



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

January - February 2009



Ralph Carr
The Principled Politician
by Adam Schrager
(presented April 23, 2008)



Our Author

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Ralph Carr

The Principled Politician

by Adam Schragar
(presented April 23, 2008)

This is a story about a man named Ralph Carr whose stand against ignorance and bigotry cost him his career. This is a story about a man of the West, a member of the Denver Westerners and thus, while the crux of the story I'll share tonight is serious, it would not be right if I didn't start my remarks as Ralph Carr was apt to do just about every conversation... by saying "did you hear the one about..."

Now, I should warn you in advance, the tale I'm about to share caused such laughter in one of his friends' wives, she broke a rib during her reaction.

Did you hear the one about the venture company from London? It was negotiating to buy a mine in Governor Carr's favorite Colorado town, Cripple Creek. The company's owner's wife was so worried about how her husband would handle the wild and wooly frontier of Colorado that she sent a letter preceding his arrival to the manager of the Palace Hotel. It said her husband was of quote English peerage—and needed to be treated as such. Now the palace didn't have private bathrooms and the plumbing was rather rudimentary, but the manager of the place, a Mr. Jorgensen, selected a corner suite to be renovated and

thoroughly painted.

The wife wrote again... explaining her husband was to be coddled and protected from cold breezes, from moisture, from contacts with everything worldly. After all, he was of English peerage. So when the Englishman finally arrived in town, he was shown to his room via the town's only elevator. The man of English peerage got off on the hotel's sixth floor and nodded very happily to manager Jorgensen that he was pleased with the accommodations. He said, "why my good chap, I'll be more comfortable here than I would be at home." But then, his eye caught something gleaning underneath the bed. He knelt down and spied a shining array of chamber pots. With a quizzical look, he queried manager Jorgensen, "what say you, sir, about the voluminous number of pots that reside under this bed from head to toe." "Why, your highness," manager Jorgensen said, "I thought you would need them. Your wife shared with us many times, you were one of England's greatest pee-ers."

Extraordinary people who describe themselves as ordinary.

I've long said the best part of my job as a reporter is that I get to

meet extraordinary people who describe themselves as ordinary... and that makes them even more extraordinary.

Maybe it's the victim of flesh-eating bacteria who lobbies at the state capitol so others who use prosthetics have better insurance coverage. Maybe it's the family who fostered 250 children, adopted ten and when asked why, simply said, "somebody has to." Maybe it's the 30-something couple who eschewed lucrative careers to open a café where you only pay if you can afford it.

In September 1950, Colorado and this country lost one of those extraordinary people: a man who I've come to know over the course of six years, immersing myself in his professional and personal records and trying to read every word ever written about him.

And I stand here today believing Ralph Carr is more extraordinary than I believed the first day I heard about him. That day, I heard a state capitol tour guide named Carol Keller stand at the Ralph Carr plaque on the wall, with a small group in tow, and tell of a man of conviction, of dedication and of principle. A man who stood up for the rights of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor and as a result, he lost his career.

The week he died in 1950, Colorado's poet laureate, Thomas Hornsby Ferril, wrote the following: "Ralph Carr was a one-man

crusade for freedom all his life... I've heard it said," he wrote, "that Ralph Carr could have gone down as a great American, known to everybody in every state, if he'd been willing to wangle more of the breaks his way and be less bull-headed about the constitutional rights of the underdogs."

Well, Thomas Hornsby Ferril believed, they can have their definition of what a great American is, but it seems to me that if we had more men like Ralph Carr along the line, we wouldn't need to keep puffing up so many great men to bail us out.

Over the course of this talk, we'll look at why Ralph Carr's been forgotten and more importantly, why he needs to be remembered.

It was known throughout the capitol that Ralph Carr had a temper, the kind that made even his best of friends cringe. No politician was too big, no businessman too powerful to escape his wrath. Even little things could trigger one of his eruptions.

To give you an example, his friends talked about the time after a football game at the University of Denver when the line of cars to leave the parking lot seemed to go on forever... you know where you move half a car length every five minutes and consider that a moral victory. Well, Governor Carr was an impatient man by nature. A wasted minute was a wasted opportunity. When it finally came time for his car to move, another driver cut in front



of him, blocking the governor's car. "You son of a bitch," Carr yelled out of his window, a 1940's version of road rage. The other driver was a large, hulking man who immediately got out from the driver's side to confront the man who had just cursed him. The governor never hesitated to get out of his car... even though the other man dwarfed him... "I called you by your right name, didn't I?" Carr insisted. The driver realized who was yelling at him, murmured, "Yes, you did, Governor." Carr smiled, got back in his car, waved and they went on their respective ways.

On February 19, 1942, Ralph

Carr's staff was witnessing one of those eruptions... and it was directed at president Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The governor was pacing—clenching in his fist a telegram—announcing executive order 9066. It starts, "whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises and national-defense utilities." He paused to take a deep breath and read aloud what he believed the most onerous sentence of all. "I hereby authorize," President Roosevelt wrote, "and direct

the secretary of war and the military commanders whom he may from time to time designate... To prescribe military areas in such places, from which any or all persons may be excluded."

Ralph Carr knew when you got past the formality of the language; the executive order was a de facto declaration of martial law on the West Coast, with one not-so-hidden agenda: to remove anyone of Japanese descent.

Carr's eyes flashed. The anger in his voice was apparent. "Now, that's wrong," he shouted, "Some of these Japanese are citizens of the United States."

In case his staffers had missed that fact, "They're American citizens," he shouted again.

In our recent past, we look at the events of 9-11 as a seminal moment in our history and the shock, fear and anger we all experienced afterwards is still palpable. Yet, I believe it paled in comparison to what happened after Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941.

The thousands of post cards, notes and telegrams sitting in Governor Carr's collection at the Colorado State Archives don't need all capital letters and exclamation points to scream off the page at you. They came from homemakers and businessmen, from eastern Colorado and western Colorado, from big cities and small towns.

I've been told reading many

of these sentiments is the most difficult part of the book... especially for people of Japanese descent.

Some people have said to me, "I get it already. I get the point." Americans were scared of anyone who was of Japanese descent. And they were angry at Governor Carr for his stand on behalf of them. They've said to me, "You've overproved your point."

In response, I've said consistently, "apparently I haven't." You see Ralph Carr couldn't turn the page. He couldn't hit a mute button. He couldn't go somewhere to get away from the tension. He couldn't say enough already, I get it. Let's move on.

You see, Ralph Carr didn't have that luxury as the governor.

In the early part of 1942, every newspaper told of crushing defeats in the Pacific theatre for American troops. Every radio station broadcast the names of the local boys killed in action or taken prisoner by the Japanese. Every Coloradan was fixated on war.

And, the letters kept coming. The telegrams kept coming. The editorials kept berating him.

And his phones kept ringing, both at the office and at his house. Ralph Carr's home number was listed in the phone book as he told his kids, the rich and powerful always know how to get a hold of you, but if you're going to be the governor, you've got to give the common man

a chance to call you after an honest day's work.

Well, they called all right, he couldn't escape it... Coloradans sincerely believed the next attack could be on their hometowns, at their homes, in their work places. And that the attack would come from inside Colorado, and be aided by those of Japanese descent. That's because they were convinced the attack that killed thousands of Americans at Pearl Harbor and sent us into a brutal war was aided by Japanese spies.

Evidence would be secondary and later found to be non-existent. A court of public opinion delivered its verdict immediately.

Carr's files at the Colorado State Archives are teeming with examples of that fear and anger. He told one of his college friends, he was being cussed in Colorado about as often as he was being discussed.

People of Japanese descent were called yellow devils on the front page of newspapers like the *Denver Post*.

Roughly 120,000 people of Japanese descent lived on the West Coast, many of whom were American citizens, but those who contacted Governor Carr did not differentiate between non-citizen and citizen.

"We don't want Denver overrun by the yellow race," read one letter to the governor.

A homemaker from Boulder pleaded with the governor, "May

God of Heaven speak to your soul," she wrote, "No one wants Japanese here to see our bodies ravished and raped by the very devil himself." One farmer suggested going so far as to just kill them all.

As if the anecdotes weren't enough, Ralph Carr had poll results sitting on his desk from a survey conducted at the University of Denver.

Across the board, men and women, young and old, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, answered by a two-to-one margin, that Americans looked more unfavorably toward the Japanese than they did the Germans and Italians. Again, they didn't differentiate between American citizens of Japanese descent and those who weren't citizens. Neither frankly did Carr's peers.

Kansas Governor Payne Ratner said, "Japs are not wanted and not welcome in Kansas," and said he'd call up his national guard to ensure they wouldn't cross his border. And Wyoming Governor Nels Smith worried that Japanese would overrun his state if they were given the opportunity. Wyoming residents he said, "have a dislike of any Orientals." Further, he said if anyone of Japanese descent were sent to his state, now, this is the governor of Wyoming mind you, he said they would be "hanging from every pine tree."

Even, Earl Warren, who would later go on to become what

many believe is the greatest advocate for civil rights in U. S. Supreme Court history, even Earl Warren was terrified. As California attorney general, he was asked about evacuating the West Coast of anyone with Japanese blood in them, and he said, "American-born Japanese are a menace." He'd later tell a reporter that our day of reckoning was bound to come because it was impossible to "distinguish between dangerous and loyal Japs."

In this environment, you can imagine the reaction when Colorado's governor said to the American-born citizen of Japanese parentage that we look for example and guidance, and we offer the hand of friendship, secure in the knowledge that he will be as truly American as the rest of us.

To come from a governor would have been significant enough, but this was no ordinary governor. Even though, he'd been in elected office just three years, he was one of the sought-after speakers on the Republican Party circuit, as an outspoken opponent of the New Deal, an outspoken opponent of big government. He traveled the country, spreading a message that Republican audiences embraced.

He charmed newspaper columnists who loved the pithy quotes he'd give. For example, he told a group of reporters in Los Angeles, the way to balance the budget was to stop spending when the money's gone.

He told the *New York Times* the way to save taxpayers money is to stop spending taxpayer's money. They loved it and fawned over him in their editorial sections.

He kept the company of people like former president Herbert Hoover, NBC radio announcer Lowell Thomas and the man who would offer him the chance to run for vice president in 1940, Wendell Willkie.

Carr was being talked about in the papers as a future presidential candidate. His political star was rising at break-neck speed.

And then came Pearl Harbor, and Ralph Carr's stand on behalf of Japanese Americans. A stand where he proclaimed if the principles of the Constitution are not preserved for every man than we shall not have it to protect any man.

The governor of a landlocked state quickly found himself isolated on a political island.

Ralph Carr would tell you his father was the hero in the family. He was the one who faced down a mob set to enact 19th-century Colorado justice after a newlywed had been shot and killed.

Angry townsfolk had stormed the jail and the sheriff, fearing for his own safety, had abandoned the facility. Inside, behind bars, were the two men responsible for the killing a third man who the locals simply believed didn't amount to much. Frank Carr was the first one through the jail door,

but instead of returning to the mob with the prisoners, he came out with the outcast. With a gun in hand, he walked the young man through the angry crowd and said anyone who touched the lad would have to answer to him first. Frank Carr brought him to the family homestead, gave him a saddle and a horse, and no one saw him again.

On the face of it, Ralph Carr had no obvious reason to stand up for Japanese-Americans. Just as his father had no obvious reason to stand up for that young man, except that they felt it was the right thing to do.

Governor Carr had no Japanese-American friends, no Japanese-American colleagues, no personal or professional history with members of that community.

But Ralph Carr did have a history with another President Roosevelt, he believed as Teddy Roosevelt believed, there was no room in this country for a hyphenated American. That a country of Irish-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Japanese-Americans, what have you, needed to identify with their similarities of being an American rather than their ethnic differences. Carr fondly referred to the melting pot of the United States and said shortly after Pearl Harbor, he would not judge the loyalty of any American based on where his grandparents were born. He would tell audiences, the Constitution starts out by saying,

we the people of the United States. It doesn't say, we the people who are descendants of the English or the Scandinavians or the French. It says, we the people.

The point he made over and over, to all parts of the state, was that when it was suggested that American citizens be thrown into an internment camp, with no evidence of wrong doing and no trial to determine guilt, what's to say six months from now, the rest of us wouldn't follow them into that same internment camp with no evidence of wrong doing and no trial.

If society allowed for American citizens of any descent to lose their privileges as citizens under the Constitution, then the principles of the document that Carr revered more than any other but the Bible have been violated and lost.

Principles, Ralph Carr was fond of saying, are as true as truth and will last as long as God's creation.

Because of that belief, you've likely never heard much about him. He's a footnote in a time period celebrated by numerous volumes.

The parallels to what's going on today in America are quite frankly, a bit eerie. Sixty-plus years after World War Two, this country continues to struggle with topics like personal privacy versus public safety, with the role of the federal government during a time of war,

with the realization there are people in this world who wish us harm, and with the national guard being asked to step in to control immigration.

Yet, we have learned some lessons from our past.

We did not uproot large populations of Arab-Americans after 9-11, we did not call them derogatory names on the front pages of our newspapers. And leaders at the highest levels of our government encouraged us to be vigilant, but also to respect the contributions Arab-Americans make every day in our society.

But, we are still asking the question—what personal price do we each pay for fear? In 2008, the world has changed, the threats are different, but reading the letters, the newspapers and seeing the daily sacrifices of World War Two Americans, you'd be hard-pressed to say Americans today are more vigilant about winning a war than those in the 1940s.

Back then, residents curtailed their use of rubber, of metals, even of certain foods to aid in the war effort. In the case of roughly 120,000 Japanese-Americans, they lost their freedom. Today, many would argue through things like the Patriot Act, the foreign surveillance intelligence act, Guantanamo Bay, it is a case of history repeating itself while others would not consider those examples to be sacrifices at all.

In both times, good people, people with true and noble intentions made choices. Now, history has shown some of the choices of the World War Two era elected officials to be flawed. But Governor Ralph Carr had no evidence to know that would be the case in 1942 when he made his choice to stand up for Japanese-Americans. He didn't have the foresight to know that by the end of the war, there would be no examples of sabotage or espionage by Japanese-Americans. He did not know the 442nd military unit comprised entirely of soldiers of Japanese descent would become the most decorated in U.S. armed forces history. Yet, Ralph Carr still took the stand he did in dramatic contrast with every other politician of his time.

In the play called *Inherit the Wind* (many of you have likely seen the movie with Spencer Tracy and Gene Kelly), there's a scene where one of the characters is feeling the pressure of his friends and neighbors to change what he teaches in the classroom. In fact, he's charged with a crime for teaching it and is reviled by those he once admired. His girlfriend asks him to apologize and things would go back to the way they once were.

To that his attorney says, "Can you buy back his respectability by making him a coward? it's the loneliest feeling in the world, he says to find yourself standing

up when everybody else is sitting down. To have everybody look at you and say, what's the matter with him."

Who stands up when everyone else sits down and why.

That's what drew me into this story six years ago and why, no matter how hard I tried to let it go, to procrastinate, to find reasons to stop researching and to stop writing, I could not stop from sharing this story.

You see, this is the leader we all say we want... the one who says as Carr did "regardless of what it does to me, you may rest assured I will be governor in fact as well as in name. The one who says, only half-jokingly that if elected, he will likely become the most hated man in Colorado because he will follow his principles."

An elected official doesn't stick a finger in the wind to determine which current he or she should follow that day. It wasn't that Ralph Carr was uninterested in what people thought of him or more importantly, what was on their minds.

In fact, the opposite was true. His son talked of how the governor did what we might call today market research. Basically, he'd talk to anyone who wanted to engage in a conversation.

There are numerous stories of men in three-piece suits being left in the entry way of the governor's office while Carr spoke his self-

taught Spanish to men in overalls, recently removed from Colorado's farms and ranches. He hired George Robinson from the Union Pacific Railroad to serve as an information clerk, so the first face you saw when you entered the governor's office in 1939 was that of an African-American man.

Ralph Carr would listen to anybody and everybody, no matter his race, class or age.

But after he had taken that input, he saw his job differently than we tend to believe our current politicians do. Ralph Carr said he didn't take the job to feel the public pulse or to follow the popular demand. "I think it is up to a person in my job," he said, "to direct public opinion rather than to follow it."

Two-thirds of us tell pollsters we don't trust our elected officials, two-thirds. We criticize them for pandering, for cow-towing to special interests, for being survey driven... yet, we're the ones who have in essence neutered the very individuals who are supposed to be our leaders and turned them into followers. We've neutered them.

History has not proven kind to those who buck the public will to stand up for principle. They lose elections. That's completely accurate, they do lose elections. That's what happened to Ralph Carr.

He lost one of the closest elections in Colorado history to incumbent U. S. Senator Edwin C.

Johnson. He lost by under half a percentage point. You switch one vote in each of the state's roughly 1700 precincts and the results are different.

But while he did not retain elected office in November 1942, Ralph Carr retained his conscience.

And that's what makes this story bigger than just politics and elections, races and votes. It may be set in Colorado, but it's a story without borders. Ralph Carr's tale is a life lesson. We've all had situations where we didn't stand up for what we believed in.

Maybe we didn't protect that kid on the playground. Maybe we didn't support our colleague at work.

Maybe we just didn't fight for our principles. It's happened to all of us and likely, all of us live with some remnant of guilt for not standing up while others were sitting down.

Many of us have seen the poem displayed at the holocaust museum in Washington...

*First they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out -
Because I was not a socialist.*

*Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out -
Because I was not a trade unionist.*

*Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out -
Because I was not a Jew.*

Then they came for me - and there was no one left to speak for me.

Ralph Carr did not wait to speak out.

His story speaks to the dreamer in all of us. An opportunity—if we get another chance to be courageous—to avoid needing a life do-over, to avoid that guilt. The principled politician can guide us to be stronger, wiser and to fight the so-common apathy we all feel of not wanting to cause waves.

Coincidentally, when I stumbled on Ralph Carr's story, I was reading the Pulitzer-Prize-winning *Profiles in Courage*, by former president John F. Kennedy. The tales he shares of stalwarts in the United States Senate sacrificing to do the right thing have been discussed for decades in civics classes nationwide.

But with all due respect to the political will shown by those senators, their challenges pale in comparison to Governor Carr's. Yet, 50-plus years after the book was first published, its epilogue still rings true.

President Kennedy wrote that problems of courage and conscience don't simply concern every officeholder in our land, but they concern every voter in our land... and even more importantly, those who don't vote, who take no interest in government and who show only disdain for the politician and his



profession.

For in a democracy, he wrote, every one of us is in a position of responsibility and in the final analysis; the kind of government we get depends on how we fulfill our responsibilities.

The modern-day clichés are—will we walk the walk, will we practice what we preach, because as Kennedy concludes, we the people are the boss and we will get the kind of political leadership, be it good or bad, that we demand and deserve.

In 1942, the political leadership in Colorado sincerely believed in standing up for the Bill of Rights, for what he felt defined America. And unlike so many of our elected officials today, when confronted

with criticism, he refused to back down. In fact, he became more resolute.

He said if you try to do Japanese-Americans harm, “you must first harm me.” For he said, he had been raised with the shame and dishonor of race hatred and he challenged crowds by saying, it threatened the happiness of you and you and you. Ralph Carr had faith in Coloradans. All he had to do was get out there and explain his position.

It was the Lincoln aficionado in him. He believed as the former president did that with public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, Lincoln’s lesson was that he who molds public sentiment “goes deeper

than those who enact statutes or pronounce decisions.”

Ralph Carr, the man some said had the oratorical skills to woo a bird off a tree, sincerely believed in his ability to mold public sentiment. Conditions, he would say, create leadership necessary to meet crises.

Surely, he thought, in this crisis, they'd respect his leadership and understand his principles. He showed them a faith they didn't completely show him at the next election.

Ralph Carr was willing to accept his fate, to walk away to do the right thing. It brings to mind the line from Senator Henry Clay, “it's better to be right than to be president.”

And if you had any doubt about his integrity on the issue and how sincerely he believed in his principles, know this, shortly before leaving office, he brings a Japanese American woman out of the internment camp, to live at his house, pays for her to take college classes and to

serve as a nanny to his first grandchild.

We get the kind of political leadership, be it good or bad, that we demand and deserve. We the people are the boss.

When Ralph Carr died in the fall of 1950, he was running for governor again. One of his campaign planks was that he had stood up for the civil rights of all American citizens throughout his career including those of Japanese descent. He didn't have a chance to be vindicated by Colorado voters, dying on the campaign trail. He was memorialized throughout the state.

Numerous tributes flowed in to his family, to his friends, to the media of the day. Maybe the most poignant came from his longtime friend and political columnist Alva Swain who wrote simply...

“Ralph Carr was a friend to man. What more can be said.”

I hope you're interested enough in the principled politician to find out.



Over the corral rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

New Members

The Denver Posse of the Westerners welcomes the following new members:

Thomas (Tom) Allen, Parker, referred by Richard Cook (Tom is the president of Historical Trinidad);

Scott Sauer, Denver;

Marie-Louise Metzдорff, Denver, referred by Steve Weil;

Francis J. Pierson, Denver, referred by Chuck Hanson (Francis is the author of Getting to Know Denver and Summit of Destiny);

Derald E. Hoffman, Castle Rock, referred by Bob Shultz (Derald was a history teacher for Littleton High School, 1956-1986. His interests are writing, photography, and history, and he participated in writing Douglas County, a Photographic Journey);

Charlotte Appleman, Littleton, referred by members of the Pikes Peak Posse of the Westerners, and she had been a member of that posse (Charlotte's interests are the Texas Rangers, the mountain men, and the frontier West).

We also welcome back two former members, Pam Milavec, Northglenn, and Cliff Dougal, Denver, who have rejoined our posse.

Winter Rendezvous Awards

The Denver Posse met for the annual Winter Rendezvous on Dec. 17, 2008, at the Park Hill Golf Club, Denver. The evening's program was presented by Colorado Attorney General John Suthers. His presentation was titled "Bringing Law and Order to the Wild West."

The "Fred A. Rosenstock Award for Outstanding Contributions to Colorado History" for 2008 was presented to the Frisco Historic Park and Museum. Faced with rapid growth that threatened many historic structures, the Frisco Historical Society was formed in 1983. It acquired the old schoolhouse, now listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and dedicated it as a museum. Today the Town of Frisco operates the Frisco Historic Park, a free public

site containing ten historic structures. This antique complex, in providing a research library, artisan programs, a history lecture series, and walking tours, benefits from the Posse Award of \$1,000.

The “Fred A. Rosenstock Award for Lifetime Achievement in Western History” for 2008 was presented to Norman Franklin Meyer. Norm was born and raised on his family’s 6000-acre ranch in southern Colorado. With a love of ranching and the outdoor life, he did not look forward to his journalism degree from the University of Colorado leading to an indoor career in a newspaper office. A flying lesson in 1938 changed all that, and a new career, flying, began. He joined Continental Airlines in 1942. In 1950 Norm purchased the 330-acre MacIntyre Ranch, an 1870 homestead, in Conifer. As Conifer grew, the Meyers donated their ranch milk house as its first public library. To fend off developers, Norm donated 397 acres of his expanded ranch, creating Meyer Ranch Park, as part of Jefferson County Open Space.

Norm Meyer is a longtime member and active participant in the Jefferson County Historical Commission, the Colorado Aviation Historical Society, Jefferson County Historical Society, and a founder of the Conifer Historical Society. Norm was recognized for his historical activities by membership in the Jefferson County History Hall of Fame. He has preserved his 1889 ranch house, listing it as a national Register of Historic Places landmark. This abbreviated list of Norm’s accomplishments highlights the Westerners’ choice for the 2008 Rosenstock Lifetime Achievement Award.

Denver Posse Members support other Westerners

In fulfilling their role of promoting the history of the American West, members of the Denver Posse of the Westerners have made presentations to other Westerners Corrals and Posses of Colorado’s Front Range. In November, Bob Lane presented “A Postcard Tour of Colorado” to the Pikes Peak Posse. In December Paul Malkoski talked about and sang old Western songs at the Colorado Corral meeting.

In January, Vonnie Perkins presented “Augusta Block: Her Untold Story of D. C. Oakes” to the Pikes Peak Posse. Jeff Broome presented Custer into the West and other interesting incidents relating to the Indian Wars from 1867-1869” to the Boulder Corral. John Stewart presented “Thomas F. Walsh - Progressive Businessman and Colorado Mining Tycoon” to the Colorado Corral. In February, the Pikes Peak Posse was favored with “Wounded Knee

Revenge: The Pillager Uprising and the Battle of Sugar Point, 1898” by John Hutchins.

We applaud this cooperation and interaction among the Colorado Westerners Corrals and Posses in showcasing the historical research and writing skills of our members. In his biography of Leland Case, founder of Westerners International and the Chicago Westerners Corral, author Jarvis Harriman states:

“Scholars and libraries all over the country were taking note that these men (ed: Chicago Westerners), so many of them laymen with a passionate avocation for Western history, were producing relevant material documenting not only the history and culture of the West, but also of the American experience. It was a new factor to be considered by historians – here was source material, often fresh, often developed by the nonprofessional.”

Denver has continually supported this tradition, started in Chicago in 1944.



Kenneth Levi Gaunt

1921 - 2009

On Feb. 4, the Denver Westerners lost one of its most stalwart members, Ken Gaunt. At the 2004 Winter Rendezvous he was the recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award in Western History. The presentation statement written by Posse member Tom Noel adeptly provides an insight into the remarkable accomplishments woven into a lifetime of adventures. Much of Tom's text follows.

Born March 6, 1921 in Colorado Springs, Ken worked on his father's Black Forest ranch before his family moved to Yuma where they ran a flour mill and grain elevator. Of life in this small High Plains town then devastated by dust storms and the Great Depression. Ken recalls, "We weren't poor. We just didn't have any money." Ken went to public schools in Yuma and then to Colorado State Agricultural College (now CSU) before joining the 168th Field Artillery of the Colorado National Guard, where he became a technical sergeant. He spent three years in the South Pacific, earning four army combat stars.

As a teenager Ken worked as a soda jerk in Yuma's Kitzmiller Drug Store and became fascinated with pharmacy, deciding to make that his life's work. From 1946 to 2004 he worked as a pharmacist in Denver. He was chief pharmacist at St. Luke's, Mount Airy, and Bethesda Hospitals. He was voted Pharmacist of the Year and elected president of the Colorado Hospital Pharmacist Association for his many innovations and achievements, including the first dispensation of unit dose medication to patients, starting the Colorado School of Pharmacy student hospital intern program, and being the first pharmacist to fill I. V. solutions. Ken was the Pharmacist for the Denver Broncos for 12 years and for three U. S. Winter Olympic teams. He started a Drug Fair for the elderly that has evolved into the Channel 9 Health Fair.

Ken started the St. Luke's Hospital History Committee and has served on the Boards of Trustees for Bethesda Mental Health Hospital and the University Hills Nursing Home. He was a part owner of the 250-bed Montclair nursing home.

A fourth-generation Colorado native, Ken married Mary Vandenberg in 1948 and raised three children. In 1956, he joined the Denver Westerners where he presented seven papers and became a Posse member in 1992. His research on "Colorado Hospitals of the 1800s" was selected for the 1995 Brand Book and his "Soapy Smith - the Rest of His Story" captured second

place for the Westerners International Danielson Award.

Elected Sheriff of the Denver Posse in 1995, Ken helped prepare our 50th Anniversary Brand Book, which was voted Book of the Year by Westerners International. Ken compiled biographies of every Posse member, 275 names so far, of the Denver Posse since its creation as the world's second posse in 1945.

Ken took up stage magic in the 1950s and in 1967 was named Mile-Hi Magician of the Year for his card, rope and rabbit tricks. He also performed as "Soapy" Smith, King Of the Western Con Men, a gig he had done for four Colorado Posses and Corrals, and for many other groups, including regular shows at Denver's Oxford Hotel.

At age 72 Ken Gaunt went back to school as a Colorado history student at the University of Colorado at Denver where he played starring roles in the mock trial of Horace Tabor and on various tours.

Ken served as a Director of the Llama Division of the National Western Stock Show for ten years where he worked the ring, did announcing, and started the llama photo show. He has organized and led bus tours of Colorado Historic Churches and walking tours of various cemeteries.

Ken's publications include:

The Medal Of Honor and its Colorado Connections

Walking Tour of the Golden Cemetery

Military Veterans of Fairmount Cemetery Walking Tour

Fairmount Cemetery Mausoleum Tour Guide

History of the Colorado Field Artillery, 1862-1957

He had researched Colorado Pearl Harbor Survivors, interviewing 40 of them, collected stories of 18 of Colorado Bataan Death March Survivors and started the Forgotten Heroes Program. This research is now a prized collection of the Colorado Historical Society Library.

Since that presentation Ken had continued in his Western research, and his November 2005 Denver Westerners program, "The Congressional Medal of Honor and its Colorado Connections", won an award from The Westerners International.

Ken's love for the Denver Westerners moved him to establish the Ken Gaunt Fund in perpetual support of the organization. Its purpose is to enhance the programming capabilities of the Westerners. One such activity funded was the granting of prizes at the Member Collections Exhibition in October 2006. Among the presentations was Ken's pharmacy memorabilia and antiques. That collection will become part of St. Luke's Hospital history collection. What Ken accomplished, his research and collections, will continue to benefit Western historians forever.

Ken Gaunt epitomized the true Westerner, who lived by the “Code of the West”, as featured in James Owen’s book Cowboy Ethic:

1. Live each day with courage
2. Take pride in your work
3. Always finish what you start
4. Do what has to be done
5. Be tough, but fair
6. When you make a promise, keep it
7. Ride for the Brand
8. Talk less and say more
9. Remember that some things are not for sale
10. Know when to draw the line.

Ken was a devotee of the Western movie, and as in the classical movie, we can see him put on his white hat and ride into the sunset.

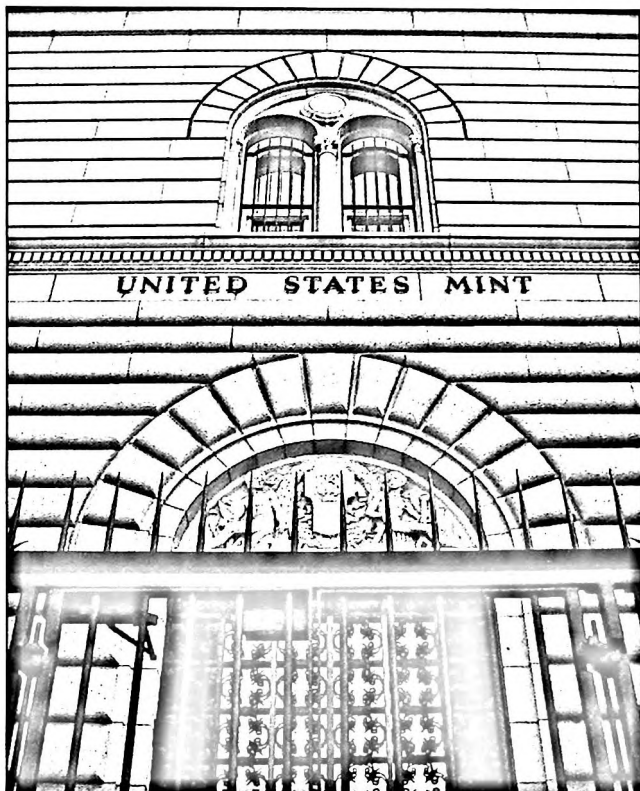


*Photo by Jim Krebs
Taken 02/05*



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

March - April 2009



David Hall

**The Crime(s) of the Century at the
Denver Mint**
by Kimberly Field
(presented May 23, 2008)



Our Author

Kimberly Field (with Lisa Ray Turner) is the author of *The Denver Mint: 100 Years of Gangsters, Gold and Ghosts*.

Kimberly studied historic archaeology in college and has participated in archaeological digs around the world. She holds a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology and a Masters of Arts in Journalism. She serves on the Board of Directors of the Littleton Historical Museum and is active in the non-profit community. Kimberly writes for national magazines on topics ranging from politics to the influence of volcanoes in impressionist art.

Like her husband Michael, Kimberly loves the American West. She is an avid mountain biker, telemark skier and fly fisherman. Together they explore the back roads, seeking the hidden history of the Rocky Mountains and desert southwest.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

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The Crime(s) of the Century at the Denver Mint

by Kimberly Field

(presented May 23, 2008)

The Denver Mint sits on West Colfax Avenue in Denver looking every bit like the Florentine palace that inspired its design. Heavy bronze doors and stout carved granite walls surrounded by a spiked iron fence exude the aura of money. Behind a bank's grand façade, the Mint is a factory that runs around the clock.¹ Billions of coins – pennies, nickels, dimes, quarters, half-dollars and dollars have clattered from its presses since coinage began in 1906.

No bank ever contained such tremendous riches as are secured in the Denver Mint's cavernous vaults. Nearly one-third of America's gold reserves lie here, but the current hoard is a shadow of its past treasure. In the darkest years of the Great Depression, before Fort Knox was completed, it secured virtually all of the nation's gold. The Denver Mint contained the largest assemblage of gold in one place in the planet's history.²

The Mint's siren song of wealth has captivated us for over a century. For some, the lure of all that money proved impossible to resist.

"Has the Mint ever been robbed?" The question arises on every tour. The answer? Once dramatically, in what remains Denver's most sensational crime. And once in a sad tale of bitterness and betrayal.

While researching our book, *The Denver Mint: 100 Years of Gangsters, Gold and Ghosts*, my co-author Lisa Ray Turner, and I found layers of

complexity as we unraveled the story of a nearly successful inside job in 1920.

Here is our account of the Wooden Leg Robber that appeared in our book:³

The Wooden Leg Robber

Orville Harrington was about as far from the image of a twenties gangster as you can get. There were no guns hidden in a violin case or double-breasted, pinstriped suit for this recluse, who rarely left home except to go to work. He was a quiet sort who dutifully worked eight hours a day at the Denver Mint and spent his weekends putting around his Washington Park bungalow or tending zinnias in his garden. Harrington was married to Lydia Harrington, a petite woman who seemed as satisfied at home as her husband, content with raising two children, canning fruit, and tending chickens.

Harrington's only distinguishing feature was his uneven gait and the way his body sagged to one side when he walked. He had been shot in the hip during a hunting accident when he was eleven, and the incident doomed him to a lifetime of pain. His leg was amputated two years after the accident, and he had worn a wooden leg since that time. Therein lies the tale—and maybe the gold.

Harrington was a long-time, trusted employee in the Mint refinery; however, he never set out to become a Mint worker. By all accounts a highly



Denver Public Library Western History Collection

Harry Rhoads captured this 1920 image of the weighing room at the Denver Mint. Orville Harrington handled gold worth millions of dollars when he worked in this room. In 1920, he decided to help himself to 53 gold bars. He smuggled them out of the Mint in his wooden leg.

intelligent man, he had graduated from the Colorado School of Mines, where he had trained to be a mining engineer. Despite graduating with honors from both high school and college, he could not get an engineering job; society's attitudes about disabilities were unenlightened in the twenties, to say the least. Harrington reluctantly accepted a factory job at the Mint.

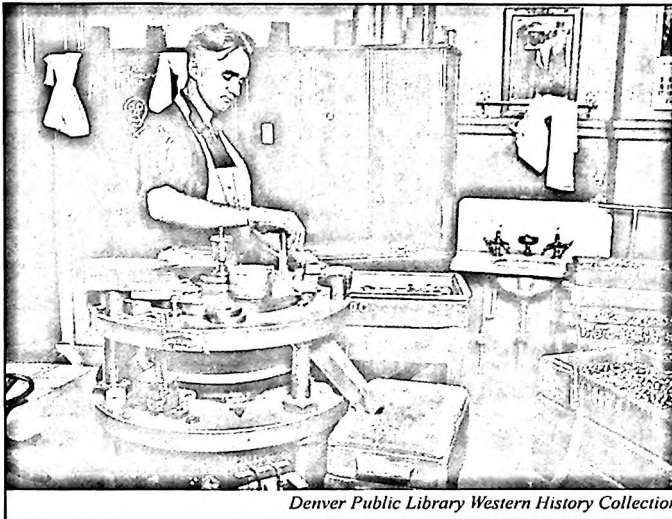
Harrington made \$4 a day, with a monthly bonus of \$20. Yet each day he handled shiny bricks of gold worth vast amounts of money. The bitter and frustrated mining engineer began walking out of the Mint with gold bars, one bar per day.

He planned the embezzlement well, timing the thefts in the interval between inventories. Using this rationale, he could have tucked away thousands

of dollars worth of gold and nobody would have known which of the thirty-nine refinery employees had stolen the gold bars.

He even devised a plan to use the gold. Since it would be difficult, if not impossible, to sell a large quantity of gold, he planned to lease an abandoned mine near Victor, Colorado, melt the gold and claim he had mined it. Over a five-month period, Harrington managed to steal 53 bars of gold alloy, worth \$81,400. By today's standards, that would be almost \$2 million.

How does someone walk out of the Mint with a bar of gold? In today's high-security environments, where cameras lurk in the corners of every building from 7-Elevens to massive government structures, it is hard to imagine. However, Harrington lived in



Denver Public Library Western History Collection

This employee operates a milling machine, which reduces the blank coins to the required size and also upsets, or raises a rim, on the edges.

a simpler time, before metal detectors, x-ray scans, and the like. Still, the bars he stole were not small coins or nuggets that could easily be pocketed. They were seven inches by three inches and one-inch thick. Each weighed nearly fifteen pounds. Just how did he accomplish this feat?⁴

This is where accounts from the time vary. Some claim Harrington hid the gold bars in the hollow chamber of his wooden leg.⁵ Others state Harrington simply carried the bars in his pockets or hid them beneath his jacket. In either event, his prosthetic leg contributed to his ability to commit the crime. Harrington was a large man, and the leg caused him to slump and limp when he walked, so his body position would have disguised a gold bar tucked away in his clothing.

Harrington hid the gold in his cellar, behind shelves bulging with tidy jars of canned fruit, and buried more under a concrete walkway in his yard. Eventually, Harrington's creative crime

spree ended when a fellow employee, who suspected him of the crime, alerted the authorities. Rowland K. Goddard, supervising agent for the Secret Service in Denver, shadowed Harrington and confronted him February 4, 1920, as Harrington was leaving work for the day. Harrington confessed to the crime and showed Goddard where he had hidden the gold at his home. Harrington was promptly arrested, tried, and sentenced to ten years in prison.

News of her husband's crime stunned poor Lydia. She thought he was merely a good handyman. In the February 8, 1920, issue of the *Rocky Mountain News*, she said, "[I] saw him digging in the garden, as if people don't dig in the garden in the spring. ... They said they found gold out there last night, but I do not believe it. I do not believe they found it anywhere."

For years, treasure hunters poked around the Harrington homestead. However, none of the fortune seekers ever lucked out.⁶



Denver Public Library Western History Collection

Florence Thompson (alias Florence Sloan) was a prostitute in Nebraska who abandoned her husband and small child to take up with J. S. Sloan, aka Nicholas Trainor.

The gang promised Florence a cut of the heist after Trainor's death. When the thieves reneged, Florence persuaded another notorious bank robber to convince the gang to pay.

Reports circulated that her bullet-riddled corpse was found near Minneapolis in 1927. Secret Service agents believed they located her in Chicago in 1930, but did not arrest her. In 1932, she and Maggie Shecog (another of the gang's bandit queens) were found shot, their corpses daubed with battery acid and burned in Wisconsin, although some reports state vehemently that Florence Thompson's was not among the bodies found.

Although barely a footnote in accounts of the Wooden Leg Robber, Lydia Harrington captured Lisa's and my hearts as we wrote our book. Blind-sided by her husband's crime, Lydia responded with ingenuity, sacrifice and faithfulness as she fought to keep her family together. For us, she remains the most haunting character in the 20th century drama of the Denver Mint. Here is her poignant story as we told it in our book:⁷

A Woman of Her Time

Lydia Harrington was a small woman with dark, curly hair. She was educated and had worked as a nurse. She was devoted to home, Harrington, and their two young children, who were both seriously ill at the time of Harrington's arrest. She kept an immaculate home, grew vegetables, and tended a

flock of white chickens in the backyard. As was the case with most women in the twenties, Lydia loved home and hearth, but when Harrington went to prison, she had to pay the bills. She wanted to keep the house so Harrington could return to it—and her—after he had served his time. She got a job as a nanny for a wealthy Denver family and put her own children in an orphanage so she could work. She moved from her beloved home to the tiny chicken house in the backyard.

Harrington served three and one-half years of his sentence, was released early, and returned to Lydia. They moved back into their lovely house with their now healthy children. From the outside, it appeared that the Harringtons' problems were behind them. Harrington resumed his place as head of the family and got a job work-

ing for the City of Denver.

A short three years later, Harrington quit his job and told Lydia he planned to go to Arizona to seek out better job opportunities. He left her and the children behind and went his own way.

Undoubtedly devastated to be left alone again, things only got worse for Lydia. It wasn't long before various friends reported they'd seen Harrington around town. Apparently, he never made it to Arizona. This seems like the ultimate cruelty—to abandon Lydia after she had been so devoted. However, that is exactly what Harrington did. The couple split up and went their separate ways. Harrington never got the wealth, good health, comfortable home, or happy family he had wanted. He did not even get the notoriety given to other criminals of the time.

The Great Mint Robbery

The crime wave of the Roaring 20s continued at the Denver Mint. Only this time, the perpetrators were straight out of a gangster movie. Despite its billing as the Great Denver Mint Robbery, it wasn't the Mint that was robbed – it was the Federal Reserve, which stored currency in vaults leased from the Mint. Thieves never made it inside the building.

Here is how the crime unfolded, as Lisa and I wrote in our book:⁸

On December 18, 1922, workers were transferring five-dollar bills from the Mint into a truck parked outside the front entrance. A black Buick touring car roared up and screeched to a stop. Two masked men with sawed-off shotguns jumped from the car and yelled, "Hands up!" Other robbers shat-

tered the truck window and snatched the packets of money. A getaway driver hunched behind the wheel of the Buick, ready to barrel away with the loot.

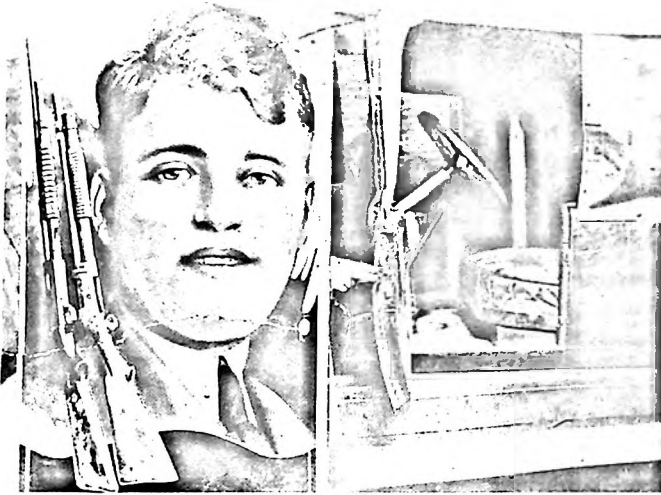
Chaos erupted. Outside, one guard bolted for the protection of a parked car, since his gun had tumbled to the ground. Another dropped the \$100,000 he was carrying and dodged bullets by diving under the money truck. Another sprinted back inside the building. Guard Charles T. Linton fired his revolver. A shot from the gunmen shattered the air. Linton collapsed, blood gushing from a fatal wound.

Inside the Mint alarms shrieked. According to Allen Webb, the guard who tripped the alarm, it was difficult for Mint guards to distinguish the bandits from the guards. A fierce gun battle ensued. Mint workers later counted fifty-one bullet holes in the door of the Mint and thirty-seven in the paneling. Mint neighbors found stray bullets in apartments and businesses in the surrounding area.⁹

Witnesses tell how a bandit with blood dripping from his hand stopped to snatch a bundle of money dropped on the street. He tossed the money in the car, leaped in, and yelled, "Let's go!"

The Buick zoomed away from the Mint. It slammed into a fire hydrant and water spewed into the air, but the vehicle kept moving. The getaway car sideswiped a truck but kept going. It gained momentum as it screeched past the Capitol building and down Colfax. The bloody affair was over in ninety seconds. The robbers got away with \$200,000—the equivalent of \$2 million in today's money.

Denver spent the Christmas



Denver Public Library Western History Collection

Police found mint robber Nicholas Trainor, alias J.S. Sloan, frozen in his "bandit machine" along with guns used in the robbery in a Denver garage a month after the robbery.

season of 1922 in utter pandemonium. In the aftermath of the robbery, scores of people tried to attach themselves to the crime. Sightings of the robbers poured in from Greeley to Baltimore. Countless leads, claims of intimate associations with the robbers and false confessions all led nowhere.

Despite a psychic's prediction that a Mint robber would shout out his confession in a Christmas Eve church service, police greeted the new year with a cold trail.

In January 1923, police got their big break when a neighbor reported a stout padlock on a garage on Gilpin Street. When police opened the garage, they found the "bandit machine" along with the bloodied shotgun dropped by the wounded robber. Inside the car, they found a frozen corpse. But, who was he?

The Denver Post ran a photo of the corpse's frozen visage with the headline, "Who is this Man?" Police wound up placing the skin from the

shriveled hand over a detective's finger to capture fingerprints. That gruesome tactic paid off in the positive identification of Nick Trainor, alias J. S. Trainor, aka, Jimmy Sloan.¹⁰

The police now linked the crime to a dangerous bank robbery gang based in the Midwest. Local readers devoured every detail of the gang's life in Denver as the newspapers breathlessly revealed the story in florid prose. The city reveled in the sordid cast of characters – Trainor, a recently paroled Irish gunman, his bandit queen Florence Thompson, Harvey Bailey, the most successful bank robber of the day and Maggie Shecog, freshly booted off the Chippewa reservation for prostitution.

Not many cities could boast of a frozen dead mint robber in their morgues, so Denver made the most of his funeral. A local mortuary donated a casket and men lined up to be pallbearers for the murderous gangster from out of town. The city buried Trainor at Riverside Cemetery at taxpayer expense.



Denver Public Library Western History Collection

The Mint Police preferred using a secure entrance through the alley (to the left of the Mint in this historic photo) to transfer money, but the Federal Reserve Bank was comfortable using the Colfax Avenue entrance. Police believed the robbers cased the Mint before the heist from neighboring buildings, including the old Denver Public Library. The Denver Mint once shared its block with homes and businesses. The alley and buildings, shown in this early photo taken from atop the City and County Building across Cherokee Street, were swallowed up by the Mint in its expansions. The Mint now occupies the entire block.

While the evidence suggests that the gang hightailed it within forty-eight hours of the robbery, the Denver newspapers did not allow the facts to get in the way of the soap opera. They dutifully reported a spray of carnations arriving at the undertaker's parlor the night before Trainor's funeral with an anonymous note asking that they be placed on his casket. Of course, Florence was the suspected sender. A couple of days prior, Florence had reportedly gone to the funeral home in a disguise. Newspaper accounts reported the mysterious woman's demeanor: "Her fists

were clenched, straight by her side. She stopped. For a long moment, she stood there, rigid... Then one hand was raised to her lips, as if to stifle a sob... She glanced fearfully over one shoulder. She wrung her hands. Abruptly, panic seemed to overwhelm her. Again she turned. Again, she fled. She has not been seen since."¹¹

Why the obsession with the gangsters? The Jazz Age was just getting rolling. Prohibition led many otherwise good citizens into lawlessness as social mores in America rapidly changed. Gangsters were romantic

figures that exemplified the modern age. In the early 1920s, crime in America was low. Despite the violent behavior of gangsters, they didn't threaten ordinary Americans. Their crimes were against institutions such as banks and the government. For the most part, gangsters killed only each other. It was not until the 1930s that the concept of the gangster as a public enemy turned the tide of opinion from giddy fascination to disgust.

Denver was not alone in its obsession with the Mint robbers. The Secret Service doggedly hunted for the crooks and the loot. When a banker in St. Paul, Minnesota (a hotbed of organized crime in the 1920s) told authorities he had been offered a portion of the Mint robbery proceeds for laundering, the Secret Service hatched an elaborate sting. The banker would accept the cash and lead the Secret Service to the gang. It was a brilliant plan, and the banker was so enamored with his role that he blabbed to anyone who would listen. The scheme wound up on the front page of the newspaper, and the Secret Service returned to Denver empty-handed.¹²

In 1934, the Chief of Police in Denver declared the crime solved because everyone suspected was dead or in prison for other crimes. The Secret Service recovered only \$80,000 of the loot. No one ever spent a day in jail for Denver's most sensational crime.

For most of its first century, theft was the primary security concern at the Denver Mint. William F. Daddio, associate director for protection and chief of the Mint police (retired) said, "We used to stay within the gates. We drew up the drawbridge, heated the

oil and got the alligators ready for the night." The bombing of a federal facility in Oklahoma City in 1995 changed that. Now, the mint looks beyond its walls in its efforts to protect the facility and its employees from attack.¹³

The overt signs of security – cameras, metal detectors, reinforced gates and concrete barriers – remind visitors that we live in the age of terrorism. However, one sign of the times saddens longtime visitors. The popular display of gold bars is gone. The public still may tour the Denver Mint. One can make reservations online at USMint.gov. (Be sure to check the restricted items list.)

In the 1940s, Mint tour guides challenged wide-eyed Cub Scouts to lift a gold bar. Of course, the children could not. Odds are they will never again have the chance.

Dedication: I dedicate this article to the late Robert A. Akerley, who rode for decades with the Posse of the Westerners. Bob recounted seeing bullet holes in the walls of the mint as he walked to West High School in the 1930s. Lisa and I searched for those scars to the point of attracting the suspicion of the ever-vigilant Mint Police. Mint guards joined our hunt, but we never found anything conclusive on the outside of the building. However, Bob was happy to hear that his stories led us to discover the bullet holes inside the Mint.

Footnotes

1. Excellent descriptions of the Denver Mint building are found in *Denver, the City Beautiful and Its Architects, 1893-1941* by Thomas J. Noel and Barbara S. Norgren (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc.,

1987), and in *Geology Tour of Denver's Buildings and Monuments* by Jack A. Murphy (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., and Denver Museum of Natural History, 1995).

2. *The Numismatist*, September, 1934.

3. Turner, Lisa Ray and Kimberly Field *The Denver Mint: 100 Years of Gangsters, Gold and Ghosts*. Denver: Mapletree Publishing, Inc., 2007. pp. 19-23.

4. The headlines from the February 6, 1920, issue of the *Rocky Mountain News* are shocking to modern readers: "Cripple Admits Guilt; Tells How He Carried Gold in Artificial Leg." Another article begins with this flowery language: "Dazed and crushed by the tragedy which has suddenly entered and upset the serenity of her secluded household, Mrs. Orville Harrington [sic] believes there is nothing she can say concerning the guilt of her husband. ..." The word "alleged" does not appear in any of the articles about Harrington.

5. *The Denver Post's* February 5, 1920 issue published a sketch of Harrington's artificial leg.

6. Rumors persisted that Orville Harrington's home was bulldozed to make way for the Valley Highway. Published reports to this effect appeared in Pasquale Marranzino's column in the August 4, 1954, issue of the *Rocky Mountain News* and Alice Spencer Cook's story in the November 13, 1966, *Empire* magazine (supplement to *The Denver Post*). The city directory of 1920, however, lists Harrington's address as further north on University than the highway construction. By the late 1950s, Orville's address had been deleted from the city plat.

7. Turner, Lisa Ray and Kimberly Field *The Denver Mint: 100 Years of Gang-*

sters, Gold and Ghosts. Denver: Mapletree Publishing, Inc., 2007. pp. 21-22.

8. Turner, Lisa Ray and Kimberly Field *The Denver Mint: 100 Years of Gangsters, Gold and Ghosts*. Denver: Mapletree Publishing, Inc., 2007. pp. 23-36.

9. Information about the Denver Mint robbery of 1922 came largely from the local newspapers from 1922 and 1923, and retrospective articles published over the decades including "Denver's Famous Mint Robbery" by Stanley Wiseman, *Rocky Mountain News*, May 11, 1947 and "The Denver Mint robbery, 1922" *The Denver Post*, December 7, 1975 and "Five Hit Mint in Bold, Bloody '22 Heist" by Marjie Lundstron in the May 26, 1985, issue of *The Denver Post*.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid

12. *The Denver Post*, May 26, 1985. Rowland K. Goddard was the Secret Service supervising agent in the Denver office from 1907 until he retired in 1941. He arrested Orville Harrington and headed the investigation into the robbery of 1922. In November 1941, he said in a *Rocky Mountain News* article, "There have been plenty of real cases in Denver during my 35 years. But the fact that we never got any of those men who pulled the Mint robbery makes it the most outstanding." Goddard became one of the country's leading experts on counterfeiting. He died in 1949. Interviews with Goddard about the robberies appeared in *The Denver Post* (August 13, 1933, and August 19, 1945) and the *Rocky Mountain News* (November 30, 1941, August 21, 1945, and October 22, 1946).

13. William F. Daddio, personal communication, October, 2005.

Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

New Members

The Denver Posse of the Westerners welcomes the following new corresponding members:

Chuck and Sandy Laskey, Centennial, referred by "quite a few" Westerners (Sandy is the Bunkhouse Manager of the Colorado Corral of the Westerners); and

Howard J. Johnston, Denver, referred by Andy Rasor (Howard's family were Colorado pioneers, and he is a rancher as well as a real estate appraiser).

Westerners along the Front Range

Westerner Corral and Posse activities along the Front Range included the following presentations in February. Greg Michno presented "Circling the Wagons: Films, Fact, and Fantasy in Western History" to the Denver Posse. Greg is a member of the Denver Posse as well as the Boulder and Fort Collins Corrals. Denver Posse member John Hutchins presented "Wounded Knee Revenged: The Pillager Uprising and the Battle of Sugar Point, 1898" to the Pikes Peak Posse. Dr. Kim Melville presented "The Astronomy of Chaco Canyon" to the Boulder Corral. Walt Barnhart presented "Kenny's Shoes: A Walk through the Storied Life of the Remarkable Kenneth W. Monfort" to the Colorado Corral. The Fort Collins Corral held their annual "Show and Tell."

In March the Westerners again produced an interesting variety of Western historical research. Lee and Jane Whiteley presented "The Smoky Hill Trail, Road to 'Pike's Peak' Gold" to the Denver Posse. Denver members Johanna Harden and Annette Gray presented "Two Wheels and a Path from Denver to Palmer Lake and Beyond" to the Pikes Peak Posse. John Monnett, a Denver and Boulder member, presented "Climate Change and the Struggle for the Powder River Country 1847-1866" to the Boulder Corral. Roz Brown presented a program on the Orphan Trains to the Colorado Corral. The history of Pingree Park was presented to the Fort Collins Corral.

The Denver Westerners mourn Member Losses



Denver corresponding member Marilyn Riley passed away in March. She had retired after teaching English for 30 years in Denver. In pursuing her lifelong passion for writing, she published the book *High Altitude Attitudes: Six Savvy Denver Women* in 2006. Marilyn presented the 2007 Summer Rendezvous program "High Altitude Attitudes".

Also in March, Nancy Bird, widow of Jim Bird, passed away. Jim Bird, a long-time member of the Westerners, was elected to the regular Posse in 2000, and was elected Deputy Sheriff for 2003, but he died unexpectedly in January 2003.

Our heartfelt sympathies are extended to families and friends.





Westerners Bookshelf

Showtime, by Thomas J. Noel and Amy Zimmer. Denver's Division of Theatres and Arenas, 2008. 137 pages. 277 pictures. Chronology, sources and index. Hardbound. \$49.95.

In this book, Tom and Amy have proved that history does repeat itself. During 1908 Denver opened the country's first and largest municipal auditorium and hosted the Democratic National Convention. Now, one hundred years later, Denver has again hosted the DNC a few blocks away in the Pepsi Center and Invesco Field Stadium.

The 14th Street and Curtis Street area started out as being Denver's elite residential and theatre district. After many changes of ups and downs, this area is again the center for performing arts and high-end condominiums and hotels. The municipal auditorium has taken on a new life by being remodeled into the Ellie Caulkins Opera House and is connected to the multi-theatre enclave of the Denver Center for the Performing Arts.

Through this book we see how very early-on, Denver embraced the arts by building spaces for music and drama. The authors also include the relationships of the theatres in the surrounding communities like Leadville, Cripple Creek, Central City and others.

At the beginning of the book they have a two-page chronological overview from 1858 to 2008. It gives one a preview of coming attractions and sets the stage for very interesting reading and viewing through the wonderful selection of pictures. And for the researcher in you there is a great index and liberal listings of sources and booklets.

Having been a theatre student at the University of Denver in the 1950s, I felt like I was meeting old friends in this book. This was a time of much change in the theatre scene in Denver. Helen Bonfils was very much a part of the activities from a philanthropic and actress point of view. Her productions for the free Denver Post Opera in Cheesman Park every summer will long be remembered for their entertainment value as well as the education of the community in the musical arts. It also gave theatre students at DU a wonderful hands on experience in live theatre.

Denver's own Mary Coyle Chase was having great success with her play entitled "Harvey" on Broadway in New York City. She also was on hand for a production presented by DU students of her work "Bemadine." The Denver Civic Theatre shared the stage of the Little Theatre on the DU campus so we had first-hand knowledge of the influences of the movers and shakers of theatre at that time. These people, as well as their predecessors and those that followed (plus their valiant efforts), are chronicled in "Showtime."

Anyone interested in the history of the city of Denver as well as the growth of its theatres will be delighted with this handsome book. Tom and Amy have shown us that we can certainly be proud of the quantity and quality of Denver's theatre history and cultural accomplishments. Bravo! and Brava!, Tom and Amy.

--Max Delbert Smith, PM

Cuckoo for Kokopelli, by Dave Walker. Northland Publishing, 1998. Soft cover, 43 pages, numerous photographs, selected bibliography, a buyer's guide appendix, and index. \$7.96.

This is a light, tongue-in-cheek look at Kokopelli. It is a short easy read, but not recommended for younger readers due to the subject matter. The book gives a simple historical overview the many speculated historical roles filled by this popular icon. Mr. Walker also has fun while exploring the commercialization and obsession surrounding Kokopelli. If you are looking for a serious, historical study of Kokopelli, this is not it.

--Cathy Mencin, C.M.



The Making of an Icon Kokopelli, by Ekkehart Malotki. The University of Nebraska Press, 2000. Soft cover, 140 pages, illustrations and color photographs. The edition also includes an appendix of the Hopi alphabet, a bibliography, and index. \$19.95.

This is an anthropological study of Kokopelli. The book is scholarly, with extensive references, but very readable. It contains many informative illustrations. The book begins with the modern Kokopelli figure and traces the historical elements of this popular icon and its connection with the native Hopi culture. These include the flute player depicted in prehistoric petroglyphs and pictographs dated between 800 and 1600 A.D., the Hopi Robber Fly Kachina, Kookopölö, his female counterpart, Kokopömana, and Maahu, the cicada that the Hopi people believe is responsible for bringing the heat needed to allow the crops to come to harvest.

Professor Malotki is a linguist and has studied the Hopi oral tradition. His main intent is to clear up much of the cultural confusion between Kokopelli and the Hopi cultural traditions. He traces Kokopelli's development and its connection with the Hopi culture in archeological literature. Of particular interest are a number of Hopi tales that involve Kookopölö, Kokopömana, and Cicada. While presenting these tales, professor Malotki demonstrates how the ties between the Hopi culture and Kokopelli are mainly only a result of coincidence and historical assumptions. He also shows how the Hopi culture has been affected by the commercialization the Kokopelli figure. I found the book to be informative and interesting.

--Cathy Mancin, C.M.





The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

May - June 2009



**The History of the Colorado Attorney
General's Office**

by John W. Suthers

(presented December 17, 2008)



Our Author

John W. Suthers is a lifetime resident of Colorado. He has a BA from Notre Dame and studied law at the University of Colorado. Upon completion of his law degree in 1977 he served as a deputy and chief deputy district attorney in Colorado Springs, heading the Economic Crime Division. In 1981 he entered private practice in Colorado until he was elected District Attorney in 1988. He served two terms in this capacity, returning to private practice in 1997. In 1999 John was appointed Executive Director of the Colorado Department of Corrections. As the head of this system, he managed 6000 employees and an annual budget of \$500 million. In 2001 he was appointed as US Attorney for Colorado and represented the federal government in criminal and civil matters. In 2005 John was appointed Attorney General of Colorado and later elected to that office. In his tenure as Attorney General, John has led the effort to protect children from Internet predators and to reduce mortgage and foreclosure fraud. He also chairs the statewide Methamphetamine Task Force. John teaches at the University of Denver Law School. He and his wife Janet, married 32 years, have two daughters. He is the author of five books, his most recent book entitled *No Higher Calling, No Greater Responsibility: A Prosecutor's Case* (Fulcrum Publishing, 2008).

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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The History of the Colorado Attorney General's Office

by John W. Suthers

(presented December 17, 2008)

It's a great honor and privilege to serve as the 37th Attorney General of Colorado. When I graduated from law school thirty-one years ago, I had a vague and undefined notion that I wanted to spend a portion of my legal career in public service. So imagine how I feel today having had the opportunity to serve as an elected district attorney in Colorado Springs, as the presidentially-appointed United States attorney, and now as Colorado's attorney general. I like to tell my legal friends I feel like I've won the legal trifecta. For a lawyer interested in public service, it doesn't get any better than this.

But I'm not here tonight to talk about the law. I'm here because I share with all of you an interest in history in general, and Colorado history in particular. In fact, my interest in Colorado history is such that for each of the government offices I've held over the last twenty years, I've helped produce a history of the office or department I directed.

Now you might ask whether I've undertaken these very time-consuming projects for any reason other than my own historical interest or curiosity. And the answer is "yes." I've found that providing historical knowledge to people in government offices significantly contributes to

office morale, especially when you're able to include employees in doing the necessary research. Reading the history of an office like the AG's office, for example, reminds employees that the institution of which they are a part is 148 years old. It's mission is bigger and more enduring than the individuals that comprise it at any point in time. It was here long before we got here and it will be here long after we're gone. We're simply caretakers of the public trust. I think it's good for people to have a sense of the historical role of the institution they're a part of and to understand that they are contributing to the history of that institution every day.

I'm going to limit my remarks tonight to the history of the Attorney General's office in Colorado. And in fact, to keep my remarks to a manageable length of time, I'll only be commenting on very limited aspects of what's transpired in the Colorado AG's office during the last 148 years.

The history of the Colorado Attorney General's Office begins about 1860. To refresh your recollection, a constitutional convention was held in Denver in 1859 to debate the pros and cons of territorial status versus statehood. The issue was submitted to a vote of the male residents of the area, who cast 2,007 votes for

territorial status and 1,649 votes for statehood. On the basis of that vote, the Territory of Jefferson was created without the sanction of Congress. The founders of the territory even appointed someone named Samuel McLean as its Attorney General. But absent taxing authority, the Territory of Jefferson quickly failed. Congress was unwilling to act because southerners were convinced a new territory would probably favor the north. That situation changed when Abraham Lincoln was elected President in November of 1860, and the secession of the southern states followed soon thereafter. Remaining states in the Union were more than willing to add new territories.

On February 28, 1861, the U. S. Congress established the Territory of Colorado with the same boundaries as the present state. The territorial legislature met for the first time in September 1861 and created seventeen counties.

According to the 1860 census, the Territory of Colorado consisted of 25,371 people. Two-thirds of the residents were miners. Ten said they were teachers and eleven said they were ministers. Eighty-nine residents of the new territory called themselves lawyers.

The Congressional act establishing the Territory of Colorado provided for the appointment by the President of a number of territorial officers, including a governor and a "territorial attorney general" but did

not specify the duties of the attorney general or appropriate funds to hire one. Lincoln nominated William Gilpin as the first Territorial Governor and William L. Stoughton of Illinois as the first Territorial Attorney General. But it appears from historical records that Stoughton, who was an acquaintance of Lincoln, never actually showed up in the territory.

The Colorado State Archives list James Dalliba as having been the first Attorney General of the Colorado Territory. He was nominated on December 12, 1861 by President Lincoln to fill the dual role of Colorado Territorial Attorney General and U. S. Attorney for the territory. In fact, he was the first of seven presidential appointments who would serve in both capacities between 1861 and 1877. The only explanation found for not appointing a separate Territorial Attorney General and U. S. Attorney, which was then and remains now the norm, was the lack of a sufficient Congressional appropriation for the territorial government.

For reasons unknown, it's apparent that Dalliba's appointment was controversial and the United States Senate declined to confirm his nomination. That led to the nomination of Samuel E. Browne a week later. He was confirmed by the U.S. Senate on April 8, 1862. It's quite certain that no more colorful figure ever served as Colorado's chief law enforcement officer.

IN MEMORIAM

Robert E. Winbourn, Attorney General of the State of Colorado, departed this life on the seventh day of August, 1930.

In the full vigor of manhood, when hopes were high, when public favor and successful achievement were beckoning him onward to earnest endeavor and to wider fields of usefulness, the Invisible Hand was laid upon him and he passed to his reward as his native State of Colorado mourned the loss of one of her noblest sons. An exemplary citizen, an able lawyer, a faithful and efficient public officer, he rose to every occasion, fulfilled every responsibility, and discharged every duty with wholehearted zeal and scrupulous fidelity.

Modest and unassuming, courteous to all, yet resolute and courageous, impartial and just, he was an ideal servant of a free people.

Honored, respected and trusted alike by the Chief Executive of the State, and by the humblest citizen who grasped his friendly hand, a brilliant career of public service awaited him.

The stress and storms of life never swept from the soul of Robert E. Winbourn the golden qualities of youth, and his radiant smile and buoyant spirit lightened the burden of all who wrought with him in private life or in public station.

Those whose good fortune it was to share in his official labors, to come in daily contact with him, and to feel the charm of his wholesome and engaging personality, held him in deep regard akin to personal affection and his untimely passing was felt by them as the pangs of personal bereavement.

Samuel Browne was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania in May 1822. He graduated from what is now Franklin and Marshall College in 1839 and began teaching school and reading law. He was admitted to the bar in 1845 and moved to Ohio. There he became active in politics, being twice elected to the Ohio state legislature.

When the Civil War broke out, Browne became quartermaster

of the Ohio regiment that was among the first Union troops under George McClellan to engage the Confederates at Bull Run. He was appointed a captain in the regular army and served with distinction until he suffered a serious wound. When he recovered, he was appointed to a clerkship in the Treasury Department. His responsibility was to personally sign and issue 60 million dollars in greenback currency known as demand notes. That also proved debilitating. The constant signing of documents aggravated his war injury and caused his right hand to become permanently deformed. He never fully recovered use of his right arm.

But along the way Browne had made some favorable impressions.

Salmon Chase, Secretary of the Treasury and future Supreme Court Justice, recommended him to President Lincoln for the dual role of Colorado Territorial AG and U. S. Attorney. Browne traveled to the territory immediately after the appointment.

Although apparently a competent lawyer, Samuel Browne remained a soldier at heart. In the fall of 1864, an Indian uprising in

northeast Colorado led to the killing of many settlers in the South Platte Valley. The Indians threatened the stage station in Julesburg and interfered with Denver's communication with the East. Browne stirred the people to act and organized the first Colorado cavalry, of which he was appointed Commander. Through the winter of 1865, Attorney General Browne led troops on the plains searching out and killing the renegades. Apparently Browne and his regiment were very successful. The cavalry was mustered out of service on April 30, 1865, two weeks after Lincoln's assassination.

Although Browne's obituary in the *Rocky Mountain News* in 1902 stated, "his hatred of Indians became a second nature," he apparently had some concerns about the means and methods of Union cavalry troops operating in the territory, at least as it related to non-Indians. In 1864, Colorado was being attacked by a notorious group of Confederate sympathizers known as the Reynolds Gang, led by two brothers named Reynolds. After entering Colorado from Texas, the gang began robbing and plundering at will, particularly along the stagecoach road from Fairplay to Denver. Then in July and August of 1864 a posse, whose leadership included Assistant U.S. Attorney Wilbur Stone, killed one of the gang and rounded up five others. The prisoners were delivered to Denver and into the custody of Colonel John

Chivington, Colorado district military commander. Chivington wrote to his superior, General Samuel Curtis, at Fort Leavenworth: "Have notorious guerillas. Will try by military commission. If convicted...can I shoot them?" Curtis replied that nobody but he could approve death sentences. Chivington apparently took some testimony in secret, but no commission rendered a verdict. Angry crowds of vigilantes wanted more prompt action. On September 3, 1864 the prisoners left Denver in the escort of about 100 soldiers, reportedly headed for Fort Lyon in southeast Colorado. Both the guards and the prisoners were informed that if any prisoner tried to escape, he would be shot immediately. Curiously, it appears the group did not have enough rations for the trip to Fort Lyon. The first night out, the prisoners were given every opportunity to escape. They did not. The second day out, the group stopped at Russelville, southeast of present-day Franktown, and according to an eye witness, the prisoners were lined up and executed. The *Rocky Mountain News*, whose editor, William Byers, was a staunch supporter of Chivington, reported that the prisoners were shot while making a "concerted effort to escape." That became the generally accepted story.

Attorney General Samuel Browne had reliable information that Chivington had ordered the Reynolds gang's execution without

proper authorization and on October 3, 1864, he wrote to General Curtis at Fort Leavenworth detailing the events that occurred and attributing incriminating quotes to Chivington. Browne's last paragraph read:

"I can prove all the facts contained in this letter. I propose to prove them in the proper place but deem it my duty as a representative of the government to inform you of the facts, and on behalf of our people to demand these outrageous claims be investigated. With such men in power, people feel they have but little security in person or property."

Curtis tartly responded to Browne on October 15, essentially telling him the "brigands" got exactly what they deserved and that while it might have been preferable for Chivington to have "tried them by commission...our troops now consider it right to kill bushwhackers, even after they surrender."

The extent to which this letter emboldened Chivington is uncertain, but it was only a month later that Chivington ordered the slaughter of a peaceful village of Cheyenne and Arapahoe women and children in the southeast Colorado territory, to be known as the Sand Creek Massacre. That action was horrifying even to many who lived in genuine fear of Indian aggression and Chivington

was censored by two Congressional committees, but never criminally prosecuted.

Samuel Browne, known for the rest of his life as "General Browne," not because of his military status but because he served as Territorial Attorney General, resigned from that position effective October 1, 1865, and entered a full-time private practice.

In April 1874, Browne was disbarred from the practice of law in the territory by its Supreme Court for failing to pay a client, Frances Piper, \$400 he was entitled to as a result of a case Piper had against the Kansas Pacific Railway Company. Browne had the audacity to seek reinstatement to the bar on the grounds he had been given an "unconditional pardon" by the Governor of the territory. But the Colorado Supreme Court held that his "professional delinquency" could not be cured by a pardon, but rather only by payment of restitution to the client. Browne got the message, paid the restitution and was reinstated to the practice in April 1875. He was subsequently twice defeated in elections for District Judge. He continued to practice law until the time of his death on May 30, 1902 at the age of eighty. At his funeral he was eulogized as a man who had been identified "with some of the most striking incidents in the history of the nation and of the state." A fellow lawyer described him as

“...a patriarchal figure in a black Prince Albert coat, high hat, mouth shaven upper lip and long white beard. The old gentleman was geniality personified. His moral obliquities were obvious, his disregard for professional proprieties was notorious, but his personality was irresistible.”

Do you see what I mean when I say that Attorney General Samuel Browne was probably my most colorful predecessor? Unfortunately, AG's don't get to lead the cavalry any more.

The trial dockets found in the Colorado State Archives show that most of the focus of the territorial courts during the early 1860s involved rudimentary law and order concerns. Most of the civil cases involved land or water claims. The most common criminal case involved livestock theft and assaultive behavior, often precipitated by an overindulgence of alcohol. In one El Paso County case, *People of the Territory of Colorado v. William Henry Jackson*, the soon-to-be prominent frontier photographer was charged with assaulting a young lady friend. He wound up being fined \$25 and being assessed \$25 in court costs.

In addition to Denver and Central City, sessions of the territorial court were held in places as distant as Fairplay and the San Luis Valley. The judge, prosecuting attorney and

others traveled together under escort of federal troops. It was arduous and dangerous duty, particularly at certain times of the year. “Prowling bands of murderous redskins or white desperados” were a constant threat. But life on “the circuit” also had its enjoyable aspects. Wilbur Stone's 1903 eulogy of a former territorial judge had this to say about life on the judicial circuit:

“Over the vast region, the lawyers, with the judge and other officials, witnesses, litigants and Spanish interpreters, and often prisoners for trial, used to travel from court to court in a motley caravan of wagons, primitive buggies, horseback and muleback over sagebrush plains, mountain ranges, fording rivers in heat, snow, wind and dust, camping out at night...fishing for trout in mountain streams, occasionally shooting an antelope, cooking their “grub,” smoking their pipes around the campfire, swapping stories, singing songs...holding court within crude adobe walls with dirt floors...and generally having more fun, legal and illegal, than the bench and bar have ever seen.”

Not surprisingly, several of Colorado's early Attorneys General were veterans of the Civil War and came west afterward. In fact, three, including Samuel Browne, were

seriously injured in the war. The first elected Attorney General after statehood in 1876, Archibald Sampson, had an unspecified lifetime disability from the battle of Hatcher's Run.

But the Purple Heart award clearly goes to Byron Carr who was the Colorado Attorney General from 1894 to 1898. Carr enlisted in the Union Army a week after the fall of Fort Sumter in April 1861. He fought with the First New Hampshire Calvary at Cedar Mountain, the second battle of Bull Run, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, The Wilderness, Antietam, Cold Harbor, Richmond, and Petersburg. On June 17, 1863 he was captured by Jeb Stuart's cavalry and imprisoned at Belle Island until October of that year, when he was involved in a prisoner exchange and returned to his New Hampshire regiment. In 1864 alone, he was wounded four times and lost a thumb. Then, on April 9, 1865, he was involved in fighting around Appomattox Courthouse and less than 24 hours before Lee surrendered at Appomattox, he was seriously wounded and had his right arm amputated at the shoulder. The materials we read said that as Attorney General, when he posed for a picture, he always posed at an angle so as to not display this injury.

Another Territorial Attorney General that would play a prominent role in Colorado's early history was Henry Thatcher, nominated by President Ulysses S. Grant in April

1869. Thatcher was born in Perry County, Pennsylvania in April 1842. He attended Albany Law School in New York and moved to Pueblo in the fall of 1866. Thatcher and his brothers, John and Mahlon, became southern Colorado's most successful businessmen. They owned a large general store as well as banks in three towns. They had extensive cattle, real estate, and railroad interests.

Henry Thatcher practiced law and conducted business in Pueblo until his appointment by Grant as U.S. Attorney and Territorial AG. He served just over a year, until May 1870, when he returned to the full-time practice of law in Pueblo. His clients included the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. After the admission of Colorado as a state, Thatcher would become the first Chief Justice of the Colorado Supreme Court. At his death in 1884, at only 42 years of age, Henry Thatcher was acclaimed as one of the most influential citizens of southern Colorado. To this day, his name is attached to various Pueblo landmarks in honor of his brothers and him.

Colorado territorial residents overwhelmingly voted for statehood in an election on July 1, 1876. Then President Grant made statehood official by proclamation on August 1 of that year. That, of course, was preceded by a state constitutional convention in the winter of 1875 and 1876. There were 38 delegates to the State Constitutional Convention and

no less than five of them served as Colorado Attorney General. Henry Thatcher and Charles Bradley served as territorial AGs and Alvin Marsh, Byron Carr and Henry Rockwell served as elected state Attorneys General.

The first codification of the laws of Colorado, published in 1877, included the organic authority of the State Attorney General. It provided that the Attorney General attend at the seat of government during the sessions of the General Assembly and the Supreme Court and "appear for the state and prosecute and defend all actions and proceedings, civil and criminal, in which the state or its departments shall be a party or interested, when required to do so by the governor or general assembly, and shall prosecute and defend for the state all causes in the Supreme Court in which the state is a party or interested."

The Attorney General was also directed to give opinions in writing when requested by the governor, lieutenant governor, auditor, secretary of state, treasurer or superintendent of public education and to prepare drafts of contracts, forms and other writings required for use by the State.

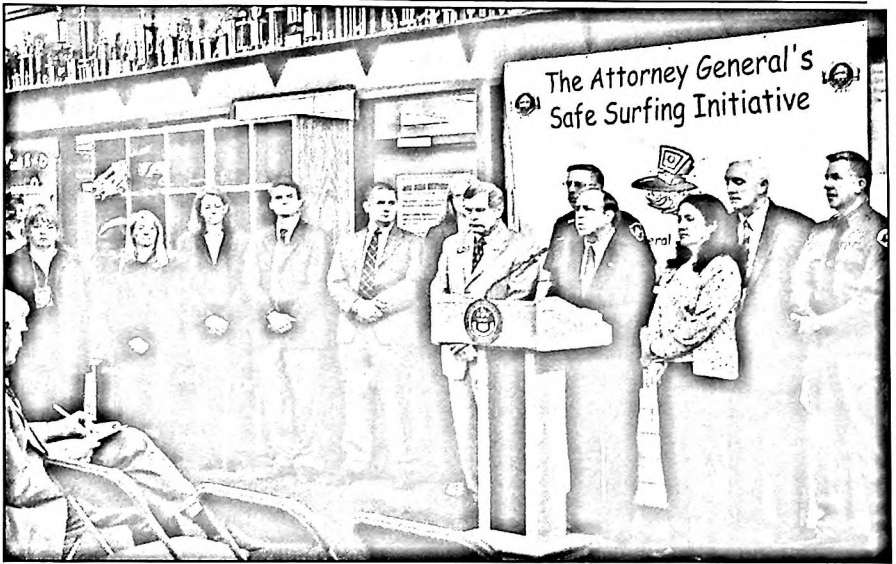
As to the work of the Colorado Attorney General's office during its early days, our greatest source of information is the biennial reports. Colorado AGs were required to provide to the governor and legislature

from 1878 until 1962. Those reports generally gave the number and type of cases handled by the AG, the legal opinions issued, the dollars collected, and other such information. But some of them also contained interesting commentary.

The First Biennial Report for the years 1877 and 1878 discussed the problems Archibald Sampson had as the first state AG. "Entering upon the discharge of the duties of this office at the time I did, with neither predecessor or precedent, and when a construction of many of the most important laws of the state was necessary, the duties of the office have not only been very important but very laborious. I have found the laws inadequate for the purposes intended, in many instances, or sections of one in conflict with those of another."

The Biennial Report of Attorney General Samuel Jones in 1890 has been near and dear to the heart of every Attorney General that has succeeded him. "The business of this office has increased during my incumbency in a far greater ratio than at any time heretofore. Not only has the greater volume of business in the various departments entailed much additional labor, but errors in previous legislation, defective statutory provisions, unsuited to the complexities of the present day, have constantly been submitted to this office for adaptation to present demands.

"So constantly are requisi-



tions made on this office, in the less conspicuous, but not less important, matters affecting the various departments, that little time is afforded for other than official duties.

"From these considerations, it is apparent that there should be affixed to the office a salary commensurate with its importance and with its duties." That's the part all his successors agree with.

Samuel Jones' 1890 report is also the first to reference Assistant Attorneys General. It's believed that prior to that time, there had been no Assistant AGs. Today there are 240 Assistant Attorneys General. The first Deputy Attorney General, the second in command, appears in the reports in 1905. It's interesting to note that one Deputy Attorney General, Charles Roach, would serve for 20 years from 1916 to 1936, under

seven different Attorneys General.

Another very interesting Biennial Report is that of Attorney General Eugene Engley in 1894. Engley was the Populist candidate for Attorney General and ran on a fusion ticket which defeated Republican Charles Libby. Engley was one of the incorporators of the City of Durango and was the owner of the first newspaper in LaPlata County.

Unlike his predecessors, who limited their Biennial Reports to the work done by the office, Engley took the opportunity to advance the Populist agenda by stating his personal opinions on a variety of matters. He urged a new state constitution under which the "people will administer their own governmental affairs" rather than delegating "to a horde of partisan politicians." The constitution should also abolish the State Senate,

which he viewed as a throwback to the conflicts "between the patrician and plebian factions of the Roman Empire." The Senate should be abolished and "thrown into the waste basket of dead centuries, where it belongs," he said. The Governor should not have veto power, the Court of Appeals should be abolished, the death penalty should be abolished, jury trials in civil cases should be abolished and the office of Coroner should be abolished. The penitentiary and state reformatory should be changed to a hospital and school "for the treatment of crime."

Engley also advocated for compulsory public education through high school and college for those qualified, with the state paying for books, clothing and food for those too poor to pay themselves. He advocated for an eight-hour workday and a prohibition on employment of children under eighteen in factories and other industries. Obviously, some of Engley's views were ahead of his time; others were simply out of step with the views of Colorado citizens, both then and today.

Here's something I also found humorous. In the Biennial Report for 1952, it indicates that in 1951 the AG's office issued a written opinion on the meaning of the word "is." Unfortunately, this opinion was not unearthed in time for the Clinton impeachment hearings.

The Colorado Attorney General during the strikes by coal

miners in southern Colorado that climaxed with the Ludlow Massacre in April 1914, was Fred Farrar. As you know, seventeen people were killed in an assault by the Colorado National Guard on the tent city of 1200 striking miners. The miners retaliated by attacking dozens of mines. Attorney General Farrar reported on the progress of criminal prosecutions arising from the labor unrest. Ninety-three people were indicted for murder, arson and other crimes in Fremont County and 165 in Las Animas County. Smaller numbers were indicted in Huerfano and Boulder Counties. Local District Attorneys handled most of the cases but Farrar claimed credit for securing the first conviction of a strike leader for the death of a man killed in a strike incited riot. But in his 1914 Biennial Report, Farrar reported that the criminal prosecutions arising out of coal miners' strikes were not going well. "Not one offender is today suffering a penalty for his crime," he wrote.

In that same year Farrar issued a formal written opinion involving the authority of a school to separate English-speaking students from non-English-speaking students. He took an enlightened view: "...If the children are excluded by reason of race, there is no question that such exclusion is illegal. On the other hand, if the test is one of language, then it is a proper exercise of the right of school officials to prescribe

the course of study for the best interests of the school and the students.”

One Colorado Attorney General, Wayne Williams, who served as AG in 1924 and 25, was a prolific and somewhat accomplished writer. He wrote a book about Abraham Lincoln's first campaign for President entitled *A Rail Splitter for President*. In 1936 he wrote what remains one of the definitive biographies of William Jennings Bryan, whom Williams had first met at the 1908 Democratic National Convention in Denver and who subsequently became a close friend.

Williams was also very instrumental in negotiation of the Colorado River compact.

And that brings me to one of the things that really struck me when researching the history of the AG's office. That is how some things have changed dramatically and how some things have hardly changed at all. First of all, what hasn't changed.

In 1918, Attorney General Leslie Hubbard was very concerned with the pollution of the San Miguel River from mine tailings and recommended that suit be brought immediately against the polluters. As proof that government doesn't move too quickly, the Colorado AG's office eventually filed suit over the mine tailing pollution of the San Miguel River 65 years later in 1983.

In 1902 Kansas first filed suit against Colorado over the Arkansas River. That case of original jurisdic-

tion in the U.S. Supreme Court led to the doctrine of equitable apportionment which in turn led to the creation of the various river compacts. Our water wars have been a perpetual situation throughout the history of the Colorado Attorney General's office. On December 1, two weeks ago, I argued a case in the U. S. Supreme Court, *Kansas v. Colorado*. The dispute, in one form or another, has been before the Supreme Court almost a dozen times in the last 106 years.

In his Report to the Governor at the conclusion of his term in 1932, Attorney General Clarence Ireland described the protection of Colorado's interstate water rights as the Colorado Attorney General's most important responsibility. I think that remains very true today, although it doesn't receive as much public attention as other things that we're involved in.

Of course a lot of things have changed, as I indicated. Our office no longer deals with cattle rustling, adultery, bigamy, and a lot of the crimes that were common in the early days of the office. Instead we're now concerned about internet crime, computer crime and sophisticated market manipulation. One of the things I'm most proud of during my tenure as Attorney General is bringing our statutes up to date to deal with sexual predators on the internet.

A sobering fact is that of the thirty-seven state Attorneys General,

five have died in office, including four within thirteen years. I believe that's a higher mortality rate than for any other statewide office. Russell Fleming died in 1923 of blood poisoning, Robert Winbourn died in August 1930 of an intestinal obstruction. His successor, John Underwood, died 4 months later in December 1930 when his car was hit by a streetcar. Paul Prosser died in 1936 from an abdominal abscess and resulting pneumonia. And of course, Duke Dunbar, the longest serving Attorney General, who served from 1950 to 1972, died of a stroke while in office. In fact, he suffered the stroke in the middle of a Joint Budget Committee meeting. Many of his successors, including me, have come close to having a stroke when dealing with the JBC.

One of the most colorful Attorneys General in the post World War II era was John Metzger, who served only one two-year term in 1949-50. Metzger was born in April 1914 in a sod house on land his father homesteaded near Sterling. He overcame a difficult childhood. His father abandoned the homestead and became a miner in the Cripple Creek-Victor district. But he then died in a mining accident when John Metzger was eight years old. His mother died five years later and he and his sister were sent to a state home for dependent children. They were then put into the custody of different families and remained

separated for four years.

Metzger was essentially indentured to an eastern Colorado farm family and claimed he ran away at fourteen and became wholly self-supporting as a dishwasher, waiter and dairy hand. He finished high school by attending a YMCA-sponsored night school. After high school he was hired as a law clerk by attorney Hugh Neville. Metzger took law courses at the Westminster Law School but did not graduate. When Neville suffered a jaw disease and was unable to speak, Metzger reputedly did the speaking for his boss in court. In 1936, Metzger was admitted to the bar on motion without a law degree. He is one of the last people in Colorado to be admitted to the bar without having graduated from an American Bar Association-approved law school.

Metzger became heavily involved in Democratic Party politics. He campaigned for Al Smith in 1927 and recalled crowds throwing vegetables at Smith, the first Roman Catholic candidate for President, at a rally at the Orpheum Theater. At age twenty Metzger helped organize a young Democrats organization. When he got a last-minute nomination for Attorney General in 1948 he geared his campaign around the Truman presidential campaign. It proved to be a good strategy. Metzger was a personal friend of Truman's and drafted the seconding speech for the President at the 1948 Democratic

convention. He had worked at a munitions factory with Bess Truman's brother during World War II. When Metzger's son was born in 1949, Truman sent him an autographed dollar bill. In fact, Truman wanted to nominate Metzger for a federal judgeship, but Senator Ed Johnson blocked the nomination and the President appointed Lee Knous.

Metzger was a very colorful guy. He railed against temperance groups attempting to disseminate information in public schools. He said it was "just as harmful for these do-gooders to be propagandizing children in schools as it would be for the wets to be propagandizing the children." He also brought suits against relatives of mental patients in state institutions seeking to recover the cost of care.

A June 14, 1950 *Rocky Mountain News* article criticized Metzger for not giving the press enough information on his investigation of gambling in Colorado. Metzger fired back, saying the press was trying to jeopardize the investigation. Then Metzger got into a legal battle with Denver Mayor Quigg Newton. He told the mayor he couldn't fly a Soviet flag with other international flags over the Civic Center on United Nations Day and Armistice Day. In fact, Metzger sued Denver and Mayor Newton to prevent the "red flag of anarchy" from being flown in Colorado. When Metzger lost the 1950 general elec-

tion race to Republican Duke Dunbar, several newspapers attributed the loss to this "red flag" incident as well as the fact that he was sued for slander by the Mayor of Lamar for derogatory statements he made about the town. He was a very colorful guy.

By the way, Metzger's daughter, Karen, became a Denver District Court Judge and a Colorado Court of Appeals Judge.

An interesting observation is that until recently, the office of Attorney General of Colorado was not much of an avenue to higher political office. Most Colorado AGs have returned to private law practice. Several of them, including Henry Thatcher, Charles Toll and Clarence and Gale Ireland became very prominent private practitioners. Several of the Attorneys General eventually became judges. No less than six assistant AG have become Colorado Supreme Court Justices, including current justices Mary Mullarkey, Greg Hobbs Ben Coats and Allison Eid. John Moore, who served as AG for two years after the death of Duke Dunbar, and who subsequently changed his name to his birth name of Porfilio, eventually became a Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals Judge. No Colorado Attorney General has become Colorado Governor. However, two prominent Assistant Attorneys General, Ralph Carr and John Vivian, both hired by Attorney General William Boatright in 1926, became Governors of Colorado. Byron G.

Rogers, who served as Colorado Attorney General from 1936 to 1940, became a long-term Congressman from Denver. And of course, in recent history, Gale Norton became Secretary of the Interior and Ken Salazar was elected to the U.S. Senate.

Today's Attorney General's office is dramatically different from the territorial AG's office in 1860. Then the AG was the only employee. Today the office consists of 400 employees, 240 of which are attorneys. It has a \$48 million budget. But one thing I'm very confident of. Being AG has always been a great job. Every day in the AG's office we get involved with issues and controversies of great significance to the State of Colorado and its citizens. As I remind my employees frequently, we continue to make history every day.

Thanks very much for the invitation to join you.

Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

Westerners along the Front Range

A summary of April and May activities of Westerners follows. At the Boulder Corral April meeting, Walt Borneman presented "James K. Polk and the American West." "The Snake War of 1864-1868: the Deadliest Indian War in the West" by Greg Michno was Boulder's program in May.

For the Colorado Corral, Rebecca Hunt presented "Magic on the Mountain", the story of Neal Forsling, a homesteader, artist, writer, and creator of the Crimson Dawn Midsummer's Eve Festival in Casper, Wyo. The May program featured Ben Jacobs, an Osage Indian, with "The American Indian Today." The meeting location was the Tocabe Indian Factory, specializing in authentic Indian food, and operated by Ben Jacobs.

In April, Rocky Mountain High School students presented their Civil War living history program, developed in their Independent Study class, to the Fort Collins Corral. "Climate Change and the Struggle for the Power River Country: 1846-1866" by John Monnett was Fort Collins' program in May.

Denver Posse member Lee Whiteley presented "The Road to Pikes Peak Gold, the Smoky Hill Trail" to the Pikes Peak Posse in April. The May program on Western trade tokens was presented by Bob DeWitt, a member of the Pikes Peak and Denver Posses.

Pikes Peak Regional History Symposium

The theme of the sixth annual symposium was "The 1859 Pikes Peak or Bust Gold Rush." Denver Westerner Posse members participating were: Lee and Jane Whiteley, "The Road to Pikes Peak Gold, the Smoky Hill Trail"; John Hutchins, "They were all 59ers: the Colorado, British Columbia, and New Zealand Gold Rushes"; and Ed and Nancy Bathke, "Gold Rush Photography: the Anthonys' 'Gold Region' Stereograph Set of 1868."

Westerners Rendezvous Revival

Colorful describes the history of the fur trappers' rendezvous in the 1820s and 1830s. The Westerner Corrals attempted to revive this tradition when the Denver Posse hosted the first Inter-Posse Rendezvous, on July 31, 1954, at historic Colorow Cave. Colorow Cave continued to be the site of the rendezvous for a few years, but out-of-town attendance diminished. Now the Colorado Front Range Westerners: Boulder Corral, Colorado Corral, Denver Posse, Fort Collins Corral, and Pikes Peak Posse, will gather at Norm Meyer's ranch on July 26 for a grand picnic. Watch for further information.

"Over the Corral Rail" Material Sought

Fellow Westerners, are you the authors of any new Western Americana publications? Have you any announcements of interest to the Western History community? Has your research uncovered any fascinating Western facts? Please email them to ebathke@aol.com for inclusion in "Over the Corral Rail."





Westerners Bookshelf

Showtime, by Thomas J. Noel and Amy Zimmer. Denver's Division of Theatres and Arenas, 2008. 137 pages, 277 pictures. Chronology, sources and index. Hardbound, \$49.95.

In this book, Tom and Amy have proven that history does repeat itself. During 1908 Denver opened the country's first and largest municipal auditorium and hosted the Democratic National Convention. Now, one hundred years later, Denver has again hosted the DNC a few blocks away in the Pepsi Center and Invesco Field Stadium.

The 14th Street and Curtis Street area started out as being Denver's elite residential and theatre district. After many changes of ups and downs this area is again the center for performing arts and high end condominiums and hotels. The municipal auditorium has taken on a new life by being remodeled into the Ellie Caulkins Opera House and is connected to the multi-theater enclave of the Denver Center for the Performing Arts.

Through this book we see how very early on Denver embraced the arts by building spaces for music and drama. The authors also include the relationships of the theatres in the surrounding communities like Leadville, Cripple Creek, Central City and others.

At the beginning of the book they have a two-page chronological overview from 1858 to 2008. It gives one a preview of coming attractions and sets the stage for very interesting reading and viewing through the wonderful selection of pictures. And for the researcher in you there is a great index and liberal listings of sources and booklets.

Having been a theater student at the University of Denver in the 1950's I felt like I was meeting old friends in this book. This was a time of much change in the theater scene in Denver. Helen Bonfils was very much a part of the activities from a philanthropic and actress point of view. Her productions for the free Denver Post Opera in Cheesman Park every summer will long be remembered for their entertainment value as well as the education of the community in the musical arts. It also gave theatre students at DU a wonderful hands on experience in live theatre.

Denver's own Mary Coyle Chase was having great success with her play "Harvey" on Broadway in New York City. She also was on hand for a

production presented by DU students of her work "Bernadine." The Denver Civic Theatre shared the stage of the Little Theatre on the DU campus so we had first hand knowledge of the influences of the movers and shakers of theatre at that time. These people, as well as their predecessors and those that followed (plus their valiant efforts), are chronicled in "Showtime."

Any one interested in the history of the city of Denver as well as the growth of its theatres will be delighted with this handsome book. Tom and Amy have shown us that we can certainly be proud of the quantity and quality of Denver's theatre history and cultural accomplishments. To Tom and Amy, Bravo! and Brava!

--Max Delbert Smith, P.M.

Baby Doe Tabor, the Madwoman in the Cabin, by Judy Nolte Temple. University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. 260pp. Photos, footnotes, bibliography, index. Hardbound.

The Tabor story is the stuff of Colorado mining legend: The merchant who gave a grubstake, got fabulously rich, dumped his faithful wife for a young honey, lived high, went bust, died convinced the mine would come back, and the wife who loyally hung on to the property, living on pennies and ultimately freezing to death there decades later.

This is a look at Lizzie Tabor. (Baby Doe was the handle given her by the 19th century equivalent of the paparazzi.) The author gives an overview of all the Tabors: Horace, Augusta, Lizzie, daughters Silver and Lily, and a stillborn son. Included is how Horace and Lizzie were publicly shunned by Denver society, riches notwithstanding. Temple then examines Lizzie's life after Horace through the prism of "dreams and visions", as she calls the notes, scraps, doodlings, and other papers handwritten for years by Lizzie.

The author mined (her term) these surviving papers. They covered Lizzie's dreams, musings, visions, ideas, encounters, and experiences (whether she had them or not). The actual extent of her papers is unknown due to incursions to her cabin after her death. Also there were disputes between the administrator of the estate and various authors, newspapers, and political figures.

Reading these scraps, it is hard to tell when Lizzie descended from being a shunned eccentric trying to get by, into madness. It could have been at any time from about 1905 to her death in 1935. The changes probably occurred slowly over that time, but just what went on is not easy to discern from the evidence presented.

In any case Ms Temple examines many of the notes and tries to make

sense of their content while tying them to known events and personalities. Occasionally the author reverts to less than edifying, turgid psycho-sociological terms, such as "...Tabor's voice as an abject woman can be illuminated using the tools of second-wave feminist theory, particularly the field of semiotics." Many phrases and concepts took two or three readings and still were not clear to this reader.

The book takes a new look at the Tabor legend, particularly the second wife's widowhood struggles to remain afloat psychologically and spiritually. As analysis it seems, well, analytical. It does offer a fresh perspective on Lizzie Tabor's life, using previously unavailable primary documentation.

--Stan Moore P.M.

Hunger for the Wild, America's Obsession with the Untamed West, by Michael Johnson. University Press of Kansas, 2007. 533 pp. Index footnotes, photos and illustrations. Hardbound.

The West occupies a large part of the American imagination, psyche, and historical memory. How one defines "the West" or "the Untamed West" casts much light on that person's background, existence, and outlook for the future.

Mr. Johnson has undertaken the formidable task of examining such definitions from a number of perspectives. The viewpoints (in no particular order) of feminists, Montanans, Black Elk, Thomas Jefferson, women, cowboys, movie producers, oil roustabouts, Spanish explorers, nomadic knowledge workers, bison and other wildlife, railroaders, and numerous others are explored.

The upshot? The West grips us still, although the one we know, love, mourn, and wrangle over today isn't the same as that experienced by Teddy Roosevelt, which differs from Phil Sheridan's, which varies from Patty Limerick's, which strays from Hernan Cortes's, which does not track with that of Thoreau or Melville....

And so it goes. In a way a map would have improved the product, but I guess in a way the point is that much of the West is in our minds.

This book is a fascinating look at the landscape and our perceptions. It is also an examination of how both have changed and evolved, and that they continue to do so.

--Stan Moore P.M.

The Civil War in Arizona, The Story of the California Volunteers, 1861-1865, by Andrew E. Masich. University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. 368 pp. Photos, footnotes, bibliography, index, maps. Softbound.

Events in Arizona had subsidiary but important effect in the Civil War. While not on the scale of the East, there was war aplenty. There was bloody back and forth, not from northern Virginia to southern Pennsylvania, but between whites allied with Pimas, Maricopas and other tribes fighting Apaches or Navajos. There were no campaigns along and across the Mississippi but dependence on freight and supplies brought by steamers coming up the Colorado from the Gulf of Mexico. No dramatic movement to the sea such as Sherman's, but a well planned and executed 1862 march over far tougher terrain, from Los Angeles to Yuma and on to Tucson was in, of all times of the year, June.

In terms of battle between blue and gray, there were only two minor skirmishes, at Stanwix Station and Picacho Pass. The total casualties were less than twenty-five. Most of the fighting and dying came in the ongoing struggles with Navajos and Apaches.

Much other work was done by the volunteer troops from California: surveying, law enforcement, mining, road building, well digging and improvement, border patrol, etc. A few skirmishes with Confederate sympathizers trying to infiltrate from southern California to Texas occurred. There were border tensions between Union forces and French or French sympathetic Mexican forces, but these confrontations never came to blows.

Colonel James H. Carleton formed, commanded and shepherded the California Volunteers from the coast to Tucson. As Brigadier and later Major General he commanded the Department of New Mexico, overseeing all of present-day Arizona, New Mexico, and a little bit of Nevada. Like most senior officers at War's end, he reverted to rank. He was sent to Texas as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Fourth U.S. Cavalry.

The author thoroughly examines the logistics, daily life, campaigns, occupation duty, and infrastructure work (what we today call "nation building") of the California Volunteers in Arizona. The second half of the book is an interesting selection of dispatches sent by various members, from 1862-1865. Many of the men stayed or returned to Arizona and became productive and in some cases prominent citizens.

This work details life and death in a forgotten theater of the Civil War. As background, it discusses Carleton's leadership and the Volunteers' labor which brought Arizona the political status of a Territory even amidst war. These efforts also encouraged and enabled its settlement by Europeans.

This is an interesting read for ACW buffs.

--Stan Moore P.M.

Rocks Above the Clouds, A Hiker's and Climber's Guide to Colorado Mountain Geology, by Jack Reed and Gene Ellis. Colorado Mountain Club Press, 2009. 240 pp. Photos, maps, bibliography, index. Softbound.

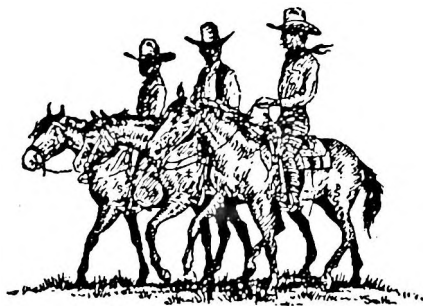
Most of us who have hiked or driven anywhere west of Denver have wondered why and how the Colorado Rocky Mountains have come to be as they are. How old are they? Was the area once under a sea? Why do different kinds of rocks end up together, two or more miles above sea level? How does that happen? Are the mountains getting higher?

Rocks Above the Clouds gives answers to these and related questions. The authors have spent many years studying and hiking over their subject. Covered are the basics including such as the three main rock types (sedimentary, igneous and metamorphic) as well as glacial structure and processes. Also, the more technical subjects such as Paleozoic strata, the Laramide Orogeny, and batholiths are discussed and explained. When talking geologic time, Reed and Ellis easily handle and relate the millions and billions, better even than old Washington DC hands.

After the authors lay a comprehensive foundation, they explore each region of Colorado's mountains. There are satellite and geologic maps along with easy-to-understand explanations of the geology of the Front Range, the Sangre De Cristos, the Elk Mountains, etc. All the major mountains, ranges and areas are treated.

A bonus is that the book's format is small enough (4"x 7") to toss into the pack or the glove box for ready reference.

--Stan Moore P.M.



Where a Hundred Soldiers Were Killed: The Struggle for the Powder River Country in 1866 and the Making of the Fetterman Myth, by John H. Monnett. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008. 316 pp. Photos, bibliography, map, index, cloth, \$29.95.

On December 22, 1866, Captain William Judd Fetterman and his entire command of about one-hundred men were wiped out in an almost perfect ambush organized by Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, and Arapaho warriors. Historians have attributed most of the blame for this disaster, which occurred along the eastern flank of Wyoming's Bighorn Mountains, to the arrogance and overconfidence of Captain Fetterman. The Civil War veteran was drawn into the ambush by a decoy party which led him over Lodge Trail Ridge near Fort Phil Kearny, where Indians had been besieging a garrison commanded by Colonel Henry B. Carrington for months. Fetterman's force continued to chase the decoy party along another ridge, called the Fetterman or Massacre Ridge, where probably more than a thousand Indians concealed on both sides of this narrow crest overwhelmed and killed all of them. In John Monnett's carefully researched book, he has revisited this famous Indian battle and found many flaws in this standard interpretation of the battle.

Monnett, for example, uncovered a good deal of evidence indicating that Second Lieutenant George Washington Grummond, who perished along with Fetterman, was an especially reckless officer on that fatal day. Moreover, the cautious Carrington was not without blame. The traditional interpretation of the Fetterman Fight was largely Carrington's, along with two of his wives. Margaret, his first wife, published a book in 1868 which exonerated Carrington of fault in the fiasco. Frances Grummond Carrington, Grummond's widow, who later married Colonel Carrington after the death of his first wife, had an even greater motivation to shift most of the blame to Fetterman in a book she published in 1910. Monnett has matched his examination of these three sources with a thorough examination of Indian sources. His most interesting conclusion regarding Indian participation involved Crazy Horse. He found only flimsy evidence that this great Lakota warrior was a major participant at the Fetterman Fight and virtually no evidence that he was the leader of the decoy party which lured Fetterman and his men into that deadly trap at Massacre Ridge.

Monnett has accomplished two goals that most historians try hard to attain. He has produced a well-written study and one which provides extensive documentation. Not only are there copious notes, a good bibliography, and a number of maps and photos in his study, but he also has included two relevant appendices. One of them lists the officers and men under Fetter-

man who were killed and the other lists Indian warriors who were killed or wounded. Thus, his study gives the testimony of both sides in this encounter and should appeal to a wide audience of readers fascinated with the American West.

--Robert W. Larson, P.M.

Children of the Fur Trade – Forgotten Metis of the Pacific Northwest, by John C. Jackson. Oregon State University Press, 2007. 326 pp. Annotated, bibliography, index, illustrations & maps. Softbound.

The fur trade is usually framed in terms of Astor and Astorians, the Hudson Bay Company (HBC), the Northwest Company, Santa Fe, Taos, and other institutions and places.

This work examines not the John Jacob Astors, Jedediah Smiths and MacKenzies. Rather, it looks into the lives of the trappers, boatmen and other workers, and especially their families. The reader meets the “country wives”, that is the native American women the French, Scottish and Englishmen took as mates, at least while they were in the West. Their offspring were known as metis and metisses.

To unearth their stories, the author combed old church, company, family and civic records. The tale is of Iroquois, Cree, Chinook, Sandwich Islanders (yes, the HBC used many Hawaiians in their operations) and others, and their wives and children down many generations.

The beaver trade was ebbing by 1825 or so, and many of the metis settled in and around what are now greater Portland and Seattle. They played a part in the ultimate setting of the US-Canada boundary at 49 degrees north: the ex-HBC employees who were used up and terminated who settled around Puget Sound were not enthusiastic colonialists. The HBC had hoped they would petition to be included in Canada, but they did not. HBC retreated to Ft. Vancouver and Ft. Victoria. The influx of Americans to Oregon country pretty much tipped the scales.

Some metis played a part in the formation of Oregon Territory and its government; others retreated to reservations. Many descendants of these original transplants live in the region today.

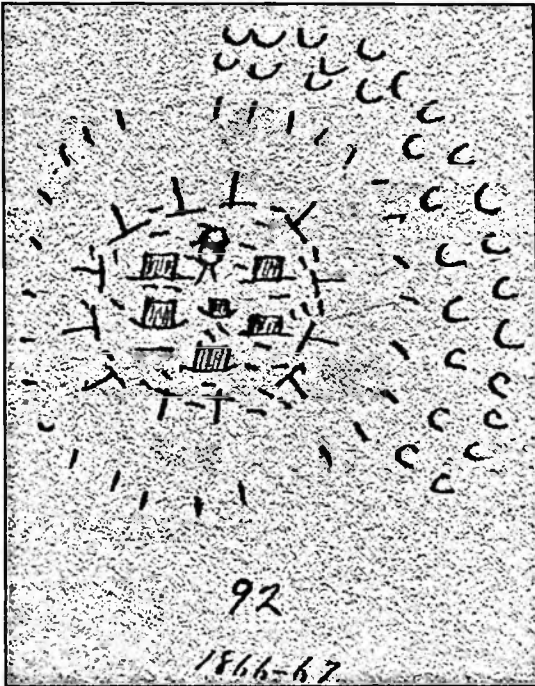
The book gives new insights into everyday life in the waning days of the Pacific Northwest fur trade, and brings to life those who really made it work. For the fur trade enthusiast, this book is worth a read.

--Stan Moore, P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

July - August 2009



**Crazy Horse and the Fetterman Fight:
An Enigma**

by John Monnett, P.M.
(presented January 28, 2009)



Our Author

John H. Monnett is a professor of Native American History at Metropolitan State College of Denver. He has authored, co-authored, or contributed to twelve books on the history of the American West and Native American history. John is a co-founder of the Boulder Westerners and served as its second sheriff. He has been a corresponding member of the Denver Westerners since 1995 and was recently elected to the Posse. His presentation is derived in part from research conducted for his forthcoming book, *Where a Hundred Soldiers Were Killed: the Struggle for the Powder River Country in 1866 and the Making of the Fetterman Myth.*

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Crazy Horse and the Fetterman Fight: An Enigma

by John Monnett, P.M.

(presented January 28, 2009)

Today, historians of the Indian Wars of the West regard the Oglala warrior Crazy Horse somewhat of an enigma. For years writers have pointed out that Crazy Horse was partly responsible for not only the annihilation of Custer in 1876 but also the annihilation of Capt. William J. Fetterman and eighty men in 1866 when he led ten decoys in drawing Fetterman's command over Lodge Trail Ridge near Fort Phil Kearny in the Powder River Country of what is today, north-central Wyoming, then a part of Dakota Territory. But Crazy Horse presents historians with a conundrum. He is difficult to place at the Fetterman Fight. According to popular imagery he is supposed to have played a major role as a member of the decoy party, perhaps even the leader of the decoys that lured Fetterman's command over Lodge Trail Ridge to their deaths. By some recent accounts Crazy Horse bravely played the "wounded Quail," dismounting on several occasions to examine the hoof of his seemingly injured pony so that the soldiers could not resist the temptation to pursue him.¹ Of course no military original sources place Crazy Horse on Lodge Trail Ridge because none of the whites at Fort Phil Kearny with the pos-

sible exception of scout Jim Bridger had heard of him in 1866. Crazy Horse was only in his middle twenties at the time (Black Elk states he was about nineteen) and had not yet gained a reputation among the whites that would shadow him to his death following the campaigns of the 1870s. No known photograph was ever taken of him and no white in the fight who otherwise might have remembered such a figure from the battle lived to tell about it. But what stories do the Indian participants in the fight have to tell? Until the mid-twentieth century the voices of oral tradition were fairly silent on the matter outside Indian country. Among those few Lakota and Cheyenne eyewitnesses to the battle whose stories were told to white journalists and ethnographers, their voices are, perhaps surprisingly, mostly silent as to the role Crazy Horse may have played in the fight, if any.²

Although the death of Crazy Horse is well chronicled, the exploits of his early life are more obscure than his exploits at the Battle of Little Bighorn a decade after Fetterman's demise. The scant primary sources merely suggest through inference that Crazy Horse *might have* participated in Fetterman's defeat.

But there are no eyewitnesses who claimed directly that he was in the battle and *none* claim that he was a decoy. The testimony of the Miniconjou warrior White Bull, one of the principal informants for both the Fetterman Fight and Little Bighorn, is flimsy. White Bull gave his story to Walter S. Campbell (Stanley Vestal) in 1932 and it was published as, *Warpath: The True Story of the Fighting Sioux Told in a Biography of Chief White Bull* in 1934. White Bull, who most assuredly was in the Fetterman Fight as well as Little Bighorn, declares that Red Cloud was not present at the Fetterman Fight and that (or is this Campbell's assumption in 1932?) "Crazy Horse led the Oglalas." White Bull goes on to state in the next sentence that: "Many of the chiefs besides Red Cloud [neither Red Cloud nor Crazy Horse were important chiefs or *itancans* in 1866] led their warriors against the white men in that year of '66." But literally no mention is made by White Bull of Crazy Horse being a member of the decoy party. Campbell, who like most of his contemporary interviewers in the twenties and thirties, was far more interested in which Indian by name personally administered the *coup de grace* to George Armstrong Custer in 1876, did not offer much additional editorial about the Fetterman Fight. White Bull did tell Campbell that Crazy Horse rode up the Tongue River toward Fort Phil Kearny with

He Dog and other Oglalas a few days prior to the fight, but there is nothing else in Campbell's notes other than White Bull's short ambiguous statement that would place Crazy Horse in the Fetterman Fight.³

Another original reference to Crazy Horse at the time of the Fetterman Fight is a statement made in 1904 by a warrior named White Bear to Doane Robinson, the Secretary of the South Dakota Department of History (S. D. State Historical Society): "Crazy Horse, though inferior in standing to Man Afraid [Of His Horse], was Red Cloud's principal lieutenant among the Oglalas and Roman Nose from among the Cheyennes." This statement too is ambiguous. In his book, *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians* (1904) Robinson relates this testimony early in a chapter on the Fetterman Fight in context with events occurring before the fight itself. In his narrative of the actual fight Robinson makes no mention of Crazy Horse's presence. White Bear's claim, while possibly true, still does not identify Crazy Horse as participating in the Fetterman Fight directly and certainly does not mention him as being one of the decoys. White Bear's statement regarding Roman Nose as a "chief lieutenant" of Red Cloud's for the Cheyennes is inaccurate. Roman Nose, a prominent Crooked Lance warrior but not a chief, had come south to Kansas earlier in the year



to fight with the Dog Soldiers and was not present in the Powder River country during the fall of 1866.⁴

Wooden Leg, a Northern Cheyenne warrior of Little Wolf's clan, interviewed extensively by physician Thomas B. Marquis in 1922, asserts that in the fall of 1866 Crazy Horse was a principal war leader of the Oglalas. But he does not place him specifically in the battle or as a member of the decoy party. Wooden Leg was only nine years old at the time of the Fetterman Fight and thus did not participate in the action although his elder brother, Strong Wind Blowing, was killed in the fight.⁵ Like Walter

Campbell, Marquis was likewise mostly concerned with the Custer story and apparently had no interest in pressing Wooden Leg or other informants about the Fetterman Fight. Wooden Leg like White Bull spoke of Crazy Horse more than a half century after the fight, long after Crazy Horse had attained his fame and martyrdom in the 1870s, but his stories, like those of White Bull's regarding Crazy Horse's presence in the Powder River country in 1866 are vague, and almost rhetorical.⁶

The most compelling case for Crazy Horse being at the Fetterman Fight is that of frontiersman and scout Frank Grouard. Captured by Hunkpapas about 1870, Grouard later found his way to Crazy Horse's camp in 1873 and befriended him. In his later years Grouard's adventures were recorded by Joe DeBarthe. Grouard was not in the Powder River country in 1866. But DeBarthe relates a second-hand tale of Grouard's, if it can be believed (Grouard tended to be melodramatic at times), of Crazy Horse coming to the aid of his friend, the mortally wounded Lone Bear following the Fetterman Fight. Lone Bear is a confirmed Oglala casualty of the battle corroborated by American Horse and White Bull. Of Lone Bear, DeBarthe writes as told to him by Grouard: "His limbs and body were frozen terribly. He died in the arms

of Crazy Horse while Hump [High Backbone] stood by, weeping." If Grouard is correct, this account places Crazy Horse on the Fetterman battlefield on Dec. 21, 1866. Grouard however, mentions nothing of Crazy Horse being a decoy.⁷

George B. Grinnell was a bit more meticulous. He talked with a number of Cheyennes who were in the battle, most notably White Elk who took him over the battlefield pointing out the route of the soldiers, where the Indians were hiding, and showing him spots where groups of soldiers fell. White Elk's story is detailed. He relates that Black Shield and Black Leg were the principal leaders of the Lakotas in the fight. He does not mention High Backbone of the Miniconjous. There is no mention of Crazy Horse whatsoever as having been involved in the Fetterman Fight although Grinnell discusses his presence numerous times regarding events of the 1870s.⁸ The other principal Cheyenne account, that of Two Moon who claims to have been in the fight but later denied it, comes to us through the letters of George Bent who was one of George Hyde's primary informants. Hyde asserts in *Red Cloud's Folk* (1936) that Two Moon claimed in 1912 through Bent that Crazy Horse led the decoys but offers no elaborate details regarding his specific exploits. There is no mention by Bent in any of his letters to Hyde written early in the twentieth century or in

The Life of George Bent Written from His Letters completed by 1918 but not published until 1968 of any participation by Crazy Horse in wiping out Fetterman's command and there is likewise no reference to Two Moon's assertion of 1912 in Hyde's correspondence. Thus Hyde's statement about Crazy Horse leading the decoys is suspect although it is the earliest source claiming Crazy Horse was a decoy at the fight. In any event Hyde (Two Moon?) does not attribute any elaborate deeds to Crazy Horse in the fight as so many modern writers have done.⁹

In *Red Cloud's Folk*, published eighteen years after the Bent material was shelved in the Denver Public Library, and all but forgotten until rescued by Savoie Lottinville in the 1960s, Hyde also accepts White Bull's 1932 statement that Crazy Horse "led the Oglalas." But in the earlier 1918 Bent manuscript, completed almost two decades earlier, Hyde had already written Two Moon's version of the Fetterman Fight with no mention of Crazy Horse whatsoever. Two Moon's account that appeared in Hyde's *Life of George Bent* (1918) was based on a letter from Bent, who interviewed Two Moon in 1904. In addition, in 1908 Two Moon denied to George B. Grinnell that he (Two Moon) was in the Fetterman Fight. Hyde asserts in 1918 in the Bent manuscript that Crazy Horse gained his reputation as a warrior in the 1870s. Hyde thus

bases his premise of Crazy Horse's presence in *Red Cloud's Folk* (1936) on White Bull's and Campbell's 1932 statement with no elaboration and he offers no verified substantiation of Two Moon's alleged 1912 claim that is found in that book.¹⁰

Even with the extensive interviews of Lakotas who knew Crazy Horse intimately in the wake of his dramatic death at Fort Robinson, Nebraska the great Oglala warrior can not definitely be placed at the Fetterman Fight. His close friend from the time of boyhood, Chips (Horn Chips) was interviewed by Eli S. Ricker in 1907. Ricker states: "Chips was in the Fetterman Massacre... He says fourteen Indians were killed there. American Horse was there. American Horse did not lead the decoy party. Chips says he wants to tell the truth." If Chips did tell the truth as he knew it he certainly did not place his close boyhood friend Crazy Horse in the fight, let alone the decoy party. In fact Chips does not even mention Crazy Horse in relation to activities in the Powder River country in 1866 at all.¹¹ Neither did George Sword (Hunts the Enemy) (Owns Sword) the brother of Sword (Sword Owner), and son of Oglala Chief Brave Bear. George Sword was in the Fetterman Fight while his brother, also named Sword (Sword Owner), was, by George W. Colhoff's account at least (albeit a second hand account) a decoy in the Fetterman Fight, and possibly

its leader. Ricker also interviewed American Horse, who told him that he (American Horse) was a decoy. George Sword and American Horse make no mention in their testimonies to Ricker of their fellow Oglala warrior Crazy Horse being one of the decoys or even that Crazy Horse was in the fight. Then again by the time of Crazy Horse's death in 1877 he and American Horse had become estranged by political currents on the reservation.¹²

The cornerstones of original source material on Crazy Horse are the so-called Hinman interviews conducted by Eleanor H. Hinman and her assistant at the Nebraska State Historical Society, Mari Sandoz, in 1930. The two women interviewed several of the old "Long Hairs," as Black Elk referred to the aged warriors from the days of resistance, still living three decades into the twentieth century at Rosebud and Pine Ridge. The two women were specifically interested in the life of Crazy Horse, particularly the circumstances of his death. None of the old warriors they interviewed, including Crazy Horse's close friend He Dog, mentions Crazy Horse as having participated in the Fetterman Fight. Then again He Dog had a reputation for keeping mum when it came to sensitive topics.¹³

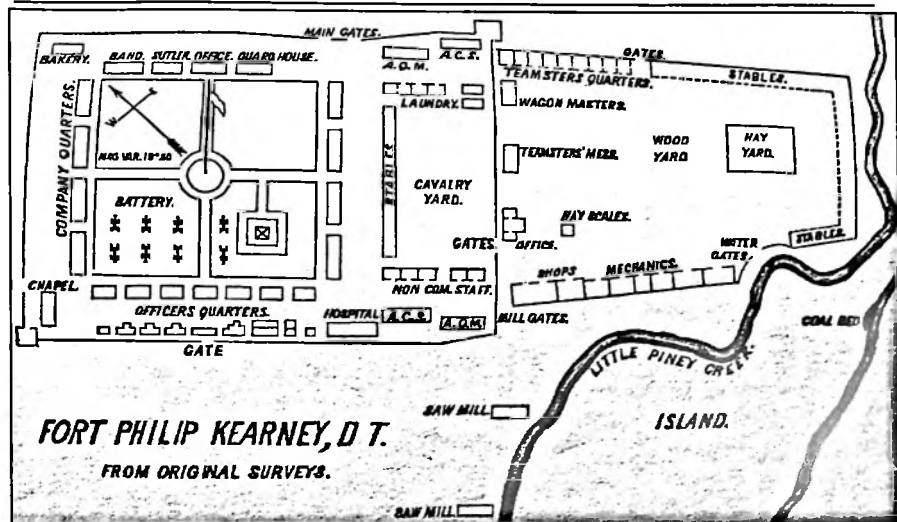
Yet based on three short ambiguous phrases that may be acknowledged as original narrative testimony by White Bear in Robin-

son (1904): "Crazy Horse... was Red Cloud's principal lieutenant among the Oglalas," White Bull in Campbell (1932-1934): "Crazy Horse was the leader of the Oglala," and an unsupported assertion by Hyde in 1936 that Two Moon had claimed back in 1912 that "Crazy Horse led the decoy party," an ever expanding fanciful role for Crazy Horse as being a principal decoy on Lodge Trail Ridge has found its way with much embellishment time and again into well-read secondary literature since the middle of the twentieth century.¹⁴ Reputable historians, not so-reputable historians, popular writers and film makers, one of the most recent depictions being Stephen Spielberg's television mini-series on the Turner Network, *Into the West*, have dramatized Crazy Horse dismounting, rubbing his pony's hoof as if it were injured, and in the case of Spielberg, standing on the ridge within pistol range as Captain Fetterman himself personally took pot shots at him.¹⁵

Much of this supposition comes to us from the marvelously entertaining *tour de force* but historically flawed semi-fictional biography, *Crazy Horse: Strange Man of the Oglalas* written by Mari Sandoz in 1942.¹⁶ As Eleanor Hinman's transcriber for the Crazy Horse interviews twelve years previous, Sandoz did not garner any information from He Dog or the others that would place Crazy Horse in such elaborate detail, and in such a daring role, on

the slopes of Lodge Trail Ridge on December 21, 1866. Sandoz, who visited Lodge Trail Ridge in winter with her typed manuscript in hand for inspiration, wrote: "Several times Crazy Horse had to get off [his horse], once pretending to tie his war rope closer... Once when they [the other decoys] had all stopped to turn back he sat down behind a bush as though hurt or worn out and built a little fire, the others going on, leaving him behind. Shots began to splatter around him..." Eleanor Hinman, who relinquished to Sandoz her claim to write a biography of the great Oglala, had acquired no knowledge of these kinds of events as none of her interviews come close to supporting such melodrama. There is nothing in the extensive notes of Mari Sandoz that points to any original testimonies attributing such daring exploits to Crazy Horse as a decoy.¹⁷

Yet the "wounded Quail" scenario has played out ever since Sandoz published *Crazy Horse* in 1942. Dee Brown echoed Sandoz in *Fort Phil Kearny: An American Saga* (1962), later re-titled *The Fetterman Massacre* over Brown's objections. "Crazy Horse won a great name for himself that day with his acts of defiance," Brown wrote, "sometimes dismounting within rifle range and pretending to ignore the presence of the soldiers and the screams of their bullets."¹⁸ Stephen Ambrose in his lengthy trade edition



biography, *Crazy Horse and Custer: The Parallel Lives of Two American Warriors* (1975), goes further than Brown in embellishing Sandoz, having Crazy Horse waving his blanket and whooping, feigning a general retreat of the decoys before Fetterman's onslaught: "The ambush was working," Ambrose wrote. "Crazy Horse took one look at the advancing soldiers, checked his own pony, and turned back toward Lodge Trail Ridge, using the old trick of pretending to beat the horse with one hand while actually holding it back with the other." Ambrose goes on to assert in his endnotes that his material for Crazy Horse's role at Fort Phil Kearney is taken from statements by White Bear given to the secretary of the South Dakota Historical Society Department of History, Doane Robinson in his book, *A History of the*

Dakota (1904), page 361. Of course Ambrose is mistaken. White Bear only claims that Crazy Horse was a "chief lieutenant of Red Cloud's," and offers no such elaborate details in Robinson's book. Ambrose's extrapolated drama, like that of Mari Sandoz, is creative but imaginary.¹⁹

Others have been more cautious from the surveys of the literature in ascribing specific actions to Crazy Horse including Cheyenne historian Father Peter John Powell who still places Crazy Horse in a sentence or two as a decoy but without an endnote to support it.²⁰ Less assertive too is Larry McMurtry in his short-form biography of Crazy Horse. While paraphrasing Dee Brown as to Crazy Horse's presence at the fight McMurtry simply states, "his reputation was enhanced."²¹ Although not the most illuminat-

ing modern biography of Crazy Horse, Mike Sajna's *Crazy Horse: The Life Behind the Legend* (2000) is perhaps the most honest. Sajna wrote: "Many writers have Crazy Horse leading the decoy party, but that is difficult to support from primary sources. As the leader of the Oglala warriors [as White Bull claims] it seems more likely that he would have stayed back with the main force."²² Unfortunately these misperceptions have been perpetuated to the present day. Joseph Marshall's inspirationally written *The Journey of Crazy Horse: A Lakota History* (2004) lists as his sources storytellers from the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations. Unfortunately the book has no endnotes to correlate these oral sources with Marshall's narrative. His description of Crazy Horse's exploits as a decoy at the Fetterman Fight strongly echo Sandoz as does other modern oral tradition.²³ In what is overall the best biography of Crazy Horse to date, Kingsley Bray's *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life* (2006) the same flaws persist naming Crazy Horse as a decoy and ascribing personal individual actions to him on the slope of Lodge Trail Ridge. Unfortunately Bray's endnotes do not support these specific exploits and he offers no new illuminating sources, not even modern oral histories, to support his detailed narrative ascriptions to Crazy Horse as a decoy.²⁴

What we may conclude of

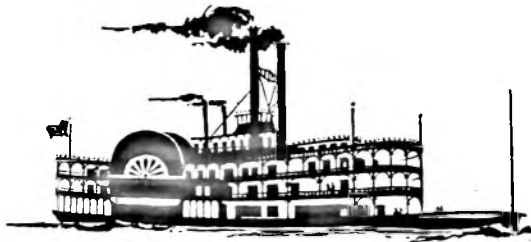
Crazy Horse's presence on or over Lodge Trail Ridge on December 21, 1866, is that based on specific eyewitness testimony, he *may* or *may not* have been there even though his inspirational presence is heavily felt in the secondary literature and modern oral tradition. There is enough circumstantial evidence to conclude that Crazy Horse was an up and coming warrior in 1866 and perhaps indeed, a primary "lieutenant" of Red Cloud's by that date. Likely Crazy Horse and He Dog rode up the Tongue River to the Oglala camps a few days prior to the fight. Therefore it is difficult to imagine Crazy Horse not being in the battle at all. And scholars and readers alike want him to be there. Certainly given his devotion to defend the lands of the Oglalas—the Powder River country and the Black Hills, it would have by no means been out of character for him to have been in the thick of the action. Neither is it illogical to assume that he would have enthusiastically led a decoy party or even engaged in daring acts while doing so.

But although we are probably on safe ground assuming there exists at least a possibility he was *somewhere* in or around the fight, the facts remain to the very least, that virtually none of the specific daring and dramatic actions and deeds directly attributed to Crazy Horse as a leader or a member of the decoy party can be substantiated

by *any* identifiable original sources, save Hyde's short paraphrased comment of Two Moon's (1936) that is highly suspect given his earlier 1918 account. These dramatic exploits first appear in print in Sandoz's *Crazy Horse* (1942) and have been repeated, embellished, and written into the secondary histories ever since. That Crazy Horse "distinguished himself that day" remains to be proven. Many warriors who have gone unnamed in the eyewitness accounts, possibly even Crazy Horse, *distinguished themselves that day*. Their individual stories simply were never told or corroborated by eyewitness testimony.

The absolute truth undoubtedly died with Crazy Horse at Fort Robinson in September, 1877 and possibly with White Bull who died seventy years after the battle,

a converted Christian in 1947 at the age of ninety-eight, and one of the last surviving Lakota warriors to have fought against the United States. But the failure to prove the specific actions of Crazy Horse on Dec. 21, 1866 in no way diminishes his iconic stature for all and his revered reputation as a leader of resistance and a source of spiritual enlightenment for his people in the past and present. The legendary acts attributed to Crazy Horse and the Indians' great victory in the Powder River country in 1866 commingle with the disputes as to who was to blame for the dramatic defeat of the whites at Fort Phil Kearny, thereby adding vigor to the mystique of and the debate over the Fetterman Fight, as do the dynamics of his heroic but better chronicled exploits at Little Bighorn.²⁵



NOTES

(Endnotes)

- 1 A good example of the exploits of Crazy Horse based almost solely on oral tradition is Joseph Marshall, *The Journey of Crazy Horse: A Lakota History* (New York), Viking, 2004.
- 2 Biographer Kingsley Bray gives Crazy Horse's birth year as 1840 making him twenty-six in 1866. Black Elk claims he was nineteen. See Kingsley Bray, *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 5-6 and Nicolas Black Elk and John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Book Edition, 200), 8. Crazy Horse's close friend Chips told Eli S' Ricker that Crazy Horse was born in 1840. Chips interview, Feb. 14, 1907, Ricker Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society, Tablet 18.
- 3 Stanley Vestal (Walter Campbell), *Warpath: The True Story of the Fighting Sioux Told in a Biography of Chief White Bull* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Book Edition, 1984), 68. Some readers may find it surprising that Campbell did not make more of White Bull's brief mention of Crazy Horse in 1866 given that he tried his best to convince his readers that White Bull was the warrior to personally kill Custer a decade later. James H. Howard made the same claim when he translated and edited White Bull's drawings in *The Warrior Who Killed Custer*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968). Ethno-historian Raymond DeMallie in his introduction to the Bison Book edition of Vestal (Campbell), *Warpath*, (Lincoln: 1984) discredited Campbell's assertion that White Bull killed Custer. There are no references to such in the Campbell Papers. See Campbell Papers, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, OK, Box 105 (White Bull notes). Stanley Vestal, "The Man Who Killed Custer," *American Heritage*, 8,#2, Feb. 1957, 4-9, 90-91; James H. Howard, "The White Bull Manuscript," *Plains Anthropologist*, 6, no. 12, part 2, 1961, 115-116; Raymond Bucko in James H. Howard, Ed. *Lakota Warrior: Joseph White Bull* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Book Edition, 1998), v-xix. For a short overview see Charles Vollen, "White Bull, Joseph (1849-1947)" in David J. Wishart, Ed. *Encyclopedia of Great Plains Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 218-219. Campbell's lack of concern for the stature of Crazy Horse at the Fetterman Fight while placing so much fame on White Bull at Little Bighorn only furthers the question as to Crazy Horse's presence as a decoy on Lodge Trail Ridge.
- 4 Doane Robinson, *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians* (Minneapolis: Ross & Hague Publishers, 1904), 361; n.603. This author has been unable to find any reference to a warrior named White Bear as having participated in the Fetterman Fight. Could Robinson have meant, "White Bull"? Roman Nose was a ubiquitous name among the Cheyennes and other plains Indians. But the famous Crooked Lance warrior was more prominent than any other individual of that name prior to his death at Beecher Island in 1868. Robinson could not have meant any other.
- 5 Thomas B. Marquis, *Wooden Leg, a Warrior Who Fought Custer* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Book edition, 1986), 14-15.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Joe DeBarthe, Ed. *Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 181. See also Frank Grouard, "An Indian Scout's Recollections of Crazy Horse," *Nebraska History Magazine*, XII (Jan.-Mar., 1929), 72; White Bull's account in Vestal. *Warpath*, 54.
- 8 George B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 234-244.
- 9 Bent to Hyde, Dec. 5, 1904, Apr. 19, 1912, May 20, 1913 (Coe Collection);

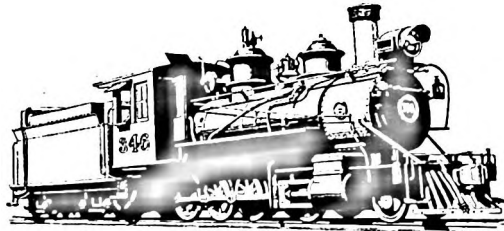
- June 7, 1913 (Denver Public Lib.); Bent in George F. Hyde, *Life of George Bent Written From His Letters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 343-346. George F. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930), 146.
- 10 Ibid, Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, 146-147. Hyde wrote: "White Bull of the Miniconjous was present, and he states that Crazy Horse led." Two Moon's account in Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, 343-346, makes no mention of Crazy Horse being in the fight. Two Moon's earlier account, which makes no mention of Crazy Horse, is from Bent to Hyde, Dec. 5, 1904. Two Moon denied personally being in the fight in a statement to Grinnell, Sept. 6, 1908. See Peter John Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies, 1830-1879, With an Epilog, 1969-1974* V. 1 (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981), 666 n. 8. For Hyde's claim that Crazy Horse made his reputation in the 1870s in *Life of George Bent* see p. 347.
- 11 Chips Interview, 1907, Ricker Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society, Tablet 18.
- 12 George Sword (Hunts the Enemy) (Owns Sword) Interview, 1907, Tablet 16; American Horse Interview, 1906, Tablet 16, George W. Colhoff Interview, c. a. 1906, Ricker Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society. American Horse told Ricker that Crazy Horse was viewed as dangerous by some Oglalas in 1877. Certainly there was rivalry and jealousy of Crazy Horse at that time. This might account for American Horse's lack of detail about Crazy Horse at the Fetterman Fight in his interview with Ricker.
- 13 For easy access to the Hinman interviews as well as most other early interviews pertaining to Crazy Horse see Richard G. Hardorff, *The Death of Crazy Horse: A Tragic Episode in Lakota History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Book Edition, 2001, or see Paul, *The Nebraska Indian Wars Reader*, 180-216.
- 14 Robinson, *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians*, 361; n. 603; Vestal, *Warpath*, 68; Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, 146..
- 15 Other glaring examples are Marshall, *Journey of Crazy Horse*, 145-152; Members of the Fort Phil Kearny Bozeman Trail Association, *Portraits of Fort Phil Kearny* (Banner, WY: Fort Phil Kearny/Bozeman Trail Association, 1993), 74-79 and Hardorff, *Death of Crazy Horse*, 34, n. 16.
- 16 Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: Strange Man of the Oglalas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1942), 199-201.
- 17 Ibid. 199-200; Mari Sandoz, *Hostiles and Friendlies: Selected Short Writings of Mari Sandoz* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Book edition, 1992), 79; Mari Sandoz Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society.
- 18 Dee Brown, *Fort Phil Kearny: An American Saga* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Book edition, 1962), 78.
- 19 Stephen Ambrose, *Crazy Horse and Custer: The Parallel Lives of Two American Warriors* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 223, 462, n.14.
- 20 Peter John Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain I*, 456.
- 21 Larry McMurry, *Crazy Horse: A Life* (New York: Viking, 1999), 59.
- 22 Mike Sjana, *Crazy Horse: The Life Behind the Legend* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 200.
- 23 Marshall's convictions of the explicit validity of latter-generation oral tradition passed down through tribal elders are admirable. But trade-market published oral histories are perhaps unfortunately ahead of their time in gaining acceptance with wider audiences outside Indian country. Although Marshall lists tribal storytellers in his credits he does not

footnote specific events as to the individual oral source. See Marshall III, *The Journey of Crazy Horse: A Lakota History*, 145-171, 295-298. Another source of modern oral tradition presented to the general public by descendants of Crazy Horse is *The Authorized Biography of Crazy Horse and His Family*, a DVD in four parts produced by William Matson and Mark Frethem in association with Tashunke Witko Tiwahe (Reel Contact, 2007). Part Two, "Defending the Homeland Prior to the 1868 Treaty," portrays Crazy Horse's exploits at the Fetterman Fight *Vis a Vis* vintage Sandoz.

24 Bray's closest endnote as sources for Crazy Horse being chosen as leader of the decoys, and the role of the decoys in general are the previously examined Ricker 1906 and 1907 interviews with American Horse and George Sword (Hunts the Enemy) (Owns Sword). Neither of these Oglalas mentions anything about Crazy Horse being in the Fetterman Fight in their interviews with Ricker. The third source Bray cites is a secondary account, an unfootnoted statement by Peter John Powell in *People of the Sacred Mountain I*: 456 that Lakota chiefs chose Crazy Horse to lead the decoys. Powell later on the same page cites Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 238-239 claiming that Crazy Horse rode off with the decoys. Grinnell makes no such statement in his book or in his papers and correspondence in the Southwest Museum. Again, there are simply no solid original

testimonies available to the public or to historians establishing Crazy Horse as a decoy, and certainly there are no original testimonies ascribing any long, detailed exploits to him in the battle save Gouard's second-hand claim that Lone Bear died in his arms following the fight. The dramatic differential between Crazy Horse's *assumed* actions given a general knowledge of Lakota culture and what details can actually be verified is an example of some of the differences of viewpoint experienced today between ethno-historians and academic historians. See Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 97-102, 419, n.44.

25 The alleged presence of all but a few important warriors at the Fetterman Fight is another example of the differences between historical versus ethno-historical methodologies for evaluating sources. But rather than detract from historical interpretation and dialog such comparisons serve rather to stimulate debate. Who *was* there? Who was *not* there? Who did what? As with Little Bighorn, such mysteries surround events like the Fetterman Fight more pervasively, it seems, than many other topics in American history that are much greater and more significant. And that form of scholarly debate is what keeps the military frontiers of the West and the story of Native American resistance to colonialism one of the most intriguing topics in the American mind.



Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

Colorado Westerners Roundup Picnic

Sunday, July 26, one hundred Westerners, members of the Boulder Corral, Colorado Corral, Denver Posse, Fort Collins Corral, and Pikes Peak Posse, gathered at Norm Meyer's ranch for a grand picnic. Norm's renovated landmark ranch house, his hangered airplane, barns with antiques, and spacious grounds provided a true Westerners' setting. A catered lunch of hamburgers and hot dogs, with all the trimmings, was served. Members' books were available for sale along a booksellers' row of cars. We are indebted to Denver member Ron Dreyer for the special entertainment by the Ciorcal Cairde (Circle of Friends), an Irish band of bagpipes and drums. Ed Bathke gave a short history of the origin of the Westerners, the establishment of Westerners International, and the formation of each of the five Colorado Corrals present. This great opportunity for socialization among the corrals was heartily enjoyed. Late afternoon showers cut the festivities a little short, especially the chance to visit book vendors, but spirits were not dampened.

Attendees were receptive to making this Colorado roundup picnic a tradition, and look forward to next year. In the 1950s Denver had hosted about five national Westerners Rendezvous, but attendance dwindled. In 1976 Fort Collins hosted a three-corral rendezvous. Hopefully these seeds will sprout again.

Westerners along the Front Range

In June, Tim Blevins presented "Frozen to Death on Pikes Peak: a Cold Case Investigation" to the Pikes Peak Posse. Tim is the Special Collections Manager of the Pikes Peak Library District.

Western History Association to meet in Denver in October

The 49th Annual Conference of the Western History Association will be Oct. 7-10 at the Denver Grand Hyatt, 1750 Welton St. All Westerners are welcome at this pow-wow of a sister organization. You can register online, get information at wha@umsl.edu, or by phoning 314-516-7282. All events, including talks and tours, are open to the public but you are encouraged to register for the entire conference at the cost of \$90 (single-day registration rate is \$60). Denver Posse members Jim Kroll and Tom Noel are Local Ar-

rangements Co-chairs. The traditional Westerners Breakfast is scheduled for 7-8 a.m., Saturday, Oct. 10.

Member activities

John Monnett

John Monnett's book, *Where A Hundred Soldiers Were Killed: The Struggle for the Powder River Country in 1866 and the Making of the Fetterman Myth* was a finalist for the 2009 Colorado Book Award given by Colorado Humanities and Colorado Historical Society.

Also John has a new article published, "My Heart Has Become Changed to Softer Feelings: A Cheyenne Woman and Her Family Remember the Long Journey Home," in: *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, (Summer, 2009). This will come out in August.

Jeff Broome

On July 4 Jeff spoke in Sterling as the featured historian for their annual citywide Heritage Festival. In addition to the talk he also was on their local radio station for a live interview earlier in the week, and was also on the front page of the *Journal Advocate*.

On July 11 Jeff Broome spoke in Lincoln, Kansas, to the Lincoln County Historical Society, to about 100 people, deemed the largest audience for any talk at the LCHS. His topic was the new edition of *Dog Soldier Justice and Custer into the West*, as reported in the *Salina Journal*.

Tom Noel

Tom "Dr. Colorado" Noel, P.M. cordially invites all Westerners to consider his talks, tours, classes, etc. listed at <http://drcolorado.auraria.edu>.

Rosenstock Award Nominations

Each December the Denver Westerners presents the Fred A. Rosenstock Award for Outstanding Contributions to Colorado History, to a deserving institution. The recipient must be a non-profit organization, to meet our 501(C)3 requirements. A cash stipend accompanies this award. Also presented is the Rosenstock Award for Lifetime Achievement in Western History, a non-monetary recognition. For further information, or submission of nominations, contact Posse member Gene Rakosnik.



Westerners Bookshelf



Custer Into the West with the journal and maps of Lieutenant Henry Jackson, by Jeff Broome, Upton and Sons, Publishers, El Segundo, California. 238 pages, including Lt. Jackson's journal and maps, General Hancock's report and documents, location and photos of Custer's campsites, photos of artifacts found and a bibliography. \$45.

This splendid, new book by Jeff Broome is Volume Eleven of his Custer Trail Series. Most Americans have a minimal to strong knowledge about George Armstrong Custer and his famous "Last Stand" near the Little Big Horn River in Montana on June 25, 1876. Custer, of course, died in that battle, but his service to America during and after the Civil War had made him an American legend, even before the Little Big Horn. In *Custer into the West*, Jeff Broome carefully, and fully, explains and illustrates Custer's forty-three-day campaign against hostile Indians in an area "south of the Platte River in Nebraska and north of the Smoky Hill River in central Kansas." Thus on June 1, 1867, Brevet Major General Custer (whose true rank was Lieutenant Colonel) was ordered by Lieutenant General William T. Sherman to command six companies of the newly formed Seventh Cavalry to subdue and "punish" the Cheyenne and Lakota Indians in that area. Custer had no previous experience dealing with Indians, so some of his actions and events during this summer assignment, ultimately led to his later arrest and court-martial.

The area the Seventh Cavalry was to control was really quite vast, reaching all the way south to the Arkansas River in Colorado and Kansas and north to the Platte River in Nebraska and Colorado. The book outlines the day-to-day routines, battles and problems faced by the Seventh Cavalry during this time. Much of the information relating to Custer and the Seventh Cavalry during this time is to be found in the daily journals of Second Lieutenant Henry Jackson, an officer newly assigned to Custer. Among the most significant events thus recorded was the suicide of Major Wycliff Cooper, the second in command, and two meetings Custer had with the leader of the Ogallala of the remains of Lieutenant Lyman Kidder and eleven men, killed by Pawnee Killer and his band about July 1.

Custer faced many problems, including having both General Sherman, then commander of the Davison Division of the Platte, and General Winfield Hancock, commander of the Department of the Missouri, giving him instructions. Hancock had met with various tribal groups earlier in the year to try and get them to follow treaty agreements made in 1865. The Indians, however, aware

of the continuing incursions of settlers onto their lands, were fighting, raiding and causing much trouble. It was to subdue the tribes and make them move to reservations that Custer became involved.

Custer's summer campaign began at Fort Hays in Kansas Territory on June 1. He was to "chastise the rogue Indians" while heading north to Fort McPherson, where he was to find supplies. He was then to continue to proceed along the south fork of Platte River to Fort Sedgwick in Colorado Territory, and if finding no problems, continue south to Fort Wallace and await further instructions. Of course there were problems along the way – sixty men deserted during the sixty-three-day assignment—Custer had problems with teamsters, had them arrested, and replaced with enlisted soldiers and Major Wycliffe committed suicide. According to Lieutenant Jackson, the distance traveled during the expedition was 704 miles.

Broome's book provides a day-by-day account of the expedition, and provides great insight into Custer and the problems facing both Indians and the army. It is an excellent resource for persons interested in the settlement of the West. Jackson's journals, the maps, and all the reports associated with General Hancock are available to the reader for the first time, along with Broome's annotation of each of these documents.

--Ray Koernig, P. M.

D. C. Oakes, Family, Friends & Foe, by LaVonne J. Perkins. Denver: Stony Ridge Press, 2009. 351 pp. Photos, bibliography, maps, index. Paperback, \$29.95

"Here lie the bones of D. C. Oakes
The starter of this damned hoax"

This bit of doggerel is one's first thought when D. C. Oakes is mentioned. But who was he?

Oakes was:

- the writer of a Pikes Peak Gold Rush guide book;
- an Indian agent for the Uintah Utes;
- the builder of the White River Indian Agency;
- a postmaster in Douglas County;
- a friend of Kit Carson;
- a government surveyor;

and so much more, including businessman, politician, sawmill operator, in pioneer Colorado. Readers of and researchers in early Colorado history encounter little snippets of information concerning Daniel C. Oakes repeatedly, permeating a vast amount of source material. But no definitive work on his life existed – until now.

LaVonne Perkins diligently researched every early book, read newspapers of the time of his life, and sought out all references to Oakes' activities. Her work being the culmination of over twenty years of research, Vonnie was very thorough, and as a result she has gathered details of his full life, and his associations with his fellow pioneers, and produced a book that stands as a research tool that libraries and historians, wherever D. C. Oakes lived and worked, will need to have in their collections.

Although reading this life of Oakes is readily accomplished, it should not be considered as a story of "fun and adventure" for the casual reader, but a book to be used by the real Western history researcher. Sources are documented, the bibliography is extensive, the index is designed to aid the researcher, and the seventy-three photos and eight maps add to both the use and the attractive appearance of the book. Every Western historian interested in early Colorado will enjoy "Oakes and his hoax."

--Nancy Bathke, P. M.

Redlight Women of the Rocky Mountains, by Jan MacKell, foreward by Thomas J. Noel. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. 458 pp. Illustrations, photographs, index. Cloth \$34.95.

Unfortunately, after I received this book to review, I read a review on the same book which panned it because the author's sources were mostly secondary, and some on the internet were not reliable. As the Denver Westerners may recall, the author treated us to a program on January 24, 2007, entitled "Brothels, Bordellos and Bad Girls, Prostitution in Colorado, 1860-1930", which as I remember, was very well received. The foreward to this book was written by our very own "Dr. Colorado", Tom Noel, in which he finds it well done as it explains the good among the bad girls, his only complaint being that it ended too soon. With these comments in mind, I will try to give you my perspective.

First of all, in the book review previously noted, the writer stated that much had already been written about prostitution in the Old West, and that this work sheds little new light. I totally disagree with that statement. Yes, much has been written, but has only targeted specific Madams and various "soiled doves" time and time again. This is one subject most Western historians leave alone. I also agree with the author of this book that there were many such women in the Old West, and their story has not been told. They were very much a part of its history whether we like or not. The author starts her story by giving the reader the history of prostitution in the West, how women got into the business, the different races involved, their lifestyles, tragic consequences and why most could not leave the profession. Since this book looks specifically at the Rocky Mountain region, each of the states receives a chapter in alphabetical order: Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming. There is no doubt the author visited each state doing her research. White women on the frontier

were few and far between, and were valuable commodities that the men of that era yearned for and very seldom saw in the west. According to the author, Lewis and Clark witnessed venereal disease among the Mandan Indians in North Dakota on their journey west. She also states that Lewis himself may have contracted syphilis which could explain his psychotic behavior after his return and his apparent suicide in 1809.

There is some evidence that this work was not proof-read well. For example, on page 97, the author states "East of Pueblo, along today's Highway 50 was Florence." To my recollection, the town of Florence is west of Pueblo. In discussing prostitution in Denver in 1868, the author quotes one female visitor as saying in a letter home, "Such a collection of fiends in human shape, I hope to never see again." When writing about Idaho, and in particular, the town of Wallace, the author brought back memories of my collegiate days at the University of Idaho in Moscow. Wallace was well known for its houses of "ill repute", and many of my classmates made the trip there to sample its wares. However, I did not.

There is much about "Calamity Jane," whose real name was Mary Jane Canary. The author relates that "Calamity Jane stated that she worked as a scout for General George Armstrong Custer out of Ft. Russell near Cheyenne." To my knowledge, she never was an army scout, and Custer was never stationed at Fort D.A. Russell. According to the author, one of the crib landlords in Helena, Montana was Anton Holter, a respected businessman. He is described as a devout Lutheran and a mason of the Knights of Templar. The term is Knights Templar. In discussing Santa Fe, she mentions Lieutenant Colonel E. V. Sumner, and in the next sentence, calls him a lieutenant. Another error found in the Utah chapter is naming Camp Floyd, Camp Ford. Much also is written about Etta Place of Butch Cassidy's "Wild Bunch", who she was, and whether she had been a prostitute before she became the girl friend of the "Sundance Kid." One of the most interesting segments is about Ellie Watson, known as "Cattle Kate" and one of the first women hung in Wyoming by vigilantes for cattle rustling.

One of her resources in writing this book was the collection of photographs from the late Fred Mazzula, a long-time member of the Denver Posse of the Westerners. At the end, are several appendices listing the known "fallen women" from Leadville, Colorado; Butte, Montana; and Cheyenne, Wyoming.

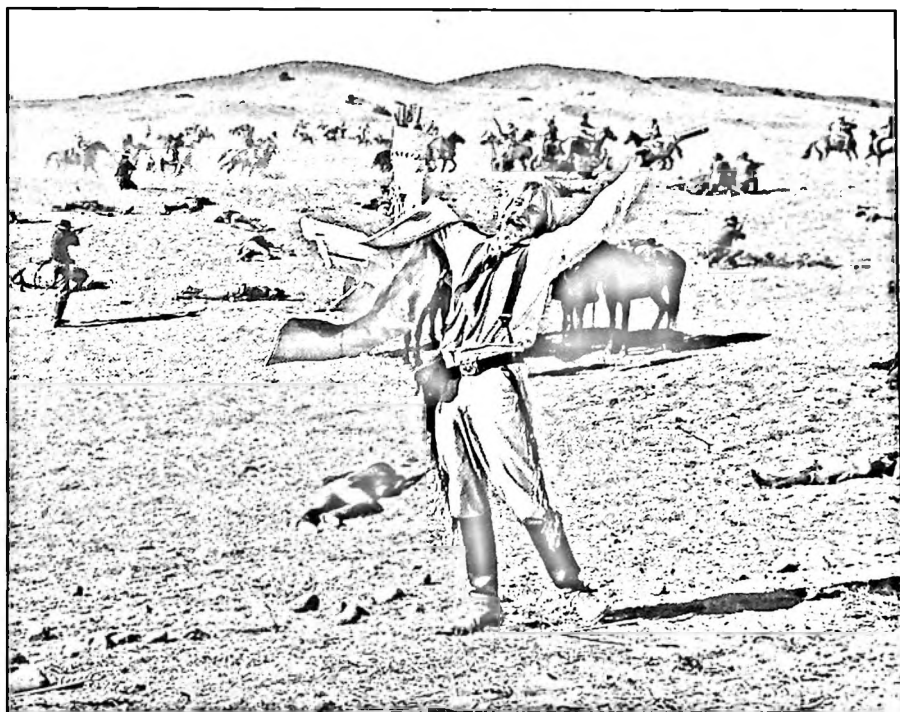
In conclusion, and overall, I find that this work is a valuable contribution to Western history. There are numerous prostitutes named in this book, and they are a part of our history as they should be whether or not we approve of the world's oldest profession. This work is entertaining and a good read in spite of the tragic life and death many of them suffered. Regardless of the few errors and secondary research sources, this book is a must read to get "the rest of the story," and the part played by these women in the settling of the Western frontier.

--Richard A. Cook P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

September - October 2009



Richard Mulligan plays an insane Gen. Custer in the 1970 movie *Little Big Man*, also starring Dustin Hoffman and Faye Dunaway

Circling the Wagons
Films, Fact and Fantasy in Western History
by Greg Michno
(presented February 25, 2009)

Our Author

Greg Michno is a member of the Ft. Collins, Boulder and Denver Westerners. A Michigan native, he received a BS from Michigan State University and an MA in history from the University of Northern Colorado. He moved to Colorado with his wife Susan in 2003.

Greg has written 32 articles for various Western magazines and journals and contributed to two DVD productions. Greg has written ten books including, *The Mystery of E Troop*, (1994), *Lakota Noon* (1997), *The Encyclopedia of Indian Wars* (2003), *Battle at Sand Creek* (2004) and *The Deadliest Indian War in the West* (2007). He has coauthored with his wife, *A Fate Worse Than Death* (2007), *Forgotten Fights* (2008) and *Circle the Wagons* (2009).

Greg's publications have won six awards, the latest being third place in the best nonfiction book of 2007 presented by the Westerners International, for *Deadliest Indian War in the West*.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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Circling the Wagons

Films, Fact and Fantasy in Western History

by Greg Michno
(presented February 25, 2009)

The image of a circled wagon train being attacked by Indians has been painted for us in countless images in history books, novels, and movies. The characters changed but the message was similar. It was America's manifest destiny to follow the setting sun into the West, and the "enemies" trying to halt us were sometimes Mexicans or white bandits, but almost always Indians. They attacked emigrants, stagecoaches, freighters, ranchers, settlers, railroads, and forts, and soldiers also fought and killed Indians. The frontiersman, soldier, and cowboy were agents through which Americans would achieve their destiny. Indians lost their homelands. Many were killed. It was not the most sanguine story, but it happened. The "West" was a violent time and place. By the end of the 20th Century, three generations of Americans had watched their history on the movie or television screen, and even more generations had read the story in books. How good of a job did the actors, actresses, writers, and directors do? Did the movies echo history or fabricate it? Does our written history support or contradict the movies?

A recent revisionist interpretation makes an assertion that may surprise the average American: the Wild West was not wild. It was quite a mild and ordinary time and place. The image of the West that we have come to know is said to be simply a creation of the media. The dangers of the Western mi-

grations and the Indian wars are nothing more than figments of the imaginations of the novelists and filmmakers. Our history is bunk.

One revisionist spokesman is former Secretary of the Interior, Stuart L. Udall, who contends that "the blood and guns images" of the West are not true, and "the West as a whole was not a region riven by excessive violence." He then oddly declares that western violence can be found in "the massacres and wanton killing of Indians by units of the United States Army."¹

Udall's views are echoed by a number of historians. At a roundtable discussion at the 1999 Western History Association conference, Udall stated that all the presenters shared a similar belief: violence was not a principal factor in the development of the West. They had an agenda to pursue. According to Robert R. Dykstra, the shootings at Columbine High School in Colorado left historians with a political task: to de-escalate violence by de-emphasizing violent history. Frontier violence, said Dykstra, was all a hoax.²

Other presenters blamed today's violence on the movies, said that our national character was not influenced by the frontier, denying the seminal foundation-myth of Frederick Jackson Turner, and said that to rectify matters it might be necessary to confront organizations that promote gun ownership. They pronounced that something must be done to counteract

our gun culture and its inherent violence. In one respect, the clarion has a familiar ring. Social scientists were blaming TV violence for the increase in juvenile delinquency in the 1950s. Then again, Socrates bewailed the increasing violence of the teenagers in ancient Greece.

Admittedly, every generation re-writes its history, but must it be altered at such a price? The distortion of our past—the attempt to sweep the facts under a rug of obfuscation for some imagined collective good—is not what we should expect from historians.

Warfare and violence happened. They need not be glorified, but they can't be denied. Historians have an obligation to present the truth, but when they alter or hide the truth because they have become self-appointed guardians and censors they become lesser specimens than the members of the media that they malign.

One of the staples of the Western movie was the Indian attack on the wagon train. It is seen in countless films and television programs. Hollywood shows us that the western trek was fraught with peril, but there are historians who tell us that it was not dangerous to travel the great overland trails. Travel on the California-Oregon Trail, for instance, is depicted as a walk in the park. Udall says that it is a "myth that emigrants in wagon trains faced ever-present threat of attack" by Indians. Merrill Mattes presents an excellent account of the western migrations up to 1866, as does John Unruh, who makes use of Mattes' study. According to them, about 200,000 people used the California-Oregon Trail from 1850 to 1860, and Indians killed about 316 emi-

grants. The selective location and time period distort the true picture, for there were many more years, many more trails, and many more casualties."³

There are numerous statements from a number of historians, all denying or diminishing the Indian menace to emigrants and wagon trains. Speaking only of the Oregon Trail, Mattes says that Indian attacks on wagon trains "rarely happened except in later dime novels and television programs." Mattes also declared that "cases of actual kidnapping from wagon trains along the Platte...are not recorded." He asserts, "Although Indian attacks on stagecoaches have long been a staple of Western fiction, authentic instances of such attacks are rare." Mattes makes more statements concerning wagon travel, concluding that "until the 1860s there are almost no documented cases of Indians attacking a civilian wagon train, and even then they were rare."⁴

Naturally, it is easier for a historian to "prove" westward migration was safe when omitting data from the other trails. John Faragher, in his study of families on the Overland Trail, echoes Mattes and Unruh. He incorrectly states that in the 1840s and early 1850s "there were no war parties directed at emigrants...." Besides that, Faragher says, there was little to worry about even during times of increased conflict, because "most people got through with little or no difficulty."⁵

George R. Stewart was one of the first historians to disparage the idea that Indians attacked wagon trains. In his 1962 book, Stewart wrote that he included no stories about "The Be-leaguered Wagon Train" because, "I have never found it so recorded in the

authentic sources.” Stewart was skeptical it ever happened because he didn’t believe Indians would do it. “Why,” Stewart rhetorically asked himself, “should he go galloping around in that silly and hopeless fashion, exposing himself and his pony to rifle fire from men in a sheltered position?”⁶ Stewart found no incidents because of a limited temporal and geographical framework.

John Unruh, who is often cited as an expert on the western migrations, also used Stewart’s study, which he claimed, “punctures the colorful myth of beleaguered emigrants surrounded by attacking Indians galloping about the encircled wagons.” Unruh believed that mass media’s “preoccupation with Indian depredations...resulted in radical distortion of the historical record.” He stated that one “fact” was clear: “the actual dangers of the overland venture have been considerably misrepresented by the myth-makers....”⁷

Glenda Riley joined in to say that the media have overemphasized Indian fights and violent confrontations between the races. She says that women’s diaries showed the female emigrants liked the Indians and sympathized with them and that Indians and white women were not adversaries. Lillian Schlissel in her study of women on the overland trails had much of the same sentiments. To expose this distortion one needs only to read what some female travelers said about their experiences. We can probably imagine what white female captives of the Indians would have said to 21st Century historians who trivialized their experiences.⁸

In a different vein, author Sandra Myres disparages the reliability of women’s reminiscences and diaries,

but similarly concludes, “Even during the height of hostilities between army and Indians, immigrant trains were rarely harassed.” She also affirms that “Contrary to the modern mass media’s portrayal of the beleaguered wagon train surrounded by hundreds of screaming savages armed with rifles and fire arrows, such attacks simply did not take place, particularly among the Plains tribes.”⁹

It is easy to see where Myres got her ideas; she cited Unruh, who cited Stewart. One author who started another such a chain of error was Robert Munkres. In a 1968 article he studied the Oregon Trail, also within a limited time-and-place framework, and concluded that emigrants faced little danger from Indians, and that wagon trains of reasonable size and discipline “were almost always safe from open Indian attack.”¹⁰

In a more recent survey of American Western history, Richard White tells us that, “the major danger to western migrants in folklore—Indian attack—was rare.” White men disguised as Indians “were responsible for atrocities,” and there was “a relative paucity of Indian attacks on western immigrants....” It should be no surprise to find that White cites Faragher and Unruh. In yet another history of the American West, authors Faragher and Robert Hine cite Faragher and White, and in addition, they cite Michael Bellesisles and Dee Brown, who lent their own brand of distorted history into the mix.¹¹

One of the more recent studies of the Western migration, by Michael Tate, follows in the same footsteps. Tate tells us that, “the trail experience never

reached the level of violence commonly depicted in later literary and cinematic portrayals." He refers to Unruh, Riley, Schlissel, and Munkres, and says his study confirms their findings, that "Indian attacks upon wagon trains have been greatly exaggerated."¹²

The historiographical "trail of tears" proliferates. One historian makes an inaccurate statement, and, like a broken record the initial incorrect declaration thus becomes an established fact by repetition. Still, there would probably not be all this reiteration if the parroted interpretations did not mesh with personal agendas. But all is fair, apparently, in the quest to prove our West was mild, and that our myths of soldiers, Indians, pioneers, and covered wagons, are primarily a fallacious creation of the media.

There is one major problem with the contention that Indians rarely attacked wagon trains: it is plainly wrong.

Such incidents occurred across the length and breadth of the West. Many attacks happened on the much-studied Oregon Trail from the 1840s through the 1870s, but there was also danger on the Santa Fe Trail, Butterfield Trail, California Trail, Bozeman Trail, Smoky Hill Trail, Gila Trail, Upper and Lower Military Roads, and many others, from the Mexican to the Canadian borders.

As early as 1829, Indians attacked the Bent Brothers freighting on the Santa Fe Trail in today's western Kansas, killing a man and stealing stock. In 1836, Comanches attacked wagons carrying emigrants who were leaving Texas, killing or capturing 16 people. In Texas three years later,

Comanches hit the Webster Train, killing or capturing 22 people. Neither of these attacks were on any well-studied trails. In 1848 Jicarilla Apaches attacked the Towne-Tevis party, a group of freighters and travelers using an alternate branch of the Santa Fe Trail through Manco Burro Pass in the Raton Mountains. They killed, wounded, or captured 20 out of the 21 people in the party. In 1852 in northern California, Modocs hit a wagon train at Bloody Point, killing or capturing about 65 travelers. On Beales Road in Arizona in 1858, Mojaves attacked the Rose-Baley Wagons and 19 emigrants were killed and wounded. In Idaho in 1860 the Utter-Van Ornum Train was devastated, with 30 killed or captured. The survivors resorted to cannibalism, echoing the ordeal of the more infamous Donner Party. These were not isolated occurrences; tribes from the four corners of the West participated in the attacks and on almost every conceivable trail.

Emigrant wagons were not the only ones targeted; freighters, contractors, and military trains were also on the list. In 1847 in Kansas, Comanches and Kiowas hit the Hayden-Fagan Trains of 64 wagons, escorted by U.S. Dragoons, and killed and wounded 15 people. In 1864 in North Dakota, Lakotas hit the Fisk Train and killed 12 men, even though it had an army escort. In 1866 along the Bozeman Trail, Cheyennes and Lakotas hit the Templeton-Kirkendall-Tootle-Dillon trains, consisting of about 200 wagons with a soldier escort, and killed or wounded nine people. In Wyoming in 1865, Cheyennes and Lakotas caught a military train under Amos Custard and massacred 22 out of the 25 soldiers. In 1867 in Kansas,

Cheyennes hit George Custer's supply wagons escorted by 50 troopers under Lt. William Cooke, wounding two men before more cavalry came to the rescue. In Texas in 1874, Capt. Wyllys Lyman and his 36 wagons were waylaid by Comanches and Kiowas, killing and wounding seven soldiers.

Indians did not prey solely on single wagons or small trains. Single wagons were definitely in jeopardy, as shown by the attack on the Oatman Family in Arizona in 1851, where Yavapais massacred or captured all nine people. The Wilson Train of only two wagons was a prime target in central Texas in 1853, as Comanches attacked and killed or captured eight out of nine people. Similarly, Kiowas attacked the Box Family in Texas in 1866, killing two and capturing the four women and girls. The Fletcher Family's two wagons were no match for the Cheyennes who attacked them in Wyoming in 1865, killing and wounding two and capturing two girls.

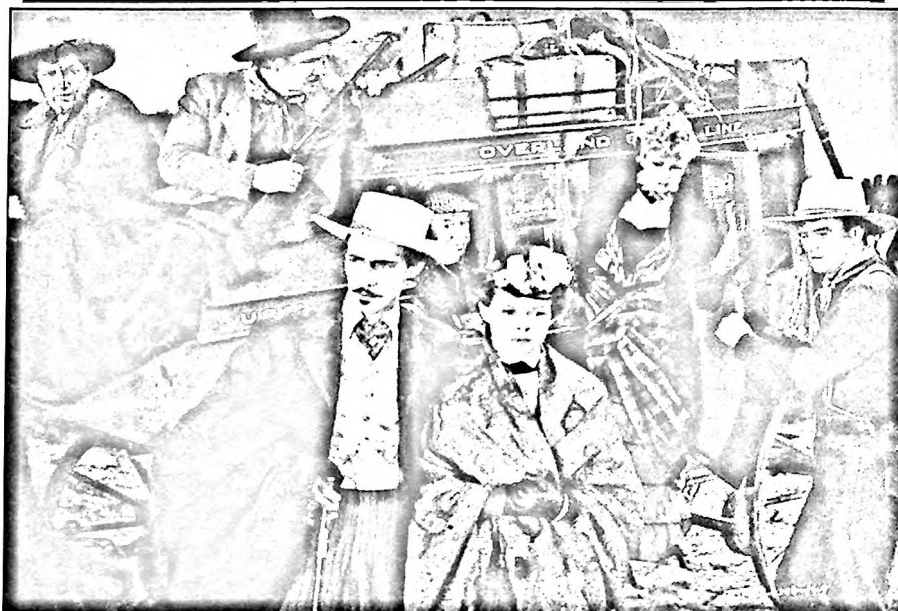
The belief that a large train was safe, however, is not true. The Fancher-Baker Train, waylaid by Mormons and Paiutes in Utah in 1857 was a famous example. Although there were 40 wagons and about 140 people in the party, they let down their guard, and the result was fatal: 123 people were killed and 17 were captured. The Santa Fe Trail was a dangerous place in 1864. Cheyennes attacked the 95 wagons of McRae, Sage, and Blanchard as they camped near the Cimarron Crossing, killing 11 men. In Idaho in 1862, Shoshones attacked the Walker Wagon Train, although it contained 111 wagons and more than 200 people. The travelers heading to Montana on the Bozeman

Trail in 1864 certainly thought their numbers assured their safety, but 150 wagons and nearly 500 people did not deter the Lakotas and Cheyennes from attacking, although circling the wagons for defense limited their casualties to five. Also along the Bozeman Trail in 1866, the James Sawyers Train, even with 81 wagons, 253 people, and an army escort, was not safe: Arapahos attacked and killed six.

Indians of almost all tribes attacked wagon trains all across the West. Even the ridiculed idea that Indians would actually ride in circles around wagons has historical examples. In the attacks on the Smart and Adams Trains in Idaho in 1862, an eyewitness wrote how impressive it was seeing expert Indian horsemen circling their wagons, shooting bullets and arrows at them, while riding erect, or flattening themselves against their horses and shooting from beneath their necks. Similar bravery runs and displays of horsemanship were shown in numerous episodes, one in particular during the attack on the Lyman Wagons in Texas in 1874.

Almost every Indian attack was unprovoked. Emigrants were nearly always simply passing through and had done nothing personally to warrant the assaults. One recent non-politically correct study of about 66 wagon trains shows that about 60 of them were completely innocent of wrongdoing, and were attacked simply because they were targets of opportunity.¹³ It is endlessly debatable whether or not they were trespassing on lands the Indians claimed to own, and if the trespassers deserved a death warrant.

Many attacks were extremely brutal. After Indians finished with the



Publicity shot from *Stagecoach*, 1939

Ward-Masterson Train in Idaho in 1854, 18 emigrants were dead, and many of the bodies were found with human teeth marks, scalped, mutilated, items inserted into genitals, and heads beaten to "a perfect jelly." In Texas in the early 1870s, three trains were attacked and victims were tied to wagon wheels and roasted to death over fires. In Kansas in 1874, the German Family of nine people was caught by Cheyennes. Five were killed. Mrs. German's unborn baby was torn from her belly while one of her daughters was raped and set on fire. Four girls were captured, the two oldest being raped for months before being rescued. In Nebraska along the Little Blue River in August 1864, about 25 travelers and settlers were killed, with many victims being mutilated, and the Cheyennes "scalped" one woman's

genitals. Some of these same Indians involved in the massacres were caught at Sand Creek three months later by Col. John Chivington and his Colorado troops. Some of the soldiers committed similar atrocities. It was an era when the precept, "an eye for an eye," was accepted by many. Savagery was not the sole province of any one people.

The experiences of female captives were generally horrific, and nothing like the idyllic odysseys that have been suggested of late. Captured adult males and females were generally killed, but younger women and boys and girls were usually kept; they could be useful as slaves, concubines, wives, or commodities for sale or trade. It was a very rare instance when a captive did not want to return home. The exceptional case of Cynthia Ann Parker, who

was captured in Texas in 1836, is often cited as proof that women did not want to return home. In fact, Parker is the exception, not the rule.¹⁴

Wagon trains were not the only targets. Many Western films showed Indians attacking stagecoaches, and those films were as correct in concept as the films depicting wagon attacks. One historian, writing of the movie *Stagecoach* (1939), complained that "More Indians were killed in this picture than ever attacked stagecoaches."¹⁵ He had not done his homework, for there were hundreds of stagecoach attacks, with numerous deaths. A few samples will suffice. On the Lower Military road in Texas in 1854, Mescalero Apaches attacked two San Antonio and El Paso mail stages. The stages did not run, but pulled together and fought the circling warriors from noon until nightfall, with two passengers being wounded and three Apaches killed. In 1861, Cochise and Mangas Coloradas waylaid a stage in Cooke's Canyon, New Mexico. The three-day siege resulted in the deaths of all seven passengers. In central Kansas in 1865, Kiowas attacked a stage carrying men of the Second Colorado Cavalry. The warriors got close enough to the coach to actually lance two soldiers in their heads. In Oregon in 1866, Paiutes chased a stage, shooting passengers and horses, while one pursuing warrior was hit, taking a spectacular dive off his horse, worthy of the best stuntman in any movie stagecoach chase. In Colorado in 1867, Cheyennes attacked a stage near Cheyenne Wells, killing a soldier and wounding the horses. A staple of many Western movies, stagecoach attacks occurred in reality almost as much as they did on the screen.

There have been several movies in which Indians attacked railroad trains, among the most notable being *Union Pacific* (1939). In the film, Indians tear up the tracks, derail the train, kill passengers, ransack the goods, and scatter items across the prairie. This too happened almost exactly as it was depicted on film. In August 1867, Turkey Leg and his Cheyennes tore up the tracks west of today's Lexington, Nebraska. They attacked the handcar party that came to make repairs, killing five men and scalping the sixth, William Thompson, leaving him for dead. The next train came along, hit the damaged tracks and derailed. Indians killed several more people, plundered the cars, and burned what they could not carry off. William Thompson found his scalp at nightfall and escaped to tell the tale.¹⁶

Indians attacking forts was a staple of many old Western films. Indians assaulted many forts and stockades east of the Mississippi during the Colonial and Revolutionary days, and even through the War of 1812. In the West, Indian attacks on forts were rare, but they did occur. The largest assault happened in Minnesota in August 1862, an incident in a conflagration that was the greatest single episode of settler killings and captures in American history. Death estimates ran as high as 2,000 according to the *St. Peter Tribune*. Thousands of settlers fled the state, never to return.¹⁷

About 250 refugees congregated at Fort Ridgely on the Minnesota River while the Dakotas swept through the countryside. Ridgely was not protected by a stockade—most forts in the West had no outside walls—and about 400 Dakotas burst in from the trees. Warriors broke through the first defense

line and got to the log houses forming the northern perimeter of the fort. Soldiers of the Fifth Minnesota Infantry rallied, and with well-timed blasts of six howitzers, the Indians were driven out. They returned two days later with 800 warriors, but this time the soldiers were ready, and the result was the same: the assault failed. The soldiers took 27 casualties, while the Dakotas lost about 100 men.¹⁸

Other forts were attacked. In April 1860, in present-day Arizona, several hundred Navajos made a pre-dawn attack on Fort Defiance. Constructed without an outside wall like Fort Ridgely, the Navajos easily got among the buildings and fought with the Third U.S. Infantrymen in the darkness for about two hours. Not until dawn could the soldiers see enough to make a concerted sweep to drive the Indians out into the nearby hills. Because much of the fighting was done at night there only three soldier and 12 Navajo casualties.¹⁹

Countless scenes depicted in Western films had historical counterparts. Fort Defiance was also the site of one seemingly impossible scenario, echoing the storyline from a television series that ran from 1954 to 1959, *The Adventures of Rin Tin Tin*. In many episodes, Rusty, a boy raised by the army after Indians killed his parents, is saved by Sgt. Biff O'Hara or Lt. Rip Masters, usually because Rusty's dog, Rin Tin Tin, runs back to Fort Apache to give warning.

However far-fetched it appears, it did happen. At sunrise on January 17, 1860, about 250 Navajos under Chief Huero attacked a wagon train and the post's beef herd at Cienega Amarilla about eight miles south of the fort.

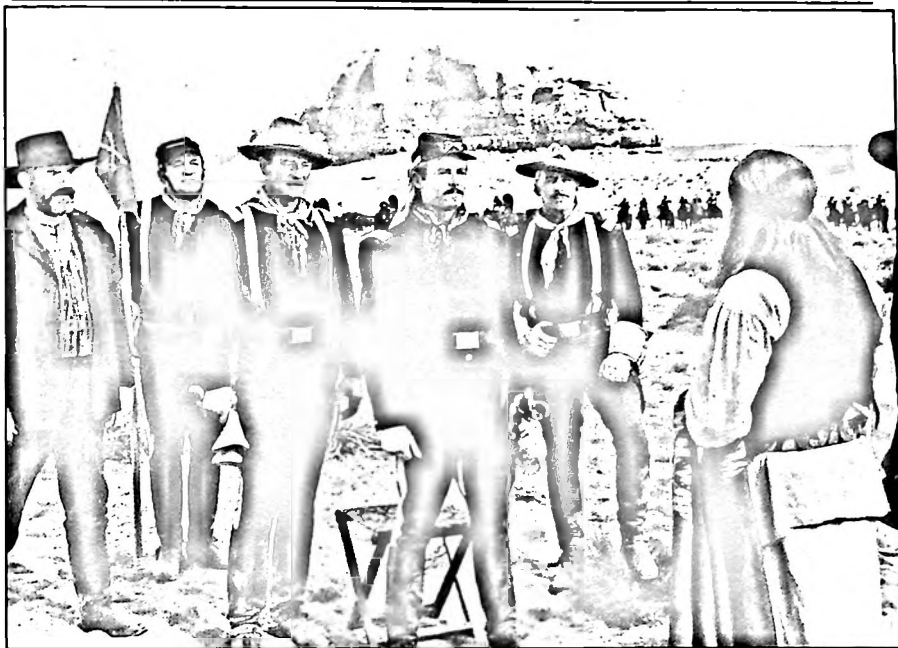
The warriors killed three soldiers on a wood-cutting detail and then charged the 35 Third Infantrymen guarding the herd at the corral. The soldiers held off the attack, but they were trapped and under siege. Sergeant Gable tied a message for help around his dog's neck and sent it running to the fort.

About noon, a friendly Indian approached Fort Defiance with news of the fighting. At first, the soldiers did not believe the story, but when Gable's dog came running in with the message tied around his neck, they quickly mobilized. Lt. Alexander N. Shipley and Lt. Silas Kendrick took 25 men to the besieged corral. With the soldiers' approach, Huero's warriors broke off the fight. Lieutenant Kendrick counted 130 arrows protruding from the bodies of the three soldiers caught outside the corral, but the rest of the men were saved, and all thanks to Sergeant Gable's dog. Unfortunately, the name of the canine hero was not recorded.²⁰

There is not enough space here to record all the instances of historical Indian attacks or the numerous instances where those episodes were portrayed on film. These events happened, and readers will have to search beyond the mass of politically correct histories to get an accurate accounting.

How did we reach this sad state of affairs? To reiterate, the situation stems from historians trying to cure what they don't like in the present by re-writing the past. Hollywood follows the trends. Judging from the western films produced during the last four or five decades, those historians must be pleased.

Westerns have drastically changed from what they were in the



Publicity photo from *Ft. Apache*, 1948

first half of the 20th Century. The number of Western movies has dropped drastically, although violence is still part of the stories. The current trend in Hollywood, however, is in role reversals: whereas traditionally the army, emigrants, cowboys, and settlers were the “good guys” and the Indians were usually the “bad guys,” there has been a complete turnaround. The white man now wears the “black” hat and the Indian wears the “white” hat. The earlier depiction was not accurate, but neither is the latter.

The changing scene, labeled by author Richard Slotkin, as the “Cult of the Indian,” was evident back in the 1950s, in such films as *Broken Arrow* and *Devil’s Doorway*. It was a positive trend, because a more sympathetic view

of Indians was necessary to counter their negative image in many films from the Teens to the Forties. The trend accelerated in the Sixties, with *Cheyenne Autumn* for example, which portrayed the Indians “as a metaphor for the oppressed.” The exceptions, however, soon became the standard.

Perhaps it was a combination of an idealistic Baby Boomer Generation impacting the Civil Rights movement, the Feminist movement, fomenting a backlash against the war in Vietnam, or distrusting the military-industrial complex, but during the Sixties the role reversal went beyond its fail-safe point. The new black-hatters were being vilified more than the Indians ever were. The decade ended with publication of Vine Deloria’s, *Custer Died for Your*

Sins, a social commentary that summed up the anti-military/establishment consciousness.

The year 1970 saw the release of a book and a movie that epitomized the change in attitude. Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, subtitled *An Indian History of the American West*, struck a resonant chord. Never mind the fact that Brown's historical methodologies were very suspect; the book is rife with distortions, omissions, and selective evidence use. It didn't seem to matter. Americans were apparently tired of the old myths and legends. Brown's flawed history was taken as 100-percent truth, and part of its legacy has served to curtail rational dialogue throughout the subsequent decades.

Appearing the same year was the film *Little Big Man*, which Slotkin called "a vehicle for overtly anti-war polemics." Nevertheless, or perhaps because it was so outrageous, the movie was a big hit. Briefly, the hero, Jack Crabb and his sister, Caroline, are the only two survivors of a Pawnee attack on a wagon train. Cheyennes find them and take them to their village. When the Indians don't molest Caroline, she heads back to the white world.

Crabb then experiences a series of highly improbable, but comic, misadventures trying to live in two worlds. Director Arthur Penn satirizes both cultures, but hits harder when targeting the whites. At one juncture, Crabb takes up with traveling snake oil salesman, Alardyce T. Merriweather. Merriweather passes on many words of wisdom, but one in particular, stands out. He tells Crabb that, "two-legged creatures will believe anything, and the more preposterous the better."

The line epitomizes the entire film, for by the end, an unsophisticated audience would come to believe that almost every Indian travels the moral and spiritual high ground, while almost every white man is a thief, a killer, or a buffoon. The portrayal of George Custer as a raving lunatic got laughs; unfortunately it became reality for many Americans who get their "history" solely from movies. It was said that the popular film did more to humanize American Indians than any newspapers, books, or documentaries could have done. It was not said that the movie also played a large part in the eventual demonizing of the military and the pioneers.²¹

Merriweather's line in *Little Big Man*, that people will believe anything, was not the first or last time that sentiment was expressed in Western movies. In *Fort Apache* (1948), Lt. Col. Owen Thursday is the Custer-like character who leads his troops to destruction. At the film's end, Lt. Col. Kirby York talks to a group of reporters about the disaster. When one praises Thursday, York, although he despised Thursday, responds, "No man died more gallantly, nor won more honor for his regiment."

They discuss the new painting of "Thursday's Last Charge," and another reporter declares it to be a magnificent work, with massed Apaches attacking and Thursday leading his men in a final charge.

"Correct in every detail," York responds, although he knows, and the audience knows, that the painting was nothing like the final battle it purports to depict. The important message that director John Ford wanted to send was

that it was good for the nation to have heroes; it was vital for a people to have heroic myths and legends to believe in.

John Ford took that idea one step farther, and in a more ominous way, at the end of his film *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962). Ransom Stoddard has made his fame and fortune as the man who shot the outlaw, Liberty Valance, but only he and his wife, Hallie, know the truth, that Tom Doniphon killed Valance. Stoddard's successful career was built on a deception.

Years later, Doniphon dies and Stoddard attends the funeral. Newspapermen converge to get the story of how Stoddard killed Valance so many years ago. Stoddard, however, decides to tell the truth. When he explains what really happened and asks that they print it, the newsmen decline, stating, "When legend becomes a fact, print the legend."

In an interview, John Ford was asked if he really believed that. "Yes—" Ford said, "because I think it's good for the country." Ford said that plenty of men in America's past have been made out to be great heroes when they weren't. "But," he reiterated, "it's good for the country to have heroes to look up to."²²

Unknown to Ford, the result of his films, along with others being produced by Hollywood in increasing numbers in the Sixties and Seventies, was to knock nearly every frontier hero off his pedestal. Ford, who died in 1973, never witnessed what Hollywood later did to the heroes he sought to protect. By the end of the 20th Century, all the Custers, Sheridans, Carsons, Earps, Codys, Hickoks, Crocketts and the

like, far from being cast as heroic, were portrayed as villains, agents of an evil white America despoiling the land and the indigenous people.

The idea that American history was concocted to fool the people appeared full blown in *Buffalo Bill and the Indians, or Sitting Bull's History Lesson* (1976). The opening scenes show a family of settlers near a little cabin. Suddenly Indian raiders attack, shooting the men and abducting a young, white woman. It is a scene that truly occurred many times in the nation's history, but this time a voice calls out, "Cease the action," and music plays and credits roll. It is only an act.

The implication is that such scenes were only created by novelists or moviemakers, or in this case, by the showman William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody. Cody's Wild West show was said to have created many American icons and legends. Director and screenplay writer Robert Altman used Cody's show, which ran on and off from 1883 until Cody died in 1917, as a vehicle to debunk American history. Appearing during the year of America's bicentennial celebration, the film also marked what may have been the year that the Western genre died.

Buffalo Bill, who actually was a genuine frontier hero who participated in significant historical events, is portrayed "as a vainglorious, hypocritical, impotent, drunken racist."²³ In Altman's vision, American history is nothing more than fiction, a phony collection of fantasies made up by the likes of Bill Cody and his popularizer, Ned Buntline.

In one scene, Cody argues with Annie Oakley about getting Sitting

Bull to join the show. The problem is Sitting Bull has his own conception of the "truth," while showman Cody has another, and Annie thinks Sitting Bull's is the more correct.

Angry because Annie has threatened to quit the show, Cody asks her, "What did Bull ever do for you?"

"He wanted to show the truth to the people," Annie answers. "Why can't you accept that just once?"

"Because I got a better sense of history than that!" Cody replies.

In another scene, Ned Buntline talks about Cody, the man he helped create. "No ordinary man would have had the foresight to take credit for acts of bravery and heroism that he couldn't have done. And no ordinary man would have realized what tremendous profit could be made by telling a pack of lies in front of witnesses like it was the truth."

Thus, a man who was an authentic frontier hero is portrayed as a liar, a snake oil salesman like Merriweather in *Little Big Man*, and one who can get "two-legged creatures" to believe anything.

And what is Sitting Bull's vision of times past? "History," Bull says through his interpreter "is nothing more than disrespect for the dead." The description, sadly, in early 21st Century terms, has become more literal than metaphorical, and our dead American forefathers are the ones being held in contempt.²⁴

By 1978, it was standard operating procedure to treat all Western history as bunk. The film *China 9, Liberty 37* included similar sentiments. The main conflict involves a love-hate triangle among the gunslinger, Clayton

Drumm, Matthew Sebanek, and Catherine Sebanek. At one point, Drumm meets Wilbur Olsen, a dime novelist who wants to write Drumm's story, and like Ned Buntline did for Buffalo Bill Cody, create a legendary hero.

"I bring the West to the East," Olsen explains to Drumm. "People say I write lies, but the truth is...it's dead in a year or less."

"What do you want?" Drumm asks.

"A touch of pulchritude for the people back east," Olsen explains, "a piece of the American West they can believe in."

"You mean lie to them?" Drumm asks.

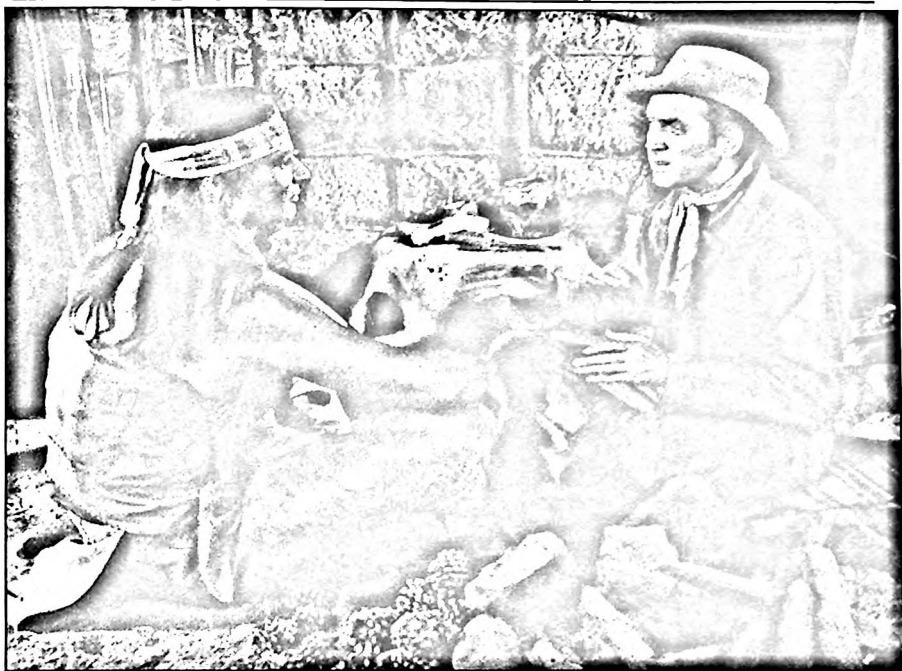
"Of course. The lies, they need, we all need."

"My life is not for sale," Drumm says.

"Nonsense!" Olsen insists, "It's only a question of who pays, and when."

By the 1980s, Westerns were certainly out of fashion. The depths to which the genre had sunk could be seen in a remake of *Stagecoach*. Actually, the first remake was done in 1966, with Alex Cord playing the role of the Ringo Kid. It was bad, but the 1986 re-remake was even worse. Starring Kris Kristofferson as the Ringo Kid, Willie Nelson as Doc Holliday, Johnny Cash as Marshal Curly, and Waylon Jennings as Hatfield the gambler, the movie simply appeared to be a vehicle to cash in on the celebrity of several popular country singers.

In the original version, John Ford used the Indians as a viable menace to knit the little band of passengers together in a social community. In the



Publicity shot from *Stagecoach*, 1939

1986 film, the Indians are no danger at all; they have become victims of the white man and are now an oppressed minority. When Doc makes speeches about how the Indians have been mistreated and misunderstood, it becomes propaganda. One author said that the movie failed because the Indians ceased being a danger and became objects of condescension. "The film is interesting," she wrote, "only in its laddling out of white guilt and its patronizing understanding of the 'misunderstood' Geronimo."²⁵

In 1990's *Dances With Wolves*, Kevin Costner, as director, producer, and star, presented his version of America's past. The vision was bleak. To his credit, Costner used talented Indian actors to depict the Native

Americans as real people and not the clichéd stereotypes of the past. There was a price, however. For the most part, Costner could only elevate the Indians by degrading the whites.

Whereas at the end of *Little Big Man*, the audience comes to believe that most white men are ignorant fools, by the end of *Dances With Wolves*, white men are objects of disgust and hatred. The Lakotas are the rational, just, peaceful people (unlike their enemies, the Pawnees) and the whites are filthy, ignorant, liars, and killers, or, as in *Little Big Man*, blithering idiots.

In an early scene in *Dances With Wolves*, we catch a glimpse of how the military will be portrayed. "Sir Knight," the half-crazy Major Fambrough says to Lieutenant Dunbar, "I've

just pissed in my pants, and nobody can do anything about it." The stereotype of the mentally unstable army officer appears to be one of the latest clichés for the frontier military.

Dunbar leaves the craziness of "civilization" behind, so he can see the frontier "before it's gone." But he can't really escape the degenerate whites. They find him, and for no apparent reason, the soldiers kill Dunbar's horse, Cisco, and his wolf, Two Socks, animals that the audience has come to love. They try to take Dunbar back to receive military justice as a deserter and renegade, but when the Lakotas attack their small caravan, the audience is cheering for the Indians to massacre every one of the despicable white soldiers.

It is quite a turnaround. The Western of the first half of the 20th Century generally depicted Indians as villains; by the century's end the white man was the villain. Not only was he the villain, he had become more loathsome than any movie Indian had ever been. The shaming and disgracing of the frontier military, the emigrants, and the pioneers is a very disturbing trend.

Today, movies with attitudes like this have colored the mindset of many. One author explains, "How and what we write and interpret about history matters to people who will never go to college or read a book." Another says, "For many, Hollywood History is the only history," and still another speculates that moviegoers "basically think whatever they see is true."²⁶ The lesson is clear for the importance of historical accuracy.

Many years ago, historian Bernard De Voto said that the folk mind was often wiser than the intel-

lectuals, because it knew its heroes and embraced them stubbornly even when heroes were out of fashion. The observation may have been true during the mid-20th Century, but today, sadly, most people have come to believe that there were no white heroes, that they were all spoilers, hypocrites, and liars. The very real accomplishments and deeds of our ancestors are now shown only as false myths and legends, created for our own gratification. It is untrue, and it is destructive to our sense of pride in being American.

Post Baby-Boomer generations watching movies made between the 1920s and the 1960s would see Indians attacking and killing, while the army and settlers were portrayed in a positive light. The impression they would probably get is that all those old movies must be inaccurate and racist, because, obviously, given the reversed slant that they've seen in Westerns made during the past four decades, the old ones must be wrong, if for no other reason than they just aren't being made like that anymore. Like the commercials tell us, new goes with improved, and repetition is equated with truth.

The "New Western" version emerged between *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976) and *Dances With Wolves* (1990). The old, optimistic, Turnerian version of America's growth was replaced by themes of dislocation, environmental calamity, economic exploitation, merciless conquest of indigenous peoples, and individual failure.²⁷ The current picture is neither pretty, nor accurate.

Times change, obviously, and writers and filmmakers' attitudes change with them. If one evaluates

cinema's success at depicting the western migration, the early Hollywood is the winner. In its first half-century, Hollywood did a remarkably good job depicting America on the march. The vision of the old emigrant wagon trains trekking to the promised land under the threat of attacking Indians was not a fabrication of film. It has been said that the Western film fell into disfavor because it did not provide all of the correct details. To the contrary, the Western film began declining when too much fuss was made about the details while all the heroic myths and legends were being demolished. Getting the costume, the model of the gun, or the color of the war paint correct is not that important, if, as a consequence, heroes are demolished and an entire group of people is vilified. The old concept was lost, and today, cynicism and sarcasm are viewed as accuracy.

For all the skeptical historians and moviemakers, there are several things you should know for your future projects: Indians attacked wagon trains of any size; they killed people, sometimes mercilessly; wagon trains circled up for defense; Indians circled around wagon trains; and the army did come to the rescue.

The truth shouldn't hurt us. If only historians will live up to their obligations and Hollywood will give us back our history, we should all be able to ride into a sunset where legend and fact are one.

Endnotes

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Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

Westerners along the Front Range

The Westerners' goals of preserving and promoting the history of the American West are actively pursued by many Colorado Westerners researching, documenting, and presenting that history, and sharing it with Western history buffs everywhere.

A summary of September and October activities of Westerners follows. At the Boulder Corral September meeting, members Ed and Nancy Bathke presented "Colorado Gold Rush Photos, featuring the Anthony 'Gold Regions' set of 1868." "The History of Old Fort St. Vrain" by Diane Brotemarkle was Boulder's program in October.

For the Colorado Corral in September, Denver Posse Sheriff Steve Weil presented "Ask Papa Jack." The October program featured Lt. Col. Earl Clark, with "The 10th Mountain Light Division of Camp Hale."

Denver member Bob Larson's "Clash Along the Yellowstone" was heard by the Fort Collins Corral in September. In October, Jon Thiem and Deborah Dimon presented "Rabbit Creek Country: Three Ranching Lives in the Heart of the Mountain West," to the Fort Collins Corral.

The September program for the Pikes Peak Posse of the Westerners was "Dr. Lester L. Williams: Healer, Humanitarian, Historian," presented by Ed and Nancy Bathke, past sheriffs of the Pikes Peak and Denver Posses. In October, Denver Posse Deputy Sheriff Jeff Broome's presentation was "Untold Stories and New Discoveries Connected with Research into the Indian Wars, 1867-1869."

In September the Territorial Daughters of Colorado's program featured Denver Posse member LaVonne Perkins telling about Daniel C. Oakes. Her presentation included information on D. C.'s daughter Emma, and her ties to the Territorial Daughters of Colorado organization.

The DAR Smoky Hill Trail Chapter heard the story of Sarah Bennett Walker, Douglas County pioneer wildflower specialist, at their October meeting, presented by Nancy Bathke, Pikes Peak Posse Sheriff.

We congratulate Posse member John Monnett for his two third-place awards from Westerners International: 1. The Coke Award for best article of 2008, "Prelude to Little Bighorn: Crazy Horse and the Fetterman Fight," in the May 2008 of the publication "Greasy Grass." and 2. Best Book Award for

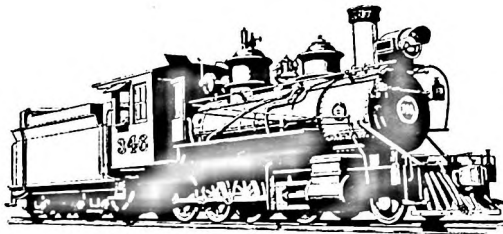
2008 issue for *Where a Hundred Soldiers were Killed: The Struggle for the Powder River Country and the Making of the Fetterman Myth*, published by the University of New Mexico Press.

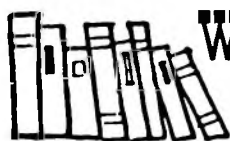
Western History Association 49th Annual Conference, Denver, Oct. 7-10

Several Westerners were prominent participants in this WHA annual gathering. Denver members Tom Noel and Jim Kroll were co-chairmen. Included on the local arrangements committee were Westerners Jay Fell, John Monnett, Duane Smith, and Steve Weil.

Among the WHA sessions, termed the “Wired West”, was the “Bureau of Reclamation: Identity, Representation and Narration”, chaired by Colorado Corral member Britt Storey. Session “Assessing the Legacy of the Colorado Mining Rush: a Roundtable Discussion” was chaired by Durango Corral member Duane Smith, with Colorado Corral Sheriff Jay Fell on the panel. Tom Noel was a panelist with the session “Environment, Culture, and the Colorado Gold Rush: a Roundtable Discussion.”

Papers presented included “Fabric, Wood and Wire: the Flying Machine arrives in 1910 Colorado,” by Denver member John Hutchins, in the session “Taking Flight in Colorado: the Aerospace Industry in the Modern West.” Presented in the session “Echoes of the Sand Creek Massacre: the Event, Repercussions and Memory” was Denver member Pam Milavec’s “Through the Crossfire: Silas Soule’s Command at Sand Creek.”





Westerners Bookshelf



The Archeologist was a Spy – Sylvanus G Morley and the Office of Naval Intelligence by Charles H Harris III and Louis R Sadler. University of New Mexico Press, 2009. 450 pp. Annotated, bibliography, index, illustrations & maps. Softbound.

The focus when studying World War I tends to be on northern France, or perhaps the Atlantic roaming U-boats, the middle east, or Gallipoli. Events in the western hemisphere rarely come to mind.

Be that as it may, Central America was on the short list for the US Office of Naval Intelligence. The reasons were manifold: Many of the smaller countries were actively anti-US or anti-Grand Alliance. Mexico, with its revolutions and struggles, was actively being courted as an operational ally by Germany. There were fears that German U-boats would be based in Caribbean waters. The widespread but thinly populated German settlements in the region were also of concern.

Sylvanus Morley was an archeologist by training and a Mayan archeologist by choice. His broad experience and widespread contacts suited him to the duties: to travel, to observe and report, and to recruit informants.

The book is a detailed look at his efforts. Starting in mid-1917, he and companions covered hundreds of miles. Often travel was by burro or other local means, sometimes by US-owned fruit plantation railroads and boats. He crisscrossed Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, and the Yucatan. Using small coastal steamers he took depth measurements of numerous bay entrances. Original notes and reports are reproduced in the book; Morley was very thorough and informative.

He also built a network of informants and sub-agents. One of these was the Chief Medical Officer for British Honduras; most were US or European nationals. Perhaps the most colorful was General Lee Christmas. Born in the US, he worked as a locomotive engineer in New Orleans. He was fired in 1891; excessive drinking was mentioned. He drifted south and became, variously, a General in the Honduran Army, a director of the Guatemalan Secret Police, and a junta member in a coup which helped install General Manuel Bonilla as President of Honduras. In the midst of all this he became a sub-agent for Morley and did in fact provide some useful information. He

The Grand Controversy: The Pioneer Climbs in the Teton Range and the Controversial First Ascent of the Grand Teton by Orrin H. Bonney and Lorraine G. Bonney. New York: The AAC Press, 1992. 457 pp. Photos, diagrams, bibliography, index. Paper \$28.50.

This compelling, almost magical mountain inspires endless questions in our restless minds: What is its story? Who climbed it first? Where and why? And whence came its incongruous name?

In their introduction, the authors pose those questions about the Grand Teton and go on to address them, and many more, as they lead us on a fascinating historical and literary expedition through the Teton Range and to the summit of the Grand.

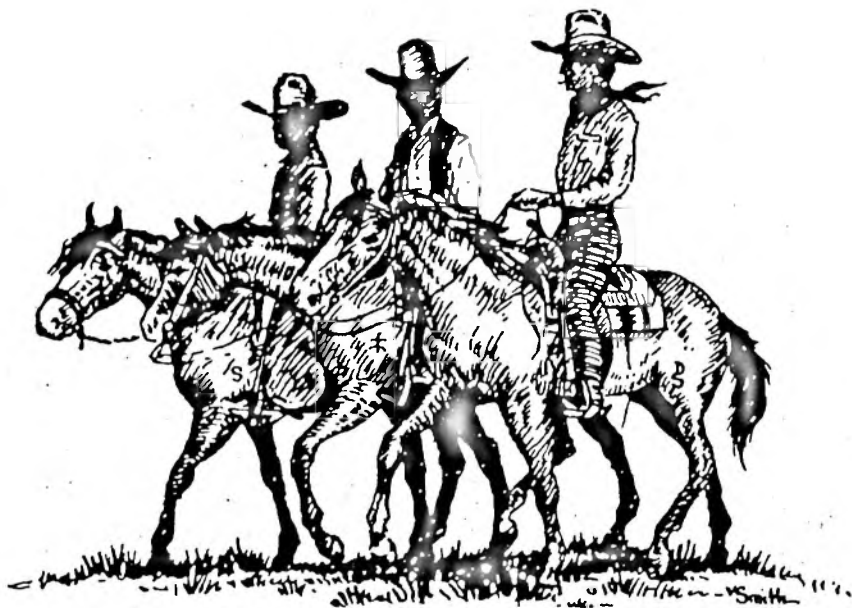
As indicated by the subtitle, this book is a comprehensive study of the earliest climbs in the Tetons, and the controversy surrounding the first ascent of the Grand Teton. The Bonneys tell their story in the context of their extensive research and writings about the Wyoming mountains and wilderness, as well as Orrin Bonney's personal experience in climbing in the Tetons including summiting the Grand.

Exhaustively researched, and placed in a detailed historical setting, the authors tell an engaging story of early climbing in the Tetons, and the colorful backgrounds of the various personalities and egos of those involved. They also make a compelling and well-documented case for the first successful ascent in 1872, while at the same time including reports on the various challenges regarding the validity of this ascent. The 1872 ascent included a team of 12 men, led by James Stevenson and Nathaniel Langford, both members of the Hayden Survey expedition.

These issues, and the controversy, are dealt with early in the book. What then follows are extensive stories of the development of climbing in the Tetons, detailed route descriptions, and reports of climbs by various mountaineers through the early part of the 20th Century.

The book is highly recommended for anyone interested in the history of mountaineering in general, and specifically of mountaineering in the Teton Range.

--Richard Akeroyd, P.M.





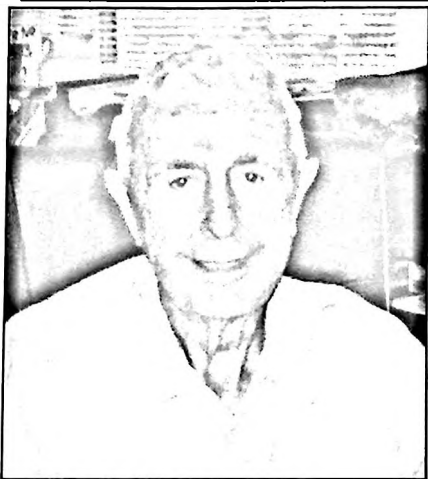
The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

November - December 2009



**Stagecoaches across the American West,
1850-1920**

by John Sells, C.M.
(presented April 22, 2009)



Our Author

For John Sells, Western history has always held a strong appeal. Together with his wife, they seek out Western history wherever they might visit and at unlikely spots around the West.

John received his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of Denver. He and his wife have four grown children. John has been a corresponding member of the Denver Westerners since 2004.

John's recent book, *Stagecoaches, Across the American West 1850 to 1920*, has been written, edited, and illustrated with the objective of presenting a comprehensive study of the role of the stagecoach across the American West during the last half of the nineteenth century.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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Stagecoaches across the American West, 1850-1920

by John Sells, C.M.
(presented April 22, 2009)

The remarkable development of the United States during the turbulent seventy or so years from 1850-1900s can be attributed in part to the stagecoach. The new state of California and the Missouri river were separated by over 1,900 miles. The new frontier, vast, mostly trackless, hostile and beautiful was the barrier. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 quickly fueled an influx of more than 300,000 men and women from around the world. Congress knew something had to be done to accommodate an orderly development and to assure a responsible and timely mail system.

At the time there were three travel methods: six tedious, often dangerous months, by plodding wagon train; six months at sea around Cape Horn, South America; and finally thirty days by ocean steamer down the Atlantic coast, connecting with Mississippi river boats to the Panama Isthmus, a steamy forty-eight mile crossover to the Pacific side and the long trip to San Francisco. The thirty-day ocean steamers trips could be conceded as reasonable at the time, but they were mechanically unpredictable and susceptible to poor navigation charts and storms. By 1855 there was a railroad across the Isthmus provid-

ing a tolerable three-hour ride¹ and in 1858 President James Buchanan went so far as to predict that "the country would someday be bound East and West by a chain of Americans which can never be broken."²

Destiny soon found two men, Lewis Downing and Stephen Abbot, who had been experimenting and building stagecoaches and refining wheel design. The younger Abbot worked for Downing for a year and in 1827 as partners, they built their first coach. The partnership lasted for many years and produced many Concord coaches.³

Reliable wheels for horse-drawn vehicles, especially wagons and stagecoaches, resulted in special skills to that end. Wooden wheels were susceptible to either drying and shrinking from the iron tire or swelling from excessive water exposure and breaking free of the iron tire. Either incident would render the wheel unusable and the vehicle incapacitated and vulnerable--something to avoid in a lonely and hostile setting.⁴ Concord wheels from the Abbot and Downing factory at Concord, New Hampshire, were remarkable in their refinement and durability. Prices varied slightly depending on size and accessories, but the ton-and-a-half vehicle cost about \$1,000 to

\$1,200 fully equipped. In the earlier years the cost was a little more.⁵

Leather thoroughbraces were the trademark of a Concord coach. The Abbot and Downing designed the coach body to rest on the leather straps, which resulted in a rocking motion. The primary reason for the thoroughbraces was to serve as a shock absorber to benefit the pulling team and passenger comfort. Six to eight passengers could squeeze into a coach given people's smaller sizes in those days and there was usually room on the roof for two or three riders.

There were other coach makers, of course, but two seemed to be significant. The Goold Company was founded in upstate New York at Albany in 1813. The Eaton-Gilbert Company, founded 1823 at Troy, New York, made the Troy coach. Both companies provided some coaches for western service. Goold at the outset made the coaches for John Butterfield, including the Celerity coach with reclining seats for his cross country mail run and the early mud wagon. And it might be expected that the two were friends from their upstate location and early business connections. Both companies made some government products as well as omnibuses and railroad cars. Goold also held contracts to manufacture stagecoaches for Canada, Mexico and South American markets. However neither company, as well as Abbot and

Downing, was able to accommodate for long the rush of the new twentieth century.⁶

Congress decided to experiment with a central route and a southern route, which would include a separate southern route—the Santa Fe Trail. A northern route was not undertaken to any extent, because of the winter weather and Indian resistance. The central route would begin at Independence, Missouri. Salt Lake City 1,200 miles distant was the destination. Congress had even named the road “The Great Salt Lake Mail” and it would depart northwesterly across Kansas (crossing the Kickapoo Indian reservation), joining the Platte river in Nebraska Territory at around Fort Kearney. The halfway point would be Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory. It would be careless to overlook the fact that there were existing trails that had been established years earlier by pioneers. The Oregon and Bozeman Trails, 49ers', Mormon Trail, the Santa Fe Trail and later the Overland Trail. Some had a steady stream of traffic. Trails in those days carried a degree of ownership and this may be one reason for the congressional directives.

A Congressional directive also was outstanding for the 800-mile stretch from Salt Lake City to Placerville, California, but it would have to wait.

Before any thing took place, however, Congress faced a delicate situation. Kansas was a federally



Courtesy Colorado Historical Society

designated Indian nation until 1853, with strict restrictions on any entry and firm control over the 700 or so white people who were part of the military, appointed traders and missionaries within the region. Political and commercial pressure was intense and later in the year, 200 miles of eastern Kansas Territory was ceded by various tribes to Washington. Soon there was a steady stream of travelers. Some continued west, while others made their homes and businesses within the new region. The burning Indian anger also fueled the subsequent Indian wars that lasted for years.

In the meantime, the Postal Department issued a call for bids for the Independence-to-Fort-Laramie leg. Contract terms were generous and there wasn't a lot of money around at the time. The response was substantial, mostly from the

larger stage line owners, although private investors might participate with an owner-operator. The first contracts were granted to nine operators for one or more mail contracts for varying compensation. Specific instructions often described the route, equipment and livestock and frequency of service. The operators who were closer to the ground no doubt took it all with a grain of salt. The Independence-Fort-Laramie leg had the eventual benefit of change stations every twelve to eighteen miles (availability of navigable terrain and water would prevail). The western half to Salt Lake City had at best two rest stops at Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger.⁷

Maintaining a schedule on any of the routes was usually difficult due to weather and Indian hostilities. The Post Master General granted little tolerance for late or

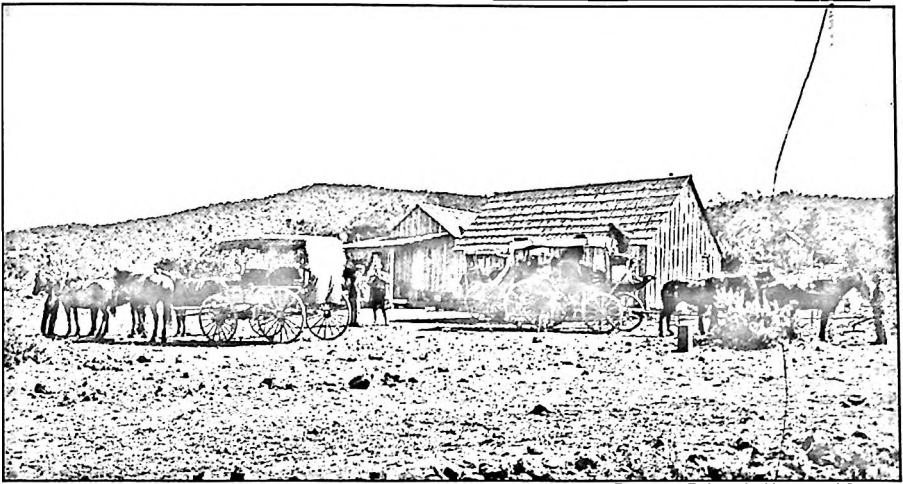
undelivered mail—even when scattered over the prairie after an attack. An adjustment in compensation or even loss of the contract was always a threat. Washington never seemed to understand the full extent of the frontier and the contractors were often unable to present their case in a favorable light.

Political unrest became a serious problem in 1857. The trouble between the federal government and leaders in Salt Lake City had its basis in conflict between the Mormons who had settled in Utah in 1847 and the non-Mormons who moved in later and objected to the religious and social customs. The newer residents made their objections to Washington and subsequently, President Buchanan. Fearing some kind of uprising, Buchanan appointed an expeditionary army under General Sidney Johnston to march west and remove Governor Brigham Young. There was a predictable uproar while cooler heads prevailed. The army never entered the Salt Lake Valley. Johnston neutralized stagecoach and mail service with posted schedules, which was a positive outcome for all citizens and contributed to opening the mail route to California.⁸

Westward from Utah.

Congress's instructions in 1850-51 included the opening of a central route to the new state of California. The \$14,000 winning bid payable annually for monthly service was awarded to George Chorpenning and

Absalom Woodward. Adjusted for inflation it would be some \$310,500 today. The two had explored and traveled the 900-mile route. Shortcuts would later reduce the distance to around 786 miles. Even so, the men knew this was a nearly uninhabitable region and they would be outnumbered by the scattered hostile Indians who resided there. Nevertheless, they reportedly assembled four men, camping gear, livestock, firearms and gold.⁹ That November 1851, Woodward led the first train east and into death and disaster when they encountered hostile Indians near the Goose Creek Mountains west of the Great Salt Lake. The party tried to flee and was never heard from. Woodward's remains were chanced upon in the spring of 1852. The westbound Chorpenning group experienced several attacks and retreated to Salt Lake City. Monthly mail service would be unlikely for some time. Personal grit prevailed and in February 1852, despite a severe winter, a Chorpenning party set out for Salt Lake City. After three weeks on the trail, the group reached the Goose Creek Mountains and a freezing storm. Thirteen mules and one horse froze to death and after harvesting some meat, the group shouldered the mail for some 200 miles into Salt Lake City. Recruiting help soon became difficult and on May 1, 1852, George Chorpenning determined to make the trip west by himself. The 786-mile venture had



Courtesy Colorado Historical Society

to be lonely, but was presumably safe and uneventful.¹⁰

The postal department seemed to overlook Chorpenning's problems and in 1854 granted him a second contract and the authority to try a different route. It was one he had explored earlier. Instead of arching over the north boundary of Great Salt Lake and tracking down through the Goose Creek Mountains toward the winding Humboldt River, which often flooded and it was easy to get lost. He would depart south from Salt Lake City toward Lake Utah, following a twisting route across western Utah reaching Ruby Valley, Nevada. The plan was then to go northwest to join the Humboldt river. Several years later the trail would extend south from Ruby Valley to Austin, Nevada and on into California over present-day US 50 highway. It would be known as

the Overland Trail. Howard Egan, a rancher, and member of Brigham Young's Mormon militia, played an important part in the development of the road. Egan operated a provisions store at Ruby Valley where the Overland Stage owned a large livestock and forage ranch. He also reportedly was part of the Pony Express.¹¹ The other contributor was Captain James H. Simpson, Corps of Topographical Engineers. Simpson had extensive mapping experience along the Old Spanish Trail in Arizona, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico and Colorado. He was now directed to locate and map the shortest and best route to California. Captain Simpson was one of the earlier 5,000 troops of the 1857 Utah Expedition. Present day I-80 across Nevada reflects Simpson's work.¹²

George Chorpenning continued to service his mail contract with

pack animals until his third mail contract in 1858. He now owned ten stagecoaches, but his eye had been on a pony express operation for years. The notion of a pony express had been around for a long time, but not at a controlled dead heat. In 1859 Chorpenning apparently was able to prevail upon the postal authorities at Washington to try an experiment by sending a telegraph message from Washington to Leavenworth, Kansas on December 6 and then dispatched to Tipton, Missouri for the Butterfield Overland Stage. The second packet was dispatched to pony express riders at St. Joseph, Missouri. The third packet would be delivered to an ocean steamer at New Orleans, sailing to Tehuantepec, Mexico, carried overland and continued by sea to San Francisco. The controlled departure points were to assure fairness. Unfortunately, the pony express packet never arrived until the papers made a national uproar out of the incident. President Buchanan, a close friend of John Butterfield, purposely intervened and withheld the message.

Out of deference, the other two carriers delayed their departure, but maintained the rules of the race and finally left. On December 14 the St. Louis papers printed the message and the horseback riders departed St. Joseph for Salt Lake City—and into the face of a winter blizzard at Salt Lake City. The riders reached California in seventeen days, twelve

hours besting the recorded times of Butterfield and the ocean steamers.¹³ None of what just took place was lost on Chorpenning and his partner John Hockaday, nor on a soon-to-be major figure--William Russell, who had founded the Leavenworth and Pikes Peak Express Company stage line on February 11, 1859. The line failed that October. Russell with his two reluctant partners commenced a second stage line, the Central Overland California and Pikes Peak Express on March 1860. It would operate into California. The route across Kansas and eastern Colorado was precarious in as much as it crossed over prime hunting grounds of the Indians. Sensing an improvement in mail service, Postmaster William Holt cancelled the Chorpenning--Hockaday contract and assigned the remaining \$320,000 to the Russell people.¹⁴ The Pony Express story is one that has been told and written about many times. Chapter six of *Stagecoaches* details much of what took place during a brief nineteen months from April 1860 to October 1861 and how it helped bankrupt a major Western freight line.

The impact of the telegraph was a success. It permitted near instant communication over long distances and certainly accommodated safety concerns and plan making. Most tribes left the lines undisturbed, while others pulled them down. Construction on the Central route began on July 4, 1860

at Omaha, Fort Kearney, Nebraska, Fort Churchill, Nevada, San Francisco and concluded at Salt Lake City on October 24, 1860.¹⁵

Railroad Influence.

While the early mail contractors struggled, the railroads were certainly paying attention to what was taking place and what lay ahead. On May 10, 1869 the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific finally met at Promontory Point, Utah, a still-lonely spot at the northeast corner of the Salt Lake. Seven years earlier on July 1862, President Lincoln had signed into law The Pacific Railway Act.

The government was generous with treasury loans of \$18,000 per mile of track laid over the plains and \$32,000 across the Great Basin of Nevada, and \$48,000 through the Sierra mountains. A second act increased the government grants to thirty-three million dollars and the two railroads still ran short of money. On a lighter note, a traveler could now cross the country by train in a little over four days for \$111, first-class fare. The stage fare from Atchison, Kansas to Salt Lake City and beyond was \$125--\$200.¹⁶

When we think about overland stage and mail lines it is usually the Butterfield line, which after intense bidding by the American Express and Wells Fargo forces was granted authority on September 15, 1857 to carry mail (and passengers) to California. The first run com-

menced one year later on the same date. Postmaster General order No. 12,587, dated July 2, 1857 detailed the route: "From St. Louis Missouri and Memphis, Tennessee, converging at Little Rock, Arkansas, then via Preston, Texas, or as close as possible, cross the Rio Grande above El Paso, Texas; out from Fort Fillmore, thence along the new road being opened and constructed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to Fort Yuma, Arizona territory, then through the best passes and along the best valleys for safe and expeditious staging, then to San Francisco."¹⁷ The distance was 2,795 miles. There were 141 change stations and a trip averaged about 25 days with the stage usually running around the clock. During 1857-1858, crews were in the field constructing crude roads and building change stations.

Butterfield, who helped found American Express, was a hands on person and did his best to fulfill his responsibility, even to the point that his health failed in 1869. He had a huge imagination. The \$600,000 annual subsidy was almost immediately not enough. Construction costs, livestock teams, tack, feed, employee salaries, rebuilding and freighting costs were staggering. Passenger revenue was insufficient due to poor pricing at the outset and mostly local riders. Eventually the financial backers took control. However, with the Civil War grinding

along, the value of the achievement was inestimable.

The Smoky Hill Road and stage line was the creation of David Butterfield (no relation to John Butterfield) who established it in June 1865 to be a freight and stagecoach business with Denver and the mining districts as primary customers. The line crossed central Kansas and central eastern Colorado during its brief life between June and March 1866 when Ben Holladay purchased and consolidated it.¹⁸ The stage line held a valuable mail contract and the eight-day (later shortened) direct route to Denver ran directly across Indian hunting grounds. Time was expedient, however, and the postal authorities would not permit Ben Holladay to drop the route. Instead, he subcontracted the dangerous route until 1870 when the railroad ended the need for an overland stage line.

Ben Holladay deservedly held the title as Stagecoach King. As a young man he began trading with the several Indian nations along the

Missouri river on the Kansas side. Kansas was a protected Indian land until access was granted in 1853. From there he did freighting to support the 1846 war with Mexico and later freighted into Salt Lake City and on to California. He freighted on the Santa Fe Trail and eventually owned several ocean steamers and mining interests by age forty-five. In 1862 he foreclosed on the Central Overland California and Pikes Peak Express stage line owned by then-bankrupt freighting giant Russell, Majors and Waddell. His stage line extended across the western half of the American continent, eventually reaching over 3,100 miles of road-carrying mail, passengers and express revenue. In 1867 Wells Fargo bought up his stage line. The stagecoach king died at Portland, Oregon in 1887.¹⁹

Barlow and Sanderson were the last of the transcontinental stage line operators. They were also one of the consistently well run and profitable stage lines. Bradley Barlow and Jared Sanderson, both from

Vermont, formed a lasting partnership. Jared came west to manage the operations while Bradley remained in Vermont to manage the financial details and bid on mail contracts.

The Saratoga & Encampment Stage Line

C. M. SCRIBNER, PROPRIETOR.

ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE OF STAGES

SOUTH BOUND		NORTH BOUND	
Leave Walcott	7:30 a. m.	Leave Encampment	7:30 a. m.
Arrive Saratoga	12:00 noon	Arrive Saratoga	11:30 a. m.
Leave "	1:30 p. m.	Leave "	12:00 noon
Arrive Encamp't	5:25 p. m.	Arrive Walcott	5:00 p. m.

Special Attention Paid Commercial Travelers. Extra Rigs Always in Readiness to Accommodate Extra Travel. Fishing and Hunting Parties Especially Solicited. Address C. M. Scribner, Saratoga, Wyoming, or F. A. Raynor, Agent, Walcott, Wyoming.

Bradley Barlow was also a banker and at one time a member of the state legislature. Pueblo, Colorado served as their headquarters.²⁰ The general area of service reached into southwestern and central Kansas, southern Colorado, New Mexico and the Rio Grande valley. After the Civil War they also held the distinction of being awarded Post Office contracts to resume the abandoned 900-mile El Paso-San Diego-Los Angeles route that was in place before the Civil War. The Santa Fe Railroad would not reach Los Angeles until 1880. They resumed the name of Southern Overland Mail Company, which was the name of the line before being purchased by Barlow and Sanderson in 1863.

Barlow and Sanderson reached into the gold fields of Colorado at Leadville and the southern regions of the San Juan Mountains at Silverton and Ouray. They also, as mentioned, reached down into New Mexico and even served Chihuahua, Mexico. The line also served the then isolated San Luis Valley in south western Colorado. In Kansas and Arizona the line ran south over sections of the Santa Fe Trail and parts of the old Butterfield road after connecting with the railroad at Junction City, Kansas.²¹ In southeastern Colorado Barlow and Sanderson made direct roads to Pueblo and Denver while searching for the most efficient operation. At one time it was said that the two pioneer opera-

tors served some 200,000 citizens in the Southwest.

The Santa Fe Trail, which dates back to 1821, was a profitable trade route—well beyond the Central route, which was funded in 1851. And it figured heavily when determining a southern mail route.²² The 1854 Congressional Act established a Southern route and the first four-year contract (1850-1854) was issued to James Hall and David Waldo with a \$10,900 annual subsidy and a twenty-nine-day schedule for the 800 mile route. Hall would later be an early contractor on the Central route. The two were soon in over their heads to the extent of \$30,000 for outrider armed guards, livestock and replacement feed. Pleading for help, they were reluctantly awarded an additional \$25,000.²³ An experimental route was also established between Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Stockton, California. It failed for fraud and non-delivery.

The Cimarron cutoff played a significant role for travelers over the Santa Fe Trail. The original route was southwest across Kansas to Fort Dodge, then west over present-day US 50 and US 350 to Trinidad, Colorado. The difficult trail over Raton Pass (present day I-25) into northern New Mexico continued either to Santa Fe or Taos. Richens Lacy (Uncle Dick) Wooten, an early pioneer to the region, held some land grant rights to the pass and he labored for years to make the boulder-strewn

toll road accessible to wagons and stagecoaches by 1865. The toll road fees were \$1.50 per wagon, 25 cents for a man on horseback and 5 cents per animal. Native Americans paid no toll.²⁴

Back at Fort Dodge, or even Fort Larned about fifty miles north, travelers faced a major decision regarding using one of the three cutoffs or shortcuts. The decision carried serious consequences, because the 318-mile alternative route, which the freighters and stages used, was virtually without any water and limited forage for the first seventy-five or so miles. Indian activity was intense, military escorts were not available and there were occasional Confederate threats. Basically, the cutoff routes departed southwest from Fort Dodge to present-day Watrous (near Las Vegas) and finally to Santa Fe.²⁵

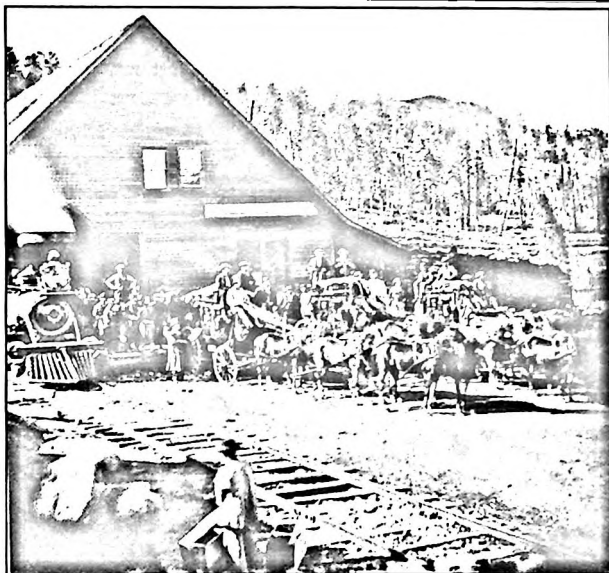
Wells Fargo began business in 1852 at San Francisco, first as an express company serving surrounding communities carrying packages, mail and money (gold dust), which the former Todd express company had been doing before being acquired by Wells Fargo. The notion of a personal express service to the legion of gold seekers readily caught on. Wells Fargo also used the franking system of postage, which was permitted at the time. In 1854 the company expanded with the purchase of the Hunter express company. Eventually the company,

sometimes as a silent investor, used local stage lines carrying the Wells Fargo logo for their delivery system throughout California and east into the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Wells Fargo and American Express were formed about the same time (1852 and 1857) when John Butterfield was putting together his Butterfield Overland Mail Company.

The company was well financed and survived all of the financial panics of the time. In 1867 after buying out Ben Holladay and his Overland Mail Company, Wells Fargo found itself with 4,000 miles of roads and a separate stagecoach department was formed independent of banking. The consolidation also provided the company an opportunity to break out of its California isolation and eventually enter overseas markets in 1875.²⁶

The Indian Wars of 1864-1866 were probably the most intense although the hostilities were inflamed for fifty years during the western development and Congress was constantly made aware of the fighting. Finger pointing and charges flew back and forth and claims for reparations usually went unpaid. It would take a long time for the two cultures to exist with each other.

California developed an instate stage line industry that was rather inclusive throughout the state. There were many competing lines—none particularly long. The one exception was the Butterfield rumbling



into the state at Calexico after a 2400-mile run across the southwest; now it turned north for the final 400-mile leg into San Francisco.

James Birch at age twenty-two arrived in California in 1849 with friend Frank Stevens. Birch with a light wagon was soon delivering miners up into the gold fields for reportedly a couple ounces of gold dust. Stevens who by now owned a tavern and hotel teamed up with Birch to start a local stage line in 1850. They obtained a mail contract for the telegraph line of the United States Mail. The telegraph part and some stations somehow came with the contract. During this rapid period of business development, a host of companies formed, consolidated and disappeared.

In late 1853, James Birch and Frank Stevens, with investors,

merged with several lines to form the California Stage Line with a capitalization of \$1 million. On January 1, 1854, the company controlled fourteen routes for 450 miles and had 170 relay (change) stations as well as a full contingent of livestock and coaches. Growth was swift and by the end of the year there were over 300 employees, 1,500 head of stock, 205 Concord coaches and wagons—most brought on sailing

ships. Overland travel and shipping was yet to occur to any extent.²⁷

James Birch, however, had his eye on a bigger prize—an overland mail contract. There was enough publicity about the government's interest in developing an official road to the west and the inclusion of a lucrative mail contract, and Birch wanted a part of the national action. It was probably common knowledge among mail people at least that President Buchanan and John Butterfield were friends and any help would probably favor the Butterfield interests. Nevertheless, James Birch was presumably friends with Post Master General Aaron Brown and he persisted to the point that he was awarded a consolation prize. There was a little-

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On sums under \$50,	25 cents.
\$50 to \$100,	50 cents.
Over \$100,	One-half of 1 per cent.

See the page of bill for full list of places authorized by the Company-Transfer Stations, to which orders may be sent for remittance.

used wagon road running between San Antonio-El Paso-San Diego, over which former mail contractor, Nathan P. Cooke reportedly operated. Present day I-8 traces the early road and indeed extreme southern route. The 1,475-mile contract was effective June 22, 1857, with twice-monthly service beginning on July 1st—an impossible transition. The four-year subsidy was \$149,000. Birch pulled together family members and scrambled to get the project operational by October, which was at least eleven months ahead of John Butterfield.²⁸

West and southwest Texas is rich in stagecoach history and human drama. Because of absolute

isolation and intense Indian activity the task first fell to the government. Two key early operators were Henry Skillman and George Giddings who became close friends and eventual business partners. As the Mexican war drew to a close in 1847, trade began to flourish and mail contractors established a presence. Skillman worked as a freighter on the Santa Fe Trail, Indian scout, Guide and representative for the United States Indian Agent at San Antonio. Out of the army in 1849, Skillman recognized a need for a reliable mail service for the vast Rio Grande region. Traveling to Washington in 1851, he met with Post Master General Nathan K. Hall and was granted a three-year mail contract No. 6401 with an annual \$12,500 subsidy. The service between San Antonio, El Paso and Santa Fe would be by horseback, pack animals, light wagon and eventually in 1853 with some financial backing, a stagecoach. Henry Skillman did not neglect his contract and the lifeline of citizens along the Rio Grande, and his business prospered.

Death and destruction came early. In January 1852 an Apache war party burned a stage and killed the driver and drove off the livestock. No sooner than replacements were made, Indians would strike again. A career on the frontier was risky and Skillman lost many employees.²⁹


George Giddings would

eventually become a partner with Henry Skillman. The two men apparently had a chemistry that bound them together. Giddings owned some supply stores in the lower Rio Grande valley, which helped sustain his stage line business. Also, like Skillman, Giddings lost several family members to Indians. Their partnership originated as a result of a failing mail contractor, David Wasson. Both men made themselves available to Wasson—Skillman at El Paso and Giddings at San Antonio. Through default, the two men were granted the Wasson contract. Soon they would consolidate the James Birch contract in 1858 after his death in 1857.³⁰

The growing threat of the Civil War was making it increasingly difficult to receive the subsidies promised and to cut costs, Postmaster General Aaron Brown reduced some of the routes partly for reasons that the Butterfield line ran virtually together over the Giddings El Paso—San Diego route. With the onset of the Civil War in 1861 the line was shut down and would not reopen until 1867. The Butterfield line in the meantime had moved north in 1861 to run over a segment of the Central route. After Giddings there would be a succession of mail contractors on the San Antonio-El Paso road.

Nebraska provided the road along side of the meandering Platte River to reach the West. And Ne-

**GREAT OVERLAND
MAIL ROUTE.**



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SOLE PROPRIETORS.

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On and after the 1st day of April, 1867, passengers will be forwarded through at the following reduced rates, viz:

<i>Sacramento to Omaha</i>	\$300.
<i>Virginia City to Omaha</i>	275.
<i>Austin to Omaha</i>	225.
<i>Sacramento to Cheyenne</i>	250.
<i>Virginia City to Cheyenne</i>	225.
<i>Austin to Denver</i>	175.
<i>Salt Lake to Bannock, Montana</i>	120.
" <i>Virginia</i>	120.
" <i>Helena</i>	145.
" <i>Fort Benton</i>	175.

ALL LEGAL TENDERS OR THEIR EQUIVALENT.

12

April 1867

braska reportedly was the epicenter for the 1864-1866 Indian wars. The eastern section of the territory enjoyed a reliable network of stage lines and mail service with connections to distant locations.³¹

Colorado was large and isolated enough to rely on stage lines, trains, automobiles and trucks until at least 1920. The state (territory until 1876) was faced with the unique challenge of managing transportation and mail service to the prairies on the eastern half of the state and the penetration into the mountains and agricultural valleys to the west. The stage lines and railroads soon confirmed that cooperation would be the byword for success. Numerous

stage lines proliferated in Colorado, so the ability to travel about the state was not particularly a problem.³²

Kansas is generous in its historical accounts. The region was critical to any western expansion over the Central route after 1853 as described earlier and the subsequent rejection of slavery. Three happenings of the time can be read about: the singular experience of a land grant employee,³³ the critical influence of a Philander Reynolds, who developed the Dodge City region into an influence as far west as the connecting point of Las Vegas, New Mexico and south to Texas³⁴ and the stunning activity of Donald R. Green, Stagecoach Baron of the Prairies.³⁵

New Mexico brings with it the early West and today's date. Numerous stage lines crisscrossed the state (see appendix superscript 6). Short line or local staging was the norm in many areas and one case is presented with a mix of some overland runs.³⁶

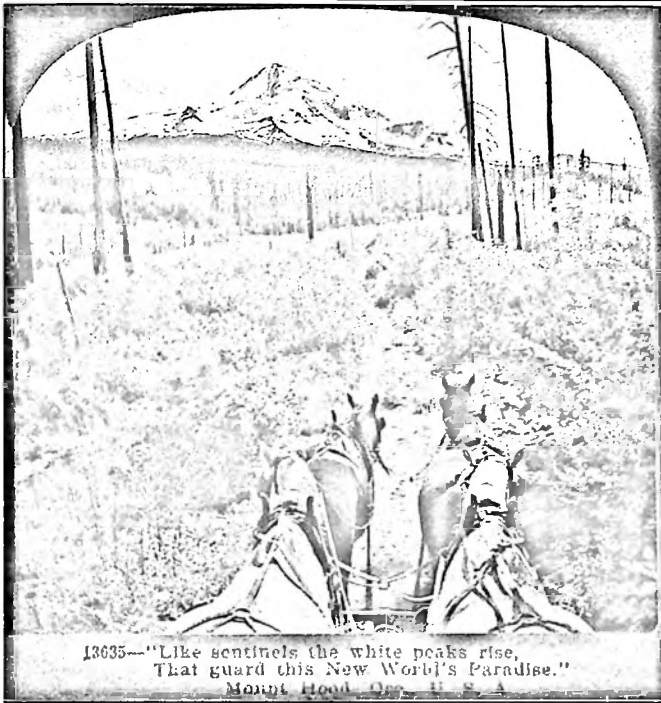
Wyoming brings with it a different set of conditions. The Native Americans resisted mightily and the familiar remembrances of the huge number of overland travelers following the trails to Utah, California and the Pacific Northwest. The Cheyenne--Black Hills stage line ran a dangerous route to the gold fields in the Black Hills held sacred by the Indians. Jack Gilmer and Monroe Salisbury were the stage line owners

who went on to become the largest stage line and for a time one of the larger businesses in the country.³⁷

Dakota.

The name spins up images of drama. Until the Custer battle on June 25, 1876, white men were strictly forbidden to enter the Black Hills and the army tried to patrol against trespass until March 1876. Nevertheless, prospectors and miners gained entrance. Civilization prospered in the eastern regions and the southeast of present day South Dakota and the territory was well represented by stage and freighter lines. Present-day North Dakota enjoyed the presence of the Great Northern railroad. Communities that secured a railroad forwarding point for supplies and cargo considered it good fortune.³⁸ The western half of each region remained isolated until the late 1870s. There is a story about a local stage line: the Medora-Deadwood stage line and in North Dakota there is a story about a family traveling overland on a stagecoach road.³⁹

By virtue of its northerly location, Idaho remained remote and isolated for a longer period. State historical society records confirm at least fifty stage line companies; some remained in service beyond 1912. Agriculture eventually won, but for several years it was mining. The principal regions were the South Boise, Boise Basin and the Southwest Owyhee region, which attracted miners from northern Ne-



13635—"Like sentinels the white peaks rise,
That guard this New World's Paradise."
Mount Hood, Ore., U.S.A.

vada and California.⁴⁰

Montana.

The Yellowstone River and its connection to the Missouri with passage to St. Louis, provided an immeasurable benefit to citizens, especially so with the late-arriving Great Northern railroad. Winter weather limited traffic over the river to about five months. Wells Fargo had been in business for some fourteen years before "The Grand Consolidation" in 1867 of Ben Holladay's Overland Mail Company. There was an awareness of just how extensive the Holladay line had become.⁴¹ And with the recent change, the true value of gold dust was brought into contention. Wells Fargo

now decided to avoid any surprises. Henceforth gold accepted for payment would be in the form of bullion in pre-determined values.

If Nevada, wedged between California and Utah, was going to prosper, commercial freight service and a reliable statewide mail and passenger system were imperative. Also, the substantial mining industry of southwestern Idaho and cen-

tral Nevada would need railroads, however, railroads did not play that large a part in the mining industry until spur lines in later years. Large freight wagons, some ganged together in four or more units and later the twenty mule Borax teams were common. There was even an unsuccessful experiment to use camels in Texas and Nevada, but the distances and terrain were more than could be managed. Despite its isolation, Nevada was well represented with around 100 coach lines.

Each Western state had its own noteworthy character. For Nevada it would be William C. (Hill)

Beachey. He was viewed in the local context as the California-Nevada-Idaho stagecoach king. Beachey played a significant role in the development of east and west roads in and out of northern California, northern Nevada, southern Oregon and southwestern Idaho. Before the road changes, travelers and commercial interests had to go south for many miles to Sacramento and Placerville then travel east over present-day US 50 and north again to Reno. The shortened trail across the northern desert was a good choice. Hill Beachey was also involved in the apprehension of three murderers and later establishing a profitable partnership with Wells Fargo.⁴²

Arizona.

The first mail contract for Arizona was awarded in 1863 to James Grant and a subsequent partner John Frink. For nearly every mail contractor the beginnings were humble. Horseback, wagon, and long rides until a stagecoach could be afforded was the norm.

Eventually there would be plenty of local and regional competitors. Butterfield until 1861 and after 1867, Barlow and Sanderson were overland carriers. The massive Gilmer and Salisbury line out of Utah exploded into Arizona with a significant presence.⁴³

The principal stage and mail systems were a network of small communities throughout the state. Utah's geography lent itself to an

efficient distribution system. From the northern border, present-day I-15 slices south to St. George and on into Nevada and California. At the community of Nephi a series of state, US and Interstate roads service the easterly range of mountains. Present-day I-80 can be attributed to Captain Simpson's work in 1857.⁴⁴

Jack Gilmer who managed and ran the stage line had a partner, Monroe Salisbury, who resided in Washington DC and was responsible for securing mail contracts. It was an operation similar to Barlow and Sanderson mentioned earlier. Gilmer got his first taste of staging while working for Ben Holladay in Wyoming. In the spring of 1867, Jack Gilmer, now on his own, began working from Fort Fillmore, the first of many routes. With the advent of the railroads and a growing local population, the days of long overland runs were coming to an end. Jack Gilmer began marketing his stage line service to every locale he could profitably reach. On a lighter note he introduced the notion that the manager of a home station would be someone who provided clean, appetizing and comfortable accommodations in a profitable manner. The appointment was sought after.

The business soon became more than Jack Gilmer could manage and through an exchange of referrals Monroe Salisbury and later his brother Orange would join the

firm.

The business rapidly expanded into Nevada carrying passengers and gold and silver back to the banks at Salt Lake City. Gilmer and Salisbury expanded into Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Wyoming, New Mexico and Arizona. More than 5,000 miles were being operated over until October 15, 1883 and their dissolution.

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Over the Corral Rail

Compiled by Ed Bathke, P.M. Please submit your items of news, etc. to Ed. Deadline is the 10th of the first month in the date of publication.

Colorado Westerners' Meeting Activities

In November the following presentations were given:

Denver Posse members Lee and Jane Whiteley, "Pathways to Gold: the Cherokee Trail, 1849; the Smoky Hill Trail, 1859" to the Boulder Corral; Denver Art Museum Tour, featuring the Charles M. Russell exhibition, led by Sheriff Jay Fell, for the Colorado Corral; To the Fort Collins Corral, Charlotte Hinger presented "The Colorado People Hold the Key," featuring Nicodemus, Kansas; "Early Women Photographers of the Pikes Peak Region" by former sheriff Brenda Hawley and present sheriff Nancy Bathke to the Pikes Peak Posse.

The Colorado Corral's December meeting was held at the Littleton Museum. Deputy Director of the Museum Lorena Donohue, and a Corral member, provided a film on the history of Littleton, as well as providing opportunity to tour the museum. Other Westerner groups enjoyed a holiday recess.

New Hands on the Range

The Denver Posse of Westerners is pleased to recognize many new Corresponding Members who have joined the organization in 2009. Among those we welcome are:

Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, IN;
Andrew Bain, Denver, referred by Dick Cook;
Hugh Bingham, Greenwood Village;
Dennis Clark, Lansing, KS, referred by Jeff Broome;
Ron Dreyer, Denver;
Dan Eitemiller, Denver;
Mark Frohlich, Lakewood, referred by Anna Lee Frohlich;
Lucy Graca, Denver, referred by Jeff Broome;
Martha Graham, Aurora;
Alan Morgan, Colorado Springs, referred by Vonnie Perkins;
Greg Michno, Longmont;
Dr. Bruce Paton, Denver;

Larry Shirkey, Denver, referred by Jeff Broome;
David Swanson, Aurora, referred by Jim and Scotty Wilkins;
Liz Walker, Englewood, referred by Vonnie Perkins.

Center for Colorado and the West

Dr. Colorado, i. e. Posse member Tom Noel, provides this announcement, which should be of interest to all Westerners. With funding from the Kenneth King Foundation, Tom Noel and Auraria Library chief Mary Somerville, are launching the Center for Colorado and the West at CU-Denver this year. Check it out at coloradowest.auraria.org or Google "Center for Colorado and the West." In collaboration with the Colorado Historical Society, CC&W is taking over the listing of new non-fiction books concerned primarily with Colorado. Please visit this website. If you know of a new unlisted book, please let us know. Please also check out our book reviews of some new publications. If there is a book you want to list or to review, please contact tom.noel@ucdenver.edu. One of our board members, Bob Pulcifer, was selected as a representative of the Denver Posse of Westerners.





Westerners Bookshelf



The Stettner Way: The Life and Climbs of Joe and Paul Stettner, by John D. Gorby. Golden: Colorado Mountain Club Press, 2003. 184 pages. Illustrations, photos, maps, index, glossary, appendices. Paper \$14.95

Joe and Paul Stettner, who immigrated to the U.S. from Bavaria after the murder of their father by the Nazis in 1919, pioneered some of the most difficult technical climbs in the Rockies and were among the founding members of the 10th Mountain Division during World War II.

The book begins by recounting briefly their early lives in Bavaria, and their first climbs in Austria and Switzerland. Soon after their move to the U.S., where they lived in Chicago, they began their spectacular climbing careers in Rocky Mountain National Park, the Tetons, and Montana. The book goes into most detail about three of their pioneering climbs.

In 1927 they pioneered the Stettner Ledges, a new route up the East Wall of Longs Peak. The climb has since been rated at 5.7, but when the Stettners did it, using rope-soled shoes, some pitons, and carrying 120 feet of stiff hemp rope, the climb would undoubtedly have been rated far higher. Gorby also corrects the record regarding Joe's solo route up Alexanders Chimney, and his surprising claim to have been the first to ascend the Hornsby Direct route.

The brothers climbed the North Face of the Grand Teton in 1937 with several well-known climbers of the era: Walter Gorrell, Walter Kiener, Paul Petzoldt, and Fritz Wiessner. Here, Gorby is again at some pains to correct the record regarding the two routes known as the Becky Couloir and the Stettner Couloir, which he contends have been confused with each other. The book's last – and best – major climb is Joe's ascent of the East Face of Monitor Peak in 1947 with Jack Fralick and John Speck. This ascent is the only one of the three that seems to have impressed Joe as being adventurous, involving as it does hair-raising belays, shoulder-stands, cliff-hangers, miserable weather, and a dusk-to-dawn bivouac on a four-by-six-foot ledge Joe describes as “[a]n open-air room with running water, that ... ran down our backs throughout the night.” On the following morning, the final 300 feet of the climb required four and a half hours to complete. An account of the climb appeared in the July 1951 issue of *Saga* magazine.

Along the way, Gorby tells of the brothers' involvement in the found-

ing of the 10th Mountain Division and the Chicago Mountaineering Club, a bit of their family lives, and Joe's later life.

Gorby's information comes from the Stettners' mountaineering journals, interviews and letters of their climbing partners and most of all, conversations with Joe Stettner before his death in 1997. Perhaps for the last reason, the book spends more time on Joe's climbs than on Paul's, especially after 1937, when Joe and Paul climbed separately most of the time. Some climbing enthusiasts might find the lack of technical detail in the book disappointing. This shortcoming is best explained by the modest character of the brothers, who didn't compete for "firsts" and rarely talked or wrote about their climbs. But the Stettlers' joyous attitude about mountaineering comes through loud and clear. As Joe himself said in 1996, "You should climb for the fun and the joy of it. There is no other reason."

-- Lucy Graca, C.M.

