the table, each miner had to be on the good side of his supervisor. In addition to his regular work, my father did odd jobs such as charging the batteries for the miners' headlamps and doing some night watchman work.

GROWTH OF UNION

During the 1930s, most miners were Democrats, so they voted for President Franklin D. Roosevelt. All the miners were affiliated with the United Mine Workers. This union worked not only for higher wages but also for hospitalization benefits and better working conditions in the mines. Before the union became so powerful, in 1932, the miners were working 10-12 hours a day for less than \$3. At the time, few miners foresaw that as the union increased in power, there would be a gradual financial toll on the mine owners. Within a few years, coal mines all over the country would begin shutting down.

Wages in 1937 for underground work was \$5.65 per day. This wage was for specialized positions. General miners received \$5.10 per day. Workers outside the mine (like my father, George M. Reary) received \$4.10. The shifts were all eight hours.

In 1938, members of my family obtained work at Mount Harris. We were then able to move into one of the company houses. When my dad worked

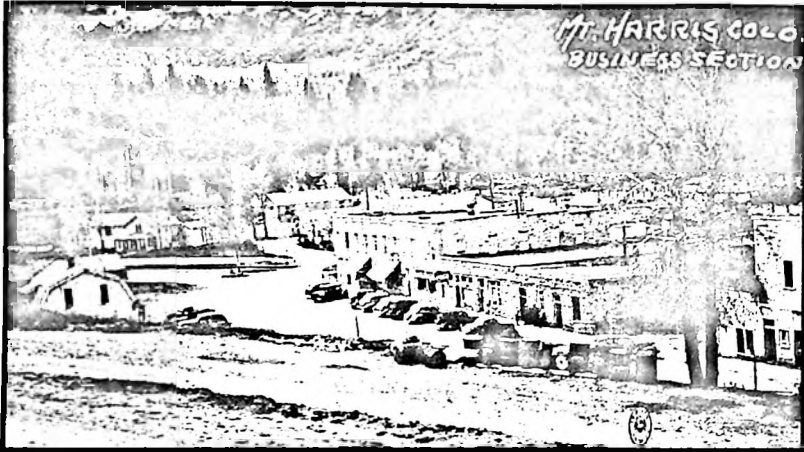
as a night watchman, he wore a large clock on a strap over his shoulder. With this clock and a key he was able to record every building that he visited during the night. These buildings involved not only the mine and tippie but also the company store, theater, blacksmith shop, shower house, and pool hall. He checked each building every two hours all night.

The town was laid out in three sections, each containing four long rows of houses fronting on sidewalks. Most homes were painted white with gray trim and had spacious yards. Electricity was furnished by a company-owned generating plant, and water was free. Barns along the river were provided for families who wished to keep milk cows and raise chickens or geese. Because the company gave free movie tickets to local children for cleaning the sidewalks, the town was exceptionally tidy.

By 1920, Mount Harris not only was the largest town in the county, with 1,295 residents, 46 more than Steamboat Springs, but boasted an outdoor bandstand.

THE BASICS OF HOUSING

The majority of homes in Mount Harris were built around 1918 and had little or no insulation between the walls. The homes also were not modern, so everyone had to use out-houses. Each house had four rooms: Two bedrooms, a kitchen, and a living room. Because there were seven in our family, the front porch was enclosed; that provided another bedroom. Each room had one light hanging from the



Erma D. Morison Collection

THE BUSINESS SECTION OF MOUNT HARRIS BOASTED SANDSTONE BUILDINGS AND INCLUDED A HOTEL, FIRE DEPARTMENT, THEATER, DRUGSTORE, POOL HALL, COMPANY STORE, BARBER SHOP, POST OFFICE, AND A TWO-TIER GAS STATION.

center of the ceiling. There was a coal burning stove in the kitchen and one in the living room. The first person up in the morning took care of the stoves. The cost of coal for the house was about \$15 dollars a load. A load lasted about two months. Home rental costs were \$6-\$7 a month. Rooms in the boarding house cost \$3-4 a month for single men. Most men at Mount Harris used the company shower house. Wire baskets were available to place clothes in while bathing. Miners left their dirty work clothes at the shower house and wore their street clothes home. My older brother reminded me that miners wore long underwear every day, including summertime, because it was so cold deep in the mine.

My brother-in-law, Karl Roth, worked at the company store and used the shower house. Women and children bathed at home using an old tin tub in

front of the oven door in the kitchen. Water was heated on the stove and, when the bath was finished, the tub was emptied into the backyard or alley, depending on the amount of snow or how cold it was.

Few miners' wives had washing machines, so most laundry, including that of miners' heavy, dirty work clothes, had to be washed on a scrub board. In the winter, the clothes were freeze-dried outside on clotheslines and then ironed with heavy hand irons. Often the clothes had to be rewashed if the power plant operator blew the stacks and soot settled over the valley.

WINTERS WERE BLEAK

Life in a coal mining camp could be a struggle for survival, especially during hard times. Life also could be cruel, with the mines taking the lives of the men or maiming them.

During winter, the camps often were bleak and dirty from coal dust and soot from the power plant.

The downtown area was built of sandstone buildings which housed the Harris Mine office, company store, drugstore, pool hall, barbershop, and post office. Each office had its own doorway. There was also a community church. On the main street was the Colburn Hotel, two doctors' offices, a fire department, and the Liberty Theater. A unique, two-level gas station serviced US 40 automobiles on the top level and local residents from the lower level. Price of gas in those days was 25 cents per gallon. Because there was no high school at Mount Harris, school superintendent Sam Barbiero drove students in a bus to Hayden each day. The elementary school in town had eight rooms, one room for each of the eight grades. There was also a large gymnasium with bleachers and a stage.

The company store where my sister worked only accepted cash and company trade tokens or scrip, as they were called. The tokens or scrip could be drawn against one's wages before payday. The Mount Harris company store had a great reputation throughout the area for low prices. This was unique among company stores. Miners could purchase \$27 worth of store scrip which had the buying power of \$30. Some businesses in Hayden, such as the liquor store, also accepted the tokens and used them to purchase items in the company store. There were paper "dollar" scrip and "coin" scrip. Miners could receive all or any part of their pay this way.

The grocery store provided anything anyone would want: Food, clothing, hardware, and dishes. One special offering was the big barrel of juicy, delicious, dill pickles at a cost of only five cents. Next door at the drugstore, the penny candy was displayed in a glass-fronted case. Supplies for the store came in by train. Produce from Denver came by truck weekly. There were also three bread trucks each week.

Winters were cold with lots of snow. Some temperatures got to 40 below; minus 20 was more common. If the sun was out, the temperature would rise to 20 during the day. Even though the temperatures might be low, residents never missed a Saturday night dance. Most often the dance was held in someone's home. Furniture from one bedroom and the living room was removed. Local musicians provided the music. On several holidays, such as Labor Day, dances were held in the theater building. In addition to dances, there was other entertainment. And, sports were important in the lives of the residents. Baseball was a favorite, and there was a baseball diamond in town. Football also was popular with the young people. Sledding and skiing on old pine boards was great fun. Ice skating was good when the river was frozen and the snow scraped off.

The Mount Harris store had a big ice house south of the building which the men filled with ice from the frozen river and packed with sawdust. The ice stayed frozen throughout the summer and even was used to make ice cream.

The medical doctors in town

were Dr. Whittaker and Dr. Sloan. Dr. Sloan took care of my mother and me when I was born. Later, Dr. Price replaced Dr. Whittaker when he retired. Dr. Sloan lived in Hayden, and Doctor Price, the company doctor, lived at Mount Harris.

Just after the Harris Mine began to produce coal, World War I broke out. The demand for fuel energy to produce the goods of war gave Harris Coal Company a good start. Later, the Harris Coal Company changed its name to Colorado Utah Coal Company. Much later it was named the Colorado, Wyoming Coal Company.

MINING DISASTER KILLED 34

At 10 p.m. the night of Jan. 27, 1942, one of the worst mine disasters in Colorado history occurred in the Victor American Mine at Mount Harris. Thirty-eight miners of the night shift had descended down the 10 percent slope to work the mine. When they

reached Room 13, the 13th working area from the surface and 3,000 feet inside the mountain, four men stopped to clean up some loose coal. The other 34 continued to work areas in rooms 16 through 20. The entry to rooms 19 and 20 was 5,500 feet, or more than a mile from the outside. Accounts vary as to what happened next, but there was a report made earlier in the day that an accumulation of fire damp (methane gas) had accumulated at the entry to area 19 and needed to be vented away. (A combination of methane gas and oxygen, called fire damp, is highly explosive and is a general cause of most mine explosions. When the explosion occurs, all the oxygen is consumed, and there is no air to breath. This is called black damp.)

So it was at 10 p.m. that night when somehow or another, a spark, perhaps from the electric mine trolley, ignited a giant explosion and sent the miners to their deaths. The men closest



Erma D. Morison Collection

RESIDENTIAL SECTION OF MOUNT HARRIS PROVIDED HOUSING FOR THE MINERS AND THEIR FAMILIES, ALONG WITH THE TOWN'S RESIDENTS.

to the combustion were burned beyond recognition, while others were killed by the black damp. Because the explosion occurred so far inside the mountains, there was no sound of the disaster at the surface.

The four men, Bill Fickle, Elmer Everson, Joe Gall, and Mike Atanroof, who stopped at Room 13, found that for them, 13 was a lucky number. They escaped the blast and were able to bring the news of the disaster to the outside world. Radio messages were broadcast all around the country concerning the mine accident at Mount Harris. The first man to enter the tunnel after the blast found coal cars overturned and machinery twisted. Coal and rock were loose everywhere in the deepest parts of the mine. There was no sign of life in the area. All 34 men beyond the Fourteen North entry were killed.

Powerful blowers were put to work to force fresh air into the main tunnel and draw off the black damp. With fans in operation, rescue party members wearing helmets began to work their way deep into the mine. Twenty-four of the thirty-four victims were married. One of the victims, Philip Gonzales, Sr. of Mount Harris, was the father of eight children.

The Victor American mine always had been considered quite safe, and a report made by Finlay McCallum, deputy state coal mine inspector, said ventilation in the mine appeared to be good that day and working conditions were satisfactory.

Officials were doing everything possible for the victims' families. A

check for \$25 for immediate expenses was given to each widow. Later, a telegram was sent from John L. Lewis, president of the U.M.W.U., with his condolences, and he arranged for a cash contribution of \$3,400 which was divided among the victims' families. Most of the dead were buried at Hayden because Mount Harris did not have a cemetery.

My older sister, Maudline, was working at the company store at Mount Harris at that time. She said the entire community was in shock. The Mount Harris opera hall, called the Liberty House, was used as a morgue. The bodies were placed on planks awaiting identification. She told my youngest brother, Eugene, 12, not to go into the hall. He looked up at her and said, "What would you do to me if I have already been inside?" Red Cross workers served coffee in the machine shop, at the mine entrance, to the rescue workers, and to the mourning kinfolk. As the number of bodies in the morgue grew, coroner Heyer and Ben Snyder, chief clerk at the mine, went from home to home of the mine victims. Relatives were asked to go to the hall to assist with identification. Flowers were sent to the Community Church. Because it was the middle of winter, the same flowers were used for each funeral.

BEGINNING OF A GHOST TOWN

In that one instant, 34 miners were killed, 43 children lost their fathers, 24 women lost their husbands and Mount Harris, Colo., took a giant step towards becoming a ghost town.

Several other events began to stoom for the town. Formation ceptance of the U.M.W.U. by the s meant contract wages were sed and "portal to portal" pay egun. That meant the worker's gan at the time he entered the even though he had a one- or one-half hour ride before getting to orking area. This additional pay ultimately drove up the price of Another event that occurred was ft from coal to diesel engines by roads. The mines sold "slack o the railroad. To offset the loss income, the price of lump coal n homes had to be increased. While, commercial buildings the nation began converting to l. It was much easier to use and ean-burning, with no ashes ng disposal. Natural gas pipe- also were being extended into residential areas for the heating es. The final blow came with the ing of strip mining operations. he mines were closed. Colorado quired that the mine shafts had to apsed and the entrances sealed. er law read that buildings on any of property were taxed whether ere lived in or not. It was to the age of the Colorado, Wyoming ompany to completely dismantle ove all the homes, stores, school, ner buildings at Mount Harris. ction was held May 20, 1958, and gs and mine equipment were other buildings were disas- d.

During 1995 and 1997, I met ghter and the twin sons of Elmer

Hindman, one of the 34 victims. They pointed out that Elmer, 40, was a surface mechanic who had never been below ground. He was sent into the mine that fateful day to repair a mechanical coal cutter and was working in Room 19 when the explosion occurred. Margaret Hindman Hurst, her husband Bob, and the twins, Ray and Roy, were of great assistance in the research of this paper. Their grandfather, Nathan Hindman, had come to the Yampa Valley with a wagon train and on horseback during the summer of 1886. He found employment with several ranches in the area. In 1888, Hindman lived in a log cabin, one of the first structures in what was later to be known as Mount Harris. He worked in the original Wadge Mine. Nathan retired from the mine in 1938 and died at Hayden in 1940.

In reading many newspaper articles from the *Hayden Valley Press*, I have truly enjoyed the "Stories about Mount Harris." I've read articles about the mine whistles that announced the break of day, the different work shifts, and the 7 p.m. blast from the Victor mine or the 8 p.m. blast from the Harris mine. There were stories about the eastbound train at 6 a.m. or the westbound at 5 p.m. The D&SL, or Denver and Salt Lake Railroad (corrupted to Dirty, Slow and Late) seldom was on time.

MOUNT HARRIS MEMORIAL

In the fall of 1941, the demand for coal was small, and the mine shut down for a while. Dad learned from the train depot agent that the Denver and

Salt Lake Railroad was hiring switchmen for the north yards in Denver. He drove over Rabbit Ears and Berthoud Passes to the city and was hired. As for the rest of my family, my mother, Lena Reary, and I soon joined Dad in Denver. My oldest brother P.A. Reary, left Mount Harris to join the Air Force. My oldest sister, Maudline, stayed behind to work and take care of my sister June so she could finish her senior year at Hayden High school. My brother Eugene also stayed through the school year. Upon graduation, June and Eugene joined my parents and me in Denver. Maudline later quit her job and traveled by train to Monterey, Calif., to marry Karl, who was stationed there in the Army. That terminated our family connection at Mount Harris.

On US 40 today there stands the Mount Harris Memorial plaque, where you can read about the history of the area and see the names of the men who died in the explosion. A beautiful, grassy pasture and the Yampa River continue to flow through the valley and the site of a ghost town named Mount Harris.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Linda Badillo, daughter. Preparation of computer manuscript.

My husband, Jack Morison, for advice and invaluable assistance.

VICTIMS OF THE MOUNT HARRIS MINE DISASTER

Here is a list of the 34 men who were killed in the disaster, a major factor in Mount Harris' becoming a Colorado ghost town. The following men all were residents of Mount Harris: Antonio Adame, 42; Pete Creton, 54; Bob Nance, 46; Joe Martinek, 55; Plutarco Adame, 45; Joe Ssertich, 50; Tim Trujillo, 26; Tom McKnight, 54; Harry Oliver, 55.

Also Adriam Vriezema, 21; Charles Vukoman, 49; Kenneth Hockman, 32; Harry Moore, 29; Philip Gonzales, 50; Max Buston, 65; H.H. Hartman, 47; Jack Gasparich, 42; George Searles, 40; and H.T. Been, 37.

Harrison Ward, 44, Leo Beckk, 42, and Arthur Van Cleve, 34, were residents of Steamboat Springs, Colo. Ralph Cable, 30, Ross Cable, 35, Raymond Cable, 38, and Elmer Hindman, 40, were from Hayden, Colo. Joe Goodrich, 40, Don Ford, 25, Raymond Pope, 21, Charles Baker, 37, and Frank Shepherd, 33, were from Craig, Colo.



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PHOTO TAKEN IN WINTER OF 1938-39
OF AUTHOR'S FAMILY IN MOUNT
HARRIS. AUTHOR ERMA D. MORISON IS
SEATED IN SMALL CHAIR IN FRONT OF
GROUP.



Over the Corral Rail

THANKS TO THE STEWARTS

A tip of the Stetson to Posse member Alan Stewart, who's taking off his green eyeshade and duties as editor of *Roundup* since January 1991. And a bouquet of Colorado wildflowers to Corresponding member Elinor Stewart, Alan's wife, who helped in the production of some 37 issues of the magazine.

The Stewarts are relocating from their Broomfield home to Sierra Vista in Arizona.

Picking up the Publications responsibilities are two Corresponding members, Joan White, who will edit *Roundup*, and Jim Krebs, who will handle layout and production.

Both Joan and Jim welcome suggestions and ideas from members of Denver Westerners and will try to follow the well-marked and superbly edited trail left by the Stewart clan.

BRAND BOOK NEWS

A book described by a Denver Post reviewer as one that "stands tall"—the Denver Westerners' *Golden Anniversary Brand Book 1995*—is being made available to members at a reduced cost, \$40. The *Brand Book 1995* is a collection of papers presented before the Denver Posse of the Westerners from 1975 to 1994. Edited by former *Denver Post* staffers Alan J. Stewart and Lee D. Olson, both members of the Denver Westerners, the book features 25 chapters of western history. The book originally was priced at \$50.

Speaking of the *Brand Books*, Corresponding member Dr. Ben H. Mayer Jr., has a complete set of *Brand Books* for sale. Mayer says the books are in good condition. Inquiries to Mayer at (303) 237-1585 (telephone) or by mail, 49 Hillside Drive, Denver, CO. 80215.

UPCOMING POSSES

Deputy Sheriff and Program Chairman Max Smith has announced some terrific and wide-ranging programs for upcoming Posses. On March 26, Posse member John Hutchins will present, "Captain, There is Going to be a Fight"—the Battle at Milk Creek and the Ute War of 1879." Lyle Miller will talk about "Mile High Motor Courts" on April 23. And on May 28, Clark Secrest will discuss his new book, *Hell's Belles, An Account of Denver's Brides of the Multitudes*.

NEW MEMBERS WELCOME

With membership at about 225, the Denver Westerners welcomes new members to the group and urges members to let their friends know about the benefits of being a member of the organization. As always, guests are welcome at the monthly Posse meetings. Bringing a guest is a good way to familiarize an individual with the unique camaraderie and curiosity about everything Western of the Denver Westerners.

TWO NEW MEMBERS

The Denver Westerners welcomes two new members. William Hummer of Littleton is an active horseman in Colorado and enjoys trail rides in the back country to historic sites. He is especially interested in ghost towns and horses in western history. Also new to the Westerners is Earl Casteel of Alamosa, Colo.

MEMBERS' PASSING

Carl E. C. Carlson, longtime director of operations for the Denver Water Board, died recently at age 76. He was deeply interested in history and trains and was president of the Rocky Mountain Railroad Club and a member of the National Railway Historical Society, the Ghost Town Club, and The Westerners. He was elected to the Posse in 1992.

Carlson's roles in these organizations varied from trip leader to researcher and presenter of numerous shows on the history of the West and railroads.

Carlson was born in Denver in 1920 to Swedish immigrant parents, attended Denver schools and started college at La Junta Junior College. He interrupted his college education to join the Army Air Corps and was stationed in England, from where he flew missions in a B-26 as a bombardier/navigator. Carlson earned a degree in metallurgical engineering from the Colorado School of Mines and joined the Denver Water Board in 1949, retiring in 1986.

He surveyed the 23-mile Roberts Tunnel and, as operations director, saw modernization and growth of the Water Board, including the construction of Dillon Dam and Foothills Water Treatment Plant, plus completion of the Roberts Tunnel.

Carlson is survived by a son and three grandchildren.

Warren K. Young, Corresponding member of the Denver Westerners, died recently at age 92. Young was a former controller of *The Denver Post*.

Young was born in 1904 in Oakland, Neb., and was controller at *The Post* 23 years. He also worked at Denver National Bank. He married Dorothy Hesbacher in 1946.

In addition to the Denver Westerners, Young was a member of several community associations and committees including the Denver Lions Club, Colorado Bar Association, and a board member of the Denver Center for the Performing Arts.



Westerners Bookshelf

Reviews published in The Roundup are largely related to nonfiction books submitted by publishers to the Denver Westerners. However, all members are urged to review any books related to Western history which they would like to recommend, current or otherwise. In this way, Roundup readers may learn about works relating to their areas of particular interest which might otherwise escape their notice. It is hoped this section will be a widening source of information on all aspects of the history of the west. The Editors.

The Black Hills Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, edited by Wayne R. Kime. Univ. of Okla. Press, Norman, 1996. 274 pages, photograph (of Dodge), maps, index, bibliography, dust jacket. Hardback, \$29.95.

One must avoid confusion in discussing this interesting book. First, it is about the Black Hills expedition of 1875, not the more famous one in 1874 involving Custer and the 7th Cavalry. Second, this is the Dodge who wrote several books concerning what he knew of the West and of "wild Indians," not the Gen. Grenville Dodge who wrote of his experiences in the Civil War, the Indian wars, and in building the Union Pacific. Third, the professor/editor here is an instructor at a West Virginia college, not De B. Randolph Keim who wrote *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders: A Winter Campaign on the Plains*.

Having dealt with these possible misconceptions, I must point out that this is a worthwhile book. Colonel Dodge wrote voluminous notes during this expedition, the purpose of which was to confirm or deny Custer's reports of Black Hills gold. (Gold, at least in limited quantities, was confirmed).

While this expedition was a tour of discovery and not a military operation, the journals highlight all the difficulties of getting a group of persons from one place to another, of completing assigned missions, and of doing all this without any members committing mayhem upon each other.

Thus, there are problems with recalcitrant civilians and "shamming" military men, of alleged theft of mail, and of supply problems.

Conversely (although "Calamity



male endeavor also had its share of fishing, hunting, and prospecting.

Students of the West will recognize in this book many names from history, such as Gen. George Crook, "California Joe" Milner, Valentine McGillycuddy, John Bourke, and (Merrill Mattes' own) Andrew Burt. Because not all these folks are portrayed always favorably by the ever-active pen of Dodge, it is fortunate that many left their own writings behind for, perhaps, more fair judgment.

If any armchair historians want to know what it is like to be out in the field, this book is a must. If any old soldiers want to be reminded why retirement and a permanent rocking chair in front of a cottage isn't so bad, this also is the appropriate book. It is highly recommended for the serious student.

—John M. Hutchins, P.M.

Covered Wagon Women—Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1851, Vol. 3, edited and compiled by Kenneth L. Holmes, introduced by Susan Armitage. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, and London, 1996. Four women portraits and index. 283 pages, paperback, \$13.

This volume is reprinted from Volume 3 (1984) of the original 11-volume edition, titled, *Covered Wagon Women and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890*, published by Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif. (See review of Volume 1, 1840-1859 by Nancy Bathke, pp. 20-21, July-August 1996 *Roundup*; also see review of 1850 Volume 2 by Marilyn (Lynn) Stull, pp. 19-20, November-December 1996 *Roundup*.)

The reasons for venturing to California in 1851 were different from those stated in the preceding volumes. Approximately 7,000 people found 1851 a good year to travel for the following reasons: A decreased chance of contaminated water; the trail was clearly marked by wagon ruts; guidebooks were available and reliable; there were increased numbers of trading posts and ferries, and the Mormon settlement of Salt Lake City had occurred.

Seven diaries are contained in this volume, with the writers identified by age and social class and arranged in chronological order from the date the women crossed the Missouri River.

Susan Armitage's introduction to each diarist is tantalizing. Each woman



engaged me mentally throughout her daily travel. In reading this book, I actually shared experiences and became a silent companion.

Most diaries were written on three-by-five paper, which is not enough space for literary composition. The married women did not mention their husbands and infrequently wrote about their children. Writing time was limited; it was impossible to write in a moving wagon. The seven diarists rarely mention routine tasks such as cooking, cleaning, or child-tending.

Examples of the diarists' entries:

Harriet Talcott Buckingham, 19, unmarried. Traveled with family. Some responsibilities. Wrote another diary years later, perhaps adding events not mentioned in first diary. Traveled in comfort; her uncle was a skilled leader.

Amelia Hadley, 26, honeymoon. Traveled with horses, making journey two months earlier than others using oxen. Brags about enjoyment of travel, good health, but approaching last encampment states, "This is the end of a long and tedious journey."

Susan Cranston, 22, married, childless, Christian. Resented traveling on Sundays. Obsessive grave counter.

Lucia Loraine Williams, 35, suffered death of child. Accounts reflect this loss.

Elizabeth Wood, 23, unmarried. Traveled with others not her kin. Describes a miserable trip.

Eugenia Zieber, 19, unmarried. Traveled with family. Cheerful accounts; wished to observe Sabbath.

Jean Rio Baker, 41, English Mormon widow. Suffered loss of child. Accounts reflect this loss. Her diary was most unusual because she journeyed from England to New Orleans, to a river steamer and up the Mississippi, to eastern Iowa, by prairie schooner across Iowa and over the Plains to Salt Lake City.

This volume of diaries is too realistic for men to enjoy, understand, or digest.

—Pat Quade, P.M.

Andele: The Mexican-Kiowa Captive: A story of Real Life Among the Indians by J. J. Methvin (Introduction by James F. Brooks). Univ. of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1996. Photographs, map, endnotes to introduction. 133 pages. Paperback, \$16.95.

As is often the case, this reprinting came just a little late for this reviewer, because he'd purchased a copy of the first edition of 1899 about six months before this edition was reissued. Because that old volume cost more than \$100, collectors and historians should appreciate this new edition, which is considerably cheaper. Also, although not noted in the new edition, it has a supplementary

chapter not found in the 1899 edition.

This book was one of the many "captivity" books written by former prisoners of the Indians or by interviewers interested in the redeemed captives. In this case, Methodist minister Methvin was Andele's Boswell. Thus, the book not only deals with the kidnapping of Andele (real name, Andres Martinez) in New Mexico by Apaches and his subsequent adoption by the Kiowas, but it also has a healthy dose of Christian proselytizing. While this religious aspect is treated with some skepticism by professor Brooks in his introduction, anyone familiar with Jason Betzinez' memoirs, *I Fought with Geronimo*, would recognize that some Indians did appreciate Christian salvation.

While the present edition apparently was published in the interests of anthropology, this reviewer believes that the volume, with all its shortcomings regarding dates and chronology, provides some important insight into the Kiowa side of the Red River War of 1874. When read in conjunction with *Lawrie Tatum's Our Red Brothers and Colonel Nye's Carbine and Lance*, this book has a few tidbits that can be corroborated and are worth discovering by those interested in the Indian wars.

As a result, this book is recommended. Also, professor Brooks (an "ethno-historian") has done a good job in discovering a few additional details about Andele, being more interested in the anthropology aspect. But, he does not note all the incorrect dates in the narrative.

—John M. Hutchins, P.M.

Legacy, New Perspectives on The Battle of the Little Big Horn, edited by Charles E. Rankin. Montana Historical Society Press, Helena. 319 pages. Paperback, \$19.95.

There have been volumes written regarding The Battle of the Little Big Horn. Indeed, it doesn't seem that there ever will be an end to them. In essence, this work is a compilation of the proceedings of the Little Bighorn Legacy Symposium conducted in Billings, Montana Aug. 3-6, 1994.

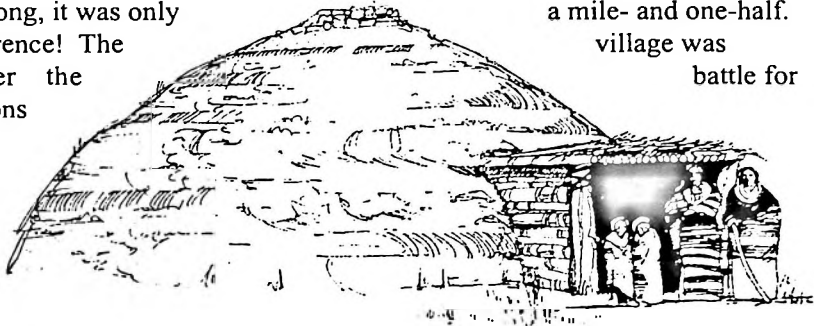
Legacy is divided into three parts: 1) The Context; 2) The Battle, and 3) The Myth. The authors included Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., Joseph C. Porter, Jerome A. Greene, Richard A. Fox, Jr., Paul L. Hedren, Brian W. Dippie, and Paul A. Hutton, to name a few of the most notable.

One author claims that a full century before the arrival of the White Hide Hunters, the Northern Plains Buffalo was depleted by 25 percent due to disease, long-term oscillation of climate such as drought, and the killing of prime breeding cows. In other words, the Indians themselves did not practice conservation and therefore contributed to the demise of the buffalo culture existence. Not only did the decimation of the buffalo doom the Plains Indians, but tribal fighting among them as well as with the advancing white population caused the Indians' eventual

downfall. Also contributing was their assistance of the U.S. Army in combating tribal enemies.

Author Greene, concentrating on the Great Sioux War of 1876, maintains that historians have been distracted by the Little Big Horn Battle and that not enough has been written about the rest of the campaign. John D. McDermott discusses why the Little Big Horn battle happened and why it is remembered. Joseph M. Marshall III gives three reasons why the Lakota won the battle: 1) The invading force did not know the size of the encampment; 2) the invading force was not prepared for intense combat because of an exhausting forced march prior to the battle, and 3) the stakes were much higher for the defenders protecting their families and property.

A very interesting chapter is a discussion by Richard A. Fox, Jr., on the size of the encampment. He more or less proves that there were two village sites: One before the battle and one after. This subject has led historians astray as to the size and population of the Lakota camp. Instead of a village three miles long, it was only a mile- and one-half. A big difference! The village was moved after the battle for several reasons including the need for a pasture for the huge pony herd and the stench of death in the hot sun at the old site.



Another chapter discusses use of metal detectors in archaeology pertaining to the discovery of battle artifacts. The chapter is rather dull, but does present some useful information.

Paul Hedron's chapter, entitled "Holy Ground," gives the chronological history of the battlefield since that June day in 1876, a subject not too well-known and which is very interesting.

Perhaps the highlight of the entire volume is Brian Dippie's "What Valor Is," which covered the paintings, the artists, and the myths surrounding "Custer's Last Stand."

Included is a 24-page pictorial section, many in color, of Last Stand paintings, movie stills, and posters. Dippie does an excellent job of describing these and the myth that was generated.

Paul Andrew Hutton continues the discussion of "When Legend Becomes Fact, Print the Legend."

The remaining two chapters cover contemporary issues regarding the

battlefield, including its name change from "Custer Battlefield" to "Little Big Horn Battlefield" and the reason. In one of these chapters, the author states that "the Last Stand culminated the Great Sioux War." This reviewer thinks that other battles followed and that the word should have been "climaxed" instead of "culminated."

Overall, this volume is different and should be of tremendous interest to those who fight the battle of the Little Big Horn over and over. This reviewer was surprised to find the book somewhat refreshing and entertaining.

—Richard A. Cook, P.M.

Army Wives on the American Frontier: Living by the Bugles by Anne Bruner Eales. Johnson Press, 1996. 210 pages, 40 black-and-white photos. Paperback, \$16.95.

This book, taken from diaries, newspaper clippings, and correspondence, describes the experiences of 50 military wives, most of whom were married to officers. The period of time covered is from 1865 to 1898, the end of the Civil War to the Spanish American War.

At least one excessively organized Army colonel gave his bride these guidelines:

1. You will see that meals are served on time.
2. You will not come to the table in a wrapper (robe).
3. You will smile at breakfast.
4. If possible, you will serve meat four times a week.
5. You will not move the furniture without my permission.
6. You will present the household accounts to me by the fifth of each month.
7. You will examine my uniforms every Tuesday and, if they need repair, you will take the necessary action.
8. You will do no work in the evenings. You will entertain me.
9. You will not touch my desk.
10. You will remember you are not in command of anything except the cook.

Most women today would rebel at these rules.

One family moved eight times in six months. They moved from Ft. Union N.M., to Ft. Smith, Ark. When the family arrived at Ft. Smith, they were ordered the next day to Ft. Stevens in Colorado. Two weeks later, they were sent to Ft. Garland, arriving Oct. 11. On Oct. 26, they were sent back to Ft. Union, arriving Nov. 6, and received orders relocating them to Ft. Bascom, N.M. In February, they were relocated to Ft. Union.

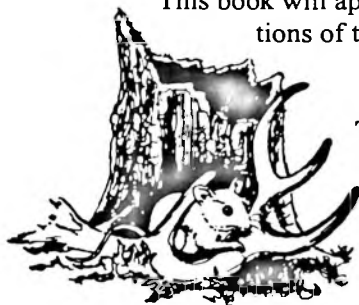
Ft. Phil Kearney was a dangerous place to be assigned. The commanding officer's wife wrote sarcastically that when a woman observed "men shot within

30 yards of the date and saw five wagon loads of bodies, she acquires, somehow, whether by instinct or observation, an idea that Indians will fight, and sometimes do become quite dangerous.”

Many officers' wives had no experience with or knowledge of the physical drudgery of cooking, cleaning, taking care of children, and so on. Many were raised in homes where servants did all this. Some families hired Chinese servants. One of the greatest difficulties faced by officers' wives with male servants was the issue of authority. Mattie Gilbert was so successful with this issue that her Chinese cook left a note for his replacement that read, "Mrs. Gilbert heep (sic) good woman, good job, but you watchee out Mrs. Gilbert keep spunky, she punchee head with stick of wood."

This book will appeal to today's woman because of the contributions of these women to American history.

—Lynn Stull, C.M.



Talking to the Ground by Douglas Preston.
University of New Mexico Press, 1996. Half-tones, maps. 284 pages. Paperback, \$18.95.

Douglas Preston and his fiancée, Christine, were browsing in a bookstore and came across the book, *Dine Bahane, The Navajo Creation Story* by Paul Zolbrod, which was based on Washington Matthews' original text. Zolbrod understood that the Navajo people still believed in this creation story and, as a result, was able to collect many unknown portions of the story as well as restore passages that Matthews had omitted for reasons of Victorian propriety.

Preston spent several months mapping the Navajo creation story as no one had before from the many sources available. Christine became fascinated by the possibilities in this creation map and said, "We ought to go to some of these places. This could be your next trip."

Since coming West, Preston had taken an annual long, difficult horseback journey across southwestern deserts, traveling with only what could be packed on the back of a horse. After considerable urging, Christine convinced Preston that she and her 9-year-old daughter, Selene, should accompany him on the trip.

Following the map, they leave on a 400-mile journey on horseback in the spring of 1992, retracing the steps of "Monster Slayer" across the sacred land of the Navajo. The book details their adventure and is mixed with Navajo legends and mysticism. The three travel through Chaco Canyon, Monument Valley, Canyon de Chelly, and across the Lukachukai Mountains.

A highlight of the trip is seeing the Lost City of the Lukachukais, located in a canyon about 700 feet deep and wedged into rock about 150 feet from the

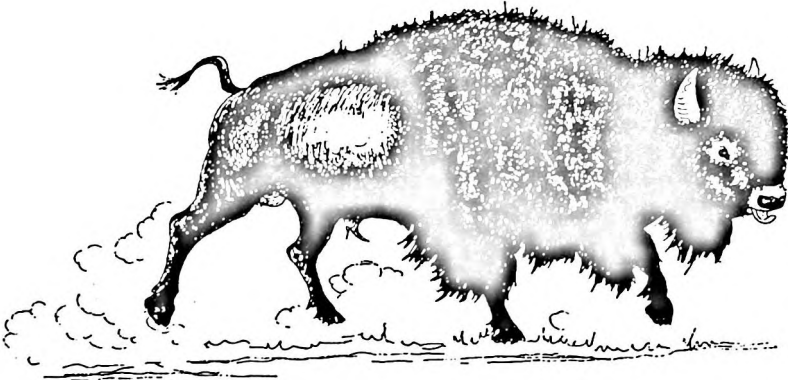
canyon floor. The city once had been nearly as big as Mesa Verde, but the roof had fallen in, destroying most of it. It now is completely inaccessible from either above or below.

This ruin first was seen by white men around the turn of the century. Two missionaries riding across the Lukachukai Mountains spotted in the distance "a beautiful, silent ruin half-hidden in the deep shadows of an arched recess." The ruin appeared more perfect and lovely than Mesa Verde.

Most chapters in this book are illustrated either with petroglyphs or landmarks such as Shiprock.

I highly recommend this book if you are interested in Southwest cultures.

—Lynn Stull, C.M.





The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

MAY-JUNE 1997



Mile High Motor Courts

by

Lyle Miller, C.M.

About the Author

Corresponding Member Lyle Miller's paper, "Mile High Motor Courts," was presented to the Denver Westerners April 23, 1997.

Lyle is a second-generation Colorado native who was born on Colorado Day, Aug. 1. Since 1992, he has been employed by the Colorado Historical Society. He's currently in the office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. Lyle has an associate of arts degree from Red Rocks Community College and has taken other courses from the University of Colorado and Northwest Nazarene. He is a collector and dealer in kerosene lamps.

Lyle has had articles published in the *Colorado History News* and *Mountain States Collector*. He is a member of Aladdin Knights (kerosene lamp collectors), the National Trust Historic Preservation, the Society for Commercial Archaeology, Lakewood Historic Society, and the Denver Westerners, since about 1994.

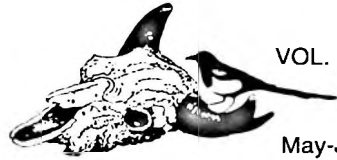
Lyle lives in Lakewood and shares his house with a 90-pound golden retriever mix and a 7-pound Siamese mix cat.

Westerners' Program Dates

Mark your calendars for the 1997 remaining Denver Posse of the Westerners meeting dates. Except for the Annual Posse meeting and the Summer and Christmas Rendezvous, all meetings will be at the Executive Tower Inn.

Regular meetings: Sept. 24, Oct. 22, Nov. 26. July—annual Posse meeting (date and location to be announced). Aug. 23—Summer Rendezvous, Littleton Historical Museum, barbecue and tour of the 1860 and 1890 farms and the main building. On Sept. 24, Philip Deloria, a Lakota, will be the presenter, topic to be announced. Oct. 22, Posse members Nancy and Ed Bathke will present, "Clinton H. Scott—Railroad Surgeon." On Dec. 17, the Christmas Rendezvous will be at the Wyndham Garden Hotel, 1475 S. Colorado Blvd.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP



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May-June 1997

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Mile High Motor Courts

by

Lyle Miller, C.M.

(Presented April 23, 1997)

Touring—going somewhere for the fun of it—was a concept that began to take hold in Colorado and the West as the railroad opened up more areas to travel. What once was an arduous, three-month journey by stagecoach was reduced to a three-day adventure by rail.

Many early tourists sought lodging in towns, possibly staying in hotels near the train depot. Outlying hotels and resorts provided stage-coaches and wagons to shuttle travelers to their facilities. After the turn of the century and the introduction of the automobile, many hotels maintained a fleet of these “new-fangled” contraptions to transport clients more efficiently.

But, it was the private automobile that revolutionized the manner in which tourists would travel. When less-expensive, mass-produced automobiles came along, even a man of modest means could purchase a car on time payments (a new concept at the time), fill up the tank with gas and set off to places only dreamed of previously.

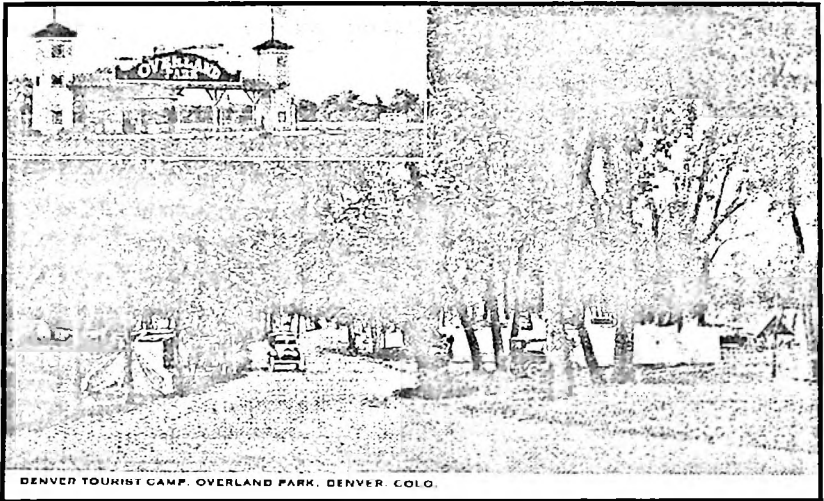
Also, the personal automobile offered a freedom not found in other forms of travel. No longer confined to a pre-determined route on

a pre-arranged schedule, a tourist was able to exercise choices in destination. On a whim and with a turn of the wheel, an inviting road could be explored. Or, a traveler could just as easily sit along the side of the road, take in the view, breathe in the fresh air and savor the moment.

Camping Out Common

Throughout history, the setting sun has been a signal to travelers that consideration should be given to the matter of where to spend the night. This signal held true for the early auto tourist as well. As if just plain fatigue from hours of negotiating primitive road conditions was not enough reason to stop for the day, automobiles of the day had inadequate lighting devices for traveling after dark. With headlight brightness being a factor of engine speed, the slow pace required to safely travel unfamiliar roads resulted in a light too dim to illuminate any hazards waiting ahead.

In a city of any reasonable size, a tourist might choose to stay in one of the downtown hotels, perhaps one near the railroad depot that catered to the railroad customers of previous years. Many early automobile travelers, either out of economic



DENVER TOURIST CAMP, OVERLAND PARK, DENVER, COLO.

Opened in 1920 on 160 acres shared by the existing racetrack and previous exposition grounds, Overland Park was one of the premier camps in the country.

necessity or just plain spirit of adventure, chose to camp out on their excursions. A wide spot beside the road, a farmer's field, or the local school yard (the latter being favored for flat ground and rest facilities) provided ideal locations for stopping and setting up camp for the night.

The *Hobbs Tourist Guide* for 1922 offered this suggestion for the road outside Trinidad: "Mile 7.0 CAMPING in open space near Poplar trees," and this observation near Pueblo: "Mile 35.5 CAMPING near School." As one traveler explained, "Any place is a good tourist camp what has water and no no-trespassing signs."

Auto camping spawned many innovative products, such as folding tables and chairs, car-beds, cookstoves and thermos bottles. With a tent at-

tached to the car, folding furniture assembled and a campfire started, home was where the car stopped rolling.

Not all tourists were considerate of "Farmer Brown's" field, though. Some "tin can tourists," so-called because of the stock of can goods stored on makeshift, running-board-mounted closets, left their empty cans and other debris behind. They also trampled crops. Many well-traveled roads were marked as much by trails of litter as by road signs. School yards and other favorite camping spots became off limits to campers.

City Auto Camps

To help control where tourists stayed, many cities and towns set

up municipal auto camps. Some municipalities considered tourists a nuisance and confined them to the edge of town. Others towns and cities welcomed tourists and encouraged them to stay a day or two in hopes that some of their money might be released into the local economy. Where in previous years the railroad station was a visitor's first impression of town, the auto camp now assumed this role and became a source of civic pride.

As early as 1914, Denver allowed tourists to camp in City Park, where park employees would direct the travelers to the proper locations. In 1915, a more formal auto camp was established, arranged in lots, with water pipes and an electric light system. When this location became too small, the city in 1918 set aside the 60-acre Rocky Mountain Lake Park in northwest Denver for exclusive use as an auto camp. Dubbed "Motor City," 236 lots were laid out. Each lot could be reserved by permit for one week, free of charge. Services included electric lights, hydrant water, mail delivery and street sprinkling to hold down the dust. In the pavilion were coin-operated electric cookers for meal preparation. Nearby Berkeley Lake provided a bathing beach for a refreshing swim.

The crown jewel of Denver's auto camps was in south Denver at Overland Park. Opened in 1920 on

160 acres shared by the existing race-track and previous exposition grounds, Overland Park was one of the premier camps in the country. At a time when some camps were described "as a collection of tents and a week's worth of washing," Denver spent \$250,000 setting up numbered lots, installing water hydrants and rest facilities and retro-fitting existing buildings for camp use. Visitors would enter the park through a gatehouse located at Colorado Avenue and South Santa Fe Drive that featured a gasoline filling station. After registering, campers would be directed down "All States Avenue" to one of 800 lots located on the south end of the park.

Travelers' Amenities

Inside the three-story clubhouse was a free laundry and rest rooms and showers, all with hot and cold running water. Meals were prepared in the kitchen and served at a lunch counter or in the restaurant. A large lounging room where visitors might relax was provided, or they could use the spacious floor area to dance to music from a phonograph. A billiards room provided another form of entertainment. Balconies overlooking the racetrack were outfitted with tables and chairs where visitors could sit and watch the horse and automobile races below. On the south side of the building was a refreshment porch featuring a soda fountain and more seating.

One of the exposition buildings was converted into a garage and service area. Another building was transformed into a dance hall that was said to have the finest floor in Denver. Dances were held on weekends until local residents of south Denver complained of such carrying on in their neighborhood.

Overland Park boasted of having the only post office in the country located in an auto camp. The Denver Tourists' Bureau set up a branch at the camp, and many local merchants were happy to make deliveries to the grounds.

Boulder, Trinidad, Loveland, Pueblo and Grand Junction were among the many cities to maintain auto camps. Literature from the 1920s lists anywhere from 150 to 300 auto camps around the state. Name a town and it probably had an auto camp of some type.

Beginning of Fees

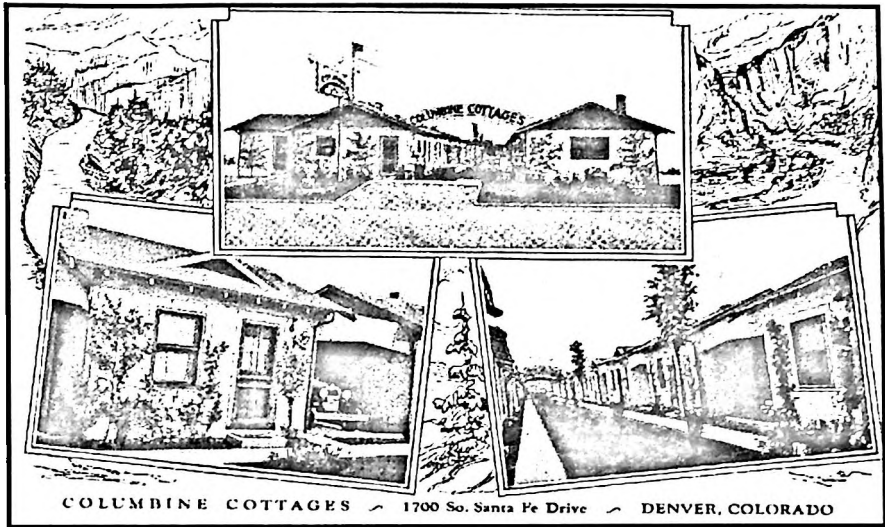
Initially, most municipal auto camps were free. But, in 1923, the Colorado Association of Commercial Organizations brought up the idea of charging a fee. Improvements and services could be funded, and operation expenses could be defrayed by the money generated. Also, the free camps had begun to attract undesirables, sometimes referred to as "auto hobos," who caused more trouble for the city police and other services than the rest of the community combined.

As E.E. Nichols, manager of the Cliff House in Manitou Springs, explained, "Many of the people who make use of the free camps are shiftless and destructive, littering up the grounds and even going as far as to cut down shade trees for camp fire fuel." (Of course, this remark came from a hotelier.)

By 1924, Overland Park was charging 50 cents to \$1 a day and \$5 to \$7 a week for camping privileges.

The camp at Genesee Park was located down a ravine from the Chief Hosa Lodge and featured a colony of 20 partially furnished tent houses. Built off the ground on wood floors, these tent houses featured four slat-wood walls with a front door opening and a canvas roof. Renting for \$2.50 a week, a tent house offered a higher level of comfort and spaciousness than could be found in a car tent. Pueblo went a step further by building small cottages with attached carports at its camps at Fairmont Park and Lake Minnequa, while Fort Collins offered 40 cottages in the cottage camp located in its City Park.

Early shelters were not much more than four walls and a roof, with perhaps a few cots and a table inside. Bedding was provided by the tourists, while common restrooms were shared by all. Crude as these shelters were (sometimes they were referred to as glorified outhouses, chicken coops or rabbit hutches),



Postcard advertising the "Columbine Cottages" from the '20s

they were the predecessor of the tourist cottage.

Evolving Tourist Camps

Many private entrepreneurs saw the success of city auto camps and discovered that they, too, could tap into the tourist traffic passing by their doors. Early tourist camps offered camping spaces and shelters similar to those found at municipal camps. As tourism increased in sophistication, the tourist camp evolved as well.

Tourists no longer wanted to lug around a car full of camping paraphernalia, and camp owners catered to these wishes. Small cabins were enlarged, a few windows were cut into the walls and the shelter

became a cottage, a home away from home. When several of these cottages, generally a carbon copy of one another, were lined up, the cottage camp was born.

By the time Denver closed Overland Park camp in 1930, several cottage camps already had established themselves outside the camp's gate. (One family reported that they would camp out at Overland for most of their stay and then treat themselves by staying in a cottage on the last night). Tourist camps and cottage camps grew in popularity during the 1920s, and some of Denver's first cottage camps sprung up on South Santa Fe Drive near Overland Park and south into Petersburg and Littleton, along the Littleton road.

The 1927 Denver telephone book listed 12 camps under the heading, "Automobile Tourists Camps." Ten were on South Santa Fe Drive. Many camps were equipped with laundry facilities, showers, private garages, telephones, grocery stores, and filling stations. Furnished cottages rented from \$1 a day for a one-room cottage to \$3 a day for a several-room cottage. Camping spaces could be found for 50 cents.

Tour Guides Emerge

To help growing numbers of tourists find suitable accommodations, tour guides were printed that listed locations of tourist camps. One guide printed by the AAA from the late 1920s listed 25 tourist courts in Denver and more than 50 throughout Colorado. Another guide showed cottage courts that were members of the Rainbow Cottage Camp System, an early system of approved, individually owned courts. Detailed descriptions of accommodations were printed for each court. Most cottage camps rented bedding and linens and provided hot and cold running water, coil spring beds with mattresses and a few pieces of furniture. Showers, restrooms, laundries and cooking facilities generally were located in "community buildings." One Cottage Camp system member, Richards Shady Cottage Camp two miles south of Lafayette, sold gasoline and groceries and served meals. According to the

guide, Richards was a quiet, rural-style camp, "clean, sanitary, fumigated daily."

A publication from the 1930s called, *Mr. and Mrs. Tourist Visit Colorado*, reported annually on Colorado's tourist business. This publication surveyed tourists, and one of its reports listed why visitors preferred cottage camps. Some 37.6 percent of those questioned gave cheaper rates as a reason for choosing cottages, while 24.7 percent said cottage camps were more convenient. Other reasons given were: more privacy, no parking problems, more informal, easier to locate and more comfortable tipping.

The attraction of tourist courts was in the convenience they provided. With the automobile parked a few steps from the cottage door, belongings could be transferred back and forth with relative ease. In fact, for some tourists, the car was a kind of rolling closet. Having it parked just a few feet away really was handy. Meanwhile, tourism was increasing in popularity as roads and automobiles improved, and the tourist camp was evolving into a more substantial business. The crude cabin was enlarged, a private bathroom was added and larger windows were cut into the walls. Beds now consisted of spring mattresses, sheets, blankets and pillows. Floors were tiled or carpeted, and a picture or two were

hung on the walls. A kitchenette might be stocked with dishes and cooking utilities. The cabin had become a bigger home away from home.

'Camps' Become 'Courts'

The term camp was dropped in favor of the more permanent-sounding term, "court." The cabin camps became cottage courts or tourist courts. And, indeed, they became courts as the cottage units were aligned in rows or semi-circles, with doors opening onto a central common area. Some courts were spread out, while others were packed into tight city lots.

To the tourist, the automobile was a prized possession, and the tourist could rest more comfortably when the car was parked nearby. The area beside the cottage provided an ideal place to park the car. These areas became even handier when a roof was installed overhead. With covered parking a selling point, some cottages were designed with a garage as an integral part of the building design.

While covered parking was good for the tourist, additional income-producing space was beneficial to the tourist court owner. In an effort to produce more rentable space, some court owners enclosed the carports. By putting up a few walls and cutting in doors and windows, the facility almost could be

doubled in size. A porch might be added to this new continuous facade. By blending the parts together, a new building form was taking shape.

'Motel' Coined in 1925

A single building with several rooms sharing the foundation, roof and utilities made the structure more efficient. Though in early stages these buildings still were referred to as cabins or cottages, the classic motel building type was being born. Placed opposite or perpendicular to one another, these buildings formed the motor court or motel. The term "motel" was coined in 1925 by Arthur Heinman to name his bungalow court in San Luis Obispo, Calif. Motel became the preferred label by the 1940s and 1950s.

Businesses constructed as "motels" generally were single-story buildings, often with the office and proprietor's residence at the front and rental units lined up behind. The court configuration remained popular. It featured two or three buildings grouped around a central parking area. Often, this central area was a favorite location in which to place a swimming pool.

Not content to just have a roof over their heads and a comfortable bed, tourists began to demand other amenities. Private phones and radios were introduced in the 1940s, televisions and swimming pools in the 1950s and, of course, "magic fingers beds"

became an amenity later. For some, the motel may have been the first place where they were exposed to such luxuries.

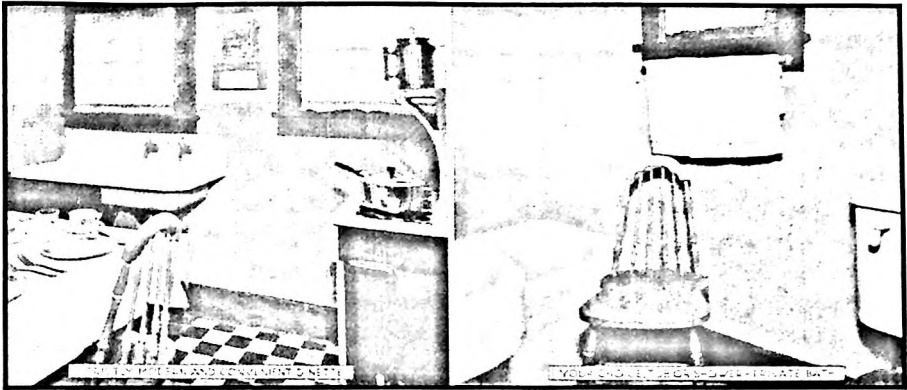
The late 1950s and early 1960s saw the introduction of multi-story motels. Usually only two stories, some motels with elevators reached heights of four floors. The term "motel" developed into a rather tacky label in the minds of some people and was replaced with such inviting names as motor-inn, motor-hotel and manor. This new breed of motels also offered more than just lodging. There were convention facilities, fine restaurants and lounges that could be used by patrons who were not guests in the rooms.

Cottage Courts Abound

In the early 1920s, tourists would arrive in Denver after motoring over such highways as the Pikes Peak Ocean to Ocean Highway, the Midland Trail, the Buffalo Highway and the Union Pacific Highway. Along the route, a motorist would be guided by multi-colored bands painted on utility poles, trees and bridge abutments. By the late 1920s, a nationwide effort to standardize highway nomenclature resulted in a system of odd- and even-numbered highways gridding the country. Tourists no longer came into Denver over the Golden Belt Highways. Instead, they found themselves on state Highway 8, later called U.S. Highway 40, 36 and 287.

A good description of the locations of motor courts in Denver is found in this 1940 quote from the *Vacation Wonderland Tourist Guide*: "On every highway leading into Denver are cottage courts, motels and trailer parks. Some of them (are) modern, some semi-modern, and some plain; but travelers may find accommodations to suit varied tastes and budgets. Cottage courts are a product of the resort centers of the West. Their popularity has greatly increased in the last decade, for they furnish a service well suited to the motoring public. They are comfortable and informal, offering freedom for children and pets, and many of them contain facilities for cooking."

Over the years, Colfax Avenue has played host to many of Denver's motor courts. One of the major highways leading into Denver, Colfax Avenue, called the longest main street in the country, is some 40 miles. It is cut east to west through three cities and located in three counties. State Highways 2 and 8, along with U.S. Highways 40, 36, and 287, claim all or part of the Colfax pavement as theirs. At varying times, more than 150 cabin camps, motor courts and motels have had a Colfax Avenue address. Many of these motor courts survive. Just as many have been absorbed by the various car lots and shopping centers that line the street. Now



Floors were tiled or carpeted, and a picture or two were hung on the walls. A kitchenette might be stocked with dishes and cooking utilities.

designated the business route for its “big brother,” Interstate 70 to the north, Colfax Avenue sees more business traffic than the cross-country tourist traffic of previous years.

South Santa Fe

South Santa Fe Drive was another major highway that led south out of Denver through the Platte River valley. Paralleling railroad tracks laid in the 1870s and 1880s, Santa Fe Drive was known locally as the Denver-Littleton Road. Paved with concrete around 1918, Santa Fe Drive became the first such highway in the state of Colorado. It was designated state Highway 1 in 1924 and U.S. Highway 85 in 1926. As mentioned earlier, South Santa Fe Drive fostered many of the first auto courts in

Denver. As Interstate 25 was built to the east in the 1950s and 1960s, tourist traffic declined, but the motel strip that South Santa Fe had become remained somewhat intact until the mid-1970s.

Unlike Colfax Avenue, where motels were absorbed by various businesses, motels on South Santa Fe were absorbed by the road itself. By the 1960s, South Santa Fe had developed into a busy commercial street hosting many automobile-related businesses. In an effort to relieve the congestion that two sets of railroad tracks (with associated signals and delays), left turn lanes and high-traffic could create, a fly-over bridge was constructed in the 1970s and South Santa Fe Drive was widened. The result was a safer, smoother flow of traffic through a stoplight-free expanse of road, from the 1400 block through the 3100 block. Another result was the

elimination of 25 motels and motor courts. It is ironic that the catalyst for growth in the tourist business along Santa Fe Drive—automobile traffic—has, through a vast increase in volume, resulted in the demise of these establishments. The tin can tourist has been replaced by frazzled commuters making their daily loop from home to work and work to home down a concrete-lined transportation corridor.

Common Business Concerns

Other streets that were home to tourists courts included North Federal Boulevard (U.S. Highway 287), Alameda Avenue and Morrison Road (U.S. 285) and Brighton Boulevard/Road (Highway 2 and U.S. 85). What once were major routes in and out of Denver have been bypassed or rerouted over the years. These changes explain why motels still can be found in such unlikely locations as West 39th Avenue and Fox Street, West Mississippi Avenue and Pierce Street, 64th Avenue and Brighton Road, and beside the elevated section of I-70 and Vasquez Boulevard.

Over the years, motel owners have sought out membership in groups that would offer advice and knowledge concerning the running of a lodging establishment. Referral chains were independently owned courts that were members of a group that rated entities and resulted in business practices of good customer service, cleanliness and hospitality. United Motor

Courts, an early chain, was established in the 1930s. Best Western was established in the 1940s and remains successful today.

This author's study of "Mile High Motor Courts" concludes with the years 1965-66. It was in those years that the first reference is found to names that would replace the small 10- or 12-room "Ma and Pa" establishments with large, multi-unit facilities. Still run by "Ma and Pa" but owned by investments groups and large companies in another state, these motels ushered in a new era in motel operations.

Holiday Inn, Ramada Inn and Travel Lodge Motor Inn (no "motels" in the lot) were but a few of the franchised motel systems that developed in the 1950s and 1960s. These franchised motels brought with them an influx of capital not easily obtainable by "Ma and Pa." Nor could the advertising advantage of a multi-member chain be matched by a small motel budget.

Travelers now preferred to check into a franchise motel room that looked just like the franchise motel room found the night before and 300 miles away. Holiday Inn at one time stressed the concept of no surprises at its motels. A room in Denver looked like one in Dallas, that looked like one in Des Moines, that looked like one in Detroit, that looked like one in Anywhere, U.S.A.

The Motel Graveyards

In Denver, new motel strips are at the interstate overpasses. A motorist might take the Denver exit off the highway but never will venture more than a few hundred yards from the interstate and the conveniences found at this modern crossroads.

What do you do with an old motel? One preferred solution was to call in a metallic creature called the bulldozer. That is the same creature that for years ran rampant down South Santa Fe on a cinderblock- and timber-devouring rage, its appetite for motor courts and vintage motels seemingly insatiable.

Other motels, though, have remained somewhat intact and serve alternate uses such as offices and apartments. Small, securable units such as motel rooms make convenient storage units, too. One motel in Boulder has been converted into a homeless shelter, while one surviving South Santa Fe motel is a halfway house for Arapahoe County prisoners.

One of the most creative and innovative reuses of a motor court is found at the South Santa Fe Pottery at 2485 S. Santa Fe Drive. The 1940s southwest architecture houses a colony of artisans who sell their wares out of the former rental rooms. As one stands in the courtyard and absorbs the atmosphere, a

person almost can picture a honeymoon couple pulling in in their 1940 Ford convertible, or a family arriving with kids and a dog hanging out of the window of a 1957 Chevy station wagon.

Some old motels have been degraded into cheap rentals or "dens of iniquity" rented out by the week, day, or hour and catering to what is referred to as the "hot pillow trade." In these cases, maybe the best solution is to destroy the structure. Other motels suffer from their location. The Arrowhead Motel at 1800 S. Santa Fe Drive was located on a 60-foot-wide lot sandwiched between the railroad tracks on the east and busy U.S. 85 on the west, not real choice accommodations. (Motels in other parts of town often made reference to their being away from railroad noise).

How many of the motor courts found on that 1936 list are still around in the Denver area? As mentioned earlier, Harts Corner is gone; so is the Union Pacific Camp on Colfax and Franks Cabins on South Santa Fe. In all, 36 are gone. Fragments of others remain, and approximately six survive in one form or another. These include Eddie Bohn's and the White Swan on West Colfax, the West Alameda Auto Camp at West Alameda and Federal Boulevard, and the Twilight Camp on Main Street. Earlier buildings, from the late 1920s, still can be found beside bypassed highways. Clarks Cottage Camp on Brighton Boulevard and 64th Avenue is a set of abandoned buildings

suspended in time, changing little from the days when Model A's parked in the camp's dirt courtyard.

Roadside Culture Changes

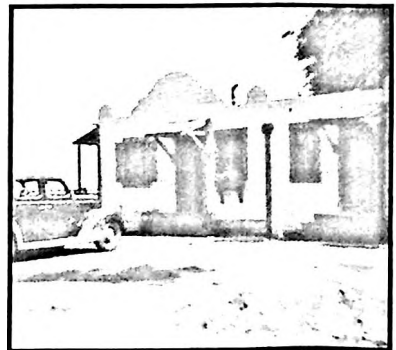
In an area expanding as rapidly as the Colorado Front Range, cultural resources of the recent past are being destroyed on a daily basis. As you drive around Denver and find yourself saying, "Hey, didn't the 'what's it called' used to be there?", chances are that another icon of the automobile-propelled society has disappeared. A drive-in here, a gas station there, a motel on the corner, all these threads of a society disappear one at a time until the entire fabric takes on another look. Motels, just one aspect of the roadside culture, are among those interwoven threads that came from humble beginnings and grew into specialized businesses catering to the automobile.

Just as people are judged and remembered by the time in which they lived, so might a building be judged by the time in which it was built. What is thought of as simple and quaint now was at one time the last word in roadside accommodations. What is new and stylish now will be *passé* in the future.

The motel changed as the demands and expectations of travelers changed, but one common ideal remains—a comfortable night's rest after a long day's drive on the road.

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Over the Corral Rail

Mattes Brand Book

The *Merrill Mattes Memorial Brand Book* Committee is seeking articles in three areas of Mattes' interest for the book—Western Trails, the Fur Trade and Military in the West. Heading up the individual subject areas are Lee Whiteley, Western Trails; Keith Fessenden and Lee Olson, the Fur Trade, and John Hutchins and Bob Larson, Military in the West. Posse members Joan White and Hutchins are co-chairing the committee.

Westerners interested in submitting an article for possible inclusion in the *Mattes Memorial Brand Book* should contact the subcommittee chairs in the area of interest. Deadline for submission of articles is Dec. 1, 1997. The articles can be any length up to an ideal 2,500 words, but may be as long as 4,000 words if the subject matter warrants. Articles must be original and submitted in a typed, double-space format. Material on computer disks will be welcome. Footnotes or sources must be included with the manuscript.

A Packer Potpourri

Our energetic *Roundup* correspondent, Posse Member **Lee Olson**, called our attention to a letter that appeared May 7, 1997, in *The Denver Post*, from Westerner **Robert L. Brown**, who discussed the spelling of Al Packer's first name. We quote, in part:

"I was pleased to read *The Post* story concerning **Al Packer's** gun ("Packer may have told truth," April 26). As a Colorado history teacher for more than four decades, I, too, have followed the Packer story with morbid interest. But his name was not Alferd, it was Alfred. His birth certificate in Allegheny County, Pa., spells his name Alfred. At age 13, he had Alfred tattooed on his arm. Likewise, his Civil War record, endorsements on disability checks, and court records in Saguache and Gunnison counties all show his name as being spelled Alfred. Packer, however, did sign one page of his second confession 'Alferd,' and (writer Paul) Gantt says he occasionally signed his name Alferd. The late historian **Fred Mazzulla** apparently picked up on Alferd in order to 'twit' the late **Caroline Bancroft**. Finally, Packer's name appears correctly as Alfred in Littleton's Prince Avenue cemetery."

Honors & Awards

Westerner **Tom Noel**, a Posse member, was the recipient of the Thomas Hornsby Ferril Lifetime Literary Achievement Award presented by the Colorado Center for the Book at its sixth annual Colorado Book Awards in March. Upon accepting the special award at the event, Noel—in true Noel fashion—was quoted as saying, “I’m honored, but worried—I didn’t know this went to living authors.”

Posse member **Lee Olson** was the moderator at a panel on British Remittance and Women in the Rural West recently at the 39th Annual Conference of the Western Social Sciences Association in Albuquerque, N.M. As discussant, Olson introduced presenters on the panel who offered papers. Presenters and papers were **Sandra Varney MacMahon**, University of New Mexico, “Fine Hands for Sowing: The New Mexico Homesteading Experience of Remittance Woman Jessie de Prado MacMillan,” and **Larry McFarlane**, Northern Arizona University, “Remittance Men as Individual and Group Settlers in Frontier America.”

Upcoming Posses

Deputy Sheriff and Program Chairman **Max Smith** announces a variety of programs for Posses. On June 25, **Jim Whiteside** of the University of Colorado faculty talked about sports played in early mining towns. On Aug. 23, the Summer Rendezvous will be at the Littleton Historical Museum. There will be a barbecue and tour of the 1860 and 1890 farms and the main building. On Sept. 24, **Philip Deloria**, a Lakota, will be the presenter, topic to be announced. At the Oct. 22 dinner meeting, Posse members **Nancy and Ed Bathke** will present “Clinton H. Scott—Railroad Surgeon.”

Railfans, please note

Denver Westerners are welcome to join the Smithsonian Institution’s annual “Railroading the Rockies,” a nine-day Colorado tour scheduled for two runs—July 19-28, and Sept. 13-22, 1997. Interested parties can call Posse member **Tom Noel** for details, telephone 355-0211.

The tour features travel on the Cumbres/Toltec steam train, the Durango-Silverton Alamosa Parlour Car, the Georgetown Loop, and a ride across the Rockies in the Utah and Kansas, two restored railcars. The tour

begins in Denver and travels through Leadville, Alamosa, Durango, Mesa Verde National Park, Ouray and Glenwood Springs. Along the way, travelers will visit historic sites and learn about the history.

New Members Welcome

With membership at about 225, the Denver Westerners welcomes new members to the group and urges members to let their friends know about the benefits of being a member of the organization. As always, guests are welcome at the monthly Posse meetings. Bringing a guest is a good way to familiarize an individual with the unique camaraderie and curiosity about everything Western of the Denver Westerners.

Four New Members

The Denver Westerners welcomes four new members. **Scotty Wilkins** of Denver is interested in Western subjects such as women and writing and has written articles on women, mining, and Clear Creek. She has had articles published in *Roundup* and the *Brand Book*. She is interested in Four Mile Historic Park, fishing and travel. **Paul La Cour** of Arvada enjoys the Western history areas of unions, Indians, the Civil War and mining. He taught high school history in the 1970s. Another new member is **Robert G. Lewis, Esq.**, of Denver, who expresses interest in the history of the Ute Indians. Among his hobbies are collecting and researching 19th century photographs and prints of the American West. **George Gill** of Morrison also is a new member.

*(Submit items of interest for "Over the Corral Rail" to
Joan White, P.M., editor. See address on page 2)*





Westerners Bookshelf

The Old Trail to Santa Fe: Collected Essays by Marc Simmons. Univ. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1996. 192 pages, 65 halftones, 1 map. Cloth, \$24.95; paper, \$16.95.

The book is divided into three parts. "The Old Trail to Santa Fe" gives a brief history of the trail. The others, "New Words about an Old Trail" and "Sketches of the Trail," give historical background and vignettes of trail life and happenings.

That the author has had a lifelong love affair with the Santa Fe Trail is evident. He has driven, flown over, trekked along, photographed, dug sites, and interviewed pioneer descendants and present owners. The entire 1,000 miles from Old Franklin, Missouri to Santa Fe and back again are familiar to him.

From the commercial beginnings with William Becknell's 1821 mule train to the coming of the railroad in the 1880s, an astounding variety of people traveled the trail: American settlers, Mexican traders able to increase their profit margin due to no import duties, a panoply of ethnic merchants, miners on the way to the California gold fields, Kearney's army of invasion in 1846, buffalo hunters....

One of the subjects covered while describing this human traffic includes "Oxen versus Mules," a discussion of the pros and cons of freight wagons' motive power (mules could smell and warn of approaching Indians but oxen were better tempered).

"A Primer on Matches" is a brief history of the friction match (called a Lucifer because of the smoke and fumes) and how it was introduced to the southwest by traders along the trail.

In "Comets and Meteors," Simmons tells us that chronicler Josiah Gregg mathematically charted the progress of the great comet of 1843 and that the Kiowa thought comets brought cold weather in their wake.

Simmons gives us nine- and one-half pages of verse about the trail experience in "The Poetry of the Santa Fe Trail." We find some travelers were fairly adept at poetry, and some were less so.

"When Stagecoaches Ruled" describes what must have been one of the more expensive forms of self-torture: One paid a \$250 fare for the two-week

trip: "During blizzards passengers turned blue, and if Indians attacked, they might lose their hair and lives. Fatigue was worst the first few days on the road. You sat bolt upright through the night, snatching winks between joltings. But...after a while you got used to it...."

"The Trail's Other Side" describes a young Mexican man's trip East. In 1867, he was pressed into service with a wool caravan by his patron, essentially his feudal lord. The teen-ager, Jose Gurule, endured short rations (one meal a day) and a cholera outbreak on the way to Kansas City. On the return trip, he and several others were sent to work on the Kansas Pacific Railroad railhead, at that time somewhere in the central part of the state. He enjoyed all the food he could eat, but saw no wages--they were paid to the patron.

Many stories and anecdotes are told, providing not only history but interesting viewpoints and diverse subjects not normally associated with a book on the trail. The map is legible and relevant; the photos are plentiful and well-captioned. The text is well-documented.

Many stories and anecdotes are told, providing not only history but interesting viewpoints and diverse subjects

One mild annoyance is the author's penchant to remind the reader in almost every chapter that William Becknell pioneered the trail in 1821 and it carried traffic until the train came in 1880. Perhaps the essays were written over time and when collected for the book these repetitive statements were not weeded out.

But that is a small bother in this otherwise entertaining and informative book.

--Stan Moore, C.M.

THOMAS HORNSBY FERRIL and the American West, edited by Robert C. Baron, Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel. Fulcrum Publishing Co., Golden, 1996. 166 pages. \$17.95.

Denver Poet Tom Ferril was a bundle of inconsistencies. He often told his Denver Press Club friends that he never wrote for money. A noble standard, indeed. And yet his Great Western Sugar Company associates remember him as a sharp public relations man able to reconcile the muse with manna almost any day of the week.

A long-time member of the Westerners, Tom was neither a founder nor an officer of the organization. But his Westerner friendships were of long

standing and often overlapped with his Cactus and Press Club associations. The funny stories recounted about him in this book are familiar to many Westerners.

On countless occasions, Tom told serving people at restaurants, "This is my birthday!" to insure lavish attention, including a birthday cake. (His actual birthday was Feb. 25, 1896; he died in 1988.) The birthday gambit was typical. Denver newsman Sam Lusky says Ferril once was turned away from a Brown Palace Hotel dining room for not wearing a tie. "If I come back with a tie will you admit me?" he asked. Thus assured, he visited a nearby May-D&F and returned moments later, wearing a tie but no shirt.

Edited by Westerner Tom Noel, historian Stephen J. Leonard and publisher Bob Baron whose Fulcrum company published it, this volume reprints nearly 100 of Ferril's poems, chosen by a poll of the poet's fans in

.....this book predicts a
long life for Ferril's
poetry.....

Colorado and elsewhere. Everyone has a favorite centering on his main topics: Western history, nature or ghost towns. "Magenta" ranks high with this reviewer. Many poems suggest their themes: "Fishing Upstream With My Father," "Old Men on the Blue," "Words for Leadville" and

"Here is a Land Where Life is Written in Water."

Ferril wrote prose, too, such as his 1955 piece, "Freud and Football," reprinted in *Reader's Digest*. There was a steady outpouring from his typewriter at the *Rocky Mountain Herald*, a weekly legal newspaper which Tom and his wife, Hellie, published for several decades. (He had a host of friends who wrote gratis pieces to fill the *Herald's* eclectic appetite. This reviewer once carried a *Herald* press pass to Scotland to look for the Loch Ness monster.)

This book predicts a long life for Ferril's poetry. Lovely as it is, others doubt that. A friend of this reviewer--himself a modest poet--predicts that in 20 years Ferril will be little known, even in the West. A check with poetry editors turns up such fragmentary criticisms as "not contemporary," "he's from the backcountry, not the two coasts," "popularity is subjective," and "a national poet has to reach everybody--Ferril didn't pretend to be anything but a Westerner." Which is good enough for most of us.

In a preface, historian Patricia Nelson Limerick repeats Ferril's question: "What keeps on moving if your body stops?" She answers it with the obvious: "Tom Ferril's poems keep moving." Well said.

--Lee Olson, P.M.

Early Mormon Documents, Vol. I, compiled and edited by Dan Vogel, Signature Books, Salt Lake City, 1996. 10 illustrations, introduction, bibliography, index, etc., 708 pages. Clothbound, \$34.95.

This collection ultimately will contain more than 450 documents which attempt to offer "readers access to the primary written and printed sources relating to Mormon origins in Vermont, New Hampshire, New York and Pennsylvania." This volume contains 77 of these 450 documents in two parts. Part I contains the Joseph Smith Family Testimony and has eight collections, the Joseph Smith, Jr. Collection (the church's founder), the Lucia Mack Smith Collection (his mother), the Joseph Smith, Sr. Collection (his father), the William Smith Collection (a brother), the Katherine Smith Collection (a sister), the Emma Hale Smith Collection (his wife), the Relatives of Smiths Collection (a disbelieving uncle, a brother and a cousin) and Miscellaneous Smith Family Documents.

Part II contains documents of Mormon Origins in Vermont and New Hampshire. This part has two sections. The first contains four accounts of the Smiths. The second section contains 16 documents relating to the Smiths. These documents range from marriage and birth records to census, township, land, school, court and assessment records.

The longest section is the 224-page "Lucy Smith History, 1845." In this section, Vogel compares a copy of the 1845 preliminary manuscript found in the Church of Latter-day Saints archives with the first edition published in 1853 in Liverpool. The editor has facilitated the reader's examination and comparison of the manuscript and first edition by placing the two in parallel columns.

The introduction explains the collections organization and contains a discussion on evaluating historical documents. The editor states the collection contains six kinds of documents; 1) Official or Authorized Histories, 2) Diaries, 3) Memoirs and Reminiscences, 4) Personal letters, 5) Journal and Newspaper Reports and 6) Civil, Business and Ecclesiastical Records. Of special interest is a discussion of those documents which editor Vogel chose not to include and why. Not included are 10 documents whose provenance is questionable because they are suspected of being forged by Mark Hoffman of "Salamander letter" infamy. The other often heard of excluded documents are those affidavits gathered by Dr. Hurlbut which allege the Book of Mormon

.....the Editor states that the original was unavailable for use in preparing this collection.....

was plagiarized from a book written by Solomon Spalding. The editor states that these later documents “shed no light on Mormon origins.”

A collection of this type has long been needed for the facilitation of research on early Mormonism. Unfortunately, the editor states in the editorial notes which introduce each document that the original was unavailable for use in preparing this collection. Only by returning to the original document can an editor be sure its earlier publication didn't change from the original. Disturbingly (this reviewer's bias), too often the note continues on to state that the original is found in the LDS church archives and was unavailable for use. The reader is left to assume that this is yet another casualty of the current unavailability of the church's archives to most historical researchers.

Despite this concern, as a tool for historians and researchers of Mormon history, *Early Mormon Documents, Volume 1*, is indubitably a long-awaited, needed and useful book.

--Keith Fessenden

Mexico's Sierra Tarahumara: A Photohistory of the People of the Edge
by W. Dirk Raat and George R. Janecek. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1996. 136 pages, 111 black-and-white photographs, 6 maps. Cloth, \$49.95.

The Sierra Tarahumara is part of the mountain range in western Chihuahua, Mexico. It is known to many of us because of the residents' reputation as runners—Tarahumaras won the Leadville 100-mile race in 1993, for example. Also, the popular train trip along Copper Canyon—deeper than Grand Canyon—is a marvel of railroad engineering and offers a chance to see some of the 50,000 Tarahumara (Rara'muri is their correct name) whose ancestors have lived in the area since pre-Columbian times.

W. Dirk Raat reviews the history of the Tarahumara and then reports on changes since the periods described by anthropologists in earlier books such as *Unknown Mexico* by Carl Lumholtz (1902) and *The Tarahumara Indians* by Wendell Bennett and Robert Zingg (1935). The ways of life described in these and other books, with seasonal movement from the canyon rims in cooler weather to the canyon floors with more tropical climate and vegetation, have been changing as other populations have moved into the upper areas to farm and to harvest the timber.

The completion of the Chihuahua al Pacifico railway from Chihuahua to the Gulf of California in 1961, a project that took more than 50 years, brought travelers and changes to an area which had been generally isolated. It

also provided transportation to take the timber and other resources out of the sierras and canyons. Many Tarahumaras have been employed by the invading businesses, and the women produce crafts for sale to the tourists, shifting their economy from a subsistence basis to increased reliance on a cash economy. Roads are being built into the canyon area, leading to increased acculturation.

There are frequent reports of the famines which afflict the Tarahumara, partly due to the increasing restrictions on available agricultural land and encroachment into their historic spaces. Outsiders bring new cultural patterns, and traditional styles of clothing are replaced. In one chapter, Raat describes the effects of various religious sects in their missionary activities and changes in the approaches which some churches have developed. As is usual with indigenous populations in the Southwest, the new religion is accommodated into the original beliefs and practices of the Tarahumara. All these changes have been seen as threatening the continued existence of this population. "The threats to the Tarahumara culture are many. All of the non-Indians of the Sierra—drug traffickers, churchmen, politicians, loggers, miners, tourists, backpackers, bikers, owners of four-wheelers, soldiers, policemen, railroad workers, rancher-farmers, gringos, Europeans, and Mexicans—are part of the problem." And yet the author concludes, "I have a renewed faith in the fate of the Tarahumara and the 'destiny' of the Sierra Tarahumara. The powers of reconstruction and renewal are as strong as the forces of destruction."

.....a well-done explanation of the history and current condition of an isolated ethnic group not far from the U.S.....

This is a well-done explanation of the history and current condition of an isolated ethnic group not far from the United States. These shy people seem to have the strength to survive and adapt to change, although some help from outside their community will be needed to protect them from economic and political forces which they cannot control.

The outstanding black-and-white photographs by George R. Janecek are important contributions to the book. The pictures not only illustrate the places and people but also portray the spirit of the Sierra Tarahumara, expanding the text.

--Earl McCoy, P.M.

Quest for Empire, Spanish Settlement in the Southwest by Donald Cutler & Iris Engstrand, Fulcrum Publishing, Golden, 1996. 358 pages. Cloth, \$27.95.

This is a chronological account of Spain's slow projection of power and extension of control northward from Mexico City. The emphasis is on what is now California, Arizona, New Mexico and west Texas.

Starting in the 1500s, we are given great detail: The authors provide background on each mission, each presidio, each exploration and missionary expedition--the personnel, the interplay before the decision was made to establish or send it, the Indian reactions and the casualty counts.

The king's desires were made plain early in the game. Basically, the natives and their land were to be protected and respected. The law was codified in the *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, published in 1680. As the authors point out, "It should not be assumed, however, that the natives were at all times aware of their rights or that these laws were always enforced in a frontier setting..."

The settlement of New Mexico, Pimeria Alto (Arizona), and Alta California was originally driven by the need and desire to proselytize the Indians and save their souls. Indeed, the church was the driving force behind the northward march of European influence until the late 1700s, when the army and civil government came to the fore.

The authors offer particulars, in almost exhaustive detail, such as when and where a particular priest was born, when he joined his order, how he came to be chosen for frontier duty, how and when he died (most by Indian attack or disease; few died of old age). What is interesting is that many Italians, Bavarians, Irishmen, Africans and other nationalities served in both the frontier church and the army.

The interplay and rivalries between the Franciscan, Jesuit and Dominican Orders are described. Each had its territory and philosophy. The Jesuits ultimately were banned by a Royal Edict which had roots in the Inquisition and in jealousy of the Jesuits' monopoly on higher education.

Advances, rebuffs and day-to-day events are treated as objectively as the chronicles allow. It is perhaps unfortunate that only the Spanish kept records, but the Indian point of view is given weight as well. We are provided reasons why the Pueblos revolted, evicting European and native Christians from northern New Mexico in 1680. We also are given detailed accounts of the several attempts at re-conquest, of the eventual return and the demise of some of the native villages as a consequence. The decimation of

native populations by imported diseases is touched upon. This sad subject probably never will be fully known.

We are given glimpses of legends and lore. The Lady in Blue, who, although actually a sister in Spain, was reliably documented to have repeatedly seen through the eyes and had experiences of Indians in what is now west Texas. This took place in the 1600s. Matamoros, a warrior/saint who lent assistance to Christians in 844 to defeat the Moors in Clavijo, Spain, mysteriously appeared to help Spanish forces at the Acoma Pueblo during a punitive expedition in 1598. There is a detailed look at water rights, as laid down by the king in theory, as actually allocated by the various priests, captains and governors, and how these decisions shaped patterns of settlement.

Geopolitical factors and trends are considered, such as:

- 1) The effects of the Philippine trade and Manila galleons, particularly on the exploration of California.
- 2) Sir Francis Drake's depredations and their repercussions.
- 3) How patterns of Indian immigration from eastern North America caused pressure on allied and adversarial tribes, and how the Spanish administrations responded.
- 4) The pressure from Russian settlers and traders and the consequent decisions to move further into Alta California.
- 5) French fur traders whose custom of providing weapons to natives forced Spain to change its practice to match.
- 6) Encroachment by U.S. explorers and traders and ultimately the U.S. Army.

This work is well-researched and documented; the bibliography is extensive, and the subject is interesting and fully treated. There is no map of the entire region, but there are numerous smaller maps. This is a book that anyone interested in the Southwest should read.

--Stan Moore, C.M.

The Saloon on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier by Elliot West. Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1979, First Bison Books, Printing 1996. 197 Pages. Illustrations and Map, Bibliography with Index. Paperback. \$12.00.

This interesting and useful reprint provides valuable insights and additions to knowledge of the saloon as a viable institution in the early days in the mining towns of the Rocky Mountains, particularly for anyone whose knowledge of the saloon of the early West comes primarily from television's

Matt Dillon, Miss Kitty and the Longbranch Saloon.

Beginning with a photographic cover of an early open air saloon obviously carved or blasted out of a rocky hillside, the Ocean Grove Saloon signs specified that "Tourists Without Baggage Must Pay in Advance," "Dining Rooms, 16 to one," and that "Ladies without Bloomers are not allowed on the Beach." All certainly sensible rules and appropriately droll, considering the arid hole in the rock pictured with a liquor stock of only four bottles on display.

The author presents an extensive bibliography documenting many references, including many mining towns in Colorado which featured significantly in early mining history, from initial placer mining on Cherry Creek, the predominance of the Leadville mining community, to the last important strike in Cripple Creek. Rocky Mountain mining principally lasted about a third of a century, from the late 1850s to 1892, and involved substantial distances and extremes of climate. This book describes the function and effect of the saloon in these circumstances and quantifies, from apparently frequently insufficient and sparse records, the function of the saloon in the early mining communities.

The first saloons arrived shortly after any mining strike and, like the picture on the cover, initially were quite crude. It was a hard-drinking society of mostly young males, a substantial portion of which were working in mining, though a greater proportion were supplying the miners. With minimal opportunities for recreation, the saloon was the predominant social center for drinking, gambling, entertainment, business and financing and politics. Upon occasion, the saloon was the only facility available for the itinerant preacher or served as a temporary hotel.

The author has selected picturesque quotations from many sources describing the dominance of saloons from sheer number and economic impact, the effect of alcohol in terms of health and crime on mining communities and the extremes of weather found in mountainous areas. He deals with some of the characteristics of bartenders and saloon keepers, a small majority of whom were American-born with a substantial number of immigrants, particularly of German and Irish descent dominating. The saloons generally catered to white working men and minority groups, such as Latin Americans and Chinese, both present in substantial numbers, who were clearly discriminated against.

While saloons were as transient as the populations of mining strikes which did not pan out, the book develops the transition from the initial crude beginnings to very substantial and ornate palaces of entertainment, probably

the social center of a community, dependent in great part upon the personality of the saloon keeper. The successful saloon increasingly was faced with different problems, e.g., being taxed as a successful and available institution, Sabbath laws, temperance movements, legislation dealing with drunkenness and prostitution and other limitations aimed at improving the moral climate of the community and the saloon.

The saloon doubtless answered some rule of necessity and fulfilled a valid and necessary function in the early mining towns. A drinking society of young men requiring sociability made the saloon an essential part of the mining community. The author writes entertainingly and has selected quotations which make for easy as well as informative reading. In the conclusion, he notes the difficulties of temperance thinking in trying to impact the perceived evils of saloons and alcohol. In seeking "uplifting" entertainment and the desire of "treating" one's friends, a temperance-minded minister applauded the impulse to treat but "Why not, he urged, treat one's friends to Chocolate drops at a candy store. Better yet, an expansive miner should invite his cohorts into the local post office and set up a round of stamps." Probably not a terribly persuasive argument.

He concludes that, notwithstanding that the saloon was a breeding place for trouble and a magnet for mischief, it was a public place answering the needs of mining communities of the times, and clearly a part of Western history. Doubtless far more valid than "Gunsmoke."

--W. Bruce Gillis, Jr., P.M.

Kit Carson: Indian Fighter Or Indian Killer edited by R. C. Gordon-McCutchan, foreword by Mark L. Gardner. Univ. Press of Colorado, Niwot, 1996. Footnotes, index; 120 Pages. Clothbound, \$24.95.

Many would judge all figures out of history with a politically correct 1990s mentality. This book's sole purpose is to return one such figure, Kit Carson, to the era that spawned him and attempt a sanitation of his character; sullied by years of apparent misinformation.

"How is it possible to explain the stubborn persistence of a Carson image molded in the shape of a monstrous Indian slayer when the obvious and rather simple facts of his life point to no such thing? The answer in part can be found in the old truism: Myths will not yield to facts."

Five historians explore the facts of Carson's life and weigh them against the charges that late 20th century analysts have leveled at Carson. An advertising flyer for a 1995 video series calls Carson "a pint-size illiterate

Indian-killer whose scorched-earth campaign ensured that the Navajo could briefly run but never hide.” In the first section, Darlis A. Miller examines the so-called “dime novels” of the late 1800s and makes it clear that the Carson portrayed in those booklets bore no resemblance to the real man. One early editor of dime novels stated that as competition for readers increased “we had to kill a few more Indians than we used to...” The first of these books appeared while Carson was still alive and he apparently had a great dislike for them. As portrayed in these books, his image almost comes across as a low-tech 1840s James Bond.

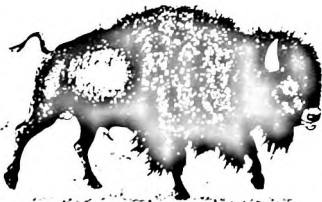
The second piece, by the editor, goes to great lengths to debunk Clifford Trafzer’s negative book *The Kit Carson Campaign: The Last Great Navajo War*. To do so, McCutchan examines the nature of the Navajo culture. “In analyzing the Navajo War, we must remember that it is easy for us to dismiss the Navajo threat because we are not the ones being attacked by a band of hostile, armed, and historically warlike people.”

The other sections basically echo each other attempting to debunk Carson’s supposed racism and murderous intent. The articles tend to get a bit repetitive. It might have been nice to bring in a writer clearly on the other side of the argument and let the points be debated rather than endlessly attack Trafzer but, as it stands, this book gets in the last and only words. If there is a flaw with the book, it is in making Carson look too good. At least one of the authors here, Marc S. Simmons, recognizes that fact and comments on it. “Like all men everywhere, Kit Carson had his faults and personal flaws; otherwise he would have been a saint rather than a homespun American frontiersman.”

Frankly it is up to the reader to decide whether the “white imperialistic” wars against the native population of America were justified, but the fact remains that they happened and for that reason we now live in the U.S. West and not Europe. If you view the actions of the U.S. Army as acts of war, then the participants of the action can be judged in that light. “My own judgment as a historian is this: Kit Carson’s Navajo Roundup was no less humane than most wars at any time and place in history...” states

Robert M. Utley in the final article of this book. My favorite line comes from this section: “I offer this...a plea that Kit Carson be allowed to live in his own world rather than in yours and mine.” Amen.

--George W. Krieger, P.M.





The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

JULY - AUGUST 1997



“Captain, there is going to be a fight”

The Battle at Milk Creek and the Ute War of 1879

by

John Hutchins, P.M.

About the Author

Posse Member John M. Hutchins' paper, " 'Captain, there is going to be a fight'-- The Battle at Milk Creek and the Ute War of 1879," was presented to the Denver Westerners March 26, 1997.

Hutchins has been a Posse Member since 1985 and has presented three other papers at Westerner meetings.

In addition to being a member of the Denver Westerners, Hutchins is a member of the Civil War Roundtable. He is a major in the Army Reserve.

Hutchins received his BA from the University of Colorado and his juris doctorate from CU.

He and his wife Dale have a son, Adam.

Sorry We're Late!

Roundup editor Joan White apologizes for this late issue of Roundup—but promises members they'll be getting the subsequent issues on a regular schedule! This issue is late due to circumstances beyond her control.

Westerners' Program Dates

Mark your 1997 calendars for our remaining get-togethers for 1997. The last regular meeting of 1997 is scheduled for Nov. 26 at the Executive Tower Inn. On Dec. 17, the Christmas Rendezvous will be at the Wyndham Garden Hotel, 1475 S. Colorado Blvd.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP



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“Captain, there is going to be a fight”

The Battle at Milk Creek and the Ute War of 1879

by John Hutchins, P.M.

(presented March 26, 1997)

In the summer of 1879, things were not going well on the White River Ute Reservation.

The Indians had many legitimate grievances, but things under Nathan Meeker were at least running somewhat better than before. The annuity goods for 1875 did not arrive until 1876. Annuity goods for 1879 would be delivered in late September or early October. It is true that Meeker was pushing the Utes too quickly to change their so-called primitive ways, but that probably was to be expected of the times.

The days when the Utes and the American government needed each other as military co-dependents was over. The threat to the Utes from the Cheyennes and Arapahoes was over. The need for the military to encourage the warlike tendencies of the Utes, as scouts, allies, or auxiliaries, likewise was over.

The Utes, scattered in several major bands, were not happy. This was particularly true of the White River Utes. Colorado miners and prospectors either were violating the reservation lands or tramping over non-reservation lands that Utes considered theirs. In 1878 there had been killings attributed to the Utes, in the mountains and on the eastern plains. On Sept. 8, 1879, a White River Ute, one Johnson, beat up Meeker when the agent said that he had too many ponies.

Trouble was brewing

Earlier that summer, a company of the 9th Cavalry out of Fort Garland was ordered into the area of Middle Park and North Park to serve as a presence to prevent trouble. This was in response to reports of Utes setting forest fires and causing other trouble. However, one Colorado citizen, who had been in a posse chasing the Utes back to White River in August, was not impressed with this single company, even though he had not seen it. “A gang of Negro minstrels,” he called them, pointing out that they were 200 miles from the agency. While the description of the unit was mean and untrue, the geographic complaint was valid.

Therefore, after agent Meeker was beaten up and pleaded again for military aid, the War Department ordered that two companies from Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming Territory (Company E, 3rd Cavalry and Company E, 4th Infantry), would be joined by Companies D and F of the 5th Cavalry, posted at Fort D. A. Russell, near Cheyenne. This expedition, led by Maj. Thomas Thornburgh, would march to the White River Agency, restore order and prevent more serious troubles.

Usually the presence of the military was enough. Both sides involved recognized that the soldiers had no personal stake in the dispute and were

only there to enforce the law, even if the law was unfair.

The military men

Maj. Thomas Tipton

Thornburgh, 4th Infantry, the commander of Fort Fred Steele, was an 1867 graduate of the U. S. Military Academy. Thornburgh was well-liked, well-connected, and a crack shot with the rifle. He was married and had three children. In 1878, he had led one of the expeditions in a futile effort to catch Dull Knife and his band of Cheyenne. Second Lt. Sam A. Cherry of the 5th Cavalry, left Fort D. A. Russell Sept. 20 and reported to Thornburgh at Fort Steele, where the major appointed him adjutant of the expedition. Cherry was a handsome, tall, muscular young Hoosier, with a generous nature. While a cadet at West Point, during artillery practice, he had prevented a 1,000-pound field piece from crushing a smaller cadet, sustaining a broken thigh that delayed his graduation.

The company from the 3rd Cavalry was under the command of Capt. Joseph Lawson, a native of Ireland and Union cavalry veteran of the 11th Kentucky, a regiment that had seen hard service fighting guerrillas and fighting with Sherman around Atlanta. Capt. Lawson, a non-West Pointer, had been with General Crook during the Great Sioux War.

Company E of the 4th Infantry was under the command of 1st Lt. Butler Price. In the Indian wars, the infantry often got footsore while the cavalry got whatever glory there was. This expedition would prove no exception.

At Fort Steele, on the bright and invigorating Sunday morning of Sept. 21, the 4th Infantry company and the 3rd Cavalry company were formed for the march to White River. Obviously, the officers and men did not expect real trouble, although it was a well-prepared force. Probably, most of them were looking forward to the change in routine, and some might have been anticipating a winter cantonment at the agency that would be more pleasant in the sheltered valley of the White River than it would be along the windy Union Pacific Railroad in Wyoming.

Men were cheerful

However, while the officers appeared "natty" and the men were obviously "cheerful," the women of the post who attended the send-off wore the traditional looks of foreboding and struggled to hold back tears.

As for the commander, Maj. Thornburgh kissed his wife Lida and told her not to worry. He expected the trouble to be settled and indicated that he would be back in a month. Perhaps he thought that he also would take time to write his grandfather while at the White River agency. The 88-year-old man had recently sent a short note to his "dear grandson." It said,

*"I have but a few words to say. As you have dealings with a treacherous people (the Indians, I mean) be on your guard and remember Braddock, Saint Clair and Harrison. . . . If convenient, write me something of the country, the Indians and yourself.
Your grandfather,
Ai Thornburgh"*

In the afternoon, the troops from Fort Steele reached Rawlins, where the two companies of the 5th Cavalry from Fort D. A. Russell had disembarked from their Union Pacific train. The combination of the two commands formed the White River expedition, which consisted of about 200 men. As a guide, Major Thornburgh had employed Joe Rankin of Rawlins, who had delivered mail to the agency.

Company F of the 5th Cavalry was commanded by J. Scott Payne and contained about 45 men. Payne was a West Pointer, a native of Virginia and a veteran of Crook's campaign after the Custer battle.

Company D of the 5th Cavalry, numbering only 27 men, was under the command of 2nd Lt. James V. S. Paddock. Paddock was from Illinois and an 1877 graduate of West Point.

Expedition leaves

As the expedition pulled out, it reportedly presented a "goodly sight." Maj. Thornburgh plodded along at the head of his column, mounted on a well-bred horse. Mounted behind him was his orderly, the dapper Pvt. O'Malley, astride the major's spare horse. Next came a platoon as an advance guard, accompanied by flankers. Behind the advance guard were the companies from the "Dandy Fifth" which formed a leading battalion for the bulk of the column. Company D was mounted on hard-to-find roans, while Company F was mounted on bays. Then followed the infantry company riding in wagons. Behind the infantry's wagons came the

supply train (of almost 309 wagons). Bringing up the rear was Capt. Lawson's company of the 3rd Cavalry.

The cavalrymen were without their sabers, but there was a "subdued clatter of canteens, haversacks and nosebags." There was also a rumble of wheels, muffled hoof-beats on the soft turf, an occasional snort from a chafing horse, and an undercurrent of low laughter and soldier chat which mark the freedom of a prairie march, or, as they say in the infantry, "the route step."

Most of the men started the expedition beaming like the sun above them. They watched as Cherry occasionally rode up and down the column, exercising his position as adjutant and seeing that men and vehicles were working smoothly.

When the expedition reached the Snake River, traveling at a leisurely pace, Charley Lowry was hired to go along. He was known to be friendly with the White River Utes.

Command camps

On the night of Sept. 25, the expedition reached Fortification Creek. Lowry was dispatched to the agency with a letter to Meeker, telling the agent of the military's approach and requesting the agent to respond. Also at Fortification Creek, the infantry detachment under 1st Lt. Price was ordered to establish a supply camp, while the cavalry continued on to the reservation.

When the command, on Sept. 26, reached the Bear (Yampa) River, about 50 or 60 miles from the agency, it halted and camped. Lt. Cherry was sent

to Peck's ranch, about two miles from the camp, to find out when the mail was scheduled to go to Wyoming. As the officer, accompanied by Rankin, got about a quarter mile from the ranch, the two were seen by two Indians, who, at the sight of the white men, dropped to the ground in apparent surprise. One Indian approached the lieutenant, and Rankin and the other headed back to the ranch. The first Indian accompanied the white men on to the ranch.

When the trio approached the ranch, a number of Utes were seen peering out from behind the cabin. As Rankin went into the cabin, the Indians crowded around Lt. Cherry. Their apparent leader was Jack. Jack, also known as Ute John or Ute Jack to the 5th and 3rd Cavalry, had accompanied Gen. Crook as a volunteer during the Sioux War in 1876. According to later recollections of Captain Bourke of the 3rd Cavalry, although Jack was a self-proclaimed Christian due to his association with the Mormons, he also "was credited by most people with having murdered his own grandmother and drunk her blood, but, in my opinion, the reports to his detriment were somewhat exaggerated, and he was harmless except when sober, which wasn't often, provided whisky was handy." Also, during the Sioux War, Jack was known for insisting on speaking only to Gen. Crook as to matters of the campaign.

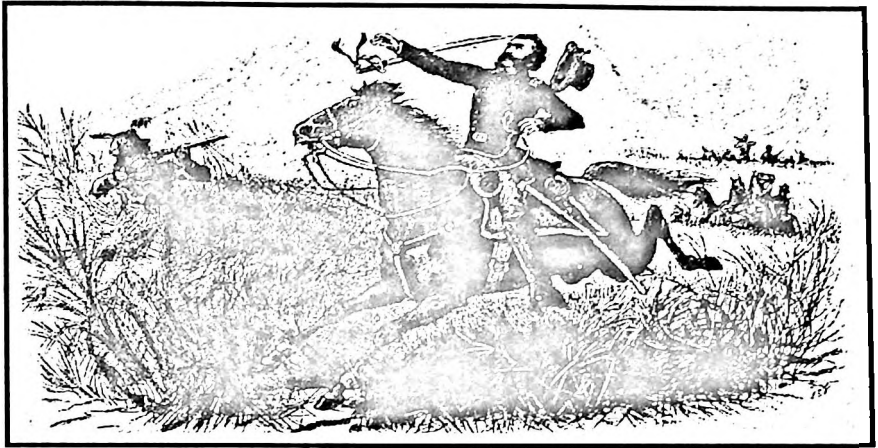
In any event, at Peck's ranch, Jack emphatically wanted to know why there was a troop movement. "What troops come for? What matter?" he

asked the lieutenant. Cherry told Jack that they had heard that Meeker had not been treating them right and that the troops were to find out what the trouble was. The lieutenant also invited Jack to come to the camp and speak to the "big chief," Maj. Thornburgh. After consulting with his fellows, Jack agreed to accompany Cherry and Rankin to the encampment.

Peaceable intentions

At the camp on Bear River, Jack attended a meeting with the major and all the other officers at the major's tent. Maj. Thornburgh told Jack that the Army's intentions were peaceable and that they were going to the agency to see what the trouble was in order to settle the difficulties between the Utes and Meeker. The major invited Jack to meet the expedition at the ford in the morning. For his part, Jack appeared talkative rather than sullen. He recollected his visit to New York. "New York pretty good. Pretty good theatre in New York." However, Jack repeatedly would ask what the soldiers were going to do. He complained bitterly of agent Meeker, complaining that, while Jack had asked for a red-painted wagon, the agent had given him a beat-up, blue-painted wagon. Although Jack was insistent that the soldiers must not go on to the agency, he later admitted that they told him, "No stop."

The military men believed that Jack had gone to the camp in order to count the troops. After the Utes had been fed and had left the camp, taking



The death of Major Thornburgh

with them the only box of Reina Victoria cigars accompanying the expedition, the major confided to his adjutant, "If I had the power, or if I thought it expedient under the circumstances, I should take Jack and these fellows in with me; but if I should do so the whole country would be aroused and would say that I brought on the trouble. These fellows have come here to spy, and it would be a good move to take them in as hostages, but if I should do it I would be blamed by everybody all over the country, and my orders are such that I have to obey the commands of Mr. Meeker, so I would not feel justified in doing it."

On the morning of Sept. 27, Maj. Thornburgh sent Lt. Cherry with 10 men to see if Jack was at the ford and, if not at the ford, if he could be found and persuaded to accompany the command. Failing to find Jack, Lt. Cherry found him and two other Utes toward Peck's

ranch. However, Jack emphatically refused to go with the troops, saying that the other Indians had gone to the agency and he was going to join them. Jack did not want to be detained by the slower soldiers, telling the lieutenant, "Me go today."

Utes drop in

The command continued on its march, traveling "through the wildest and most beautiful scenery imaginable." After a relatively short distance of 16 miles for the day, the expedition camped on the banks of the William's Fork of the Bear River, in an area with good water and grass.

There was another delegation of Utes that dropped in that evening, led by Colorow. Colorow also was not unknown to the expedition, for he had, on occasion, traveled to Rawlins with Chief Douglas to see where the annuity sup-

plies were and also to get drunk. In fact, the telegrapher for Western Union at Rawlins later recalled that "Colorow would look at me and scowl with his big, black face. He seemed to think that he was putting terror into the heart of Uncle Sam." The telegrapher, Newton Craig, had the almost universal white opinion of Colorow, concluding, "He was a bad Indian."

Also with the Utes was Eskridge, an agency employee who brought a letter from Meeker. Meeker now suggested, in order to avoid a collision, that Maj. Thornburgh come into the agency accompanied only by five soldiers, due to the excited nature of the Indians.

Refusal to smoke

The Utes did not appear to be especially unsociable, except for Colorow, who was seen to steal a package of tobacco and hide it under his blanket. Captain Payne, however, thought that it was an indication of hostility when the Utes refused to smoke with the soldiers when invited. Maj. Thornburgh composed a return letter to be sent to Meeker. In it, he stated that he would come into the agency with five soldiers, in addition to his adjutant and a guide. The Indians were apprised of the language of both of the letters. Thornburgh did not specify in his letter exactly where he would halt his command before riding in.

The Utes left that evening, apparently with the letter to Meeker. That evening, Black Wilson, who

operated a store with Mike Sweet about six miles from Thornburgh's camp on William's Fork, was turned back by five Utes when he attempted to go to the camp to sell some hay. He was told, "Utes fight soldiers; no wanna kill oo."

Eskridge, however, did not go back with the Utes under Colorow and remained with the command throughout the march on the 28th. When the expedition halted, Maj. Thornburgh held a conference with some of his officers and expressed to them his regret that he had agreed to keep the command so far from the agency. Capt. Payne stated that he had not thought the Major's agreement to proceed to the agency with a small force prudent when it was stated and now opined that it was probable that the small detachment would be attacked and massacred. Capt. Payne instead proposed that the command should go into camp the next day and that the major would then proceed toward the agency with his small escort during the evening. Then, after the Utes were occupied in Maj. Thornburgh's progress, Capt. Payne would march the cavalry through the dangerous Coal Creek Canyon and be able to go into camp within "supporting distance" of the agency, while still complying with the desire of the Indians. The major had Payne write this program in a letter to Meeker which Eskridge took with him when he left about sundown.

Also on the evening of Sept. 28, Charley Lowry returned to the command, encamped about 8 or 10 miles from Milk Creek. With him he brought a letter from the agent, as well as impressions, stories, and opinions, which he

shared with the enlisted men of the command. Capt. Payne, apparently becoming concerned when he heard his men talking about rumors of a possible fight, went to Lowry to confront him about his foundation for his opinions. When the officer spoke to the guide, Lowry said, "Captain, there is going to be a fight." Capt. Payne told Lowry that he disagreed and supposed and hoped that there would not be a fight.

On the morning of Sept. 29, the expedition moved on to Milk Creek. Lt. Cherry was in command of the advance guard of about a dozen men, keeping a half to three-quarters of a mile in front of the main command. At Milk Creek, the lieutenant saw fresh trails and signs of many Indians. As the wagon train stopped to water its stock, the advance guard moved forward, with the intent of carrying out Maj. Thornburgh's instructions to go four miles beyond the creek.

The cavalry in the command had been alternating between taking the wagon road to the agency and taking the lesser improved trail, which created a lot of shortcuts. About 800 to 1,300 yards beyond Milk Creek, the advance guard, following the trail, saw several Indians disappear from a ridge ahead. Lt. Cherry cautiously advanced to this ridge and saw the next ridge. He later testified, "When I discovered the Indians on top of the second ridge, I saw them lying down with their guns in their hands behind the ridge. I was within a hundred yards of the Indians, and I could see them lying down, occupying not more than a yard of space each; was near enough to see that they were packed as

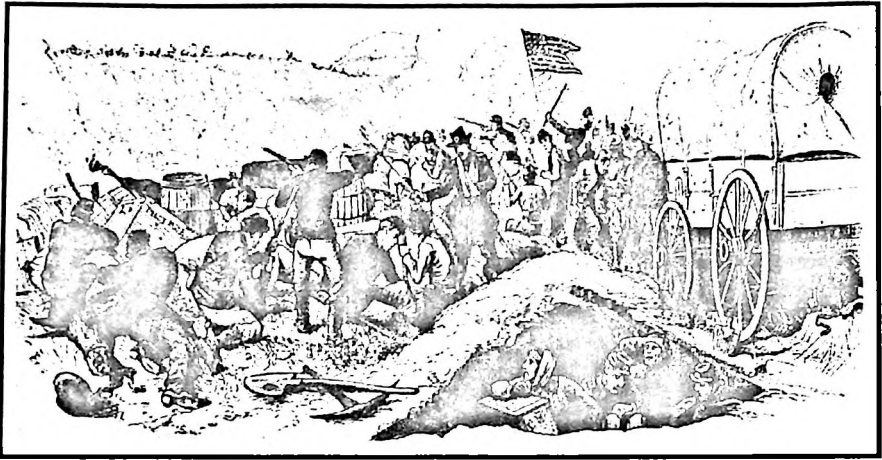
close as they could be, their line extending at least 400 yards."

Lt. Cherry rode back to Maj. Thornburgh to tell him of the Indians, whom the lieutenant estimated to number from 300 to 400. The major had Capt. Payne deploy on the left and dismount his men, the led horses being taken to the rear. Lt. Cherry was ordered to take 15 men of Capt. Lawson's company and to approach the Utes to the right. The major ordered the men not to fire unless he gave the order. The major disregarded Joe Rankin's advice to "fire on the redskins. It is our only show . . ." Rankin also reportedly predicted, "Boys, we are going to have a fight right here."

Shots fired

When the lieutenant got about 400 yards from Maj. Thornburgh, he saw about 15 or 20 Indians come around the ridge where he had seen the prone Indians. Cherry took off his hat and waved it "in a friendly way." Maj. Thornburgh and Capt. Payne, on high ground to the left of Cherry's position, meanwhile had also been waving to the Indians, some of them waving back as they were maneuvering, out of range, around the right and left flanks of the soldiers' line.

The reply to the lieutenant's wave was a shot from the Indians, which missed the lieutenant and wounded a soldier behind the officer and killed the soldier's horse. According to the later statement of Capt. Payne, this shot "was followed almost instantly by other shots." Payne, knowing that they had an



The barricade constructed between two bluffs

Indian fight on their hands, did not investigate where the first shot came from and just turned to his men and told them to open fire.

Lt. Cherry had his men dismount and scatter, and Maj. Thornburgh ordered him to delay the Indians. The major also ordered Lawson to fall back with the horses; Payne was ordered to charge a hill on the left and to the rear, occupied by Utes. Payne's move was successful, and the line of communication back to the wagon train was secured at least momentarily. However, Payne's horse was killed in the charge, and his men had not noticed their unhorsed captain as they swept over the vacated hill and continued on to the train. Fortunately for Payne, his first sergeant, John Dolan, a Civil War veteran and former Andersonville prisoner-of-war, noticed that his commanding officer was missing and went back to find him. Payne and

his top sergeant each refused to leave the other, mounted on Dolan's horse. Luckily, a young soldier reached the spot with a led horse and all got safely away.

Meanwhile, Thornburgh had ordered Joe Rankin back to the train with orders to corral the wagons. There now were about two companies in advance of the train, deployed in skirmish lines, that were falling back gradually. However, the companies, due to the broken nature of the ground, were broken into smaller groups. Cherry was in command of a small group of men from all three companies that were covering the retreat in a skirmish line. As their ammunition ran out, Sgt. Edward Grimes of Company F volunteered to ride back the half mile to the train for ammunition and support. As Cherry's men cheered, Grimes outdistanced pursuing mounted Utes and gained the train.

Similarly, Lawson, after fighting for 20 minutes, ordered one of his men, John Donovan, back to the train for additional ammunition.

Train under fire

A couple of men in Payne's company were killed and several others were wounded during this withdrawal to the train, which was guarded by the single remaining company. Payne believed that his men had killed a half dozen Indians.

Meanwhile, as Lt. Paddock was attempting to corral, the train came under heavy fire from the hill to the north. To add to the confusion, wagonmaster McKinstrey was killed. Paddock led a sortie against the Utes on the hill, but the soldiers withdrew after the Lieutenant was slightly wounded and several horses were hit.

It was during this withdrawal that Maj. Thornburgh, trotting calmly along without an escort and heading back to the supply train, was shot off his horse and killed. Payne later testified that no one saw him killed and that he was hit by a long range shot. However, there was at least a tradition that Pvt. O'Malley was accompanying the major at the time and killed the nearby Ute marksman with a revolver shot before fleeing from other Indians. Donovan, of Company E, reported that he saw the Major's body as he rode back for the ammunition.

When Payne got back to the wagon train, he found that Lt. Paddock and Company D had done a poor job in moving them into a defensive corral. Also, a great many horses and mules had

been killed. In order to improvise barricades that provided additional space for the soldiers, the captain ordered about 30 to 40 additional horses to be shot in place to provide cover for Army sharpshooters. Payne restored some confidence and order among the men and, as the sharpshooters began to reply to the constant plunging fire of the Utes, he sent a party of five men, under the command of Sgt. John Lawton of Company D, to cover the retreat of Lt. Cherry and Capt. Lawson, whose men (who apparently had combined together) were still on foot since most of their led horses had been withdrawn to the corral.

The courageous 1st Sgt. Dolan, of Company F, had to order men from beneath the wagons to get up and unload bedding and sacks of corn in order to build barricades. To speed up the reluctant men, Dolan advised them, "If you don't get out and help, I will kill you myself." While exposing himself to the firing, Dolan was fatally shot. Sgt. Grimes and Payne, initially believing Dolan was only wounded, went to the body and pulled it into a trench. Payne took what small solace he could in the knowledge that he had earlier taken the time to thank his top sergeant for saving his life. Dolan was pending retirement at the time of his death.

Meanwhile, Lawson and his men had reached Milk Creek, where the cottonwoods and the creek bank provided some cover. The men from Company E drove out the Indians they found along the stream and finally reached the corral. It had been almost two hours since the first shot. Lawson's

company suffered about 17 or 20 men wounded in the withdrawal, estimated Lt. Cherry.

Fighting continues

From the time that Lawson and Cherry arrived at the train until nightfall, there was a continuous fight, as the Utes, about 30 to 40 yards away and firing from the hills and ravines, would fire at will toward the corral. During the afternoon, the Utes fired the grass and, fed by a high wind blowing towards the train, the fire reached the corral. Even though the smoke protected the soldiers from much of the Indian gunfire, five men were killed and an additional 10 or 12 wounded in the successful effort to beat the fire out with clothing and burlap sacks. Pvt. James Hickman ran to the outside of the corral and pulled off a wagon sheet that had caught fire. Charley Lowry was shot in the head with a wound that would prove fatal. He said, before he lost consciousness, "Never mind me; I am done for."

Also, in the late afternoon, the men in the corral could see smoke rising into the sky from the direction of the agency. The speculation among the officers and men was that everyone at the agency had been murdered and that the agency buildings had been burned to the ground. Unfortunately, this speculation was almost exactly what had occurred. Once word of the fighting got back to the agency, the 20 or so Ute men left there fell upon Meeker and his male employees. All the white men were killed, and the women and children were made prisoners.

As night fell at the corral, a party

of 30 to 40 Utes charged up to within about 40 yards of the corral in an attempt to stampede the remaining horses and mules. The Utes were repulsed, with three or four of the Indians falling.

Although Payne now believed that the command was out of danger of being annihilated, the White River expedition was in a shambles. The original commander was dead. Twelve other men, both military and civilian, were dead or dying. Forty-three were wounded, including many commissioned officers. Additionally, the besieged, while they had sufficient food, had to send men out of the corral at night in order to get water from stagnant Milk Creek.

During the night, dead horses were dragged from the corral, deep entrenchments were dug, and the dead were wrapped in canvas or blankets and covered with dirt.

Having done so much during the day, Payne apparently either ran out of energy or reflected on Capt. Lawson's greater experience. Payne, since he had been wounded and also hurt from his fall from his horse, asked Lawson to take command. Lawson refused, believing Payne's wound to be not serious. Capt. Payne also reportedly made a remark that he would move the camp towards Rawlins. The crusty Lawson answered with a rebuke that went beyond what Payne had been considering. "How will you do that with our horses and mules killed? I will stay right here with my wounded men," the 3rd Cavalry captain replied.

Ride for help

In the dark of that first night, Capt. Payne wrote dispatches about the situation and called for volunteers to take some of the few remaining mounts and ride for relief. Corporals George Moquin and Edward Murphy of Company D, 5th Cavalry, were the first to volunteer. Civilians Joe Rankin and John Gordon also volunteered. All made it away from the corral. They split into pairs and headed on different routes.

As the couriers rode towards Rawlins, they stopped at various ranches and camps and spread the word. Fortunately, one Ed Clark left a message tied on a branch of a tall sagebrush, alongside a trail near Hayden where it was expected that Capt. Dodge's Company D of the 9th Cavalry would pass on routine patrol from its camp.

Providentially, the note was discovered by Dodge's command on the 30th. Capt. Francis Dodge, a white New Englander who had volunteered to serve with the black 9th Cavalry, read the message, "Hurry up; the troops have been defeated at the agency. - E. E. C.," and almost immediately issued his men 125 rounds of carbine ammunition and rations for three days. While his men were eager to go to the relief of Thornburgh's command, Dodge, believing that they were under observation of Ute scouts, had his small command go through the motions of making camp in the evening. Under the cover of darkness, he led his force of two commission officers, 35 men, four civilian volunteers, and one pack mule to Milk Creek.

It was well that Dodge's men were eager for action. Even if the Indians discovered that the 9th Cavalrymen were on the way, that knowledge of reinforcements would not help suppress the anger of the White River Utes, any more than the march of the white soldiers had. Reportedly, at the time of the outbreak, the Utes hated the black soldiers even more than they did white soldiers. And, based upon comments an old Ute made later on in the 1880's, any respect that the Indians might have had for the Buffalo soldiers was offset by this strong dislike. When the Utes at the Uintah reservation heard that black American soldiers were on the way, the reaction was about the same that had met Thornburgh with his white troops. The old White River Ute told the agent, "All the Indians want you to come back quick and meet the 'buffalo soldiers' at the line and send them back. We cannot stand for them to come on our Reservation. It is too bad!"

When this agent tried to settle the old man down, the Ute (appropriately named Sour) began to rant, "All over black! All over black, buffalo soldiers! Indian heap no like him!" Thus, it is obvious that Dodge and his men had no reason to expect that their reception would be perceived by the Utes as anything other than another hostile demonstration by government soldiers. Unlike the Thornburgh expedition, Dodge and his men knowingly were heading into a fight. In the words of an 1881 history, "Capt. Dodge and his intrepid followers galloped into the Indian country, not knowing whether one of them would ever return alive."

Help arrives

A little after 4 a.m. Oct. 2, the 9th Cavalrymen came upon the burned ruins of the Utes' annuity train and the bodies of three of the white freighters. Within half an hour, Dodge's company was within hailing distance of Payne's command. John Gordon (one of Payne's couriers) and Sandy Mellin, a citizen volunteer with Dodge, called out that a company of cavalry was coming in. The response from the rifle pits was, "That's a damned lie; it's an Indian ruse—look out!" Fortunately, when the besieged recognized John Gordon identifying himself, they said, "Come on in."

When the men under Capt. Payne realized that Dodge's men had arrived, there followed a cheer that alerted the Utes stationed on the hills. The 9th Cavalry rode into the corral under a shower of shots, but not a man was hit. The black soldiers were the men of the moment.

There was particularly heavy firing from the Ute positions the night of Oct. 2, perhaps to intimidate the new arrivals. Pvt. Eizer, going to the creek for water, received a bullet wound in his face. There were plenty of other incidents that the soldiers would recall. During a lull in the firing, a big 9th Cavalryman climbed out of a trench and said, "Show me a Ute." He then sat on a wagon tongue, tempting fate. A moment later, a Ute bullet struck the wagon bed, and the soldier dove for cover, amid the laughter of those around him. Sgt. Johnson fought his way to the creek to bring water to the wounded. He

would be one of a number of men who would receive the Medal of Honor for the action at Milk Creek.

But "Old Wesley" was coming. Early Oct. 5, at the head of about 600 men, Gen. Merritt approached the area of the battle and the siege. In the darkness, he had his bugler sound the traditional recognition call for the 5th Cavalry, "Officers Call." After a moment, there came back to Merritt's ears the same bugle call, and it was no echo. The men in the corral jumped up on the earthworks and gave Merritt's men cheer after cheer.

The sound and the excitement must have been almost enough to wake the dead. In fact, at one end of the rifle pits, there was movement under the dirt and canvas. From under the canvas came bloody Charley Lowry. As he stood up, holding his head with one hand, Lowry looked at the dumbstruck soldiers and said, "My God, what's the matter, boys." Many of the men, who had looked death in the face for six days, were terrified of this resurrection. Dr. Grimes and Merritt's surgeon looked at the wound but, reportedly after Lowry had sipped a little coffee, he died for real. Apparently, the bullet that had entered just below an ear had caused a concussion of the brain that kept him unconscious for almost a week. Infection would have made it fatal even if it had been properly attended to.

War continues

While the siege at Milk Creek was over, as far as Gen. Merritt and the Army were concerned, the war had

hardly begun. The Utes had disappeared from the immediate scene, but they were hovering about. Merritt, assuming that the White River Utes were being reinforced, awaited even more troops before forcing Coal Creek Canyon.

However, that afternoon, 100 Utes appeared near the battlefield at Milk Creek and fired a couple of shots at Lt. Cherry and his company. As aid was arriving, an Indian Bureau employee named Joseph Brady appeared from the Indian lines. He bore a written message that said that Chief Ouray and other Utes deplored the trouble and, in an effort to end the bloodshed, those peaceably inclined chiefs had ordered the other Utes to stop the war.

Wesley Merritt, the contemporary of Custer, who feared neither rebels nor Indians, had been trumped. Instead of the Army rescuing the captives from the agency and whipping the Utes decisively, Merritt, acting also on orders of Gen. Sherman, was forced to let Chief Ouray, his wife Chipeta, his sister Susan, and Gen. Charles Adams work to get the captives released.

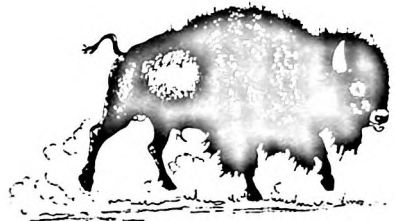
But the war was not completely over. Capt. Weir and Chief of Scouts William Humme were out hunting Oct. 20 between the White River and the Grand River when they were killed by Utes. Humme reportedly killed a Ute in the fight. That same day, a small command under Lt. Hall, from which Weir and Humme had separated, fought a brisk skirmish that supposedly resulted in one Ute being killed.

In the end, the captives from the agency were redeemed. The war had cost the military 15 killed and about 43 wounded and had resulted in 11 citizens killed. For their part, the Utes lost an admitted 39 warriors killed. More devastating, the Utes lost all their Colorado land except two reservations in southwestern Colorado.

While the military was frustrated with the sudden termination of the field operations, the brief war generally reflected well on the officers and men. John F. Finerty, who had been a correspondent in the field during the brief Ute War of 1879, wrote about native-born Americans, Irish, German, and Scandinavian immigrants, and Capt. Dodge's black troops, when he observed:

"In fact our cosmopolitan army, made up of all the races of Europe, and also including Americans of African descent, possess all the military qualities which have made the nationalities already named, as well as the French, the Poles and other warlike peoples, famous in martial annals."

Finally, while the Ute War of 1879 often has been said to be the last of the Indian troubles in Colorado, this is far from the truth. But that discussion must be left for another time.

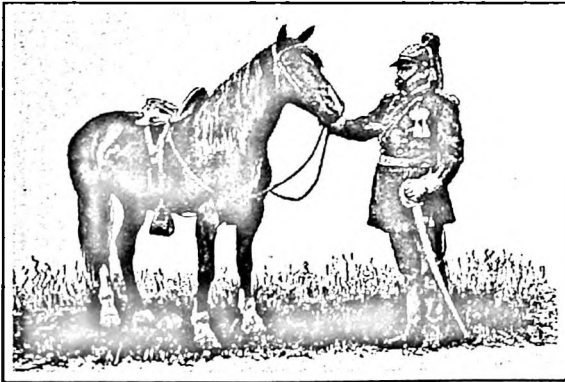


Mattes project underway

The Denver Westerners' Merrill Mattes Book project is submitting a proposal to University Press of Colorado, asking the publishing house to publish three brand books honoring Mattes.

The books, in a series, would focus on the three major areas of Mattes' work: Western Trails, Fur Trade, and Military in the West.

Members of Denver Westerners are encouraged to consider submitting articles in these areas for publication. The first book planned is Western Trails, and Posse Member Lee Whiteley heads up that effort. Sheriff Keith Fessenden and Posse Member Lee Olson are in charge of submissions for the Fur Trade book, and Posse Members John Hutchins and Bob Larson are heading up Military in the West.



Captain J.S. Payne

Over the Corral Rail

Honors & Awards

The Denver Posse of the Westerners won the top "Heads-Up" award from Westerners International for best posse. The award is for groups formed before 1973. Posse Member **Bob Larson** accepted the award on behalf of the Denver Posse at the Westerners International breakfast meeting Oct. 18 in St. Paul, Minn.

Posse Members **Lee Whiteley** and **Bob Larson** took top awards, first place and second place, respectively, in the Westerners International Phillip A. Danielson Division at the October meeting, also. Whiteley won for "The Cherokee Trail---Bent's Old Fort to Fort Bridger," and Larson won for "Red Cloud: Warrior as Well as Leader."



Lee Whiteley and Ken Gaunt proudly display top awards

Upcoming Posses

Deputy Sheriff and Program Chairman **Max Smith** announces a variety of programs for upcoming Posses. On Nov. 26, **Gordon Bassett**, Corresponding Member, Colorado Springs, is scheduled to talk about the Uintah Railroad—the Gilsonite Route. At the Dec. 17 Rendezvous, *santos* and *santeros* carver **Jose Raul Esquibel** will show slides and demonstrate his work. Corresponding Member **Jim Donohue**'s subject at the Jan. 28, 1998, meeting will center around Leadville, and on Feb. 25, Posse Member **Bob Lane** will present the 25th Infantry Bicycle Corps, A black troop stationed in Missouri. Mark your calendars! And thanks to Oct. 22 meeting presenters, Posse Members **Nancy** and **Ed Bathke**, who instructed members about "Clinton H. Scott—Railroad Surgeon."

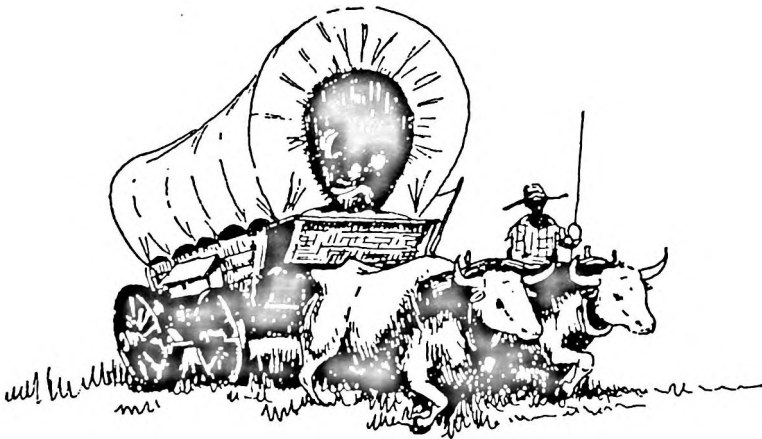
New Members Welcome

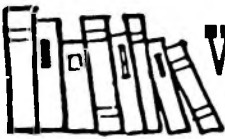
With membership at about 230, the Denver Westerners welcomes new members to the group and urges members to let their friends know about the benefits of being a member of the organization. As always, guests are welcome at the monthly Posse meetings. Bringing a guest is a good way to familiarize an individual with the unique camaraderie and curiosity about everything Western of the Denver Westerners.

Four New Members

The Denver Westerners welcomes four new members. **Harry E. Grant** of Littleton is interested in early Denver history because his family came here in the 1870's. He's also interested in study of the early West and in reading history. **Clark Secrest** is interested in Denver history and Colorado law enforcement and crime history. Secrest, an editor for the Colorado Historical Society has published articles in the *Colorado Heritage Magazine* of the society. He's also written one book, *Hell's Belles*, which was presented to the Westerners earlier this year. **Wilbur L. Swart**, of Evergreen, is interested in the areas of Colorado and cowboys. Finally, new member **Nolan O. Winsett Jr.**, of Denver is interested in Colorado, Texas, Missouri and Tennessee. Winsett's hobbies include history, weaponry, and certain political areas.

(Submit items of interest for "Over the Corral Rail" to Joan White, P.M., editor.)





Westerners Bookshelf



With Custer on the Little Bighorn: A Newly Discovered First-Person Account by William O. Taylor, edited by Greg Martin, Viking Books, New York, 1996. 206 pages, illustrated with photographs and a map. Cloth, \$27.95.

Although this reviewer has a great deal of respect for the work of Col. W. A. Graham, who authored *The Custer Myth*, the colonel was wrong years ago when he predicted that nothing new and of significance would be discovered about the Little Big Horn. This book is a case in point, albeit a weak point.

As the editor and author of the forward, Martin readily acknowledges this book was published from the manuscript of Seventh Cavalry veteran William O. Taylor, which Martin purchased in April, 1995. What Martin does not tell, but which was mentioned in a press report at the time of the San Francisco auction of various Custer-related items, he had to pay \$42,500 for this "lost" manuscript. That was the same price that purchased, at the same auction, a supposed campaign shirt made for George Custer by Libbie Custer. Thus, Mr. Martin, who also apparently helped authenticate the items sold at the auction, has a very real financial interest, in addition to his intellectual and professional interest, in the manuscript and its acceptance by the public.

In any event, Taylor, having survived the Little Big Horn by having the good fortune to be in Company A (which was in the battalion assigned to Major Reno), spent a good portion of the rest of his life collecting information about the Battle at the Little Big Horn and the Great Sioux War. His manuscript (which this reviewer presumes is authentic) was the result. Unfortunately, while it does contain some details of what Taylor himself observed, most of it contains excerpts from many of the books which Tal Luther called "Custer High Spots." Nevertheless, there are, at least for this reviewer, enough new tidbits from Taylor (believable or not) to make the publication worthwhile. Also, there are several photographs of participants in the drama of 1876, including Taylor, that apparently previously have gone unpublished.

However, while Martin deserves credit for getting a nice-looking

product on the market in near-record time, his annotations and comments hardly prove him to be anything other than an amateur, albeit affluent, Custer-buff. To his credit, Martin concedes in the acknowledgments that he did not make a transcription of the manuscript himself and did not do all—if any—of the background research.

To prove the assertion by this reviewer that the book's background research and disclosure were inadequate, there are at least four easily discovered errors or omissions in the notes or explanation of photographs. First, at page 14, Martin states that Custer's court-martial was in 1865. It was in 1867. Second, at page 78, there is a purported photograph of Keogh's horse, Comanche. The photograph is of General Custer's father mounted on Dandy, which had been purchased by the officers of the Seventh

.....there are at least
four easily discovered
errors or omissions.....

Cavalry and presented to the general's widow. Third, and of most significance, on page 120 there is a photograph of Taylor's discharge paper. Martin either does not know or does not tell that this, as is obvious from the photograph, is a "bobtail" discharge. The character of service has been torn off. This might

have been done by Taylor himself (if not by an autograph "hound"), because, as mentioned in John Carroll's *They Rode With Custer*, private Taylor's character of service was set down as being a "poor" soldier. This information about (and impeachment of) the author is important. It may explain, for example, Taylor's poor opinion of Major Reno in his manuscript, especially if the characterization was undeserved. Fourth, at page 79, the book has an illustration of, and, at pages viii and 76, discussions about, two arrows that Taylor supposedly pulled from a body on the battlefield. Martin does not disclose that these items did not sell at the auction. Does this hesitation of buyers reflect on the authenticity of the items that were for sale?

Nevertheless, this reviewer is glad that the manuscript has been published. And, because it contains some purported first-person observations, this book is recommended to students of the Little Big Horn. While the manuscript, heavily padded with selections from other books, was not really "worth" \$42,500, the book itself is worth \$27.95.

--John Milton Hutchins, P. M.

Denver Landmarks and Historic Districts: A Pictorial Guide by Thomas J. Noel; Foreword by Mayor Wellington Webb. Niwot, CO: Univ. Press of Colorado, 1996. 184 pages, 150 black-and-white photos, maps. Cloth, \$34.95.

Fellow Westerner Tom Noel in this recent publication reviews all the individual buildings and districts which have been reviewed by the Denver Landmark Preservation Commission and designated by the Denver City Council as landmarks. Denver's Landmark Preservation Commission was established 30 years ago as much of the early history of Denver, as exemplified by older buildings in the central part of the city, was being eliminated as the city was being "renewed."

Following an interesting and informative Introduction, the book divides the city into seven areas (the last area is comprised of the three Denver mountain parks which have been designated). Excellent maps for each area identify the buildings in a numerical order which provides a good guide for touring the neighborhoods. Information about each structure includes the name of the original architect, or builder if the architect is not stated, with names of those who designed additions or major remodeling. Owners and occupants are identified with their histories in brief. Photographs of many of the buildings—historic pictures or contemporary photos—are shown. It would be nice to have more photos, but this may be Noel's method to get more of us to go see the historic areas. However, the large photograph accompanying the report of the one project with which I am personally involved—the Fort Logan Field Officer's Quarters—shows the wrong building. I am not aware of any other misidentified structures.

Appendices list the 258 landmark buildings and 28 districts in the order of their designation, Denver Landmark Preservations and "Lost Undesignated Landmarks." This latter, admittedly incomplete, is the author's remembrance of buildings past which were worthy of historic designation but which were demolished too soon or in spite of attempted intervention by preservationists.

Denver Landmarks and Historic Districts is a splendid, well-organized and attractive book with brief and useful information about historic buildings in Denver. The book belongs in the library of anyone interested in preservation of Denver's history.

--Earl McCoy. PM

The Mormon Hierarchy, Extensions of Power, by D. Michael Quinn, Signature Books, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1997. Endnotes, appendixes, index; 928 pages. Hardbound, \$44.95.

Unfortunately, books and articles about Mormons and the LDS Church usually fall into one of two categories: "Faith promoting" or "Mormon bashing," each with an obvious bias. Seldom, but increasingly in recent years, a few books or articles fall into a third category: unbiased objective history.

This volume is the second of two books by Quinn about the leadership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah. The first, *The Mormon Hierarchy, Origins of Power*, was criticized by church members in Mormon-focused publications such as

Perhaps the book's best attribute...is how it shows the leaders in relationship to their times...

Sunstone. It apparently was viewed as non-faith promoting by some members of the Mormon Church. They are correct that these two books do not appear to have been written as "faith-promoting" books. But neither were they written as "Mormon bashing" books. When one writes about an area as potentially

"sensitive" as this, it is obvious the writer cannot please everyone. Most readers, regardless of their bias, who are familiar with the Mormon Church and Mormon history will find something in this book with which to disagree.

Despite this, these two volumes provide the most objective picture of the Mormon leadership yet. Quinn takes the different parts of the Mormon church's leadership, the Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, the Seventy, the Presiding Bishopric, and positions no longer extant, the Presiding Patriarch and the Fifty, and explains how they form(ed) the whole. The evolution of the church's hierarchy is explored, and others' opinions often are addressed when their published conclusions differ from those of Quinn.

In *Extensions of Power*, Quinn explores two topics sensitive to many. First, in a chapter titled, "Ezra Taft Benson: A Study of Inter-Quorum Conflict," Quinn addresses Benson's lifelong involvement with the John Birch Society while a leading member of the church's leadership. Later, in a chapter on political involvement from the 1970s to the 1990s, Quinn addresses the church's involvement in the defeat of the ERA amendment and other local, national and international politics.

Perhaps the book's best attribute, and in the eyes of some its basic flaw, is how it shows the leaders in relationship to their times. It describes how the church has changed over the last 100 years, often in response to escalating external influences.

Needed, but missing from this book, is a bibliography to tie together and summarize the sources listed in the extensive endnotes. Extensive is an understatement when the endnotes are reviewed. Should the reader question something presented in *The Mormon Hierarchy, Extensions of Power*, the 222 pages of endnotes (24 percent of the book), allow the reader easily to investigate further.

The book also includes five appendices, several of which could be an article itself. 1. General Officers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1845 - 1996. 2. Biographical Sketches of General Officers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1849-1932. 3. Appointments to the Theocratic Council of Fifty through 1884. (This group's last meeting was in 1884.) 4. Family Relationships among 101 Current General Authorities and Their Wives, 1996. 5. Selected Chronology of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1848-1996. This Chronology is definitely of interest to the historian. While of limited length, the "Selected Chronology" lists items not often found in similar listings.

The Mormon Hierarchy, Extensions of Power and its predecessor volume, *The Mormon Hierarchy, Origins of Power*, provide an intriguing view of the Mormon Church and its leadership since the church's founding. While not always flattering, neither are these books disparaging, for they show the members of the Mormon hierarchy for what they are, mortals attempting to do what is right in a secular world with what one hopes is divine help.

--Keith Fessenden, P.M.

John Otto, Trials and Trails, by Alan J. Kania. Univ. Press of Colorado, Niwot, 1996. Illustrated (35 photos), 400 pages. Clothbound, \$34.95.

Can one man really make a difference? This is the story of one man, John Otto, who did make a difference. The establishment of Colorado National Monument is a tribute to him. Without him, it probably would not have happened.

John Otto seemed to be a rather simple, hard-working, dedicated man, possessing an intelligence and capabilities that should have propelled him to greater success and more prominence in life. But, John was also a

VERY strange man. Two previous books have documented his life, as well as the establishment of Colorado National Monument. First, Al Look, western Colorado writer of several books on that area, published a small book, *John Otto and the Colorado Monument*, in 1961. Then, in 1984, *John Otto of Colorado National Monument* was authored by Denver Westerner Alan Kania. This 183-page paperback was published by Roberts Rinehart in Boulder.

Alan Kania's first book tells the tale of how John Otto, living a rustic life, single-handedly built trails for the Monument, raised funds,

But, John was also a
VERY strange man....

promoted the Grand Junction area and western Colorado, and became the first superintendent of Colorado National Monument in 1911. Conflicts with others finally caused John Otto to give up his role in the Monument and move to California in the late 1920s.

John Otto espoused some very unusual philosophy and wrote extensively to the newspapers, getting his letters printed, getting responses published and taking out large ads when necessary to get his letters in print. Many considered him crazy. The author's first book provided some background on John Otto's family and his early years.

Subsequently, Kania's very thorough research uncovered Otto's jobs as a youth and his years in California prior to coming to Colorado. Work as a professional witness in a court case concerning a trail built by John Otto produced more details. The additional material resulted in this second book.

As a young man in California John Otto was committed to a mental institution. The case of his commitment being a political move to get him out of the way is well made. Otto comes to Denver and his activism gets him in trouble again. When his request for an audience with Gov. Peabody is considered a threat, he is jailed when he appears at the governor's office.

John was an outspoken activist, a fervent patriot, a prolific letter writer, an accomplished outdoorsman and an indefatigable trail builder. Otto met a Bostonian girl and married her in an outdoor ceremony at the Monument. This curious situation raises many questions for the reader (as well as for Otto's contemporaries), and the marriage lasted only months. Alan Kania's research fills out this episode and answers most of the questions.

This segment of Colorado history—John Otto, and his trails, and his trials—is well told, and Alan Kania's impressive work in bringing together the wide-ranging facets of a quirky man is well done. Colorado history buffs should enjoy reading *John Otto, Trials and Trails*. The reviewers' only disappointment was that Kania's first book on John Otto had better illustrations. This 400-page book has fewer illustrations and is not as clearly presented as the earlier, smaller volume.

--Nancy E. Bathke, P.M.

--Edwin A Bathke, P.M.

Rocky Times in Rocky Mountain National Park by Karl Hess, Jr., with foreword by Tom Wolf. University Press of Colorado, Niwot, Colorado 1993, 167 Pages. Notes and Index. Cloth, \$24.95.

The author is an ecologist and noted authority on environmental issues. He has written several articles and books on the effects of governmental policies dealing with our environment. This book "blew the whistle" on the policies of the National Park Service regarding Rocky Mountain National Park's growing elk population, decades of fire suppression, the rapid growth of tourism, and the private and commercial development surrounding the park. Utilizing his own experiences as a consultant for the Park Service in the park and surrounding area and the reports of the park's own biologists, Hess makes his case, demanding large scale changes in the park's environmental management policies.

In October 1991, the author was invited to write a guest editorial in *The Rocky Mountain News*. Soon afterward, James Thompson, then superintendent of Rocky Mountain National Park, wrote a rebuttal, stating that the author Hess had ignored some issues and overstated others. Thompson spends much of the letter on the new species of trout, acquisition of more wetlands, and defending the policies that were in place. Nowhere in his letter does he mention the elk and their effects on the ecosystem both in and outside the park nor the human impact, past, present, and future.

The Park Service did hire a scientist to study the effects of global warming on the park, but it meant the departure of David Stevens, who had studied the impact of the elk on the park's ecosystem for more than 20 years. This resulted in a change of mission—a step in the wrong direction, according to the author.

The establishment of the Conservation Trust is a step in the right direction, but as the author states, "Rocky Mountain deserves better. It

deserves people who care, whose ethics recognize it as more than a depository of resources or a laboratory where nature can be tinkered with to prove or disprove ecological theories.”

--B. J. Michels, C.M.

Comadres: Hispanic Women of the Rio Puerco Valley collected and edited by Nasario Garcia, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque 1997, 240 Pages; 25 black-white Illustrations. Paperback. \$19.95.

The Rio Puerco valley lies about 40 miles northwest of Albuquerque, N.M. Wildlife includes prairie dogs, rattlesnakes, and coyotes. The valley is desert-like and semi-arid.

The book encompasses stories of 12 Hispanic women, relating day-to-day experiences on farms and ranches during the first decades of statehood, dating from 1912 to 1958. The oldest woman was born in 1906, the youngest in 1927. At the time of interviewing, the oldest in her 80's, the youngest was 70.

This book is presented in a bilingual Spanish/English format for two reasons: To encourage students of Hispanic culture to enjoy the stories in the regional dialect and to reach out to those who speak English, but not Spanish, with similar cultural interests.

I'll mention several chapter titles to landscape your visual appreciation of the subject matter. "Beyond the Kitchen," "Washboards, Stove Irons and Wool Mattresses," and "Gypsum, Wallpaper and Mud" should wet your appetite.

Each chapter is a complete story and easy reading. It's a woman's book.

Caution is advised. If you are English-speaking, an overwhelming desire to learn Spanish will consume you.

--Pat Quade, P.M.

The Discovery of The Oregon Trail - Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward from Astoria in 1812 - 13. Edited by Philip Ashton Rollins with Introduction by Howard Lamar. Bison Book Edition published 1995 by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska and London, England. 391 Pages. Paperback \$18.95.

Robert Stuart's *Journal of a Voyage Across the Continent of North America and Traveling Memoranda* are combined in this book with prodi-

gious notes, two appendixes, and index. Part of this book is the history of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company. Astor had a two-pronged plan to establish a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River—the future Fort Astoria. Wilson Price Hunt was commissioned to travel by land to the West from St. Louis, with the dual purpose of locating future trading posts in the interior. Robert Stuart was sent by Astor aboard the ship *Tonquin* in 1810 from New York, around Cape Hope, to help found the ill-fated settlement of Astoria, Ore. Less than two years later, facing sure disaster, Stuart and six other men, including two who had traveled with Hunt, managed to slip away from Astoria and begin their epic journey eastward to St. Louis.

This reviewer found himself in total awe of Stuart's descriptions of the flora, fauna, and people they encountered along their route. Stuart's journal and memoranda are in the same class as Lewis and Clark's journals of their trek to the headwaters of the Missouri. Stuart wrote in a literary style that is easy to read and creates vivid pictures of what they were experiencing visually and emotionally. Many times the group faced almost sure death, but found a way to forge onward. Traveling by foot, in canoes they bought, stole and made, and on horseback, Stuart and his fellow travelers had no idea that they were establishing what would become the Oregon Trail.

It was Stuart's decision when the group arrived at the Wind River Mountains in Wyoming that would change the course of history. Up to this point, the group had traveled the routes taken by Lewis and Clark and Hunt's party. Veering southeast, Stuart and his men became the first Americans to cross the low-lying saddle known today as South Pass. Their discovery of South Pass was never publicly reported; however, 10 years later, James Clyman and Jedediah Smith rediscovered South Pass, and the rest is history.

This book is an invaluable resource for those who are interested in the Oregon Trail. Many other books have been written about the trail and those who traveled it, but few can match Robert Stuart's personal account of his trip "Back to the Future."

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became the first
Americans to cross the
saddle known today as
South Pass...

--Roger P. Michels, P.M.

Remaking the Agrarian Dream--New Deal Rural Settlement in the Mountain West. by Brian Q. Cannon. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, N.M. 1996. 195 Pages. Maps, Bibliography, Notes and Index. Hard Cover \$40.00.

The author has documented the experiences of hundreds of families, who, having suffered through the Great Depression on dry land farms, accepted the federal government's offer to settle on government-owned irrigated farms in Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, and Utah. This program gave hope to these impoverished families to start anew. In truth, they were modern day pioneers not unlike the "homesteaders" of the 1800's.

This book serves two purposes, in this reviewer's opinion.

One, as a valuable resource for those researching our government's response to social and economic crises and its ability to devise and carry out a plan on a massive scale. Using the federal workers' weekly reports and the stories carried in the local newspapers, the author has written a clear and concise account in layman's terms of the experiences of these families. He also has documented the costs, both human and financial. Financially, the program was a bust. Most of the farms were unprofitable, and the families moved to town or into other areas of the country to start over. Some farmers chose to purchase their farms from the government, but most of these were large enough to produce a positive income. Those farms located in areas where, through human or natural causes, there was a lack of enough water for irrigation resulted in failure.

The human costs to the families were more difficult to document. Many families made the adjustment to their new surroundings and learned how to use the techniques the government workers taught them to make the farms a success. These families came together to form social groups, set rules for behavior, and supported each other in the good and bad times. Some individuals and families would not accept this new way of doing things and chose either to remain and fight it out with their neighbors and the government or leave for other parts of the country.

The other purpose of this book is as a resource for family historians and genealogists. This book is filled with documented information on individuals and families that family researchers would not normally have reason to know about. While public records are available that document land transactions, this book delves into both the social and economic issues, along with the trials and tribulations of these families. Thus, a great resource for family researchers who are looking for the who, what, and why of the families.

--Roger P. Michels, P.M.

A Frontier Army Christmas, compiled and edited by Lori A. Cox-Paul and Dr. James W. Wengert. Nebraska State Historical Society, 1996. 131 Pages. Paperback, \$12.95.

At first glance, this reviewer wasn't interested in looking at this book; however, after curiosity prevailed, and once into the contents, a different opinion emerged. This is a delightful work, brief as it may be, on a subject no one seems to have covered before.

Naturally, the women in the frontier army "took charge" of most Christmas festivities on isolated posts, just as they made every effort to provide a comfortable home for their families. This compilation is really a tribute to them and how they made do with what they had.

The book is divided into 10 chapters covering Christmas in garrison as well as in the field, food, drink, decorations and gifts, and parties and entertainment. Each subject is supported by numerous stories gleaned from various diaries and personal accounts such as letters to family back East, or to publications of the time like the "Army and Navy Register." This work contains frequent illustrations and photographs of the period.

There are too many anecdotes to discuss here. Just to read it will bring gladness to the heart of the reader and give a glimpse of what Christmas on an isolated military camp on the frontier must have been like. It is a wonderful account, and the Nebraska State Historical Society should be congratulated for publishing it. This reviewer thoroughly recommends *A Frontier Army Christmas* for those readers so inclined.

--Richard A. Cook, P.M.

Cheyennes at Dark Water Creek, The Last Fight of the Red River War, by William Y. Chalfant. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. 176 Pages. Cloth, \$27.95.

This is the third book written by William Chalfant this reviewer has read. It is a pleasure to review his work as he usually takes a lesser known Indian campaign as his subject. The author's writing is very detailed and descriptive, which demonstrates laborious research and comprehensive knowledge. This account was no exception. *Cheyennes at Dark Water Creek* tells the final chapter in the Red River War which culminates in the destruction of the Southern Cheyenne Village on Sappa Creek, Northwest Kansas, on April 23, 1875.

Chalfant begins his work with the return of the Regular Army to Kansas after the Civil War. Of course, "The Battle of Beecher's Island" is

included, but the author passes it off as a minor affair according to the Indian viewpoint. Also mentioned, among other skirmishes, is "The Battle of the Washita" on Nov. 27, 1868, of which the author states the Seventh Cavalry charged while their band played "Garry Owen." As a matter of fact, it was so cold that day, the spittle froze in their instruments, and no musical notes came out. You can't win them all! Throughout the book the author uses the Cheyenne Indian names of "Omissis" and "Suhtai" which tends to confuse the reader. They should have been deleted. This was the only concern of this reviewer, and it was minor at that. After describing in

The author's writing is
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detail "The Battle of Sappa Creek" from the official report made by Lt. Henely, the Army commander on the ground, the author delves into massacre charges of non-combatants and variations of other accounts of the battle, satisfactorily "putting them to bed."

This book is action-packed, has sufficient and easy-to-read map sketches to orient the reader, contains numerous excellent illustrations, and has a number of photographs showing participants and the battle site. As in his previous works, author Chalfant has given the Indian War historian and buff a fine addition to their libraries.

--Richard A. Cook, P.M.

Explorers, Traders, and Slavers - Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678 - 1850, Joseph P. Sanchez, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1997. 6 x 9, 186 Pages, 11 Maps. Cloth Publication Date, April 15, 1997, \$29.95.

Posse members who are familiar with Roy and Ann Hafen's work, *The Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles* will be interested in this volume by Joseph P. Sanchez, director of the Spanish Colonial Research Center in Albuquerque. While much overlapping material is covered in both volumes, I was particularly interested in the present book's focus on the northerly exploration from Santa Fe into Colorado and Utah, and the Teguayo myth which drew explorers and adventurers northward into the great unknown Ute country from Colorado's San Juan to the Great Salt Lake. Teguayo was thought to be the place of origin of the Aztecs.

Spanish policy discouraged trading with the Indians to avoid possible friction, and unauthorized trading forays into Indian country were understandably not well-recorded.

The author dwells extensively on the Teguayo myth and contains appendices which are his translation of Juan Maria Antoni Rivera's diaries of expeditions in July and October of 1765 which established much of the Dominguez-Escalante northward route followed by them in 1776.

The background of Spanish exploration in the Southwest and the contributions of such explorers as Fages, Garces, Morago, Munoz and DeAnza are covered, as well as the activities of various traders, slavers, and mountain men on the northern route.

The text is indexed and extensively annotated. The bibliography incorporates references to documentary sources in archives in Madrid, Mexico City, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe. This book covers a significant aspect of Western history. It treats in detail the earlier activities of the Spanish and New Mexicans in the Ute country of Colorado and New Mexico. It is not light reading, but it is a book which those seriously interested in the exploration of the Southwest will wish to have in their library.

--Henry W. Toll, Jr., P.M.

Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade by Susan C. Boyle. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1997. Photograph, 4 Maps, 5 Appendices, Endnotes, Glossary, Bibliography, Index. Cloth, \$45.00.

In the introduction, the author states her objectives in writing this book. These include a focus on the activities of Hispano merchants, the economic control of the Santa Fe trade before and after the Mexican War, the effect of cultural and socioeconomic conditions in New Mexico on the Santa Fe trade, the extent of the boundaries of the trade, the fact that trade did not decline after the Mexican War and that the trade steadily evolved through time, and the need to abandon racial and cultural stereotypes in order to understand what took place.

This is a lot to hope to accomplish in only 114 pages. That she failed in her task is due to several reasons, but the most important was a lack of data about specific merchants. Boyle refers to this lack of data in several instances. There is also the problem that "it is impossible to know if the ricos provided the governor with accurate lists of their property" or other accurate information.

There is a strong motivation by the author to be politically correct not only in attempting to show that the Hispano merchant was as successful as the Anglo and German merchants, but to include the importance of

women and American Indians in the trade. She is certain that the Hispano merchants took their wives with them on business trips to New York City, but the only woman she can find listed as a merchant during the period was Gertrudis Barcelo, who actually ran a gambling establishment, along with other activities. The only contribution to the Santa Fe trade by the Indians was to raid the wagon trains, but the author believes that they played a "significant role in opening trade routes, even before the period of the Spanish occupation." She sees the Indians as "consumers of the merchandise hauled across the prairies," which is true in that they consumed what they looted in their raids.

In Boyle's conclusion, she raises some of the same questions that were in her introduction and adds a few more that need answers. For the most part, she did not accomplish her goals in writing this book.

The Mexican mules that she mentions frequently were imported from Missouri.

--Ray Jenkins, R.M.

Necessary Fraud, Progressive Reform and Utah Coal, by Nancy J. Taniguchi, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London, 1996. 15 Photos, 1 Map, Bibliography, Notes, Index; 319 Pages. Clothbound, \$39.95.

This is the third volume in the University of Oklahoma's Legal History of North America Series. Divided into three parts; Anti-railroad, Anti-trust; Second Thoughts, Different Targets, and The Results of Reform, this book reveals a hidden side of the mineral development of the western United States.

The author has done an exceptional job of presenting the story. She has used land, court, and archival records to present an almost unbelievable story of "necessary" fraud in the Western United States. It is the story of companies, predominately large companies, primarily railroads and their subsidiaries, who obtained mineral land from the state. An illegal practice—since no state could legally claim mineral or coal land under its enabling act.

This was further complicated by the fact that Utah's enabling act allowed it twice as much free land as most Western states received under their enabling acts. The companies acquired coal lands from the state illegally in this manner because under the Coal Land Act of 1873, an individual could only claim 160 acres and an association with \$5,000 invested 640 acres. This was an unrealistic limitation, because it required a minimum 2,000 acres to develop a profitable commercial coal mine in the West.

As the author states, "Since flouting an unrealistic statute offered the only route to a commercial coal mine, all large-scale developers engaged in what they regarded as necessary fraud."

Of interest to Colorado historians is the major involvement of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad and its Utah predecessor, the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, in this activity in Utah. Of further interest was the involvement of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad in Colorado in similar activities.

For example, in 1912, federal courts required the Utah Fuel and the Calument Fuel Company, both D&RG subsidiaries, to relinquish 8,465 acres of Colorado coal land back to the federal government.

The book is excellently footnoted and indexed. The bibliography is comprehensive. *Necessary Fraud, Progressive Reform and Utah Coal* is well worth reading for what it reveals about inadequately written laws and the results they have on individual actions, corporate activity, selective enforcement, and "necessary fraud." Despite being the third volume in a legal history series, it is a book most attorneys wouldn't recognize; it doesn't put you to sleep.

--Keith Fessenden, P.M.

Hanging Judge by Fred Harvey Harrington, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. 194 Pages. Paperback, \$12.50.

Isaac C. Parker, presiding over U.S. District Court at Fort Smith, Ark., became a legend in his own time. Known as the "Hanging Judge," he coached juries to feel no scruples about sending the ultimate message that crime did not pay.

Born in rural Ohio in 1838, Parker set his sights on the legal profession early on. Upon moving west to Missouri in the late 1850's, as an all-out Stephen A. Douglas Democrat, he made a quick conversion to the Party of Lincoln, once the Civil War dispelled any notions that "popular sovereignty" would work.

After several terms in Congress, the 36-year-old Parker became President Ulysses S. Grant's choice for the bench at Fort Smith. For 21 years (1875-1896), he carved out his reputation as a no-nonsense arbiter of justice. As it turned out, only 79 wayward criminals actually went to the gallows under his direction. Whatever the transgression outside the law (bootlegging, smuggling, stealing horses, barroom brawls, rape), Parker was a tough customer. Repeat offenders, in particular, could expect no

mercy.

Fred Harvey Harrington cuts some corners in writing *Hanging Judge*. He follows no set chronological pattern as he jumps forward and backward in time. Sometimes Harrington abandons his central character to pursue other characters of interest to him. For instance, he devotes an entire chapter to the notorious Dalton boys whose ventures were a good distance from Parker's jurisdiction. In addition, the author frequently quotes the judge and some of his associates, but there are no footnotes to certify the sources.

All that aside, Harrington gives certain evidence of his knowledge about the cases before Parker's court. Cherokee Bill, charged with murder for a second time, gave the judge both a chance to applaud the jury for its verdict and an opportunity to admonish this "human monster" about his "most foul and dastardly" crimes. Since Fort Smith was just across the border from Indian country (which was to become Oklahoma Territory in 1889), many cases involved offenses committed by, or upon, the next generation of the victims of the "trail of tears."

.....only 79 wayward
criminals actually went
to the gallows under his
direction.....

Harrington, who taught history at the University of Arkansas for a time,

imparts a good sense of humor throughout. He delights in telling about how a confessed killer justified taking the life of his helpless victim. Judge Parker, himself, gets a bit of criticism for his frequent admission of "circumstantial evidence" when hard proof was unavailable. In several cases, the U.S. Supreme Court tossed aside convictions for this very reason.

It is an understatement that Parker was passionate in conducting his court. "Juries should be led," he asserted, and then added that "they have a right to expect that." Today, not many judges would dare take such a course. Our vigilant media and ravenous defense attorneys would have a field day if they did.

--David P. Nelson, C.M.

Pot Luck: Adventures in Archaeology by Florence C. Lister. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997. xiii + 183 pp., Illus. Paper, \$19.95.

The American Southwest has always attracted historians and anthro-

pologists through the complex and long-lasting record of human history which has been played out there. It has also drawn archaeologists because of the dry climate, which preserves not only architecture and pottery, but even fragile things like basketry and textiles for their examination.

Lister's book tells us of life among the archaeological community in the Southwest over several decades.

Early in her life, Lister was drawn to the handsome prehistoric pottery of the Southwest and, upon entering college, decided to take up this study. After that, she followed the usual course of school, summer field schools, exams, graduate work, and a career. Early on, she met her husband-to-be, Robert Lister, and the two became collaborators both in research and in raising a family.

There are several wonderful qualities to Lister's writing. One is her account of personalities who were, or would become, the great names of Southwestern archaeology. Always objective, always diplomatic, she writes about such people as Leslie Spier and W. W. Hill in a way that makes them emerge as real, three-dimensional people.

Another important aspect she covers well is the situation of women in a male-dominated field. From the start, she observed her female colleagues closely and analyzed the ways in which they dealt with the chauvinistic profession they had chosen. Today, some of this is hard to understand. For example, the late Marie Wormington was allowed to register for archaeology classes at Harvard but was made to sit in the hall outside the classroom! Today, the dean would perhaps make that instructor enter therapy.

In addition to the fascinating story it tells, this book is well-organized and well-written. This is a "must" for anyone interested in the Southwest and in archaeology.

--Richard Conn, P.M.

Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat, by Jean Afton, David Fridtjof Halaas, and Andrew E. Masich, with Richard N. Ellis. Published by the Colorado Historical Society and the University Press of Colorado. 140 Color Plates, B/W Photos, Appendices, Notes, Glossary, Bibliography, and Index. 400 pp. + xxxii. Cloth \$40.95.

In the traditional culture of the plains Indians, men achieved much of their status and importance through their skill in battle. To document their accomplishments, they made drawings showing their actions against enemy

warriors, what happened, and precisely how they triumphed. Until roughly the mid-19th century, these drawings were made in opaque native paints on tanned leather surfaces. But by the 1850's they began using new materials: paper, pencil, ink, and watercolor paints. These new media effected a change in their art in that the smooth paper surfaces and the finer penpoints made possible more inclusion of detail in each drawing.

When available, Plains artists preferred to work with bound ledger books so that they could record events in chronological sequence. One such ledger was collected from the devastated camp of the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers after the Battle of Summit Springs in 1869. It includes works by some 30 artists and covers most of Cheyenne military history for the mid-19th century. The individual drawings are filled with information: what everybody wore, what weapons they had, what sacred protective amulets and "medicines" each warrior carried, and, of course, what was taking place. The authors have worked diligently to relate each drawing with the actual event it describes, and have done impeccable research in identifying the individual artists. Apparently, they were determined to provide as complete an analysis and understanding as possible of each drawing.

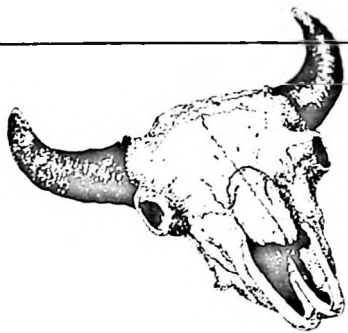
There is an established literature dealing with ledger books, beginning with the publication in the 1930's of Amos Bad Heart Buffalo's work and continuing with the works of Karen Daniels Petersen, John C. Ewers, and others. This well-prepared work is an outstanding addition.

The book is also very important in that the Summit Springs is still intact. Today, as ledgerbooks surface, many fall into the hands of dealers who take them apart and sell the pages individually, thus destroying whatever continuity there may have been. (There ought to be a law!)

Physically, the book is well-produced with excellent color reproduction and clear organization. The only drawback is the paper, which is not completely opaque, causing "ghost images" to be slightly visible on reverse sides. Notwithstanding this minor annoyance, this work is highly recommended.

--Richard Conn, P.M.





The DENVER WESTERNERS
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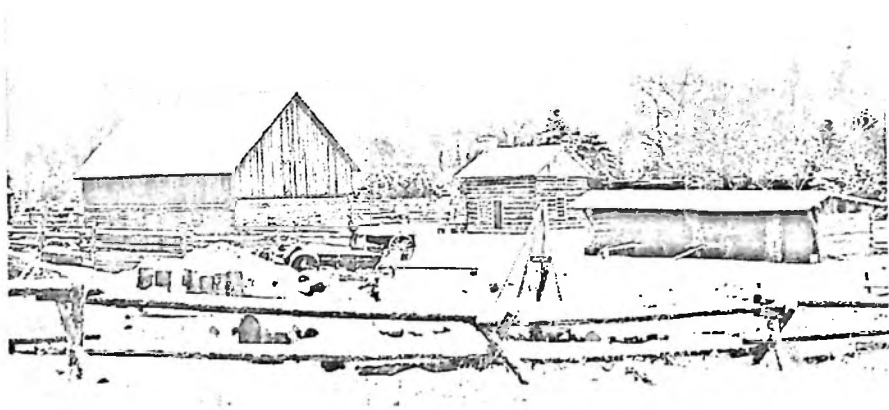


photo courtesy of the Littleton Historical Museum

The Making of a Museum
The Littleton Historical Museum
by
Lorena Donohue, P.M. & Max Smith, P.M.

Westerners' Program Topics

Corresponding Member Jim Donohoe's talk on Jan. 28, 1998 will center around Leadville—1893, The Transition Period. On Feb. 25, 1998 P.M. Bob Lane will discuss the 25th Bicycle Infantry Corps., a black troop stationed in Missoula, and their 1900 mile trip.

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The Making of a Museum

The Littleton Historical Museum

by

Lorena Donohue, P.M. & Max Smith, P.M.

Presented Aug. 23, 1997

During the 1950's, a group of longtime Littleton residents organized the Littleton Area Historical Society, a subject that had been discussed since the early 1940's. The society held regular meetings, published a newsletter, and started a collection of objects to begin a museum.

In the 1960's, a fund drive was begun to raise enough money to build a museum building adjacent to the new Edwin A. Bemis Public Library. Bemis was the editor of the local newspaper and a driving force behind the historical society as well as other community projects. Bemis was also one of the 11 "Founding Fathers" and one of the 21 bona fide "Charter Members" of the Denver Westerners. He served as the first ordained sheriff in 1945.

As the fund drive progressed, Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Ketring offered their residence for sale to the Historical Society, with the stipulation that the City of Littleton oversee the operation of a museum in the facility.

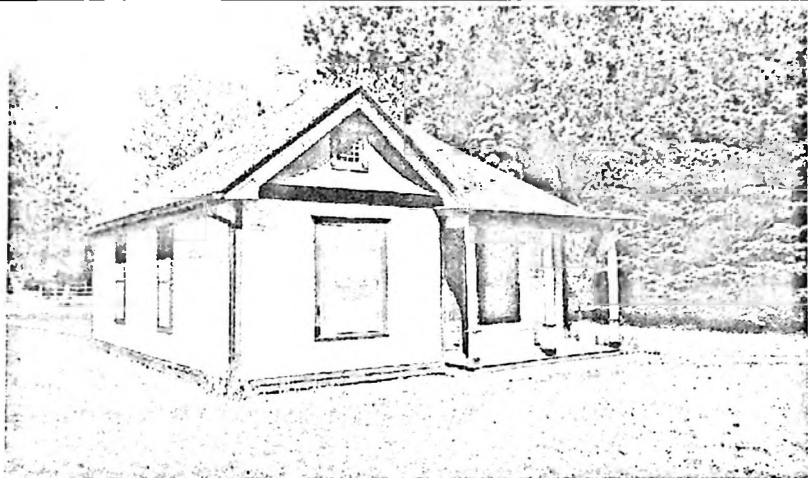
In 1968-69, the City of Littleton undertook the new program of developing a historical museum for the city. Through the efforts of the Littleton Historical Society (now dissolved) and people in the community,

such as Varian Ashbaugh, a local resident and businessman, funds were raised to acquire the property now occupied by the museum. The portion of the property now taken up by the parking lot, an 1890's farm, blacksmith shop, and caretakers' quarters, was donated by the Ketring family with the understanding that it was to be used in conjunction with development of the museum.

Remodeling began in 1970

The first phase of remodeling to the building occurred in 1970. That project removed bedrooms and bathrooms to form the present north gallery and establish public restrooms. In 1972, the staff expanded the former double garage to enlarge the museum's carpentry shop. In 1974, Phase II of the remodeling changed the living/dining room of the residence into the present south gallery and the former kitchen into a library/office and workroom. Once again, in 1981, a major remodeling program added the present library, workroom and office areas to the building, expanded the restrooms, and converted the former library/workroom into the present west gallery.

The museum's collections be-



An original home before the making of the museum

gan with the items collected by the Historical Society. Bemis had begun earlier to collect artifacts that were relevant to the history of the community. For many years, the basement of the Arapahoe County Courthouse was used for storage. In 1969, these items all fit into the double garage of the museum building. They were donated to the museum and became the permanent property of the City.

The collection, containing artifacts, documents and photographs, was acquired primarily through donation from individuals. By 1973, the volume of these materials necessitated a larger storage facility than the museum building could provide. They were moved to a temporary storage facility owned by the city—a former water softening plant—and resided there until 1979, when the present collections' facility at 6017 S. Gallup was completed.

The museum's collections facility was built in 1926 as the city's water storage reservoir. During the 1950's, use for water storage was discontinued, and the reservoir stood empty until 1978, when a program to remodel the structure into a temperature- and humidity-controlled, 10,000-square foot collections facility for the museum was begun. In December 1979, the staff began moving the collections into the new building.

Accessible artifacts

The museum owns more than 25,000 artifacts and documents and 7,000 original photographs, as well as thousands of catalog documents that make those artifacts accessible to the staff and the public. Each artifact and document is cross-filed by subject, catalog number and donor. Hours of research are involved with the cataloging of each item. The museum is in

the process of computerizing all collections' records.

The collection facility provides a secure and environmentally controlled space for textiles, fine arts, and general artifacts collected by the museum staff. The collections are used for many museum activities, including exhibitions, publications, research, the furnishing of historic buildings, and a variety of programs, including the living history format of the Littleton Historical Museum.

The museum's library contains a non-circulating collection of Littleton and Colorado materials which include photographs, documents, maps and reports, and general histories available for public use with staff assistance.

One of the most visible features of the museum is the exhibit. Unlike many museums, the Littleton Museum has used the format of changing exhibits to make better use of the collections and provide a broader scope of programming for Littleton. The exhibits are viewed by the general visitor, school classes (elementary to college), and other organized groups of Scouts and clubs. Individuals and groups of all ages have made use of the exhibits for art classes, school programs, individual projects, commercial advertising, and general enjoyment.

Museum accredited

The Littleton Historical Museum was fully accredited by the

American Association of Museums in 1977. This was a significant achievement, in view of the fact that in 1977 there were more than 5,000 museums in the United States and fewer than 400 had met the accreditation standards.

Truly, this assures the people of Littleton that the museum attained, and continues to strive for, a level of excellence in all phases of its operation. The fact that the Littleton Historical Museum is meeting a definite community need is seen in the phenomenal growth in the number of visitors over the past years.

During 1983, programs presented at the museum and throughout the community reached 15,000 people. In May 1989 alone, living history programs at the museum were presented to 9,000 children in various school groups. In addition, many couples, retired citizens, and families visit the museum as individuals, thereby increasing the museum visitation considerably. Visitation figures for 1996 totaled more than 114,879. All visitors come to view the museum's changing exhibitions as well as to participate in a frequent "hands on" living history experience.

Living history exhibits

The museum began its popular living history exhibits and programs in 1971 with the reconstruction of a turn-of-the-century blacksmith shop to accommodate an historic collection of blacksmithing equipment. In 1972, Littleton's first school, a log

building built in 1865, was moved to the museum grounds. It is located east of the 1860's farm buildings.

The 1890's farm reconstruction was begun in 1975, when the farmhouse, built in 1889 and representative of the era, was donated and moved to the museum. Preservation and restoration work commenced on the house while other buildings were being researched.

The working farms now include a restored house, barn, tool shed, a hog shed, chicken coop, windmill, smokehouse, outhouse, and corncrib. These buildings and surrounding acreage are used to interpret the way in which a farm family lived in Littleton during the period 1895-1905. Livestock include a draft horse, a milk cow, hogs, and an assortment of chickens, turkeys, and guineas.

A turn-of-the-century icehouse was added to the museum in 1980 and, along with an iceboat and tools commonly used for ice cutting prior to refrigeration, provides information about a once-important industry.

Late in 1983, work began to develop an 1860's living history farm at the south end of the museum property. In 1985, a barn was built on the site, using proper 1860's techniques and materials. Later that year, an original Douglas County settler's cabin, built in the 1860's, was moved to the museum and put to use as a sheep and goat shelter. The McBroom cabin was relocated to the 1860's farm at the museum in 1987. This homestead now includes the restored cabin, sheep shed,

reconstructed barn, oxen shelter, pig sty, poultry coop and storage shed, corncrib, and an orchard, pasture, and vegetable gardens. The museum's staff and volunteers use the 1860's homestead to interpret life in the South Platte Valley for that decade of settlement.

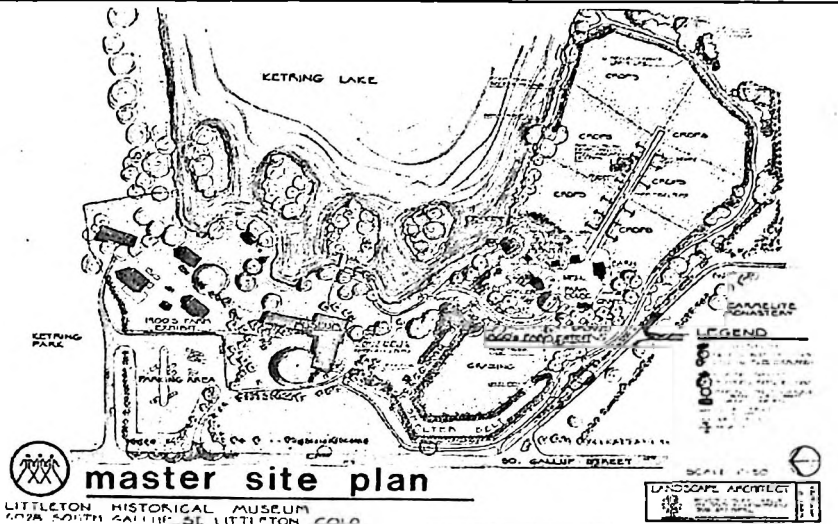
Staff oversees structures

The museum staff oversees and maintains 23 different structures. In addition to the above-mentioned buildings, the museum staff has been responsible for much of the grounds' improvement and development, including new lawns, shrubbery, sprinkling systems, tree pruning and replacement, fences, walkways, and a majority of the daily maintenance of the 14 acres on South Gallup.

As a public agency, the museum provides services ranging from answering simple telephone inquiries to more complex telephone requests involving extended research. Lectures on Littleton history and topics related to the museum's collections, conservation, historic preservation, and the museum operation are given on a continuing basis. Talks are presented at early morning meetings, late evening sessions and weekends in an attempt to accommodate group meeting times.

In addition to outside lectures, programs that cover local history featuring the exhibits, historical farms, school, icehouse, and blacksmith shop are offered at the museum.

The museum also is responsible for historic preservation and supplies patrons with tips on restora-



tion, assistance in finding the history of a building, and designates sites in the city as historic or architectural landmarks.

The Littleton Historical Museum Board is a seven-member advisory body appointed by the Littleton City Council to assist the museum director and the City Council in developing policies, rules, and regulations for operation of the museum. Policies are related to gifts and loans of museum collection items and the contributions of cash and endowments. The museum board reviews the annual budget request and the programs for the annual operation of the department. The board meets monthly.

Littleton undergoing revival

In 1997, City Council created and appointed a five-member Historical Preservation Board that is responsible for reviewing qualifications for

buildings to be designated as historical landmarks. Littleton is undergoing a revival of its downtown area, and work is being done to determine whether or not the downtown area qualifies as a National Historic District.

The Littleton Fine Arts Committee is both an advisory and a working board, consisting of 11 members appointed by the Littleton City Council. It is their responsibility to develop a permanent fine arts collection, consisting of a full range of media, for display in public parks and buildings. The work of the committee is coordinated by the museum staff and includes regular exhibitions at the Bemis Public Library, the Littleton Center and, occasionally, other community facilities. For the past several years, the Fine Arts Committee has organized a *Garden of Sculpture* at Hudson Gardens as well as a two-day sculpture sale.

The Depot Art Center at 2089 West Powers is operated by the Littleton Fine Arts Guild on a volunteer basis, under the auspices of the Littleton Historical Museum. The restored Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Depot is owned by the city and maintained by the museum but operated with funds obtained from public art shows by the guild.

The museum is a department of the City of Littleton, and revenue for its operation is provided by the city. A support group for the museum is the Friends of the Littleton Library and Museum. This group aids the museum through volunteers and through activities designed to raise money for the museum's programs and collections expansion.

Friends of Library

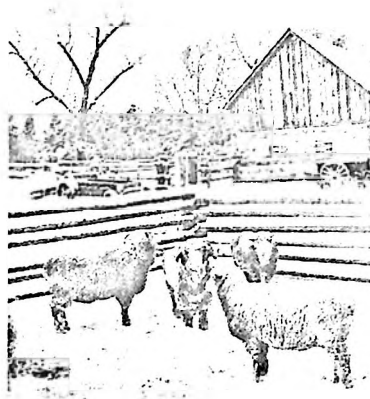
The Friends have been responsible for providing such gifts as the money to buy most of the animals on the farms, build a gazebo on the island, money to help costume the interpreters, purchase equipment not covered by the city budget, and sponsorship of summer concerts on the museum's front lawn. Also sponsored by the Friends is an annual craft fair held the first Saturday of October that contains more than 350 crafters. Also in October is the annual Harvest Festival and in December, an annual holiday event.

The physical facilities, the exhibits, and the many activities of the museum all reflect the philosophy that the experience of history should be di-

rect and accessible and that a museum should provide a place where the history of the community can be truly understood and not just observed.

This philosophy was applied to our museum by the late Robert McQuarie, who served as its first and only director from 1969 until his death in November 1996. Bob had been the Curator of Education at the Colorado Historical Society and brought with him the expertise and vision that encompasses these 14 acres. He helped to make this place a delightful "time warp" in our metropolis.

The museum is open 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Tuesday through Friday, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Saturday, and 1 to 5 p.m. Sunday. It is closed Mondays and major holidays. Admission for school groups and other groups is by reservation only. They are charged \$1 per person. There is no admission fee for individuals and families.

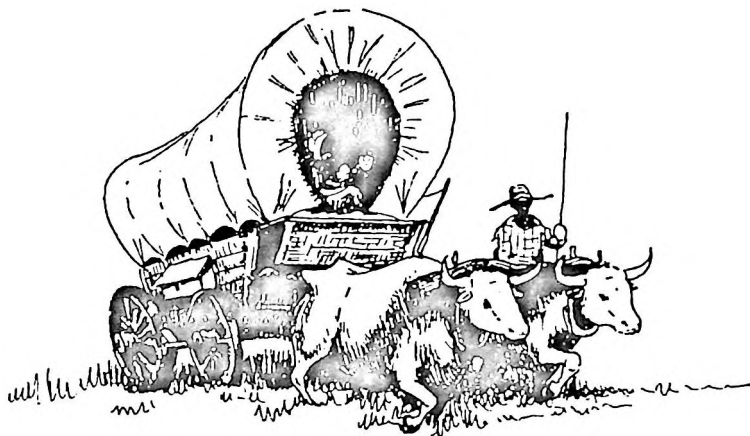


About the Authors

Posse member Lorena Donohue and newly elected Sheriff Max Smith presented their paper, "The Making of a Museum—the Littleton Historical Museum," on Aug. 23, 1997.

Donohue and her husband, Jim, P.M., are active in the Littleton community. She celebrated her 20th year at the Littleton Historical Museum in September, where she has served as Curator of Collections. She has been acting director of the museum since November 1996. She received her advanced education in anthropology at the University of Texas at El Paso.

Smith presented his first paper for the Roundup with his P.M. brothers Wayne and Dale. Smith is a retired teacher from the Littleton Public Schools. He and his wife Donna have been active in many community causes, including the Littleton Historical Museum, Town Hall Arts Center, and Friends of the Littleton Library/Museum. The couple received the *Littleton Independent's* Public Servants of the Year Award in 1984.



Over the Corral Rail

New Officers

Elected at the November Posse for the coming year are the following new officers of the Denver Westerners:

Sheriff: **Max Smith**. Deputy Sheriff, Program Chairman: **Richard Conn**. Roundup Foreman (Secretary): **Nancy Bathke**. Tallyman and Trustee (Treasurer): **Ted Krieger**. Past Sheriff **Keith Fessenden** remains a member of the board.

Dues are due!

Newly elected Tallyman and Trustee (Treasurer) Ted Krieger reminds members of Denver Westerners that annual dues are due as of Jan. 1, 1998. You should find a reminder elsewhere in this newsletter.

Dues for Posse Members are \$30, and dues for Corresponding Members are \$20.

Please send your checks to Ted Krieger, 280 E. 11th Ave., Broomfield, CO. 80020-1204.

Honors & Awards

Posse Member **Tom Noel** received the 1997 American Institute of Architects Award of honor for his book, "The Buildings of Colorado." (Oxford University Press.) Noel is at work on his "Liquid History of Colorado."

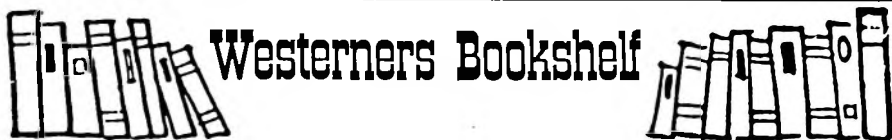
Event of Interest

The Dona Ana County Historical Society of Las Cruces, N.M., announces its second "Sesquicentennial Symposium" scheduled for Feb. 28. This year marks the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The symposium speakers are all nationally recognized historians. Students of Southwestern history and, in particular, the history of the border, should find the symposium of interest. For information, contact **John P. Bloom**, 505-382-0722, or **Janie Matson**, 505-524-2357.

New Members Welcome

With membership at about 230, the Denver Westerners welcomes new members to the group and urges members to let their friends know about the benefits of being a member of the organization. As always, guests are welcome at the monthly Posse meetings. Bringing a guest is a good way to familiarize an individual with the unique camaraderie and curiosity about everything Western of the Denver Westerners.

(Submit items of interest for "Over the Corral Rail" to Joan White, P.M., editor.)



Westerners Bookshelf

Autobiography of Red Cloud: War Leader of the Oglalas, edited by R. Eli Paul. Montana Historical Society Press, Helena, 1997. Photograph, Map, Appendixes, Endnotes, Index. 220 Pages. Hardback, \$27.95; Paperback, \$15.95.

Eli Paul's edited volume of Red Cloud's autobiography provides two valuable contributions to our understanding of Red Cloud and his role in Lakota Sioux affairs during the turbulent 19th century. First, he authenticates the great Sioux chief's long-neglected autobiography, which, for over a century, was regarded as a manuscript of questionable value and authenticity based upon Red Cloud's alleged reminiscences. Paul demonstrates convincingly that the autobiography was a result of a series of interviews in 1893 involving Red Cloud, an old white trader and confidant named Sam Deon, and the postmaster and his assistant at Pine Ridge, the Oglala Sioux's reservation in South Dakota. Moreover, these interviews with Red Cloud were very much in harmony with the as-told-to approach utilized in most Native American autobiographies.

...he authenticates the
great Sioux chief's long
neglected
autobiography...

Paul's second contribution to Red Cloud's underestimated legacy is his careful and informative editing of the old chief's recollections as a warrior in the days before the Sioux (or Lakotas, as they prefer to be called) confronted the U.S. Army during the Red Cloud War of 1866-67 to prevent the government from making the Bozeman Trail a federal road for Montana-bound gold seekers traveling through Wyoming's game-rich Powder River country; indeed, Red Cloud confines his autobiographical reminiscences to the lives of his people before their lands were inundated with white adversaries. This focus on the Lakota leader's early years provides a rare look at intertribal warfare and the fierce competition of Plains tribes over both horses and buffalo herds that became synonymous with survival on the Great Plains during the mid-19th century.

The descriptions of these often bloody encounters are graphic and impressive, as this reviewer can testify, having utilized them in his own research and writing on Red Cloud's early life; the fact that this relentless leader's 80

coups were probably never matched by another Lakota warrior also accounts for the autobiography's ring of authority and sense of realism.

This new volume is both attractive and well-organized. Each chapter is preceded by a brief section encompassing background information not evident in the body of the text. Also, the 28-page introduction and the map at the beginning are especially helpful, given the varied and ubiquitous nature of Red Cloud's life; in 1909, when he died, he had reached the venerable age of 88.

--Robert W. Larson, P.M.

Red Cloud: Warrior-Statesman of the Lakota Sioux by Robert W. Larson, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman and London, 1997. Photographs and Maps, Sources, Index, Hardback, 336 Pages, \$29.95

In one chapter, Robert Larson has written a concise history of the migration of the Sioux people onto the Great Plains. Thus, setting the stage for the advent of the great warrior-leaders of the 1800's: Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Young Man Afraid of His Horses, American Horse, Spotted Tail, Red Cloud, etc.

Although much has been written about these warriors, Larson's use of the recently acknowledged autobiography of Red Cloud has greatly enhanced the

...this book will find an audience with all those interested in Western history...

knowledge of this chief of the Oglala Sioux. This manuscript, written in 'as-told-to' form, lay virtually unavailable for about four decades. Its authenticity was verified by R. Eli Paul and published in 1994.

Briefly, after his success in closing the Boseman Trail, Red Cloud finally accepted the terms of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie, which acknowledged the Black Hills as sacred to the Sioux and designated the Central Plains as the hunting ground of the southern Ogala Lakota. But the discovery of gold in those sacred hills, the building of the Union Pacific, and the unremitting mission of the Army to destroy all warring tribes finally led to the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Although Red Cloud's band was not involved in this battle, his people were victims of the repercussions that followed.

Red Cloud made several trips to Washington, D.C., where he presented and argued his demands to several presidents and other government officials. However, he was unable to prevent the inevitable removal of his people to a reservation. And the final site of the reservation at Pine Ridge was much against his wishes.

Larson writes a detailed account of the events leading up to the Wounded

Knee Massacre and the wounds that remain unhealed. Red Cloud's strength was as a Sioux spokesman, "...forced by circumstances to fight a rearguard action, who contested every policy of the federal government to alter the Treaty of Fort Laramie under which his people laid down their arms," who resisted all demands that led to a loss of territory for his people and was "...respected and honored even after he became too old to be their effective voice."

Red Cloud lived to the advanced age of 88. He was blind and almost deaf, but maintained an astonishing mental alertness. He was one of the last of the legendary figures of the opening of the West.

Even though it was stated in the editor's preface, I found the lack of references disquieting. Aside from that, this book will find an audience with all those interested in Western history, in general, and in the Indian Wars and the Lakota Sioux, in particular.

It is a well-written and very readable book.

--Jean Afton, C.M.

On the Plains with Custer and Hancock: The Journal of Isaac Coates, Army Surgeon by W.J.D. Kennedy. Foreword by Jerome A. Greene. Johnson Books, Boulder, Colorado, 1997. Photographs, Map, Endnotes, Index, 182 Pages. Paperback, \$16.95.

This book expands on the recently discovered, or rediscovered, manuscript of Army Contract Surgeon Isaac Coates, who served with Custer and the 7th Cavalry in the Hancock Indian Campaign of 1867.

...there are new items out there that now are seeing the light of day....

It certainly is wonderful that the manuscript, which had been in the hands of the family of the wife (who is descended from Dr. Coates) of the author/editor, is published. Once again, as long as publishers are on guard against bogus "new discoveries," it is here demonstrated that there are new items out there that now are seeing the light of day for the first time.

However, the book has its limitations. First, the "journal" comprises only about one-third of the book. Dr. Coates started off his narrative at the time that he took steps to join the Army as a contract surgeon for the campaign in 1867. He did not continue his narrative to the time of the Kidder massacre. Thus, much of interest relating to the 1867 expedition was omitted by the doctor. Second, if one is hoping for an in-depth discussion of the medical practice of the U.S. Army in the 1860's to compare with R. Glisan's fascinating memoirs in his *Journal of Army Life* (1874), which detailed military medicine in the 1850's, this volume

will be a disappointment.

On the other hand, Kennedy has done an outstanding job in annotating and adding to the journal. Often, such annotations pale in comparison to edited reminiscences, themselves. That is not the case here. While I disagree with some of Kennedy's speculations, he has done a great job of finding out "the rest of the story" about Dr. Coates. This includes a section that has the verbatim transcript of Dr. Coates' testimony in the Custer court-martial of 1867. In summary, Kennedy's portions of the book are well-written and well-researched.

Information on the 1867 campaign is somewhat sparse. Other sources on that Indian war include A.K. McClure's *Three Thousand Miles on Horseback* (1869), Henry Stanley's two-volume work, Lawrence Frost's book on Custer's court-martial, and Custer's *My Life on the Plains*. This volume, with its descriptions of the war, the wildlife, the Indians, and the personalities, is well worth the price. It is too bad that, reportedly, not enough interest was generated prior to publication to justify a hardback.

--John M. Hutchins, P.M.

A Schoolmarm All My Life, Personal Narratives from Frontier Utah, edited by Joyce Kinkead, Signature Books, Salt Lake City, 1996. Photos, bibliography, notes, index, etc; 240 pages. Paper, \$17.95.

The Mormon settlers of Utah and the West are noted for the number of fine journals, diaries, etc. that they kept. In this compilation, author Kinkead assembled narratives from 24 remarkable but ordinary women, who in addition to their other duties and obligations were school teachers.

The narratives are interesting, both in what they discuss and in what they fail to discuss. Elizabeth Frances Fellows Critchlow's narrative discussion of her life as a student, a teacher, and a plural wife on the "underground" hiding from authorities is fascinating. Unfortunately, she ends her journal there and fails to mention how her life changed after the "manifesto" in 1890, (which supposedly ended plural marriage in Utah). How difficult was it for her to return to a "normal" life after spending years in hiding?

These accounts are informative and encouraging to read as one perceives the obstacles these women and many, many others in the West, overcame and dealt with daily. For example, the struggles and trials Martha Cox went through in 1869 when she was beginning to teach are astounding. She began teaching with no building in which to work. Then, when a place to teach was found, the only seats available for the children were built of scrap planks and blocks.

In her nine-page introduction, the author stresses the three strands she

believes come together in these tales of the West: "*Women as Mormons, as pioneers, and as teachers*" (italics are author's).

Kinkead also prepared a lengthy section titled, "Prologue: A Different Kind of Church," which sets the stage for those unfamiliar with early Utah by addressing many mundane aspects of these women's lives and work. Here she discusses the rhetoric and reality of education in early Utah, early teacher training and salaries, women as administrators, and feminism in 19th century Utah. Kinkead lays a firm foundation for the narratives that follow.

A word of caution to the reader, however: The Prologue is written with a definite "faith-promoting" bias. The Prologue contains several useful tables which provide information unavailable elsewhere and which present interesting facts to the reader, such as the narrative writer's place of birth, educational level, level of school taught, her position in the plural marriage (if a plural wife), and the effect of marriage upon their teaching. These tables and the accompanying narrative are effective in summarizing information of interest for the reader that wouldn't otherwise be available.

These accounts are
informative and
encouraging to read...

Joyce Kinkead has accomplished what many fail to accomplish. She has done an admirable job of introducing and editing these 24 narratives. Intriguing to read, the narratives in *A Schoolmarm All My Life* provide an informative view of education and women in early Utah.

--Keith Fessenden, P. M.

Hollywood, Colorado, The Selig Polyscope Company and The Colorado Motion Picture Company, by David Emrich, Post Modern Company, Lakewood, Colo., 1997. 41 photos, notes, bibliography, index; 80 pages. Paper, \$9.95.

At the Denver Posse's Summer Rendezvous Aug. 22, 1990, the author presented the early results of his research in a talk titled "Early Colorado Filmmaking and The Colorado Motion Picture Company." This talk was published in the May-June 1991 *Roundup*.

This book is the next logical step in the author's research. It is a well-researched and well-written discussion of early filmmaking in Colorado. It not only tells the story of the Selig Polyscope and Colorado Motion Picture Companies but also discusses the history of early filmmakers and film companies and why they came to Colorado. The discussion of the early monopoly practices of the seven major motion picture companies and their

involvement with the motion picture patents company is informative. The coverage of early filmmaking techniques is absorbing. The actors and actresses were in most instances their own stunt people. Work seldom stopped due to injury. The injury often was just written into the script.

As Professor Tom Noel of the University of Colorado at Denver states so well in the book's foreword, "David Emrich, whose father Paul spent four decades in the Colorado film business, was born and raised to do this book. He has filled a big gap in Colorado studies with this first detailed look at Colorado motion pictures. After working on this project since 1982, he has produced a lively, well-illustrated overview."

David Emrich spent many years researching this book. *Hollywood, Colorado* is superbly illustrated with photographs of the people and locations mentioned in the text. But even more intriguing are the movie posters and stills

...a well-researched and
well-written discussion
of early filmmaking in
Colorado...

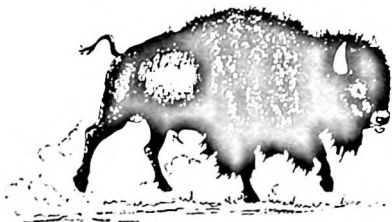
from the silent films, the making of which is discussed throughout the book.

Emrich also produced a 70-minute VHS companion videotape to the book that is available for \$19.95. The videotape contains three films filmed in Colorado, *Buck's Romance* (1912) and *A Matrimonial Deluge* (1913), both produced by the

Selig Polyscope Company, and *Pirates of the Plains* (1914), produced by the Colorado Motion Picture Company. The only known extant copy of *Pirates of the Plains*, a nitrate original, was discovered by George Hall in a storage locker in Arizona in 1994. Emrich paid for the archival work done on the film to preserve it for the future. The proceeds from the sale of the video will go to pay for this archival work and for the preservation of other films.

Through the book and video, Emrich has done a superb job of presenting movie history, or the story of *Hollywood, Colorado*, The Selig Polyscope Company and The Colorado Motion Picture Company. For those who enjoy Colorado history this is a book (and three movies) that should not be missed.

--Keith Fessenden, P.M.

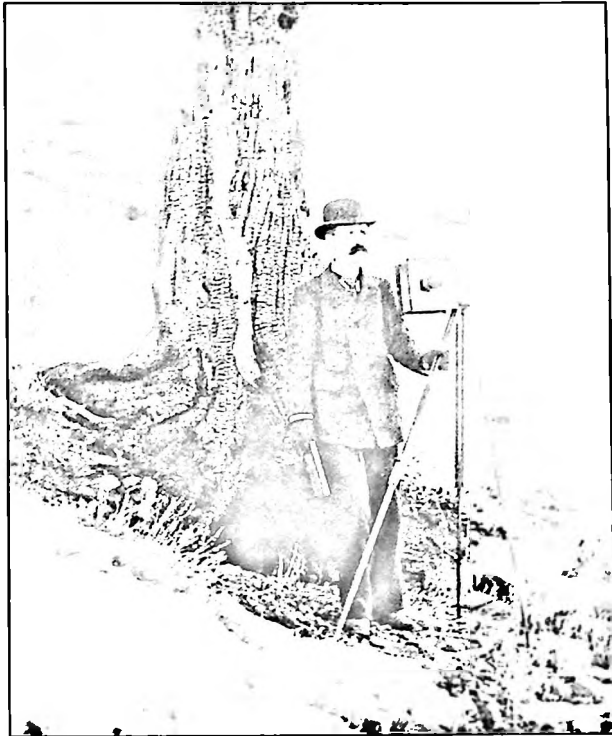




The DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1997



Bathke Collection

Dr. Clinton H Scott with his camera, Como, Colorado

The Doctor is Out...with his Camera:
Clinton H Scott, Railroader, Physician and Photographer
by
Edwin A. Bathke, P.M. & Nancy E. Bathke, P.M.



About the authors

Ed and Nancy Bathke have been Colorado residents 37 years and have lived in Manitou Springs the last 28 years. Nancy is Roundup foreman, and Ed is Membership chairman of the Denver Posse of the Westerners. Both are posse members.

Ed was the founding sheriff of the Pikes Peak Posse of the Westerners and is a past sheriff of the Denver Posse. They are co-authors of The West in Postage Stamps, have had articles published in the Brand Books and Roundup, and co-authored an article published in the 50th anniversary Brand Book.

Ed, a mathematician, retired as a computer analyst at Kaman Sciences in Colorado Springs. Nancy is a retired elementary school teacher.

Upcoming Posses

Posse member Barbara Zimmerman will present, "The Woman of Doc Holliday," March 25. The April 23rd posse will feature Owen Chariton, "Jews of the Colorado Mining Camps." On May 28, Bill Convery will talk about "The Irish Settlers in Colorado," and on June 25, Jack Hughes will present, "The Grattan Massacre."

Please note: There were production problems with the original printing of this issue. We are replacing them to all of our members. Please discard the first printing of this issue.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LIII NO. 6



November - December 1997

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The Doctor is Out...with his Camera:

Clinton H Scott, Railroader, Physician and Photographer

by

Edwin A. Bathke, P.M. & Nancy E. Bathke, P.M.

(Presented October 22, 1997)

First, we want to recognize and thank the many people who provided help and information for this paper. Foremost is Francis Rizzari, who first brought to our attention the photos of Clinton H Scott. Our research into the life of Dr. Scott covered a number of sources. We also have contacted members of his family.

We felt a bit apprehensive about contacting someone, to whom we were total strangers, and telling them we were delving into the life of their ancestor. But the Scott family has been extremely gracious to us and has provided many interesting details and stories concerning Dr. Scott. In particular, these family members include John and Betty Stevens of Pennsylvania (she is the granddaughter of Mary Davenport Scott, Clinton Scott's wife), John Clinton Scott of Florida (the grandson of Clinton H Scott), and Robert Lee Scott II, of Ohio (a great-grandson of Clinton H Scott). Betty Stevens sent many pages of reminiscences to us. J. Clinton Scott expressed the photos of the Scott family and the family firearms you see on display tonight.

Help from family

The Summit County Historical Society compiled some Breckenridge-related family information to the Stevenses, and they in turn gave a copy to us. Maureen Nichols of Breckenridge produced information on Scott photos and on Breckenridge. Research infor-

mation was obtained at the Denver Public Library Western History Department, the Colorado State Historical Society Library, The Colorado Springs Mormon Stake Library, the County Clerk Offices of both Park County and Summit County, the Park County Library in Fairplay, and the Brookville Library, the Jefferson County Historical Society Museum, and the Dubois Library, all three of Jefferson County, Pa.

Our great interest in old Colorado photographs is not a surprise to most of you, and much of our historical research focuses on this subject.

Clinton H. Scott was not primarily a photographer. Rather, his vocation was that of a physician. In addition to private practice, he was employed by a railroad, was active in politics and mining, and along the way, took some very good photographs.

Dr. Clinton H Scott was born in Towanda, Pa., Sept. 29, 1855. He was the son of William Scott, a lawyer, and the grandson of the Hon. George Scott, one of the first judges of Bradford County, Pa. He was educated at Susquehanna Collegiate Institute, Towanda and the Mansfield State Normal School and Wyoming Seminary at Kingston. He started his medical studies in 1874, under the instruction of Dr. J. W. Lyman of Towanda, and Drs. W. G. MacConnell and J. W. Barr, of

Philadelphia. Scott attended medical lectures at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and graduated from that institution in March 1878.

Surgeon for railroad

Dr. Scott began practicing medicine at Athens, Pa., but soon moved his practice to Sayre, Pa. In 1879, Gov. Hart of Pennsylvania appointed Scott to the position of Coroner of Bradford County to fill a vacancy. In 1882 he was reelected coroner. Then, in 1883, Dr. Scott accepted the position of Surgeon for the Union Pacific Coal Company at Como, Colo. Thus began the tie between the State of Colorado and Dr. Clinton H Scott.

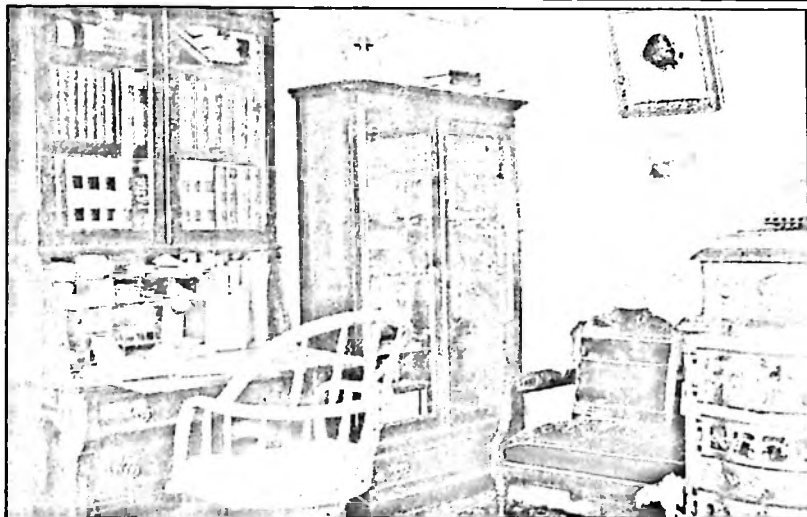
The Denver, South Park & Pacific Railroad had reached Como in 1879, continuing on to Breckenridge (about 1880) and to Leadville Dec. 21, 1884, that leg of the expansion being delayed by litigation with the Denver & Rio Grande. In its prime, the South Park line from Denver to Como carried more freight than any other line west of the Mississippi. Jay Gould, the great business mogul and monopolist, wanted control of the DSP&P and, on Jan. 1, 1881, his Union Pacific took control of the railroad. From that date until August 7, 1894, the DSP&P operated as the "South Park Division of the Union Pacific."

The mineral wealth of Park County included not only gold and silver, but also coal. George W. Leckner open the first coal mine in the area about one-half mile northwest of the present site of Como, in 1876 or 1877. Leckner hauled his coal by wagon to Fairplay where he sold it for

\$10 a ton. About this time, George Boyd discovered and opened another coal mine about four miles southeast of Leckner's mine. It became apparent that Boyd's discovery was quite a large deposit, so Colorado Gov. John Evans and associates organized the South Park Coal Company, intending to develop the coal deposits on a large scale. Because Evans was a principal in the DSP&P, the *Railway Age* Nov. 11, 1880, contained the announcement: "The Denver, South Park and Pacific Railroad owns about 87 1/2% of the stock of The South Park Coal Company. The coal company controls about 2,000 acres of coal lands near Como on which are located two mines." When Evans relinquished his ownership in the railroad to Jay Gould, the coal mines, the important source of locomotive fuel, became part of the Union Pacific Coal Company and of the UP empire.

Company town of King

The mines became known as the King Coal Fields, and the company town of King developed around the workings. The book, *History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines*, published by the Union Pacific Railway Co. in 1940, describes five mines at King and lists 69 log or frame tenement houses for the miners and company employees, nine frame store houses, four stables, two blacksmith shops, a carpenter shop, powder house, company office, and a schoolhouse, as well as other buildings. There are photographs showing the rows of company houses. Mary Dyer, in *Echoes of Como*, claims a population of from 200 to 400 people. A postoffice operated at King from April 14, 1884, to Oct. 24, 1896. But primary



Dr. Scott's office, Como, Colorado

Bathke Collection

operation of the business of the coal camp was carried on in the larger town of Como.

So the young eastern doctor arrived in Como, which had blossomed from an end-of-the-track railroad construction town to a railroad maintenance center and a supply and business center for the surrounding region. The town possessed a large hotel; the railroad operation included a six-stall stone roundhouse. Italian immigrant coal miners named the town, which did have a small pond nearby, after the picturesque Lake Como in Italy. Population in the 1880s hovered around 500. There was much to do for the budding company surgeon, and Scott became involved in many activities. In 1884, he was elected Coroner of Park County, and re-elected in 1885. He served as County Physician of Park County 1885-1887. Scott was appointed Health Commissioner of Como in 1885,

and in 1886 elected Mayor. Dr. Scott also opened a private practice in Como and was listed in a state business directory for the year 1884. In the Nov. 5, 1884, edition of the local newspaper, the *Como Headlight*, was the ad:

C. H Scott, M. D.

Physician and Surgeon

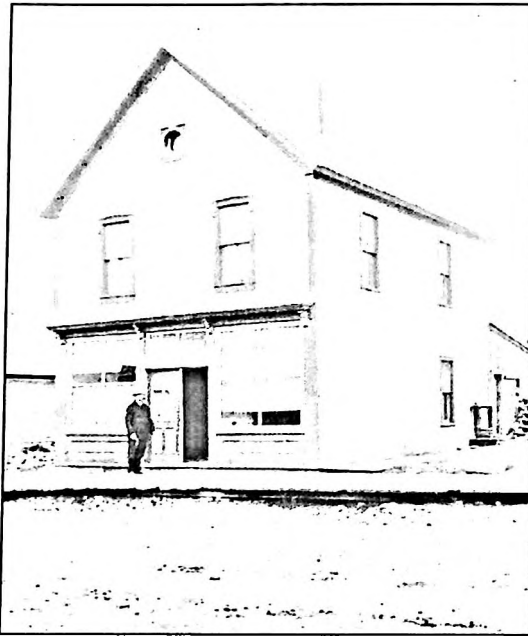
Special attention given to treatment of diseases of the EYE and EAR, and the extraction of teeth.

Offices at Drug Store, Rowe St., Como, Colorado

Colorado State Business directories for 1885 and 1886 did not list Dr. Scott, but two 1887 directories by different publishers, as well as the directories for 1888 and 1889, did list his medical practice in Como.

Champion cyclist

Clinton Scott was involved in other activities which were not work-related. A gold medal exists, which is inscribed on the back, "Won at Como,



Bathke Collection

This appears to be Dr. Scott in front of his office in Breckenridge. This is now the "Prospector" restaurant on the East side of the 100 block of S. Main St. in Breckenridge.

Colorado, Dr. C. H. Scott, Champion Bicycle racer, July 4, 1884." Dr. Scott's great-grandson, Robert Lee Scott II, of Ohio, has his great-grandfather's bicycling gold medal.

On March 3, 1886 a chattel mortgage between Dr. Scott and the Como Lodge No. 17 of the Ancient Order of United Workman was recorded for the amount of \$100 for a brown gelding, 15 hands high, named "Van," nine years old, and also one black leather top and leather-lined sidebar buggy, painted black, and gearing of same, painted red, plus one saddle, made by Kropp of Denver, nearly new.

In 1888, Clinton Scott moved to Denver. *The Biography of Eminent American Physicians and Surgeons* stated, "He has attained some distinction as a surgeon, and has been especially successful in orthopedic and railway surgery." In 1889, he was appointed by Mayor Wolfe Londoner to the office of Health Commissioner of the City of Denver. However, the City Charter required the appointee to have been a resident of the city for a period of two years preceding the appointment, and as Dr. Scott has resided there a little more than one year, he didn't qualify. The biographical tome continued: "He has for many years taken an active interest in politics, but never aspired to any office which would interfere with the practice of his profession." In spite of

having moved to Denver in 1888, the state business directory for 1889 still listed Dr. Scott's practice in Como. In 1890, he was not listed, but in 1890 his office at 1529 Larimer Street in Denver was recognized. The Denver city directories for 1889, 1890 and 1891 all contained the line "Clinton H Scott, physician and surgeon, 12 & 14 Moffat & Kassler Block, 1529 Larimer St."

Back to Como

In 1891, failing health necessitated a change to higher altitude, and Dr. Scott moved from Denver back to Como. We wonder what sort of health problem would require moving from Denver at an altitude of about 5,000

feet, to the mountain park region around Como, at an altitude of more than 9,000 to 10,000. In 1892, Dr. Scott was listed in neither the Denver nor the Colorado business directories. From 1893 through 1899, he was listed in the Colorado Business Directory as a physician in Como. He continued in the employment of the Union Pacific Railway during this period, as evidenced by listings in the Denver Business Directories. Here he was not listed in 1893 (or 1892), but in 1894 was the listing, "Dr. Clinton H Scott, physician, 1539 Arapahoe St." In 1895, it read "Dr. Clinton H Scott, surgeon, Union Pacific Railway, 1539 Arapahoe. The 1896 listing, with minor changes, was for a "physician, at room 8, 1539 Arapahoe. There was no mention in 1897, but then in 1898, the 1896 listing was repeated. In 1899, it read "Clinton H Scott, surgeon, Colorado & Southern Railway, Office 8, 1539 Arapahoe. The last listing in a Denver directory occurred in 1900, with the identification of "physician, rooms, 1539 Arapahoe."

Considering the Denver business listings during the span of 1894 to 1900, and the concurrent *Colorado Business Directory* listings of an office in Como from 1893 through 1899 as a railroad employee we can assume Dr. Scott spent a considerable amount of time "on the road." The *Biography of Eminent American Physicians and Surgeons* in 1894 listed his current employment as "Union Pacific Railway Surgeon on the Denver, Leadville and Gunnison division." The Denver, Leadville and Gunnison had become the successor railroad to the Denver, South Park & Pacific on

Aug. 7, 1894, with the parent company being the Union Pacific Denver and Gulf Railway Co. From its formation April 1, 1890, the UPD&G and its most important subsidiary, the DL&G, failed to make both ends meet. It lost money every year of its existence except one. The Great Panic of 1893 was a disaster for these railroads, and the Union Pacific and all its dependents went bankrupt, leaving obligations of over \$470,000,000. On Dec. 18, 1898, the Colorado & Southern Railway was organized and chartered by holders of the Union Pacific Denver and Gulf and the Denver Leadville & Gunnison securities. These changes in employer names have been evidenced by the various business listings for Dr. Scott.

From the March 5, 1899, *Denver Post*, a story in the continuing saga of a very severe winter was noted: "WHERE COWS WALK ON HOUSES AND MEN REST ON THE TOPS OF TELEGRAPH POLES"

It has snowed so long, so deep and so hard in South Park that cows walk on the tops of the farm houses.

This may sound like a jocular statement from an end man with a grotesque appreciation of the humor of the minstrel show, but it is a fact. Dr. Clinton H Scott of Como, surgeon of the South park line of the Colorado & Southern, vouches for the accuracy of the story.

Not only do the cattle turn the shingles into a lounging place, but trains go through banks of snow for miles, so high that the walls tower for several feet over the roofs of the coaches. And to prove the last assertion, Dr. Scott has taken photographs.

He reached Denver yesterday

from Cassells, in the Platte Canon, where he has been stopping since the line beyond Grant, some miles farther up, has been blocked. As it was, he had to drive over Cassell's from Como, his home, in a sleigh belonging to the stage service inaugurated by C. H. Dunbar, between Grant and Como.

"No description, never mind how faithful," says Dr. Scott, "can convey an idea of the terrific amount of snow that has fallen between Kenosha Pass and Leadville. The best tales of the pioneers have all been discounted this winter. The storms have kept the railroad busy since November.

"The snow between Webster and Como ranges from six to 16 feet deep along the track..."

The article continues with wintry descriptions, including 50-foot-deep slides near Leadville and street scenes in Breckenridge (of which we have seen surviving photos). Many activities of Dr. Scott were mentioned in the newspaper, *The Fairplay Flume*. On March 3, 1892, the *Flume* displayed the ad, "C. H. Scott, M. D.; Physician, Surgeon & Gynecologist; Teeth Extracted; Office at the Pacific Hotel; Como, Colorado." On July 21 was the squib, "Dr. C. H. Scott of Como and Marshall J. H. Fisher of Fairplay have been appointed deputy sheriffs." And on Dec. 22, it was noted that Dr. Scott left on the 20th for his hometown of Towanda, Pa., no doubt visiting his family for the Christmas holidays.

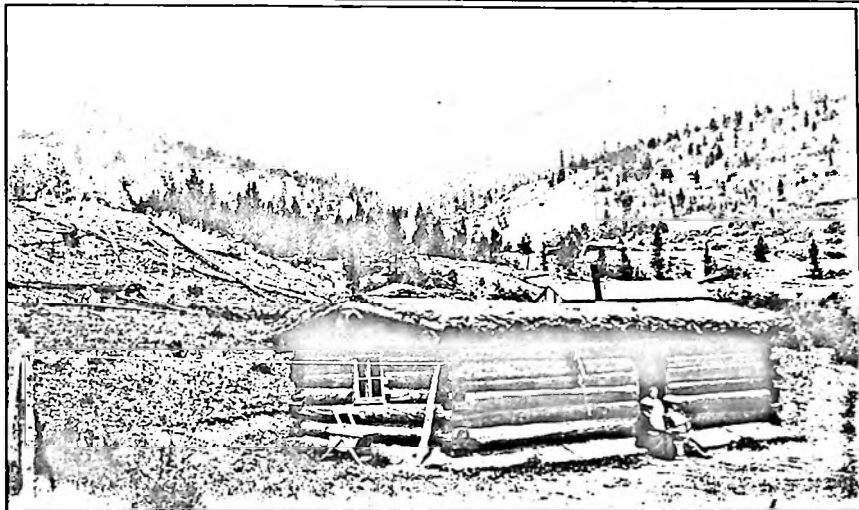
Mentioned in *Flume*

A sampling of issues of *The Fairplay Flume* yielded other references to the doctor. In addition to the 1892 items just mentioned, there were

several mentions from 1898. On Sept. 9, 1898, was the article: "There was no danger at the ball grounds last Sunday, it being a nice sociable game, but it was well enough to be prepared. Among the doctors were noticed Scott of Como, Curtis of Alma, and Sumner of Fairplay, besides several from Breckenridge." On Nov. 18 was the mention, "Dr. C. H. Scott was in the brain center (Fairplay) Monday. He appears somewhat emaciated -- the effects of a recent spell of sickness." On Dec. 9 was the comment, "Dr. C. H. Scott was among the belated travelers who came in on the snowbound train Saturday night."

As indicated by Clinton Scott's winning a bicycle race and being a frequent participant of baseball games, he was a very athletic person. One family story tells of a railroad incident in which a man stole a lady's purse, jumped from the train, and swam a river attempting to escape. Dr. Scott gave chase, including swimming the river, to bring the man to justice.

Dr. Scott's role in law enforcement was evident throughout his life. Years later, his great-grandson would be playing with his treasured Chuck Connors rifle set and badge, and when the badge was lost, a substitute was found in great-grandfather's miscellaneous possessions. Great-grandson Robert Scott wonders what he did with that badge, but he remembers that on the badge was the word "Como." Photos of desperadoes, including morgue shots, were taken by Dr. Scott, not only in Colorado but also in later years in Pennsylvania. But these photos, deemed gross by some, were lost or destroyed.



Bathke Collection

Minnie's Cabin, Town of Silverheels, near Fairplay, Colo.

There is no listing in the state business directories for Dr. Scott during the years 1900 and 1901. Then he appears in Breckenridge, and the final listings for the doctor are for his practice in Breckenridge for the four years of 1902 through 1905. The first mention of Dr. Scott in the *Summit County Journal* occurs with the printing of his professional card Oct. 6, 1900. From the same paper, on Dec. 1, 1900: "FLORENCE TRESSLER AFFLICTION

Little Florence Tressler, six years old, lies in critical condition near death's door, although today (Friday) her chances of recovery are improving. Several months ago the child ruptured herself, but her true condition was never successfully diagnosed til about a week ago, when the seriousness of the case was made known.

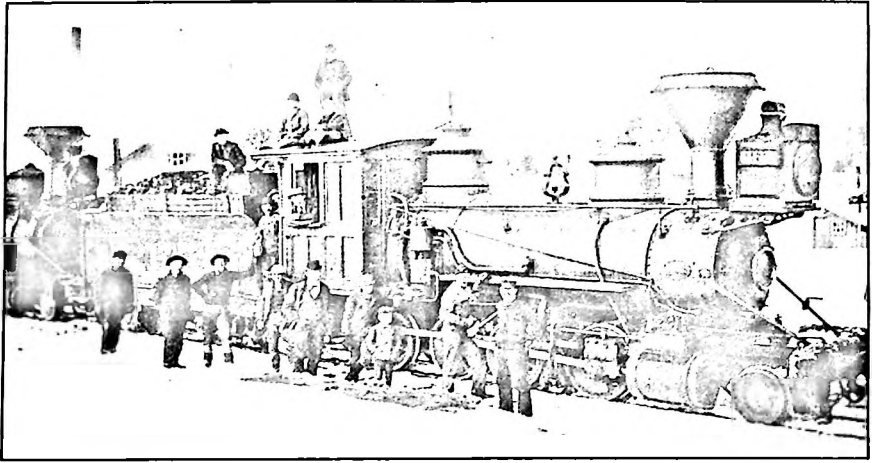
At this time Dr. Scott was called into the case, who immediately

decided that the child's life could be saved only by the application of the surgeon's knife. Not wishing to take the task alone, he wired to Denver for Dr. Lyman, an eminent surgeon, who came up on Monday and, with Dr. Scott, performed the delicate surgical operation, which necessitated the removal of the afflicted portion of the intestines. This surgery was resorted to as a last resort, and it now seems that the operation will be successful." It was: Florence was living in Burlington, Iowa, in 1940.

One of Dr. Scott's photos shows him in front of a Breckenridge building, apparently his office. This building still exists, on the east side of the 100 block of South Main St. It has changed little in appearance and is now a restaurant, the "Prospector".

Married in Denver

Probably prior to Clinton H Scott's moving to Breckenridge, he was



Bathke Collection

Denver Leadville and Gunnison engine #265, 1894-98

married in Denver, in 1900, to Mary Elizabeth Davenport Goodner. Mary Elizabeth Davenport was born Nov. 20, 1867, in the Midwest, and had previously married Edgar Walter Goodner. Reportedly Gen. Goodner was lost in Cuba in the Spanish-American War, and the widow Goodner then resided in Denver. She had two children, Vera Davenport Goodner, born Aug. 4, 1888, and Gaylord (Gale) Goodner, born in 1890. Mrs. Goodner was operating an artist's studio in Denver, and it was there that Clinton Scott met, courted, and married Mary Davenport Goodner, affectionately known to her family in later years as "Mamie."

Both Scott and his wife were proficient with a rifle. In 1900, they won a Colorado sharpshooting contest and were presented J. P. Stevens Special target rifles, reportedly by Buffalo Bill Cody. These rifles remain in the family and are on display by their

grandson, J. Clinton Scott, in Florida.

On Nov. 9, 1902, the *Summit County Journal* declared; "BORN -- to the wife of Dr. C. H Scott, on Sunday, November 3, 1902, a son. All are well and the doctor extremely happy." On the back page of the same issue of the paper was Dr. Scott's professional card: CLINTON H SCOTT, M. D.; Physician and Surgeon; Surgeon for the Colorado & Southern Railway; Graduate, Jefferson Medical College; Philadelphia, 1878; Office in Whitehead Building; Breckenridge, Colo."

Our primary interest in Clinton H Scott is as a photographer. In an article for March 5, 1899, *The Denver Post* mentioned that Dr. Scott had taken photographs of the snowstorm. Following extensive descriptions of snow scenes, the article concluded:

Dr. Scott brought to Denver a large number of views taken last week along the railroad. He is an expert with his camera and has won several medals

in amateur photographic contests in the East. Among the last was that inaugurated by the Minneapolis Tribune. He won first prize with a view taken of Breckenridge from a distance, showing a fine cloud effect and the evening shadows. In awarding the prize, the Tribune said: "This artist comes to the contest for the first time, but shows he has the art well mastered. He has an eye for beauty which is seldom equaled. His 'Breckenridge' is a painting in photography."

That so talented a photographer is not recognized today can be explained by the comments of Mary Dyer in her book, *Echoes of Como*. She was looking for photographs with which to illustrate her book and had examined the fine collections of George Champion and Bill Turner. The George Champion collection photos have been published in Colorado railroad books. Mrs. Dyer inquired to see if she could turn up any photos by Dr. Scott, since neither Champion or Turner had any. Then, one day Rudy and May Long, from Shaeffer's Crossing, stopped by, and May casually asked, "Can you use any of these pictures?" There were photos by Dr. Scott, and Mary Dyer used five of them (perhaps all that May Long had) in her book. It is worth noting that Mary Dyer was unable to uncover any more than those five Scott photographs.

A natty dresser

But the discovery of a photo of a debonairly dressed man and his camera was the impetus to learn something of that photographer. That photographer, Dr. Clinton H Scott, always was nattily dressed, practically to the point of vanity, and his clothes

were beautifully tailored. His grandchildren in later years would remember him as a classy dresser.

As research on the photographer and his images progressed, more than 50 images of Scott's work have been catalogued. A few are not too interesting, and some are of poor quality. But, most are fascinating and provide a valuable historical insight into life in Colorado from 1885 to 1905.

At this point the Colorado connection of Dr. Scott seemed to disappear, with the last evidence of his being in Breckenridge in 1905. Genealogical research, and the resultant family contacts continued the story. One of these two people, Mary Stevens, married to John Stevens and living in Lemoyne, Pa., is the namesake and granddaughter of Mary Elizabeth Davenport Scott, and daughter of her first daughter Vera Davenport Goodner Scott, born in 1888. The two Goodner children, Vera and Gaylord, were apparently adopted by Clinton Scott, because the Scott name is given on their genealogical chart. Vera married Willis Georgia of Franklin, Pa. Mary Stevens has provided a nine-page typewritten article of her reminiscences of "Grandpa and Grandma Scott in Brookville, Pennsylvania," We recently have been in contact with John Clinton Scott, namesake and grandson of Clinton H Scott and living in Florida. He has graciously provided additional details on his grandfather. Robert Lee Scott II, a great-grandson of Clinton H Scott and a family historian, has provided more family stories.

Off to Ramseytown

In 1905, Dr. Scott and his

family returned to Pennsylvania, primarily due to Mamie's health. Dr. Scott had been hired as the railroad surgeon of the Pittsburgh Shawmut Railroad, and they lived in Ramseytown, in northwestern Pennsylvania. Ramseytown was on the main line of the railroad. On one occasion, in 1906, the president of the railroad was visiting, and as he stepped from the rail car, the car lurched, he fell beneath the wheels, and was severely injured. The doctor was not available, but Mrs. Scott stopped the bleeding, finished the amputation, and saved the man's life.

The Scotts moved to the little city of Brookville, also in Jefferson County, Pa., in 1915. In Brookville they found a good location on Main Street, which would provide a good office for Dr. Scott, with a nice apartment as living quarters, upstairs over Means Hardware store. The place was vacant, and the Scotts moved in. Soon after taking residence they heard noises in the night. Townspeople believed the place to be haunted. Someone had been murdered there, and no one else would live in the place. But the Scotts stayed, and the grandchildren all enjoyed their visits with Grandpa and Grandma. Mrs. Stevens described the apartment as being very old-fashioned, with an entry on the ground-level, where there was an old-fashioned coat rack and a huge moose head with beady glass eyes. There were other trophies on the walls of the apartment, relics of Dr. Scott's hunting in Colorado. The trophies were big heads, with large racks of antlers, considered prizes when Dr. Scott bagged them. His wife could not bring herself to shoot an animal, but

she did become a crack shot to please her husband, and the family remembers a lengthy newspaper article about her prowess with a rifle. Grandpa's guns had been made to his specifications, and he had a .22 rifle made for his wife, with her name on the plate on one side, and "Breckenridge, Colo." worked on the other. The Coors collection has such a rifle in its collection, and it may be on permanent display at the Cody Museum in Wyoming. Furniture in the apartment was described, impressing the grandchildren as being old and certainly qualifying as antiques today. A player piano with many rolls was present.

Grandma Scott had a china kiln, which her husband built for her. As an artist of many years standing, she had created many oil paintings which were hung around the apartment. She also was a watercolorist, and in 1934, at a national exposition in Chicago, her watercolor was awarded third prize. China painting also was an accomplishment. Pieces of a Limoges dinner set that she painted survive.

Dr. Scott owned one of the earliest autos in Brookville. He was proud of it, but it was a source of embarrassment to the rest of the family, and everyone in town referred to it as "Dr. Scott's pushcart." He would insist on taking the family for a Sunday drive, and invariably the car would stop running, and some farmer would have to tow them home. Dr. Scott's automobile experiences may have something to do with him using a horse and buggy when he made house calls. However, the muddy roads of rural Pennsylvania were more like the reason. With his

*Bathke Collection*

"Christmas, 1898", in Colorado

buggy, he was making house calls into the 1930s. During those depression years money was scarce, and his ledger book shows that often his patients bartered to pay their bills.

The primary surgeon

The Brookville area of Pennsylvania was a natural gas producer. At one location the watchman was injured in an explosion. Dr. Scott brought the man to his office in his buckboard, and saved his life. For years afterward, when the doctor and his family would return home from Sunday church services, there would be a bouquet of fresh flowers on the doorstep from the grateful man.

There were two doctors in Brookville, but Dr. Scott performed the majority of the surgery at the local hospital. Dr. Scott's daughter-in-law discreetly relied on the other doctor when she was expecting a birth in 1927. But her doctor was unavailable when she went to the hospital. Dr. Scott

presided at the birth of his twin grandchildren, a girl and a boy.

Clinton H Scott was known to have heart trouble for years. He was the oldest doctor in Jefferson County, but he steadily went about his practice. In 1928, he attended the 50th reunion of his graduation class at Jefferson Medical College. His grandchildren remember him frequently taking nitroglycerin pills for his angina and regularly chewing on cloves. At the same time, he was a couple of generations ahead in being a fitness advocate and muscle builder and would entertain his grandchildren with Houdini-like feats. But, on Jan. 30, 1934, he suffered a fatal heart attack. He was still a practicing physician, and he had made a house call that morning. As he lay in state at his home, the large clock that he has regularly wound for years, suddenly began striking and its tolling had to be manually terminated.

Over the Corral Rail

New members

Please welcome these new members to the Denver Westerners: **Lorena Donohue**, of Littleton and **Robert Voit**, of Sedalia. Lorena Donohue is deputy director, curator, of the Littleton Historical Museum and co-authored the article, "The Making of a Museum, The Littleton Historical Museum," with Sheriff Max Smith in the September-October 1997 Roundup. Lorena is especially interested in the Santa Fe Trail, and has been responsible for exhibits on Littleton history. Robert Voit is particularly interested in settlement and development of the early days of the Rocky Mountains. His chief hobby is taking extended horseback trips in the Colorado mountains.

Outstanding dues

Tallyman and Trustee (Treasurer) Ted Krieger says there still are unpaid for 1998. Dues for Posse Members are \$30; dues for Corresponding members are \$20. Please send your checks to Ted Krieger at 280 E. 11th Ave., Broomfield, CO 80020-1204.

Past Posses

For those of you unable to make the January or February posses, here's what you missed:

Corresponding member **Jim Donohue** presented an insightful and detailed account of "Leadville in 1893-A Year in Transition," at the January 1998 meeting. For the uninformed, 1893 was the year of the collapse of the silver market. At the February posse, Keeper of the Possibles Bag **Bob Lane** presented a fascinating account of a little-known subject, "The 25th Bicle Infantry Corps," a black troop stationed in Missoula and the troop's 1,900-mile trip on bicycles.

Watch for full accounts of these reports in upcoming Roundups.

Merrill Mattes update

The Denver Westerners' efforts to obtain a publisher for a proposed series of books relating to Merrill Mattes' primary interests have not been successful, despite efforts of the Merrill Mattes committee. So, the committee is regrouping to determine how best to honor the memory of the late Merrill Mattes.

Board minutes

If anyone has copies of old minutes of board of directors meetings of the Denver Posse, pre-1990, they'd be most welcome. Contact Sheriff Max Smith if you have copies.

Book treasures

When you're cleaning out your basement-or attic-and find books that other members of the Denver Westerners would enjoy-please present them to Bob Lane, Keeper of the Possibles Bag. Lane will include these donations in the drawings at the posses. Books with a Western flavor are most appropriate, of course.



Westerners Bookshelf

Homicide, Race and Justice in the American West, 1880-1920, by Clare V. McKanna, Jr., University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1997. Thirteen photos, 23 figures, 3 maps, 18 tables, notes, index, etc; 206 pages. Cloth, \$40.

"To everything there is a beginning." Violence is mentioned, at least in passing, in almost every book that touches upon the history of the "wild" West. Seldom are these books studies of violence, and even fewer have a "quantitative research design." The author, Clare McKanna, states in his introduction, "This study, by focusing on lethal violence between 1880 and 1920, addresses two important questions: Was the American West violent? And were minority defendants treated fairly by Western criminal justice systems?"

The book addresses violence in three western localities, Omaha, Neb.; Las Animas County, Colo., and Gila County, Ariz. These areas appear to have been chosen primarily because of the high percentage of minorities in each--blacks in Omaha, Hispanics in Las Animas County, and Indians in Gila County.

McKanna has reached some disturbing conclusions, backed by data that appears to be as accurate as it can be. The book addresses not only violence in the areas studied but also social conditions, the culture of the various groups in an area, and the standards of the times. The author has done an excellent job of presenting a topic that may well be sensitive to many. One can learn much of the "West" in reading this book, even if the reader is not in complete accord with conclusions that have been drawn.

So few quantitative studies of violence in the West have been completed that it's a shame that the "two important questions" this study addresses could not have been treated separately. To combine these questions implies that the study might have either a predisposed agenda or conclusion. Other studies should be completed to alleviate this concern.

Prior to attempting to resolve whether or not minority defendants were treated fairly in the West, numerous, disparate areas of the West

...an earnest attempt to fill
what might be
considered...a glaring
void in the History of
America...

should be studied to see if violence, in fact, was extant throughout the West to the extent the author presents. These conclusions should then be compared with other regions of the country, both rural and urban, and with other "boom" locales and periods.

Then, only after the amount of violence in the West issue is addressed comprehensively and, hopefully, resolved, should the fairness to minority defendants question be confronted. The conclusions of the fairness to minority defendants issue also should be compared with other locales, such as the East, South and Midwest, to see if the West was different from other geographic regions in its treatment of individuals.

There are other areas deserving of study. If treatment of the three minority groups mentioned in *Homicide, Race and Justice in the American West* was significantly disparate, was the treatment accorded other minority groups than these three also disparate? Unfortunately, I suspect the same conclusion might be drawn for most, if not all, of the minority groups in an area, such as the Chinese, Japanese, Irish, Italians, Greeks, East European, or even the Germans around the time of World War I. Finally, did the West operate within or outside the mores of its times?

This book is an earnest attempt to fill what might be considered by a new generation of historians to be a glaring void in the history of Western America. It is hoped this book is only the beginning to further study. *Homicide, Race and Justice in the American West, 1880-1920* is worth reading. It also is worth pondering the author's conclusions. Should McKanna be accurate, then it is a part of our past unworthy of ever being repeated.

--Keith Fessenden, P. M.

Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art, by Kathleen L. Howard and Diana F. Pardue, in cooperation with the Heard Museum. Foreward by Martin Sullivan. 169 Pages, 90 Color Photos, 50 B&W Photos, Index, Bibliography. Flagstaff: Northland Publishing, 1996. Paperback \$17.95.

To most people, the Fred Harvey Company brings to mind visions of comfortable hostelrys alongside the railroad tracks and neat, starchy Harvey girls serving meals. However, the Company also conducted an extensive trade in Indian artworks, such as rugs, pottery, jewelry, and kachinas. They had a field collector, Herman Schweizer, who sought out both private collections and the works of living native artists to sell in the company's many shops.

This book tells the story of this trade, the people who directed it,

and the well-known native artists whose works became widely distributed through it. The authors point out clearly that this is a prime example of thoughtful marketing which succeeded because of a fortunate set of circumstances. First, in the late 19th century, there was a popular movement toward the appreciation of indigenous American arts, moving away from European models. This was the "Arts and Crafts Movement" championed by Gustave Stickley and Elbert Hubbard in their publication, "The American Craftsman." Native American art fitted perfectly into the quasi-rustic architecture and interiors Stickley and others designed. Second, while affluent Americans still went to Europe for the Grand Tour, middle-class people could better afford to board the train and visit the Southwest. Third, the native people, themselves, discovered the possibilities of making their traditional works for sale and were quick to profit from the growing throngs of strangers eager to buy their wares.

The book is well-written and carefully documented. In some sections, the design is apparently based upon a 1930's graphic style which shows off the period photos to best advantage. If there is any quibble about the content, one might suggest that there may have been a bit of "sugar-coating" of some of those persons involved. For example, the Mennonite missionary, H.R. Voth, who served as a field collector among the Hopi, has been sharply criticized by those people for his brusqueness and lack of respect for their traditional religion. However, such gentrifying does not detract from the basic merit of the book. This is recommended reading for anyone interested in the Southwest and its history.

...there are new items
out there that now are
seeing the light of day....

--Richard Conn, P.M.

Desert Tiger-Captain Paddy Graydon and the Civil War in the Far Southwest by Jerry D. Thompson, Univ. of Texas at El Paso, 1992, 86 Pages, Paperback \$12.50.

Capt. Paddy Graydon, an Irish immigrant and adopted Arizonan, was a typical frontiersman. He came ashore in Baltimore and enlisted in the 1st Dragoons in 1853 and was sent West. His tour was unexceptional--fighting Indians and the land in roughly equal parts. He left the Army and settled in what is now southern Arizona, running a hotel and acting as de facto sheriff of the area. When the rebellion broke out and

Civil War followed, he answered the call to colors.

The war in the West was not unlike that in China in the 1930's and early 40's--a three-way affair in which belligerents shifted their actions according to the priorities of the moment. Here, it was the Union, the Confederacy and the Indians rather than the Nationalists, the Communists and the Japanese.

Paddy fought, made deep patrols to gather information, and played a crucial role in the Battle of Valverde. He also killed Indians. His death in 1864 came in a gunfight. He killed and was killed by a man who criticized Graydon's part in the Gallinas Massacre. This was a killing of 14 Mescalero Apaches in the Sacramento Mountains. To this day, there is controversy over the Apaches' motives and allegiances in the White Man's War.

The background is well set and the maps suffice. This book glimpses the interesting and little-known American Southwest during the Civil War. Recommended for Indian wars or Civil War buffs.

--Stan Moore, C.M.

French Fur Traders and Voyageurs in the American West, edited by Leroy R. Hafen, Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1997, Reprint of 1995 edition, Arthur H. Clark, Spokane, 333 Pages, Paperback \$15.

This book has 22 biographical sketches reprinted from Hafen's 10-volume series, *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*.

Traders of French descent, based in St. Louis, dominated the fur trade in the Missouri basin. The book gives thumbnail sketches of the lives of several of them. Some never set foot in the city, but all ultimately worked for the St. Louis houses. We are treated to accounts of familiar names like Beaubien, Robidoux, Sarpy and St. Vrain, and of little-knowns such as Pierre Lesperance and J.B. Moncravie.

Americans, Canadians and Creoles of French descent were ubiquitous in the fur and Indian trade. They went with Astor's party to found Astoria (both the sea and the overland legs of the trip) and got into print one of the first reports of it. They accompanied Lewis and Clark (the life of Sacajawea's son by Toussaint Charbonneau, Jean Baptiste, is chronicled here). A Frenchman was the first U.S. government Indian agent in the Louisiana Territory. They explored and trapped the Platte, the Yellowstone, the Snake, the Niobrara, the Salt, the Rio Grande, the Green, the Arkansas, and innumerable other river basins, and they traded in Kansas and Santa Fe. The Laramie River in Wyoming is named for a trader named Laramie, who was buried near it in 1814. The point is clear. They were literally everywhere, from the mid-1700's on.