



*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

JANUARY - FEBRUARY 2000



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Maj. Robert Boyles Bradford

**The Bradford Years in Denver  
1859-1876**

by

**Donald and Delores Ebner, C.M.**

(Presented January 26, 2000)

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LVI NO. 1



January - February 2000



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Dolores Ebner is a published poet and writer. She is the Chairman of the Ken-Caryl Ranch Historical Society and a member of the Colorado History Group as well.

Don & Dolores celebrated their 50th anniversary in November '99 and have five children and two grandchildren. They are natives of Chicago, IL, but have lived in Jefferson County for the last 36 years. Not only are they active in history but also in community affairs.

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The ROUNDUP (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Corresponding membership is \$20 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be either typewritten, quality computer output or on floppy disk, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. ROUNDUP editing, layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthis St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for ROUNDUP to 1925 Xanthis St., Denver, CO 80220

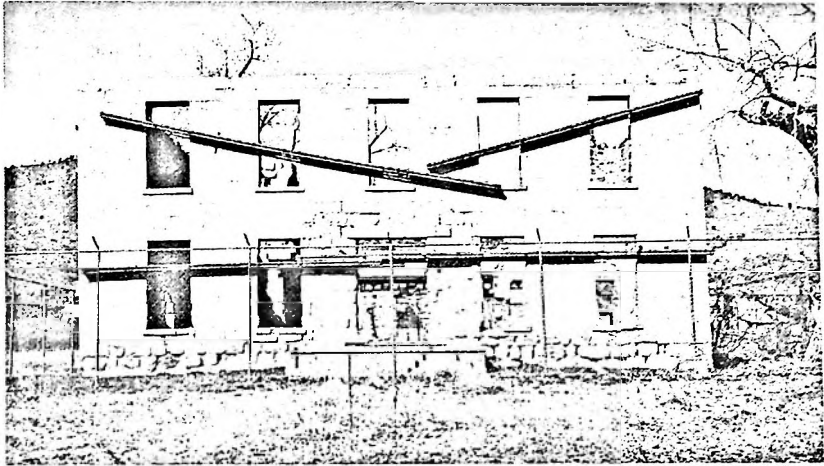
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# The Bradford Years in Denver 1859-1876

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In the shadow of the foothills on the North Ranch of Ken-Caryl Ranch in unincorporated Jefferson County, in the state of Colorado, sits a lonely and forlorn mansion. Abandoned years ago, it is what historians call, "Demolition by neglect". The remaining walls cry out for repair and restoration.

In 1967, a devastating fire destroyed the structure from within. The fire was seen for miles around. To this day, no one person has been held accountable.

This once beautiful building, situated perfectly to overlook the plains, is the former Bradford Mansion, now called the Bradford-Perley House.

In March of 1997, the Bradford-Perley House achieved State Historic designation, due to the efforts of the Ken-Caryl Ranch Historical Society committee.

In 1859, Major Robert Boyles Bradford came to Colorado to seek his fortune, along with hundreds of others. This is his story.

Late in the summer of 1859, Major Robert Boyles Bradford came to Denver. Since the discovery of gold in 1858, many men came west to seek their fortune. Major Bradford sought to make money in merchandising and freighting.

On August 3, 1859, Major Bradford went into partnership with the well-known freighting firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell. Major Bradford was a half-uncle to William B. Waddell. When he came to Denver from Lexington, Mo., Major Bradford was trying to make a new life for himself. His first two wives, Martha and Elizabeth Waddell (sisters) were deceased. He married Martha Waddell on December 22, 1842. Her exact date of death is not known, but he married Elizabeth Waddell on January 1, 1845, in Lexington, Mo. They were the daughters of James Waddell and Nancy Bailey.

Robert Boyles Bradford was the first born child of William Bradford (August 1, 1760-July 30, 1831) and his third wife, Nancy Boyles. Major Bradford was born in Tennessee, according to the 1850 and 1870 census.

Major Bradford's father, William, married three times and fathered 21 children. He had an interesting background, because his parents separated and he (William) was bound by the church wardens of Leeds Parish in Fauquier County, Virginia in November, 1700, to a John Cook, to learn the trade of tailor. He fought in the Revolutionary War on the Continental Line and his Revolutionary Soldier number is: 46375. He was imprisoned on the British ship, "Jersey" at Charleston, S.C. for part of the war. He lived

for a while in Philadelphia after the war and then eventually returned to Fauquier, Va., to reside with his Mother. He is listed in the Abstract Pension records of Virginia as a tailor by trade. He was not related to Governor William Bradford. His three wives were: Mary (Molly) Steel, whom he married on July 3, 1831 in Sumner County, Tenn. His second wife was Catherine (Caty) Morgan and they married in Fauquier County Va., on October 3, 1792. His third wife was Nancy Boyles, the Mother of Robert Boyles Bradford. They married in Sumner County, Tenn. on March 26, 1812.

Major Bradford was the first child and was born on January 2, 1813 in Tennessee. Some accounts show him being born on January 1, but the family genealogical records clearly show his birth date as January 2, 1813. He died in Bradford on December 30, 1876, just three days short of his 64th birthday. Some of the reports of his death show the date as being December 29, 1876, but that is incorrect as well.

Major Bradford was close to his family and especially his brother, Larkin. He also cared for his unmarried sisters Tabitha, and Roxanna. They lived with him in Lexington, Mo. and are shown on the 1850 census. He and his wife Elizabeth, (called Eliza), had three children: Martha Green Bradford, born October 4, 1846; Mary A. Bradford, born 1848, who died at the age of 11 years after being struck by lightning and Fielding F. Bradford, born in 1850. Both Mary and Fielding were deceased by the time Major Bradford came to Denver from Lexington, Mo. Martha stayed behind and was

cared for by his sister, Tabitha, (called Bie). Major Bradford is shown as having a farm in Lafayette County, Mo. worth \$10,000.00, according to the 1850 census. Also shown to be living with him was his nephew, John Hunter (his sister's child) aged 6 months.

It is apparent that families stayed together and took care of each other. The relationship between the Waddell family and the Bradford family is referred to in several letters that Major Bradford wrote to William B. Waddell, his partner. Major Bradford had an affectionate relationship with Wm. B. and expressed personal greetings often in his letters home. They had been boys growing up together and their bonds were deep. His only surviving child, Martha, married Joseph Babson Atwater January 19, 1872 in Warrensburg, Johnson County, Mo. Martha and Atwater had several children: Robert B.; Constant Dulin; May M.; Baxter; Kathryn Fleming; Nancy Cortuna and Ethel Reid. Martha died at Elk Falls, Kansas, July 31, 1899, and is buried in Longton Cemetery there. Upon his arrival in Denver, Major Bradford set to work immediately, securing a building which he called a "shanty" at the corner of Blake and "F" streets. This was the original Jones, Russell and Co. building (Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Company).

Within two weeks of his arrival, Major Bradford ordered two wagon loads of equipment and materials be sent to him so he could "set up shop". At the same time, he arranged to erect a frame building on the northwest corner of block 41, lots 15 and 16, on Blake and "G" streets. This was to be

50x50 ft. and two stories high. He purchased this property from J. T. Bayaud, who retained a half interest in the building to be constructed. Major Bradford finished the inside himself, and felt that rent alone for six months would have cost him \$1,000.00. He was a practical man. The total cost of the building was \$4,100.00.

Later in the year, he put an addition on the back of the store facing "G" street, which was 65x25 feet. It housed the post office of the Pike's Peak Express Company. A kitchen and dining room were also in the addition.

As further proof of Major Bradford's business prowess, he made a thorough assessment of the commercial possibilities of the town. He wrote most enthusiastically to W. B. Waddell, suggesting that "untold riches could be theirs for the taking". Property rights in the city were advancing rapidly and he suggested investing in real estate. At that time, city lots had a value of two to three dollars each. Many of them were bought by Major Bradford, Amos Steck, William Byers, and other prominent men. One of the companies he suggested taking over was the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company. He offered to buy nine shares in the Denver City Town company for \$500.00 to \$700.00 a share. The route agent for the express company, Beverly D. Williams, valued the shares at \$10,000.00. At this time Major Bradford urged his partners to come out to Denver and take an active interest in the business. Within two years, he predicted Denver would be double the size of Leavenworth, Kansas, where they had their main offices.

AFFIDAVIT REQUIRED OF HOMESTEAD CLAIMANTS, ACT OF MAY 20, 1862,  
AND JUNE 21, 1866

*Robert P. Bradford* having made a Homestead entry of the 1/4 Sec. 24, T5S, R70W, N.E. under section No. 24-  
as provided by Act of Congress approved May 20, 1862, and June 21, 1866, and the first section of the Homestead Act of  
May 20, 1862. As now apply to perfect my claim thereto by virtue of the first  
provision of the second section of said Act, and for that purpose solemnly declare  
that I am the owner of a lot a piece of the United States (that  
I have made actual settlement upon and have enclosed said land, having marked thereon every the  
5th day of August 1865, in the present time; that no part  
of said land has been alienated, and that I am the sole bona fide owner of an undivided moiety, and  
that I have been true allegiance to the Government of the United States.

*Robert P. Bradford*

I, L. H. M. Scamblin, Receiver, of the Land Office at  
Denver Colorado do hereby certify, that the above affidavit was taken and  
subscribed before me this 5th day of August 1865.

*L. H. M. Scamblin*  
Receiver

On October 28, 1859, Russell, Majors & Waddell, took over the now bankrupt L&P Peak Express Company. Although Major Bradford was spending half his time running the express company; he found it to be "irksome" and "tiresome". His salary remained the same—\$75.00 to \$85.00 a month for managing Bradford & Company and the express company. Later on he suggested the company send out a new manager for the express company, which they did.

In the meantime, Russell, the partner who seemed the most dissident about Major Bradford, never answered letters from Major Bradford. He complained about Major Bradford to the other partners saying "not enough monies were coming back to them from Bradford & Co."

Major Bradford then opened a branch store for clothing only, on the north side of Blake Street, midway between "F" and "G" streets. This was immediately rejected by his partners because they wanted their profits to be sent to them instead of reinvested in buildings in Denver. Major Bradford

had such faith in Denver that he felt that he could sell any of the properties at a profit, and at many times the cost of investment. His partners felt he was making unwise investments with the funds. This was the beginning of a break in confidence with Major Bradford and his partners, Russell, Majors & Waddell. Letters flew back and forth for months on this matter. Major Bradford wrote letters to Wm. B. Waddell that the partners did not have confidence in his ability. Major Bradford was accused of all types of improprieties and mismanagement.

In the meantime, Major Bradford was making the acquaintance of many powerful men in the area, men such as Amos Steck, who was the postmaster and became a partner with Major Bradford in many ventures.

W. H. Middaugh and Major Bradford formed a partnership and bought the first of the Ken-Caryl Ranch property (today). Section 24, T5S, R70W, N.E. 1/4 of S W 1/4 of N W 1/4 of S E 1/4 of section 24 is the legal description. W. H. Middaugh later became the Sheriff of Denver. By December 14, 1859, there appeared in the *Rocky Mountain Weekly*, an article that stated, "Military appointments of his excellency, Governor R. W. Steele: Governor's staff: Brig. Gen. R. B. Bradford, aid." From this time forward, Bradford was referred to as Major or General. It seems to have depended on the mood of the writer. It was clear that Major Bradford (as he was more commonly called) was making friends in the right direction.

To give you a little background on Major Bradford, he became a partner in 1844 in the general merchandising

firm of Bullard, Russell & Co. When he went into partnership with Russell, Majors & Waddell, it was agreed that he would be the managing partner in Denver.

Business was a success, but due to a lack of understanding on the part of his partners and overcommitments on their part in other business ventures, they indicate a total lack of grasp of the opportunities in Denver. Although Major Bradford wrote each of the partners individual letters about the business climate and opportunities in Denver, they did not seem to understand. One letter refers to implements used for mining such as pick axes and shovels, which had not been shipped, and therefore they lost out on those sales.

In a letter to Wm. B. Waddell, dated September 22, 1859, he explains how encouraged he is by the great success of the miners at their diggings. Major Bradford envisioned making a great deal of money for the firm. He further elaborated on the Jones, Russell, & Co., express company, and that he and Waddell can control the market if they buy out Jones & Russell "at value". He believed there was waste and recklessness in the Jones operation and they could improve on that situation. He further stresses the need for insurance coverage for their stock and is fearful of fire, due to the frame structures in Denver.

By October 13, he writes about someone named French, who is "too slow and incorrect to be assisting him in the business". He hopes that by October 22, they will be in their new building. On October 19, he writes that other firms in the city have been selling

goods at a sacrifice and that soon, they will have the only stock on the market to sell. He begins to see that the sale of merchandise will fall off during the long winter months and warns his partners of this. On October 13, 1859, a large advertisement shows the sale of provisions and clothing by R. B. Bradford & Co. Boots and shoes also are now available at his store. The newspaper *Rocky Mountain News* takes notice of his opening by saying: "Maj. Bradford at his 'corner' is prepared to fill orders for all kinds of goods at retail or wholesale. Give him a call".

Major Bradford complains to Wm. B. Waddell that they are so crowded they cannot open half of their goods to sell! He talks about holding back on the sale of flour at \$12.00 to \$12.50 per sack, because he believes in a month, it will increase in value. He goes on to say to Wm. B. Waddell, that word has reached him that Russell (their partner) has made an assignment of all his estate over two months ago. This was confirmed by Judge Secomb and he says "take warning and govern yourself accordingly". Russell was the risk taker of the partnership and later on, Majors was involved in some affairs that eventually cost him most of his fortune.

Although Denver and Auraria were growing communities that rivaled each other, the town of St. Vrain, located in the eastward bend of the Platte River, where the St. Vrain River flows into the Platte, was also coming of age. The old fort bearing its name was also located there. Major Bradford was very high on St. Vrain, citing its many natural resources: stone, coal, logs, etc. The logs, he felt could be rafted down from the mountains, a

distance of about 20 miles down Vasquez fork or Boulder Creek to the St. Vrain fork of the Platte River. He bought 500 shares in the town on St. Vrain.

By November 3, 1859, Major Bradford wrote to Wm. B. Waddell that the express company he is now managing is a "curse" and after one month, "He has had enough".

In the *Rocky Mountain News* of December 14, 1859, it is mentioned that "General R. B. Bradford is rapidly finishing his new building, a part of which is designed for the Denver post office, which will be furnished in a style equal to any west of St. Louis". As previously noted, Major Bradford made several alliances with friends in Denver. He also crossed the river to make friends with rival, Auraria.

In December, 1859, the results of the Denver City election returns are shown and R. B. Bradford received 173 votes and became a city councilman. In January, 1860, Benjamin F. Ficklin arrived in Denver. After checking into the company business in Denver, he concluded that the management style of Major Bradford was excellent. Ficklin was a supporter of Bradford.

In the Mountaineer paper of December 28, 1859, Major Bradford is shown as the President of the St. Vrain, Golden City & Colorado Wagon Road, which "will go to the newly platted town of Breckenridge". The Bradford Road was laid out from the banks of Cherry Creek. "From Denver to the crossing of the Platte river was about 7.2 miles, and then on to the "canon" in the foothills was another 7.70 miles and another 1 3/4 miles to the foot of the mountains and 8.9 miles to the junc-

R. B. BRADFORD & CO.,  
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL  
Dealers in  
PROVISIONS,  
CLOTHING,  
BOOTS AND SHOES,  
Hats & Caps  
WANTED, AT THIS OFFICE.

Rocky Mtn. News, 10/13/1859

tion," according to a survey done by S. G. Jones on January 18, 1860.

By 1860, the Bradford toll road joined together with other tollroads at Bradford Junction (now Conifer). A little later, it went on to Breckenridge.

Major Bradford had started completion of a stone house at the site of Bradford. "Bradford" was so named because his partners in the Bradford Road venture named it after him. He felt very honored. According to Jones's account, Bradford "was situated between two clear spring creeks and was often referred to as the Airline Road because it followed the tops of the mountains". Major Bradford, being the canny investor that he was, bought a share in Brown's Bridge and then went on to buy John Henderson's ranch along the route from Denver to



Bradford.

Together with Amos Steck, Jones, Cartwright and six others, Major Bradford also organized the Denver Mutual Fire Insurance Co. and got a charter from the legislature of the Jefferson Territory on December 7, 1859.

On his ranch at Bradford, he grazed the cattle of Russell, Majors & Waddell and grew turnips and potatoes, which were profitable crops.

The Bradford road, although referred to as the "terrible" Bradford road because of the steep grade, was making a profit of close to \$500.00 per week by 1861. Originally, Major Bradford wanted to build a marble and granite mansion for Wm. B. Waddell. Waddell himself did not come out to Denver to inspect his business interests or see the start of his mansion. Major Bradford continued to have work done on the mansion and it was completed in 1872, long after his dissolution with his partners.

A charter was issued by the Colorado Territory for the Denver, Bradford and Blue River Road Co. Geo. D. Bayard, Robert B. Bradford, Luther A. Cole, Daniel McCleery, J. W. McIntyre, A. McPhadden and D. C. Vance were shown as the principals. The road was from Denver to Bradford, from the north fork of the South Platte River, and on to Hamilton to Breckenridge; with a branch from a junction ten miles from Bradford, on the main line of said road to Clear Creek or Vasquez fork, near Golden City. The charter was issued on October 11, 1861 for a term of 20 years.

From the *History of Denver* by Smiley, we have the following informa-

tion:

*"Dr. McDowell organized the City hospital in early spring of 1860 with Major R. B. Bradford as the President".*

Also reported in the January 11, 1860 paper was the result of a road meeting held, in which a company was formed under the title of "Denver, Mt. Vernon and Gregory diggings wagon road co." Gen. R. B. Bradford was elected vice president of that road. To say he had his fingers in a lot of pies would be an understatement.

In February, 1860, an organization was formed called the Denver City and Auraria Library and Reading Room Association, of which Major Bradford was elected President. Dues were 50¢ a month and membership was limited to 100 members. Obviously Major Bradford was a man of conscience and civic-mindedness.

By 1860, his road was running well and comments made from old diaries of travelers as recorded in *Diary of a Pike's Peak Gold Seeker of 1860*, as reported in the *Colorado* magazine, Jan. 1938 were: "We are on the main road to Tarryall. Started at 6 1/2 a.m. for the mountains, ...rode slowly to Bradford, reaching the hotel at the spring at about 1 1/2 p.m. Quite warm. Little rain just before leaving town and some afterwards. Took dinner at the hotel for 75¢." This entry was made on August 4, 1860.

Another traveler said

*"I left Denver at one o'clock on Thursday, July 19th, traveled to Bradford station and rested in the stone house of Bradford City, where the good lady treated us to cake and pie".*

*Rocky Mountain News of 8/15/1860.*

On February 22, 1860, Wm. Byers published a report of his own investigation of the Bradford Hill Road in the *Rocky Mountain News*. He referred to "Two cabins ... one of logs and the other of stone. . .we found finished and inhabited". On March 28, 1860, the paper also reported, "The road into the mountains from Bradford, we learn is completed and open for business". In "From the Trail" shows "In 1860 Major Bradford and others laid a road from the mouth of Cherry Creek south along the east side of the Platte for distance of nine miles. Here a bridge was built of logs and for many years, Brown's Bridge was familiar with travelers in that direction. From this point the road turned southwest to the hogback where Bradford Hill Station was established which for a time had hopes of being a regular town". This would suggest that the road went through the cut at the entrance to the present day Ken-Caryl Ranch.

From the 1866 *Colorado State Business Directory* came the following: "In the year 1860 Bradford's corner, a large building for the times, having a front of 50 ft. on Blake St. and 100 ft. on G St. Blake St., front was 2 stories high and 50 ft. square; the wing on G St. being 1 story in height. This building, since improved, is now the Planters House, Peacock & Meek, Proprs.". On February 3, 1860, there was an article in the *Rocky Mountain News* which told about the Claim Jumpers that threatened Denver City. They had taken over unimproved lots and built houses thereon. The next morning there was a meeting of the "Claim Club" at which

80 members were present. After the meeting the members proceeded to where the "jumpers" were at work and warned them to cease building. There were estimated to be 40 guns among the claim jumpers and they vowed to "fight to the death".

Another council was held but no definitive action was determined. Because of the threat to the city and on the Auraria side as well, the Jefferson Rangers patrolled that evening. Another meeting of citizens was held and this time it was attended by several hundred persons. A few minutes after the meeting, Major R. B. Bradford was accosted in the street by Capt. Wm. H. Parkison and five of his friends. All the men were heavily armed. Capt. Parkison pointed a rifle at the Major and a hand revolver was in his other hand! He charged the Major with having made false statements at the meeting. Major Bradford denied the allegation and turned to a bystander asking his help. The bystander backed Major Bradford's statement, however Capt. Parkison asserted that he "wanted no conversation" and immediately fired his rifle and revolver—in all, three shots—which passed very close to the Major's head. Major Bradford never backed down and the men ran away. This ended the confrontation.

Because of his fear of fire, Major Bradford completed a new, unfurnished fireproof building, 40x100 ft. and moved into the building about September 1, 1860. Major Bradford made several trips to Missouri during the next few months, trying to work out problems in the partnership. The main problem was Russell, who invested in other projects, like the Pony Express



photo by the author

Dr. John Kent on an archeological dig at the Bradford house.

company, which folded after only being in business for one year. Russell also complained that Major Bradford spent his time taking care of his own business investments and amused himself at the expense of Russell, Majors and Waddell.

During the winter months, Major Bradford fought off illnesses and tried to keep the businesses going as well. His sacrifices in coming out to Denver and managing the business for Russell, Majors & Waddell no doubt weighed heavily on his mind. His perceptive view of the growth of Denver in the future was not understood by his partners. Their lack of confidence must have been a disappointment to him.

After Major Bradford opened his two-story building the post office was relocated to the building. Postal rates varied greatly according to distance and sometimes the miners, who were down on their luck, would have

the postmaster Amos Steck, read them letters saying they couldn't read or that it wasn't their letter in order to avoid paying the postage due.

Generally, the gambling halls were never closed and they became the place where business was transacted. The first probate judge of Arapa-

hoe County, under Kansas Territorial rule, sat down to play cards and lost 30 town lots in less than 10 minutes! The same day the Sheriff, Ned Wynkoop, pawned his revolver for \$20.00. City lots had a value of \$2.00 to \$3.00 each and deeds for bundles of them passed among such men as William Byers, Amos Steck, Major Bradford and others, according to *The 59er's* by Stanley Zamonski & Teddy Keller.

In the *Western Mountaineer* of July 12, 1860, a letter from the mines was published dated July 5, that stated some complaints had been registered by emigrants that the St. Vrain, Golden and Colorado road had been charging a toll illegally. Some Colorado boys (25 in number) had come down on the company and torn down the bridges and their house, thus ending the illegal tolls being charged. When last seen, the men were taking off for Denver! The recommended route was "the 2nd branch that leads in from Bradford and is some 15

miles in length. This branch connects itself with the St. Vrain road some 25 miles from Golden City and is only tolled \$1.00”.

To go back to the matter of his partners, eventually Russell agreed with Bradford that his letters of enthusiasm for the Denver and Rocky Mountain region were the place to make money instead of in freighting. This of course was what Bradford had been telling Waddell for months. Russell had been so busy he hadn't even answered Bradford's letters.

With the establishment of the Central Overland Calif. & Pike's Peak Express Co., Benjamin Ficklin was appointed to close up the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Co. and turn the business over to J. B. Jones. He arranged with Major Bradford to build stage stops along the routes as far west as Julesburg, Colo., and to stock them with provisions and equipment. According to Major Bradford's accounts, no expense was spared in equipping the stations. Along with food supplies and household items, medicines for man and beast were also included. Stations were built and equipped from bases in Denver, Leavenworth, Salt Lake City and Sacramento, Calif. There were 153 stations on the route from Denver to Sacramento alone. The stations built by Major Bradford were of rough green lumber sawed in the mountains, and covered with shingles. The stages and freight lines and the Pony Express Co. established by Russell and his partners used the same stations.

In correspondence with Wm. B. Waddell, Major Bradford asks him to remember him to “the old fogies”! He further mentions, “There is one feature

of the people, with whom I have come in contact since my arrival here with which we are not very familiar in Missouri. They are decidedly the closest, stingiest set of Bluebellied Yankees on the Western continent”. This is an interesting comment as he later on allowed Civil War recruiting (done by Yankees) on his property at Bradford.

At this time, Major Bradford was in charge of the express company in addition to his other duties as a merchandiser. He set up a system of receiving prepaid orders for parcels of goods and forwarding them to Leavenworth by the express company.

When John Russell took over the office from Bradford, he began to charge a 5% commission and this led to the unpopularity of the company. He also charged an advance on freight rates of 75¢ per lb. However, the fee for 25¢ for letters and 10¢ for newspapers and \$1.00 per pound for packages by express were incredibly low.

It is true that Major Bradford had other investments. He organized the Bradford toll road. He opened a “coal bank” and iron mine with Amos Steck. He helped organize the Hydraulic Ditch Co. By January, 1860, Wm. B. Waddell sent him \$5000.00 to invest for him. After cornering the flour market in Denver in January, 1860, Major Bradford felt his position was “becoming more precarious every day”. This was due to the fact that he had the largest inventory of flour on the market. Unemployment was severe that winter and hundreds of broke and hungry miners were loitering around the streets causing problems. He was afraid of a “flour riot”. The unemployed miners

cause him much concern but the major problem came from what he referred to as "the whiskey drinking rabble of the city and pineries". To avoid further problems he sold his flour to the mining companies on credit and managed to be clear of the riots when they did come. He even delivered the flour to the mines himself. His foresight saved the company from harm. Unfortunately his partners did not appreciate what he had done and sent him letters of severe reprimand for failing to get the cash for the flour now. The future of R. B. Bradford & Co. was up in the air and Bradford could not plan for the future, not knowing if indeed there would be a future business.

Bradford also worried that the building in which he was housed was a fire hazard. As mentioned previously, fire was constant worry by businesses in Denver, due to the attitude of the "Bummers" about business men. Major Bradford, being the prudent businessman he was, put his stock into several different buildings around town. Further evidence of the rift between Major Bradford and his partners was shown in a letter he sent to Wm. B. Waddell, saying, "You, nor Russell, nor Majors have ever seen the day when you could outrank me in position, family or character". Those were strong words.

On the day he sent this letter in February, 1860, he received another reprimand from Wm. B. Waddell and he answered, "My dear friend, be assured that good or bad opinion of Messrs. Russell, and Majors will have no effect on me, unless it is based upon facts. I am not so poor as to become the recipient of their favors unless we do so on an equality with either of them. Tell

them to come and relieve me. I owe them nothing but kindness so far, but if they undertake to discuss my conduct and character, let them do it as men, and allow me the privilege of defending myself. I am no agent, but a full partner in this business and, while I will cheerfully obey instructions, I will not consent to be dictated to in terms unbecoming a man or a gentleman...I have written fully and freely to Russell, if he is the man he was in our boyhood days he will appreciate it". This is further evidence that Major Bradford was a full partner in the business and also that he, Waddell, and Russell had been youths growing up together. At the same time, the work of putting the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company and the Pony Express Company into operation was moving ahead. The Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company was incorporated into the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company.

The Pony Express Company was started on April 3, 1860. This turned out to be a failure as a moneymaker and so did the express company.

All of these bad investments proved to be the undoing of Russell, Majors & Waddell. The failure of this company along with the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company was of nation-wide proportions. The assets were already in the hands of trustees and creditors took whatever steps were appropriate to recoup their investments. Wm. B. Waddell was devastated by the events that led to this position and he felt his honor was stained. Everything he

owned, such as land in Lafayette County, Mo., Carroll, Ray and DeKalb counties in Missouri as well as his home in Lexington, Mo. and all household goods and farm animals, etc. were listed in his assets.

During this period, Major Bradford wrote that Majors was publicly saying that "Waddell had taken \$50,000.00 from the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell and appropriated it to the benefit of his children".

Alexander Majors met with disaster also with more deeds of trust and assignments. He, too, forfeited his home and personal belongings as well as animals and land holdings. Most people said that the investment Russell made in the Pony Express Company was what brought down the firm of Russell Majors & Waddell. It certainly contributed to the downfall but the bigger loss came from the failure of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company.

R. B. Bradford & Company only did a good business in the spring-to-fall season and that profit had to carry the company through the almost non-existent business in the winter months. R. B. Bradford & Company was not a successful business. Freight-ing seems to be the only investment that made money for the firm.

Major Bradford was able to recoup some money by selling his stock of goods and the new fireproof building to Alexander Majors. At the same time Majors was making an assignment of certain property to his creditors. Whether Major Bradford knew of this is not known. The result was that Wm. B. Waddell notified Major Bradford to annul the sale of the store immediately

to Majors. This was done and on February 1, 1861, Bradford wrote to Waddell; "I have taken such steps as to secure to me the possession of all goods, wares, and merchandise that your concern has in this country until my debt of say \$36,860.00 has been satisfied, either with you or myself."

The trustees sent their agent, Wm. T. Hays, out to close the Russell, Majors & Waddell interest in Denver and Bradford gave Hays the store, thinking that he would be reimbursed from the funds. This did not turn out to be the case, as Hays sent the \$30,000.00 he recouped from his sales of the merchandise to the trustees. On February 1, 1861, Major Bradford filed suit in the Supreme court of Colorado, First Judicial district, against, Russell, Majors & Waddell, the trustees and Wm. Hays to recover the sum of \$ 18,800.00 costs and interest. The case was tried and judgment was in his favor. The sum given to him was \$20,180.00.

Since Major Bradford had previously disposed of his farm in Missouri and other interests, he decided to make his home in Bradford City. He lived on there until his death in 1876. In Lexington, Missouri, his old home stands today on the campus of the Wentworth Military Academy and is recognized as a historic home in the area

### **The Years at the Bradford House 1861 - 1876**

And so Major Bradford came to live in beautiful Bradford City, in the valley where he raised cattle and turnips and potatoes. This ranch is now known as Ken-Caryl Ranch, situated in unin-



corporated Jefferson County, Colorado. The architecturally beautiful natural red rocks that surround the valley floor hold many secrets about the previous inhabitants. Overhangs show evidence of early Indian life. The Ute Indians traveled the Ute trail for many years and passed by in front of the Bradford House.

After the Indians were banished to the reservation, Chief Colorow and his band of renegades came to the valley to hunt in defiance of the law. Colorow's Cave stands today to the north, in Willow Springs, just beyond Ken-Caryl Ranch.

Little is known of Major Bradford's years on his ranch. A few letters have surfaced that he wrote to his sister Tabitha (Bie), and his brother, Larkin. Larkin visited the ranch several times and their nephew M.J. McNamara came occasionally as well. M.J. went on to build the business that came to be known as the Denver Dry Goods Co.

Major Bradford's daughter Martha (Mattie) and her family visited often.

Major Bradford was not a collector or keeper of records as stated in one of his many letters to Wm. B. Waddell. Major Bradford stated that "he did not keep any of the letters sent by Waddell". Maybe the recollection of what used to be was painful to him.

The Wm. B. Waddell family had its share of early deaths and losses. Their son Milton Byram was killed during the Civil War, protecting one of the family slaves. William Bradford Waddell, Jr. was killed for waving the "Stars and Bars" in front of the family mansion. He was only 13 years old at the time. So death and marriage bound the Bradford and Waddell families together through many rough times.

It must have been a major disappointment to Major Bradford to have his friendship broken with his long time affiliate, Wm. B. Waddell. It is believed that Major Bradford never

recouped the money owed him by Russell, Majors and Waddell even though the judgment was in his favor. There is no record showing he ever received any of the money due him.

There are no known architectural plans of the design of the front part of his mansion although one could assume such a plan did exist. References to a mahogany staircase came from Ruth Beckwith's interview with Mrs. Henry Brooks (Louise), a great niece. Mrs. Brooks remembers visiting the ranch and remembers Aunt Fanny making butter that was cooled in the "spring house" and then sent to Denver to be sold. The spring house was still standing until the early 1990s.

Fanny Miller apparently lived with Major Bradford for many years. She is mentioned as having been the school teacher who followed him to Denver, in correspondence with Wm. B. Waddell. It wasn't until Oct. 8, 1867 that he married her. The ceremony was performed by George Morrison, Justice of the Peace at Morrison, Co. Witnesses are shown as Judge Morrison and his wife Isabella and Thomas C. Morrison.

Fanny Miller is listed as arriving in Denver on March 12, 1860, according to the Register of Colorado Pioneers. She was born in Pennsylvania. On the 1870 census, her age is given as 29 years, while Major Bradford is shown as being 59 years old—a wide disparity in age. The total value of Major Bradford's property at that time was \$6,000.00 including household belongings. This is far less than his holdings were when he resided in Lexington, Mo. According to Ruth Beckwith in "Bradford at Bradford", her name was Frances E. Miller, but the

marriage certificate shows her name to be, Fanny Miller. References by visitors to the ranch, talk about "the good woman who served pie, etc."

A subpoena was sent on April 29, 1863 to Major Robert Boyles Bradford from the Territory of Colorado (Sheriff) demanding Major Bradford's appearance by the Grand Jury of the County & Territory, citing a concern for the "misdemeanor of adultery." At the same time, a charge was made against Fanny Miller by the people of the Territory of Colorado, also. The demands must have been settled peacefully as they did not marry until 1867. What happened in the interim period is anyone's guess.

Major Bradford's many nieces and nephews seemed to have had a good relationship with "Aunt" Fanny. We do know that she made butter to sell for a living and made cakes and pies, etc. that were sold to persons who traveled along the Bradford Road.

References by Wm. Byers of the *Rocky Mountain News* refer to Major Bradford entertaining at the large naturally formed cave, known today as "Colorow's Cave". Mr. Byers called it, "Mother Nature's Hall". The cave was lit by flashing pine knots. The Cibola minstrels gave a concert and also according to Mr. Byers, "Mortimer, Bones & Billy Burch, as usual, acquitted themselves well, giving universal satisfaction and bringing down the house in thunders of applause". The first known function there was in February, 1860.

After breakfast, Mr. Byers took a walk up the mountain for two miles as far as the Bradford Road had been completed. He states "It zigzags up the



face of the mountain, being made practicable by side cuts and where necessary, is supported on the lower side by substantial rock walls. The ascent is regular and gentle, and the grade quite easy. A vast amount of work has already been done, and it is being pushed forward with unflagging energy. The work is under the superintendence of Messrs. Jones, McIntyre, and McFadden, whose well known enterprise ensures its early completion". This statement by Mr. Byers contradicts many later reports that refer to the road as "The Terrible Bradford Road". In "From the Trail", it is shown that, "In 1860, Major Bradford and others laid a road from the mouth of Cherry Creek south along the east side of the Platte for a distance of nine miles. Here a bridge was built of logs and for many years, Brown's Bridge was familiar with travelers in that direction. From this point, the road turned southwest to the hogback where Bradford Hill station was established which for a time had hopes of being a regular town."

An advertisement in the *Rocky Mountain News* of June 13, 1860 read: "*The Bradford and Colorado Wagon Road is now open and in good order. Persons who desire to go to Tarryall, to the Blue River mines, or to the mines on the headwaters of the Platte, and Arkansas, will save time and money by taking this route.*"

#### MILES

*From Denver to Tarryall, 65*

*From Denver to Blue River, 80*

*From Denver to Arkansas mines, 95*

*It is believed that this is the best mountain road in the Territory, and shorter by 18 miles than any other*

*road from Denver to the same points. R.B. Bradford, Pres. 't."*

From the *Rocky Mountain News* of June 1860,  
*"Persons going to any of these mines, will do well to go by the Bradford road, by which a distance of Eighteen miles of mountain travel is saved, and it is the best mountain road in the country. Wood, water, and grass, at a distance of from one to seven miles. Persons starting from Denver to any of the above named mines, will take the well-beaten road on the Southeast side of the Platte river, to a point, about eight miles above Denver, where a good bridge is erected. The toll on this bridge is so low, that no person can grumble: For wagons, 25 each; horses and mules, 50 each; horned cattle still more reasonable. The road from said bridge to Bradford is Southwest a distance of seven miles, where it enters the mountains".*

According to a survey done by S.G. Jones in January, 1860, the distance from the shores of Cherry Creek to Bradford was just under 14 miles. Many references refer to Bradford as being the "12 Mile House" (also shown on old maps) but the correct mileage was about 14 miles. Later measurements also confirm this datum, before the present-day Morrison Road was named for J.P. George Morrison (who married Major Bradford and Fanny Miller), it was called the Bradford Road. Sometime between 1860 and 1867, Major Bradford changed the direction of his road to go over the Bradford Road (Morrison Road).

According to historic documentation, the first Bradford road (1859 -

1860), went to Tarryall and South Park and went south along the east side of the South Platte River to go west across Brown's toll bridge. Major Bradford owned an interest in the Brown's Bridge Company that built and owned Brown's Bridge. That route today from Denver or Auraria, would approximate I-25 or Kalamath St. to Santa Fe to Union Ave. in Englewood and across the Union Ave. bridge. Then it went west to Federal Blvd. to Bowles Ave. and west to Platte Canyon Drive and south to Ken Caryl Ave., and west to the North Ranch Road on Ken-Caryl Ranch to Bradford, which today is located on Killdeer Lane.

The road continued to the west and south across the plains, passing through the hogback where Ken-Caryl Ave. is today. Here it turned right to the north to the Bradford House (built 1859-1860) at Bradford City. Major Bradford's house was then only the smaller peaked-roof portion at the rear of today's large house which was completed in 1872.

From there the road went west up over the mountain behind the house to go southwest as the old Turkey Creek road does today, west of Tiny Town to Bradford Junction where the old yellow barn is standing today. Then the route went left or southwest to Conifer and then on the route of present day U.S. 285 and then over Kenosha Pass to South Park, Tarryall, Fairplay, Breckenridge, and Oro City (Leadville). Major Bradford was also a founder of the town of Breckenridge and owned an interest in the town.

The second Bradford Road followed part of today's Morrison Road to just east of the hogback and then

south to the cut where today's Belleview Avenue (Weaver Gap) goes through and then south to the Bradford house. The road then followed the balance of the first road to the mining country.

Part of the road can still be seen today on West Ranch, part of Ken-Caryl Ranch, and also on the Goddard Ranch (privately owned). By 1867, the route up Turkey Creek from Morrison opened up and the Bradford toll road was bypassed for the newer and easier route and the Bradford Road became obsolete. The road was named the Denver and Turkey Creek Wagon Road Co.

Another investment of Major Bradford's was in a Quartz mine and mill and in a letter to Wm. B. Waddell, dated November 21, 1859, he states, "The Quartz mills is so far a complete success and is turning out from \$175.00 to \$280.00 per day". He further says, "There is quartz enough within 60 miles of this place to keep 100 mills grinding for 100 years".

In the *Western Mountaineer* of October, 1860, the following article appeared: "Bradford, 14 miles out, is a city of one house, which stands solitary and bereaved, a monument to the memory of those enthusiastic gentlemen who predicted a few months ago, that the town, like the rod of Aaron, would swallow up all its fellows".

Yet a group of businessmen, led by Wm. Byers of the *Rocky Mountain News*, left Denver in the summer and traveled on the east side of the Platte River. They then crossed Brown's Bridge about nine miles south of town. Brown's bridge was built in 1859 by Joseph M. and Samuel Brown,

brothers who wanted to be able to get from one ranch to another. According to Byers, Major Bradford was rebuilding the bridge for use of the wagon road. This site is at the end of West Union Ave., just north of Littleton. The crossing of the river at this point was not completely eliminated until 1950 when the city of Englewood built a dam at that point. After leaving this point, the road went over the plains 8 1/2 miles to Bradford, coming in to Bradford from the southeast through a narrow canyon in the hogback. According to Ruth Beckwith in "Bradford at Bradford", the road later cut through Weaver Gulch. In the *Western Mountaineer* of June 1860, another visitor said "We reached the flourishing city of Bradford at noon. The town consists of four houses, uninhabited, and presented a rather desolate appearance. After climbing Bradford Hill, the road descended to Turkey Creek Canon, and proceeded to Bradford Junction, where it joined two other wagon roads from Denver and Golden. These three routes followed the same road over Kenosha Park Pass to South Park. This statement would contradict the previous statement in the *Western Mountaineer*.

Probably the most accurate, first-person tracing of the Bradford Road was given by Noah Le Gault as told to James R. Harvey and printed in the *Colorado* magazine of November, 1936. At the age of seven years, Noah Le Gault made his first trip over the Bradford hill driving an oxen wagon. As a boy, he made many trips into Denver for supplies and traveled the Bradford Road from his parent's ranch in Pleasant Park. His remarkable recall is well documented in this article.

In a letter dated July, 1860, Major Bradford wrote to Wm. B. Waddell, "The Bradford road still continues to pay well and I am satisfied that in another year, it will pay \$500.00 per week through the season. The whole cost of said road to date does not reach \$4500.00".

In an article of July 9, 1860, Webster D. Anthony wrote: "Journal of a trip from Denver to Oro City in 1860", as researched at the State Historical Society. He wrote, "*Was up early and soon breakfasted and on our way. Crossing the creek, took the Bradford Road to the mountains... About 10 o'clock entered the Canyon through a narrow pass and wended our way toward Bradford City. This canyon or gulch is a pass between the high range and the table mountain (this being the outside range of mountains) about half a mile wide. Through this we soon arrived at Bradford City consisting of about 30 vacant houses.*"

Notice the inconsistency of the number of buildings by various parties. Mr. Anthony went on to say, "In one place I noticed a board stuck up saying Hotel but where this was located I could not say. Here we ascended a very steep long hill over the mountains following an old Indian trail, the Ute Pass. About half way up is a toll gate where after paying \$1.50, we were allowed to pass. Still the steep hill is before us and the inquiry is ... how are we to get up? But little by little we go. At some points, the road looks dangerous and if an accident happens certain destruction awaits the wagon. At last we gain the top, and here the view is fine, overlooking Table Mountain. The Platte River, Cherry, Clear, Bear and Montana creeks can be

traced, while Denver is seen nestled among the trees of the Platte. Looks as though we had progressed but slowly, the tall pines and rough "boulders" adding a wildness to the scene around us."

Much has been written about the Bradford House at Bradford being a stagecoach stop. There is no proof of it ever having been a stagecoach stop. The road was used by persons going to the mines and families traveling west.

According to Margaret V. Bentley of the Jefferson County Historical Society of Evergreen, Colo., in her book, *The Upper Side of the Piecrust*, Major Bradford owned the Bradford Junction ranch, tollgate, and stagecoach station there. He sold all of this property in 1873 at Bradford Junction, to Col. James McNasser. These buildings were built in May, 1860 and destroyed by fire on September 27, 1878. The buildings were eventually rebuilt. This property was often confused by writers with the Bradford Ranch at Bradford, now Ken-Caryl Ranch. Many settlers traveling the Bradford Road mentioned taking dinner or pie and coffee at the Bradford House, but never staying overnight in the building. When one considers how small the original building at the Bradford Ranch is, we can understand how they could not take in travelers for the night.

In the *Rocky Mountain News* of June 8, 1867 it states:  
*"Crossing of the Platte at Brown's Bridge is very unsafe, as the marshy ground on the west end of the bridge has already sunk over 3 ft".*

According to the *Rocky Mountain News* of August 9, 1868, p.69, it states, "*Bradford City toll road from*

*that area to Leadville, Lake Creede road now takes the place of the old Bradford Trail".* The Bradford road fell upon hard times when a new and better road was built through Mt. Vernon Canyon in 1867.

Major Bradford's idea to build a dream house for Wm. B. Waddell never came true. They parted ways long before the front mansion was completed in 1872. The mansion was only used by Major Bradford and his family members and close friends. Larkin Bradford, Robert's brother, closest to him in age, came to Colorado often.

Much has been said about Major Bradford bringing slaves with him and that he had them lay the stone for his mansion at Bradford, but there is no substantial information about this. He never referred to having slaves or using them in any work, either at his stores or at the ranch.

Although there is no verification of Major Bradford's having any slaves buried on the ranch, the body of a 40-year-old male was discovered during the excavation of Bradford House III by the Colorado Archaeological Society. The body was sent to Kansas State University and was found to date to about 534 B.C. The sandstone used in building the mansion was quarried nearby (on Ken-Caryl Ranch).

While Major Bradford was a Southerner, he also let the U.S. Cavalry establish a recruiting station on the Bradford property during the Civil War. This does not sound like a man who owned slaves. The recruiting was done during the beginning of 1863 and was done by a Capt. Alley and Col. Chivington. Col. Chivington is a familiar name since he conducted the

infamous Sand Creek Massacre. This makes the Bradford (Perley) house the only remaining site of a Civil War recruiting station still in existence in Jefferson County today.

Col. Chivington was the presiding elder of the Rocky Mountain District of the Methodist Episcopal Church and was appointed a Major. His earliest request was to active duty. He was with the 1st Colorado Cavalry, 1861-1865.

The First General Assembly of the Territory of Jefferson met in Denver during January, 1859, and among the acts passed by the legislature, was one to authorize the formation of military companies. This so-called act formed the beginning of the history of the military organizations of Colorado and under the authority of law there was raised in the latter part of Jan. 1860, in Auraria (West Denver) and Denver, two military companies known as the Jefferson Rangers and the Denver Guards. The Captain in charge of the Rangers was H.H.C. Harrison, and the Denver Guards were under the command of Capt. W. P. McClure, an ardent supporter of the South.

Major Bradford left his only surviving child Martha (called Mattie) in Lexington, Mo., to live with his sister Tabitha (called Bie). On January 6, 1871, she sent a letter to Major Bradford which reads:  
*"My dear Brother: your letter to Mattie came to hand this evening. I, in her absence took the liberty of opening it. It is very painful to learn of your distress of mind. The cause not hearing from Mattie. I do assure you she is well and doing well or you would have been informed of anything to the contrary.*

*Mattie is spending two weeks with her Grandma and Aunt Mary. Mattie is very much engaged this winter. She is taking lessons in fancy work. There are four kinds. Mrs. Boulware, her teacher says she is very apt. She is Mrs. B's brag scholar. Mattie will write you as soon as she returns home. Sister Bie."*  
 This letter was in possession of Mrs. Henry Brooks (Bradford's grandniece) and is in Ruth Beckwith's book *Bradford at Bradford*.

In a letter to his brother Larkin, dated January 22, 1872, Major Bradford states that his stone mason has left him and he refers to not even having the walls up. His stone mason sued him for wages and he found another mason to complete the job. This further shows the absence of slave labor being used in the construction of the mansion.

Major Bradford was not afraid to fight, as shown in his early days in Denver when he did not back down from the threats made by Major Parkison and his cohorts. He was also involved in a shootout as described in the *Golden Transcript* of September 23, 1868. The accounting goes as follows:

#### TERRITORIAL

*"The Denver Tribune gives the following account of a shooting affray near that place on Saturday last. As Mr. Earle and Major Bradford, both of Bradford, Jefferson county, neared the upper Platte bridge, Mr. Earle kept driving across the road in front of the Major's team, and the Major took it as an insult, and wanted him to quit, and tried to pull Earle out of his wagon. Earle resisted,*

*and had his clothing torn almost off. The Major, getting excited, drew his revolver and shot him through the abdomen. Earle seeing a shot-gun standing by a stump near the road, jumped out of his wagon and got it, and shot the Major through the arm and leg. Neither are seriously hurt. Mr. Earle went on home and the Major, at the time of writing this, is at the Planter's House".*

Planters' House, as referred to by the newspaper accounting, was the former building of Major Bradford in downtown Denver.

In a letter by Albert B. Sanford, Asst. Curator of History for the State Historical Society, dated November 1, 1930, Mr. Sanford gives us a history of the Bradford Road. He states that "Bradford Hill was founded early in 1860 on account of the discovery of gold in the South Park region the year before and a road was surveyed from Denver, south to crossing of the Platte, south-west to where a station was established, called Bradford. Thence over the first range of foothills and following an old Indian trail to its junction with Turkey Creek.

"The period of 1860 to 1867 was one of great activity in the camps of Tarryall, Fairplay, Alma, and Breckenridge and California Gulch. The road was, during that time, probably the most traveled one in the mountains of Colorado and, for seven years all traffic to South Park and considerable to Gregory Gulch, passed over the Bradford Hill.

"The junction mentioned was

an important stopping place and on Saturday, Oct. 18th, I drove to Bradford Junction and from there, walked to the top of the hill, following the old road.

"From the creek bottom, the road is marked by cuts and gullies formed by storms and beyond doubt, is the true course of the original line. Distance to the top, about a mile and a half. From this point, I took views east that show the gap in the "hogback" where the road entered. Also a view west from the same point.

"I have been assured that the material and labor necessary for a substantial marker at the old "Junction" will be provided by Colorado pioneer societies". Whether this sign was ever erected is unknown.

According to his Homestead Act application of December 9, 1870, Major Bradford shows "A stone house thereon, 24 by 30 ft., 2 stories high and an El 20 by 40 ft., 1 1/2 stories high-board floor and a shingle roof, with 12 doors, and 17 windows and has built a stable, corn cribs, smokehouse, milk house, hen house, and blacksmith shop - has dug two cellars - 2 wells and has enclosed 120 acres of said land with post fence and board fence - has set over 40 apple and peach trees". Some of the apple trees are still productive today. They are the Heirloom series, Ben Davis variety—a hardy apple originally from Michigan.

Thus the final chapter is written on Major Robert Boyles Bradford. We can draw our own conclusions as to what kind of a man he was. Certainly he was civic-minded and fair. He was also a family man as evidenced by his many letters to Wm. B. Waddell and his inquiries into the health of family and

friends. He had a good relationship with his sisters as well and encouraged his nephews to better themselves in business endeavors. His relationship with his brother, Larkin, was a very close one as with his nephew M.J. McNamara.

Perhaps his downfall was in being too trusting of his partners because he never achieved the financial success he wanted and strove for. The overextending of Russell, Majors & Waddell led to their downfall, and in turn, to his.

He was a man who lived with a woman, Fanny Miller, for some years before he married her (unheard of for a religious, self-righteous man of this period in time). However, who knows what the burden of losing two wives brought him? Possibly guilt and inner turmoil and so this may have caused him to hesitate to marry Fanny. In an earlier letter to Wm. B. Waddell, he stated that he "will probably never marry again". Fanny seemed to be much loved by all accounts from the grand nieces and she certainly was a hard worker.

In his final year of life, he had to take out a deed of trust as his finances were in upheaval as we see in the uncertainty that Fanny faced after his death.

Like many of the "59ers", Major Bradford did not achieve his goal



*Present-day condition of the Bradford House*

of being independently wealthy. Although the courts awarded him the judgment in his dispute with Russell, Majors & Waddell, it is doubtful that he ever received a penny from them.

Ranching at Bradford was his only source of income for many years and that failed to be as lucrative as he wanted. He died a poor man with a net worth of \$7690.00 in real estate and personal property of \$148.00. His property was appraised by G.W. Harriman, Frank Andre, and H.S. Todd. Claims amounted to \$2200.00 for notes and included \$700.00 due on an Arapahoe county property (3 acres in SE NE 41 S 66W, Arapahoe County) just south of Denver. This was sold to pay some claims. Ironically, he had planned to meet with his nephew, M.J. McNamara, on New Years Day to "go over his finances" and he never made it.

Major Bradford did not leave a will, and a petition for letters of administration of his estate were filed by his brother, Larkin, and M.J. McNamara. The petition was granted. His obituary

was published in the *Rocky Mountain News* of Jan. 3, 1877, and it reads:

*"Major Robert B. Bradford. Died at his residence at Bradford, Colorado, 12/30/76. Age 64. Born near Nashville, Tenn., 1/2/1813. Came to Colorado in 1859, resided in Denver until 1861 when he retired to his farm and in the enjoyment of good health. He was the father of four children, only one of whom now survives".*

The only conflict is that his obituary states he had four children. Only three children are known: Martha (Mattie) who succeeded him, and Fielding and Mary (both deceased). His grand niece, Mrs. Louise Brooks, stated that the family records are not that clear as to how many children there were.

Major Bradford was buried at Riverside cemetery. The marker at his grave was placed by his grand nieces, Louise Brooks and Anna Whitaker. It reads: "Major Robert Bradford, 1813 - 1876, Pioneer, 1859".

And so, in the year that Colorado became a state, one of its early pioneers died peacefully at home in Bradford.

In his beautiful valley, Major Bradford perhaps found peace. The land flourished after he diverted water. A lake to the east of his mansion can be seen in early photos of his ranch. The land was abundant with wildlife. Many varieties of birds ate the wild berries and lived in the valley and nearby foothills.

When his mansion was completed in 1872, Major Bradford had his

porch built facing east to the plains. The view from the front of the house is still spectacular although somewhat obscured with homes in the forefront. It was on this porch that Major Bradford said to his niece Lucy, "Someday Lucy, they will call this Bradford's folly".

Major Bradford's widow, Fanny, had financial problems holding on to the ranch. On December 12, 1877, she received a quit claim deed from James Thompson for 279.4 acres which Major Bradford had mortgaged. On January 22, 1878, she gave a deed of trust to David Hill to secure the note for \$1859.51 due to James Thompson. The new note was for one year with interest of 1% per month.

On December 7, 1878, she made a deed of trust to Chas. B. Patterson for two years, to secure a note to the Colorado Mortgage and Investment Co. of London, Ltd. for \$3,500.00 at 12% interest per year. This last deed of trust was foreclosed on.

Fanny Bradford lived for awhile with her husband's nephew and his family, M.J. McNamara in Denver. The Denver City Directory of 1880 to 1884 shows her as operating a rooming house at 383 15th St. in Denver. She later moved to Chicago, Ill., and married a man named Kelly. Eventually they moved to Washington D.C.

The Bradford Ranch changed hands, being sold first to a James R. McClure in June, 1882. In 1884, McClure deeded the property to a Huldah J. Sours who gave him a deed of trust which was released in April, 1887.

In January, 1895, Mrs. Sours sold the property to James Adams Perley and received a deed of trust from



Perley for \$1,000.00, the purchase price to Mrs. Sours. Thus ended the Bradford era on Ken-Caryl Ranch.

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# Over the Corral Rail



## First Woman Denver Posse Member Crosses the Great Divide

Eleanor Gehres, who managed Colorado's largest and finest collection of Western Americana, died at Hospice of Metro Denver March 18, after a long struggle with cancer. Eleanor managed the Denver Public Library Western History Dept. from 1974 to 1999.

A long-time member of the Denver Westerners, she became the first woman posse member in 1995. Eleanor co-authored with fellow posse member Sandra Dallas, the best sampler ever done for the full range of all books on Colorado, *The Colorado Book*, (Golden: Fulcrum Publishing, 1993). Eleanor, who welcomed countless Westerners to DPL's treasury of books, manuscripts, photos and paintings with amazing grace and knowledge, has moved on to that heavenly library across the Great Divide. When you get there, she will be the first angel to ask, "may I help you."

--Tom Noel, P.M.



## Westerners Bookshelf



**Holding Ground: the Art of Gary Ernest Smith** by Donald J. Hagerty. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Publishing Co., 1999. 176 pages. 120 color plates, 20 black and white photos. Chronology, Exhibition History, Bibliography, Index. \$40.00.

This book is more than a survey of the works of Gary Ernest Smith; it seeks to present a powerful message about the plight of agricultural land in the United States. As one reads the narrative, the urgent message of Gary Ernest Smith's paintings is that the farmland of our country is an essential and fundamental element of our identity. Smith grew up on a farm in Oregon and he feels compelled to document in his paintings the beauty of the landscapes, as well as the bond that exists between rural families and neighbors and especially the land.

The color reproductions of Smith's paintings make *Holding Ground* a special book. The poignant feelings of this artist for land rapidly being "developed" across this country take the reader to a much deeper level of thought. As I read the book and beheld these images, I found myself thinking of the connections I have had with land during my life. When I was fourteen I worked for the summer on a ranch west of Littleton: the fields of alfalfa, the pastures, the trees, all combined to present a raw beauty even as we put up tons of hay. Now that ranch is subdivisions, shopping centers and Columbine High School. I identify with Smith's concern for the appreciation of rural landscapes and cultures as expressed through his paintings. As the author eloquently observes, "the art of Gary Ernest Smith celebrates what we once had; it is a lament for vanishing places and farm-based culture, its emotional roots, and what we still have of all that, now endangered."

--Charles Moore, C.M.



### Westerners International

Corresponding Membership in the Denver Posse does not include membership in the Westerners International. If you wish to receive the *Buckskin Bulletin*, you may purchase a subscription for \$5.00/year. Contact Westerners International, c/o National Cowboy Hall of Fame, 1700 NE 63rd St., Oklahoma City, OK 73111. 800-541-4650

**The Architecture and Art of Early Hispanic Colorado** by Robert A. Adams. University Press of Colorado, 1998. First edition, 1974. 234 pp., 85 b&w photographs. \$24.95, paperback.

Robert Adams' photographic essay of the Hispanic cultural landscape has been reprinted by University Press of Colorado. Twenty-five years ago, Adams captured with lens and pen, the artifacts, architecture, and natural landmarks that depict southern Colorado in the late 1800s and early 1900s. *The Architecture and Art of Early Hispanic Colorado* begins by explaining the area's historic background, followed by black-and-white images that preserve a vanishing past.

Art objects photographed by Adams represent culture and spirituality. Many are religious as well as artistic—small hand-carved statues of saints called *bultos*, and the larger carvings, called *retablos*, that decorated the altar. A life-size *Penitente* cross represents the secret spiritual rituals of isolated Hispanic communities. Sandstone and wooden grave markers honor the dead with imaginative carved images.

Buildings, like art objects, are of simple design and local materials. Residents used mud-brick and native wood to build vernacular structures: adobe houses, log slab cabins, frame farmhouses with weathered metal roofs, animal pens of vertical wood called *jacals*. The Territorial Style combined adobe exteriors with Anglo-European features like the hipped roof, carved roof brackets, triangular window pediments, and wooden shutters.

Public structures also reflect Hispanic culture. Gathering places include the *placita*—or small plaza—and humble adobe chapels. The Costilla County Courthouse, built in 1874, is an unassuming, low-gabled one-story building with a white-stuccoed exterior and tiny domed cupola. The pale-stuccoed 1925 headquarters for the Society for the Mutual Protection of United Workers in Antonito stands as a reminder that labor organizations aided Hispanic immigrants in their attempts for fair treatment as agricultural workers.

Adams' images of the landscape leave a lingering impression. The People's Ditch, the valley's extensive irrigation system, and the spreading cattle range and farm lands speak of the San Luis Valley's agricultural heritage. Spanish names still cling to natural features: the Rio Grande River, the Sangre de Cristo (Blood of Christ) Mountains, the Culebra Range. Alamosa, the largest community in the San Luis Valley, takes its name from the Spanish word for cottonwood stands, *alamos*.

Providing the context for his photographic images, Adams opens the book with a brief history of Spanish and Mexican heritage in southern Colorado. He explains architectural influences and describes the process of adobe construction: making adobe brick, applying the exterior mud veneer, the horizontal roof beams with protruding ends, *vigas*, and the interior ceiling treatment of patterned stick *lattias*. He describes the types of grave markers and methods of carving inscriptions and images. And he tells how the santos carved the wooden religious images.

Coloradans today are indebted to Adams' work. His images have preserved in print many places and objects that have changed in the past 25 years or have disappeared altogether.

--Cathleen Norman, C.M.





*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

MARCH - APRIL 2000



*Pikes Peak Library District*

**Eugene Cervi**  
**by Lee Olson, P.M.**  
**(Presented February 23, 2000)**

## THE DENVER WESTERNERS

## ROUNDUP

VOL. LVI NO. 2



March - April 2000



## About the Author

Lee Olson, a Posse Member of the Denver Westerners, worked at The Denver Post from 1947 until 1987. He frequently wrote about the West and did text for the *Post's* 1959 *Rush to the Rockies Centennial Edition*.

Lee wrote *Marmalade and Whiskey, British Remittance Men in the West*, in 1993. He cooperated with Alan Stewart in the Westerners' *Golden Anniversary Brand Book*.

A native of Nebraska, Lee studied journalism at the University of Colorado. He and his wife, Mary, live in Lakewood. They have three children and seven grandchildren.

Lee was honored with the Westerners' Lifetime Achievement Award in 1998.

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The ROUNDUP (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Corresponding membership is \$20 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be either typewritten, quality computer output or on floppy disk, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. ROUNDUP editing, layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for ROUNDUP to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

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# Eugene Cervi

by

Lee Olson, P.M.

(Presented January 26, 2000)

On June 1, 1970 I joined three other journalists for breakfast in a hotel coffee shop in Grand Junction. We had come from Denver to attend the funeral of Preston Walker, publisher of Western Colorado's largest daily, the *Grand Junction Sentinel*. He had died of a sudden heart attack while boating on the Dolores River. He was only 56.

We chatted about Walker, a peppery Democrat whose death coincided closely with the death in Denver of another Democrat, former U.S. Senator Edwin C. (Big Ed) Johnson, 86. As we studied the menu a portly figure in a dark suit loomed at our table, grinning like a Cheshire cat. It was Gene Cervi, publisher of *Cervi's Journal* in Denver. He was a Colorado presence, a Denver journalist whose hard-hitting editorials had terrorized businessmen and politicians for 20 years.

I hadn't thought of Cervi as being a particular friend of Walker's, but he had obviously flown in for the funeral, so we asked him to join us. Before he sat down, Cervi ceremoniously circled the table and, with unrestrained glee, placed a collector's silver dollar beside each plate.

"This is a great day for me and this dollar will help you remember it," he said. "It's a great day because, by attending services for Preston Walker I

can, in good conscience, be absent from today's funeral in Denver for Ed Johnson."

That instantly made sense. Among the people Cervi hated—and there were many—Senator Johnson was near the top. Johnson had trounced Cervi in a 1948 senatorial primary. That, and Johnson's own failings as a politician, made him a prime target for Cervi's pen. We were witnessing the end of a feud: Cervi, himself, died a few months later, on Dec. 15, 1970.<sup>1</sup>

I keep Cervi's dollar, mounted in plastic, on my desk as a reminder of one of Colorado's most interesting journalists. He was a man of horrendous faults, but his courageous attacks on powerful people and institutions won him a wide following. He spoke for the underdog, and he was often right.

Cervi was not the first aggressive editor to battle his way into Colorado history. The mining era had many feisty editors who built readership with strong invective. Cervi would have felt at home and might even have welcomed a few fist fights in those mining camps. Some of those editors:

- David Day in 1879 promoted his Ouray weekly, the *Solid Muldoon*, with savage glee. Referring to a neighboring mining camp he once wrote: "If Jesus Christ ever returns to earth and starts



killing damn fools with a shotgun he will surely start in Red Mountain Town." Day survived threats and 42 libel suits and retreated to Durango where he continued publishing.<sup>2</sup>

- Boulder's early newspaper rivalry was fierce. In one instance, an editor's passions got him in trouble. He had to call a doctor to a small hotel to treat the breast of a prostitute he'd bitten in a fit of romantic ardor. Unfortunately, he was in an editorial battle with a rival editor, the redoubtable Col. L. C. Paddock. So the next time Paddock blasted his political stand the headline read: "Mike Rinn has finally bitten off more than he can chew."

- Sylvia Smith, publisher of the *Marble City Times*, escaped a near-lynching early in this century. Marble is where that beautiful white building stone comes from. In 1912 it suffered an avalanche that wiped out the town's biggest payroll: the marble company's finishing mill. But Ms. Smith hated the mill owners so much she hailed the destruction of the mill as good news. With their jobs lost, angry citizens held a protest meeting and convinced town officials to march on the *Times* office. They got little response from Ms. Smith so they physically escorted her to the train and put her on it. They put her printing equipment in storage. When Ms. Smith got to Denver she sued and won damages in a state court, but she did not return to Marble.<sup>3</sup>

Colorado was a good deal more civilized when Gene Cervi arrived on the scene. The economy was shifting away from mining, but white-collar job openings were limited. Children of immigrants, like their parents, usually got jobs as manual laborers.

Eugene Sisto Cervi—hereafter known as Gene—was born Sept. 20, 1906, at Centralia, IL, the eldest of seven children fathered by a coal miner, Sisto Cervi, a migrant from Modena, in northern Italy.

The father had a fetish about names: Gene was named for Eugene Debs, the socialist; another son was Darwin, and he called a daughter Brunhilde, although her real name was Marie. Sisto left his coal mining job when Gene was nine and moved the family to Colorado. He worked at a mine at Larkspur and also as rancher. Gene's mother, Catherine, worked to add family income.

"They were desperately poor," says Cle Symons, Cervi's eldest daughter. "My grandmother worked as a maid in the Cosmopolitan Hotel in Denver and took food for her family—they were that poor. My grandmother became harsh and defensive, telling her children to be proud. She was quick to take offense at any racial or ethnic slight. She encouraged her children to rise above their poverty and insecurity."<sup>4</sup>

There's a story, perhaps true, that young Cervi ran away from home at this time and hid, without food, for three days in the Alexander Film Company's building in Colorado Springs. He was put in the care of a Colorado Springs woman who gave him work and in return, boarded him through high school, where he edited the student newspaper.

Gene enrolled in The Colorado College but soon dropped out. He came to regret that move. Forty years later he reminisced: "I believe I really intended (after getting a law degree) to run for

office and get elected to some semblance of power where I could get in a few licks for the concepts of social justice.”<sup>5</sup>

Life went on. He worked on construction crews building highways over Colorado's Fremont and Tennessee Passes. Next he labored in a steel mill in Ohio and an auto assembly plant in Michigan. At one point he worked for at the Sarkisian family's rug business in Denver. He'd been a classmate of Harold Sarkisian at The Colorado College.

Finally, he surrendered to politics and writing. He went to work as a copy boy at the *Rocky Mountain News* in 1929 and soon was promoted to reporter, doing obituaries and covering police. He was good at it and soon was handling important stories.

One of his biggest achievements was a “first” in reporting the death of *Denver Post* Publisher Frederick G. Bonfils in 1933 before the *Post* did. Bonfils was the most powerful publisher in Denver so his death was worth an Extra by both papers. Cervi's reporting enabled the *News* to hit the streets 20 minutes before the *Post*.

In 1935 after six years at the *News* Gene moved to the larger *Denver Post*, and wrote business stories. He held this job also for six years. Denver journalism was wild and exciting in those days. Frank Haraway, former *Post* sports writer, says of the Depression: “Denver newspaper job openings often depended on someone dying.”<sup>6</sup> Adds Gene Amole, long-time journalist and radioman: “To work at either Denver paper in those days you had to take a vow of poverty, like a priest.”<sup>7</sup>

Obviously Cervi had talent and was willing to take that vow. Cervi helped organize the *Post* unit of the American Newspaper Guild, an editorial union much opposed by management. This was a tough fight and Cervi formed firm friendships, especially with another reporter named Ralph Radetsky. Cervi suffered from asthma and did not face the military draft in World War II. However, following a pattern set by other Denver journalists, he went to work for the U.S. Office of War Information. When the war ended, Cervi saw opportunities outside daily journalism in Denver. He and Radetsky, who also had left *The Post*, in 1945 formed a small public relations firm. Burning with publishing zeal Cervi also started *Cervi's News Service*, a newsletter capitalizing on his reportorial experience.

Democratic politics enthralled Cervi. He had admired a liberal politician, Sen. Edward P. Costigan, in the 1930s and supported his causes at the precinct level. Cervi advanced through the chairs to become, in 1944, state Democratic chairman.

Capable of demagoguery, Cervi nevertheless drew on his newspaper background to give economic and political substance to his speeches. Yet he was already showing a pugnacious temperament that bred enmities. Cervi and Radetsky found a promising bandwagon in 1947 when Quigg Newton, a youthful returning war veteran, announced for mayor of Denver, challenging the entrenched regime of Mayor Ben Stapleton.

Newton, a bright and articulate Yale man, appealed to youthful voters. He attracted Cervi and Radetsky to his

campaign with the prospect of joining his administration. Newton won but the partners fell out. Radetsky joined City Hall and Cervi appears to have felt slighted. Quigg Newton, today in his 80's, recalls what happened: "They supported my 1947 campaign with a general understanding that Radetsky would join my administration and that Cervi would be part of our team as an adviser. It worked out for two or three months but he (Cervi) became overbearing and made it very difficult for us to use him. We had to cut him off. From that moment on he treated me as an enemy."<sup>8</sup>

Cervi didn't leave quietly. Bruce Rockwell, later a Denver banker, was part of the Newton administration and recalls being in the mayor's office and seeing Cervi "shouting and screaming at the mayor." He adds: "I never saw Quigg Newton lose his temper very often but this time he did. He said, 'Gene, get out of my office and never come back.'"<sup>9</sup>

With his bridge to City Hall burned, Cervi's boundless ambition turned to politics and full-time publishing. He had been reelected state Democratic chairman in 1946 but in 1948 he resigned, announcing his candidacy for the U.S. Senate. This meant a primary campaign against a fellow Democrat, Senator Johnson.

There was some logic in Cervi's decision. Johnson had opposed several of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal measures and supported Republican Wendell Willkie against FDR in 1940. Also fresh in many minds was Johnson's emotional campaign to "bring the boys home" when World War II ended, thus hampering U.S.

plans for an orderly occupation of the conquered lands.

Liberals applauded Cervi's candidacy but Colorado wasn't a liberal state. Starting in 1922 Colorado voters had sent Big Ed Johnson first to the legislature, then to the governor's chair and finally to the U.S. Senate. He had well-heeled and powerful friends among Denver's ethnic blocs and was admired by thousands of voters who had received personalized, hand-written letters from the senator.

Cervi counted on youthful voters and he had the support of Palmer Hoyt, the new publisher of the *Denver Post*. Cervi may have misread the *Post's* intentions. As Alexis McKinney, *Post* assistant editor, recalls the event: "We weren't so much for Cervi as we were against Ed Johnson's politics. We were sending Big Ed a message about his isolationism."<sup>10</sup>

If Johnson was frightened, he didn't show it. He campaigned hard and predicted he'd carry all of Colorado's 63 counties. He did just that, polling 45,565 votes to Cervi's 16,955. In an interview the next day Johnson took a verbal swing at Hoyt, saying: "The *Post* picked an awfully small horse to ride." Cervi was a hard loser and Johnson's comment stung him. He was slow realizing there weren't enough liberal Democrats to unseat a popular and entrenched rural Democrat from the ranching country.

As he walked to Johnson's headquarters to concede defeat, Cervi talked steadily to reporters: "Everything he said was an obscenity," recalls Tom Gavin, then a young reporter at the *Rocky Mountain News*. "I hadn't been out of the Navy long at that point. I

thought, 'Boy, this is a guy who knows his business,' because he used a new obscenity at every step."<sup>11</sup>

Cervi quit active politics. His years with the newsletter in 1949 became a springboard for a new project, a full-fledged business weekly, called *Cervi's Rocky Mountain Journal*. The first issues in the fall of 1949 were full of legal and business news: the comings and goings that commercial people value as leads to marketing and sales contacts. This was the bread and butter that pushed *Journal* paid circulation to 4,500.

But the *Journal* had something else going for it: Cervi. The paper was passed from hand to hand to be read by thousands more. They turned to Cervi's caustic editorial page. Readers knew he'd be savaging the money-grasping bankers and the executives and corporations he believed vulnerable.

One early editorial, under the headline, "Comes the Revolution," seemed to give the money-grubbers warning. It said: "What is this stupid thing called success if its hallmark is making more money? The cold and brutal dollar can't think, feel, smell, taste, hear or see!" Another editorial bemoaned the fact that he didn't have a "whipping boy" but added: "When we find him this page will be less unpredictable."

In January 1950, Cervi wrote that he'd asked Santa Claus for a "durable whipping boy for Christmas" and sadly reported that "some (who were) nominated folded with the first or second lash." But then he added: "The system came through and it's 'they'": a clear signal of his intent to identify a whole stable of whipping boys, not just

one or two.

A short list of his whipping boys would include *Post* Publisher Palmer Hoyt, Ed Johnson, Quigg Newton, who by the mid-1950s had moved to the presidency of the University of Colorado; Safeway, John Evans of the First National Bank of Denver (Colorado's largest bank) and the two big the utilities, Public Service Company of Colorado and Mountain States Telephone Company.

An obvious question: how does an ink-stained news reporter get the resources to tweak the noses of community leaders? One answer is sheer guts. But Cervi's political liberalism also won friends among second-generation families of wealth. Charles Johnson, son of a wealthy oil family, recalls: "My half-brother, Gifford Phillips, bought two weeklies in suburban Jefferson County and built a printing plant called the Golden Press. When Cervi got into publication, Gifford printed *Cervi's Journal* free, in return for some stock. Gifford was into liberal Democratic politics so he and Cervi saw eye to eye. My father (Charles Johnson Sr.) also bought some stock."<sup>12</sup> Cervi might have sold out to some of his advertisers, but he knew the *Journal's* appeal depended on not selling out—not kowtowing to big business. Reading *Cervi's* thus had the appeal of forbidden fruit. If your boss might be skewered in the next issue of *Cervi's* you made sure you bought a copy. Copies of the *Journal* were sometimes spirited into the *Post* in brown paper bags, according to Gail Pitts, a *Post* business editor.

Cervi played many roles. He was the conscience for the press. For

years the Colorado Press Assn. had accepted parties, meals and other freeloards from the utility companies during press gatherings. Ceri told the editors: "The least (you) can do is to refuse cheap handouts from people seeking a friendly press for self-interest." The practice stopped.

Cervi jumped on the *Post* when he learned that a *Post* column on wildlife was written, without full identification, by an ad man for a sporting goods company. The chain-owned *Rocky Mountain News* also felt Cervi's barbs. On important editorial stands, Cervi sneered: "Roy Howard (of Scripps-Howard) allows his local man (Jack Foster) to make only practice shots." Real decisions had to be made in New York.

One of Cervi's most abiding targets was the 17<sup>th</sup> Street banks. Cervi accused them of selfishly standing in the way of growth and progress for Denver. Banker John Evans was a prime whipping boy. Cervi declared: "This is going to hurt me more than John Evans. The time is here to lay a heavy hickory limb figuratively to the broad and immobile bottom side of Denver's No. 1 'no' man."

Cervi wore many hats. He turned reviewer to say of *Timberline*, Gene Fowler's expose of the *Denver Post* and Cervi wrote: "(It) is absorbing reading, exciting and sometimes accurate but it completely misses the point of the Bonfils-Denver story." He praised a Colorado Medical Society plan for the poor, observing that, "for more than half of all Americans a severe illness can be an economic catastrophe." He never forgot his own poverty. Daughter Cle recalls that she

once made a short-tempered remark about a woman she observed having difficulty parking her car. Her father rounded on her and said: "Haven't you got something better to do? Can't you see she's poor?"

Cervi's attacks were usually unanswered. Palmer Hoyt's stock response to Cervi's barbs was to ignore them.

Well, not entirely. The verbal, informal word passed to the newsroom was: "Don't get in a p..... contest with a skunk." But the more the *Post* ignored him, the more vituperative Cervi became. When the *Post* printed news of the arrest of one of Cervi's sons on a minor narcotics charge, Cervi went ballistic and redoubled his attacks on the *Post*. A *Denver Post* editor, Bill Hosokawa, writing a history of the *Post*, takes another view: "There are others who believe that throughout his adult life Cervi wanted to be editor of The Post and what he considered to be Hoyt's mistakes and inadequacies infuriated him."<sup>13</sup> Senator Johnson rarely responded to overblown Cervi rhetoric such as: (Johnson) "is one of the most ruthless and powerful political bosses in America today" ..(and).. "Big Ed can cut his own throat and watch his enemies bleed to death." In 1950 Johnson rashly attacked Actress Ingrid Bergman for bearing Roberto Rossellini's child out of wedlock. That became grist for Cervi's mill. Cervi said that Johnson didn't realize that he was merely publicizing Rossellini's bad movie, "Stromboli." He pointed out that "95 percent of (the film's) box office gross is from a common biological function."

Warming up to his subject

Cervi called Big Ed "the McCarthy of sex." His whimsical headline was: "Groucho Marx for Ambassador."

Johnson didn't get in the ring with Cervi. "Every candidate I ever ran against turned out to be a close friend, except Gene Cervi," he said. "I've tried hard, I admire him, I like to read his paper, but I've never been able to get Gene on my side."<sup>12</sup> When you sum up Cervi you have to ask: was his cynicism aimed at profit? He certainly came to know the value of his invective as the *Journal* became more profitable. But the reach of his sharp rhetoric seemed to even surprise Cervi, himself. Yet I think he was too complex for any simplistic claim that he harpooned the community's leaders simply for profit. Actually, some of his reactions seemed beyond his control. He once threw a heavy shot glass at a fellow customer at the Press Club.<sup>15</sup>

Later the club expelled him for throwing a sandwich against the wall. Daughter Cle recalls that a policeman once told Cervi to "shut up!" or he'd be arrested. "Daddy didn't and he was arrested," she recalls.

Cervi's personal attacks once drew this theory from Eugene Pilz, a Denver corporation executive: "You would meet Cervi on the street and say, 'Hi, Gene.' He'd say 'Hi, Joe!' and say to himself: 'I like that guy.' But as he walked a little farther he'd say, 'But I can't let my feelings get in the way of my editorial judgment.' So he goes back to his office and denounces Joe."<sup>16</sup>

Whatever his faults Cervi knew journalism as well as anyone. When the "Failing Newspaper" legislation was before Congress Cervi testified against it, using some of his best prose. The

legislation, to permit newspapers to join forces to avoid anti-trust prosecution, was passed and permits joint operation of large-city newspapers. But Cervi didn't like it. "What is this?" he demanded of Congress, "a welfare agency? Is this a war against gilt-edged poverty? If Congress can pass bills to keep newspapers from failing, can it also pass laws to make them succeed?" Later, he said: "The essence of a good newspaper is human spirit, not materialism." Comments like this earned scholarships in his memory and a place among Colorado's editing luminaries.

Long before his death in 1970, Cervi was in poor health. His daughter, Cle, came back to help at the *Journal* on frequent trips from New York, where she'd gone for an acting and journalistic career after college. With the prospect of marriage and a family, Cle wasn't keen to fill her father's shoes. But in the late 1960s, he put the keys to the *Journal* in her hand and said: "Your Mother and I are leaving in the morning for a tour of Asia. Good luck!"

Cle took over and fired a male reporter who was unwilling to tell a woman boss what stories he was working on. She sold the paper in 1973 for \$125,000 and it finally became the highly-successful *Denver Business Journal*. How should history judge Cervi? Gene Amole, Denver columnist, says: "Cervi was such a wonderful writer, such a craftsman, that he got away with his editorial attacks. But he wasn't entirely altruistic. He had inherited a cattle ranch and could see graphically the difference between what he was getting for his cattle and what the customer had to pay for a cut of

meat. So, were his attacks on Safeway altruistic?"<sup>17</sup>

Tom Gavin, retired *Post* and *News* columnist, says: "I'm an admirer. Cervi was unique, volatile, bombastic. He had an opinion on everything, which he often voiced in a near shriek. He was sometimes on target and sometimes wildly off target." Of Cervi's unremitting attacks on the *Denver Post*, Gavin said: "I think he was good for the soul of the *Post*." Gavin had his own tale of Cervi's rhetoric. He once attended a Cervi speech the latter denounced the mild-mannered Gavin to the audience as a "minion" of *Post* Publisher Hoyt. Gavin was shocked then to hear these words: "I would like to grab this man and throw him out of the room but my ethics as a newspaperman won't let me."

Gavin's view suggests that Cervi was a mix of barely-controlled demagogue and self-appointed savior. Well, maybe, but Quigg Newton makes a simpler summation: "Cervi was King of the Gadflies—in that he had no equal."

I'd add that he was a great King of the Gadflies—once you learned to duck.

#### End Notes

- (1) Senator Jolinson's body lay in state at the Colorado Capitol that evening so Cervi might have relented and paid his respects but there is no evidence he did.
- (2) *Stampede to Timberline*, by Muriel Sibell Wolle, 1949.
- (3) *Marble Booster*, March 30, 1912; July 17, 1912.
- (4) Interview with Mrs. Cle Symons at her Denver home, March 9, 1999.
- (5) *Cervi's Journal*, Jan 15, 1969.
- (6) Interview with Frank Haraway, retired *Denver Post* sports writer, March 18, 1999.
- (7) Interview with Gene Amole, March 20, 1999.
- (8) Quoted in *Denver Business Journal*, Sept. 11-17, 1999.
- (9) Personal Interview, April 12, 1999.
- (10) Interview, April 15, 1999.
- (11) *Denver Business Journal*, Sept. 11-17, 1999.
- (12) Interview, April 8, 1999.
- (13) *Thunder in the Rockies*, by Bill Hosokawa, New York 1976, William Morrow & Co.
- (14) Quoted in the *Rocky Mountain News*, Jan. 7, 1957.
- (15) Interview with Bob Rolander, April 5 1999
- (16) Interview with Eugene Pilz, May 10, 1999.
- (17) Interview, April 9, 1999.





## Westerners Bookshelf



**The Architecture and Art of Early Hispanic Colorado** by Robert A. Adams. University Press of Colorado, 1998. First edition, 1974. 234 pp., 85 b&w photographs. \$24.95, paperback.

Robert Adams' photographic essay of the Hispanic cultural landscape has been reprinted by University Press of Colorado. Twenty-five years ago, Adams captured with lens and pen, the artifacts, architecture, and natural landmarks that depict southern Colorado in the late 1800s and early 1900s. *The Architecture and Art of Early Hispanic Colorado* begins by explaining the area's historic background, followed by black-and-white images that preserve a vanishing past.

Art objects photographed by Adams represent culture and spirituality. Many are religious as well as artistic—small hand-carved statues of saints called *bultos*, and the larger carvings, called *retablos*, that decorated the altar. A life-size *Penitente* cross represents the secret spiritual rituals of isolated Hispanic communities. Sandstone and wooden grave markers honor the dead with imaginative carved images.

Buildings, like art objects, are of simple design and local materials. Residents used mud-brick and native wood to build vernacular structures: adobe houses, log slab cabins, frame farmhouses with weathered metal roofs, animal pens of vertical wood called *jacals*. The Territorial Style combined adobe exteriors with Anglo-European features like the hipped roof, carved roof brackets, triangular window pediments, and wooden shutters.

Public structures also reflect Hispanic culture. Gathering places include the *placita*—or small plaza—and humble adobe chapels. The Costilla County Courthouse, built in 1874, is an unassuming, low-gabled one-story building with a white-stuccoed exterior and tiny domed cupola. The pale-stuccoed 1925 headquarters for the Society for the Mutual Protection of United Workers in Antonito stands as a reminder that labor organizations aided Hispanic immigrants in their attempts for fair treatment as agricultural workers.

Adams' images of the landscape leave a lingering impression. The People's Ditch, the valley's extensive irrigation system, and the spreading cattle range and farm lands speak of the San Luis Valley's agricultural heritage. Spanish names still cling to natural features: the Rio Grande River, the Sangre de Cristo (Blood of Christ) Mountains, the Culebra range. Alamosa, the largest community in the San Luis Valley, takes its name from the Spanish word for cottonwood stands, *alamos*.

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Adams' images of the  
landscape leave a  
lingering impression

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Providing the context for his photographic images, Adams opens the book with a brief history of Spanish and Mexican heritage in southern Colorado. He explains architectural influences and describes the process of adobe construction: making adobe brick, applying the exterior mud veneer, the horizontal roof beams with protruding ends, *vigas*, and the interior ceiling treatment of patterned stick *lattias*. He describes the types of grave markers and methods of carving inscriptions and images. And he tells how the santos carved the wooden religious images.

Coloradans today are indebted to Adams' work. His images have preserved in print many places and objects that have changed in the past 25 years or have disappeared altogether.

--Cathleen Norman, C.M.

**Holding Ground: the Art of Gary Ernest Smith** by Donald J. Hagerty. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Publishing Co., 1999. 176 pages. 120 color plates, 20 black and white photos. Chronology, exhibition history, bibliography, index. \$40.00.

This book is more than a survey of the works of Gary Ernest Smith; it seeks to present a powerful message about the plight of agricultural land in the United States. As one reads the narrative, the urgent message of Gary Ernest Smith's paintings is that the farmland of our country is an essential and fundamental ele-

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...it seeks to present a powerful message about the plight of agricultural land in the U.S....

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ment of our identity. Smith grew up on a farm in Oregon and he feels compelled to document in his paintings the beauty of the landscapes, as well as the bond that exists between rural families and neighbors and especially the land.

The color reproductions of Smith's paintings make *Holding Ground* a special book.

The poignant feelings of this artist for land rapidly being "developed" across this country take the reader to a much deeper level of thought. As I read the book and beheld these images, I found myself thinking of the connections I have had with land during my life. When I was fourteen I worked for the summer on a ranch west of Littleton: the fields of alfalfa, the pastures, the trees, all combined to present a raw beauty even as we put up tons of hay. Now that ranch is subdivisions, shopping centers and Columbine High School. I identify with Smith's concern for the appreciation of rural landscapes and cultures as expressed through his paintings. As the author eloquently observes, "the art of Gary Ernest Smith celebrates what we once had; it is a lament for vanishing places and farm-based culture, its emotional roots, and what we still have of all that, now endangered."

--Charles Moore, C.M.

**Hardhat and Stetson, Robert O. Anderson, Oilman and Cattleman**, by Paul Patterson. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, N.M. 1999. 206 pp., index. Illustrated. Softcover, \$12.95.

The Rocky Mountain area has produced few big-time oilmen. A notable exception is Robert O. Anderson of Roswell, N.M., whose Atlantic Richfield Co. has pumped oil worth billions of dollars from Alaska's North Slope and elsewhere.

Born in Chicago in 1917, grandson of Swedish immigrants, Anderson moved to New Mexico in 1942 and parlayed a small refinery into a bigger one, soon moving into oil production. By 1986 Atlantic Richfield was the sixth largest U.S. oil company.

It would be nice to report that Patterson's book is a comprehensive biography on Anderson. It isn't. As former manager of Anderson's northern New Mexico ranch, (Anderson had 28 ranches at one time) he is so close to his subject that his writing is more respectful than penetrating. Anderson, after all, read and approved chapters as they were written.

Patterson writes well but mistakes crop up. He tells us that President Grant approved a New Mexico land transfer in 1860. Not likely. Grant was still a civilian in 1860. The author uses "alumni" in the singular. He has cattle killed by 'lightening.' The book's index is by chapters only, which makes research only slightly easier.

Among the noteworthy passages is an account of the fall of California oilman Charles Jones. When Jones' substantial contributions to Nixon came to the attention of John F. Kennedy, he turned his U.S. anti-trust lawyers loose on Jones, forcing him to sell his Richfield company to Anderson's Atlantic Refining Company, thus giving birth to Atlantic Richfield.

In a sidelight Patterson describes cattle mutilations witnessed by New Mexico ranch employees in the 1970s and 1980s. The descriptions are remarkably similar to mutilations of cattle in Colorado and a dozen other states at that time. The author notes that UFO sightings frequently accompanied the reports.

Patterson's cattle and ranching lore is impressive—strong enough, probably, to stand alone as a book. He knows the cattle business. The chapters on oil mostly explain where the money came from but usually lapse into narratives of how Anderson translated his love of land into ever-larger chunks of it, mostly in New Mexico. His holdings lapped over into Texas and in 1964 he bought the 100,000-acre Hatchet Ranch in Pueblo County, Colo., selling it in 1974 for a profitable \$4 million.

Colorado readers will find references to Anderson's Aspen involvements a bit skimpy. Nor does Patterson dwell much on Anderson's family, aside from Barbara, his life-long mate from college days in Chicago. But the business details are impressive and *Hardhat and Stetson* is an important addition to the Western historical record.

-- Lee Olson, P.M.

**The Trial of Don Pedro Leon Lujan, the attack against Indian slavery and Mexican traders in Utah** by Sondra Jones. University of Utah Press, 2000. 172 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$27.50.

Slaving has been with us for ages; it was common among tribes in the southern Rockies. The Spanish settlers in northern New Spain—present-day New Mexico—were in on the activity as well. The chronic labor shortage on the frontier necessitated the use of slave labor, and the Spanish also considered it important to convert them to Christianity. Saving souls was, nominally at least, one of the driving forces behind Empire.

The Mormons quickly found themselves enmeshed in this trade. As early as 1847, Indian slavers, one Ute chief named Wakara in particular, would offer to sell or trade a child. If refused he would kill one on the spot; it didn't take many of these events before Mormons bought or traded for children whenever they could. The Indians weren't used as mere laborers but were expected to work alongside everyone else. In Utah, too, it was important to convert them. Of course the conversion wasn't to Catholicism but to latter day Christianity.

For centuries New Mexican parties came north to present-day Colorado and Utah to trade for or capture slaves. In 1851 a prominent Abiquiu citizen named Don Pedro Leon Lujan, formed a party and got a permit to trade with Indians from the governor in Santa Fe (who had no authority to grant trading rights outside the territory). The ostensible purpose was trade in goods; the unwritten but commonly acknowledged purpose was to obtain slaves. Utah officials, acting on instructions from Brigham Young, turned the party back. Lujan sent most of the men back but irate Indians, looking forward to profitable trade, stole horses and forced the trade of slaves for horses on the remaining men. At this point Lujan and his men were arrested for Indian trading without licenses.

After a trial in Salt Lake City Lujan and party were found guilty, fined, and sent home on foot. This marked the beginning of the end of Indian slave trading in Utah. It took several years and more than a few skirmishes between and among New Mexicans, Utahans, Utes, Paiutes, Navajos, and others. An interesting side-light: after the trial the Utah Legislature specifically forbade Indian slaving then approved, normalized, and codified the treatment of black slaves. It was nominally a slave territory until 1865.

This study of a pivotal but little known politico-legal case draws on original documents. It clearly and fairly presents the points of view and arguments of the various sides. The author gives a brief overview of the 1850s national debate over slavery. She then paints a good picture of that struggle on a regional canvas with an ethnic twist.

The book adds to the story of how slavery was brought to heel in this country.

--Stan Moore, C.M.

**America's National Historic Trails**, by Kathleen Ann Cordes. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1999. Illustrated with color photographs and maps, abbreviations, index, public and state lands information and bibliography. 384 pages. Paperback, \$19.95.

The author has assembled information on the evolving National Trails System, authorized by Congress in 1968, from personal visits, research and interviews with local individuals, staff and historians. She covers the recreational and historic aspects of the twelve National Historic Trails (NHT) by state:

**Juan Bautista de Anza NHT** [AZ, CA ]

**Overmountain Victory NHT** [ NC, SC, TN, VA ]

**Lewis and Clark NHT** [ ID, IL, IA, KS, MO, MN, ND, NE, OR, SD, WA ]

**Santa Fe NHT** [ CO, KS, MO, NM, OK ]

**Trial of Tears NHT** [ AL, AR, FL, IL, KY, MO, NC, OK, TN ]

**Oregon NHT** [ ID, KS, MO, NE, OR, WA ]

**California NHT** [ CA, CO, ID, IA, KS, MO, NE, NV, OR, UT, WY ]

**Mormon Pioneer NHT** [ IL, IA, NE, UT, WY ]

**Pony Express NHT** [ CA, CO, KS, MO, NE, NV, UT, WY ]

**Nez Perce (Nee-Me-Poo) NHT** [ ID, MT, OR, WY ]

**Iditarod NHT** [ AK ]

**Selma to Montgomery NHT** [ AL ]

Not included are other trails and highways such as Appalachian, Natchez Trace, Continental Divide, Florida, Ice Age, North Country, Pacific Crest and Potomac which are classed as "Scenic". Each chapter introduces a trail and provides background data, its history, highlights individuals, locations or events of special interest and describes the trails setting today. Cordes' intent is for the book to be used in planning trips that could enhance the visitors' experience of these little-used National treasures. Jane Lammers, who accompanied the author on this odyssey, provided photography.

One appendix includes addresses, by agency, of the regional and local offices for Federal Public Lands. The appendix for State Lands Information lists travel or tourism addresses and telephone numbers for most all states. Colorado is not included. Unfortunately no web sites are given but you can access the National Park Service website and go to [www.nps.gov/parklist/byname/htm](http://www.nps.gov/parklist/byname/htm) for most all Parks. However, the listed information is usually old—1996-97—incomplete and very slow to download, even at 48k Baud.

*--Lebrun Hutchison, C.M.*

**The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West**, by Michael L. Tate. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman Okla., 1999. 317 pp., Illustrations, maps, bibliography and index. \$34.95.

At first glance, this book looked boring as it appeared to be in the format of a college text. However, closer inspection showed that the author laid the work out so that each chapter would discuss one particular subject, i.e.: the army's role in exploration, aid to emigrants on pioneer trails, transportation, law and order, food for the needy, agricultural assistance, medical help, relief work, Indian rights, reports of experiences through journals, newspapers, army records, novels, etc., and lastly, contributions after leaving military service.

Most view the frontier army with the sole purpose of fighting Indians because of being brought up on John Ford movies and television westerns. Author Tate proves that they did a whole lot more. He has an extensive bibliography, and it is evident that his research was meticulous and comprehensive. In almost every case of type assistance rendered by the army, he gives examples from army records, newspapers, etc. In the chapter regarding discover and exploration, he states:

*"At the forefront of much of the discovery was the American army which served as the right arm of Federal exploration and scientific inquiry. Sometimes, as in the case of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the exploring carried full government sanction as well as specific instructions for conducting their scientific work."*

In the westward movement, the army stood by at isolated outposts to help travelers going in both directions. The Army Corps of Engineers was responsible for surveying and refining important river and harbor sites. They also produced maps. The frontier army provided protection for railroads as they moved west, and sometimes, was the only government authority to provide law and order. It also built and maintained roads.

As far as the economy was concerned, the army, at times, was the only local employer, and issued contracts for supplies from local ranches, farms and businesses. Numerous towns grew up along-side army posts because they were there. In many instances, the town folded when the army left.

The army was there in the case of disasters as well, and provided rations, clothing and shelter for those in need from floods, blizzards, prairie fires, drought, earthquakes, tornadoes and insect infestation.

There were many other public services rendered by the frontier army, but there was one special contribution to society after the officers and soldiers left military life. Many stayed in the west and became property owners and pillars of their communities. The author concludes by saying:

*"In evaluating the importance of the frontier army, a full century after it passed from the scene, one is struck by how little we understand about its*

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*many roles. It truly was a multipurpose army that made far greater contributions to the western landscape than as a mere campaigner against hostile Indians."*

This work is an important asset to Western frontier history and should be read by all who want to see the complete picture of westward expansion, and as such, is highly recommended. It is a terrific book regarding the frontier army and should not be missed!

--Richard A. Cook, P.M.

**Glenwood Springs, the History of a Rocky Mountain Resort**, by Jim Nelson. Western Reflections, Inc., Ouray, Colo., 1999. 250 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$14.95.

Jim Nelson has filled the need for a good overview of the history of Glenwood Springs. The text is logically organized into 21 chapters that, for the most part, chronologically present the events in the history of Glenwood Springs in five or ten-year segments. There have been many books written on various aspects of the history of this area, but this book presents a more comprehensive summary. The author draws considerable information, especially for the early-day events, from these past sources. These books are recognized in a good bibliographical section. Since previously much has been written, and so much more attention has been paid to the pioneer and territorial history of Colorado, this book provides a valuable reference tool for historians, by providing the history of Glenwood Springs from approximately World War I, right up to the present. This is information that is difficult to find, and having it all organized in one source is most helpful. Because, in many instances, the historical facts are often related only by their proximity in occurrence, the text reads a bit choppy, not flowing smoothly as one might expect in, for example, a single-theme novel. Jim Nelson's *Glenwood Springs* is very well illustrated, using many photos from the Frontier Historical Society and from private collections. The history buff looking for a good local history of Colorado will enjoy this book.

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...this is information that is difficult to find...and having it all organized in one source is most helpful...

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--Ed Bathke, P. M.

**Windows on the Past, Historic Lodgings of New Mexico**, by Sandra D. Lynn. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, Az., 1999. 209 pp. 11 color and 31 halftone photographs, 1 map, bibliography, index. Paper, \$24.95.

When traveling I enjoy staying at historic B&Bs, old inns, and hotels. Denver Posse member Sandra Dallas wrote a superb book *No More than Five in a Bed*, which I used around Colorado as I dug into Colorado history. Now Sandra D. Lynn has written a similar book about New Mexico lodgings. Not all the hotels in this book still exist, but the stories recounted by the author make fascinating reading. I have only had the chance to tour three hotels covered in this book: the La Fonda in Santa Fe, the St. James in Cimarron, and the Montezuma in Las Vegas. And so far I have only stayed at the Plaza Hotel in Las Vegas. Staying at an old hotel is not like staying at

...I feel sad that there are hotels in this book that we will never see again...

a Holiday Inn or even a Motel 6. No two rooms are alike, some walls are not square, plumbing is antiquated, but the experience is delightful.

I feel sad that there are hotels in this book that we will never see again, like the Alvarado in Albuquerque, and while their history is interesting reading, it pleases me to know that many hotels remain for me to visit.

This book, *Windows on the Past*, will be with me to provide facts and tales about those wonderful old structures.

--Nancy Bathke, P. M.

**Frontier Children**, by Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., 1999. 176 pp. B & W illustrations, index. Cloth \$24.95.

One of the first illustrations in this wonderful book, *Frontier Children*, shows two little girls. They are sitting together, arms around each other, holding hands, smiling shyly at the camera. Their hair looks stringy and snarly, their faces smudged, their dresses unstylish, dirty, ill-fitting, with pantaloons showing, their long stockings torn and full of holes, their high-button shoes scuffed and appearing to be the wrong size. The caption states that the photo was taken about 1913 or 1914, during a coal mining strike in Colorado. All my words of description really can not correctly tell the impact this photo had upon me—the character of the children set during a fiery turmoil in Colorado. But that is the thrust of this book—to tell about children in the West, children of all cultures, during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The book begins with the movement of children to and around the frontier, continuing with chapters on their working lives, home life, playtime, schooling, and ending with their coming of age. To tell about the lives of these children photographs are very important. There are very few

surviving letters or diaries written by wee ones. Adult accounts are used to elaborate, describe and fill in details needed to document children in the West.

Although the photographs cover the western U. S., I was drawn to a few showing Colorado children, such as a small group around a shack in Ashville, Colorado, and another of kiddies looking under a circus tent in early Denver. Working children include two Crisman, Colorado, children using a crosscut saw, and two babies feeding chickens in Niwot. School groups from Colorado show a small class in Jackson County in front of the school—many on horseback—and another of a large group of Central City students, an early-integrated school. The authors, Peavy and Smith, have previously written two books. Pioneer Women: the *Lives of Women on the Frontier*, and *Women in Waiting in the Westward Movement: Life on the Home Frontier*, but this book, *Frontier Children*, is my favorite.

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...the thrust of this  
book...to tell about the  
children of the West...

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--Nancy Bathke, P. M.

## Over the Corral Rail

The Denver Posse of Westerners would like to welcome the following new members:

Mr. Jackson G. Byers. Mr. Byers resides in Clarkson, MI, and is a Design Engineer for General Motors. His interests include: trains, airplanes, cars, pipe organs and photography.

Mr. Norman Meyer. Mr. Meyer lives in Conifer, CO. He is referred to us by Don and Dolores Ebner. Listed interests include: Western History and the histories of the front range and Jefferson County. He is a member of the Jefferson County Historical Commission and the Colorado Historical Society.



### Westerners International

Corresponding Membership in the Denver Posse does not include membership in the Westerners International. If you wish to receive the *Buckskin Bulletin*, you may purchase a subscription for \$5.00/year. Contact Westerners International, c/o National Cowboy Hall of Fame, 1700 NE 63rd St., Oklahoma City, OK 73111. 800-541-4650





*Ed Bathke Collection*

Sphinx Rock  
by Joseph Collier  
Taken 1878-1880  
James Peak Series



*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

MAY - JUNE 2000



*Ed Bathke Collection*

**George A. Crofutt: Guidebook Guru**

by

**Ed & Nancy Bathke, P.M.**

(Presented April 26, 2000)

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LVI NO. 3



May - June 2000



## About the Authors

Ed and Nancy Bathke are well known to the Denver Posse. The list of outstanding papers they have presented to our humble group could fill this column.

Ed joined as a Corresponding Member in 1965, and became a Posse Member in 1970. Nancy was one of the first women Corresponding Members following the infamous rules change of '92. She became a Posse Member in '93. Both Ed and Nancy have served in the offices of Deputy Sheriff and Sheriff. Both are also retired.

Ed and Nancy have enough hobbies and collections to fill this column as well. Ed showed a marvelous collection of Crofutt's guides to accompany his paper. As this goes to press, they are gadding about the countryside looking to enhance Nancy's spoon collection.

It's hard to tell exactly where their hats are hanging in residence these days, as they enjoy their new condominium in Highlands Ranch and live part-time in Manitou Springs. All between their many excursions.

Ed and Nancy are true treasures of the Denver Posse.

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The ROUNDUP (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Corresponding membership is \$20 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be either typewritten, quality computer output or on floppy disk, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. ROUNDUP editing, layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for ROUNDUP to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

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# George A. Crofutt: Guidebook Guru

by

Ed & Nancy Bathke, P.M.

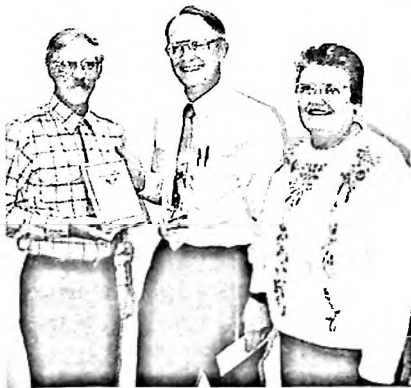
(Presented April 26, 2000)

To most Colorado history buffs and collectors, the name of George Crofutt evokes the image of the 1881 book, *Crofutt's Grip-Sack Guide of Colorado*. This 182-page volume was filled with comprehensive information on the state of Colorado, listing practically every town, providing background information, anecdotes, and personal reminiscences, and facts and figures, in a clear manner that made the book a favorite with travelers. A fine colored map of Colorado, produced by Nell, the perennial producer of fine maps of the state, was included.

However, on a national scale, George Crofutt was famous for his transcontinental guidebooks. Following his attendance at the Golden Spike Ceremony at Promontory Point, Utah, at

the completion of the transcontinental railway, he published the first of his national guides, the *Great Trans-Continental Railroad Guide*, containing a full and authentic description of over five hundred cities, towns, villages, stations, government forts and camps, mountains, lakes, rivers, sulphur, soda and hot springs, scenery, watering places, summer resorts; where to look for and hunt the buffalo, antelope, deer, and other game; trout fishing, etc., etc. This was the beginning of a successful quarter-century career in providing guidebooks for the country's travelers and tourists.

Since the publications of George Crofutt number over a million volumes, quite a number of his books have survived, and today they are very collectible. There have been some attempts to reprint these guidebooks, but the most prominent, and interesting to us, has been the 1966 edition of *Crofutt's Grip-Sack Guide of Colorado*, by Cubar Associates. Three Colorado historians and collectors, Francis Rizzari, Richard Ronzio, and Charles Ryland, were the principals of Cubar, the name being a play on their names, all starting with "R", and representing "R Cubed". All three were posse members of the Denver Westerners, and were collectors of vintage Colorado photographs. The Cubar reprint of the "Grip-Sack Guide" has become a collectible in its own right, primarily



Deputy Sheriff Bob Lane (left) presents our prized, hand-carved, (by Omar Quade) thanks-for-the-presentation plaque to Ed and Nancy Bathke.

due to Cubar including 175 photos of Colorado in the 1880s, following the original text by Crofutt. In 1981 a paperback edition followed the 1966 hardback.

Now we look at a man, George Crofutt, who had probably written more guidebooks about nineteenth century United States than anyone else, and yet he is almost unknown. What little had been known about him had been gleaned from his own guidebooks and a few newspaper articles. In the early 1960s I searched at the Library of Congress, and tipped inside a cover of one of Crofutt's guidebooks was an article providing a short vignette on his birth in Connecticut, and life in Philadelphia in the 1850s. But that book has since vanished.

The background of George Crofutt, and his life before and while he authored the many guidebooks, and what eventually happened to him, had long intrigued Western historians. Cubar included a short biography in their "Grip-Sack Guide". But they were not the only history buffs who sought to solve the mystery of George A. Crofutt.

Don Bloch, also a Denver Westerner, and one of its earliest posse members, made it a mission in life to find out what happened to Crofutt. He would pursue any lead, by letter, phone, or in person. A rumor that Crofutt had been a patient in a New Orleans hospital and may have died there, was followed by Don's plane flight to Louisiana. A brief item in a Salt Lake City newspaper that George Crofutt had been found, delirious and dehydrated, in a Utah canyon in 1904, was personally investigated by Don. He claimed to have spent \$20,000 in his search for the story of

Crofutt. Don often told the "3 Rs" that he had a new promising lead, or he was receiving confidential information. But Don's search for his "Holy Grail" met with failure.

When Cubar published the 1981 edition of the *Grip Sack Guide*, the "3 Rs" scored a coup upon Don Bloch. They included a photograph of George A. Crofutt in their book. Don saw it and demanded to know where they got it. They replied that it was in the collection of the State Historical Society of Colorado. Don insisted he had been there many times and he had never seen it there. The "3 Rs" just happened to leave out the part of story on how the photo got to the Historical Society archives. They had found the picture in an old family album dating back to the 1870s, which had been kept by Caroline Frazier. She was the daughter of William Frazier, who had died in a blizzard in the Pineries (the Black Forest) in 1862. Caroline had labeled her picture "Geo. Crowfut". Following the "3 Rs" discovery of the photo, the album was presented to the State Historical Society of Colorado. This photograph of George A. Crofutt, probably taken in Denver about 1867, is the only known photograph of him.

At this point I have indicated that Colorado history buffs had discovered very little about the life of George Crofutt. And yet the intent is to tell you all about his life. The crucial missing link that allows me to continue the tale was discovered in an Internet search three or four years ago. By a circuitous route, I stumbled upon a book with all the answers. The title of this book is: *AMERICAN PROGRESS, The Growth of the Transport, Tourist and Informa-*

*tion Industries in the Nineteenth-Century West seen through The Life and Times of George A. Crofutt, Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age.*

The author is J. Valerie Fifer, formerly the head of the geography department at London University, England. Globe Pequot Press, Chester, Connecticut published the book, in 1988. That a small Eastern press, not known for publications of a Western historical theme, would publish a book authored by a foreign author, print a relatively small press run, and not extensively market the book in the West, especially Colorado, no doubt accounts for few Colorado history buffs being aware of it. But, here is the rest of the story of George A. Crofutt.

George Crofutt was over forty years old when he changed the spelling of his name to "C-r-o-f-u-t-t". From the end of the 17th century there were families of Crofut in the Danbury, Connecticut vicinity. George's immediate family used the spelling "C-r-o-f-u-t", although seven variations in the spelling of the name are noted in the Connecticut records. George Andrews Crofutt was born on August 13, 1827, to George and Charity Crofut, living on the west side of the village of Danbury, next to the family's grist mill. Shortly after George was born, the family mill burned. George Senior went into partnership with Charles Starr, a relative of his wife, and they rebuilt the mill on the same site along the Still River. The mill was located on the largest pond in Danbury, the Oil Mill Pond, since one of the mills on the pond produced linseed oil. But today the pond is known by its other name, the Crofutt Pond. In 1882 Crofut's grist and

saw mill was replaced by Peter Robinson's extensive new fur-cutting and hat-felting factory, a water-powered operation. From 1920 until 1982 the premises were mainly used for storage by the American Hatters and Furriers Co., and finally as a furniture factory. In 1983, however, the historic industrial use was changed with the conversion of the interior of this fine 101-year-old building into 41 residential apartments. This site on Oil Mill Road, now named the Danbury Mill, is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

### **No interest in family mill**

In the teacher- and preacher-founded New England society, George would learn firm principles that would influence him in later life. That no doubt including attending Danbury Academy, the town's greatest asset, which had been made possible by an endowment from Comfort Starr in 1763. Boys at the age of 8 or 10 would interrupt their lessons to help at the family business or farm in the summers. But by this age it was apparent that George did not want to work in the mill and take over the family business. George Crofut & Son, millers, would in due course refer to Crofut's brother, not himself. Instead George was fascinated by the town newspapers and became an apprentice at the Danbury Times. At first he would have been an errand boy, tidying the print shop, folding and stacking, and doing odd jobs. His subsequent apprenticeship in newspaper printing and publishing laid the foundation of his future career, and he had discovered what he wanted to do.

Danbury in the 1830s was a small village, with only limited access by a waterway. The stagecoach routes

were difficult in the surrounding hills. In the following years as the railroads developed, Danbury would not be as successful as other towns in attracting the railroad so necessary for business and a strong economy. The ambitious young man realized that there was no opening for him on the Danbury Times, when its founder, Edward Osborne, moved on to Poughkeepsie in 1845, and turned over the running of the newspaper to his two brothers. So, at the age of 18, Crofutt left Danbury.

George Crofutt initiated his career at Printing House Square, Lower Manhattan, the center of New York City's publishing and printing trade. With a lot of legwork, he found a job as a publisher's and bookseller's traveling agent. An agent's life was precarious, never dull, very competitive, and occasionally rewarding. In 1849 Crofutt's sales territory from New York City would take him as far as Buffalo. He traveled up the Hudson to Albany, then by stagecoach to Schenectady, and then worked his way through the towns strung along the 230 miles of Erie Canal between Schenectady and Rochester, the "Flour City". It was still 90 more miles to Buffalo. The Erie Canal provided some of the finest in transportation of the era. George gained a familiarity traveling the waterways, enjoying the newer packet boats, and even seeing Niagara Falls on a sidetrip. This included a ride, from Lockport on the Erie Canal, on the Lockport and Niagara Falls Railroad, which he described as "a rickety little railroad". But George Crofutt's traveling experiences would also play an important role in developing his career.

Early in 1854 Crofutt arrived in

Philadelphia. George sold magazines and books for New York publisher Jesse Milton Emerson, and his main commission was the sale of *The United States Journal of Mechanics, Agriculture, Literature and Amusement*, started in July 1849 by Emerson. Distribution methods of the period called for agents to build and maintain subscriber lists. Book sales were also an important part of the business. But by September 1855, The Emerson Company's agency was transferred to A. Winch, a bookseller at 116 Chestnut Street in Philadelphia. Book and magazine sales in the larger cities were changing from agent sales to a store-based distribution system.

### **Became publisher**

So Crofutt had to decide whether it was time to move. This was the "Golden Age" of magazines, and Philadelphia, New York and Boston all were very active publishing centers with many participants. George decided that there was always room for one more. Right in the core of Philadelphia's newspaper and business quarter, across the street from the Philadelphia Merchant's Exchange, and next to the Post Office, at 83 Dock St., George Crofutt launched his publishing business. His first venture started on March 15, 1856, with an enlarged, more elaborate version of cohort John Campbell's magazine, the *Monthly Rainbow*. Crofutt was the publisher, Campbell continued as the printer, Manuel Cooke was the literary editor, and the front page was the job of Dr. L. L. Chapman, the scientific editor. Chapman attempted to fill the gap between science and theology for the general reader, but he had inadequate scientific knowledge. It was a mistake

to have allowed Chapman control of the front page. There was no editorial control, and in spite of Crofutt offering bargain advertising rates, the magazine was doomed. After all, why spend six cents for a folio magazine, even with premiums, when the new Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, with 16 pages, and a rainbow indeed, of news, reviews, fiction, travel and the arts, cost only ten cents.

Crofutt's second venture, *The Philadelphia Merchant's Diary and Guide, for 1856*, a small paperback diary and pocketbook for business, fared no better. It offered no advantage over an extensive range of shoppers', visitors', and merchants' guides, many more sophisticated. He tried once more, launching a weekly newspaper, *The Nation*, early in 1857. It survived only a few issues before it collapsed.

More than 2,000 American periodicals and magazines died in the 1850s, these "young green leaves" of publication succumbing to the "killing frost" of debt, due to lack of good writers, vital advertising, or adequate capitalization. The year 1857 also brought increased competition with *Harper's Weekly* in New York in January and *The Atlantic Monthly* in Boston in November. Additionally, a financial panic swept the country in August. By the end of 1857 Crofutt had left Philadelphia.

Crofutt moved 70 miles, to Reading, Pennsylvania. While there, in either 1858 or 1859, he was married to Anna M. Burcker. Anna, born in Reading on November 7, 1817, was ten years older than George. Being the eldest daughter, Anna had run the household following the death of her

mother. Her father was a coppersmith connected with the printing and engraving trade. This may account for Crofutt's contact with the family, and perhaps he even lodged with them. Anna's father, Henry, remarried in October 1857, so Anna was no longer mistress of the house. This may have accounted for her launching out on the sea of matrimony.

About this time the Crofutts decided to leave Pennsylvania and make a new start in the West. In 1858 California seemed to offer the best opportunities. By 1859 there was a new source of excitement, due to the discovery of gold near some mountain named Pikes Peak. In April 1860 George Crofutt crossed the Mississippi River for the first time, arriving in St. Louis. The plan appeared to have Anna stay in Reading, and then join George in a few weeks and make the entire journey by rail and stage. George could afford to take the train only another 19 miles to St. Charles. Rather than travel the Missouri River to Westport Landing (now Kansas City) George elected to stay on dry land, joining a wagon party, and arriving in Kansas City the third week in May. From Kansas City the only way to get to Denver was by stagecoach, at a cost of \$100 to \$150, including board. After three days' walking, he reached Lawrence, where the Pikes Peak gold fever was rampant. At Samuel Tappan's office and warehouse, Crofutt found freight wagons being loaded for the Tappan Brothers' new store in Colorado City. Also joining the party were Benjamin Franklin Crowell, Albinus Z. Sheldon, and Frederick Spencer. The Tappan party was short-handed, and Tappan brother James, and Ben



Crowell, had no idea how to handle oxen or wagons. George Crofutt had mastered the basic skills coming across Missouri, so he yoked and hitched the oxen and became an indispensable member of the party. On May 26, 1860, the Sheldon-Tappan party left Lawrence, Kansas, heading west on the Arkansas, or Santa Fe, Trail. Averaging 15 to 20 miles a day, they arrived at Bent's Fort, and left the Santa Fe Trail and headed to Pueblo, which Crofutt described as four Mexican adobe hovels. They rested at Fountain, and then traveled the Cherokee Trail to Colorado City, arriving on June 30, after five weeks and 700 miles of travel from Lawrence. In 1860 Colorado City consisted of about 300 dwellings, and half-a-dozen stores along Colorado Avenue. They pulled up to Lewis Tappan's store, the first dry-goods store in the town. Colorado City was getting ready for its first Fourth of July celebration, being organized by Melancthon Beach, George Bute, Charles Pearsall, and Anthony Bott. A fiddler played dance music long into the night, at the "grand ball", despite Colorado City being able to muster only six women for the event. Crofutt, Crowell, James Tappan, Sheldon and Spencer had the time of their lives.

Three of the party stayed in Colorado City, but Ben Crowell and George Crofutt were anxious to explore South Park. They visited Tarryall, but declined offers to become miners, lacking the experience they felt was necessary. George returned to Colorado City, and then pushed on to Denver. Anna had already arrived in Denver on June 1. We do not know if Anna stayed the six or seven weeks in Denver until

George showed up. She must have been short of money, and Denver was a rough boomtown. From this point on Anna remains a shadowy figure in the story of George Crofutt. At any rate, George soon returned to Colorado City.

### **Built small residence**

Sheldon and Spencer wanted to explore the Divide between Colorado City and Denver, and Crofutt was the only one to have crossed it. For the rest of the summer the group based its activities on the Divide, where, near the head of Cherry Creek, deep in the Pineries, they built a rough cabin, which was named Ivan Cracken. Later Crofutt would half-affectionately refer to it in his guidebooks as his "first country residence in 1860", and being about four miles east of the railroad stop at Huntsville. Sheldon and Spencer were surveyors and they examined the Divide for a good wagon road route. Meanwhile Crofutt and Crowell cut and baled hay, which they hauled to Denver, and to Central City, where the price climbed rapidly from \$50 to \$150 a ton as winter approached. From Central City Crofutt took supplies of hay and wood to some of the more isolated mining camps and found that income from this work far exceeded his expectations. Times were good for a small-scale freighter. Both Crofutt and Crowell decided to invest their earnings in farmland. Crowell bought land on the "Big Flat", located about a mile south of the confluence of Cheyenne and Fountain Creeks. But George chose Denver, and bought a quarter section near the South Platte River, west of Denver, in what would become the Sloans Lake area.

Ben Crowell would go on to be Chairman of the El Paso County Board

of Commissioners, and a successful freighter, farmer and businessman. A.Z. Sheldon would be the first Surveyor of El Paso County, a Justice of the Peace, and the president or secretary of several organizations in Colorado City.

At the end of summer 1860 Crowell, Sheldon and Spencer returned to Colorado City, but George Crofutt wintered at Ivan Cracken. It was a harsh winter, and he described it as "a struggle to get something to eat and live through till spring." But staying on the Divide was a sensible decision since Crofutt was making money cutting and selling hay, as well as hauling produce for the many farmers who were successfully harvesting crops around him. He also did business with Rufus H. "Potato" Clark, who pioneered growing potatoes south of Denver in 1859, getting up to 35 cents a pound for his spuds, and as a result planting 250 acres in potatoes in 1860. Crofutt was such a familiar figure as a freighter in the area that today there is a road from Castle Rock to Parker that is still known as the Crowfoot Valley Road. The spelling has been distorted to "C-r-o-w-f-o-o-t", but the name is also attached to a small tributary creek near the site of Ivan Cracken, and to a hill between Franktown and Castle Rock.

Crofutt found much to do in Denver and would often stay a few days, freighting, making deliveries, buying supplies, and tending to his quarter section across the South Platte River. His neighbor, Thomas Sloan, dug a well to water his dry land, and struck a major aquifer. The pond that resulted is known today as Sloans Lake. Crofutt occasionally cut and sold hay from his quarter section, and sometimes rented out the

pasture, but did no more than that with his 160 acres. While in Denver he would often drop by the *Rocky Mountain News* office, and chat with William Byers. He also got to know Amos Steck, who was made postmaster by the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Co. when he arrived in May 1859.

As the Civil War started, Crofutt continued his freighting business. Freighting was difficult, especially in getting supplies from the East, due to Indian troubles. Then in April 1863 a disastrous fire struck Denver, and in May 1864 Cherry Creek flooded and caused extreme damage. Crofutt's hay crop on Cherry Creek was destroyed by the flood, and more was ruined on the Sloans Lake land. Altogether he estimated that he had lost 100 acres of field crops in excellent condition that season "when the great flood of May took my last few cents to the Missouri River." In the spring of 1865 Crofutt decided to move off the Arkansas Divide, and concentrate along the trails east and west of Denver. He had not recovered from the 1864 flood, and no longer wanted a base on Cherry Creek, or on the South Platte bottomland. The South Platte quarter section near Sloans Lake was in devastated condition and he wanted to make a quick sale, so he sold the land in a deal that included three yoke of oxen. Soon afterwards the Indians stole the oxen.

In the summer of 1865 Crofutt was employed by David Butterfield to find new western stage routes. He spent months exploring the mountains between Denver and Salt Lake City. Back in Denver for the winter of 1865-66 he ran his business from a lumberyard at the corner of Larimer and G

(now 16th) St. Another venture of his was unsuccessful when he speculated in toll roads in 1865. He, Rufus "Potato" Clark, and another had registered a company to build a toll road from Denver south to the Divide, to be known as the Denver and Arkansas Air Line Road. At the time Clark was a member of the territorial legislature. But the venture failed to attract enough capital.

In the spring of 1866 Anna Crofutt visited Denver again. She even rode the stage to Central City. She stayed in Central City for over three weeks, during which time George was probably hauling timber in the region. But on March 24, 1866 she returned to the East.

### Railroad fever

In April 1866 Crofutt was freighting between Denver and Nebraska City. Small operators such as Crofutt made a good business supplying the army forts. He also made deliveries to the forward railroad camps as they built across the Plains. He frequently escorted emigrant trains, and he knew all the station-men.

Crofutt must have readily seen the effect that the railroads would have on the freighting business. Denver was being hit by "railroad fever" at this time. George was an eager participant. On April 1, 1868 George Crofutt, Francis Gallup and John Nye launched the Miners' Rail Road Co., to run from Golden to Black Hawk and Central City. The following day he registered the Denver and Turkey Creek Rail Road Co. Unfortunately none of these speculative ventures attracted capital. With the failure of his Denver-based railroad ventures, Crofutt left town and turned to

long-distance freighting in the summer of 1868. Hauling through Wyoming to Utah, Salt Lake City became his base.

Crofutt always made it a point of getting to know the local editors and newspaper offices wherever he went. In Salt Lake City he got to know Edward Sloan, who was assistant editor at the *Deseret News*. Listening to Sloan's struggles in the business, and recalling his own problems in issuing the *Philadelphia Merchant's Diary*, George knew just what to do, and quickly the two assembled the *Salt Lake City Directory and Business Guide for 1869*. They agreed that it should be printed in Chicago, and a Chicago business section was added to the volume. Crofutt traveled to Chicago, taking a room at the Briggs House, a popular first-class hotel that had been built in 1851 and was a favorite of Abraham Lincoln in the 1850s. This was the first time that Crofutt has journeyed east of the Missouri River since leaving Pennsylvania in 1860.

Returning to Utah, George accompanied Edward Sloan on May 10, 1869, in attending the Golden Spike ceremony at Promontory Point. Crofutt enjoyed circulating among the press attendees, and met H. Wallace Atwell, reporter for *San Francisco's Daily Morning Chronicle*, and known as "Bill Dadd, the Scribe". By now, George was working his way back into the printing and publishing world as Sloan's assistant. They discussed the need for a complete guidebook to the new Pacific Railroad from Omaha to Sacramento, with added information about the San Francisco region. The book must be inexpensive, handy for the pocket, concise in its detail, and yet have

something to say about every station and point of interest along the entire 1800-mile route. Atwell was enthusiastic. He knew the California area, and was an accomplished writer. Crofutt was familiar with every mile of the eastern half. George was content to be listed as just the publisher, but the two shared the writing tasks. Crofutt went to Chicago, staying at the Briggs house again, and arranged for the printing. Thus, in 1869, the *Great Trans-Continental Railroad Guide*, the first of Crofutt's national guides, was published. The guide was very well received, and got rave reviews.

The term "overland" had been regularly used in Western travels, such as the *Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express*, *Holliday's Overland Express*, and the *Overland Telegraph*. The term "trans-continental" had appeared in an article in the *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1853, and Albert Richardson used the term just twice in his voluminous travel account, *Beyond the Mississippi*, published in 1867. It simply did not appear in any congressional publications, including the Pacific Railroad Surveys, except for one use by Senator John Conness of California in February 1868. So it fell to George Crofutt to bring the word to the public's attention, and popularize it. The term "trans-continental" caught on, and railroads quickly made liberal use of it.

*The Great Trans-Continental Railroad Guide* was published on September 1, 1869. The volume of nearly 250 pages was sold for 50 cents, on all railroad cars, and at newsstands, bookstores, and railroad stations. It communicated a passionate enthusiasm

for the West, and an explicitly transcontinental concept of American progress. It was well written, concise and yet descriptive, amply illustrated, and an immediate success.

In January 1870 Crofutt issued a "temporary revised edition", again printed in Chicago, and with the help of a journalist he had used before, under the imprint of "Crofutt & Eaton". The demand for his guide was so great, and the potential market in the Eastern cities so enormous, that in 1870 he decided to move from Chicago to New York. Crofutt brought out the 1870 New York edition with a title change: instead of the word "Railroad", it was now the *Great Trans-Continental Tourist's Guide*, containing 36 illustrations, updated information, a new map of the route, and being billed as the "first fully revised edition". Paperbound copies were still 50 cents, but a cloth-bound edition was available for \$1.00. For the first time, the "czar of the news-stands", the American News Co., was handling his guides. Distribution networks had always been crucial, and this brought added success.

Now George Crofutt and "Bill Dadd, the Scribe" went their separate ways. Atwell apparently had no desire to get more deeply involved in the regular revisions and the production side of the business, preferring his roots in his beloved California. Crofutt's success brought fierce competition. Eaton was a double-dealer, and went to St. Louis to publish his own guide. A California press tried to capitalize on the term "Transcontinental". The major publishers, such as Appleton and Rand McNally, tried their hand in 1871. Crofutt met the competition head on by

revising his text twice a year, by clear layout and indexing, by skillful advertising and promotion, and by keeping a close personal eye on every stage of production and distribution. George's revisions were based on personal experience: he traveled the route regularly, and he also was adept at adding personal reminiscences of his adventures in the 1860s.

The 1871 edition, billed as the "third volume, second annual revision", was now titled as *Croftutt's Trans-Continental Tourist's Guide*. By 1872, the guide comprised 224 pages, 50 illustrations, and 11 maps. The price was now \$1.00 for the paperback, and \$1.25 for cloth, either flexi-bound or hard-bound. Croftutt soon found that even the twice-yearly revision of *Croftutt's Trans-Continental Tourist's Guide* was inadequate to record the speed of change in the West. So George began publishing a magazine, the *Western World*, in November 1871. Both the November and December editions were 8 pages. Demand was so good that in January 1872 he doubled the magazine to 16 pages. Correspondents and reporters regularly sent him information, and the magazine was aimed more at settlers than tourists. Illustrations were important, and lithographs increased in popularity. During the 1860s hand-tinted lithographs were increasingly replaced by chromolithographs. Croftutt commissioned artist John Gast to produce "American Progress", and the chromo was used as a premium with his magazine subscriptions. The subscription price to *Western World* was raised to \$1.50 in 1873, and included a copy of the picture, worth, as George advertised,

\$10.00 alone!

The Panic of 1873 wreaked havoc with many businesses. The *Western World* was hit hard, and although it survived into 1874, it never really recovered from the effects of the Panic. During these years Croftutt had been issuing annual revisions of his guide. The "fifth volume, fourth annual revision", in 1873, was published in both New York and Chicago. The "sixth volume, fifth annual revision", in 1874, was published in both New York and San Francisco. Croftutt was meeting new competition, on a more elaborate scale, as evidenced by *The Pacific Tourist*, *Williams' Illustrated Guide of Travel, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean*. This was met with a new enlarged format for the 1874 edition, reducing the number of pages, but increasing the page size to 7 ¼ by 10 ¼ inches.

Once the 1874 edition was published Croftutt felt the need for a change. In the summer of 1873 he had developed and patented the "Croftutt's Life Protector", a breathing mask for firemen and miners. But, in spite of advances of his wet-fabric model over previous smoke and dust masks, it too had shortcomings, and met with failure. So Croftutt the inventor gave up for the time being. But Croftutt the publisher, editor and writer also decided to make a clean break. The ailing *Western World* magazine was terminated. The annual editions of his guide could be subcontracted, and for the 1875 and 1876 editions, the work was done by George W. Carleton & Co. in New York, and by Sampson Low & Co., London, who specialized in distribution of American publications. George was all set for a career change.

Running a first-class hotel was the ambition of many successful American businessmen in the nineteenth century. George had always liked the bustle around the Park Hotel, at the corner of Nassau and Beekman streets, in Manhattan's publishing district. In December 1874 Crofutt took over the lease of the Park Hotel. The Park had been built in the late 1840s, but after 25 years it was badly in need of renovation, having no elevator, and faded, old-fashioned furnishings. Albert Durand, the proprietor for some years, was content with the comfortable "lived-in" look, but Crofutt knew something smarter was required. He poured his savings into remodeling, but the economy was poor in 1875, and in spite of having an excellent location, just two blocks from the new *New York Post* Office, business was lacking. By January 1877 he lacked the cash to even pay the staff. In February 1877 he petitioned for bankruptcy. By June his affairs were in the hands of a solicitor, and the best course of action seemed to be: head West!

Crofutt's first stop was Chicago, but then he spent the summer visiting old haunts in the Rocky Mountains and the Southwest. He returned to Chicago, and was anxious to return to writing and publishing. In November 1877 he copyrighted a new periodical, *The American Patent Exchange*, devoted to the interests of inventors and owners of patent property, but nothing came of it, so George left Chicago again, in mid-November, and spent five months traveling the West to the Pacific. He filled his notebook, returned to Chicago, and formed a new company, the Overland Publishing Co. He immedi-

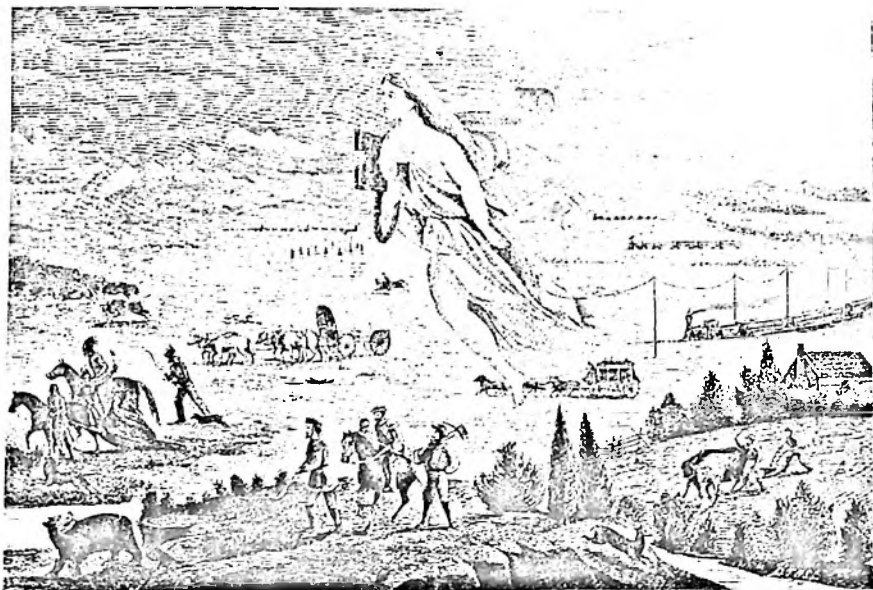
ately set out producing a trans-continental guidebook under his own imprint once again. Williams' guidebook had dominated the market in 1876 and 1877, and contracts for *Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourist* were dropped by the publishers in 1877, adding to his other woes of that year.

### Cut prices

By April 1878 his new book, *Crofutt's New Overland Tourist*, and *Pacific Coast Guide, 1878-79*, was published. The "New Overland" was meant to be a continuation of the "Trans-Continental" series, of which Crofutt reminded his readers, some 344,000 copies had been sold. He cut the price of his new guide to 75 cents for the paperback and \$1.00 for the hardback. This was a direct challenge to Henry T. Williams, "King of the Guidebook trade". But George had done his job well, melding new up-to-date information with reminiscences, vital facts, and illustrations. It was well received.

Once again, Crofutt spent the winter and early spring of 1878-79 traveling extensively in the West, checking and expanding text. Then there was good news from New York: Williams' guide, which had sold for \$1.50 paperback, and \$2.00 hardback, ceased publication and was no longer a competitor after 1878. Crofutt's first edition, 1878-79, was followed by "Volume 2, revised edition, 1879-80", and then editions labeled, 1880, 1882, 1883, and 1884. However, starting with the 1880 edition, the Overland Publishing Co. moved its operations to Omaha. Starting with the 1882 editions, it was published in both Omaha and Denver.

It looked like George Crofutt



was back in the driver's seat in the guidebook market. Specialized regional guides were growing in popularity, and as soon as the first edition of *Croftutt's New Overland Tourist* went on sale, he announced four new illustrated regional handbooks, at 50 cents each: "Croftutt's Utah and the Great Basin", "Croftutt's Colorado and New Mexico", "Croftutt in the Black Hills", and "Croftutt beyond the Sierras". Of these titles, only one handbook laid the foundation for his next publication.

Colorado was beginning to challenge California as a tourist destination. Climate, healthy location and scenery were all promoted. Since the driving of the golden spike in 1869, tours of the West were promoted and became a big business. In late 1879 Croftutt came to Denver and began to work on the first of his regional handbooks. The field was wide open.

California had dominated the regional handbook publications. Henry Williams had planned a "Colorado Tourist" in 1876 but nothing came of it. Frank Fossett's *Colorado*, published in 1876 to 1880, concentrated on mining with only minor sections on farming, history and tourism, and updated information was needed. Croftutt aimed to fill that gap, and set to work. As always, he did his background work thoroughly, and traveled around the state. He was well-enough known that his comings and goings would be mentioned in local newspapers. The *Central City* newspaper in 1879 not only mentioned that George when in town, but that his wife accompanied him. Anna, an infrequent visitor to the West, had been a *Central City* visitor in previous years, so she must have liked the town.

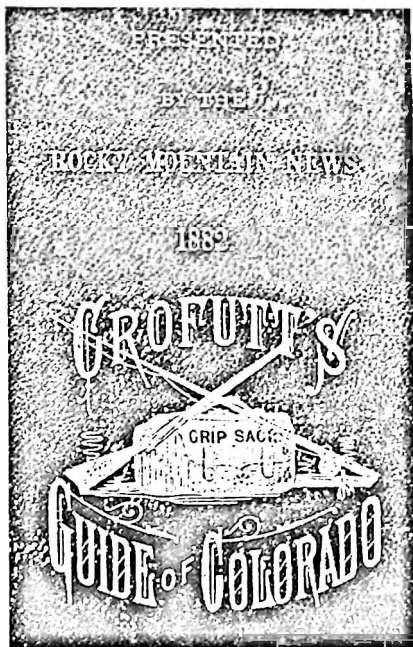
### **Grip-Sack Guide of Colorado**

In 1881 Croftutt brought forth

*Croft's Grip-Sack Guide of Colorado*, labeled as Volume I. After a general introduction to Colorado and Denver, the "Grip-Sack Guide" presented eight railroad tours, and then an alphabetical listing of all the important towns in the state, a tabulation of 79 post roads, all the post offices, and special articles on mining, Indian ruins, a glossary of mining terms, and concluding with miscellaneous items. The book was welcomed as the most accurate, complete and convenient source of information available anywhere on the Centennial State. It was priced at \$2.50 for a hardbound "library" edition, or with a tough flexible-cloth cover. Copies of the "Grip-Sack Guide" exist, that are gold-stamped on the front cover, "Presented by the Rocky Mountain News, 1882." These may have been premium offers with a subscription to the *Rocky Mountain News*.

Meanwhile Croft found time to pursue a wide range of other interests. He was an active member of the Denver Board of Trade (later the Chamber of Commerce). He again chased a dream to build a railroad, and on August 14, 1882 with four colleagues, incorporated the Denver & California Short Line Railway Co., designed to cross the Continental Divide at Argentine Pass. But following a business downturn in 1884, he sold his 71-mile survey between Denver and Argentine Pass to an old acquaintance, "Brick" Pomeroy. Pomeroy would attempt to develop this into the Atlantic and Pacific Mining and Railway Tunnel.

After his abortive effort in 1884 Croft began revision of his "Grip-Sack Guide". This was produced by the Overland Publishing Co. in Omaha, as



"Volume II", dated 1885. One wonders how successful this edition was, since we can locate very few copies today, and for years many historians believed that "Volume II" did not exist. This rare edition is the one that Cubar reprinted in 1966, and again in 1981.

Croft never wrote the set of four regional handbooks that he had announced in 1878. The "Grip-Sack Guide" must have taken too much time and energy. But he did spend June and July, 1885, in Salt Lake City, visiting old friends, and while there, published Croft's Salt Lake City Directory for 1885-86. He visited Montana in the fall of 1885, and as a result, published *Croft's Butte City Directory for 1885-86*.

As the Eighties progressed, Croft decided to give up the publish-



ing part of his business. After all, he was 60 years of age. In 1887 he closed his Overland Publishing Co. in Omaha, went to Chicago, and put the publishing in the hands of the Arthur H. Day Co. He spent most of 1887 and the first few months of 1888 traveling the West and filling notebooks, preparing for a comprehensive and reliable guide for tourists and emigrants along 10,000 miles of the American West. The full title of the new book was *Croftutt's Overland Tours*. Consisting of nearly Five Thousand Miles of Main Tours, and Three Thousand Miles of Side Tours. Also Two Thousand Miles by Stage and Water. This volume of over 250 pages sold for a dollar. Revised and enlarged editions were regularly published. In 1889 it was published by H. J. Smith & Co., in both Chicago and Philadelphia. In 1890 Rand, McNally & Co. produced Croftutt's guidebook, in Chicago and New York. Now it was produced in two volumes, labeled *Croftutt's Overland Guide* and *Croftutt's Overland Tours*. Croftutt supervised the Rand, McNally production himself, staying in Chicago 1890-91, and staying at his favorite hotel, the Briggs House. A final edition, again two volumes, was published in 1892 by Charles E. Ware & Co., St. Louis.

George Croftutt was still in Denver in 1893, the year that the country learned the hard way that financial panics were not a thing of the past. George's last guidebook was published in 1892. Apart from the post-1892 economic depression, two developments undermined the sales of many established guidebooks. Starting in the mid-eighties, railroads, such as the Denver & Rio Grande, first under

Traffic Passenger Agent F. C. Nims, and then Shadrach K. Hooper, produced and distributed an ever-increasing amount of free literature. Tour companies also provided ample brochures. A sales gap was left for only the most complete and comprehensive type of guidebook, and that was filled in 1893 by the appearance of the first Baedeker Guide to the United States.

### **A part of the West**

Croftutt left Denver in 1893, traveling around the West, and developing his ideas on irrigation techniques, water pumps, and power supplies. He may have spent some time in Oregon, because in 1902 he listed himself as author of a Round-up of the Chinook Jargon. But he apparently never wrote it since a copy has never been found. In December 1900 he was back in Denver, staying at the Markham Hotel. Between his many trips, Croftutt's main base in the late 1890s was back east in Hoboken, New Jersey, where George and Anna rented a small apartment. Evidence suggests that Anna made only occasional visits to the West, the last perhaps in July and August 1888, when she was 70 years old. As Anna's health deteriorated, George spent more time in Hoboken. He was working busily on his new irrigation project, listing himself in the New Jersey and Hoboken Directories as an inventor. He filed a patent on January 29, 1901, for a "Continuous Power-Chain of Water-Lifts." In the spring and summer of 1902 Croftutt was back in Denver, staying at the New Markham Hotel. He was now nearly 75, but a man of boundless energy. His interests were many, as indicated by a stock certificate for ten shares of the Pikes Peak Tunnel Mining Railway,

issued to George A. Crofutt on May 19, 1896, and then signed by him on Oct. 7 when he disposed of the investment. While in Denver in 1902, he published a new Glossary of Terms and Phrases connected with the Mining Industry. On June 24, 1902 he incorporated the Colorado Electric Irrigation Co. As soon as the company was formed, Crofutt left Denver again and returned to Hoboken where, two months later on September 6, 1902, Anna died at home at the age of 84. Once the funeral was over George gave up the Hoboken apartment and returned to Denver. He

started in the publishing business years ago. In December 1906 he was admitted to New York Hospital, where he died in his eightieth year on January 27, 1907. George and Anna Crofutt lie in unmarked graves in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn.

George Crofutt was a part of the dramatic Americanizing process of settling the West. He had been a printer, agent, publisher, pioneer, prospector, freighter, explorer, guide, escort, farmer, writer, hotelier, and inventor in his long life. He made an important contribution to the challenge of promot-



remained in Denver until the summer of 1905, trying to make a success of his irrigation company, but unable to do so, returned to the East for the last time. He took an apartment in New York City, less than a mile from where he has

ing railroads and attracting settlers to the West, and boosting new business, including the tourist industry. The development of the American West, its transportation, its cities, its industries, didn't just happen. It was orchestrated,

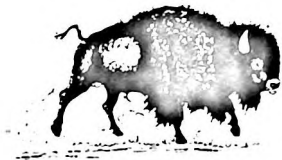
it was developed, and many worked in achieving those goals. And George Andrews Crofutt, truly a guru of guidebooks, did his part.

### References

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Fifer, J. Valerie, *American Progress*, Globe Pequot Press, Chester, CT, 1988.

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## Over the Corral Rail

Westerner Johanna Harden was the subject of a nice article in the Douglas County News-Press. Johanna was recognized for her outstanding work at the Douglas Library District History Collection.

We welcome the following new members:

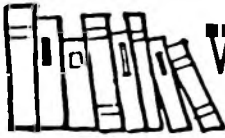
Ron Perkins, husband of member Vonnie Perkins of Littleton, Colorado, and Everett and Gena Brailey of Denver. The Braileys were referred by Ted Kreiger and enjoy Civil War History.

*Please send items of interest to Jim Krebs, Editor. Jim's contact information is on page 2.*



### Westerners International

Corresponding Membership in the Denver Posse does not include membership in the Westerners International. If you wish to receive the *Buckskin Bulletin*, you may purchase a subscription for \$5.00/year. Contact Westerners International, c/o National Cowboy Hall of Fame, 1700 NE 63rd St., Oklahoma City, OK 73111. 800-541-4650



## Westerners Bookshelf



**Uncompahgre Country** by Wilson Rockwell. Western Reflections, Inc., Ouray, CO, 1965; reprinted 1999. 302 pp, illustrations. Paperback, \$19.95

This book was of primary interest to this reviewer as this is the "country" I saw as a small boy visiting my grandmother's farm in the late 1930s, through the 40s and into the early 50s. From time to time since then, I have made frequent trips back to that area to visit relatives even after my grandmother's death. These visits always bring back fond memories of my youth in that most beautiful part of Colorado.

According to the author, this book came about as a result of twenty-two television programs he put on about the early days of the Uncompahgre country. The Uncompahgre country consists of the region drained by the Uncompahgre River and adjacent to, and including, the Uncompahgre Plateau. All of Montrose and Ouray Counties, the town of Delta in Delta County, and the eastern half of San Miguel County are included in this area. The name, Uncompahgre, according to the author, is a distortion of the Ute Indian word, "Ancapogari", meaning "red lake". The river was given this name by the Utes because near its source was a spring of hot, bitter, reddish water.

At the beginning, the author relates early history of the area, and then goes on to provide a chapter on each town and sub-geographical area giving its history and stories of individuals responsible for settling there. As this work was derived from a television series, there is not much continuity, and there is some redundancy of tales told in preceding chapters. Each chapter, of which there are nine, is like a separate book. Some of the more important are titled: *Delta*, *Montrose*, *the Paradox Valley*, *the San Miguel Basin*, *Ouray* and *Telluride*. Also included is a chapter on the uranium boom at the turn of the century and beyond. Throughout, the author provides a vivid description of the land and its people. There are far too many stories to reiterate in this review, but to whet your appetite, Rockwell does relate the tale of the Telluride bank robbery by Butch Cassidy in June, 1889. The pioneers are all gone now, as well as some of the towns. Some, of course, are prosperous such as Montrose, Delta and Ouray. And then there is the mining town of Telluride, an extremely successful Rocky Mountain ski resort.

For anyone interested in Colorado history, this book is a must! The story of its people reads like a novel, or in any case, a number of short stories. The author has a way of holding the readers attention, and to me, it was a nostalgic trip down memory lane to the land of my boyhood even though almost all of the events took place before my time. This is a part of Colorado many of its citizens are unaware of; and I recommend *Uncompahgre Country* to those that want a complete knowledge of this great state.

--Richard A. Cook, P.M.

**Making a Real Killing: Rocky Flats and the Nuclear West** by Len Ackland.

University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM, 1999. 319 pp., photos, maps, bibliography, endnotes, index. 6" x 9" hardback, \$34.95.

Ackland, who directs the Center for Environmental Journalism at the University of Colorado at Boulder, has written a fascinating and fair history of the nuclear bomb plant that put metro Denver in the hot seat. In smooth writing that focuses on the people involved, he chronicles the scary story of the Jefferson County plant located half way between Golden and Boulder.

Opened in 1953, the \$45 million factory was celebrated as economic good news and a way that Coloradans could help win the Cold War. The Church Family, who came to Colorado to seeking gold in 1861, also flirted with illusive fortune in selling 400 acres of their ranch to Rocky Flats. Their historic ranch house and stage stop has been eclipsed by Rocky Flats, which in 1998 was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. This designation should help expedite a planned \$6.3 billion cleanup.

Rocky Flats processed more than 150 tons of plutonium to make triggers for nuclear weapons. Pluto, the 94th element, was discovered in 1942 and named for the Roman God of War. Pluto, as poet Allen Ginsberg would remind 15,000 protestors who encircled the plant on October 15, 1983, was also the god of death and darkness. Ackland might have done more with Allen Ginsberg, Daniel Ellsberg and other colorful, conscientious protestors who made Rocky Flat infamous. He apparently missed the book, *A Year of Disobedience*, a celebration of the protest which includes all 64 lines of Ginsberg's great "Plutonian Ode."

Plutonium, which can ignite spontaneously and flash lethal radiation, did just that in the 1957 fire—the worst in a series of accidental fires, spills and leaks. Heroic fire fighters and luck kept the fire from burning through the roof of Building 771 and turning metro Denver into a Chernobyl. Ackland argues convincingly that at Rocky Flats, "safety would be sacrificed to production" (p. 119). Growing criticism and protest focused on the U.S. Department of Energy, which owned the plant but had various private companies operate it. DOE, Ackland shows, hid behind the "national security" defense and "developed an arrogant, intransigent culture that put the public and the environment at risk." (p. 244)

Slowly, concerned scientists and publicity-grabbing protestors, persuaded the media, the people, and even a growing number of politicians, that something was wrong. The FBI's astonishing June 1989 raid on Rocky Flats left little doubt that the plant built to secure America had become a potential hazard. The plant stopped making weapons that year and the site now seems destined to become a wildlife refuge—more intense development remains problematic.

The 400 acre site manufactured about 70,000 nuclear bombs and bombs during its 36 years of production, helping the U.S. to win the nuclear arms "race" with the Soviet Union and to become the dominant power on our planet. Yet, Ackland concludes, Rocky Flats epitomizes "the myopic notion that a nation can preserve its security by building weapons of mass destruction that place incalculable numbers of men, women and children at risk." (p. 249).

--Tom Noel, P.M.

**Dancing on the Stones, Selected essays** by John Nichols. University of New Mexico Press, 2000. 247 pp. Cloth, \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

The fertile mind of John Nichols leaps across the pages of this book of essays from beginning to end. The variety of essays in this book cover a range of years and many subjects of his life experiences. Mr. Nichols expressions of life are moving. This book will make you laugh, reminisce, and cry as well. His love of nature is well rounded, covering all aspects and beautifully expressed. His background in the politics of life reflect in his essays also.

To say he is a gifted writer is an understatement. To read something of this magnitude is to enrich the soul. Highly recommended.

*--Dolores A. Ebner, C.M.*

**Billy the Kid**, by Charles A. Siringo. University of New Mexico Press, reprint 2000. 142 pp. Paper, \$12.95.

Billy the Kid was remembered because of the book by Siringo, and Siringo is remembered today because of his book on Billy the Kid. He had the advantage of knowing Billy the Kid. Siringo also claimed to have interviewed, first hand, many persons who knew Billy the Kid. Billy's nickname was coined by Jim McDaniels at La Mesilla, N.M. Although born William Bonney, Jr., Billy the Kid was the name he was known by.

Billy the Kid joined some of his friends at the Murphy & Dolan outfit on the Pecos River, however, he changed camps and joined John S. Tunstall, a rancher. His friends took umbrage, and in February of 1878, John S. Tunstall was killed. At the time, Billy the Kid was in Mexico, and he immediately got on his horse, "Gray" and rode back to Lincoln County, N.M. He joined a posse, headed by R.M. Bruer, to find the killers of Tunstall. This act started the Lincoln County wars.

After Bruer was killed, Billy the Kid and his gang continued to ride through the streets of Lincoln to defy their enemies. San Patricio was a hangout for the Kid as the natives were sympathetic. At one time, the Governor of New Mexico offered a pardon to Billy the Kid and his followers, but Billy the Kid laughed it off. Siringo goes on to talk about Billy the Kid and says he found him cheerful and smiling.

Billy the Kid was pursued by Pat Garrett and his posse, and eventually captured and tried and convicted of the death of Sheriff Wm. Brady in 1881. Just a few days before he was to die he escaped, according to a very engaging chapter by Siringo. One can wonder about it's authenticity. Tipped off by a friend, Pat Garrett went to Pt. Sumner where he killed Billy the Kid, in the home of one Pete Maxwell. He died July 14, 1881, at the age of 21 years.

Many local people remembered Billy the Kid as helping and kind. The author states, "Peace to Wm. H. Bonney's ashes, is the author's prayer."

First printed 30 years ago, Charles Siringo's history of Billy the Kid was first published privately in Santa Fe in 1920. Because this edition is hard to find, it is valuable for the insights it provides on the author, as well as on Billy the Kid. This book was reprinted with all of the errors incorporated in the first book. This is a simply written book, but meaningful in its content.

*--Dolores A. Ebner, C.M.*

**Willa Cather & the Politics of Criticism**, by Joan Acocella. Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2000. 94 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$20.00.

The author is well known in the field of dance as a one of the nation's premier dance critics. In this book she becomes a literary critic on the readings of Willa Cather.

At the age of nine, Willa Cather's family moved from Virginia to the prairies of Nebraska, making a lasting impression on Willa. As a child she is described as a "show off". She became friendly with the older accomplished men of the town of Red Cloud, where she learned of a world beyond this small community of 1200. Literature, music, and science were her learning fields. She helped the local doctor administer chloroform, and worked in laboratory as well as studying Latin and Greek.

As a young teenager she decorated her own forlorn attic room with wallpaper that she purchased by earning money working in the local drug store. In her book *The Song of the Lark*, the life of her heroine, Thea Knonborg, is paralleled to her own life.

Because her early mentors were men, she emulated their dress and ways. She even got a crew cut. Her one concession to being a girl was wearing a skirt. She even signed her name as William Cather! This affectation ended by the age of 18 and she grew her hair out.

As a young girl of 17, she wrote an essay that so impressed her professor that he submitted it to the Nebraska State Journal and it was published. She attended the University of Nebraska, and even while carrying a full caseload she became a regular columnist for the paper, writing mainly on theater.

After her graduation she worked in the field of newspapers and magazines, editing articles. She was frustrated with this and did a lot of soul searching and concluded the best art was based not on reality, but on "something else", some emotional truth between the mind and the world. In her mature work, she shows that the truths of life can never be spoken, only hinted at.

Her first novel, *Alexander's Bridge* (1912) was a failure. She then went back to her familiar roots and wrote *O Pioneers*, *Song of the Lark*, *My Antonia*, and gained the attention of the critics.

Authors criticized her work, however many middle of the road reviewers praised the first book and she won the Pulitzer Prize, but was highly criticized in literary circles. She was deeply offended by the reviews. In ensuing years she wrote four more novels that were pronounced as too old fashioned. She published her first book at the age of 38 and was about 20 years older than the men she was competing against. However, she was the people's favorite and received many doctorates from Universities and was on the cover of Time magazine.

The left wing writers attacked her and the right wing embraced her. In her will she enclosed a clause forbidding presentation of her work in anything but print, after what she considered a disastrous movie presentation of *A lost Lady*.

In 1940 she developed tendonitis in the right hand, had to wear a brace, and ceased writing. She died in 1947 of a cerebral hemorrhage. She had authored 12 novels.

A small group of scholars began to write about her work, and they focused on her content and values. By the 1970s her work was said to be intuitive and affirmative.

Her friendships with Isabelle Mc Clung and Edith Lewis caused critics to say she was a lesbian.

The latter part of the book is devoted to analyzing her motives, life style and influence on American literature. I close with her statement "Art is not thought or emotion, but expression."

A thought provoking book about the effect critics play in suppressing authors. This is not an entertaining book, but an analytical "must read" for scholars and historians.

--Dolores A. Ebner, C.M.

**This Blue Hollow: Estes Park, the Early Years, 1859-1915**, by James H. Pickering. University Press of Colorado, Niwot, CO, 1999. 340 pp. 61 B&W photographs, 4 maps, endnotes, index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

"This Blue Hollow" was a term used by English traveler Isabella Bird in describing the Estes Park, Colorado, area. She was one of many individuals who played a part in the history of Estes Park, the resort town at the east entrance to Rocky Mountain National Park. As the sub-title indicates, the author concentrates on the history from the start of the Colorado Gold Rush, when settlers arrived, to 1915, when the park became the nation's 10th National Park.

Little primary source research has been done on the area during this period, but primary source research the author did. Extensive endnotes and many references to contemporary newspaper articles add to the true telling of the history of the region, often dispelling myths and half-truths surrounding characters and events. The author goes well beyond dates, facts, and events, by thoroughly profiling many of the region's pioneers.

After a short review of Native American contact with the Estes Park area, the book begins with the settling of the Estes Park valley by Joel Estes in 1859. He sold out to Griff Evans, who became the region's first guide. Evans gained notoriety after mortally wounding "Mountain Jim" Nugent, a local scoundrel befriended by Bird, and is often mentioned in her book, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*.

Evans sold to the Earl of Dunraven, whose "land grab" methods attempted to control the entire Estes Park Valley. Although he managed to buy 6,000 acres, several prime plots of land were overlooked, which were quickly settled by the future resort owners of the region. Abner Sprague noted, "The hotel business was forced on us. We came here for small ranch operations, but guests and visitors became so numerous . . . that we had to go into the hotel business or go bankrupt from keeping free company."



The history of the ascents of Longs Peak is thoroughly told, from the William Byers attempt, John Wesley Powell's success, to Carrie Welton's death on the mountain.

The transportation development to the then remote park is covered. The early trails were improved for wagon travel. These developed into stagecoach routes, used to bring tourists from various railroad stations along the Front Range to the region. Further improvements were made to accommodate automobiles.

The town's history as a resort area is reviewed, including the establishment of hotels, lodges and recreational facilities. Highlighted is the role played by Freelan Stanley, builder of the Stanley Hotel and Stanley Steamer automobiles.

The work done by conservationist Enos Mills, the "Father of Rocky Mountain Park" is summarized. His success in making the Estes Park region available to the masses contrasts with the Earl of Dunraven's failure to limit access to the park.

--Lee Whiteley, P. M.

**Illustrations of Historic Colorado**, by Christian J. Buys. Western Reflections, Inc., Ouray, CO, 2000. 242 pp. Illustrations, map, bibliography, index. Hardbound, with dust cover, \$34.95.

This collection of *Illustrations of Historic Colorado* is gathered from many of the great publishing sources of the nineteenth century: *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, *Harper's Weekly*, *The Illustrated London News*, and *Gleason's Pictorial*, as well as fine books of the era, such as *Croft's Grip-Sack Guide of Colorado*. Publishing, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, had developed to the state of providing the reader with woodcuts, lithographs, engravings and sketches to accompany the text. In captioning these illustrations, the author has included quotations of texts from that time period, well selected, and often as interesting and poignant as the illustrations themselves.

These illustrations were popular with readers, eye-catching and exciting. Publishers tried to provide their readers with copious views, but due to the expense, many illustrations were frequently recycled, appearing in many books. People were eager to get information about the West, this new, unfamiliar country, that was being rapidly developed and settled. The artists frequently embellished and exaggerated their work, and the author points this out. However, at this time the state of publishing was such that photographs, that showed people so much about the West, could not be readily reproduced in a book. Easily over twenty-five of the illustrations in this book are artists' engravings or woodcuts made directly from photographs. Oddly enough, one of the drawings, on page 17, that the authors uses to point out the use of artistic license, is taken directly from a photograph by James Thurlow, Manitou Springs photographer, 1874-1878.

*Illustrations of Historic Colorado* is the sort of book that you can frequently return to, pick up, and enjoy reading a few pages at random. I recommend that Western history buffs try it.

--Ed Bathke, P.M.

**A Quick History of Grand Lake, Including Rocky Mountain National Park and the Grand Lake Lodge**, by Michael M. Geary. Western Reflections, Inc., Ouray, CO, 1999. 129 pp. 80 illustrations & maps, source notes. Softbound, \$9.95.

The title, "*A Quick History...*", of this very well-written local history belies how well it covers the history of Grand Lake. The ten chapters, covering such topics as the legends of Grand Lake; the trappers and trailblazers; the Ute Indians; development of the town, and the roles played by mining, water, and tourism; and the Grand Lake Lodge; flow so smoothly that the reader's interest in the history of this already very appealing scenic area is sure to enhance his desire to learn more about Grand Lake, as well as encourage him to plan to visit this area just west of Rocky Mountain National Park. Michael Geary adeptly packs a lot of factual information into this small history, documenting his sources, and pointing out controversies and conflicts where they exist. His final section, "A Note on Sources", does a fine job of pointing the reader in the right direction for more information. The book is well illustrated with many fine photos throughout the text. This book is highly recommended for Colorado history buffs; it was a joy to read.

--Ed Bathke, P. M.

**Wild West Shows**, by Paul Reddin. University of Illinois Press, Chicago, IL, 1999. 312 pp. Photographs, endnotes, bibliography, index. Paper \$21.95, Cloth \$49.95.

Now a part of the myth of the west, wild west shows were a carefully crafted product shaped out of the "raw material of America". Paul Reddin's *Wild West Shows* focuses on a select group of pivotal figures of the genera giving readers a brief history of this uniquely American entertainment. Wild west shows claimed to offer audiences authentic recreations of western life. They were highly selective in their representations of the West and their producers continually searched for new ways to continue to sell tickets.

Reddin covers a hundred-year perspective beginning in the 1830s with artist George Catlin, concentrating on Buffalo Bill Cody, and concluding with the Miller Brothers of the 101 Ranch and the movie Star Tom Mix. Wild west shows had to entertain and interpret the plains considering cultural issues such as progress, violence, and the value of wilderness, all while depicting the people as heroic. Different generations also had different interpretations that forced the shows to adjust their focus and presentation over time. All of these entertainers took their shows to the American public as well as to Europe with various degrees of success. Reddin pays particular attention to the showmen's business sense as they adapted their programs and themes to Americans looking for a romantic past in the midst of industrialization.

George Catlin is most remembered today as an artist who captured the lives

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...highly selective in their  
representations of the  
West...new ways to  
continue to sell tickets...

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of the American Indians. He thought they were a race of people that were rapidly passing from the face of the earth. The chapters on Buffalo Bill cover how he first entered show business in the 1880s, his travel abroad, his triumphant return to the Columbian Exposition in 1893, and his promotion of imperialism and militarism until World War I.

The Millers' 101 Ranch Show tells a tale of an entertainer's struggle for identity, direction, and survival from the early twentieth century into the Great Depression. The section on Tom Mix covers his apprenticeship in the 101 Ranch Wild West Show, the transference of what he learned in that entertainment to silent western movies, and his eventual return to Wild West shows in the 1930s.

A brief biographical sketch is provided of each of the subjects. The author uses dramatic events to introduce them. Catlin meets an Indian named On-o-gong-

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This is not a business or theatrical history...rather it is an informative look at a decidedly American invention...

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way, Cody describes his first views of the Trans-Mississippi West, George W. Miller calls his family to his deathbed to give them his vision for the 101 Ranch, and Mix visits the Buffalo Bill show.

The book provides an extensive set of endnotes making use of primary sources such as the William F. Cody collections at a variety

of libraries, and the Catlin Family papers. The prodigious bibliography offers the reader a list of further readings that covers books, dissertations, papers and magazine articles ranging from the 1840 through the 1990s. This study adds to the understanding of Wild West shows by placing them in a hundred-year continuum and offering new material and new interpretations of Catlin, Cody and the Millers, and Mix. The European experiences of all of them receive close examination. The volume offers a new perspective on Catlin by explaining his intentional move into entertainment and his role as progenitor of Wild West shows. The chapters on Cody stress that he and his show evolved over time, always reflecting the dominant ideas in America. The chapter on the 101 Show discuss the identity crisis that beset Wild West shows in the twentieth century, and the Tom Mix chapter chronicles the link between Wild West shows and silent western movies. This is not a business or theatrical history, nor is the author trying to detail the chronology of the events and why they happened. Rather it is an entertaining and informative look at four important contributors to a decidedly American invention, the Wild West show.

--Barbara Gibson, C.M.



**The Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth Century West**, by Gerald D. Nash. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ, 1999. 214 pp. Endnotes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$17.95, Hardcover, \$40.00.

One of the many myths of the West is that it is a hotbed of rugged individualism, a land that was conquered and settled by adventurous pioneers. Well-known historian Frederick Jackson Turner highlighted this perception during the late nineteenth century. It still remains the overriding perception for many in the twentieth century. In the *Federal Landscape*, Gerald D. Nash shows that the actions and involvement of the United States Government in fact shaped the West of the twentieth century. He traces the development of the West through the Progressive Era, World War I, the New Deal, World War II, the affluent postwar years, and the cold-war economy of the 1950s. He analyzes the growth of western cities and the emergence of environmental issues in the 1960s, the growth of the Mexican-U.S. border economy, and the impact of large scale immigration from Latin America and Asia at the century's end. Water development projects, military bases, and Indian reservations are physical examples of the extent to which the West has become a *Federal Landscape*.

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...is a comprehensive overview of the epic growth of the economy of the American West...

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One area of current interest not addressed is the impact of gambling on the Indian Reservations. Nash is working on a separate volume that covers this as a part of the *Arizona Modern West Series*.

The author makes use of an extensive list of secondary sources and analysis published by a wide-ranging group of well-known sources covering specific aspects of Western growth.

Gerald D. Nash was born in Berlin, Germany. He was educated at New York University (B.A.), Columbia University (M.A.) and the University of California Berkley (Ph.D.). Currently he is the Distinguished Professor of History at the University of New Mexico. Among his other books are *The Great Tradition: A Short History of 20th Century America*, *The American West in the Twentieth Century* and *The American West Transformed: The Impact of World War II*.

*The Federal Landscape* is a comprehensive overview of the epic growth of the economy of the American West. By addressing subjects as diverse as public policy, economic development, environmental and urban issues, and questions of race, class, and gender, Nash puts the entire federal landscape in perspective and shows how the West was really won.

--Barbara Gibson, C.M.

**Enduring Cowboys: Life In The New Mexico Saddle**, edited and with an introduction by Arnold Vigil. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM, 1999. 156pp. Illustrations. Cloth, \$38.95.

“For centuries, people across the globe have been fascinated with cowboys, their perceived saddle-tramp tendencies and the mystique of their lifestyle.” So begins this tribute to all things cowboy (specifically, New Mexican cowboy). The folks at *New Mexico Magazine* have assembled this handsome book that traces the history of the cowboy lifestyle from the 16th century vaquero to modern ATV riders. This book also explores the notion of cowboy as an ecologist in a world fraught with extra pressures where “rancher is the businessman and the cowboy is the laborer—and some don’t take to kindly to the wrong reference.”

I believe we all have the romantic image of the cowpokes out on the trail driving the herd followed by the chuckwagon. A reprint of a 1938 piece by John Sinclair called *Bowlegs*, summarizes nicely! “What are the characteristics of the real cowboy that distinguish him from the synthetic? Well, it isn’t the fancy boots anyone the elements, dust, cowcamp chuck has branded on him.”

...handsome book that traces the history of the cowboy lifestyle....

“Cowboys are not

The other wonderful piece here is a history of the vaquero by Mike Miller. “It is interesting to note that *vaquero* vocabulary transcended into the American cowboy culture, creating a unique mixture of words and phrases. For example, *chaparejos* and *chaparreras* were anglicized by American cowboys into chaps, the leather leggings worn by cowboys to protect their legs.”

Steve Terrell’s piece about the Hollywood cowboy imagery in *The Legendary Cowboy* is also quite interesting with all the articles well illustrated. With more of this, a high recommendation would be forthcoming. Unfortunately someone decided that it would be nice to fill the book with a large number of one page biographies of current cowfolk. These biographies start out as quaint, but become tedious reading as very little insight is gained in such a short overview. Too bad as the people certainly deserve more depth to their stories. Perhaps the editor felt that if enough people were featured, they would buy more books. These pieces aren’t bad, understand, they are simply too brief and too alike.

Overall, this is quite an attractive book, worth considering for a look at New Mexico’s cowboy heritage.

--George W. Krieger DDS P.M.



*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

July - August 2000



*Denver Public Library, Western History Collection*

**On locating the Kidder Massacre site of 1867**

by

**Jeff Broome, C.M.**

(Presented June 28, 2000)

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LVI NO. 4



July - August 2000



*Jeff Broome displays a bullet as he explores Western Nebraska for the site of the Kidder Massacre.*

## About the Author

Jeff Broome is a 5th generation Coloradan with a passion for Custer-related history.

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The ROUNDUP (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Corresponding membership is \$20 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be either typewritten, quality computer output or on floppy disk, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. ROUNDUP editing, layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Cran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for ROUNDUP to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

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# On locating the Kidder Massacre site of 1867

by

**Jeff Broome, C.M.**

(Presented June 28, 2000)

The spring of 1867 found the first serious attempt by the U.S. government to respond to Indian depredations occurring in and around Kansas during and after the Civil War. To American citizens then living in the territorial parts of America, this government response to the protection of citizens was long overdue. More than four hundred men, women and children had been killed by various Indian tribes in Kansas and Nebraska alone in the year between 1866-1867.<sup>1</sup> Thus began a summer campaign under the leadership of General Winfield S. Hancock. A principal player in this campaign was Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer, brevet Major General from his exploits during the Civil War. Though assigned as second in command of the newly formed 7<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the U.S. Cavalry, Custer then and throughout the remainder of his short life acted as Field Commander of the 7<sup>th</sup>.

After an early attempt in April to locate and engage Indians, primarily Cheyenne and Sioux, Custer found himself unable to pursue and confront any band of Indians. Two reasons in particular led to this failure. First, the more powerful cavalry mount was not capable of being "prairie fed," unlike the Indian ponies. This resulted in hauling many wagons with grain and other supplies for the mounted cavalry, which was hardly conducive to quick pursuit of roaming Indians. Custer

found quickly that the outlying posts and military forts on the Kansas plains were not sufficiently stocked to maintain his command. Second, the Indians, when being closely pursued, had an uncanny ability to continually divide their numbers until finally there was but a mere handful of pony tracks to follow. The Indians, knowing well the country they were traveling over, were able to separate and later meet at a pre-arranged location. Custer subsequently returned to Ft. Hays, where he remained until June 1, at which time the cavalry mounts had sufficiently recovered their strength. At that time Custer departed Ft. Hays with six companies of soldiers, comprising a force of approximately four hundred men and sixteen wagons of supplies. In a distance covering about one thousand miles, Custer was ordered to proceed from Ft. Hays west and then north to Ft. McPherson on the Platte River, then west towards Ft. Sedgwick, and finally south to Ft. Wallace.<sup>2</sup> As Custer proceeded along this route he was to follow any Indian trails that might surface.

Custer's command arrived at Ft. McPherson on June 10, leaving again on June 12. On June 22, Custer made a week-long camp on the forks of the Republican River, where present-day Benkelman, Nebraska sits. This camp was roughly located at a halfway point between Ft. Sedgwick to the north, and



Ft. Wallace to the south. The distance from each fort was about 75 miles from Custer's camp. From this camp on June 22 Custer detailed Lts. Robbins and Cooke, along with several wagons and an escort comprising Company D, to Ft. Wallace to replenish supplies. Though more supplies were probably at Sedgwick than Wallace, due to the fact that Ft. Sedgwick was linked to a railway whereas Ft. Wallace was not, the terrain from Custer's Republican River camp north was not conducive to heavy-laden wagons, whereas the route to Ft. Wallace was. On June 23 Custer ordered ten enlisted men, under the command of Major Elliott (who would die fifteen months later at the Washita battle), north to Ft. Sedgwick. General Sherman had advised Custer earlier at Ft. McPherson that he would find orders at Fort Sedgwick regarding where Indians had recently been committing depredations.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Custer sent with Major Elliott his own dispatches to Sherman, requesting additional days to search out the Indians, and informing Sherman that he had chosen Ft. Wallace to replenish supplies.

Major Elliott had been ordered by Custer not to tarry at Ft. Sedgwick, as he expected Lts. Robbins and Cooke to return from Ft. Wallace at about the same time Major Elliott would be returning from Ft. Sedgwick. Being that Elliott's party was small, he was to travel under cover of darkness. While he was gone, Custer's camp came under attack by Sioux Indians under the leadership of Pawnee Killer.

Unfortunately for Custer, his dispatches to Sherman were not immediately replied, as Sherman then was en

route to St. Louis, and therefore Elliott had to return without Sherman's response. The day after Major Elliott left Ft. Sedgwick to return to Custer's camp on the Republican, Sherman's response was telegraphed to Ft. Sedgwick. Lt. Lyman S. Kidder had recently arrived at Ft. Sedgwick and was awaiting orders approving his transfer in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Cavalry from a company stationed at Ft. Laramie, to a vacancy at Ft. Sedgwick. Kidder had found among the officers old childhood friends when he stopped there a few days earlier on his way to report to Ft. Laramie, and this was the motive for the transfer. The commanding officer at Ft. Sedgwick, Lt. Col. Joseph Potter, entrusted Kidder with an escort of ten enlisted men and a Sioux Indian Scout, Red Beard, to deliver these dispatches to Custer. As Major Elliott had earlier encountered no Indians on his journey north to Ft. Sedgwick, and as a recent scouting detail of several dozen soldiers from Ft. Sedgwick had also reported no signs of Indians in the planned travel route, it was not considered ill advised to send Kidder to Custer. Kidder's detail was also to travel at night, but there would be the very fresh trail of Major Elliott to follow to Custer's camp.

On the day Kidder left Ft. Sedgwick, June 29, Custer also left his week-old camp on the Republican. This would prove fatal to Kidder and his detail. From June 29 until July 5, Custer traveled approximately one hundred twenty-five miles west and north, until he reached Riverside Station along the Platte River, located about fifty miles west of Ft. Sedgwick. There he learned by telegraph that Lt.

Kidder had earlier been sent with Sherman's dispatches to find Custer. It was obvious to Custer that something had gone wrong, and he immediately reversed his travel back from where he had left the Republican River camp. Sherman's orders, entrusted to Kidder, were dispatched to Custer at Riverside Station via telegraph. From this Custer learned that the Indians were in and around the Smoky Hill Trail, upon which Ft. Wallace was located. This, however, was somewhat confusing. Custer was aware from Robbins and Cooke that hostile Indians were around Ft. Wallace, and indeed their wagon train had been attacked for a distance of several miles while returning to Custer's Republican camp with the Ft. Wallace supplies. But Custer at the same time had also been attacked while in camp. It appeared that the Indians were spread out over a distance greater than the area in and around Ft. Wallace. Nevertheless, Custer reversed his march, arriving upon the Wallace Trail on July 11 at a point five miles south of his June 22-29 Republican River camp.

### **Mistaken wagon ruts**

An examination of the trail revealed to Custer shod horse tracks, comprised of a party of twelve men following this route to the south. It was correctly surmised that this was the Kidder detail, and the hope was that they had arrived safely at Ft. Wallace. Unfortunately for Kidder, the night his detail passed through Custer's Republican River camp there was no moon, and thus the complete darkness hid from Red Beard Custer's wagon tracks to the west, made when he departed camp two days earlier on June 29. Following the Wallace Trail, Red Beard mistook the

wagon ruts of the Robbins-Cooke detail from Fort Wallace as the trail Custer took when he departed camp. This explains why Kidder did not follow Custer's actual trail to the west.

Making camp on the Wallace trail for the night, Custer's command resumed its march towards Ft. Wallace on July 12. The trail continued to bear the tracks of Kidder's party. After marching a distance of twenty-five miles, just a few yards north of Beaver Creek and a half mile east of the Wallace Trail, Custer made the grim discovery of the Kidder party, all wiped out, mutilated and strewn closely together in what Custer described as "a dry ditch or ravine about thirty yards in length and from two to four feet deep."<sup>4</sup> Custer had anticipated the worst, for about a mile apart and a couple miles north of the ravine had earlier been discovered two dead cavalry horses, both stripped of all equipage and shot in the head. At the location of the second dead horse it was observed that the Kidder detail had galloped off the trail slightly to the east. Pursuing Kidder's detail were countless unshod Indian pony tracks.

So Lt. Kidder and his men met an unfortunate fate at the banks of Beaver Creek. Lt. Kidder was a mere 24 years old. Only one other soldier was older than Kidder, Private Charles Tallow, who was 36. Four privates were 19, one was 21, one 22, and one 23. A corporal and sergeant were also 23. The age of Red Beard is unknown, though he was described as being older. The next day, July 13, Custer's cavalry arrived at Ft. Wallace, and the summer Hancock expedition was finished.

Immediately upon notification of

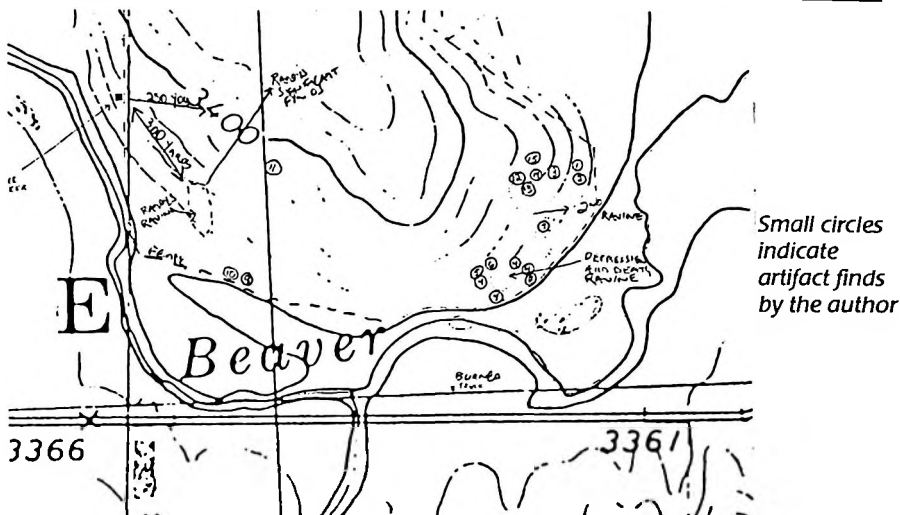
the death of his eldest son, Judge Jefferson Kidder, then an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Dakota Territory and later U.S. Congressman from South Dakota, sought information on the death of Lt. Kidder. Correspondence with military authorities, in particular Custer, led him to believe he could distinguish his son's remains from the other victims. In a letter to Jefferson Kidder, dated August 23, 1867, Custer informed him that one victim was wearing "a flannel shirt, with black stripes in each direction."<sup>5</sup> Just before her son Lyman departed for the service, a mere two weeks before his death, Judge Kidder's wife had made two flannel undershirts with black stripes for him. Judge Kidder sent a piece of the cloth pattern his wife had used to make the undershirts and Custer on October 22 responded, "I recognized the piece of flannel enclosed in your letter as identical with the shirt found upon one of the bodies, and am satisfied that the body was that of your son."<sup>6</sup> Lt. Henry Jackson, who served as Custer's engineering officer that summer, also wrote Judge Kidder, informing him on November 18 of the mutilated condition of his son, and noting further that there "was a strip of the shirt left round the neck about 3 or 4 inches broad, the rest was torn off."<sup>7</sup>

With this identification in place Judge Kidder concentrated his efforts in recovering his son's remains for reburial in the Kidder family plot in St. Paul, Minnesota. With a detail of fifty men from Ft. Wallace, led by Lt. Frederick Beecher, who was to die just six months later at the Battle of Beecher Island. Judge Kidder succeeded in removing Lyman's remains.

Lt. Kidder was dutifully given Christian burial in St. Paul on March 19, 1868. The remaining victims, including Red Bead, were re-interred to the post cemetery at Ft. Wallace. Several years later, when that post closed, they were re-interred one last time at Ft. Leavenworth, where they remain.

There is a marker today denoting where the engagement is believed to have taken place. Erected in 1969, it relied heavily on the memory of a man's experience in 1928, when as a young boy he had been taken to the site by Charles Carmack. Carmack claimed to have driven from Ft. Wallace the wagon that had been used to recover the soldier's remains in early March 1868.<sup>8</sup> The question is whether this marker is accurate. Indeed, modern studies show it is not correct, being more than five hundred fifty yards off the mark. In what follows, I will speak of my experience in discovering exactly where the engagement took place.

My first interest in visiting the site occurred in 1995, when, while attending a convention in Amarillo, Texas, I met a person who had just visited the site. Having read Custer's *My Life On The Plains*, and finding the chapter detailing the Kidder fight as the most interesting chapter in that book, I was very much interested in learning where this fight occurred and possibly visiting it. Instead of giving me a copy of instructions to the site he gave me the address of Randy Johnson, the author of *Find Custer: The Kidder Tragedy*, a small book privately printed in 1988 in an edition of ninety-eight copies. This work has recently been revised and printed by Mountain Press under the title *A Dispatch to Custer: The Tragedy*

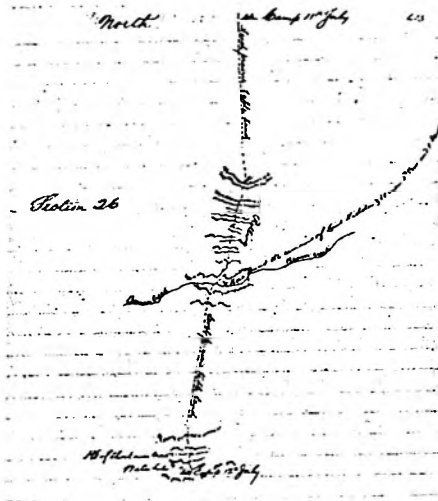


Small circles indicate artifact finds by the author

of Lieutenant Kidder.<sup>9</sup> I wrote Mr. Johnson, who lives in Chicago, and he wrote back, giving me a detailed map showing how to get to the site. It is located twelve miles north of I-70 and seven miles east of Goodland, Kansas, just in to the Kansas border from Colorado. Driving from Denver, it is a distance of two hundred ten miles. I asked Johnson if I could perhaps meet him out there the next time he was planning to visit the site. This occurred in May, 1997.

I had borrowed an inexpensive metal detector from an acquaintance, and when I met Johnson at the site I eagerly listened as he told me what his previous seventeen years of study of the fight, including thirteen different visits to conduct metal detecting research, revealed to him of where the fight took place. He brought me to a very large and deep ravine, which he said was the place where Kidder and his men entered their Valhalla. This ravine is

more than nine feet deep at the northern end, and running north to south, is about thirty yards in length and about twenty feet in width. I considered Mr. Johnson to be THE foremost knowledgeable historian of this fight. Indeed, the countless hours of painstaking metal detecting research, done under extreme weather conditions over what must equal about sixty days, spread out over a seventeen-year period, ought to qualify anyone in being an expert of this fight. He revealed to me how he originally found battle artifacts to the north and east of his ravine (hereafter noted as Johnson's Ravine), and how his searching the area revealed only this one ravine, and therefore this must have been the spot where Custer discovered the remains in 1867. Further, he was able to speculate a plausible scenario of how the men had fought north of the ravine until someone "spotted the ravine below them and they changed direction, heading almost due south to reach it."<sup>10</sup>



Courtesy Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument,  
p.40 Jackson Report

Believing that Johnson's years of research had recovered what was in the ground in and near the ravine, I looked to the southeast, and noticing a small hill about two hundred yards distant, I wondered if I might find an artifact over there. I walked about three hundred yards east beyond the small hill, and there about two inches beneath the surface, my inadequate metal detector recovered a small bullet. Bringing it back to Johnson, who was detecting near Johnson's Ravine, I asked him if it might be battle related. He immediately recognized it as a fired Remington pistol bullet, which would have been fired by one of the soldiers. He had never recovered such a bullet. In addition to the paper cartridge Remington pistol, each soldier would also have carried a seven-shot metallic cartridge repeating Spencer carbine. Johnson asked me to show him where I found the bullet. I took him the five

hundred yards to the southeast, over the hill, and then he proceeded to use his professional detector. Not ten feet from where I found the bullet, over an area I had earlier covered but had been unable to detect any artifacts, he found an unfired Indian bullet, still attached to its shell casing.<sup>11</sup> I was disappointed that the metal detector I was using had failed to yield this find, and it was then and there that I determined myself to have an adequate metal detector the next time I visited the site. The next year I bought a White's Spectrum XLT, a top-of-the-line metal detector. The more than one hundred battle-related artifacts I found subsequent to the fired Remington bullet, were located with this detector.

In conversations with Johnson during this joint outing to the fight I was disappointed with several things he told me, in response to my inquiries. First, he told me, when he found the unfired Indian bullet, that he had not previously investigated this area. Custer spoke of numerous arrows and shell casings in and around the area where the bodies were found. When asked if he had found any of these Johnson admitted that he was unable to find such artifacts at or near his ravine. He speculated that the dirt in the bottom of the ravine over the years had accumulated such that the artifacts were below the level that a metal detector would detect.<sup>12</sup> Both Lt. Jackson and Custer had written that the bodies were buried on a hillside not many yards from Beaver Creek, and yet from Johnson's Ravine there is no hillside near Beaver Creek, nor is his ravine near Beaver Creek.

### Single grave dug

Custer had written in his official report that he ordered the bodies to be buried in one grave, "The grave being prepared *near the point*, where they gave up their lives."<sup>13</sup> In *My Life on the Plains*, written more than six years after Kidder's death, Custer, no doubt referring to a copy of his official report, wrote, "A single trench was dug *near the spot* where they had rendered up their lives upon the alter of duty."<sup>14</sup> Yet two weeks after he wrote his report of August 7, 1867, Custer wrote Judge Kidder and stated "I caused a grave to be prepared *on the spot* where the lives of this little band had been given up, and consigned their remains in one common grave."<sup>15</sup> Lt. Jackson told Judge Kidder in a letter dated October 8, 1867 that the bodies were buried "on a small ridge on the North bank of Beaver Creek at a point about ½ mile east from the crossing of the trail on Beaver Creek and 44 miles north from Fort Wallace."<sup>16</sup> In another letter written a month later Jackson said the bodies "are buried in one grave about 700 yds down the creek from the crossing of the trail ... on the north side of the creek – about 30 or 40 yards from the creek."<sup>17</sup> In his account as Custer's Engineering Officer that summer Jackson said: "We buried them on the hillside, north of the creek and about ½ mile East of our crossing place..."<sup>18</sup>

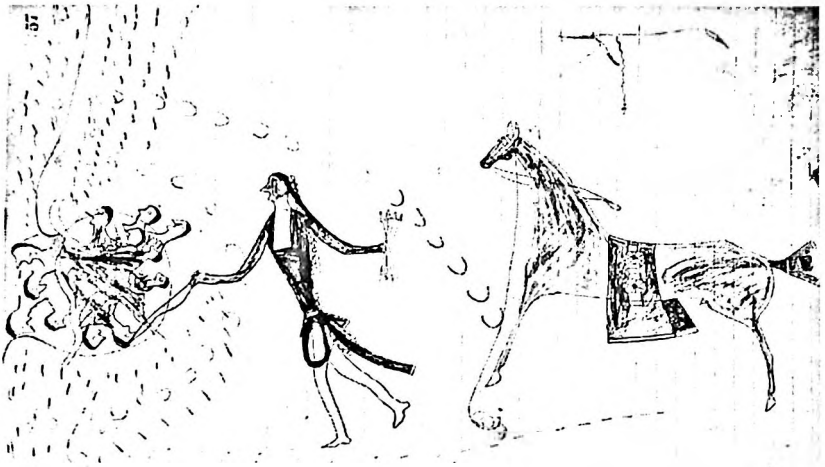
These accounts by both Jackson and Custer do not bode well with Johnson's Ravine, for the creek there is more than two hundred yards to the south and the hillside is one hundred ninety yards to the east. In response to my Socratic inquiry regarding these

reports, Johnson speculated that the creek in 1867 might have been closer to the hillside and Johnson's Ravine, but at some later date been diverted for irrigation and farming purposes. In other words, in 1867 the creek could have been closer to the hillside, in accordance with both Jackson and Custer's report of where the bodies were buried in relation to Beaver Creek.

The following winter I spent about two hours in the office of a nineteen-year employee of the Bureau of Land Management in Denver. He brought up aerial pictures of this area of Beaver Creek dating back to 1937. He concluded that the creek showed no scarring of having been diverted at any time, and thus the dry creek today can be trusted to be at the same location it was in 1867.<sup>19</sup>

In the "Afterword" to *A Dispatch to Custer*, Johnson revised his theory from what he had earlier told me and said "I have surmised that the place of burial was about two hundred yards southeast of the ravine in which I believe Kidder and his men were killed [Johnson's Ravine, Auth.], near where the creek turns back to the north."<sup>20</sup> This revision to Johnson's theory, subsequent to my Socratic questioning, does describe the correct hillside, however, he placed the burial on the wrong side (the western side) of the hill. To get at the true burial site, one needs to walk over to the eastern side of the hillside, a further distance of about seventy-five yards, and where Beaver Creek makes its farthest jaunt to the north.

I decided to conduct further research on the battle. Over the next year I read all accounts of the fight. Four



*Courtesy Colorado State Historical Society*

Indian accounts are to be found in Hyde, Grinnell, Brill and Dodge.<sup>21</sup> In regards to these Indian accounts of the fight, my metal detecting research shows them all to be basically false. Brill speaks of the Indians chasing the soldiers until Kidder had them all dismount in the ravine where the whole of the fight took place. One Cheyenne Indian, Tobacco, believed he led a charmed life and to show this he proceeded to circle the soldiers, firing his rifle. In this manner all the men were killed.<sup>22</sup> Brill's account has accuracy perhaps in Tobacco circling the men in the ravine but it is inaccurate in depicting all the men as making a stand and dying in the ravine. Dodge culls his account from Pawnee Killer, and says that the men were sleeping and surprised and all but two immediately killed in one volley.<sup>23</sup> The men were not caught asleep at the ravine. Grinnell repeats the story told to George Bent, and says that a Sioux hunting party originally discovered the

soldiers. When the Indians came to attack the soldiers were "discovered in a little hollow near the stream, dismounted and ready for a fight."<sup>24</sup>

Tobacco is again mentioned as circling the soldiers and firing his rifle. Hyde speaks of the soldiers seeing the Indians coming, whereon they dismounted, "taking refuge in a little grassy hollow near the creek."<sup>25</sup> The soldiers, however, according to what my metal detector uncovered, had a running fight ending at the ravine.

In addition to these recorded Indian accounts there is the very important pictograph account, found in a Cheyenne ledger book recovered at the engagement at Summit Springs near Sterling, Colorado on July 11, 1869.<sup>26</sup> My metal detecting research indicates an interpretation of the pictograph that might be missed unless carefully studied. This pictograph shows the soldiers unarmed and undressed. This is significant for it shows that when the men were in the ravine the fight was

already over. That is, at best two or three soldiers retreated to the ravine, and while they were being tortured to death the Indians were stripping the other bodies nearly two hundred to three hundred yards away to the north and east of this ravine (hereafter noted as Kidder's Ravine). These soldiers were then dragged to the ravine, where some sort of ceremony had been carried out with all the soldiers, nearly all of whom were by then dead.

The paucity of battle artifacts recovered at Kidder's Ravine indicates the soldiers did not, as a unit, make a last stand there. Three different persons contributed primary source non-Indian accounts. Three are from Custer, including as already noted, his official report, his account in *My Life on the Plains*, and his correspondence to Judge Kidder. Two accounts come from Lt. Jackson, in his correspondence with Judge Kidder and his official itinerary as Engineering Officer for Custer's column that summer. This itinerary account includes a very important map locating where the fight took place, which definitively refutes Johnson's Ravine as having anything to do with the fight. According to this map, as the Wallace Trail came upon the valley of Beaver Creek, it went sharply to the southwest. This would place the crossing of Beaver Creek to the west behind the 1969 memorial marker. The trail then follows a course due south from this crossing. But looking at Jackson's map at the trail before it bends to the west into the approach of the Beaver Creek valley, it shows the discovery of the Kidder party directly south of where the trail is before it veers to the west. This is precisely

where I locate Kidder's Ravine. Johnson's Ravine is too far west from the location shown on the Jackson map.

And finally, there is the very informative account from Theodore Davis, who accompanied Custer as a correspondent with *Harper's Weekly* and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Davis sketched the grim discovery of the Kidder fight, which was published in *Harper's Weekly*, August 17, 1867. (See cover.) His written account, "A Summer on the Plains," was published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in February 1868. Davis' sketch shows Kidder's Ravine to be about two feet deep. One of the scouts is shown sitting on the top of the west end of the ravine, with his feet resting on the bottom, as if he were sitting on a chair. This sketch is quite consistent with Kidder's Ravine. Davis' account in "A Summer on the Plains" is most informative, along with his sketch of the discovery of the remains.

In Custer's report of August 7, 1867 he wrote: "From the relative position of the bodies and their close proximity to each other as well as *the large number of exploded metallic cartridges lying near by* I am convinced that Lt. Kidder and his little band resisted gallantly until the last had fallen."<sup>27</sup> To Judge Kidder he wrote: "The ground near which the bodies of your son and party lay was *thickly strewn with exploded metallic cartridges*, showing conclusively that they had defended themselves a long time and most gallantly too, against their murderous enemies."<sup>28</sup> In *My Life on the Plains* Custer said, "While the details of that fearful struggle will probably never be known, telling how



Eagle Ridge

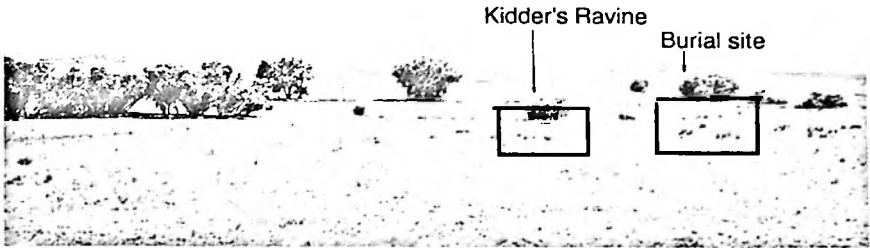
Kidder's Ravine



long and gallantly this ill-fated little band contended for their lives, yet the surrounding circumstances of ground, empty cartridge shells, and distance from where the attack began, satisfied us that Kidder and his men fought as only brave men fight when the watchword is victory or death.”<sup>29</sup> From Custer’s writings it is reasonable to believe that a long struggle was made where the bodies were found, but this is not what Davis said. Davis stated, “... very few shots could have been fired by Kidder’s party with their carbines, as *there were not more than ten or a dozen cartridge shells to be found.*”<sup>30</sup>

My metal detecting research reveals that Davis gave the accurate account of the fight at Kidder’s Ravine, for at this spot I only found one impacted fired Spencer bullet and one Spencer shell casing. Surrounding Kidder’s Ravine on all sides I found eighteen Indian shell casings. All but five were the same type casing that Johnson found the year before, next to the spent Remington bullet I earlier found. This spot is eighty yards east of Kidder’s Ravine.<sup>31</sup> Additionally, at Kidder’s Ravine I found an eagle button, three unfired Spencer bullets, two of which had been cut with a knife, possibly to acquire the gunpowder in order to burn one of the victims still

alive at the end of the fight, an unfired Indian bullet, the center part of a metal arrowhead, and a cut buckle. On the hillside about twenty yards to the west a metal arrowhead was found. It was bent in the middle, possibly indicating having passed through flesh and into bone. This was discovered at the beginning of the hillside and which I suspect might be the spot where the soldiers had been buried prior to removal in March 1868. The clue to discovering the burial site was in realizing that Custer did not contradict himself when he said in his report that the bodies were buried “near the point” where they were found, and in his letter to Judge Kidder that he buried them “on the spot” where they fell. At the point where the hillside begins, about twenty yards to the west of Kidder’s Ravine, Beaver Creek meanders to its farthest point north. At this spot the banks of the creek are between thirty and forty yards to the south of the hillside. Is it possible, then, that one of the victims was lying at a point roughly half way between the center of Kidder’s Ravine and the small hillside to the west? The sketch by Davis indicates that some of the bodies indeed were spread out to the west from Kidder’s Ravine. After studying this theory I explored that area with my metal

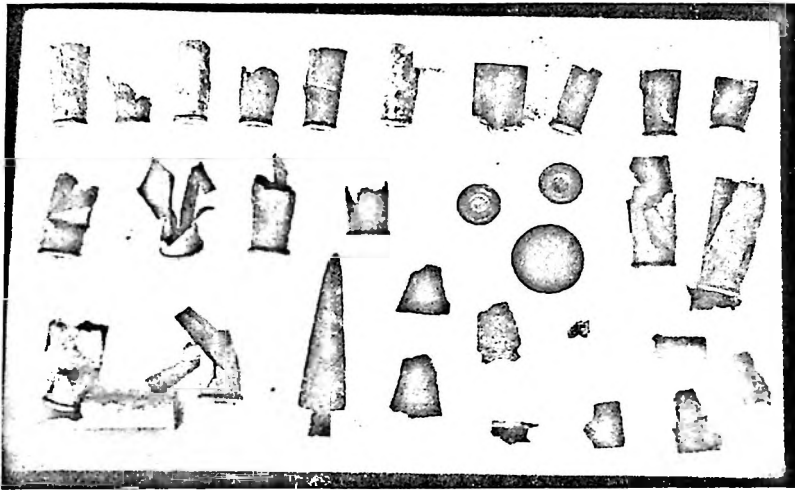


Standing at Eagle Ridge looking Southwest to Kidder's Ravine

detector and found the bent arrowhead. Halfway between this metal arrowhead and Kidder's Ravine were found the cut, unfired Spencer bullets.

When the bodies were removed in early March 1868, Lt. Beecher, leading the recovery detail from Ft. Wallace, wrote his father of the condition of the battlefield. "The sight on the battleground was terrible. Bones and skulls were scattered in every direction. The poor father [Kidder, ed.] had an awful sight to witness."<sup>32</sup> From what Lt. Beecher described, the grave had apparently been torn open, perhaps by wolves. This is consistent with what is mentioned in an article on the history of Fort Wallace and published in 1928. When the bodies from the military section of the Fort Wallace cemetery were removed for reburial at Ft. Leavenworth in 1886, in the grave "said to contain bodies of the soldiers of the Kidder party massacred July 1, 1867, only a few bones were found."<sup>33</sup> Given that the grave had been dug open by animals it is plausible that there would certainly be metal arrowheads remaining that had originally been imbedded in flesh and bone and could be recovered by metal detecting. This explains the bent metal arrowhead discovered in the summer of 1999.

How then, given my very amateur efforts at metal detecting archeology, do I believe the fight unfolded? If we begin where the 1969 marker is, Johnson's detecting revealed no artifacts around this site. Indeed, it wasn't until he had moved one hundred seventy-five yards northeast of this site that he first discovered battle-related artifacts. There he found a McClellan saddle buckle. Also, in this general area he discovered a slew of dropped ammunition. Johnson's mistake was in then going south until he located Johnson's Ravine one hundred seventy-five yards south, and two hundred fifty yards east of the 1969 marker. But the truth is, Johnson only discovered the western edge of the engagement. From the point where Johnson found battle-related artifacts, i.e., the western edge of the engagement, the actual battle occurred much further east. Kidder, for at least a mile and perhaps as many as six miles, had been in a running fight with the Indians along the Wallace Trail.<sup>34</sup> When the trail approached the valley of Beaver Creek, it veered sharply to the southwest, crossing the creek at what Jackson described as "good crossing, bank low and hard bed of creek firm, water 3 ft. deep and 15 ft. wide...."<sup>35</sup> This crossing, as noted



*Photos by the author*

earlier, would have been several yards due west from the 1969 battle marker. The Wallace trail, at the point north before veering into the valley of Beaver Creek, confirmed by Lt. Jackson's map drawn on July 12, was in a flat area a little more than a hundred yards wide and at the high point between rolling prairie to the east and west. When the Kidder party approached the descent into the valley it probably halted temporarily, at the point where Johnson found a trail of dropped ammunition. As Johnson thinks, perhaps one man was killed here.<sup>36</sup> But, instead of proceeding to the south and west, they went over four hundred yards to the east, traveling not directly east but rather at an angle that bears more southeast.

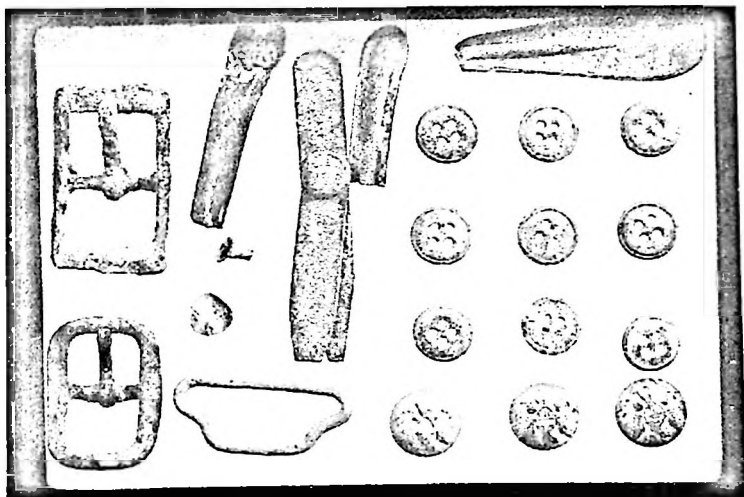
Visualizing a large teardrop will give one a picture of how Beaver Creek surrounds the terrain of Kidder's last fight. The top of the teardrop would be the northern end, and this would represent where the Wallace Trail

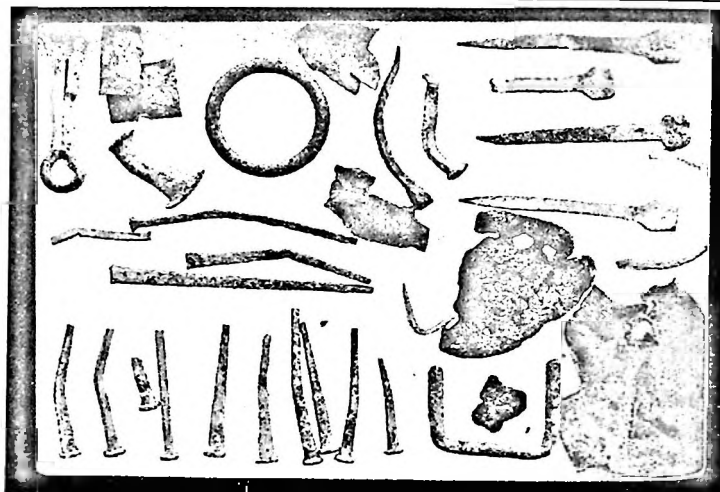
would begin the descent into the valley of Beaver Creek. If one visualizes the western, southern and eastern edge of the teardrop as including the descent from the hilltop to the flat valley floor of Beaver Creek one has a pretty good picture of how the area would look to the mind's eye. The creek itself from the western to the eastern edge of the southernmost part of the teardrop meanders in a ziz-zag, snakelike pattern, covering a distance of about five hundred yards. Kidder's Ravine would be located in the west central area at the southern end of the teardrop. At the top western edge of the teardrop would be where Kidder's party made its temporary halt, spoken of earlier as having been discovered by Johnson. The party then rode to the eastern edge of the teardrop, and about one hundred fifty yards into the teardrop. From top to bottom the teardrop would measure about five hundred yards. At all edges to the west, south and east where the teardrop ends would begin the zigzag

flat valley area of Beaver Creek. This flat valley extends in its smallest western edge of perhaps a dozen yards north of the creek, to as much as three hundred yards at the flat valley at the southeastern edge of the teardrop before reaching the waters of Beaver Creek. Kidder's party, then, proceeded in a southern direction from the top northwestern end of the teardrop towards the eastern end of the teardrop. At the top of the ridge at the southeastern end of the teardrop Kidder's party began the significant part of their last fight (hereafter identified as Eagle Ridge). Beginning there I found the following items, spread out over one hundred and fifty yards in a north to south direction, culminating at the flat valley area at the bottom end of the eastern edge of the teardrop: seven Indian shell casings; seven fired bullets; six broken, unfired Spencer bullets; one Spencer bullet intact; one unfired Remington bullet; one stone arrowhead; six horseshoe nails; thirteen square nails, probably connected to supplies

carried by one of the two pack horses; two brass rivets from either saddle or soldier equipment; the brass stud connecting the front and back flap to the 1867 pistol cartridge pouch; remnants of a metal arrowhead; ten military trouser buttons; two eagle buttons; one maintenance tool for the Spencer Carbine, a bridal ring; the handle of a military spoon or fork; a buckle from a Grimsley saddle (possibly used by Kidder); and significantly, two impact bullets. One was in the shape of a mushroom, indicating the probability of having passed through flesh without striking bone. The other bullet was mangled but caught at the back of the bullet was thread; including a brass string about one inch in length. Next to these bullets was one of the eagle buttons, the dropped Spencer bullet and the unfired Remington bullet.

Following this engagement to the flat bottom area at the southeastern edge of the teardrop I found three Spencer shell casings and, significantly, a center, internal primed unfired 44-





caliber bullet. This was an experimental bullet, introduced in 1865, but, if belonging to anyone in the Kidder party, it was probably ammunition from Lt. Kidder's pistol. It was common for officers at that time to upgrade their weapons with newer, experimental weaponry. Kidder, from a well-to-do family, may have upgraded his arms prior to leaving his home for the frontier, barely two weeks before his fatal journey to Beaver Creek. Finding artifacts at this section perhaps indicates that the Kidder party was trying to gain the eastern edge of the flat area to the north of Beaver Creek, with the hope of being able to continue its running escape from the Indians. If this had succeeded Kidder's detail would have been able to follow the flat north end of the Beaver Creek valley indefinitely eastward. The Indians, no doubt realizing this, forced the remaining troopers on the valley floor to the west, ultimately going two hundred fifty yards to Kidder's Ravine. Thus, a mere handful of soldiers lived to find them-

selves at this ravine, where they were quickly overcome. One or more soldiers fell at the northwestern edge of the teardrop, and others fell at the southeastern edge of the teardrop. This would have left just a few soldiers to

retreat to Kidder's Ravine. This is consistent with the Davis account that there was little evidence of resistance where the soldiers were discovered. This is also consistent with the Indian pictograph, which shows the soldiers unarmed and unclothed. They were unarmed because they were killed or wounded prior to being brought into Kidder's Ravine, either at Eagle Ridge or the northwestern boundary where Johnson found dropped ammunition. At Kidder's Ravine one soldier had been brought to death by the "terrible tortures of fire," according to Jackson, Custer and Davis.<sup>37</sup>

In a letter to Jefferson Kidder, dated August 10, 1867, Post Adjutant A. E. Bates said Kidder was killed somewhere on Beaver Creek. "That he was sent out from Sedgwick, that he did not return, and that after a time his body was found is probably all that will ever be known in regard to the fate of your son."<sup>38</sup> Much more has been learned about this fight than Bates thought possible. From what has been

learned by way of metal detecting, Custer was wrong on two points and right on one, and Davis was right on one point, and wrong on another. Custer was wrong in believing that all the men took shelter in Kidder's Ravine and that they all died there. He was also wrong in saying that there was a long fight at Kidder's Ravine. But he was right in saying that the men put up a fight. The fight was given, however, not at Kidder's Ravine but at Eagle Ridge and further back to the north and west near where the Wallace Trail came into the valley of Beaver Creek, and where Johnson found battle-related artifacts. Davis was right that the ravine did not give evidence of much resistance by the soldiers, but wrong in believing that the men died putting up little fight. They did resist their fate, but the fight was to the east, near the top of the hill, at Eagle Ridge, not at Kidder's Ravine. Johnson, it turns out, was right in locating where Kidder's last fight began but misjudged in identifying Johnson's Ravine as where the bodies were discovered by Custer. Johnson's Ravine, it may be concluded, is precisely that, *Johnson's Ravine*.<sup>39</sup>

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Marvin H. Crawford, "Defense of the Kansas Frontier 1866-1867," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 4, August 1932, 344.

<sup>2</sup> Lawrence A. Frost, *The Court-Martial of General George Armstrong Custer* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 53.

<sup>4</sup> *General Custer's Report*, Adjutant General's Office, Fort Riley, Kansas,

August 7, 1867. Kansas State Historical Society.

<sup>5</sup> Barton R. Voight, "The Death of Lyman S. Kidder." *South Dakota History*, Winter, 1975, 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>8</sup> Randy Johnson and Nancy Allan, *A Dispatch to Custer: The Tragedy of Lieutenant Kidder* (Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1999), 96-97.

<sup>9</sup> *Find Custer: The Kidder Tragedy* (Boaz, AL: Four Star Printing, 1988). Later reprinted by Printing Plus, Lockport, IL, in an edition of 500 copies, 1990, and finally as *A Dispatch to Custer: The Tragedy of Lieutenant Kidder*, 1999, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup> Johnson, *A Dispatch to Custer*, 93.

<sup>11</sup> A picture of this bullet can be found on p. 104 of *A Dispatch to Custer*.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>13</sup> *General Custer's Report*. Kansas State Historical Society, italics added.

<sup>14</sup> Gen. G. A. Custer, *My Life on the Plains* (New York: Sheldon and Company, 1874), 78, italics added.

<sup>15</sup> Voight, "The Death of Lyman S. Kidder," 15, italics added.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>18</sup> Henry Jackson, "Itinerary of the March of the Seventh United States Cavalry," Mrs. Libbie Custer Collection, Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, Crow Agency, Montana.

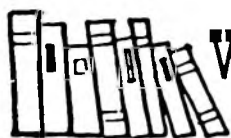
<sup>19</sup> In a conversation with the property owner, Keith Coon, he indicated that the creek dried up in 1969, and that since then it only contains water when rains occur.

<sup>20</sup> Johnson and Allan, *A Dispatch to Custer*, 96.

<sup>21</sup> George Hyde, *The Life of George Bent. Written From His Letters*. Edited by Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Okla-

- homa Press, 1968), 274-275; George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1976), 251-253; Charles J. Brill, *Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Oklahoma City: Golden Saga Publishers, 1938), 76-80; Col. Richard Irving Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants* (New York, New York: Archer House, Inc., 1959), 317-318. See also Donald Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 286-287.
- <sup>22</sup> Brill, *Conquest of the Southern Plains*, 76-77.
- <sup>23</sup> Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 317. In *Our Wild Indians: Thirty-Three Years' Personal Experience Among the Red Men of the Great West* (Archer House: New York, 1959, 223) Dodge admits his account is bogus, but attributes hearing it from Cheyenne Chief Turkey Leg in the fall of 1867.
- <sup>24</sup> Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 252.
- <sup>25</sup> Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, 275.
- <sup>26</sup> Jean Afton, David Fridtjof Halaas, Andrew E. Masich, with Richard N. Ellis, *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat* (Niwot and Denver: University Press of Colorado and Colorado Historical Society, 1997), 124-125. This pictograph of the Kidder fight apparently was correctly identified the first time in published accounts in Voight, "The Death of Lyman S. Kidder," op.cit.
- <sup>27</sup> *General Custer's Report*, Kansas State Historical Society, italics added..
- <sup>28</sup> Voight, "The Death of Lyman Kidder," 15, italics added.
- <sup>29</sup> Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, 77, italics added.
- <sup>30</sup> Theodore Davis, "A Summer on the Plains," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 36 (February 1868), 306, italics added.
- <sup>31</sup> In *A Dispatch to Custer*, Johnson identifies the unfired Indian bullet as 50/70 centerfire cartridge, Berdan primed, U.M.C. Co. See page 104.
- <sup>32</sup> Randy Johnson, "The Life of Lieutenant Lyman Kidder," *The (Chicago) Westerners Brand Book* (Vol. XLIII, No. Two, undated), 38.
- <sup>33</sup> Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and its Relation to the Frontier," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1926-1928*, edited by William Elsey Connelley (Vol. XVII, 1928), 281.
- <sup>34</sup> Jackson letter to Jefferson Kidder, in Voight, "The Death of Lyman S. Kidder," 17.
- <sup>35</sup> Jackson, *Itinerary*, July 12, 1867.
- <sup>36</sup> Johnson, *A dispatch to Custer*, 93.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid.; Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, 77; Davis, "A Summer on the Plains," 306.
- <sup>38</sup> Voight, "The Death of Lyman S. Kidder," 8.
- <sup>39</sup> I would like to extend a heartfelt expression of gratitude to Keith and Judy Coon, owners of the property where the Kidder fight took place. Their kindness in allowing me to spend the many hours I took over two years to locate the artifacts I uncovered has resulted in the knowledge that immerses from this research. Had they not allowed this, there would be more mystery than truth concerning the facts of what happened on July 2, 1867. Again, thank you, Keith and Judy.

Please send items of interest for "Over the Corral Rail" to Jim Krebs, Editor. Jim's contact information is on page 2.



## Westerners Bookshelf



**Traditional Hopi Kachinas: A New Generation of Carvers**, by Jonathan S. Day. Northland Publishing, Flagstaff, 2000. 36 pp. 90 color photos, index. Hard cover, \$21.95, paperback, \$14.95.

Northland Publishing has long been in the forefront in presenting high-quality books about Native American crafts and traditions. Especially outstanding are books on kachinas, (or "katsinas" as author Day and others now write the word to match the Hopi pronunciation). This new book is an important addition to the literature, introducing a new trend in katsina designs and also introducing 19 carvers who are generally not known to collectors. His is a good introduction to the Hopi people with guidance for visitors in respecting the ones who live there.

Barry Walsh opens the book with a clear review of the trends in katsina carving—beginning with traditional images, followed by action figures with bent knees and other "realistic" features. Next came the Modern Contemporary style in the late 1970s, which has sometimes been called "sculptural" because the figures are real works of art (and expensive). The artists use Dremel tools and other modern techniques to produce the carvings.

A group of carvers at Hopi, mostly younger men, have been developing a new style which is more like the earlier Traditional figure and which represent for them the feelings and attitudes which they remember from the katsina dances and ceremonies of their youth.

Jonathan S. Day is the son of a trading post operator on the Hopi mesas. Jonathan grew up in the eastern United States, and now lives in Flagstaff. His interviews with each of the 19 artists demonstrates his knowledge and understanding of the Hopi culture, presenting each of the artists and their work with color photos to illustrate the New Traditional katsinas. Each of the interviews is friendly and informative about the carving methods and how the carvers feel about their work. This book is a gem for those interested in the Hopi crafts and culture.

--Earl McCoy, P.M.



### Westerners International

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**Pancho Villa's Revolution by Headlines** by Mark Cronlund Anderson. University of Oklahoma Press, 2000. 320 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

This book addresses the Mexican Revolution as discussed by the American press. Some perceptions were generated by publicity flacks in the employ of Pancho Villa, Victoriano Huerta, and Venustiano Carranza. Some were generated from reporters on site, some by stateside editors piecing the above together with reports from diplomats and civilian eyewitnesses.

The author's point seems to be that Pancho Villa was a nonentity until discovered by the press and that he then adroitly fed them information and releases designed to put him in the best light possible with the US government. Once he lost a battle or two, he lost favor and ultimately lost out on the race for recognition by Uncle Sam as head of the true and legitimate Mexican government. There is the requisite chapter on how the US press and government were racist in their perceptions, actions, and decisions.

No doubt the three major players in the revolution spent some time jockeying for official recognition from Washington. But in reading this, one could get the impression that more of the revolution was fought on the pages of the *San Francisco Examiner*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Denver Post* and *New York Times* than on the fields of Mexico.

If one is a serious student of the Mexican Revolution and Pancho Villa's part in it, this book studies a small part of it. It is not a history for the generalist.

--Stan Moore C.M.

**Riding West: An outfitters life** by Jim Greer with Charles Miller. Univ. Press of Colorado, 2000. 232 pp. 19 black & white photos, 12 line drawings, illustrations by Scott Yeager. No bibliography or references.

This book starts off with an intriguing preface written by the author. An autobiographical account, he relates his decision to leave a job with the Colorado legislature. This became the end of his second marriage and the beginning of satisfying his wanderlust. At the age of 40 he starts a new life as "Doc" Greer, a western outfitter.

The physical demands of his work are described as demanding and dangerous. Elk, antelope, bighorn sheep and mountain lions add to the profitability of outfitters, providing as much as 80% of their income, in the fall season. Summer brought families to experience the mountains and streams. The fall season brought the hunters.

Promoting at national sports shows is compared to an old vaudeville act. Winter months brought a change of pace for the author and sometimes it was necessary for him to hold down two to three jobs at one time to make ends meet.

The outfitters of today are a spinoff of ranching outfitters. The effect of all this by the turn of the century was the "almost" elimination of natural predators. Ranchers of today generally work with outfitters for which the outfitters are paid a flat rate, usually about 20% of their take.

The author's first experience with a new horse, mules and burros was a disaster that taught him well. Although officially called guides or outfitters, among themselves they were called "packers".

There is a theme of resentment throughout the book that can be traced to the unhappy childhood of the author. His love of the outdoors echoes in every chapter of the book. His disdain for "dudes" is evident, although he does admit to liking some. Stories abound on trips to the high country and the relationship with his partner Stu Wagner is a theme throughout the book.

This is an interesting book about a subject that is not written about frequently.

--Dolores A. Ebner, C.M.

**Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822-1887**, by Scott R. Christensen. Utah State University Press, 1999. 272 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$36.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.

Sagwitch was one of many native American leaders who recognized the inevitability of European-American rule.

Born in the early 1820s, Sagwitch was recognized as a tribal leader by the time the Mormons came to the Salt Lake Valley. He treated with them and led his tribe to more or less peaceful coexistence for some years. As more of the tribal range was settled his band had an increasingly difficult time subsisting; murders, assaults, and other depredations were committed by all. In January 1863 the band was decimated in the Bear River Massacre, a "battle" in the Indian wars. Brigadier Patrick O'Connor, the California soldier in charge of the Union forces in Utah, sent forces to spring a surprise attack in the Cache Valley of what is now northeast Utah and southwest Idaho. Ultimately the band was sent to a reservation in eastern Utah. Sagwitch escaped, and later converted to Mormonism. He encouraged his people as well. He remained an influential tribal elder and became an LDS Elder before dying in the late 1880s.

This is the story of how an indigenous leader worked to get along with a newly arrived people whose ways were entirely alien. He welcomed and traded with the newcomers, gave up a son to a Mormon family, adopted their faith. His descendants live in the area today and are active in the LDS church.

The author, while fairly objective, is clearly sympathetic to the Mormons' settling of Utah and their proselytizing among the natives. Nonetheless, this work is historically accurate and well researched with maps and photos.

--Stan Moore, C.M.

**Covered Wagon Women Volume 10 Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1875-1883**, edited by Kenneth L. Holmes. Introduction by Elliott West. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. 288 pages, 7 illustrations. Paper, \$13.00.

Not having read the nine previous diaries, I am ill equipped to compare this latest edition to the earlier ones. Normally, I love reading diaries. For what ever reason nothing in this book held my interest. That is not to say that it will not interest others.

Introductions to each diary and extensive research on known wagon trains by the authors is very helpful in setting the scene for the various journeys.

I consider this a valuable book for genealogists knowing the time period relatives journeyed to Oregon, as names are abundant! Filling in another link to one's past would make this book an immeasurable gift. And with that discovery, all the events, the weary reading of miles traveled and weather endured will be of interest to the reader.

*--LaVonne Perkins, P.M.*

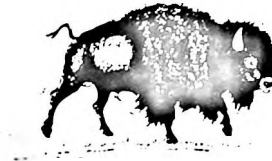
**Playing Grandma's Games** by Karen South Arnold. Ouray, CO: Western Reflections Publishing Company, 2000. 160 pages, many illustrations, bibliography, index. Paper, \$11.95.

Karen Arnold has assembled information about "a wide variety of games that were played in America from the beginning of European immigration into the nineteenth century." Many are familiar to children and adults today, but others are less common. Not only does the author explain the history, and the sometimes unusual names of the games, but also describes the rules and the equipment needed.

Included are games to be played inside, such as board or card games, and those played outside. Arnold divides the games into categories: Games for Adults, Games for Children, Card Games, Games for Gamblers, and Indian Games. Some of those listed for adults, such as draughts (checkers) and dominoes, are obviously of interest to children as well. A list of suppliers for some of the historic game equipment is provided, although the author indicates that many of the boards can be handmade.

This is a wonderful collection of amusements for all the family, written by a person who is obviously enthusiastic about non-electronic entertainment and games that our grandparents and parents played, and which some of us enjoyed as we grew up.

*--Earl McCoy, P.M.*



**La Donna Harris: a Comanche Life** by La Donna Harris. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London 2000. 149pp. Pictures, illustration, bibliography, notes and index. Hard cover, \$25.95.

The story of LaDonna Harris is the story of a woman in a cocoon, surrounded and sheltered by love of her family, and her Comanche background, gradually metamorphosing into a beautiful butterfly, colored by her life experiences. She gained strength as she grew, becoming more confident and assertive as time passed.

She grew up in Waters, OK, on the family ranch, and she met and married her husband Fred Harris while they were seniors in high school. La Donna's sister knew that she had married beneath her, and Fred has always called himself the "token white man in the family." After graduation from law school in Oklahoma, Fred was hired by a prestigious law firm in Lawton, OK, and when their state senator passed away several years later, he was asked to replace him. This was their leap into state politics and then into national politics when Fred was elected Senator from Oklahoma. In Washington, DC they were the youngest members of the Senate, meeting people from all walks of life. She was welcomed into the Oval office by Pres. Johnson, but she never forgot her Comanche upbringing and what it means to be a Comanche woman.

As the wife of Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, La Donna was actively involved in political advising, campaigning and networking. She worked beside such notable political figures as Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy and Sargent Shriver. La Donna became a well-known political figure in her own right, serving on the National Indian Opportunities Council as President Johnson's appointee. In 1980 she became the Vice Presidential nominee for the environmentalist Citizen's Party.

As Fred's term as Senator was coming to an end, her marriage slowly began to unravel. Fred was stepping into a void, and she was becoming more involved in Americans for Indian Opportunity. They were divorced and she stayed in Washington, DC for another 10 years working for the AIO. Finally she was able to move the AIO to New Mexico, where she lives and works in the shadow of the Sandia Mountains continuing to have a significant impact on Native American policy in the US.

LaDonna has become the foremost Indian woman activist in the country, and her voice echoes throughout the length and breathe of America, where she is respected by Indians and non-Indians alike.

--Winnie Burdan, C.M.



**Intimate Memories: The Autobiography of Mabel Dodge Luhan.** Edited by Lois Palken Rudnik. University of New Mexico Press, 1999. 265 pp. Glossary of names. Paperback, \$17.95.

Mabel wrote a four-volume autobiography which she finished in the 1930s and now, forty years after her death, has been edited into one volume by Ms. Rudnik.

I don't like snakes, but when I am in the vicinity of one I find a certain fascination in observing it. I think I feel the same about Mabel Dodge Luhan. There is no doubt she was an interesting woman, but hardly one I would like to call "friend." With a friend like her you didn't need an enemy. She used her money and prestige to manipulate and humiliate the people she pretended to hold dear.

Although she had a way of using her wealth in bringing artists and cultural and social activists (radicals and reformers) together, her one other talent, at least for her period of time, was writing.

There is no doubt that she had an unusual life from childhood to her death, but her memories as depicted in this book are very romanticized. One has the feeling she was making an outline for a present day 'soap opera' or a romance novel. She definitely [REDACTED] is the heroine! If you read other accounts refers to as friends, different picture of Grace Mott Johnson meddler who invited guests ostensibly to proceeded to ma- ships destructively.

...no doubt she was an interesting woman, but hardly one I would like to call friend...

of her life by those she you will find a much Mabel. The sculptor portrayed Mabel as a people into her home as support their art, then nipulate their relation-

One must keep in mind the period of time Mabel lived and the life she choose to live and the people she associated with which were indeed varied. Ahead of her time? Perhaps. Her struggle for self-expression and community took her from Buffalo, NY, to Florence, Italy. From Manhattan to Taos. She ultimately seemed to find happiness in her fourth marriage with Tony Luhan, a Taos Indian. I spent several days in the house she and Tony built in Taos, and I must say there seems to be an aura of ghosts...D.H. Lawrence, Gertrude Stein, Georgia O'Keeffe and many more. Perhaps she did influence many artists of the day, even if in a negative way. Her life might make a great mini-series, but whose account would you use?

--Max Smith, P.M.

**Buffalo Soldiers and Officers of the Ninth Cavalry 1867-1898: Black and White Together**, by Charles L. Kenner. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. 314 pages. Illustrations, notes and bibliography. Hardcover, \$26.95.

In 1866, Congress approved the organization of two black cavalry regiments, the 9th and 10<sup>th</sup> U.S. Cavalry and two black infantry regiments, the 24th and 25th U.S. Infantry. These regiments would be officered by white officers with a few exceptions. This book is about some of the black soldiers and a few of the white officers of the 9th U. S. Cavalry.

What makes this particular work different than others is that there is no continuity from one account to the next. It is a collection of mini-biographies. First and foremost however, is the author's emphasis on rampant racism by the officers. A few were much more sadistic and abused their troops more than others. On the other hand, there were a few officers who treated them equally as whites and looked after their charges to the best of their ability.

It is well known that the black regiments, for the most part, did not receive the best equipment, livestock, rations, assignments, or officers, yet accomplished more difficult tasks with less publicity and desertion than did their counterpart white regiments. Kenner points out much of this in his account of the lives of these individual soldiers. Starting out with its commander, Col Edward Hatch, and ending with three black officers assigned to the regiment, the author tells a story of individual problems, glory, mutinies, discipline, love life, homosexuality and strengths and weaknesses of the black trooper. It is a fascinating look at life in a black regiment during the latter part of the Nineteenth Century. Since only a few individuals were investigated by the author, one wonders what was happening with the rest of the regiment. It appears that only the most well-known racist incidents were researched and makes this reviewer wonder if it wasn't the author's purpose to concentrate on racism and related abuses to form his thesis, leaving out more mundane and normal activities in the rest of the regiment; or was this happening in the whole organization throughout? We don't know.

There is no doubt, in general, the Buffalo Soldiers were as good, if not better, than the white cavalry regiments at being used to hardship and privation. Most enlisted for a career while white troopers, for the most part, used the Army as free transportation to the goldfields and the like.

Overall, Author Kenner has done much research and has made a major contribution to the true story of the Buffalo Soldiers. As a former member of the modern 10th U.S. Cavalry, this reviewer is proud of the great traditions and legacy handed down by the mounted black troopers. The book is a good read and rather embarrassing in how the black soldiers were treated. However, that was in a different time, and hopefully, we have learned by our mistakes. Isn't that what history is all about?

--Richard A. Cook, P.M.

**Over the Rim, The Parley P. Pratt Exploring Expedition to Southern Utah, 1849-50**, edited by William B. Smart and Donna T. Smart. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1999. 280 pages. Maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$37.95, paper, \$19.95.

This book is the chronicle of the expedition to Southern Utah led by Parley Pratt shortly after the Mormons arrived in Utah. The editors have done an excellent job in compiling and presenting the wealth of information contained here. In the introduction the editors set the stage exploring the political and social climate that led to the expedition. Then they present the only known contemporary journals kept by four of the expedition's members. These four men are described by the editors as being of widely differing temperaments. The journals were kept by: Robert Lang Campbell, 24, the expedition's secretary and clerk; John C. Armstrong, 36, the company's bugler; John Brown, 29, captain of the expedition; and Issac Chauncey Haight.

In the section of the book containing the journals, the editors have done an excellent job of presenting the material. They present the material chronologically, by quoting each journal for a given date, then by author and then a summary, explaining what happened to the expedition on that date. This method brings the expedition to life in a readily understandable manner. It is one of the most effective methods I have had the pleasure of reading.

After the four chapters presenting the journals to the reader, the editors introduce Parley Pratt's *Official Report to the Legislative Council*. The book's appendices contain several items of interest. First, they contain related papers of the expedition, such as pledges of Support, Receipts and Expenditures, Letters Sent From Sampitch Settlement, Parley P. Pratt's letters to his family and Pratt's Account of the Exploration of the Virgin River. The next appendix contains forty-nine pages of Biographies of fifty-one pages of the Expedition's Members. These biographies are quite interesting in their scope, with a footnote explaining the sources used for each. Finally, the appendices contain two items drafted by Robert Campbell during the expedition, a Ute Dictionary and two emigrant guides. Both guides begin at Great Salt Lake City and end in Sampitch and Santa Clara, tributary of the Rio Virgin, respectively.

This volume is an excellent resource for southern Utah. Unlike some books of this type, *Over the Rim* is a book that wears well on the reader. It is a book that I enjoyed reading and that I would not hesitate to recommend to those interested in Southern Utah and Mormon colonization in the West.

--Keith Fessenden, P.M.

**Historic Denver Guides, The Montclair Neighborhood**, by Thomas J. Noel and William J. Hansen, photographs by JeffPadrick. Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1999. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Paper \$9.95.

It is said that history is prone to repeat itself if one doesn't watch out. "Dr. Colorado's" first book back in 1976 was *Richthofen's Montclair: A Pioneer Denver Suburb*. This pocket-sized volume is a well written complement to that long-out-of-print tome.

In the first pages of the book, the authors give a brief history of the Montclair neighborhood. The balance of the book is devoted to a tour of the Montclair area, both the historic district and the surrounding neighborhood. There are fifty-five total stops on the tour in the book. Several of the stops include more than one building. Twenty-seven of the buildings are in the historic district and the balance are all within approximately three blocks of the district.

The tour proceeds through the area on a street-by-street primarily north and south tract. It begins with the most noted for, the building, the Richthofen Castle

---

...there are fifty-five total stops on the tour in the book....

---

ceeds through the basis, moving on an east-to-west buildings the area is Montclair Civic Castle and the Gatehouse.

As you would expect, most of the buildings on the tour are residences, but there are several notable public buildings included, the St Luke's Episcopal Church, the Stanley British Primary School, the Richthofen Fountain, St. James Catholic Church and School, the Montclair Town Hall/Denver Fire Station No. 14, and the Montclair Elementary School.

As I walked the tour I especially enjoyed the nine TB houses. These are houses designed with a sleeping porch at each end to allow the TB sufferer to be better exposed to the dry air of Colorado while they slept. The authors describe this style of house as the "only architectural design Denver can claim as it's own". So much for the Denver Square.

*The Montclair Neighborhood* is a welcome addition to the other guides in this series published by Historic Denver. All are well worth the time spent reading and taking the tours.

--Keith Fessenden, P.M.





**Inside the White House in War Times**, by William O. Stoddard, Edited by Michael Burlingame. University of Nebraska Press, 2000. 219 pp. Paper, \$25.00.

William O. Stoddard, an experienced journalist, people watcher, and one of Lincoln's secretaries, had unique opportunities to observe Abraham Lincoln, and others, during the off hours of the President's life.

From a small office close to the President, he experiences the President's moods and frustrations.

Mr. Stoddard's talent lies in his creating the illusion of the reader being present. The mouse in the corner, the observer of all observers.

From the moment the latch-key is turned, the reader is present during the everyday occurrences of the most important house in the land. This was a time in our history when any and everyone apparently walked through its doors and wandered its halls. It was a home, yet not a home. The reader feels the intrusion, senses are peaked to everything: the location of the rooms, scuffed floors and its need of paint and repair, so descriptive that you can almost smell the event! You are made aware how close the battles of the Civil War are to Washington, and the long endless wait for news as to how the battle goes.

Mrs. Lincoln's White House homey, from the gardens, are thing she does. Mr. get along rather well consequently she is

...so descriptive that you can almost smell the event...

attempts to make the with fresh flowers criticized as is every-Stoddard manages to with the First Lady; turned over to him. derful first-hand

This is a wonderful account, documented and beautifully written. Some would say the author elaborated a first-hand account, and only he would know. The value in his work is his ability to place the reader at the event.

The exhaustion, and frustration of a President, attempting to understand his General, considered by him to be tops, but who won't give him the time of day, is transmitted to the reader.

Abraham Lincoln makes calls on his subordinates rather than have them come to him. His patience extends only so far and then he reacts. Lincoln is truly a lonely man amongst a crowd.

The sketches at the end of the book are perhaps the best, written from August 18 to October 20, 1866 to the editor, Charles G. Halpine, of the *Citizen*. There are thirteen sketches which target specific topics, such as how he first met Mr. Lincoln.

We've been told time and again of Lincoln's emotions over the death of his children. But the description of the anguish over the deaths of dear friends is something new and revealing.

This is an absolute must for anyone with great interest in the life of Abraham Lincoln or the Civil War.

--LaVonne Perkins, P.M.



*The* DENVER WESTERNERS  
**ROUNDUP**

September - October 2000



*Collection of Robert G. Lewis, Esq., Denver, CO*

**The Ute Indians of Colorado  
in 19th Century Photographs**

by

**Robert G. Lewis, C.M.**

**(Presented August 23, 2000)**

# Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LVI NO. 5



September - October 2000

Use this page for the

### Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

1. Publication Title	THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP	2. Issue Date	9/14/00
3. Issue Frequency	2 times a month	4. Number of Issues Published Annually	24
5. Annual Subscription Price	\$25.00	6. Number of Subscriptions	1,100
7. Total Number of Copies (Net press run)	10,000	8. Total Number of Copies (Net press run)	10,000

9. Name and complete mailing address of the publisher: 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

10. Name and complete mailing address of the editor: Jia Eryle, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

11. Name and complete mailing address of the business manager: The Denver Posse of the Westerners, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

12. Name and complete mailing address of the printer: Jia Eryle, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

13. Name and complete mailing address of the distributor: same as office

14. Owner: Denver Posse of the Westerners, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

15. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders: None

16. Tax Status: For-profit or not-for-profit organization: Not-for-profit

17. Publication Title: THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

18. Issue Date: 9/14/00

19. Issue Frequency: 2 times a month

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25. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions	1,100	26. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions	1,100

27. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions: 1,100

28. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions: 1,100

29. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions: 1,100

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31. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions: 1,100

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36. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions: 1,100

37. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions: 1,100

38. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions: 1,100

39. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions: 1,100

40. Paid and Unpaid Subscriptions: 1,100

41. Signature and Title of Publisher: [Signature] Publisher

42. Signature and Title of Editor: [Signature] Editor

43. Signature and Title of Business Manager: [Signature] Business Manager

44. Signature and Title of Printer: [Signature] Printer

45. Signature and Title of Distributor: [Signature] Distributor

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The ROUNDUP (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Corresponding membership is \$20 yearly, due Jan. 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be either typewritten, quality computer output or on floppy disk, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. ROUNDUP editing, layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for ROUNDUP to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

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# The Ute Indians of Colorado in 19th Century Photographs

by

**Robert G. Lewis, C.M.**

(Presented August 23, 2000)

This article is about a vintage albumen photograph of Ute Indians of Colorado taken in Washington, D.C. in March 1880. (*Ed.'s note: The entire photograph is reproduced on the cover. The 4 individual sections, from left to right, appear on pages 5, 9, 13 and 17.*) The photograph illustrates a pivotal moment in the history of Colorado. A description of this photograph appeared in *The Denver Post* on February 2, 1899, under the headline, "The White River Massacre; An Old Photograph of Memorable People." It reads as follows:

*Secretary Leuders of the state board of capitol managers has on exhibition an interesting photograph taken nineteen years ago, and recalling the exciting events of the White River Massacre. The photograph is the property of Mrs. Adams, wife of General Charles Adams. The photograph is unusually clear and well preserved and shows the following faces: General Charles Adams; Otto Mears, who was at that time one of the commissioners appointed by the government to move the Uncompahgre Utes to Utah; Agent Berry, who was looking after Chief Ouray's band of Uncompahgres; Colone Page, who was also a commissioner appointed to remove the Indians from the White River country; Chief Ouray and Chipeta, his wife; McCook, Chipeta's brother; Chief Ignacio of the Weminuches and Capotes. Ignacio was one of the chief attractions at the last Festival of Mountain and Plain in Denver. In the group are also Chief Charles Goelsta, son of Chief Colorow, who is the present Chief of the Uncompahgres; Chief Sahvawick, who was made chief of the White River Utes when Douglas was deposed and who is still chief; Tim Johnson, the young buck who was infatuated with Josie*

## About the Author

Robert G. Lewis is a corporate lawyer in private practice in Denver, Colorado. He is a collector of 19<sup>th</sup> Century photographs of the American West. In addition to being a corresponding member of the Denver Posse of the Westerners, he is also a member of the Colorado Historical Society, the American Photographic Historical Society, the National Stereo Association, and the Daguerreian Society.



*Mr. Lewis receives his plaque from Sheriff Nancy Bathke at the Aug. meeting*

*Meeker; and Chief Chavano, who was one of the famous war chiefs of the early days of Colorado.*

As for General Charles Adams, my research indicates that he was born in Germany in 1844 as Carl Swabach. He came to Boston in the 1850s, and worked as a bookkeeper for a Boston man named Adams. He enlisted in the Army during the Civil War, and attained the rank of lieutenant. He was shot through the lungs at Gettysburg, and went to Colorado on the advice of his physician. He married a widow whose sister was married to the Territorial Governor of Colorado, Edward McCook. Purportedly, his wife did not like his German name, so he changed his name to that of his Boston employer, Mr. Adams.

As a result of his skill and family connections, Adams was appointed Ute Indian Agent at the Cochetopa Los Piños Agency in 1872. Around 1873, he was also appointed Post Office Inspector for the District of Colorado and New Mexico. Subsequently, he was appointed Adjutant General of the Territory by the Governor. Adams is renowned for negotiating the release of the captives after the Meeker massacre. He traveled with the Ute delegation to Washington in 1880.

Eventually, Adams purchased a home in Manitou Springs, Colorado, and founded the Manitou Mineral Water Company. He died on Sunday night, August 18, 1895, in a fire at the Gummy Hotel on 17th and Lawrence Streets in Denver. The hotel steam boiler exploded, and the hotel collapsed and burned.

Another Colorado pioneer shown

in this photograph is Otto Mears. Mears was born in Latvia, Russia in 1840. He came to San Francisco at the age of twelve and joined the Army during the Civil War. He served under Kit Carson, and after the Civil War, served under Carson during the Navajo Wars. He was discharged in 1864 and began a general merchandising business in Conejos, Colorado, in 1865. He became involved in a grist mill and wheat business in the San Luis Valley. One of his early partners was Major Lafayette Head who was the Indian Commissioner at the time.

Mears supplied wheat to the government garrison at Ft. Massachusetts (now Ft. Garland) in the San Luis Valley. He was the original incorporator of town of Saguache, Colorado. The name came from the Ute term "Swatch" meaning "Blue Springs." However, when Mears incorporated the town, the clerk misunderstood Mears' Russian accent and misspelled the name.

Mears became involved in numerous businesses throughout the San Luis Valley and the San Juan Mountains. In order to transport goods to his businesses, he built and operated toll roads throughout the San Luis Valley, Arkansas Valley and San Juans. His first road was over Poncha Pass from the San Luis Valley to the Arkansas Valley. He built roads from Saguache to Lake City across Cochetopa Pass, and the road over Marshall Pass. He incorporated the town of Lake City, Colorado. He also acquired the contract to provide mail service in the San Juan region. With the advent of narrow-gauge railroad, Mears built numerous railways throughout the San Juans.



Being among the Indians, Otto Mears learned the Ute language and acted as an interpreter for the government. When the Los Piños Agency at Cochetopa was established, Mears provided beef for the agency. Mears assisted with the Brunot Treaty in 1873 and the Washington Treaty of 1880. Mears received several political appointments during his lifetime. In 1876, he was appointed as one of Colorado's Presidential Electors to the Electoral College. After the Washington Treaty of 1880, he was appointed as one of the Indian Commissioners to have the Ute ratify the treaty and implement the removal of the Utes.

In 1889, he was appointed by the Governor of the State of Colorado to the Board of Capitol Managers. The Capitol Managers were responsible for the construction of the Colorado State Capitol. Construction began in 1890, and the building was occupied in 1895. Otto Mears died in Pasadena, California, on June 24, 1931.

Before the advent of horses in North America, the Utes lived in small bands as hunter-gatherers. With the introduction of horses by the Spanish, the Utes became a nomadic horsemen culture, and were able to support larger communities.

The Utes of Colorado consisted

of seven bands—three Southern Ute bands, three Northern Ute bands and the Tabeguache band. The Southern Ute consisted of the Weeminuche, Capote and Mouache bands. As a result of the Spanish influence along the Rio Grande River in Colorado and New Mexico, many of the Southern Utes spoke Spanish in addition to the Ute language.

The Tabeguache (also known as the Uncompahgre), were led by Chief Ouray (pictured in this photograph). Chief Ouray was the most powerful of the Ute chiefs. He was born in 1833 to a Tabeguache Ute mother and a Jicarilla Apache father. Although Apache, his father was captured as a child and raised as a Ute. In addition to speaking the Ute language, he also spoke Spanish and English. Chief Ouray died at the age of 47 on August 24, 1880, from kidney failure.

Shavano was Ouray's war chief, and both Shavano and Waret were Tabeguache subchiefs who visited Washington, D.C., with Ouray in 1873 after the Brunot Treaty was adopted. They are also pictured in this photograph at the Washington Treaty of 1880.

Ignacio (pictured in the photograph) was the chief of the Weeminuche band. The Weeminuche now occupy the Ute Mountain Reservation in southwestern Colorado with their tribal headquarters at Towaoc. The Capote were led by Buckskin Charlie (pictured in this photograph). The Capote settled on the Southern Ute Reservation in southwestern Colorado with their tribal headquarters at Ignacio.

The Northern Utes consisted of the White River, Yampa and Grand River bands. Captain Jack (pictured in

this photograph) and Chief Douglas were the White River leaders at the time of the Meeker Massacre. The Northern Utes had much less contact with the Spanish and European settlers, so it is not surprising that the Northern Utes would come into conflict with Nathan Meeker.

Captain Jack was the White River Ute subchief who led the uprising against Meeker. Captain Jack had served under General Crook as a scout against the Sioux, and he had visited Washington, D.C., in 1874, after the Brunot Treaty was adopted.

The Utes had lived under Spanish rule along the Rio Grande for several centuries. With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the United States acquired all lands north of the Arkansas River from France. The Spanish retained all land south of the Arkansas River including a portion of the tribal lands of the Ute.

### **New territory acquired**

With the end of the Mexican War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the United States acquired Southern Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, California and Nevada, and with it the balance of the tribal lands of the Ute.

The discovery of gold in California in 1849 caused a surge of expansion in the West, and created the need for a transcontinental railroad. Government surveys were commissioned to determine a suitable route for the railroad from the Mississippi River to California.

In November, 1848, Lt. John C. Fremont of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers ventured into southern Colorado, where they were hit

by an early season snowstorm. Ten of Fremont's men died in the mountains. The remnants of Fremont's forces straggled into Taos, New Mexico. A small party returned to Colorado to recover the expedition's equipment and collections. On or about March 21, 1849, two of the party were killed by Ute Indians.

In 1853, Captain John Williams Gunnison of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers succeeded in mapping a route through Colorado, but Gunnison's party was attacked and Gunnison was killed by Piute Indians on Lake Sevier near Deseret, Utah. The discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859 started a rush of settlers to Colorado. As a result of the Pikes Peak Gold Rush, the Colorado Territory was established in 1861.

The Civil War slowed settlement in Colorado. However, with the end of the war, another period of Western settlement began, and with it, a series of conflicts with the Native Americans. In 1864, Colonel Chivington and the Colorado Militia attacked the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians under Black Kettle at Sand Creek, killing hundreds of Indians, including women and children. In 1868, the troops of Colonel George A. Forsyth came under attack by Cheyenne Indians under Chief Roman Nose at the Battle of Beecher Island, near Wray, Colorado.

Colorado Pioneer Christopher "Kit" Carson fought many battles with the Indians. The Kit Carson Treaty of 1868, negotiated by Carson and Colorado Territorial Governor Alexander Cameron Hunt, established a Confederated Ute Indian Reservation. The Utes were to be removed to a reservation

west of the Continental Divide with two separate agencies—one for the Northern Utes on the White River, and one for the Southern Utes on Los Piños Creek. This was the government's solution to the "Indian question"—confine the Indians to a reservation, establish agencies to feed them, and open their ancestral land to white settlers.

The Ute of the San Luis Valley were moved to the Los Piños Agency, twelve miles west of Cochetopa Pass at Pine River on the Los Piños Creek in western Saguache County (near Lake City and Gunnison). Charles Adams (pictured in the photograph) was appointed Ute agent at Los Pinos in 1872, and Otto Mears (also pictured) provided supplies to the agency.

With new mining discoveries in the San Juans, the government sought to remove the Ute from the San Juans, and open the land to settlement. The Brunot Treaty of 1873 was negotiated by Felix Brunot, President of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners. Under the treaty, the Ute ceded their land in the San Juans. Charles Adams and Otto Mears were enlisted to assist in negotiations. When the Brunot Treaty was signed, the U.S. government took Adams, Mears and a Ute delegation were taken on a trip to Washington, DC.

Colorado was admitted as a state in 1876, and in 1878, the Los Piños Agency was moved eleven miles south of present day Montrose on the Uncompahgre River near present day Colona, Colorado.

The Meeker massacre occurred in 1879 at the Northern Ute Agency near present-day Meeker, Colorado.



Nathan Meeker was the Indian Agent at the White River Agency. Meeker tried to force the Utes to adopt agriculture. He attempted to plow up their pony race track, and plant crops. When the Ute resisted, tensions grew and Meeker called in federal troops. Under the existing treaty, troops were not permitted on the reservation. Tempers flared, and the Ute under Chief Douglas and Captain Jack killed Meeker and his men, and took three women and two children captive.

In addition, the Northern Utes attacked the approaching troops under Maj. Thomas Thornburgh. Thornburgh was killed and his forces surrounded until Captain Francis S. Dodge and his cavalry of black "Buffalo Soldiers" rode to their rescue. General Charles Adams met with Chief Ouray to devise a plan to rescue the captives. Adams was successful in negotiating the return of the captives. However, there was a general outcry among the white settlers of Colorado, led by Governor Frederick W. Pitkin, calling for the removal of all of the Ute from Colorado.

Secretary of Interior Carl Schurz, under President Rutherford B. Hayes, directed General Adams to bring a Ute delegation to Washington, D.C. The Ute delegation reached the Capitol on January 11, 1880, and resided at the Tremont House. The delegation included Ouray, Chipeta, Wass, Galota, Jocknick, Jack, Sowawick, Alhandro, Augustine, Toppaganta, Sieblo and Unca Sam. These Utes were accompanied by W.H. Berry, Otto Mears and Mr. Kelly of Chicago, ex-Indian Agent at Los Pinos.

It was common practice to outfit Indian delegations with new clothes,

and the Washington newspapers reported the Ute trips to the local clothiers. Several of the Ute Indians can be seen in their new European style clothes, as opposed to their native dress.

The House Committee on Indians Affairs held hearings on the Ute situation, and Josephine Meeker and Governor Frederick Pitkin of Colorado appeared before the Committee. Pitkin urged the government to remove the Utes from Colorado. Secretary Schurz began meetings with the Utes, but refused to negotiate in the presence of the participants in the Thornburg battle—including Captain Jack, Wass and Unca Sam.

Pursuant to Schurz's orders, Captain Jack, Wass, Unca Sam, Sowawick and Sieblo left Washington on Saturday, January 24, 1880, and returned to Colorado with General Adams to capture Chief Douglas and the others responsible for the murders at the White River Agency. At the same time, Schurz cut off the government supply of food to the entire White River Agency.

*The Washington Post* reported that Ouray and Chipeta were taken by Ute Agent W. H. Berry to Mathew Brady's photographic studio to have their portraits taken on Thursday, January 29, 1880. On January 31, 1880, the Southern Utes, including Ignacio, Buckskin Charlie, Sevaro and Ojo Blanco, arrived in Washington with Agent Henry Payne (who is pictured in the photo). In February, the Ute delegation took trips to the National Museum and Mount Vernon. In addition, they traveled to Carlisle, Pennsylvania to visit the Indian School.



*General Adams with the Ute delegation at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, 1880.*

On February 18, 1880, General Adams wired Washington of the capture of the White River Utes. After depositing Chief Douglas at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, Adams returned to Washington with Captain Jack, Sowawick, Wass, Shavano, Waret, Tim Johnson and Thomas (Henry Jim). They arrived in Washington on Saturday, February 28<sup>th</sup>.

The terms of the Washington Treaty of 1880 were agreed to by the Ute delegation on March 6, 1880. The agreement provided for separate lands for the Southern Utes, Uncompaghe Utes and Northern Utes to be allotted in severalty to individual Indians, in

exchange for ceding the lands of the Confederated Ute Reservation.

The Ute delegation left Washington for Colorado on Thursday, March 25, 1880. Chief Ouray died a few months later in August 1880. In 1881, the Northern Ute and Tabeguache were removed from Colorado to reservations in Utah, and the Southern Ute were confined to their reservations in Southwestern Colorado. The Tabeguache under Chief Ouray tried to accommodate the white settlers, so it is surprising that his band of Utes were removed from Colorado, along with the rebellious Northern Utes.

Carl Schurz was born March 2,

1829, in Liblar, Germany (near Cologne). He was raised as a Roman Catholic during the reign of Frederick William IV, King of Prussia. He learned to play the piano by the age of six, and continued to play throughout his life. He attended the University of Bonn during the Revolution of 1848 and studied with Professor Gottfried Kinkel. The revolution sought the unification of the German states under a constitutional, democratic government. Many of the university students and professors, including Kinkel and Schurz, fought with the rebels against the Prussian monarchy. Kinkel was captured and imprisoned in Spandau Prison near Berlin, and Schurz fled to Switzerland in 1849. In 1850, Schurz returned to Germany, rescued Kinkel from prison, and fled to England.

For his heroics, Schurz was recognized as a German national hero. While in London, Schurz met Margarethe Meyer (born 1833), the daughter of a wealthy Jewish manufacturer from Hamburg, Germany, and they were married in London on July 6, 1852. They immigrated to the United States in 1852, and settled in a German colony in Philadelphia where their first daughter, Agathe, was born in the summer of 1853. In 1855, the Schurz family moved to Watertown, Wisconsin, where Schurz became a member of the bar, and became involved in politics.

Schurz became a member of the newly-formed Republican Party which supported John C. Fremont, "The Pathfinder," in his unsuccessful presidential campaign of 1856. With over one million Germans in the U.S., Schurz's stature as a hero gave him a

powerful voice in American politics. In 1858, he supported the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, in the Illinois senatorial campaign against the Democratic candidate, Stephen Douglas, and Schurz became a life-long friend of Lincoln. In 1860, Schurz was staunchly anti-slavery and campaigned for Lincoln's election as President.

After his election, President Lincoln appointed Schurz (age 31) as Ambassador to Spain in 1860. At Schurz's request, Schurz returned from his diplomatic post and was commissioned as a Brigadier General in the U.S. Army in 1862. Schurz saw action throughout the Civil War, and was promoted to Major General. A Civil War photograph shows a rakish Major General Schurz with a cigar in one hand and a saber in the other. Between engagements, he was a guest at the White House where he played piano and smoked cigars.

After Lincoln's assassination in April 1865, Andrew Johnson succeeded to the Presidency, and Schurz resigned his military commission and became a newspaper editor. In November of 1865, Horace Greeley hired Schurz as the Washington correspondent to *The New York Tribune*. In March of 1866, Schurz became editor of *The Detroit Daily Post*, and then editor and part owner of the German newspaper, *Westliche Post*, in St. Louis, Missouri.

Although the Schurz family settled in St. Louis, his wife and daughters, Marianne and Agathe, returned to Germany when his daughter, Emma, died in 1867. Schurz continued in politics supporting General Ulysses S. Grant for President in 1868. Schurz was elected to a six-year

term as Senator of Missouri in 1869. Schurz's son, Carl, was born on February 28, 1871.

Schurz was a champion of civil service reform. He was at odds with President Grant over the spoils system, and supported Horace Greeley for President in 1872 against President Grant. As punishment for his betrayal of the Republican candidate, Schurz lost many committee assignments in Congress after Grant was re-elected.

### **Appointed Sec. of Interior**

In 1875, Schurz supported the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, in the Ohio gubernatorial race. During the next year, personal tragedy struck Schurz. First, his father died in Illinois, then on March 12, 1876, his wife Margarethe died at the age of 44 following the birth of their son, Herbert. Finally, Schurz' mother died in February of 1877.

In part to distract him from his grief, Schurz threw himself into the Presidential campaign of Governor Rutherford B. Hayes against Samuel J. Tilden in 1876. In return for his support, President Hayes appointed Schurz as Secretary of the Interior. Schurz was the first person of German birth to be a member of any President's cabinet. Schurz took office a few months after the defeat of General Custer on the Little Big Horn River by the Sioux Indians under Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse.

The Indian Bureau under the Grant Administration was rife with corruption and scandal. Schurz's commitment to civil service reform brought an end to the corruption of the Indian Bureau. Under Schurz, the Indian Bureau opened the Hampton

Institute and the Carlisle Institute to educate Indians, initiated the system of Indian police, and hired Indians as teamsters to transport annuity goods to the reservations.

In August of 1879, Schurz travelled with the President's son, Webb Hayes, to the Indian reservations for six weeks. During his tour of the Indian reservations, Secretary Schurz met with General Charles Adams and Colorado Governor Frederick W. Pitkin in Manitou Springs, Colorado, in early September of 1879, to discuss the Ute situation.

After the Meeker Massacre, Schurz enlisted Adams to secure the release of the captives and to investigate the events. Schurz directed Adams to bring a Ute delegation to Washington, D.C. When James Abraham Garfield took office as President at the end of 1880, Schurz retired to private life at the age of 52, never again to hold public office.

Schurz spent the rest of his life as an elder statesman and writer residing in New York City. He was an editor of *The New York Evening Post* and became a contributing editor to *Harper's Weekly*. He was elected President of the National Civil Service Reform League. He wrote biographies of Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln, as well as his own three-volume autobiography. He was an acquaintance of Presidents Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley and Roosevelt. He received honorary degrees from Harvard University, Columbia University, the University of Wisconsin and the University of Missouri.

In November of 1905, while descending from a New York City

streetcar, he fell and never fully recovered. He died in New York City on May 14, 1906, at the age of 77, and was buried in Tarrytown, New York. Mark Twain and Andrew Carnegie visited his deathbed, and Presidents Roosevelt and Cleveland sent condolences. A memorial was held at Carnegie Hall, and ex-President Grover Cleveland, Booker T. Washington and the President of Harvard University eulogized Schurz.

Major William H. Berry was an Indian Agent at the Uncompahgre Los Piños Agency from 1879 through 1881. Berry traveled to Washington, DC, with the Ute delegation in 1880, and assisted in the closing of the Uncompahgre Los Piños Agency and in the removal of the Tabeguache (Uncompahgre) Ute to Utah.

Major Berry was well-known for his connection to the murder of "young Jackson." In September of 1880, three men—Andrew D. Jackson, his uncle, John H. Jackson, and a man named Mannell—left Saguache for Ouray with a load of whiskey. While they were eating dinner in their camp, they were approached by two Indians—Johnson Shavano (who was the son of Chief Shavano pictured in the photograph) and Indian Henry. The Indians asked for food, and what actually ensued is not entirely certain. However, shooting broke out, and Johnson Shavano was killed and Indian Henry shot in the arm. The white men fled to the home of Indian Agent, H.C. Cline. Chief Shavano went to Major Berry at the Los Piños Agency to enlist his help. Berry went to the Cline residence and arrested Andrew Jackson. Berry and several others were escorting Jackson to Gunnison for trial when they were

surrounded by sixty Indians, and Jackson was shot and killed. The white settlers were infuriated, and Berry was arrested for his role in Jackson's murder.

Colonel Henry Page was the Indian Agent for the Southern Ute at Ignacio from 1879 through 1881, and attended the Washington Treaty of 1880. He was also involved in the removal of the Ute.

This Ute delegation photograph is published in several books including *The Photograph and the American Indian* by Bush and Mitchell, and *An Enduring Interest: The Photographs of Alexander Gardner* edited by Brooks Johnson. In both of these books, the photograph is credited to Alexander Gardner. Despite this attribution, the available evidence indicates that this photograph was *not* taken by Alexander Gardner. The evidence reflects that this photo was actually taken by a little known government photographer named Lewis Emory Walker (1825-1880), who was the Photographer of the Office of the Supervising Architect at the Treasury Department in Washington, D.C. during March 1880. Although Walker and Gardner were acquaintances, and had similar careers, the work of Alexander Gardner is much better known in photography circles. However, Lewis Walker was a skilled photographer worthy of note.

Lewis Emory Walker was a native of Greenwich, Hampshire County, Massachusetts. In his early youth he was attracted to daguerreotyping. He studied chemistry at the New Salem Academy in New Salem, Massachusetts from 1842 to 1847. By teaching school during the



winter months, he accumulated enough money to support himself during the rest of the year, while pursuing his studies in chemistry. Once finished, he devoted his entire time to photography, traveled widely, and rapidly gained fame from the excellence of his photographs. In 1856, at the age of 33, Walker became an ambrotypist in Matthew Brady's New York studio, remaining with Brady for one year. Purportedly, a young Timothy O'Sullivan was apprenticing at Brady's New York studio at the time. Walker left Brady's studio to become the ambrotypist at Fredericks Gallery in 1857, where he stayed only a few

months.

In June 1857, Walker was hired as the Government Photographer in the Office of the Supervising Architect at the Treasury Department, which post he held until his death in 1880. Alexander Gardner claimed to have recommended Walker for the job at the Treasury. Gardner began working for Brady in 1857, and opened Brady's Gallery in Washington, D.C. in 1858 with Timothy O'Sullivan as his assistant.

In 1857 Walker photographed on steel and zinc, and tested the value of carbon as a photographic medium, thereby anticipating the process of photolithography. Walker adapted the

method of printing directly from a tracing onto a translucent cloth which enabled him to trace maps for the Army during the Civil War, beginning after the First Battle of Bull Run. Later he copied coast survey maps and architectural drawings for the Office of the Supervising Architect at the Treasury Department. Walker perfected the process of reproducing architectural plans by the use of paper in lieu of glass negatives. Using the direct paper-negative process, Walker made prints as large as 24 ½" by 36 ½".

Walker photographed the construction of the Treasury Building Extension from 1857 to 1859, and the construction of the Capitol. His work included architecture, landscape and portraiture. As a government photographer, he was called upon to photograph government employees and important people. Unfortunately most of his work cannot be easily identified because his negatives are largely unsigned.

Walker developed the first, and up to 1874, the only government photography lab in Washington, D.C. He had a studio with all the necessary accessories at the Treasury Department. Solar contact prints were exposed to the Sun from a platform which projected from the second story of the building. His first studio was a small room with one window on the courtyard side of the Treasury building. Then he was assigned to an apartment in the south wing of the Treasury. Later he moved to a small frame building standing on the grounds of the Treasury.

In 1880, O'Sullivan described Walker as his "bosom friend...having been associated with him professionally for twenty-five years..." Walker and

O'Sullivan may have become acquainted in Washington in 1857 when Walker took the job at Treasury and O'Sullivan went to work at Brady's Washington studio. Or, they may have met in 1856 at Brady's New York studio while O'Sullivan was apprenticing.

When O'Sullivan was hired as the survey photographer for Clarence King in April 1867, O'Sullivan turned to Lewis Walker to assist him in the selection of the items he would need for the expedition. When O'Sullivan returned to Washington, D.C. in October 1868, O'Sullivan printed the negatives taken during the previous two summers in the field in the Treasury Department's photography lab with Walker's assistance.

Walker died on Thursday, October 21, 1880 at the age of 57, from complications arising from malaria. Upon Walker's death, O'Sullivan applied for the position of Chief Photographer of the Treasury on October 27, 1880, and was appointed to the post on November 6, 1880. O'Sullivan held the position for only five months before ill health forced him to resign.

### **Matthew Brady's studio**

As mentioned above, on Thursday, January 29, 1880, Ouray and Chipeta were photographed at Matthew Brady's Washington studio. In early February 1880, Ouray, Chipeta and the Ute delegation visited the Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Subsequently, the local photographer, John N. Choate, distributed a cabinet card photograph of Ouray and Chipeta, but it appears to be a copy print of the Brady photo. The Ute delegation photo

could not have been taken by Brady or Choate in January or February, because not all of the Utes pictured in the subject photo arrived in Washington until February 28, 1880.

The attribution of the subject photo to Walker is based upon the records of the National Archives. In a Letter dated April 29, 1880, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requested the Supervising Architect of the Treasury to provide "copies of photographs of the delegation of Ute Indians, the negative of which is in your office." By Invoice dated June 24, 1880, the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department requested payment for "photographic work" including "group Indians (Ourays Tribe)", "Cab. Cards, Indians," and "group Winnemucca and others." Finally, in a Letter dated August 7, 1880, the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department requested payment of the invoice "for photographic work executed by the photographer of this office." The photographer in the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department during this time was Lewis Walker.

The records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the National Archives contain a photograph dated 1880 of Chief Winnemucca, Sarah Winnemucca and others. This photo of Winnemucca is the same size and format as the individual panels in the subject photo. The carpet, chairs and backdrop are identical. There is no baseboard molding where the backdrop meets the floor in both the subject photo and the Winnemucca photo. The handwriting on the mounts of the Winnemucca

photo and the subject photo are similar.

Perhaps the most important similarity is that both the subject photo and the Winnemucca photo are unsigned. Both photos are specifically described in the above-mentioned invoice as taken by the Photographer of the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department which was Lewis Walker.

The absence of the photographer's credit suggests that the subject photo was taken not by Alexander Gardner, but by Lewis Walker. By 1880, the piracy of photographic images was common. Commercial photographers were careful to include their names on their photos to advertise their work and prevent misappropriation of their images. Unlike Gardner who was an entrepreneur engaged in a commercial enterprise, Walker was a government photographer taking documentary photographs, and did not need to include his name in his photographs. It is typical of Walker not to have signed his photos, and most of his negatives were unsigned. Although Walker is renowned for his architectural photographs, he is known to have taken portraits of government officials and important people.

In contrast to Walker, Alexander Gardner was concerned with attribution. Gardner owned a private studio and purportedly left Matthew Brady's studio, in part, due to the policy of crediting all photographs to Brady. Brady failed to give credit to the actual photographers such as Gardner and O'Sullivan. When Gardner opened his own studio, the actual photographer



was given credit on the mount or the photo.

Examples of Gardner's Indian photographs in the National Archives include Gardner's name printed clearly on each mount. Also, examples of Gardner's Indian photographs contain a carpet, chairs and backdrop which are substantially different from the subject photo. Usually in Gardner's photos there is a baseboard molding where the backdrop meets the floor which is absent in the subject photo.

Although the newspapers reported the movements of the Ute delegation throughout their stay in Washington including a trip to the Brady Studio, Carlisle School, Mt. Vernon and National Museum, there was no report of a trip to Alexander Gardner's studio.

The only documentation with regard to the subject photo points directly to Lewis Walker, and there is no documentary evidence to support an attribution to Gardner. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that this photograph was taken by Lewis Emory Walker (1825-1880), Photographer in the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Department of Treasury in March 1880.

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## Westerners Bookshelf



**Little Gray Men: Roswell and the Rise of a Popular Culture** by Toby Smith. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM, 2000. 199 pp. Afterward, credits, sources and index. \$24.95

For the aficionado of the alien spacecraft and its attendant occupants, whether as a true believer or an observer of social phenomenon, this is your book.

Starting with the alleged crash of an alien spacecraft near Roswell, New Mexico in 1947, this book follows all the rumored stories of perished aliens, alien contacts, and the effusive denials by the U. S. Air Force and allied governmental agencies.

Included is a review of three "flying saucer" books, *Flying Saucers*, by Bernard Newman, *The Flying Saucers are Real*, by Donald Keyhoe and *Behind the Flying Saucers*, by Frank Scully, with their contribution to the excitement. In addition, the author elicits the thoughts of the Godfather of Science Fiction, Jack Williamson.

The conclusion to the book is an interesting survey of space related videos and movies.

As a break from the serious study of western history this is a fun read.

--Robert D. Stull, P.M.



### Westerners International

Corresponding Membership in the Denver Posse does not include membership in the Westerners International. If you wish to receive the *Buckskin Bulletin*, you may purchase a subscription for \$5.00/year. Contact Westerners International, c/o National Cowboy Hall of Fame, 1700 NE 63rd St., Oklahoma City, OK 73111. 800-541-4650

**A History of Skiing in Colorado**, (Revised Edition) by Abbott Fay. Ouray, Colorado: Western Reflections, Inc., 2000. 196 pages, 100+ photographs, bibliography, index. Softbound, \$14.95.

In 1984, Cordillera Press published a book by Abbot Fay, *Ski Tracks in the Rockies, A Century of Colorado Skiing*. Long out of print, this nonstandard approximately eleven by eight and a half inch book has been revised and republished in a standard trade edition size as *A History of Skiing in Colorado*.

Beginning with the "Gold Rush of '59" the author guides the reader through the evolution of skiing in Colorado. He introduces the "flying Norseman", Carl Howelson, and many of the others who began the true popularization of skiing in Colorado. He starts with the Winter Carnivals on the Western Slope and Summit County during the first decades of the new century. He then moves on to the creation of early ski areas, such as Winter Park, and Denver ski clubs in the 1930s, Arlbergs, Zipfelburgers and Eskimos.

Continuing across the state he visits early skiing in Gunnison, the Grand Mesa, Aspen, etc. Then with the advent of World War II, he moves on to Camp Hale and the training of the 10th Mountain Division. Then it's on to Aspen, Arapahoe Basin, Keystone, Crested Butte, Vail, Mount Werner, and some you may not remember hearing of, such as Tenderfoot Mountain and Fun Mountain.

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...this revision has three highly interesting appendices for those interested in skiing...

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An informative chapter is devoted to the Olympics that never happened, in Colorado anyway. Throughout the book is an ongoing discussion of the ski pioneers in and from Colorado. Unfortunately, this revision perpetuates a discrepancy found in the earlier edition also. In both editions a photograph is captioned "Loveland Basin's double chair lift, first in the nation, 1947" while nearby the text states, "Berthoud Pass opened the nation's first double chair lift in 1947".

This revision has three highly interesting appendices for those interested in skiing and winter recreation in Colorado, entitled, *Who Did What?*, *What Was Where?* and *What Was What?* they have the information needed to provide the answer to many trivia questions. Though I have to admit I was surprised that Wheeler's Junction wasn't mentioned. This is one that should be on the shelf of those interested in Colorado's history, if they don't have a copy of the 1984 edition.

--Keith Fessenden, P.M.

**Women of Consequence: The Colorado Women's Hall of Fame**, by Jeanne Varnell, foreword by M. L. Hanson. Johnson Books, Boulder, CO, 1999. 336 pages, 59 photographs, notes and bibliographic sources, index, Cloth, \$32.50, paper \$18.00.

This book contains mini biographies of the fifty-nine remarkable individuals who are the current members of the Colorado Women's Hall of Fame. These members are joined by others on a regular basis. The criteria for their selection was a charge to "induct women who made significant contributions to Colorado and its national presence, and made ongoing efforts to elevate the status of women, and to open new frontiers."

Each biography is a well written abbreviated glimpse of the woman's life and her contributions to Colorado and society. These are the brief kind of biographies that leave the reader wanting to learn more about these remarkable women's lives and accomplishments. Many of the accomplishments made by these women during their lifetimes encourage the reader to believe in themselves and to realize that they too can make a positive difference in our society.

For those who are familiar with the history of the mile high state, in this volume you will find biographies of most of the women you would expect to find here.

Women such as Clara Brown, Margaret Brown, Isabella Bird, Augusta Tabor, Elizabeth Doe Tabor, Emily Griffith, Florence Sabin, Helen Bonfils, Josephine Roche, Helen Black, Justina Ford and Mary Elitch Long. You will also find those who came to fame in other locales such as Mamie Eisenhower and Golda Meir.

Fortunately this volume is not just a collection of biographies of awesome people from the past. The most inspirational biographies are those of the women who have, within the past forty years, accomplished so much in Colorado. Women such as Cleo Parker Robinson, Lena Archuletta, Patricia Schroeder, Dana Crawford, Dorothy Lamm, Wilma Webb, LaRae Orullian and Sumiko Hennessy grace these pages and remind the reader much can still be accomplished today by those who care and dare to try. I will look forward to learning who the next inductees to the Colorado Women's Hall of Fame will be.

This is a book that belongs in the every middle, junior high and high school library in Colorado. This book is one that I will encourage my daughters and their friends to read; everyone needs a hero now and then.

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...fortunately this volume is not just a collection of biographies of awesome people from the past...

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--Keith Fessenden, P.M.

**To Hell With Honor: Custer and the Little Bighorn** by Larry Sklenar. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 2000. 395 pp. Nine photographs, three maps, notes, bibliography, index, hardcover. \$29.95.

General George Armstrong Custer is the subject of yet another book about the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Although his ability as a skilled and fearless cavalry officer has never been seriously challenged, Custer's decisions at the Little Bighorn have been scrutinized and criticized for more than a century. He is often characterized as an over-eager warrior who squandered his own life and those of his men because he did not know what he was doing. The author disagrees and sets out to prove that Custer had a battle plan, that this plan had a good chance to succeed, that the plan intended to minimize bloodshed, and that his decisions before and during the battle were made in accordance with army protocol. Sklenar endeavors to prove these points by explaining the personalities of the important officers and by writing a detailed analysis of the events leading to the fight, the battle itself, and its aftermath. Using hundreds of original sources ranging from Custer's writings to court transcripts, the author presents a convincing case.

For example, Major Reno had been in the army longer than Custer, but the general out-ranked him and Reno resented this. The major had little experience with Indians and did not understand how they fought. Captain Benteen was worse. Having enormous pride and ambition, but only limited ability, he felt that Custer had not given him the recognition he deserved. Benteen became critical and vindictive, considered himself as the eternal scapegoat, and treated all of Custer's remarks as personal challenges. It is little wonder that during the heat of battle Reno lost his courage and Benteen refused to follow orders.

The author digs into other controversial subjects. The intent of Custer's battle plan was to quickly capture a large number of prisoners, mainly women and children. This proven strategy minimized casualties on both sides because warriors rarely fought if their families were in danger. Custer's decision to divide the regiment into two wings was done for sound tactical reasons, it was consistent with standard army practices, and it followed his battle plan. Failure was due to logistical problems, to subordinates that could not put personalities aside and follow orders, and to an overwhelming force of determined Indians that no one had expected.

After the battle, the author presents evidence that Benteen and Reno conspired to justify their actions by shifting the blame to Custer. They gave false testimony that portrayed Custer as confused and unable to effectively lead his men. The Army was not particularly interested in learning the truth that would likely result in a court marshal of senior officers. It would get a black eye for its efforts, regardless of the outcome. The Army was more interested in future appropriations and public support than in prosecuting officers.

I recommend this book for those who enjoy studying the details of Custer and his officers during the campaign that ended at the Little Big Horn. For those with a more general interest in these events, this book is a bit too technical and detailed for a casual read of this still controversial event.

--Richard C. Barth, C.M.

**Cinema Southwest: An Illustrated Guide to the Movies and Their Locations** by John A. Murray. Northland Publishing Company, Flagstaff, AZ, 2000. 162 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$21.95.

John Murray's book, "Cinema Southwest" is a guide book on the locations of movies made in the Southwestern United States. It is equally a book of essays on these same movies.

Discussing the movies and locations in Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Utah, Nevada and California, Murray has a lot of territory to cover. As Murray mentions, there have been 800 movies shot in Texas alone—at a large number of locations. He tells us that he has chosen the films and areas to discuss based on three criteria: significant use of the Southwestern landscape, aesthetic achievement and/or cinematic importance.

Each chapter discusses one state and begins with a quick historical overview of its place in film history. Then, Murray has picked just a handful of movies from each state on which to focus his essays and location-finding directions. In Nevada, for instance, he writes about *The Iron Horse* (1924), *The Misfits* (1961) and *Leaving Las Vegas* (1997). Murray finishes each chapter with much shorter segments on other filming locations in each state. The book also has sidebars on a few pivotal people discussed in the chapter. For example, in the chapter on New Mexico, Murray writes on Larry McMurty (*The Lonesome Dove* and *The Last Picture Show*) and Robert Duvall (*Tender Mercies* and *The Lonesome Dove*).

In general, I like what the author has written on these pages. He is insightful on the movies he has chosen. (I have every intention of renting a couple of movies he mentions which I have not seen and in which I am now interested.) It is hard to argue that any of the films he discusses should be replaced by different ones. I wish, however, that he had been a little broader in the years which he covers. All film writers have a tendency to write about an era they find special, Murray's decade is definitely the 60's. I wish he had identified films of the teens, twenties, thirties and forties. *Cinema Southwest* would also be more enjoyable and useful as a trip planner if he had included rudimentary maps to the locations he mentions. The book's navigational instructions are somewhat difficult to follow, such as "...locations that are still quite accessible today, such as in the open desert country known as Stagecoach Wash due south of Redlands Pass on US 163 (Redlands Pass is eight miles southeast of Mexican Hat, Utah) and in the immediate vicinity of the Mitten Buttes.....on the self-guided auto tour in Monument Valley Navajo Tribal Park."

Even with these criticisms in mind, I would recommend this book to anyone interested in visiting film locations of Westerns. The book is wonderfully designed, illustrated and written. Even with its lack of maps, I'll sure be taking this book on my next road trip through the Southwest.

The author lists his top ten Southwestern Films: *Stagecoach* (1939) *Tender Mercies* (1983), *Hud* (1963), *Lonely are the Brave* (1962), *High Plains Drifter* (1972), *The Searchers* (1956), *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), *The Milagro Beanfield War* (1988) and *The Misfits* (1961). Let the debates begin!

--David Emrich, P.M.



The University of New Mexico Press has re-issued three books by newspaperman Walter Noble Burns which were published from 1926 to 1932. The books were very popular when they first came out, making history in the Southwest exciting and available to a wider audience. Now they are available again.

**The Saga of Billy the Kid** by Walter Noble Burns. Foreword by Richard W. Etulain. University of New Mexico Press, Santa Fe, NM, 1999. 322 pages. Paper, \$17.95.

This book was first published in 1926, and followed a period in New Mexico by the author to develop his knowledge about Billy the Kid and the Lincoln County War. The dramatic biography is one of the first books about Billy the Kid and is considered a major factor in developing the legend of the young outlaw.

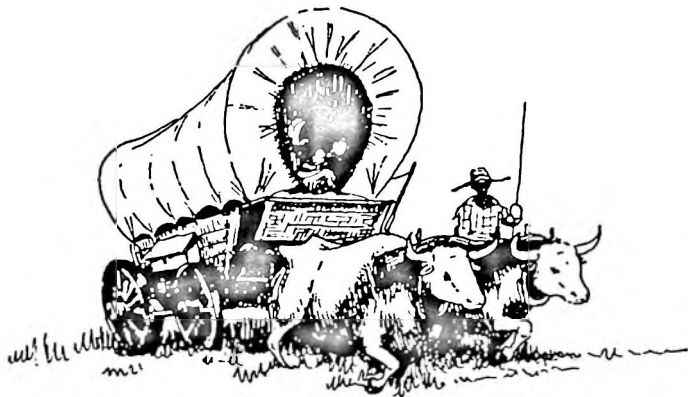
**Tombstone: An Iliad of the Southwest** by Walter Noble Burns. Foreword by Casey Tefertiller. University of New Mexico Press, Santa Fe, NM, 1999. 388 pp. Paper, \$17.95.

This book was published in 1927 and helped establish the legend of Wyatt Earp as lawman and gunfighter. It is described as a mixture of fact and fiction, but was the basis for later novels and movies. Tefertiller, who has a recent biography of Wyatt Earp, discusses the influence of *Tombstone* on legends of Earp and the Old West.

**The Robin Hood of Eldorado; The Saga of Joaquin Murrieta, Famous Outlaw of California's Age of Gold** by Walter Noble Burns. Foreword by Richard Griswold del Castillo. University of New Mexico Press, Santa Fe, NM, 1999. 320 pp. Paper, \$17.95

*The Robin Hood of Eldorado* was published in 1932 to re-create the life of Joaquin Murrieta. As Hispanics were under pressure of deportation threats in the depression days, Burns produced this book to tell of Murrieta who was a social rebel in California in the days of the Gold Rush. Murrieta responded to the rape and murder of his wife by tracking down the assassins and defending Hispanics against violence and dispossession.

--Summarized from Publisher's information





*The* DENVER WESTERNERS

# ROUNDUP

November - December 2000



**Hawthorne, Colorado**

by

**Stan Moore, C.M.**

(Presented November 22, 2000)

# THE DENVER WESTERNERS ROUNDUP

VOL. LVI NO. 6



November - December 2000



## About the Author

Stan Moore is a native of Denver. In 1970 Stan entered the U.S. Army during the Vietnam War. Stan graduated from UCD in 1973.

Stan's interest in western history goes way back. In fact, all the way to the Civil War era. Stan tries to read everything he can about the Southwest Pacific Campaign of WWII. Stan's other interest is the Colorado mountains. He belongs to the Colorado Mountain Club.

Stan is married and has two children.

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The ROUNDUP (ISSN #2078-7970) is published bi-monthly by the Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., founded Jan. 25, 1945. Subscription is included with a paid-up membership. (Corresponding membership is \$20 yearly, due Jan 1) Submission of manuscripts is encouraged, but publication cannot be guaranteed. Illustrations are the responsibility of the author. Manuscripts must be either typewritten, quality computer output or on floppy disk, PC format. All copy is subject to revision and/or correction at the editor's discretion. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy of content, but such accuracy is the ultimate responsibility of the author. Periodical postage is paid at Denver, CO. ROUNDUP editing, layout and pre-press by Jim Krebs, 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220. Printed by Oran V. Siler Printing Company, Denver, CO

POSTMASTER: Send address changes for ROUNDUP to 1925 Xanthia St., Denver, CO 80220

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# Hawthorne, Colorado

by

**Stan Moore, C.M.**

(Presented November 22, 2000)

Hawthorne, Colorado, was a small town located about midway between Golden and Boulder along the front range of Colorado's Rocky Mountains. Now known as Eldorado Springs, it is thought of as a tiny mountain town with a funky swimming pool. It is also the base for some of the best rock climbing around, in Eldorado Canyon. But at the turn of the century—that is, at the start of the twentieth century—Hawthorne was more than a sleepy haven for climbers and other refugees from the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It was a thriving tourist town and host to several railroads, oil drilling, resorts, farming, and real estate development.

We will look at Hawthorne and the area through the prism of the lives of two early settlers of the area, Charles and Jennie Pruden. These two are the author's great-grandparents. We will look at a few of their plans and accomplishments, some of which are in use or usable today. Jennie left diaries which give a down-to-earth account of her life. They also give insight to the rural Boulder County of one-hundred years ago.

The area at the mouth of South Boulder Creek has seen people come and go for thousands of years. There are teepee rings, fire pits, and other evidence of long-time occupation and use. Early settlers plowed under many such sites when digging irrigation ditches and preparing fields for planting. The area

was settled by Whites about 1859. One Mr. Dowdy built a frame house on South Boulder Creek. The site is near what is now an open-space trail head and the Dunn homestead. He also set up and operated a flour mill along the creek. It was destroyed by a flood in 1864. There were several early families, including the DeBackers, the Barbers, the Fowlers, the Kneales, the Robinsons.

The Prudens came on the scene a little later. They left their native Iowa for Colorado in 1882. They followed his father, Seth. He came, like so many, for health reasons. He was fighting TB and sought the clear, dry air. Charlie and Jennie were healthy—healthy enough to live into the 1930s and 40s. They followed the siren call of the West only in order to improve their lot. Their first season in Colorado was spent in Golden. Charlie, a miller by trade, picked up work in a mill there. One of the prominent Golden landowners was Jonas Barber. He owned that part of the town site north of Clear Creek and William Loveland, the southern part. Barber's son, Charles, was married to Seth's sister, Caroline. Charles and Caroline had a ranch along South Boulder Creek. The Prudens settled near there because of the family connections. The reason for going there wasn't the nascent town of Hawthorne.

But there were big plans. This area, like most of Colorado, was being settled,

developed and exploited. Among the developments in the area were:

The Denver Utah & Pacific Railroad was incorporated in the early 1880s by David Moffat and associates. This was Moffat's first attempt to put track through the mountains to northwest Colorado. The name describes the aspirations. They were going to lay tracks and run trains from Denver, through the mountains and continental divide, to Utah, then west clear to salt water. This was an ambitious goal, but the reality was less grandiose. The line ran from Denver north. The route came up through Hallack Junction (in north Denver) then northwest under present-day Standley Lake and squarely across what is now the Rocky Flats plant. It climbed over the mesa to the west and dropped into the South Boulder drainage. It climbed again across the Prudens' land, winding through the hogback before reaching the grade of the creek about a mile west of the hogback. Many miles of grade were prepared. The road was actually made ready for track from Denver, through Hawthorne several miles up South Boulder Creek. Work was done on the western slope. Some grade was cut, up the Blue River Valley, from Kremmling towards Dillon. The road was surveyed up Ten Mile Creek past what is now Copper Mountain Ski Area. A tunnel was even started at Yankee Doodle Lake along what is now the Rollins Pass Road. One can see the tailings on the north side. But track was never laid, and traffic never ran past Hallack Junction in north Denver.

The DU&P came to town in about

1882. Local lore is that Swedes did the grading west of Windy Cut and Irish did the work east of it. Even though no traffic ever ran on this road the dream was not lost. One has to think that many lessons learned were applied to the Moffat Road, twenty years later. One major difference is that the Moffat Road runs much higher through this area than does the DU&P, thus avoiding the spiny hogbacks and narrow rocky canyon. Although it carried many a train, the local stretch of the grade was well used. The roadbed was the access route up the canyon until 1927, or for some 45 years. Even today, parts of it carry water board traffic and other parts are open space or park trails.

### Warm Springs

The impetus of development, the main attraction, is the warm springs which feed into the creek between the canyon's mouth and the hogback. Early on these were recognized as an important resource. It is a natural place for a resort—spectacular scenery, plenty of water, warm springs and access to Denver. So a settlement grew up at the mouth of the canyon. What was developed there was a privately owned pool/spa/hotel/dance hall complex. It was so definitively private that the US Postal Service did not allow a post office within its boundaries. The post office was located outside the gates in 1907 and was named "Hawthorne." Not until the mid twenties was the name of the post office changed to "Eldorado Springs." Even then, it stayed on the public side of the gate. The complex was known locally, simply as "The Resort." Its story starts in 1902. That year, Canon Camp, a company run

by Mrs. May Taylor (President) and Mr. George Taylor (secretary), bought from the UP a railroad section at the mouth of the canyon. (The railroad companies were subsidized with vast land grants throughout the West, the idea being that they could sell it to finance their expansion.) The Taylors set up a "spiritualist camp". The company advertised that 300 people per day had come in 1902, and "already this year [1903] the management has been guaranteed three times that number." Tent, cot and camp stool could be had for \$10 for the season, and board \$5 for per month. Just what went on at a "spiritualist camp"? Well, we know that "There will be lectures, services, and seances each day, and the management is in communication [unspecified here if this is via telegraph or medium] with all the noted spiritualists of the country with a view of securing the best talent obtainable..." The search for meaning was as intense and serious a century ago as it is today.

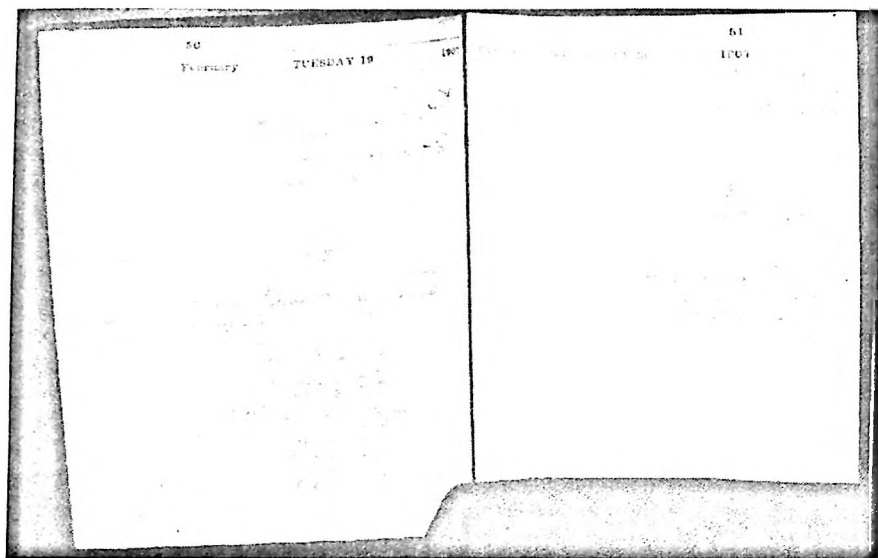
In 1903, Frank Fowler, a long-time local resident, became interested in the economic potential of the springs. He is credited with originating the name "Eldorado Springs."

The year 1904 saw the formation of the "Moffat Lakes Resort Company." Founders included Frank Fowler, William Garner, Park Sprague, and messrs. Stockton and Ghost. They bought out the Taylors' interests. The focus changed from spiritualism and seances. The founders were bent on creating a resort where tourists could be separated from their money. A small covered pool was opened that year. A

dance hall was built as well. As mentioned, this was a private club. Now, and down through the years, the competition between "The Resort", behind company gates, and others was lively. Several competing businesses were built outside the resort: dance halls, hotels, stores, stables, rooming houses, and of course the post office.

Marketing efforts were made early. In 1904, Mr. Fowler brought in an expert to analyze the spring water. He hired Arthur Lake, a geology professor at the Colorado School of Mines. The water was found to be pure and soft, comparable to that found bubbling in the health spas of Austria and Germany. Mr. Lake later had the library on Mines' campus named after him. Fowler also saw to it that a street in Eldorado Springs was named after Lake.

There was a big opening day on July 4, 1905. A 50'x150' outdoor pool was opened. It was near the site of the present pool. Also that year, Fowler formed the "Eldorado Springs Railway Co.," also known as "The Automobile Road." The plan was to run a train to Marshall (also known variously as Langford and Gorham). From there people could come and go most anywhere on the trains to Denver and Boulder. More importantly, people could easily come from Denver for the day. So, grade was dug, by hand and horse. That had to be a job—the area is near Rocky Flats which is so named for a reason! The distance worked was three or so miles out to Marshall. Tracks were laid and the road was soon ready. The present auto road from



*Pages from the diary, dated 1907*

Marshall to Eldorado Springs pretty much follows the route. In 1907 it actually carried a steam locomotive and cars for the summer. This stretch of rails was taken over by the Colorado and Southern in 1908. It became part of the Denver & Interurban, an electric commuter line. Of course that meant the town got electric lights that year too. Tourism was big business; steam trains ran excursions on Sundays and holidays through the teens and into the twenties. Service on the line was discontinued in 1927.

The resort was, all along, being developed as more than just a pool.

Resort cabins were built in town. Some of the cabins were full time homes. Most were vacation homes only. They were modest buildings. Many were

named, with such as the "Dew Drop Inn", "Ko Z", "Little Abner", "Daisy Mae", "Ivy B", "Linger Longer".... Speaking of cabins in Eldorado Springs, of course mention must be made that the Eisenhowers honeymooned at one in 1916 or so.

In order to give non-swimmers something to do, "Crazy Stairs" were built up the canyon sides. One went up the south side to the DU&P grade, near where Ivy Baldwin had his cable. Another went a shorter way up the north side to a gazebo on a ledge.

The *Eldorado Springs Gazette*, a weekly newspaper, was published during the season. This paper reported that some 40,000 people were said to have come to the resort during the 1907 season. Also, in 1908, a hotel, the New

Eldorado, was built. It had some 40 rooms. It was located on north side of the pool. Since the pool was right there, the rooms had no bathtubs. It burnt down in 1938. A rooming house, the Grandview Rooming House, was built in 1906 to the east and north of the pool.

The Moffat Lakes Resort Company had varied and changing ownership from 1902 to 1938. It had expanded greatly from 1902 to 1908. By then it was overextended and went into receivership. Company vice-president William Garner bought it out of receivership for \$94,000. He ran the resort until 1918. Then, the Fowler family bought it back. Frank, his son Jack and daughter-in-law Mabel, made a contract to buy Garner out over time. Garner was to be paid \$6000/year. The resort remained in the Fowler family until 1927 when some prominent Denver men got into the act.

### **More valuable than a road**

Note that South Boulder is the only major creek along the northern front range without a road going up it. Deer, Turkey, Bear, Mt. Vernon, Clear, Golden Gate, Boulder, St. Vrain, Cache La Poudre, and all the other creeks had train or stagecoach roads and now have auto roads. But South Boulder carries something more valuable than a mere road: water. The Moffat Tunnel's pilot bore was put to use to bring water from the western slope to Denver. That water goes from the tunnel into the headwaters of South Boulder Creek.

Enter Fred Bonfils, of Denver Post fame, and Horace Bennett, a Denver real estate man. Both were astute

businessmen, ever ready to make a shrewd investment. Along in the mid 1920s, they were approached by someone, perhaps William Garner, perhaps someone else, we don't know. However they got the idea, the plan was to buy land at the mouth of South Boulder Creek. It was of course a prime site for a dam to store the western slope water coming through the Moffat Tunnel. Whoever owned the land could make a killing. So in 1927 they, Bonfils and Bennett, bought the resort for \$150,000 in cash and bonds. The cash was to pay Garner off entirely and bonds went to the Fowler family. The new owners, like previous ones, had big plans. They built the present road up the canyon with an eye to real estate development. Thus came to an end forty-plus years of the use of the DU&P grade as a carriage and auto road.

In the interim, engineers for the Denver Water Board came up with the plan to build three smaller dams rather than one big one at Eldorado Springs. Along South Boulder Creek, Gross Reservoir was built some 10 miles west of town and Diversion Dam was built about a mile west of town. From there water is sent by aqueduct to Ralston Reservoir and into the treatment and delivery system. So there was no reservoir and no real estate killing. The new owners' plans went further awry in fall of 1927. A fire destroyed the pool house, dance hall, and several cabins at The Resort. They found they had to spend another \$150,000 rebuilding. Over the next several years, what with the unanticipated extra expenses and the depression, they found it difficult to meet the bond interest payments. Bennett took



over Bonfils' interest in the project. Finally in 1938, Jack and Mabel Fowler bought a controlling interest with Bennett retaining a share. Before that, though, there was flood in 1938 which washed out parts of Bonfils' and Bennett's road. The Denver Water Board helped to rebuild it in exchange for an easement. Thus ended their foray into land development.

Another resort property in the area was the Crag Hotel. In 1908, Mr. Stengel bought a school section. (The state set aside specified sections of land for the benefit of schools; it was sometimes sold to raise money.) It was located west of Hawthorne, high on the south side of the creek. He built a hotel and cabins, and sold lots. He named the hotel the Crag.

Access was from the Moffat Road. One had to walk or take a carriage. One could even, in theory, drive up. In 1908, the Denver Auto Club assessed its members \$10 each. They made a road from Coal Creek Canyon across the west side of Rocky Flats to the DU&P grade above Hawthorne. The road was apparently made, but was seldom used. It was pretty rough and hard on cars. At least some people drove their cars along it. In the 1950s the auto road from Marshall to Eldorado Springs was paved. Local boosters got it paved that far by selling the Department of Highways on the possibility of joining it to that old road across the flats, making a loop.

A funicular was built in 1912. It ran from the hotel down to the creek. A description: "A cable ran around a big

wheel. The car or seat coming down pulled the car coming up, passing in the middle—exactly half way. A water tank on each car coming down was filled with water at the top, drained at the bottom." People would come up the old DU&P grade in cars or carriages to the funicular. The road came up a steep draw from town to join the grade before Windy Cut. Or they could come around east of town and go up to the grade by Pruden's cut. This route was longer but less steep. There were burros for rent at the resort for riding around or up to the Crag. The Crag Hotel burnt in 1912. It was not rebuilt and the funicular was taken out in 1914.

So, like much of Colorado, what started with a family or two staking a claim in the 1850s and 60s had, by the early 1900s, become a town.

### **Human cost of Moffat Road**

Charlie and Jennie Pruden played their part. Let me give a little background about the lives of these two. As mentioned, they came to Colorado in 1882 and settled in the area because of family. Charlie and Jennie homesteaded a plot by Plainview on the west side of Rocky Flats and built a cabin but never really lived there. They acquired a plot by Hawthorne on the south side of the creek, east of the hogback. This they didn't actually homestead, but bought from a settler. Their first house was a log cabin on the south end of the property near a spring. The foundation is still visible. Soon it burnt down and they moved down the hill, nearer to the creek and started a stone house which rambled and grew over the years. Their home was a typical 19<sup>th</sup>-century, more

or less self-sufficient family farm. It had livestock, a barn, outbuildings, blacksmith shop, orchard, bees, and so on. Charlie ran the farm and also worked off and on at a flour mill in Marshall. Jennie took in boarders which meant even more cooking and laundry. She also took in mending and laundry from time to time. There were two children, Seth and Odessa. Odessa was the author's grandmother. Seth died in 1903 while working on the Moffat Road. He got caught in an outbreak of scarlet fever. (I have never read or seen statistics on the human cost of the Moffat Road. Probably we of today would be taken aback by the toll of injuries and deaths.) The day Seth died Jennie wrote "My boy died today." And she did not open a diary for more than a year. In 1908, five years later, she mourned on the anniversary.

Charlie and Jennie lived separate lives. Charlie not only ran the farm, he acted as postmaster, had a store, had other business plans, took trips, and had a lot of meetings. A common entry in the diary is "Charlie went to Boulder today", or "Charlie went to Denver yesterday, back this evening..."

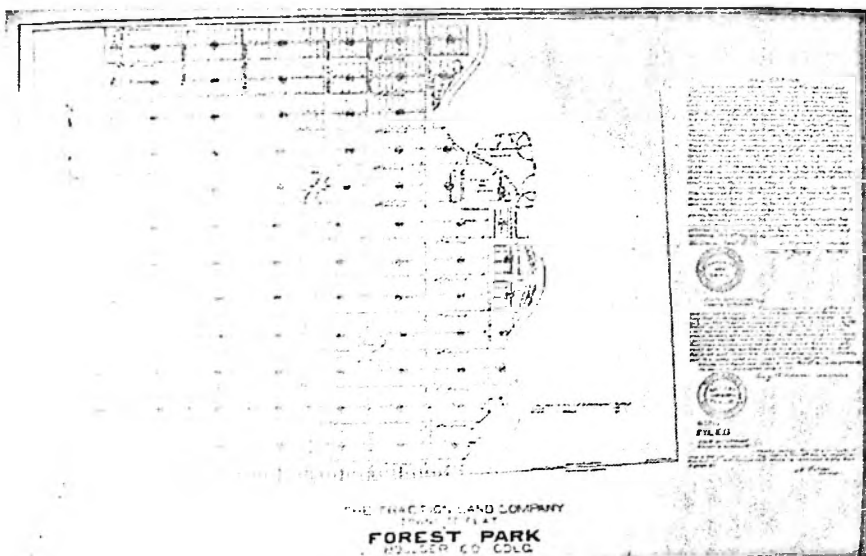
Reading the diaries, Jennie spent a lot of time on the humdrum—cooking, washing, ironing, keeping track of and collecting boarder's bills. But the diaries mention other tasks, meetings, and accomplishments. She mentions going to "the resort" frequently. Usually the trip was made to deliver work, but sometimes it was social. Often there were community picnics. Usually Ivy Baldwin would walk. This man was a daredevil who lived in town

and would walk his wire. He had two wires, a low and a high one. The high was over 500 feet above the creek. He would walk the wire, do head stands on it, and generally put on a show.

Charlie spent his time farming and working at the mill. But he, like many a pioneer, had grand plans. He intended to divert water from a neighboring draw to make his land more desirable. He dug miles of ditches, mostly by hand, some with a team of horses and a blade. This was quite an effort in this rocky soil. He made a network of ditches and ponds to control and store the bounty. For some reason he never filed on the water rights. If these works carried water, it didn't happen much or often. He had apparently lost interest and moved on to other projects. These varied from oil speculation to train rights of way to land development. In 1903, he contracted for, and hoped for royalties from, an oil well. There were many wells in Boulder County—a field some six by two miles stretched northeast of Boulder. (It was called the Haystack Field because it was close to Haystack Mountain.) He also negotiated a stop on the train line from Marshall. Note that this calls for the Prudens, not the railroad company, to decide on the stopping point.

### **New towns planned**

The turn of the century was an exciting time in Hawthorne—resort development, trains, oil wells, cars....Then, as now, land development ran the Colorado economy. All over Colorado, towns were being laid out, boomed, sold, and some of them even took hold and grew! All along the front range, a



*A plat of proposed "Forest Park"*

number of towns were laid out, planned and filed for.

Charlie and Jennie worked out the plan for one of these towns. It was to be called Forest Park, and it was south of the Pruden ranch. In 1907, Charlie, Mr. William Jeffreys, and some associates surveyed, platted, and filed for a town company, under the name of Traction Land Company. Jennie, as usual, kept the records.

Now, this town plan was nothing if not ambitious. It is situated along the Boulder-Jefferson County lines. The boundaries run from the southeast corner to the southwest corner of a section. It was a full mile along the base. It runs 3404 feet north, then almost a full mile east to west at the top. It had almost one thousand lots.

There are railroad easements, squares, circles, avenues. There were a Pruden Square and Jeffreys Street.

The first question that comes to mind is, water. How were hundreds of homes to be supplied with water? Was the plan to drill wells, or bring it in from Dowdy Draw just south of town? There is a ditch which runs from the draw across the west side. The diaries and filings are silent. How about access? Was there to be a spur from the Moffat Road? Was the DU&P grade to be used to bring a train in? Or perhaps the Denver Auto Club's road was to be utilized. It ran across or near the east side of the site. There is one tantalizing mention in the diaries about "Charlie met with the road people." No elaboration or explanation but perhaps....

By all appearances this was a serious attempt at establishing a viable town. By the standards of the day it seems reasonably well thought through. But did lots sell? Some did. Note that some deposits are held and that credible amounts of money are in use. Throughout 1908 Jennie made numerous entries about taking supplies and people up to see Forest Park.

But, for whatever reasons enough lots didn't sell. Probably the site was too far off the beaten path, especially since there was Eldorado Springs Resort with hotels, cabins, facilities and good access nearby to the north. Lack of water undoubtedly contributed as well.

Now, the Denver Water Board aqueducts run along and through the east side of Forest Park. It would be a delightful place to have a home today. It would be desirable and accessible.

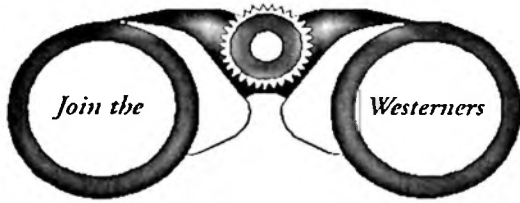
There were a number of townsites still active and available for development as of 1983. When Boulder Open Space acquired this property in the 1980s, one of the first things they did was to go to court and have the town filing of Forest Park vacated.

Charlie and Jennie Pruden were ahead of their time.

Sources:

Personal Interviews with: Henry Kneale, Helen Kneale, Mona Kneale, Thomas Dunn, Ruth Helart, Mabel Fowler, Jack Fowler, Katherine Moore Robinson, Charles Moore, Laura Chesebro, Mamie Conda,  
Diaries: Jennie Pruden  
*Boulder Camera*  
*Eldorado Springs Gazette*  
*A Look at Boulder*, by Phyllis Smith, Pruett Publishing, 1981.





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Sponsor the most new members this year, (2001) by having them place your name on the Westerners membership application, and your dues will be paid for you for 2002.

This contest is open to all Westerners members, both Posse and Corresponding. Make sure your name is on the membership application, to prove you are recruiting this member. Totals will be tallied on Dec. 31, 2001.

If you need lots more membership applications, please contact the tallyman, Ted Krieger.



### **Westerners International**

Corresponding Membership in the Denver Posse does not include membership in the Westerners International. If you wish to receive the *Buckskin Bulletin*, you may purchase a subscription for \$5.00/year. Contact Westerners International, c/o National Cowboy Hall of Fame, 1700 NE 63rd St., Oklahoma City, OK 73111. 800-541-4650

## The Denver Posse of Westerners proudly welcomes the following new members:

Anita Donofrio of Morgan Hill, California. Anita is interested in Indian wars, the 7th Calvary and the Alamo. She is an elementary school teacher. Her membership was sponsored by Jeff Broome. Charles Hanson of Lakewood was sponsored by Barbara Gibson. Charles enjoys Colorado history and historic preservation. Ken Gaunt sponsored Harvey Hoogstrate of Denver, and Tom Noel brought us Don Walker of Littleton. Don holds an M.A. in American History. Also joining us is Stephen Chaplin of Yuma, Colorado.

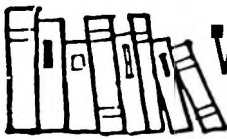
## Stuff to do

The Community Chamber Orchestra of Morganville, Kansas is presenting an unusual event on March 31, 2001 at the Rex Theatre there. *Kansas History: Pioneers of Bloom Township in the 1880s* is being hosted with Kansas music of the 1870s and 1880s played on an 1880s home pump organ from a Bloom Township Pioneer Home. The show also features writings, deeds, skits and a local historical display. Seats are \$5. If you would like more information, contact Anne Clark, 454 23rd Rd., Morganville, KS 67468.

*Congratulations to Thomas Noel, 2000 Rosenstock Lifetime Achievement Award winner.*



*Representatives from the Yuma Museum accept the  
2000 Fred A. Rosenstock Award at the December Rendezvous*



## Westerners Bookshelf



**Kokopelli: The Making of an Icon** by Ekkehart Malotki. University of Nebraska Press, 2000, Lincoln. 161 pages, 38 color plates, 12 black and white figures, index. Cloth, \$24.

Kokopelli, the hump-backed flute player, is a popular image appearing as jewelry, artwork, and decorating all kinds of souvenir and clothing items. Kokopelli's name is given to motels and restaurants. Ekkehart Malotki, professor of languages at Northern Arizona University and an authority on the Hopi culture, explains the history of this ubiquitous figure and distinguishes it from other fertility icons in the area.

The flute player figure, sometimes resembling an insect, appeared as rock art in the Four Corners area about 800 A.D, thrived from 1100 to 1400, and by 1600

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...altered by members of  
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had faded from prominence. It was apparently a religious figure but its original name is unknown. There is a Hopi katsina, *Kookopölä*, who is also a fertility god but who never carries a flute and is not the same as the flute player. Nonetheless, the name *Kokopelli* has been applied to both and the assumption has been made that they are the same icon. Leg-

ends are created about both figures, especially since both are fertility symbols.

The Hopi katsina is patterned after the assassin or robber fly, which has a hump on its back and which is reputed to carry on sexual relations constantly. The katsina also has a white strip on the prominent nose to resemble the insect. Another Hopi katsina, Maahu, is based on the cicada (not locust), which makes a noise like a whistle or flute. The rock art figure is more like the cicada, and is identified as such by Hopis.

Anglo culture has combined similar-appearing but dissimilar icons, such as the rock art and the Hopi figures. These are further altered by members of the Anglo culture who want to buy the Hopi katsina carrying the flute but also, for morality reasons, want to eliminate the phallus which was previously displayed on the representations of the katsina.

The Kokopelli name and image will undoubtedly continue to be popular and poorly understood. Malotki's book gives a clear understanding of the Hopi culture and the significance of the fertility symbol in their system of beliefs, as well as the similar and competing beliefs of other Native American groups.

--Earl McCoy, P.M.

**The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow**, edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher. Utah State University Press, 2000. 316 pp, two appendices. \$19.95 paper, \$34.95 cloth.

This book is the autobiographical writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow, including "Sketch of My Life", originally written for inclusion in Edward W. Tullidges's "The Women of Mormondom" published in 1877.

Eliza was a person of high standing in Mormon history. She was one of Joseph Smith's wives, and after his death, was married to Brigham Young. She was capable of producing a poem for any occasion and was considered to be the first lady of Mormon letters, having written by her own count, nine published volumes. Her accounts of life in Nauvoo, Illinois and the hardships of the trail heading west, which she refers to as a Growling, Grumbling, Devilish, Sickly Time, are primarily in poetry and diary form. She was: President of the Relief Society and the Deseret Hospital Association, organized the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association, the Children's Primary Association and the Women's Commission Store. Her writings provide insights into mid-nineteenth century Mormon society and the life of a much public woman who tried to guard her privacy.

--Lynn Stull, P.M.

**Yellowstone and the Great West: Journals, Letters, and Images from the 1871 Hayden Expedition**, edited by Marlene Deahl Merrill. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1999. 315 pages. Illustrated with photographs, drawings, and maps; index, bibliography, endnotes, glossary. Cloth, dustjacket, \$29.95.

This is a compilation of two journals, reports, and letters which were produced by the Hayden Expedition which traveled to and explored what soon thereafter became Yellowstone National Park. One of the journalists was George Allen, who quickly dropped out due to age and other-than-robust health. The other journal writer was Albert Peale.

From the journals and other included writings a reader will pick up tidbits about such diverse subjects as Brigham Young, Lieutenant Doane (who has had his own journal and writings published), photographer William Henry Jackson, artist Thomas Moran, and, of course, Old Faithful. Also, one will read of collecting fossils, of enjoying beautiful summer mornings in the clear mountain air, and also of occasional headaches, likely caused by altitude or bad sinuses.

This book is a researcher's dream. However, it is not an easy armchair read. For a more enjoyable read, I would recommend Nathaniel Langford's *The Discovery of Yellowstone Park* (Univ of Nebraska Press, 1972), which is a first-person account about the 1870 expedition into that area.

The best parts of this volume, which is recommended for a limited audience, are the many Jackson photographs.

--John Hutchins, P.M.



**Gateway & Geronimo** by Louis Kraft. The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM, 2000. 220 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, extensive notes and index. Paperback, \$19.95.

If any readers have seen the recent motion picture *Geronimo*, they will have some idea what this book is all about. However, instead of the usual Hollywood liberties taken with historical fact, the author has done his research and has written an outstanding book. As the title indicates, he focuses on two prominent individuals of the Apache wars between 1882 and 1886. The other main characters are also present: Generals George Crook and Nelson Miles, Captain Emmet Crawford and Lieutenant Britton Davis, plus a host of Apache warriors, both friendly and hostile.

Author Kraft has a knack for describing terrain and area geography which is so important to any reader interested in the Indian Wars. He also thoroughly understands the Apache culture which underlies the whole story he tells and gives it realism.

Lieutenant Charles Gateway had graduated from West Point in 1877, and was assigned to the 6<sup>th</sup> U.S. Cavalry at Fort Apache, Arizona Territory. He then

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proceeded to make himself a name as the successful commander of the Apache Scouts. One reason for this, is that he treated them as equals and shared their hardships in the field. In doing so, he learned the Apache way of life.

Geronimo, at this time (1882), was 60-plus years of age, had been on the San Carlos

Reservation in 1880, but was now on the loose again. General Crook's main objective was to keep the Apaches from fleeing the reservation, so he was concerned about keeping them satisfied. The officers charged with this responsibility were Captain Crawford and Lieutenants Gateway and Davis. Crook's other task was to protect the settlers in his Department and pursue, kill or capture the hostiles who were committing depredations against the Whites and Mexicans. Another problem he faced, was the Mexican border as the non-reservation Apaches were crossing it back and forth at will. In May, 1883, Crawford and Gateway pursued Geronimo into Mexico and talked him into surrendering. In May, 1885, Geronimo bolted the reservation again and it would not be until August, 1886, that Gateway would be able to track him again in Mexico. By now Crawford was dead and Gateway was the only white man Geronimo trusted. Nelson Miles had replaced Crook and was intent on stopping Geronimo and the other hostiles. This is the story about both men, one wanting to remain free, and the other given the task of bringing the other one in again. The author does a superb job of narrating the tale by going back and forth from one to the other until the story climaxes to its resolution. Both had many obstacles to overcome which the author aptly describes. For Gateway, it was needing to support his family, the hardships of the chase, deteriorating health, a

warrant for his arrest—which he received for looking out for his charges (Apaches), and concern for their welfare. For Geronimo, it was taking care of his people, looking out for his family, starvation, freedom and broken white promises.

This book was difficult to put down even though the end was known, and it did not result in justice for either Geronimo or Gatewood. Gatewood never received proper credit or recognition for his part in ending the Apache Wars. Others claimed the credit and Gatewood, considered an outsider, never received the promotion he dearly wanted, and died a broken man at Fortress Monroe, Virginia in 1896. Geronimo, after serving time in Florida as a prisoner, died at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, still a prisoner in 1909. According to Geronimo's nephew:

*"Geronimo died regretting that he had trusted Miles. He did not blame Gatewood in the least; he knew that that young man was just obeying orders, and that if the General was treacherous, it was not the fault of Gatewood. The Apaches admired and respected (Gatewood) for his courage in going to Geronimo, and they had contempt for Miles and his officers who played safe by remaining at a distance - with Miles the furthest away."*

To find out all that happened, this book is a "must read" and is highly recommended.

--Richard A. Cook P.M.

**Massacre at Cheyenne Hole: Lieutenant Austin Henely and the Sappa Creek Controversy.** by John H. Monnett. The University Press of Colorado, Niwot, Colorado, 1999. 143 pages. Illustrated with photographs and drawings, index, bibliography, chapter endnotes. Cloth, dustjacket, \$22.50.

In 1875, Lieutenant Henely, a West Point graduate who had a relatively short military career, led a unit of cavalry that attacked—and wiped out—a party of Cheyenne in Kansas. This controversial incident later was used by such apologists as Marie Sandoz to excuse the excesses of the Dull Knife Outbreak.

John Monnett has done a superb job of researching and analyzing this incident and the mythology surrounding it. The book is recommended highly.

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--John Hutchins, P.M.

**The Mountains We have Crossed, Diaries and Letters of the Oregon Mission, 1838**, edited by Clifford M. Drury. Introduction by Bonnie Sue Lewis. University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books Edition, 1999. 336 pages, 14 Illustrations, index. \$15.00 paper.

Beginnings of Civilizing & Christianizing the Native Americans by highly idealized men and women missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in Oregon, was at best not an easy journey. In 1838 four newlywed couples and a single man were sent out by the board to reinforce the two-year-old mission established by Marcus Whitman, Henry Spalding, and their wives. Seven previously written volumes on the history of the Oregon Mission are now joined by the recent discovery of the diary of Sarah White Smith & one hundred letters of her husband, Asa Bowen Smith. The long-lost diaries were found housed in the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library. From the Asa Smith letters, we are able to know more about his early life and student days than is known about any other member of the Oregon Mission of the American

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Board.

We see the motivation that led Asa Smith and his new wife to go to a "heathen land" as missionaries, as well as examining the personality traits which contributed much to the difficulties that disturbed the life of the Oregon Mission. After his dismissal from this Mission these traits marred his 1845 service in

Hawaii. Although she was called "the crying one" by Oregon's Natives, Sarah said these were the happiest days in her life of forty-one years. Imagine the six women who left their homes of comfort traveling nineteen hundred miles riding horses sidesaddle. Sarah had rarely if ever been on a horse. In preparation for the journey the women were provided fabric for them to sew into tents to be shared between two couples along the trail. Asa B. Smith was best in a study and not cut out to be a pioneer in the wilderness. He was a stiff-necked man feeling "God's call" with little compassion for the people he would be living with and ministering to.

This volume comes as a climax to the series already published, as it completes and rounds out certain aspects of the previously told history. More light is shed upon the hardships endured on their overland travels and the difficulties and trials of their daily lives in their respective stations when surrounded by Indians who knew life without the white man's law. This valuable document will be read by historians as well as those who hunger to learn of the thirteen men and women who, inspired by the high ideal of civilizing and Christianizing the Natives, ventured to Oregon where they built homes, schools, and churches.

--Dorothy Lowe Krieger, P.M

**The Army of Israel**, edited by David L. Bigler and Will Bagley. Utah State University Press, 2000. 540 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$24.95, paper.

Diaries, private remembrances and letters, many never before published, are the backbone of this book's story. There are quotes from official histories and scene-setting introductory paragraphs. These add to, and embellish the tale. The twelve page introductions gives a good background to the times.

**The Mormon Battalion:**

Never numbered even a thousand,

Consisted from start to finish of men and women,

Was formed to meet the political needs of the US Government and the political, financial, and public relations needs of the church. (James Polk and Brigham Young used intermediaries to negotiate its formation, leadership, duration, and use.)

Didn't see a shot fired in anger during the Mexican War,

Was culled, trained, and shaped by a succession of capable (gentile) commanders, Served loyally and effectively, marching from Council Bluffs Iowa to Los Angeles.

It scouted and created a wagon trail from the Rio Grande to L.A.

Suffered only one battle casualty, that in a peacekeeping action against Indians after the war was over.

**The individual members:**

Served in Pueblo; Santa Fe; along the Mormon Trail to southern California; in San Diego; in Los Angeles; in Monterey; and as body guards for General Kearney on his return to the States....

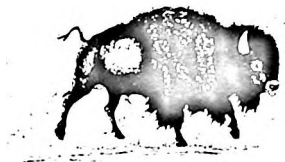
Learned irrigation techniques which stood them in good stead later in settling the Southwest,

Witnessed and participated in the gold strike at Sutter's Mill in January 1848,

Later formed the nucleus of the Nauvoo Legion.

By using original accounts of experiences and travails, this work gives the flavor of the times. Regional and national trends are also clearly explained and described. Bigler and Bagley weave the two perspectives well. This book is for those with an interest in the Mexican War, the California gold strike, exploration and settlement of the Southwest, or the Mormon Church, as well as those with a taste for reading personal accounts of great events. The illustrations are good, though understandably sparse, and the maps suffice.

—Stan Moore, C.M.



**Along Route 66**, by Quinta Scott. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 2000. 308 pp. 250 B&W photographs, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$34.95

Route 66 was the road out of the mines, off the farm, and away from troubled Main Street. It starts at Chicago, Illinois, goes through Missouri, Oklahoma, the panhandle of Texas, through New Mexico and Arizona, through the Mojave Dessert west of Needles California to San Bernardino and ends in Santa Monica, California just west of Los Angeles.

The architecture of the motor courts varied depending on the region in which you were traveling. In the Illinois and Missouri area, it was white clapboard. In New Mexico, it was Spanish. Motor courts were developed either as cabins along a circular drive or attached units lining a central court.

Cafes were for the most part built in the Streamline Modern style and you could always be assured that the restaurant was clean and the food was good. Signs on cafes were true works of art and signs on motor courts were the same with lots of neon lights.

Basic elements of gas stations were in place by 1910: an interior office and an exterior canopy covering the pumps. In small towns an adjacent garage was imperative. As Route 66 moved out of the humid midwest, station owners increased the depth of their canopies to protect themselves and customers from the sun. By the beginning of the thirties, major companies started developing standardized stations. Even if the station didn't have a sign, it could be easily be recognized by colors.

This book brought back many fond memories because when I was a child going from Denver to Los Angeles every year in the forties and early fifties, this is the road we always took once south of Denver and into to what is known as the Pueblo country, New Mexico and on to Los Angeles passing through the Mojave Dessert west of Needles, California and then we followed the last stretch from San Bernardino into Los Angeles.

For the young, the book represents historic Americana; for the older set, it's nostalgia.

--Lynn Stull, P.M.

