



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

January - February 2011



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

D.C. Oakes, Hoaxer or Hero
by **Vonnie Perkins, P.M.**
(presented April 28, 2010)

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**Our Author**

Posse member Vonnie Perkins grew up on an 80-acre farm in northern Minnesota where there were no amenities: electricity, running water or indoor plumbing. A pot-bellied stove heated her home. She attended District #23, a one-room country school in Wadena County and was the first of her family to graduate from high school. Her interest in Colorado history began when she purchased a small book of compositions at a flea market. The stories were written in the 1870s at Wolfe Hall, a private girls school in Denver, by Emma Oakes. This fifty-cent purchase sparked her interest in Emma, the daughter of D.C. Oakes, whose guidebook caused his burial in effigy during the Colorado gold rush and is the reason he is known as a hoaxer. This research resulted in two books. "D.C. Oakes, Family Friends, and Foe" is the first and covers the life of Emma's father and mother. She is currently working on Emma's story.

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D.C. Oakes, Hoaxer or Hero by Vonnie Perkins, P.M. (presented April 28, 2010)

I want to begin by thanking Tom Noel and Dan Haley for giving me the inspiration for this program. The "Balloon Boy" hoax, which occurred last year, resulted in their article about Colorado hoaxes, which once again brought attention to D. C. Oakes.

The article appeared in the *Denver Post* on October 25, 2009,

*"Daniel C. Oakes, the first documented Colorado hoaxer, wrote a 1859 guide book purporting to provide the speediest route to a Pikes Peak fortune. Oakes assured folks that 'the whole country between the Cache la Poudre and Cherry Creek is a beautiful rich valley full of mountain streams of living water and exceedingly rich in gold.'"*¹ This quote is from *The Traveler's Guide to the new gold mines in Kansas and Nebraska / with a description of the shortest and most direct route from Chicago to Pike's Peak and Cherry Creek gold mines by Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad.*² D. C.'s guide: *"History of the Gold Discoveries On The South Platte River By Luke Tierney To Which is Appended A Guide of The Route by Smith & Oakes"* never reported that the area was *"exceedingly rich in gold."*³ Even so he was buried in effigy.

I have spent 19 years re-

searching the life of Daniel Chessman Oakes. After learning about his experiences during the California Gold Rush, I could not believe that years later he would have deliberately misled others.

Thousands packed up and started west. Most were inexperienced travelers who became discouraged during the journey. They returned home without ever reaching the Rocky Mountains and told other Argonauts that it was all a humbug.

William Green Russell who came up the Arkansas told D. C. that he had "tried to reason with them to return and give the country a fair trial but they (sic) him not and he came near being mobbed for saying gold existed here in paying quantities..."⁴ Horace Greeley, a reporter for the *New York Tribune*, visited the mines and wrote glowing accounts of Colorado's gold. William Byers also wrote a guidebook and also experienced burial in effigy: *"Here lie the bones of Byers & Oakes, the starters of this dam hoax."* and *"Here lie the bones of D. C. Oakes, the starter of this dam hoax."* These effigies are reported in almost everything that is written about Colorado's gold rush. But D. C. Oakes' name, which rhymes with hoax, remains at the forefront and is generally the only thing known

about this early pioneer.

Kenneth Morton Holcomb best described "pioneers" in a book published in 1934: "*the word pioneer is symbolic of sacrifice, industry, vision and a true test of the mettle of man or woman. To call an individual a 'pioneer' is to accord him a lofty place in history, for to pioneers all the generations to follow owe their heritage.*"⁵ Daniel Chessman Oakes was a pioneer in the clearest sense of the word. Although he liked a good joke—I don't think he was a hoaxer—and hopefully after learning of the fortitude of D. C. Oakes you will agree with me.

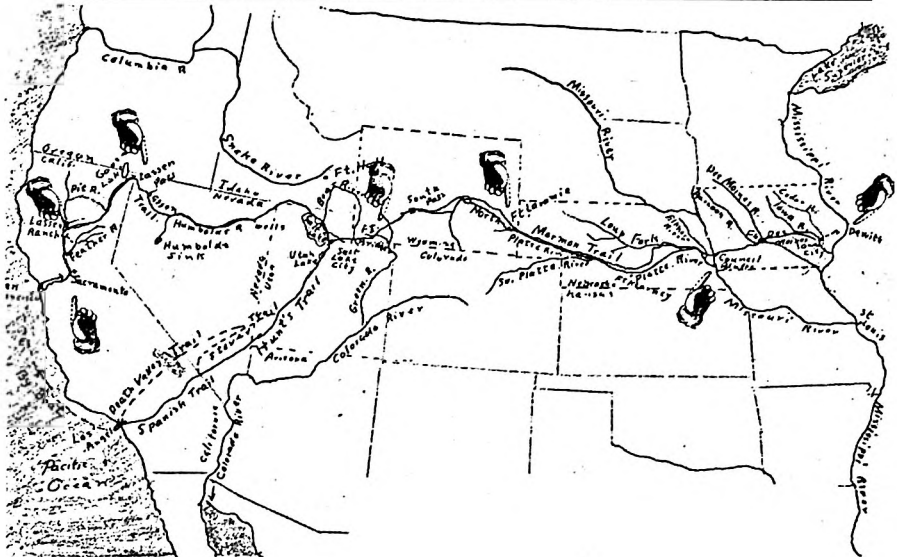
To do this we will first follow him from DeWitt, Iowa to Sacramento, California and then review the events, which occurred ten years later, during the Colorado Gold Rush, when he was buried in effigy.

John Jacob Ressler's grandson, Theo C. Ressler's "*Trails Divided*" a dissertation on the overland journey of Iowa 'Forty-Niners' of the Sacramento Mining Company," provides abundant original material for this program.⁶ It is valuable because Theo Ressler compared his grandfather's memories with documents left by other Argonauts such as Aylett Raines Cotton's extensive memoir, the letters and diaries of Abraham Owen, Chauncey Swan, Loring Wheeler, D. S. Wright and others who traveled with the Sacramento Mining Company. These thoroughly confirm dates and certain

events in his grandfather's memoir.

Colonel Loring Wheeler, also from DeWitt, Iowa, was a senator and was in Iowa City on January 3, 1849, when he and 29 men made a compact to organize 100 men from Iowa to make the journey. They didn't succeed in getting this number and pioneers from other states joined them. Meetings were held in Loring Wheeler's log cabin in DeWitt, Iowa and other communities explaining the process.

D. C. was a civil engineer and Aylett was a young lawyer residing in DeWitt, Iowa. Both were single. They combined their funds and partnered up for the adventure. On April 29, 1849, a Sunday afternoon, D. C. who had just turned 24 and Aylett, who was a year younger, left Mr. Cotton's farm to begin the adventure. D. C.'s parents were both deceased. Aylett's sister Arcana, Mrs. William Wolcott, a widow, baked a large quantity of crackers in an outdoor oven for the journey.⁷ They owned three yoke of oxen. A yoke consists of two oxen, which meant they owned six oxen. Essentials such as flour, bacon, dried apples, sugar, coffee, tea, salt and pepper, vinegar, saleratus (there was no baking powder at that time nor any canned fruits), medicines, tin dishes, camp kettles, knives, forks, spoons and a pan sheath were taken. There were no cartridges for ammunition and they took lead to mould bullets. Each had a rifle, a pair of



Map from *Trails Divided*

1849 Gold Rush, from DeWitt, Iowa to Sacramento, California

pistols, sheath knives, a wagon cover, tent and clothing. A water bucket and water keg hung on the end of the wagon.⁸

Due to an extremely wet spring it took one week to get from DeWitt to Iowa City, where they met others from surrounding communities. There were few settlements between Iowa City and Des Moines and the trail was marked with elk bones, which had C. B. (Council Bluffs) painted on them. They crossed the Des Moines River below Raccoon Fork by ferry.⁹

The first dissension occurred after arriving at the Missouri River on the east side of the river during the election of officers. Mr. Wheeler, who had been responsible for moving the county seat from Comman-

chee to DeWitt, was elected leader. This did not sit well with the Brophy and Haun families. They left the "Sacramento Mining Company" and formed the "San Francisco Mining Company."¹⁰

The Sacramento Company crossed the Missouri, near Traders Point.¹¹ They crossed on a flat boat, which required removing the wheels before loading the wagons. The cattle, guided by ropes tied around their necks, swam across. The Missouri was running high causing the boat, which was rowed across, to drift down river. When it finally reached the western shore, it was unloaded and then towed back to the Iowa side.¹² It took one week for the entire group to cross the river known as the "Mighty Mo." During this



from *Trails Divided*

John Jacob Ressler time they purchased Trail Guides, which Aylett remembered as a good investment.

By the time everyone crossed it was late in the evening and the regulations were signed by candlelight. The Missouri side (today Nebraska) had no settlements, only a military station, a government black smith shop and a school for Indian children.

On June 2, 1849, they divided the company into four groups. Colonel Wheeler was wagon master, D. E. H. T. Moss, friend of the Wheelers from Galena, Illinois, was captain and Mr. Caitlin was adjutant, whose duties were to scout ahead, select campsites, appoint guards and keep order. In all there were 29 wag-

ons, 72 men, four ladies and three children in the "Sacramento Mining Company."

Captain Moss had two wagons. He and his wife Mildred, their two daughters and a son were in one wagon. Miss Winlac, a music teacher who had brought a guitar and provided entertainment at day's end, and a driver were the other wagon.¹³ During these years it was inappropriate for single women to travel unaccompanied. Consequently they hired on as domestic help or teachers and others—if they had money—married less fortunate but willing gentlemen, as was the case of the third lady in the group. Abraham Owen described Mrs. Sam Carpenter (her maiden name was unknown) as *"a jolly little red headed woman of 25 and very courageous (Sam was 50). She said she wanted to go to California but could not make the trip without a gentleman escort. She had the money but not the man. With the generosity of her class she fitted out Mr. Carpenter, they were married and enjoying their honeymoon in this novel manner when they fell in with the Owen train."*¹⁴ The fourth lady was Mrs. Frink whose husband was a teamster.¹⁵ Although others dropped in and out these members as well as Loring Wheeler, John J. Ressler, Joseph and Eli Henry, D. C. Oakes, and Aylett Cotton were together the entire trip.

The next leg of the journey

began around June 7, 1849.¹⁶ The company traveled a little over 15 miles a day. The goal was to cover 100 miles a week, stopping on Sunday to wash and dry clothes, boil beans and rest. The Elk Horn was crossed on a raft, which meant once again dismantling the wagons. Aylett Cotton described the next crossing, which was the Loup Fork of the Platte River, as being extremely difficult: "*The Loup Fork of the Platt River has considerable width and a quick sand bottom. Some of our company who were good swimmers examined and sounded the stream and selected what they thought the most feasible crossing.*"¹⁷ Throughout his memoir, Aylett credits D. C. and Joseph Henry as good swimmers and it is assumed that they performed this task. After sounding the river the other men removed everything except their shirts, and walked on the low side of the stream next to the oxen and guided them across.

Aylett described a unique way of getting the group started in the morning: "*We aimed to be on the move, as early as 6 A. M. Mr. Parker from Clinton County had a snare drum. Whenever the Colonel wished the cattle brought in and yoked for a start, he would say to Mr. Parker 'rattle that drum.'*"¹⁸ Some of the women and children were slow starting up, which caused discord and was the reason for another division.¹⁹

When Mr. Caitlin refused



Author's collection

Loring Wheeler

to continue as adjutant (his reasons were not given) Aylett Cotton replaced him. Up to this time he and D. C. had taken turns driving the oxen and walking. Aylett now acquired the use of a horse, which the Sacramento Company provided for its adjutant.

On the 4th of July they were on the north side of the North Fork of the Platte River four or five hundred miles from the Missouri River.²⁰ There was plenty of grass for the cattle but no firewood. When this happened buffalo chips and sagebrush provided fuel for the campfires. An abundance of buffalo provided fresh meat.

On July 5, 1849, they crossed to the south side of the



Denver Public Library, Western History Coll.

D.C. Oakes

Platte near Fort Laramie. Unfortunately they were unaware that cholera in epidemic proportions had broken out on the south side whereas there was virtually no cholera on the north side. Mildred Moss became ill that afternoon and died the next day. She was buried on a little knoll near the road leading from Ft. Laramie.²¹

D. S. Wright wrote his parents: "*Mrs. Mildred Moss of Galena died on July 7, 12 miles from Ft. Laramie, of cholera. She had been sick for 24 hours, she left 3 children, the oldest 8 years of age...on the 9th Mr. Blanchard of Maquoketa, was taken ill with cholera a physician from Boston came along and stayed with us during the night—this timely aid was probably the means of saving his life.*"²²

The Sacramento Company, for the most part, followed the Mormon Trail to Salt Lake. One hundred miles from Ft. Laramie they once again crossed the river. This was described as an extremely difficult crossing. However a ferry operated by the Mormons was available—if you could afford the toll of \$3.00 per wagon. Many Argonauts were waiting to cross, which also meant a delay. For whatever reason—the Sacramento Company opted to cross on its own—and Aylett Cotton documented the fortitude of D. C. Oakes: "*The current there was very strong and the stream too deep to ford... My partner, D. C. Oakes, was a skillful swimmer, he took a cord in his teeth, swam across the stream and pulled over a rope which was made fast on the other side and a rope ferry was rigged with this wagon box by attaching thereto ropes which were louped (sic) to the rope that Oakes had taken across the stream, and our wagons were taken over by taking off the wheels...*" The supplies were taken over in a watertight wagon box, which was owned by another member of the group, and the cattle forded the stream.²³

The Sacramento Mining Company arrived at Independence Rock on July 20 and crossed the Divide or South Pass on July 27, 1849. Three years earlier the Donners, who were caught in a snowstorm in the High Sierras, had crossed the Divide on July 20, 1846.²⁴ Their

experiences had been well publicized and as the Sacramento Mining Company was already seven days behind—there must have been some concerns.

They were at Fort Bridger on August 3 and arrived at Salt Lake on August 10, 1849. Even though they may have feared an early snow-storm they spent three days, resting and making repairs. At Salt Lake a young (un-named) German who had a yoke of oxen joined in with D.C. and Aylett.

They knew none of the routes would be easy. Ressler stated: *“at Salt Lake City fear of a possible repetition of the Donner party’s fate on the Truckee River Trail led a part of the group to accept Captain Hunt’s guidance over the southern route.”*²⁵

The others continued along the Humboldt where they encountered Indians. When conditions were right the Argonauts separated into smaller groups. Ressler’s cook, Joe Clement, who was alone and traveling ahead, found himself surrounded by Indians. When a brave helped himself to some provisions—Joe shot and killed him. Fortunately help arrived right away convincing the Indians to retreat. Colonel Wheeler, Alvin C. Harrison, his brother-in-law and the Henry boys sent word back to the others that Indians had been sighted. Aylett and Sam Carpenter had been away from the train hunting. As they crested a

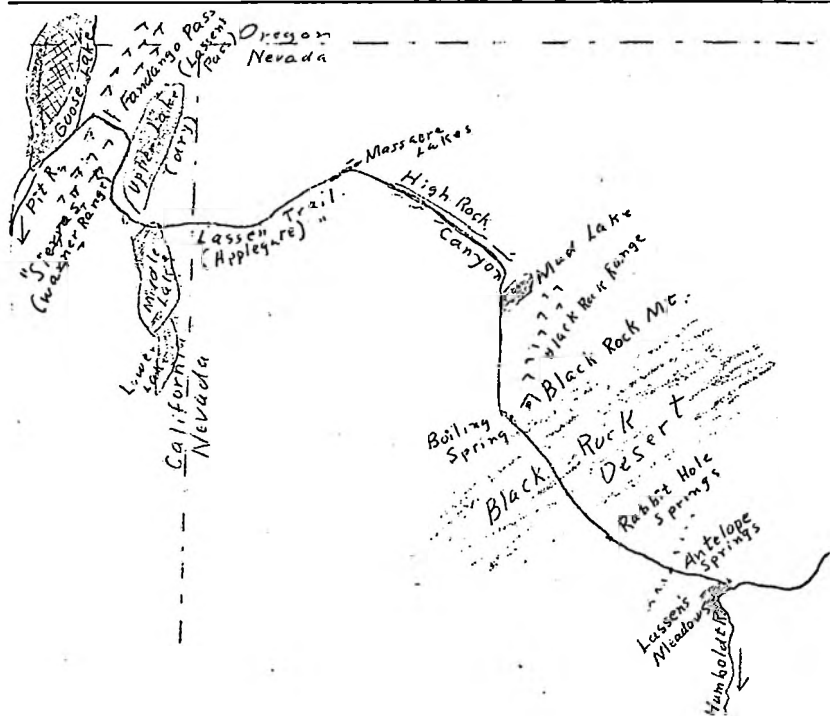


Library of Congress

Aylett Raines Cotton

hill they became aware that Captain Moss, Mrs. Carpenter and Oakes, who were traveling together, had stopped and were waiting for Aylett and Sam.²⁶ After catching up with the others they stayed alert, but the Indians never returned.

They had intended to take either the Truckee or the Carson route. However before they came to the sink of the Humboldt written guides were distributed telling them of a shorter route, called the Lassen Trail. Irene D. Paden, who has studied trails, stated: *“The Donner tragedy doubtless was in a great measure responsible for sending hordes of people over this new route whose one doubtful advantage was the low crossing of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.”*²⁷ Most of the



Map from *Trails Divided*

Lassen Trail to Goose Lake over the Black Rock Desert

Sacramento Mining Company voted to take the Lassen Trail.

There were Argonauts ahead and also behind. Another interesting lady, traveling back of them with the Brophys and Hauns, was Elmira Burton, the daughter of Spooner Burton from DeWitt, Iowa. One week before they left Iowa, on April 17, 1849, Elmira had married Arthur Barbour.²⁸

Three years earlier in 1846 Aylett Cotton represented Elmira's father in a lawsuit brought about by

D. C. Oakes' brother-in-law, Captain Jonathan Shinn. It was Aylett's very first case. Captain Shinn had purchased two oxen from Spooner without the consent of his wife.²⁹ When Captain Shinn went to pick up the oxen Mrs. Burton, who had raised them, refused to let them go.³⁰ Every-time Shinn called the oxen Mrs. Burton called them back and as they were familiar with her voice—they returned to her. This went on for some time—without success—and must have been the talk of the

town. Captain Shinn sued Spooner Burton and the young and inexperienced Aylett Cotton won his first case.³¹

At the "Y" in the road, where the Lassen Trail began, signs nailed to a large red barrel stated, "*Mail—Sink—Cut Off.*" It was a "*Self Help Post Office*" where Argonauts left messages for others traveling behind them.³² Elmira Burton, now Mrs. Barbour (sic) and the San Francisco Mining Company were traveling some distance behind the Sacramento Company. It is later learned that they also took the short cut.³³ This suggests that the Sacramento Company might have left a message at this barrel letting them know that it had taken the Lassen Trail.³⁴ Aylett Cotton: "*Oakes and I, the Henry boys, Mr. Moss and many others were induced to take this route.*"³⁵

The Lassen Trail took off to the west and many of the Argonauts thought they would strike the Feather River immediately after crossing the mountains.³⁶ They knew that they would be traveling across the desert and before they left Lassen's Meadow they cut long grass and piled it in their wagons to provide food for their cattle.

They started on the Lassen Trail on August 28, 1849. However it did not go west, as it had appeared; instead they traveled far north. The first water they came to were Antelope and Rabbit Hole Springs. These were wells that had

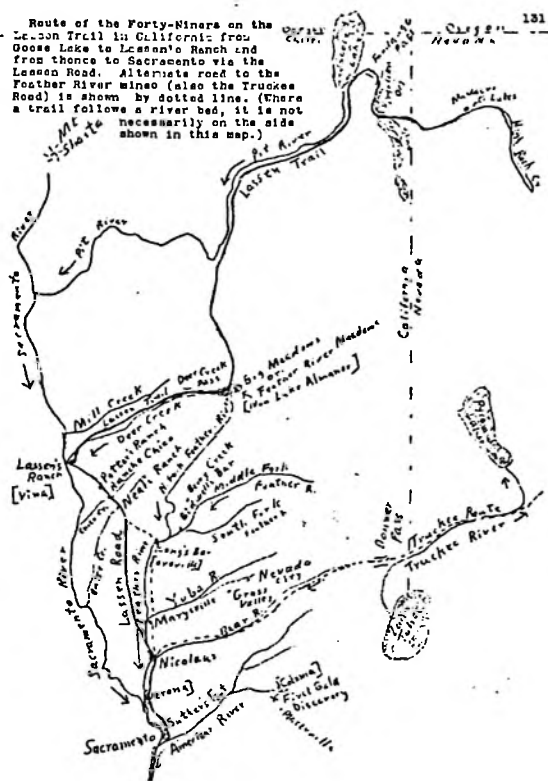
been excavated by earlier Argonauts. Unfortunately dead cattle contaminated the water. Apparently these water holes were not used by the Sacramento Company.³⁷

Aylett reported: "*traveled all of one excessively hot day over an entirely barren stretch of country without any feed or water.*"³⁸ Three of D. C. and Aylett's oxen died. They unyoked them and left them on the trail. They were left with three oxen and the yoke of oxen belonging to the young German. They shaved off part of the wagon tongue to lighten the load and cut down their wagon to a cart. Everything they could spare was thrown out.

When they found water it was a hot spring. They made coffee with the hot water and cooled water for their animals by digging trenches.³⁹ Many groups traveled ahead of them and the route was strewn with dead animals and discarded items. Chauncey Swan, who did not go with this group, wrote his wife that they heard many had perished.⁴⁰ The Lassen Trail became known as the Death Route—they were crossing the Black Rock Desert.⁴¹

They crossed the desert on September 15 when they arrived at Mud Lake, which was more of a swamp than a lake; they got some relief for the remaining cattle. They traveled over some beautiful country and then came to Massacre Rock. Ten years later on April 26, 1859, Peter Lassen, the man for whom the

Route of the Forty-Niners on the Lassen Trail in California: from Goose Lake to Lassen's Ranch and from thence to Sacramento via the Lassen Road. Alternate road to the Feather River mines (also the Troncos Road) is shown by dotted line. (Where a trail follows a river bed, it is not necessarily on the side shown in this map.)



Goose Lake to Sacramento

trail was named, was killed while prospecting.⁴² From this point the land was strewn with rock, which made different hardships.

They crossed into California near Goose Lake far north of where they had planned—the date was September 28, 1849. Goose Lake is a large shallow alkaline lake. When full its depth is only 24 feet. In 1851 and 1852 it dried up completely.

Aylett Cotton told of D. C.'s leadership after they crossed into California: "my partner D. C.

Oakes, and others, obtained a horse on which to pack things, and started ahead to look up a location in the Mines.⁴³

Tales of the hardships on the Lassen Trail had reached California and they met Major Daniel Henry Rucker, who had been sent with supplies to relieve those in need.⁴⁴ Sometime later Loring Wheeler wrote home: "All Clinton County folks are safe. Cotton and Oakes lost all there (sic) cattle but three. And Haun and Bourne (Brophy?) lost all but one yoke. Barber, who married Almira (sic) Burton, lost everything and I have been informed that Almira (sic) had to walk through mud and snow about fifty miles."⁴⁵

They were 350 miles north of Feather River, which was their destination. This part of the journey was another challenge, as they had to chop their way through a thick growth of trees and underbrush for many miles. The first settlement that they came to was Lassen's Ranch. Not having any kind feelings towards Mr. Lassen they didn't bother to stop.⁴⁶ They traveled on to the east bank of the Sacramento River a few miles west of Longs Bar, rested a few days and then met Oakes and

the others on October 29, 1849, one month after arriving in California and six months after leaving DeWitt, Iowa.⁴⁷ D. C. recommended that they cross at Longs Bar and look for gold in that vicinity.

Among the group were the two teams of Captain Moss, Miss Winlac, Joseph and Eli Henry, John Jacob Ressler, Loring Wheeler, Mr. Murray from Cedar County, Iowa, Oakes and Cotton. Mr. Murray had been ill for several days and John Jacob Ressler had been driving his wagon. Someone shot a deer and a large kettle of soup was prepared. Mr. Murray who ate heartily stated "*By God, I'll have one more full belly before I die.*" Unfortunately he died eight or nine days later.⁴⁸ Mr. Moss and Miss Winlac went onto San Francisco and nothing more was learned about them.

Coarse gold was easily found lying in the streambed. Hundreds of Argonauts were also mining the stream at Longs Bar. The Henry boys joined Aylett and D. C. and they all moved to the Middle Bar of Feather River where they found most of their gold. They built a cabin with a stone fireplace, used flat fir branches for a bed, stuffed flour sacks with grass and were more comfortable than they had been in some time.

After a few weeks they ran out of supplies. D. C. and Joseph Henry, who were described as expert ax men, went up the river selected

a large pine tree and proceeded to make a canoe. When it was ready the four of them got in and rode some "*pretty good little rapids.*" When they encountered really rough water Aylett and Eli Henry, who were not good swimmers, got out intending to walk around the rapids. D. C. and Joseph Henry attempted to navigate the rapids but the canoe capsized. Had they not been skillful swimmers they would have drowned. The canoe broke in two and they lost all the tools, guns, blankets, Aylett's Tennessee cloak, and D. C.'s and Joseph's shoes and hats, which they had taken off, anticipating that they might have to swim. The latter were replaced from supplies of other miners. They returned to camp and built another canoe. This time they carried it overland below the rapids and proceeded to Sacramento, arriving about December 1, 1849.

They found Henry F. Hauns living in a tent in Sacramento.⁴⁹ In 1849 and 1850 it rained unmercifully and flooded Sacramento—residents moved to higher ground and as boats were in short supply they rented their canoe (planning to make some extra money) to a man who was desperate. They never saw him or the canoe again.

During the rainy season they could not mine gold, so they spent a good deal of time in Sacramento. When it came time to return they purchased another boat, which was



Denver Public Library, West. Hist. Coll.

D.C. Oakes

sailboat, for \$125 in gold dust, and rowed it up stream. They spent this time looking for the source of the gold because nothing of any importance could be done until June, when the riverbed was dry.

When they once again ran out of supplies D. C. and Joseph Henry made another trip down river to Sacramento. A snowstorm delayed their return and Aylett and Eli, who remained at the cabin, nearly starved to death.⁵⁰ When they decided to dam the stream they once again traveled to Sacramento. This time they hired Indians to get the supplies back to the mine. The trip was filled with excitement but time doesn't allow me to go into every

adventure.

In September 1850, they called it quits and started the homeward journey. They visited Loring Wheeler at the Rough & Ready and Nevada Mines and found the Brophys and Hauns in Marysville. While they were there Eli Henry became ill. They took turns sitting with Eli throughout the long nights. Eli died one evening during Aylett Cotton's watch. Nineteen-year-old Eli Henry was buried at Marysville; his brother Joseph never returned to Iowa.⁵¹

D. C. and Aylett could now afford to return via the sea thereby avoiding the hardships experienced in 1849. They took a ship from Sacramento to San Francisco where they met others from Iowa, who were also returning.⁵² They obtained passage on the barque Bohemia, lived on board two weeks and sailed the day after Christmas 1850. Family accounts state that D. C. returned via Cape Horn.⁵³ These documents clearly state that he returned via Panama. The only member of the group who returned via Cape Horn was Chauncey Swan, who died and was buried at sea.⁵⁴ During the voyage the ship was becalmed. It took 64 days to reach Panama. They ran out of food and water and nearly perished. The homeward voyage was every bit as difficult as the overland journey.⁵⁵

The four of them had pooled their findings, shared expenses and

before leaving the cabin divided the gold. How much they had actually mined is not known. They spent a good deal during visits to Sacramento for supplies and passage on the barque Bohemia. They arrived in Davenport, Iowa in April 1851, almost two years to the day they had left with \$2,000 - \$3,000 each.⁵⁶

D. C.'s young lady, Olive Martin, first cousin to Buffalo Bill Cody, was waiting for him at Walnut, Iowa. They married in 1853 and moved across the state to Glenwood. He and Captain Shinn operated a ferry at Traders Point for some time and later he was a substantial investor in a new town called Pacific City.

The financial crash of 1857 and rumors of gold in Colorado caused D. C. to once again head west. D. C.'s brother-in-law Captain Jonathan Shinn explained the situation: *"Everything was dull from '57 until the excitement of Pike's Peak in '58. We fellows that were catching at straws and hanging on just breathing, got together and sent two men—Major Oakes⁵⁷, who had been to California in 1849 and had some experience and a man called Dr. Street—to examine the country."*⁵⁸

Abram Walrod had also been to California and returned with D. C. via the sea voyage. Newspapers documented that H. J. Graham, George Pancoast, Charles Miles and G. W. Bassett were also with him.⁵⁹

The first part of the trip was the very same taken ten years



Courtesy Mabel Korbitz

Olive Martin Oakes

earlier. He crossed the Missouri, the Elk Horn and the Loup Fork of the Platte River and traveled across the barren plains. After spending a month investigating the territory he returned with gold and was asked to write a guide.

D. C. returned with Luke Tierney's journal of his experiences with the Georgia Company.⁶⁰ D. C. wrote *"A Guide of the Route,"* which was appended to the journal and Stephen W. Smith published both documents. D. C.'s guide listed the supplies needed for the outward journey, at the mines and the return trip. Nothing could be purchased along the way or in the territory. The grand total amounted to \$517.25.



Courtesy Dorothy Best

George Eayre

Within a short time entrepreneurs, such as D. C. Oakes, solved these problems. He gave the distances between camps, location of water and wood. When the later wasn't available he advised using buffalo chips for fuel.

There was controversy as to which side of the Platte was the best. D. C. was adamant about traveling on the south side—whereas Byers and others recommended the north side.⁶¹

Sound advice was also given on encountering Indians. On the next trip, which was his third across the plains of Nebraska and Colorado, D. C. took a sawmill. His partners in the mill were Loudon Mullin and Dr. William Street. Loudon Mullin remained in Iowa and Dr.

Street, George Eayre, Aaron Haines and Robert Berry went with him.

The mill was cumbersome and traveling was slow. It was on this trip that they encountered the disgruntled Argonauts—who had buried him in effigy. D. C. could not understand why they were so angry. Dr. Street was totally freaked and wanted to return to Iowa. D. C. decided to investigate and as Dr. Street refused to accompany him—he left him to guard the mill.

George Eayre accompanied D. C. back to the mine. Upon arriving at Boulder they found everyone happy with the results of their labor. Three weeks later they returned only to find a note—stating that Dr. Street had turned the mill around—and was heading back to Iowa. D. C. was livid!

He left George with their horses, as they were exhausted, and took off on foot. After walking all night he caught up with the mill and his partner the next morning. Loudon Mullin had given D. C. his proxy, which gave him the power to turn the mill around. They returned to Boulder, which was the site of the first mill. The mill was later set up at Riley's Gulch in Douglas County.

On Sunday, May 22, 1858, a bit west of O'Fallons Bluff, Nebraska Territory, E. H. N. Patterson recorded the following in his diary: *"We have just met Messrs. Oakes & Street with their sawmill. They had turned back, but one—of their*

party—Mr. Oakes has just returned from the mountains, his teams having been camped here three weeks, while he went out to prospect, and he has turned the teams again. This is the gentleman who has been reported killed so often by the stam-peders. Mr. Oakes assures us that in the Jefferson diggings ten dollars a day can be made to the man. He is going to the neighborhood of Boulder City with his mill. He tells me to state what I do on his responsibility; he is a gentleman well known, from Pacific City, Iowa. Hurrah for the mines!"⁶²

D. C. reassured the Argonauts that there was gold and that the adventure was worth having—but he didn't write about it. Horace Greeley, of the *New York Tribune*, as well as numerous letters home by other Argonauts created the stampede.

Last year during the 150-Year Celebration of Colorado's Gold Rush the Pioneer Museum in Colorado Springs did an outstanding job portraying D. C.'s burial in effigy.

On Wednesday May 25, 1849, Patterson once again wrote: *"...As I write tonight the wind is blowing cold from the north, and a settled rain is steadily falling. Not far from camp is a mound purporting to be the grave of Mr. Oakes, and near the same place, alive and disposed to be kicking the perpetrator of the fraud, is Mr. Oakes camped, on his way back to the mines."*⁶³



Courtesy Billie McReynolds

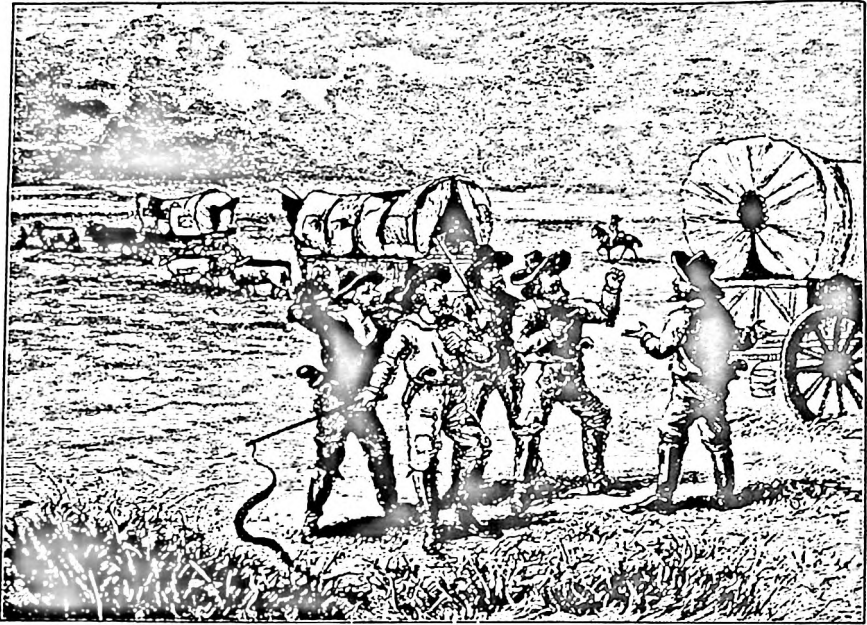
Captain Jonathan Shinn

D. C. was in Colorado when his first-born daughter, four-year-old Allie Oakes, died on June 9, 1859. Another daughter, Elizabeth was born six days later. D. C. didn't learn of Allie's death until August. He returned to Iowa, packed up his family and then made his fifth and final trip to Colorado arriving on November 19, 1859.⁶⁴

D. C. Oakes died on March 9, 1887. Four months later on July 23, 1887, Thomas Groves found "Tom's Baby" the biggest nugget (13 lbs.) ever found in Colorado. It was vindication of the best kind! Colorado's gold was no hoax!

Daniel Chessman Oakes made the following contributions to Colorado:

- 1) He brought one of the first saw-



PERILS OF D. C. OAKES.

Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

Marvels of Enterprise

mills to Colorado, operated a lumberyard and employed many men.

2) Vigilante: Early member of the vigilantes, honorable men who kept the peace before law and order was established: *"The People's Court was really a vigilante committee of one hundred, most of the respectable citizens being connected with it...nobody need to be ashamed of having been one of them. They cleaned up the town."*⁶⁵

3) Postmaster: He was the first Postmaster of Douglas County, 1862-1864

4) Denver's City Council: People's Government of the City of Denver

1860 & 1861.

5) Legislator: 1861-1862.

6) Pioneer Society: The first president of the first Pioneer Society, the "59er's."

7) Indian Agent: He was in charge of the Northern Utes and kept peace for five years.

8) White River Agency: He supervised the building of the Agency where Nathan Meeker was murdered in 1879.

9) Surveyor: He surveyed most of Colorado's borders, the Indian Reservation and performed other important surveys.

D. C. Oakes' obituary described



Author's Collection

Pioneer Museum, Colo. Spgs. 150-Year Celebration of Colorado's Gold Rush

him: *"large hearted, liberal handed and generous to a fault."* Jim Baker considered D. C. Oakes his best friend. He had no desire to return to Denver after D.C.'s death.⁶⁶ Henry Pitzer who had worked for D. C. stated: *"It didn't help any to tell them that 'D. C.' was from my own home town, and that I knew he wasn't capable of telling a lie."*⁶⁷

George Eayre expressed his admiration of D. C. Oakes to Hazel Bennet Kettle, D. C.'s granddaughter, *"D. C. Oakes was good because he could be no other way. He recognized only good. It was no credit to him because I believe he was never really tempted to be other than*

*good."*⁶⁸

Articles and books are written about the lives of supposedly great men but the lives of hardworking, honest and good men are seldom told.

"The good are always great, the great not always good." *Pacific City Enterprise* July 9, 1857.

Daniel Chessman Oakes' life was filled with adventure. I too believe that he was a good man who never would have perpetrated a hoax of this magnitude.

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Korbitz, Mabel, Oakes photos.
McReynolds, Billy Shinn, Captain
Jonathan photo.

Endnotes

1. *Denver Post* "Perspective" October 25, 2009, "Are we really that gullible? A history of Colorado hoaxes." By Dan Haley and Tom Noel.
2. Denver Public Library Western History.
3. Ibid. Colorado State Historical Society Hart Library. "1859 Pikes Peak Guide."
4. Denver Public Library Western History -M579. D. C.'s speech to the 59'ers on December 23, 1883.
5. Holcomb Kenneth Morton "Pioneers" published at Wichita Kansas in 1934. Foreword p2.
6. Ressler "Trails Divided" p201. John Jacob Ressler's daughter Cora Ressler, who was Theo Ressler's aunt, first recorded Ressler's remembrances.
7. Most likely hard tack.
8. Ressler "Trails Divided" p223 from Aylett R. Cotton's memoirs.
9. Ibid Council Bluffs was also known as Kanessville.
10. Ibid p224.
11. Years later D. C. and his brother-in-law Captain Jonathan Shinn operate a ferry at Traders Point.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid p225-226 there were three spellings for Winlac, Winlack and Winlae.
14. Ressler "Trails Divided" Owen



Denver Public Library, West. Hist. Coll.

D.C. Oakes

- Reminiscence's p211. Mr. Carpenter may have had a son, as Cotton mentions a Lester Carpenter p211 fnt 5 and Appendix p239. Reported in *North English Record*, North English, Iowa, Thursday, December 3, 1903. Sam Carpenter was twice the age of Mrs. Carpenter.
15. Ibid p211 quoting Abraham Owen.
16. Ibid p225 from Aylett Raines Cotton.
17. Ibid p226.
18. Ibid.
19. Thus the title "Trails Divided."
20. Ressler "Trails Divided" "Cotton p227.
21. Ibid J. G. Bruff passed the grave

- on July 12 and noted the date as July 7, 1849.
22. Ressler "*Trails Divided*" Appendix p 249. D. S. Wright's letter to parents from Sacramento dated November 22, 1849.
23. Ibid Cotton p227.
24. After being caught in a snowstorm, the Donner party resorted to cannibalism in order to survive. Suggested reading "*Ordeal by Hunger*" by George R. Stewart. See Map#3 Goose Lake to Sacramento. Check the Truckee Route.
25. Ressler "*Trails Divided.*" p 98. Refer to map #1. Note that Hunts Trail goes far south of their destination.
26. Ibid p96.
27. Ibid Mrs. Irene D. Paden's explanation p99.
28. "*Clinton County, Iowa Marriages.*" Also spelled Barber.
29. State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa. Cotton "*Across The Plains To California in 1849*" p15-16.
30. "*History of Clinton County Iowa.*" Mrs. Burton's name was Eliza.
31. State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa. Cotton Aylett Rains autobiography "*Across The Plains To California In 1849*" p15.
32. Ressler "*Trails Divided*" p102.
33. Ibid p127. ftnt 7 *Miners Express* (Dubuque, Iowa) February 13, 1850.
34. This is my assumption and not documented.
35. "*Trails Divided*" Cotton p230.
36. Refer to map #1. Note that the Lassen Trail appears to be directly east of the Feather River, which was their destination.
37. Ressler's "*Trails Divided*" p104 ftnt 5. Kimball Webster was a member of another group, this was reported in Webster's "*Gold Seekers of 49*" p84. Cotton didn't even mention this water hole.
38. Ressler's "*Trails Divided*" Cotton p230.
39. Ibid. p 230-231.
40. Ressler "*Trails Divided*" p 85.
41. Even today travelers are cautioned about the dangers in the Black Rock Desert. I suggest that you Google Black Rock Desert for photos and more information.
42. Internet search; Lassen Trail.
43. Ressler "*Trails Divided*" Cotton p232. Note the horse carried their supplies. They virtually walked all the way to California.
44. Cotton p232.
45. Ressler "*Trails Divided*" p127. Elmira's name was spelled throughout Almira. Barbour was later spelled Barber. They settled at Marysville where Arthur Barbour had "an entertainment house" and also worked on the *Marysville Herald*. Elmira died on December 28, 1851 in Marysville, after giving birth to a son, James B. Barber. Source: *The Bay of San Francisco*, Vol.2, pages 487-488 Lewis Publishing Co. 1892. San Francisco County Biographies transcribed by Donna L. Becker.

46. Ibid. Elmira and Arthur camped two weeks at Lassen's ranch, during which time their remaining cattle ate mountain laurel and were all poisoned.
47. Near Oroville, California. They did not explain how they knew where to meet.
48. Ressler "*Trails Divided*" p208 and p233 ftnt 38.
49. Ressler "*Trails Divided*" p235.
50. Ibid p237.
51. Ibid Cotton p240.
52. Abram Walrod, Dr. Downs from Iowa City, Iowa, and also an unnamed man from Iowa City who died at sea.
53. Denver Public Library Western History M-579 "My Grandfather, D. C. Oakes" by Hazel Olive Bennet Kettle p5.
54. Ressler "*Trails Divided*" Chapter 1 p176. *Iowa City Press*, Iowa City, Iowa February 23,1940 article by Sarah Paine Hoffman.
55. This part of the journey is reported in '*D.C. Oakes, Family, Friends & Foe.*'
56. Ressler "*Trails Divided*" Cotton p245.
57. After D. C. Oakes became Indian agent he was better known as Major Oakes.
58. Perkins Lavonne J. "*D. C. Oakes, Family, Friends & Foe*" p51.
59. *Council Bluffs Bugle* January 12,1859, *Pacific City Herald* November 17, 1859.
60. Luke Tierney was with the Georgia Company.
61. *Pacific City Herald* December 23, 1858, *Nebraska City News* February 26,1859. Articles agreeing that the south side was the safest and best route.
62. Hafen Leroy R. Editor "*To the Pike's Peak Gold Fields, 1859.*" *The Platte Route Diary* of E. H. N. Patterson p 144.
63. Ibid p150.
64. McGrath Maria Davies 1865-1891 "*Woman Who Arrived Prior to 1861*" at Denver Public Library Western History. D. C. first arrived in October 1858.
65. Pitzer Robert Claiborne "*Three Frontiers*" memories and a portrait of Henry Littleton Pitzer as recorded by his son Robert Claiborne Pitzer Muscatine, Iowa, The Prairie Press 1938.
66. Hall Frank, History of Colorado Vol. I p153.
67. Pitzer "*Three Frontiers*" p84 and Perkins "*D. C. Oakes, Family, Friends & Foe*" p92.
68. Denver Public Library Western History -m579 My Grandfather by Hazel Bennet Kettle p6.

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.

Front Range Westerner Corrals kick off New Year

January 2011 presentations were:

John Monnett, founding member of the Boulder Corral and an Active Posse member of the Denver Westerners, told the Boulder Corral about "Buffalo Wallows."

Anna Lee Ames Frohlich, Corresponding member of the Denver Posse, presented "The Lonely Pyramid on Sherman Hill" to the Colorado Corral. Anna Lee has been very busy, not only having presented her program to all the Westerner groups, but also to many other historical organizations.

The Pikes Peak Posse of Westerners heard Eric Swab tell about "The Skelton Ranch," the earliest of dude ranches in El Paso County, and located just west of Woodland Park.

Denver Westerners mourn loss of Active Posse Member Lebrun Hutchison

Lebrun joined the Westerners as a Corresponding member in 1993, and he was elected as an Active Posse member in 2001. A native of Mississippi, Lebrun's career with the National Park Service included the position of Chief Engineer of the Western Region. A longtime resident of Littleton, he was very active in many community organizations, including the Littleton Historical Society. As an interesting historical sidelight, he helped coordinate the transfer of the quill used by Thomas Jefferson in the signing of the Declaration of Independence from Houston Waring in Littleton to Monticello for the 250th anniversary of Jefferson's birthday. The Westerners Posse extends its condolences to Lebrun's family.





Westerners Bookshelf



Rocky Mountain Heartland: Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming in the Twentieth Century by Duane A. Smith. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2008. 304 pp. Photos, maps, bibliography, index. Cloth \$50.00, Paper \$22.95.

This is a West of the most modern of American places, while at the same time a West of hallowed traditions and captivating heritage. With no natural boundaries, the three states were creatures of the whims of nineteenth-century promoters and politicians. These states constitute the Rocky Mountain heartland, a place that has intrigued and fascinated Americans and others for well over two centuries.

Beginning from this broad perspective, well-known Colorado and Western historian Duane Smith takes his readers on a fascinating and wide-ranging journey through these three states that form the heart of the Rocky Mountain region. In nine chapters, covering roughly ten-to-fifteen-year segments each, Smith explores in detail the changes and the transformations of these states and their continuing development throughout the twentieth century. In a final chapter, he looks at the early years of the twenty-first century, describing the major issues – illegal immigration, water, economic challenges, and tourism – and projects their impact on the continued development of the region.

In telling this story, Smith does not provide an exhaustive history of the three states. Rather, he examines in depth the major factors, issues, and controversies that influenced their evolution and development during the past century. Smith traces how these factors – a vast array of natural resources, agriculture, mining, ranching, water rights, immigration, tourism, transportation, and technology – had similar, but also very different impacts on the three states. He also brings into focus the impact of two world wars and other major national events on the region. He also shows how these issues have persisted throughout the twentieth century and how their influence continues to impact the region today and into the future.

For those new to the history of the modern West, this book provides an excellent introduction. For the seasoned readers of Western history, Smith provides a refreshing review and perhaps some new perspectives.

--Richard Akeroyd, P.M.

Ways to The Sky: A Historical Guide to North American Mountaineering, by Andy Selters. The American Alpine Club Press, 2004. 334 pp., illustrations, photos, maps, appendices, index. Paper, \$24.95.

I was excited to see this book on the book review table, as one of my life-long pastimes has been mountaineering. When I was younger we "roped up" to scale rock walls and spires in the nearby mountains. To this day I try to get out into the hills once a week to reach a summit, follow a ridge or just walk up a valley to see what's up there. I have been reading books concerning the various aspects of climbing for years, and recently my father-in-law, a dedicated and adventurous mountaineer in his day, gave me a portion of his extensive library on the subject. There are guidebooks, memoirs, documentaries, photo books and historical essays. *Ways to the Sky* by Andy Selters has some of all of that.

Working chronologically from the discovery of the first traces of humans on mountain summits, Selters details the reasons and methods that have propelled men upwards. Each chapter heralds a crucial era and developments in the evolution of climbing in Canada, the United States and Mexico, beginning with the early military and scientific expeditions. Later, Victorian Romanticism brought its aesthetic alpinists across the ocean leading to the development of alpine clubs with guided trips for the members. The desire for claiming first ascents pushed the boundaries further and further with technological advances always providing the next handhold. As climbing evolved as a sport and a lifestyle, the vanguard of mountaineering, eventually having achieved all that they could with old methods and gear, challenged themselves further by increasing the risk. Less gear, harder routes, faster ascents and harsher environments became the hallmarks.

Dramatic chapters like "Frontiers of Verticality," "Playing Immortal" and "Busting Through Impossible" introduce us to personalities that are well shaded through the empathetic writing and many photographs. I found myself flipping back and forth again and again to look at their faces as well as the beautiful, forbidding mountains, personalities in their own right. The successes and failures of the men and women are made all the more gripping with the reality and consequences of these life-and-death struggles. Each chapter ends with profiles of the suggested routes from that period, if you are so inclined. The last chapter does not, saying instead "Most of the ascents portrayed in this chapter fall outside the realm of anything this book can recommend." (Check the appendices for the Alpine Grading reference system.) Mountaineering books share a basic theme, *man looks at mountain, man decides to climb mountain, mountain is climbed (or not)*. What makes this book interesting is how many reasons there are to climb besides "Because it's there." Men's hearts and minds change as much as the mountains themselves remain unchanged.

--Reed Weimer, C.M.

British Investment and the American Mining Frontier 1860-1901 by Clark C. Spence. Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1995. 283 pp. Illustrations, charts, appendices, bibliography, index.

Professor Spence's book provides a very in-depth analysis of its titled topic. He covers the period from the opening of the Western mining frontier until the death of Queen Victoria. His chapters focus selectively on promotion, capitalization, management, litigation, government relations, and investment and profit for British citizens and companies investing in Western mines. Many numbers and examples are included, though it is not always clear if the examples are indicative of the norm or extraordinary circumstances. A separate chapter gives a case study of the Emma Silver Mining Company of Alta, Utah. Promoters wildly played up investment in this mine, obtaining a Yale Geology professor and the US Minister (Ambassador) to England as advocate and board member, respectively. The Company then endured nearly every possible problem – false promises, poor and dishonest management, multiple litigations and title transfers. It is an interesting story, though no doubt more scandalous than the norm: it was cited as a major cause for short-term decline in investment flow.

Professor Spence does provide a lot of statistics – many of which are interesting, but not always fully analyzed. For instance, he presents tables showing between 13 and 17% of all British investment in foreign mining ventures went to the United States during this period. Australia, Mexico and South Africa received greater shares of investment, but there is no explanation as to whether this was due to greater mineral claims, easier investment conditions or a combination.

Most interestingly, it is inadvertently a primer for emerging market investment – a field which in modern day focuses on Russia, China, Brazil and other 'backward' countries only now developing market economies. British investors of the 19th century faced many of the same problems investment fund directors in New York now face when buying shares in companies located in these new markets: lack of the rule of law, shady dealmakers and phony promoters, dishonest partners, lack of qualified onsite management, difficulty in communications and falsified financial statements. It is all too common for these fund managers to blame deceptive practices on 'inferior' national cultures more prone to corruption and deceit. Perhaps this book's most relevant, unstated finding is that our ancestors behaved as badly as, if not worse than, Russian oligarchs or Chinese millionaires do today.

For anyone interested in this very narrow subject, it is a must read. However, at 283 pages, for anyone only mildly interested, it is possibly more information and detail than one really wants: a condensed article would attract much more readership, as would more comparisons giving current relevance to the study.

--Andy Bain, C.M.

Powell: His Life and Legacy, by James M. Aton. University of Utah Press, 2010. 93 pp., 1 illustration, 7 black-and-white photographs, notes, bibliography. Paperback, \$9.95.

John Wesley Powell ranks as a hero of the American West, and this short and enjoyable book by James M. Aton buttresses that case. Powell was a man of many talents and interests: exploration, geology, anthropology, languages and land planning. His iconic trip in wooden dories through the Grand Canyon in the summer of 1869 is one of America's great adventure tales, as the small party battled formidable rapids, capsizes, hunger, mutiny and despair. Powell pressed onward into the unknown, and emerged bruised and battered but with a wealth of new geological concepts.

Aton puts forth an interesting take, calling Powell's adventures a hero quest narrative. Indeed, Powell's Grand Canyon story carries all the classic markers of this age-old format: the hero ventures into a land of wonder, encounters fabulous forces and wins a decisive victory. Then he returns with new powers and helps out his fellow man.

Certainly, Powell's status as a hero was fully legitimate. He fought for the Union in the Civil War, and lost an arm in the Battle of Shiloh. He made more than 30 trips to the Rocky Mountain and Great Basin areas in the span of a decade; in 1881 Powell was appointed the second director of the U.S. Geological Survey. He was also the director of the Smithsonian Institute's Bureau of Ethnology, a post he held until he passed away in 1902. Powell had a populist and agrarian outlook, says Aton, and he pushed to open the West to the common settler. He was a visionary on the importance of water in the arid West, and he fought mightily to educate people about the subject, debunking such myths as "rain will follow the plow."

Aton clearly admires and respects Powell, but he also fairly addresses the criticisms leveled at his subject, who was often accused of being impractical and overly idealistic. Aton's work is even-handed, and he provides rich context about the national mood and political climate of the times.

Citizens of the West today grapple constantly with the same forces that Powell recognized, such as massive federal water projects and federal management of Western land. This book is an enjoyable biography about a remarkable man, and also offers a still-relevant view on many current Western issues.

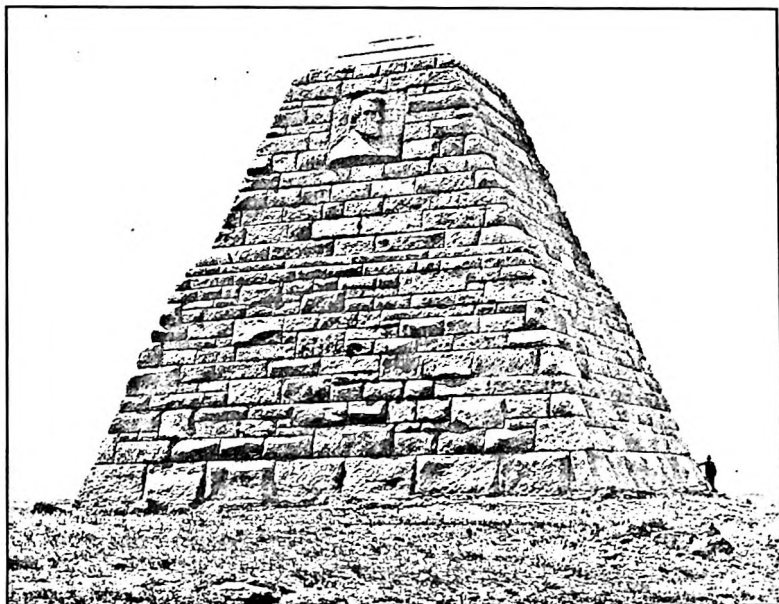
"A fixed version of Powell and the past does not service us very well," says Aton. "Somewhere down the river ahead of us, red-haired, one-armed John Wesley Powell waits, beckoning us to follow."

--Peg Williams, C.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

March - April 2011



The Lonely Pyramid on Sherman Hill
by Anna Lee Ames Frohlich, P.M.
(presented Feb. 24, 2010)



Our Author

Anna Lee's love of the West has grown since she moved here as a child in the 1950s. She has loved horseback riding, even rode a Brahma bull. One of her college minors was in botany.

Anna Lee is the great-great-great granddaughter of Oakes Ames, the chief financier of the Union Pacific Railroad. The Ames Monument which stands in lonely splendor atop Sherman Hill in Wyoming honors him and his brother Oliver Ames, an astute businessman who was President of the line, for their role in the enormous feat of completing the first transcontinental railroad. Anna Lee's goal is to clarify some of the history associated with their story.

She has had all kinds of new experiences while working on this. Money has been raised to restore the exterior of the monument, and she has learned the value of publicity in doing television and newspaper interviews. A grant has been received to start the process of having the monument made into a National Historic Landmark, and Anna Lee's research will serve as a basis for this. The legacy of the architect of the monument, Henry Hobson Richardson, is being furthered since a team of architects has documented the never-before-studied interior of the monument. Stay tuned ... this is just the start.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

VOL. LXVII NO. 2



March - April 2011

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The Lonely Pyramid on Sherman Hill **by Anna Lee Ames Frohlich, P.M.** **(presented Feb. 24, 2010)**

Driving west on I-80 from Cheyenne, WY to Laramie, if you are looking toward the western horizon, you might happen to see a conical shape rising up above the low hills. Seen from about fifteen or twenty miles west of Cheyenne, the Ames Monument is barely visible except to someone who is deliberately looking for it. In a short time it is hidden by the hills in front of it. There is no further sign until you pass Buford, WY and the Tree Rock pull-off. The pointed top peeks over a low rise then quickly thrusts upward revealing more of a tall stone pyramid before dropping out of sight again. An unobtrusive sign then announces the exit for the Ames Monument.

Driving a mile south on a gravel road, you will see the Monument, backed by a panorama of the Rocky Mountains, towering sixty feet high on a hill above what was once the town of Sherman. At an altitude of 8,247 feet, Sherman was the high point of the first transcontinental railroad. On the railroad running from Omaha, Nebraska to Sacramento, California, this seems to be the most fitting place to have erected a monument to honor two men intrinsically responsible for the completion of the largest construction project

ever undertaken to that date in this country, brothers Oakes and Oliver Ames.

The story of the Ames Monument begins with the story of the Ames family.

The Men on the Monument **A Legacy in Iron**

The first of the Ames family, brothers William and John from Bruton, England, arrived in this country in 1635 on the ship "Hercules."¹ One to three years after their arrival, or about 1638, William was living in Old Braintree, Plymouth Colony (now Massachusetts) and was listed as an "iron worker," a trade for which he had probably been trained in England. The swamps around Braintree had a high quality of bog iron ore which led to an early industry there with which William was connected. For a variety of reasons the works failed in about 1653. William was hurt financially and died the next year at forty-nine, early for members the Ames family who tended to live a long time.²

William's widow Hannah remarried and her new husband, John Niles,³ appears to have helped to support her young family in Braintree. William's son John, however, was adopted by his uncle

John Ames who had come to this country with William. John Ames had married Elizabeth, the sister of his friend Thomas Hayward, but they never had children of their own.⁴

John Ames (Sr.) is important to this story not only because he adopted John Ames ("Jr." as he was known) but because of his dealings in land. He was a beneficiary of the "Bridgewater Purchase" on March 23, 1649 (as were Miles Standish and John Alden, fifty-four in all). The land was bought from the Indian chief Massasoit, also known as "Yellow Feather." John Ames acquired over 2,000 acres in this transaction. The next year he was one of the first settlers of Bridgewater, the first interior settlement of Plymouth colony, and he farmed and lived there until his death in 1698.⁵

John Ames (Jr.), the first male of this line to be born in this country, was his uncle's heir. He inherited land including a valuable section bordering the Town River near the center of Bridgewater. He worked the land as his uncle had and was a hero in King Phillip's War.⁶ (Chief Massasoit's son Sachem Phillip led Indians, who by then could see that dealings with the white settlers had not been in their best interest, against the settlers to whom his father, Massasoit, had been loyal.)

John, Jr. was the only male in the direct line from William Ames who was not an iron worker. His son Thomas returned to his grandfather's trade in working iron, and Thomas' son Thomas continued in that occupation.⁷ It was the second Thomas' son, Capt. John Ames (1738-1805), the great-great-grandson of William Ames, the immigrant, who started making the shovels for which the family became known. His iron works were on the Town River in Bridgewater on the land that his great-grandfather John had inherited from his uncle. He made adjustments to the river's flow to create more power for his works. Today there is a park in that spot that contains the original huge stone that he used for his trip hammer, a heavy water-power-operated hammer lifted by a cam, or lever, and then dropped by gravity. By 1774 he was making shovels there that were used at Bunker Hill in the Revolutionary War.

Four generations (five if you include Uncle John, Sr.) had lived in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, but, when John's son Oliver was married in 1803, he moved with his wife to Easton, Massachusetts. Oliver set up a mill and a forge. He tried out other manufacturing businesses in other places with varied results.⁸ Ultimately this man, strong in body and in mind, returned to Easton and to shovel making. An early boost to the shovel trade came with



photo by John Neale

Face of the monument, 2005

the arrival of "turnpikes" made of broken stone over a soft foundation known as "macadam roads." Shovels were crucial to this endeavor.

Transportation was gaining importance as the country grew and the reputation of O. Ames shovels, boosted by Oliver's insistence on quality, grew as well. Another outgrowth of the need for transportation that required shovels was the canal system (1817).⁹ Then came the railroads (1830).

About that same time the migration of settlers to the west began, and later gold was found in California. Settlers needed shovels to plant crops and to build homes. Steamboats carried the shovels through the waterways of the Midwest and West. Many steamboats sank because of the

treacherous currents and sandbars. The contents of two of these which sank in the Missouri River, the Arabia in 1856 and the Bertrand in 1865, have been salvaged and are on view in museums. Two Ames shovels were found on the Arabia which was carrying general supplies¹⁰ and parts of about 80 on the Bertrand¹¹ which was headed for the goldfields of Montana.

Getting shovels to the "Forty-Niners" in California was no easy task. Most went by sailing ship around the Horn. Ames shovels had their own price in gold dust and were prized for their durability, but this did not turn out to be a money maker for the Ames family due to the difficulty of transporting the shovels.

Mobilier and Oliver's administrative skills as President of the Union Pacific, the building of the railroad moved ahead much faster than expected.

The rate of growth was accelerated by the competition between the Central Pacific out of California and the Union Pacific. At first the Central Pacific was only to build to the California border. Because it was doing well it was allowed 150 miles into Nevada. Ultimately the two railroads were told to keep building until they met. This created a race because every mile of completed road was money in the pockets of the investors.

Building the Road and Related Business

The Gangplank

The geologic feature known as the Gangplank was perhaps the most important discovery in making the route of the Union Pacific feasible, and it was found in a dramatic fashion. Gen. Grenville Dodge and his men were trying to survey a route from the plains to the hills west of what is now Cheyenne. It looked as if they were going to have to build an expensive and time-consuming series of switchbacks and tunnels.

Then, as the story goes, when Dodge and his men were near the summit of Cheyenne Pass, they were chased eastward by a band of Indians for a long distance

along a ridge. The ridge fell off on both sides, and, as they drew closer to the plains, Dodge saw a continuation of the ridge stretching out ahead and blending into the plain. Reinforcements chased off the Indians, and Dodge, who had been camping at the base of this landform, had the answer to his dilemma. To this day east and west-bound trains take this route. A roadside sign explains the geology of the Gangplank, but it has been moved too far east and is not in the right place.

While the Ames brothers were involved in building the railroad, they found their interests taking them to other parts of the West, including Colorado. As President of the Union Pacific, Oliver found himself involved in a railroading controversy in Colorado.

Colorado was very hopeful of being chosen as the route of the transcontinental railroad. Dodge had found the Gangplank but felt that he should look at Colorado's proposed route. He found that it was too difficult and declared that the Wyoming route was far superior.

Loss of the main line set off a competition between the Colorado Central and Pacific Railroad out of Golden and the Denver Pacific out of Denver as to which road would gain the coveted route to connect with the Union Pacific in Cheyenne. As President of the Union Pacific, Oliver Ames became involved.

The Colorado Central and Pacific was owned by the Loveland and Berthoud group out of Golden and was a thinly disguised subsidiary of the Union Pacific. Restrictions in its charter limited the Union Pacific's degree of involvement, but in 1867 in the *Rocky Mountain News*, Oliver Ames was accused of being partial toward the side of the Colorado Central and Pacific.

Ultimately Oliver's influence did not help Golden or the Colorado Central and Pacific. The Denver Pacific Railroad came up with the funding first and got the line to Cheyenne, which was completed in 1870. Thus Denver became the predominant city in the state.

Oliver Ames met Henry M. Teller who was also involved with the Colorado Central and Pacific. Teller was involved in mining and real estate as well as railroads. (Later he was the United States Senator from Colorado for over 25 years.) This was a time when placer gold, the easier-to-retrieve kind, was becoming scarce. The next step, hard-rock mining, was much more expensive both to retrieve and to process, so there was a need for capital. Eastern capital moved in to fill the gap.

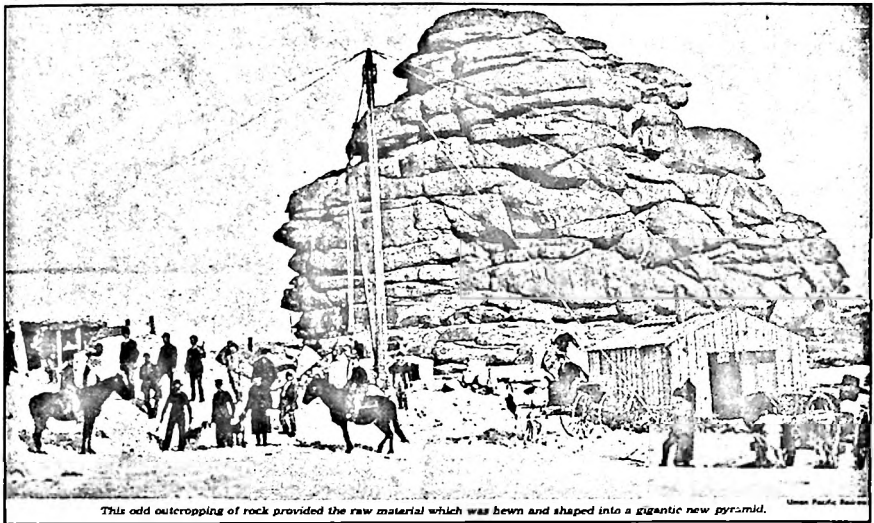
Oliver became president of the Longs Peak Mining Company that was operating out of Columbia City, Colorado where Teller was also involved. In 1866 the Longs Peak Mining Company bought up

many mining discovery claims in the Boulder Mining District near Columbia City²⁰, elevation about 9,500 feet, which was replaced with the town of Ward at a lower elevation. The Longs Peak Mining Company built the Longs Peak Mill in Ward. The most lucrative of the gold mines that they developed turned out to be on the Columbia Lode. The Longs Peak Mining Company went bankrupt at about the time of the financial panic of 1873. It was later reborn as the Ward Mining Company, and Oliver's son Frederick L. Ames later became involved with it.

Oakes Ames also had a financial stake in Colorado. He was one owner of the Boullion Consolidated Mining Company of Colorado, a Massachusetts company formed in December 1865, which had interests in Clear Creek County and in Summit County in the Snake River and Ten Mile districts. These included claims on lodes and on mill sites. They also owned water power claims.²¹

Later in Colorado

In 1868 the Colorado Central and Pacific Railroad had become the Colorado Central Railroad, a narrow gauge road. With Loveland and Berthoud and the Union Pacific as the initial driving forces, the CCCR became the first railway to find its way into the Rockies and the growing mining towns. Oliver was



This odd outcropping of rock provided the raw material which was hewn and shaped into a gigantic new pyramid.

Union Pacific Records

UPRR files, *Empire Magazine*, 1973

Reed's Rock and 103-ft. derek

president of the Union Pacific and, in the 1870s vice-president of the CRR. Teller was President of the CRR, but the one with the biggest dreams for the railroad was Jay Gould of the Union Pacific.

In 1776 Oliver Ames was still active in Colorado. In addition to mining he became interested in real estate. Just before Colorado became a state he purchased one large area of land and a number of individual lots in Boulder, Colorado.²²

An article in Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* in 1901 stated that Oakes and Oliver Ames "both had unbounded confidence in the future of Colorado and the whole Rocky Mountain Region."

Completion of the Road and a Tragic Farce

The meeting of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific took place six years sooner than required under their contracts, defying all odds in a little-known wilderness. It was later estimated that the cost would have been half as much if they had taken the allotted time, but the competition drove them on at a furious pace. At the time of the joining the Ames family was deeply in debt. Not only had they put millions into the road, but they had borrowed millions, and the UP was \$8,000,000 in debt,²³ Oakes Ames' obligation. When the golden spike at Promontory Summit, Utah on May 10, 1869 was driven, the whole country was celebrating, but Oakes

and Oliver were not there. They were in Boston sorting out their disastrous financial affairs. They heard about the joining of the tracks by telegram, and, at the last minute, they had to come up with another million dollars to prevent rioting by railroad workers who had not been paid.

In 1871 a list of their obligations was published. They promised to pay their debts. Their creditors expressed confidence that they would, and they did. Honorable men, they not only paid their debts, but they were able to save the shovel company despite coming more than uncomfortably close to losing it. It even looked for a time as if Oakes would, as Lincoln had predicted, be known as "the remembered man of his generation."

In 1872 President Grant, a Republican, was running for re-election. The Democratic press went after Grant and created a media circus by going after Oakes Ames who was closely associated with Grant. Oakes' father Oliver had been called the "King of Spades" because of his shovel factory. The press named Oakes the "King of Frauds." He was essentially tried by Congress. Though he asked for a real trial in a real court of law, he was denied that. The charge was that he had attempted to bribe Congressmen by selling them stock, given him by the Credit Mobilier, below its value in order to secure

their votes for the benefit of the line.

Oakes' defense was: that he had sold, not given, them the stock when it was at par or below suggesting it as a good investment and that there was no legislation benefiting the Union Pacific before Congress at that time, or indeed for two years thereafter, for which he would have wanted their votes. People who have actually read through the volumes of testimony do not seem to consider Oakes guilty. Nonetheless, he was censured by Congress. Essentially, the verdict was that no congressmen were guilty of accepting bribes, but Oakes Ames was guilty of bribing Congressmen. Oakes returned to Massachusetts and died three months later.

Construction of the Ames Monument

In 1875, two years after Oakes Ames' death, stockholders of the Union Pacific voted to erect a monument in his honor, place unspecified. There was a delay, possibly because of the ongoing litigation regarding the Union Pacific and the Credit Mobilier and because the country was in a depression. In 1877 Oliver Ames died. In 1879 the United States Supreme Court dismissed the case that the U.S. government had brought against the Union Pacific and the Credit Mobilier. This went a long way toward clearing Oakes' name in the public's opinion, and



Oakes Ames

in 1879, it was decided that Oliver, who had been the president of the Union Pacific from 1866 to 1871, would be honored on the monument as well. The work was ready to begin.

As mentioned earlier, the chosen place was the small railroad town of Sherman which sat at the highest point in altitude on the entire transcontinental line. The monument would sit on the crest of a small hill thirty feet higher than the railroad tracks that ran through the town.

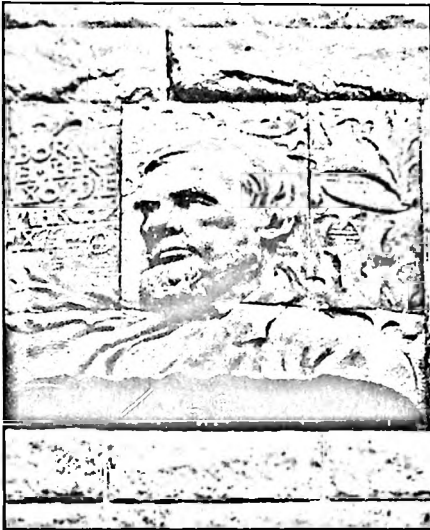
The architect chosen to design the monument was Henry Hobson Richardson, well-respected designer of Trinity Church in Boston. Richardson was working on other projects for the Ames family in North Easton, MA, including the



photo by John Neale

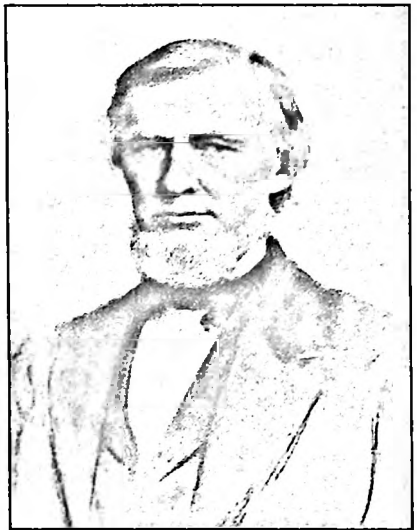
Oakes Ames medallion, 1976

beautiful Ames Free Library, which was provided for in Oliver's will and was completed in 1879, and the Oakes Ames Memorial Town Hall which was under construction in 1879 when Richardson's office received the bid for the Ames Monument. The exterior of the Ames Hall is grand, but the interior turned out to be impractical, and town meetings were never held there. Later remodeling now allows it to be used as a meeting hall, but the attic which was designed to be a Masonic Lodge Hall (a gift to the Paul Dean Lodge by Oakes' son Hon. Oliver Ames) and was used as such until sometime after 1959, is now a storage room. The Ames Monument was the furthest west of any of Richardson's works.



Oliver Ames medallion c. 1882

Norcross Brothers, general contractors, of Worcester, Massachusetts, who were working on the Ames Hall, were picked to build the Ames Monument. Orlando Whitney Norcross was known for his work on Trinity Church with Richardson. He often added the structural integrity to Richardson's beautiful designs. Construction started in 1880 and the work was completed in 1882. Eighty-five workers lived on the site (a very windy, cold, and virtually treeless high plain) in a construction dormitory compound near the town of Sherman. The workers were not allowed to gamble or drink, possibly out of consideration for the feelings of the Ames brothers who had believed strongly in temperance.



Oliver Ames

Specialized workers came from Massachusetts, and local workers did the rest of the labor.

The local granite from which the monument was built was cut from a nearby outcropping known as Reed's Rock which was named after Samuel B. Reed of Illinois.

In 1864 and 1865, as locating engineer for the Union Pacific, Reed oversaw exploration and reported that the Wasatch, Echo Canyon and Weber route would be the best line for the railroad. By the time of the joining of the tracks at Promontory, Utah on May 10, 1869 he was general superintendent and engineer of construction. (Judging from Reed's letters home during this time, he might rather have been paid on time than have had a rock

named after him. Then 'his' rock was quarried for the monument.)

His importance in the building of the Union Pacific is considered be some to be on a par with that of Grenville Dodge and Jack Casement.

Once cut, the granite was lifted with a 103-foot derrick and, for three years, skidded a half mile to the construction site by a team of oxen found locally and named Sam and Buddy. (This is one local story, but photos show more than one team of oxen.)

Despite the large quantity of rock that it took to build the monument, Reed's Rock still stands as an imposing sentinel on the high, barren plain in full view of the monument that was hewn from it.

It is possible that Richardson never visited the site of the monument. Nonetheless, it is extremely well-suited to its surroundings, partially because it is made of native crystalline granite mottled with other stone and also because its simple grandeur reflects that of the countryside and the mountains in the distance.

In 1887 Frederick Law Olmsted, the renowned landscape architect who worked on New York Central Park and the Boston Garden, wrote a letter to Frederick L. Ames (Oliver Ames' son), whom he knew well, that, while in Omaha, he had taken a trip out to see the Ames Monument because there were



Henry Hobson Richardson,
architect

rumors that it was being damaged by flakes of blowing granite. The winds in that area are indeed mighty, but Olmsted could see no damage. He commented that "the next thousand years" of being pelted would only improve the surface. He referred to the monument as having a "fine finished stateliness," and commented, "I have never seen a monument as appropriate and becoming to its situation." One man he had met, who had often passed it from a distance, had always thought it to be a natural object.²⁴

Like some of the buildings Richardson designed in the East, notably the Ames Gate Lodge, the pyramid begins with large stones, five-by-eight feet, at its base with each row of stones gradually getting smaller as they rise. There are two

steps to the pyramid. The lower section is formed in random ashlar (cut stones that fit together, but are not in rows), and the top section is done in straight courses (cut stones that fit together and are placed in rows). There is a slight lip between the sections, and at the top the four sides blend together to a point. The point is made from a seven-ton cap stone which was finished in place. On the north side are stone letters one foot high:

IN MEMORY
OF OAKES AMES
AND OLIVER AMES

The finishing touch for the monument was done by the pre-eminent sculptor of those times, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, known for his statues of historic and classical figures and for the \$20 double-eagle coin. He had done work for the Ames family before when he sculpted bas-relief zodiac figures on the fireplace of the porch of the Ames Gate Lodge. For the Ames Monument he used this particular talent for doing bas-relief sculpture to create squared medallions of nine feet in height and thirty-nine feet off the ground, bearing half-relief likenesses of Oakes and Oliver Ames. Most accounts say that the medallions are made of Quincy, Massachusetts granite, but a few say sandstone. A closer, definitive study done recently (2009-2010) by the State of Wyoming showed them to

be made of sandstone which is more typical of Saint-Gaudens work.

This would also account for the extent of damage to the medallions over the years. Another question seems to be, "Who cut the medallions?" In his 1982 book *The Work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens* John H. Dryfhout states, in reference to the Monument, "Saint-Gaudens modeled these two portrait plaques which were probably cut by John Evans of Boston." (Dryfhout says that the plaques are made of granite.) Saint-Gaudens originally fashioned the portrait plaques in plaster before someone else did the actual sandstone carving.

It is interesting that these giants of 19th-Century architecture and art worked so closely together and relied on each other: Hobson relying on Norcross for the practical touches to his works and Saint-Gaudens using others to actually cut the stone after he designed the works of art.

Saint-Gaudens' medallions also have the birth and death dates of the two men and an "O" with an "A" inside of it signifying their initials. Each of these sets of initials is slightly different. On Oliver's the "A" is longer and entwines itself around the "O." It appears more artistically drawn than Oakes' in which the base of the "A" sits solidly on the inner lower edge of the "O" and touches the top edge. These symbols may have been

their masonic Masters Marks. There is a degree in masonry in which members create their own unique marks. In the York Rite, Royal Arch Chapter the first level is called Mark Master. If Oakes and Oliver were indeed Masons, as were future generations of Ames, their affiliations have not been determined as yet.

The Monument is not oriented directly with compass directions, but Oakes' sculpture is roughly on the east (northeast) side of the Monument and Oliver's is on the west (southwest). Both of them were faced north (northwest) toward the tracks of the Union Pacific railroad, which ran at the base of the hill on which the Ames Monument sits, and to which the brothers dedicated the last part of their lives.

Location of the Monument

Sitting on a thirty-foot-high hill above the railroad tracks, the sixty-foot-high monument must have an incredible view from the top. During construction there was a lift to take train passengers to the top. Some accounts say that even Pikes Peak, far to the south, could be seen. This seems feasible since the Rocky Mountains curve eastward, and there would be a straight line of sight over lower ground. In these times the atmosphere might obscure the view.

Today it is illegal to climb the monument, probably for safety



courtesy Philip Norcross Gross

Orlando Whitney Norcross, contractor

and legal reasons, but there still are spectacular views. To the northwest are the Medicine Bow Mountains, known to locals as the Snowy Range or the "Snowies." Southwest at the south end of the Medicine Bow Mountains is the Mummy Range and further to the south a view of Longs Peak and Mt. Meeker with its twin peaks. To the north can be seen the gnarly, goblin-like Vedauwoo Rocks marking the southern end of the Sherman Mountains and part of the Medicine Bow National Forest. An occasional herd of antelope pauses to observe the observers, oblivious to the houses that have started to spring up here and there in the past ten years. They wander off in a southeasterly direction where the land drops off and there is not much to see except a few trees. To



courtesy Union Pacific Museum

Samuel B. Reed, engineer

the east there is little view as the land slopes downward along the old railroad bed toward the Gangplank and the plains around Cheyenne.

Sherman, Wyoming

Located at the top of Sherman Hill, Sherman was an important stop for the trains. They had to be inspected for safety because of long descents going either direction, east toward Cheyenne or west toward Laramie over a high bridge spanning Dale Creek. At one time Sherman boasted a population of several hundred people. There were a five-stall roundhouse, a hand-operated turntable, two section houses, a water tank and windmill, two hotels, two saloons, and a schoolhouse, general store, and post office.

For nineteen years following the completion of the Ames Monument in 1882, there would have been plenty of activity around it. Trains stopped there everyday. The passengers were encouraged to get out to have a look at the monument. Some climbed the thirty-foot hill to the base of it, and some more adventurous ones, at least during construction, rode the lift to the top of it, ninety feet above the tracks.

The town itself seems to have had its lively moments. From *The Union Pacific Magazine*, May, 1924, referring to the early 1880's: "Once in a while the wild bunch of 'tiehacks,' 'timber rats' and 'rustlers' from Tie Siding would come up - the McDonald and McArthur boys, Si Partridge, Tex Congrove and other of their kind. On their arrival they would park their guns behind the bar and have a hilarious time."

Then there was the greatest hijinks of all ...Billy Murphy and the "Kidnapping" of the Ames Monument.

In 1885 Billy Murphy, a quiet and unassuming resident of Laramie, a machinist, who sometimes acted as a justice of the peace, came up with an incredible plot that would change his life and cause a major headache for the Union Pacific and the Ames family. The Union Pacific was a land grant railway. From Omaha to Ogden the UP owned odd-numbered mile-



courtesy Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site

Augustus Saint-Gaudens, sculptor

square sections for twenty miles on each side of the track, alternating with even-numbered government-owned sections.

Murphy's observation was that the Ames Monument was built, not on a railroad-owned section, but on even-numbered section 6. His plan, which he shared with his friend Bill Owen, was to file a Desert Land homestead claim on that section. Doubting that either the railroad or the Ames family would have allowed this oversight to pass, Owen contacted his friend and one-time Laramie resident Bill Nye, a lawyer and well-known humorist. Nye also doubted that the question of title could have been left unsettled but replied that, if Murphy's filing was accepted and he got a receipt, "the



courtesy Easton Historical Society

Saint-Gaudens' original plaster cast of Oakes

monument becomes his property that minute, and he may make any disposition of it as he pleases."

Unbelievably, the land was unclaimed. On Sept. 8, 1885 the monument was his. According to the United States Land Office in Cheyenne, Wyoming on this date, "William L. Murphy has this day filed in this office his declaration of intention to reclaim the following described tract of land, viz. the N.E. 1/4 of NW 1/4 of sec 6 Tp 13 N. R. 71 W. that he has proven to our satisfaction that the said tract of land is Desert Land as defined in the second section of said act, and that he has paid to the Receiver the sum of Nine 75/100 being at the rate of twenty five cents per acre for the land above described."

Murphy's first plan was inspired by the fact that many companies had put their "snake oil" advertising on every rock surface along the Overland Trail. Actually he didn't have to look that far because Reed's Rock, from which the monument had been quarried, had been used in this fashion. It bore the brand names of "SOZODONT," an oral hygiene product (which was later shown to turn teeth yellow), and "CLARKE'S BITTERS," a remedy for bilious and liver complaints. Passing trains stopped in Sherman in view of the monument. Murphy figured that, by renting advertising space on the large surface of the monument, he could make a tidy fortune. He also figured that the Union Pacific directors and the Ames family would, "dig up cash until Christmas to get that monument back."

With a fortune in his sights and without telling his friend Owen, Murphy wrote the Union Pacific to feel them out. He informed them that, by maintaining a large granite monument on his land, they were trespassing and that he wanted to know what they were going to do about it. This letter, combined with Murphy's naivety, was the beginning of the end of his plot.

His answer came in the form of two lawyers, one a shrewd attorney from Cheyenne and the other a "big gun" from the UP's Omaha law department. They were

met in Laramie by ex-sheriff N.K. Boswell. Boswell was known for cleaning up the hell-on-wheels town of Laramie, and he struck fear in the hearts of lawbreakers in that county and beyond. They met in the office of a lawyer who was the local land agent for the railway. The Union Pacific directors, having reacted in horror to their enormous oversight and to the fact that they had been legally taken advantage of, were gathering their forces to do battle and were willing to pay a "king's ransom" if necessary to bring the monument back to their fold. They had a briefcase containing \$15,000 and were authorized to pay more.

On Nov. 23, 1885, unsuspecting, Murphy was called to meet them on a ruse. Boswell invited him into the land office, locking the door and taking the key. Murphy was outclassed from the beginning. They told him that by filing he had created all manner of crimes and that he and the friends who aided him were in danger of facing jail. They "kindly" offered to help him avoid these consequences if he would sign a relinquishment of his filing. In return they offered him two lots in Laramie owned by the railway and valued at \$385, a good return on his \$9.75, but far short of the riches he had envisioned. With no advisors, intimidated by his accusers, and ignorant of the contents of the briefcase, he capitulated and signed the

relinquishment.

Once he escaped from the room into the fresh air, he realized what he had done ... too late. The short-lived twinkle in Billy Murphy's eye was extinguished, and, shortly thereafter, he sold his lots and left town.²⁵

On Dec. 28, 1885 Murphy's claim was officially canceled. In the 1904 the claim had been given and granted to the UP Railroad Company by the United States of America. In 1983 the land was granted by a quitclaim deed by Union Pacific Land Resources to the State of Wyoming.

The Demise of the Town of Sherman

Looking at aerial photographs, one can see the layout of the old town. The five-stall-roundhouse and the sixty-foot turntable, the foundations of which are still discernible, were removed in 1886. There was no longer a need to maintain extra engines at this point, so there was no need for a roundhouse. A wye track was added to turn around the extra engines which were needed to get the trains up the ascents in both directions, so the turntable was obsolete. The bed of the wye track and the old mainline can be seen too, as can the foundation of one of the depots and the agent's window where he could watch the trains in either direction. The foundation of another depot

was destroyed when the state added a pipeline. The foundation of the water tower is still there, and a small patch of green marks the spring where the windmill was located.

By 1898 Edward Henry Harriman was in control of the Union Pacific, and he set out to restructure the railroad for greater efficiency. One of his objectives was to improve what had always been a difficult route over Sherman Hill. Not only were the grades approaching it in either direction steep, but there was the issue of the Dale Creek trestle. Dale Creek is insignificant itself, but it is located at the bottom of a wide and deep gap. The first bridge built in 1868 was 1300 feet long and made of timber. It was a work of art, but from the bridge to the creek there was a drop of 127 feet making it unnerving when the bridge swayed in the wind. There was also a danger of fire from the cinders from the trains. A second poorly-built steel bridge constructed in 1876 was replaced by another stronger one in 1885. Even then, the trains had to creep over it at four miles per hour, and from pictures it does not look reassuring. Harriman's solution was to have the railway drop south before reaching Sherman from the east. Dale Creek was circumvented by a large fill. Oddly enough, the new line followed an old survey from 1868. Within a few years of the moving of the track, the town of Sherman faded away

without the railroad to sustain it.

All that really remains of the past on Sherman Hill are a few ruins of foundations and the Ames Monument in all its lonely splendor. Like Frederick Law Olmsted predicted, it may be there 1,000 years, and Oakes and Oliver Ames will look northward to where the tracks once were, their noses shot off with a high-powered rifle years ago.

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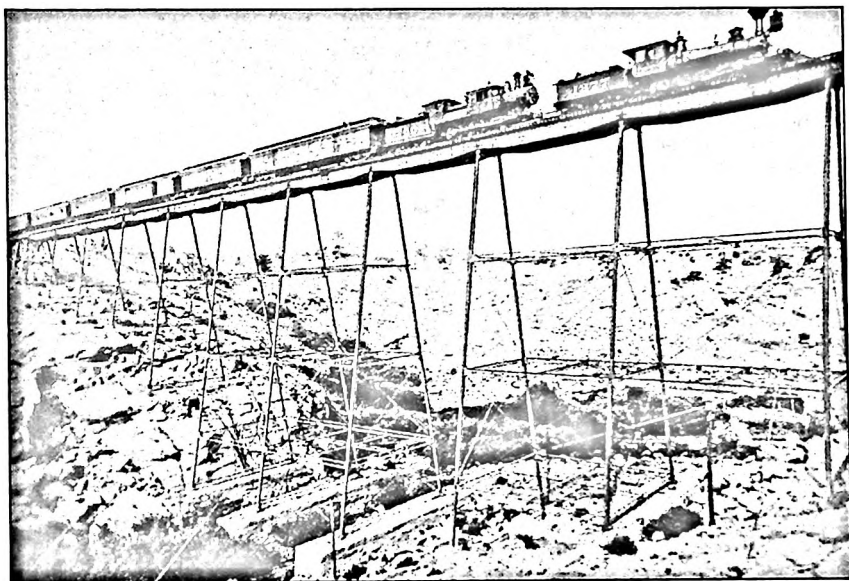
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UPRR - Dale Creek Trestle in Wyoming

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.

Recent Westerner Activities in Colorado

The Boulder Corral of Westerners' February presentation was "Black Smoke and White Iron, a History of Colorado Kilns, Ovens, Furnaces and Rails," by William Reich, a Denver Westerners member. Bill is the author of *Colorado's Industries of the Past*, published in 2008. In March, Boulder Corral member (as well as former sheriff of the Denver Westerners) Jeff Broome presented "The Solder Who almost Killed Wild Bill Hickok, John Kyle, John Kelley, or John Kile."

In March the Colorado Corral of Westerners enjoyed "Ladies of the Brown: a Women's History of Denver's Most Elegant Hotel," by Brown Palace Hotel Historian Debra Faulkner. In keeping with the Colorado Corral's policy of meeting in various locations, the attendees appropriately dined in the Ship's Tavern of the Brown Palace.

The presentation at the Fort Collins Westerners' March meeting was by Walter Borneman, prominent Western author and historian: "Rival Rails, the Race to Build America's Greatest Transcontinental Railroad."

At the February meeting in Colorado Springs, the Pikes Peak Posse of Westerners heard Bill and Beth Sagstetter's "The Cliff Dwellings Speak." The Sagstetters' new book, of that title, follows their previous publication of *The Mining Camps Speak: a New Way to Explore the Ghost Towns of the American West*. In March, Sue Knous, owner of the auction house Railroad Memories, discussed "Collecting Railroad Memories," the lure of collecting railroad memorabilia, and featuring her new book, *Railroadiana II: the Official Price Guide for 2011 and Beyond*.

New Members of the Denver Posse of Westerners

New Corresponding members of the posse in November were Laura and Paul Ruttum, and Ron Williams, all of Denver. Joining in December were Diana Copsey and Jim McNally, both of Denver, and also Steve Friesen, of Golden, who was the speaker at the December meeting of the Denver Westerners. In January we welcomed Patti Pitcock of Golden. Roberta Bourn, Westminster; Dr. H. Michael Hayes, Westminster; Mark Metzdorff, M. D., Denver; and Christie Wright, Highlands Ranch, joined in February. Additions to the Denver Westerners in March are Millie Drumwright and Margaret Weiland, both of Denver. We look forward to

getting to know these new members, and making them an active part of our goals in the study of Western Americana.

Loss of Westerners

In March, we mourn the loss of two Westerners, Reserve Posse member Clyde Jones, and Mary Ellen Gaunt, widow of Active Posse member Ken Gaunt.

Clyde Jones, an Oklahoman with Choctaw and Cherokee ancestry, was a successful oilman with a passion for preserving Western history. He was the chairman of the Douglas County Historic Preservation Board since its inception in 1992, until recent years when ill health prompted resignation. Clyde participated in many Douglas County historic activities, including interviewing many local old-timers. His work led to putting Lamb Springs Archeological Preserve on the National Register and Cherokee Ranch on the National Historical Register. He joined the Denver Westerners in 1992, and received the Rosenstock Lifetime Achievement Award in 2002. The list of his preservation accomplishments is extensive.

On March 14 Mary Ellen Gaunt passed away. Her husband, Ken Gaunt, was a very active member of the Denver Westerners, the sheriff of the posse in 1995, the presenter of many Westerner programs, and the founder of the Denver Posse of Westerners' Ken Gaunt Fund, for enhancing the programming capabilities of the organization.

The Westerners Posse expresses its condolences to both families.

Board of Directors Meeting

On February 26 the Denver Posse of Westerners Board of Directors met at Sheriff David Emrich's office. An expenditure not to exceed \$50 was approved, to bind loose copies of the *Roundup* from the 1970s in the Denver Public Library collection. Four missing copies in the DPL collection were donated by the Westerners to aid in completing this.

In previous years Active Posse member Ken Gaunt had submitted Denver Westerners books and articles to Westerners International for consideration in their annual awards. This year the Publications Committee will assume that duty.

This year a single item has been auction at the monthly meetings by the Possibles Bag committee. Due to its success, the Board of Directors approved of continuing this activity, in place of the more extensive semi-annual auctions.

The Publications Committee has an archive of surplus *Roundups*, that are available at a very nominal cost. Additionally, if members have *Roundup* copies that they no longer want, please donate them to the Publication Committee, for these member sales.



Westerners Bookshelf



The Chatfield Story: Civil War Letters and Diaries of Private Edward L. Chatfield of the 113th Illinois Volunteers, by Terry M. McCarty with Margaret Ann Chatfield McCarty. North Charleston, South Carolina: BookSurge Publishing, 2009. Revised Edition: North Charleston, South Carolina, 2010: CreativeSpace Publishing-DBA. 561pp. photos, bibliography, maps, index. Trade paperback, \$32.99. Kindle edition \$9.99.

This informative and interesting book is about the Civil War career of co-author Margaret Ann Chatfield McCarty's great-granduncle, Edward L. Chatfield, whose name is very well known to any Littleton, Colorado resident, as so much of Littleton bears his name, including Chatfield Reservoir and State Park, Chatfield Blvd. and many other places, including neighborhoods.

The story really begins in 1964 when Margaret ("Peg") discovered under the bed of her deceased cousin, Edaline Chatfield Rhea (the only child of Edward Chatfield, and who bore no children herself) a shoebox filled with over 100 letters written by Edward Chatfield when he served in the 113th Illinois Volunteers during the Civil War. Earlier in Rhea's life she had donated several Civil War diaries that Edward had written to the Littleton Historical Museum, of whom Denver Westerners Posse member Lorena Donahue is Deputy Director and Curator of Collections.

The authors immediately recognized the rich historical treasure they had discovered. Their long journey to tell of Chatfield's unique Civil War experiences through these letters, diaries, and additional first-hand documents has resulted in this excellent publication. The authors have very carefully reconstructed Chatfield's experiences and placed them alongside the important history that he was a part of forging. Anyone reading this story, especially anyone living in Littleton, cannot soon forget the rich experiences of Edward Chatfield. Not long after the Civil War Chatfield settled on a homestead two miles west of old-town Littleton, where he became an important settler in early Colorado pioneer history.

The authors use Chatfield's diaries to give a chronology of his experiences, and place his numerous letters alongside the appropriate dates within the context of each diary. In addition the authors cull from other firsthand accounts that complement the story. The result is a rich picture of one soldier's experiences during the war.

Chatfield's early experiences do not include the glory of war; instead it would be better to describe his experiences as the drudgery of war. He did not fight in any early battles, and his day-to-day experiences did not leave much to tell yarns from in later years. But that changed, and changed dramatically when on June 2, 1864 Chatfield's third diary abruptly ended in mid-sentence. This was at the beginning of a campaign that would result in the violent northern Mississippi battle known as Brice's Cross Roads. Chatfield's Civil War nightmare was soon to come to fruition and for the next ten months there would be no letters home and no diary entries made. Edward Chatfield was about to become a prisoner of war. But not just any POW, for he quickly found himself an inmate at the most notorious Civil War prison camp, Andersonville. Andersonville when it was at its worst, when it was more likely a soldier would leave to a grave than to leave alive.

While Chatfield did not give us a letter or a diary during this time, remarkably, with the shoebox under the bed of his daughter was the rare book of Chatfield's soldier companion, Riley Beach's *Recollections and Diary Extracts*. Chatfield, Riley and three other prisoners, all from Chatfield's company, banded together for their mutual benefit and survival. It would make the difference between life and death at Andersonville. Beach's account gives us Chatfield's experiences and from him, as well as the excellent research the authors do to give the reader a well-rounded narrative of Chatfield's survival as a prisoner of war, one walks away from this story with a profound appreciation of Chatfield's experiences.

As the authors note in their Introduction, about half of *The Chatfield Story* is the letters and diary entries of Chatfield himself. The other half contains connecting narrative, giving the reader a well-rounded view into the Civil War experiences of Edward Chatfield. In 1874 Chatfield acquired his Littleton property which he kept, expanded and maintained for the rest of his life. But it wasn't just Edward that came to Colorado. A total of six Chatfield brothers and cousins relocated to Colorado, one of whom, cousin Isaac Chatfield, originally settled in 1865 in Florence, where that same year this reviewer's great-great-grandfather, William A. Watson, also settled. It was a very pleasant surprise to connect my family to the Chatfield family. In 1871 Isaac settled in Littleton, and there he remained until 1917, when poor health led him to California to live with his daughter. In 1924 Edward died. Today his body reposes in the Littleton Cemetery, in the large Chatfield family plot.

In addition to Chatfield's story, the authors include three appendixes, two of which cover the genealogy of the Chatfield family, which is rich in Colorado roots and history.

The Chatfield Story is a well conceived, well constructed and well

written narrative which should be of interest to all people interested in the Civil War, pioneer history and early Colorado history. After reading this book, one cannot drive anywhere in Littleton and not be reminded of the Edward Chatfield Story.

--Jeff Broome, P.M.

Iron Horse Imperialism: The Southern Pacific of Mexico, 1880 – 1951, by Daniel Lewis. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008. 149 pp. Illustrations, photos, maps, bibliography, index. Hardcover \$40, Paper \$18.95.

This interesting book is a fascinating look at the building of the Southern Pacific Railroad's expansion into Mexico from 1888 to 1927. The book is not really about imperialism, as no lands were conquered and no rules of governance established by either the railroad or the United States government. *Iron Horse Imperialism*, however, discusses more than just the problem and opportunity of rail expansion into Mexico. The book delves deeply into the politics of Mexico following the Mexican-American War, which was begun in 1846 and ended with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. The result of the war was that Mexico lost some 500,000 square miles of its northern territory in exchange for America's payment of \$20 million. The treaty established the current border between the countries and effectively made the size of Mexico approximately fifty percent smaller than it was before the war. The loss of California, Arizona and New Mexico was a humiliating blow to Mexico, and the anger of the citizens led to a reform movement headed by Benito Juarez, Governor of Oaxaca, who came to power in the 1850s vowing that Mexico would never again be victimized by the United States.

The book explains Latin American countries' understanding of the importance of railroads for their economic and governance needs. Rail expansion was well underway in Brazil and Argentina, and Mexico was also moving ahead with rail service. European and American corporations provided capital and expertise in commerce and railroad development in the region. By 1837 investors from Europe and particularly from Great Britain gained concessions from the Mexican government to build railroads in the country. Many other American companies also gained concessions to work in Mexico. Mexico had little or next to no control over its northern states, namely Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Baja California de Nord as these vast areas were so far from Mexico City, a problem which is evident today with the drug problems emanating from those states. The Southern Pacific

Railroad was a grand success in the United States and its location close to Mexico made it the ideal vehicle to provide rail service to northern Mexico. *Iron Horse Imperialism* discusses the impact of the election in 1876 of Porfirio Diaz, who tackled Mexico's economic backwardness. His successor, Manuel Gonzalez, continued Diaz's modernization and actively pursued foreign railroad development. The SP's first rail line in Mexico from Nogales to the sea port of Guaymas was started in 1880 and completed in 1882. While this was an economic boon for Mexico, the fear was always there that the railroad would bring American troops into Mexico to take over more land.

The succeeding years were difficult for the SP de Mex. Construction began through mountainous territory to take the line from Guaymas to Guadalajara. Governmental meddling, labor unrest, strikes, bandits and two revolutions greatly hindered construction. It took until 1927 for the SP de Mex to complete its construction, but in spite of high revenues, high expenses and problems with the Mexican government caused the line to continually lose money. The SP de Mex ended its ownership of the rail line in 1951.

--Ray Koernig, P.M.

Mining Engineers and the American West, The Lace-Boot Brigade, 1849-1933, by Clark C. Spence. Moscow, Idaho, University of Idaho Press, 1993. 407pp illustrations, maps, photos, bibliography, index. Paperback.

When I selected this book to review, several people asked me why I was interested. When I wrote *D. C. Oakes, Family Friends & Foe* I never learned, in spite of extensive research, where D. C. Oakes, who was a civil engineer, acquired his education. A brief glance convinced me that this book might help me gain that information. *Mining Engineers and the American West* covers all aspects of engineering. Interestingly many of the early mining engineers started out as civil engineers.

For someone who knows absolutely nothing about engineers, this wonderfully documented book is the answer. Dr. Spence's documentation is extensive. Both the quality and amount of his research is apparent within the first twenty-five pages. It is filled with information about mining in Colorado, California and other western states and is abundant with names such as Nathaniel P. Hill, Arthur D. Foote, Herbert C. and Theodore J. Hoover, who made their mark in mining. Dr. Spence defines what kind of man chooses engineering, as his life's work. The early engineers were self-taught and he states: "...the self taught engineer who learned the 'dips, spurs and angles

of mining' on the hob was never one to be ignored." Early engineers were adventurous, many were surveyors, good judges of horseflesh and capable of making do with whatever was available. They were proficient in math, invented equipment when none was available, lived on meager food rations, and were gone for months at a time.

They were practical men. Formal education was not a requirement until after the Civil War. By 1921 "six out of seven were college-trained." Later they were also required to have knowledge of mining laws.

Extensive footnotes provide sources for further research. Numerous quotes from Mary Hallock Foote's lively letters are especially interesting. She chats about her husbands concerns, job offers, salary and gives insight as to what life was like for the wives of these adventurous men.

This is by no means a dull scholarly work on engineering. If you have any interest in mining and engineering you will be well entertained while gaining knowledge of the men who made the West.

--LaVonne J. Perkins, P.M.

Written in Blood: The History of Fort Worth's Fallen Lawmen, Volume I, 1861-1909, Richard F. Selcer and Kevin S. Foster. University of North Texas Press, Denton, 2010. 375 pages. Illustrated with photographs and diagram maps; endnotes; index. Cloth, dustjacket, \$39.95; paper, \$16.95.

The late Bob Brown, an excellent historian and a dedicated Denver Westerner, when the subject of outlaws, gunfighters, and lawmen came up twenty years ago regarding a possible brand book, blurted out, "It's been done!" Good old Bob was off the mark on that one and North Texas University has proved again that there still are many hidden sources out there when it comes to shoot-tern-up histories about law and order. In 2009, North Texas Press published Jeff Burton's wonderful *The Deadliest Outlaw: The Ketchum Gang and the Wild West*, only to be followed quickly with Bob Alexander's impressive *Winchester Warriors: Texas Rangers of Company D, 1874-1901*. This new volume, honoring Fort Worth town marshals and policemen and Tarrant County sheriffs, is fit company to stand alongside the products by Burton and Alexander.

This volume is part of the nationwide movement (including here in Colorado) to recall or belatedly recognize and memorialize those peace officers who gave their lives in the line of duty. Consequently, Selcer (a professor) and Foster (a police officer) have teamed up to tell the stories of thirteen officers, sheriffs, or marshals (and one crime-fighting prosecutor) in and around Fort

Worth (that proud cowtown cousin of Dallas) who gave, if not their lives, considerable blood.

However, while just about all Westerners know about so-called “Black Jack” Ketchum and about the exploits of the Texas Rangers, this volume tells stories about virtually unknown players and long-forgotten incidents. Thus, the authors purposely eschew a detailed retelling of Fort Worth’s so-called “Longhair” Jim Courtright and instead tell about the type of incidents that today still can be found when one looks in the old-time Texas law reports. Here are the peace officers, warts and all, who died (or were shot up) in raiding gambling dens, getting involved in domestic disputes, enforcing ugly racist customs, and facing off against political opponents. The tales here are exhaustively researched and as gritty as a “Dirty Harry” movie. Of course, there are a few more notable incidents described, as when Jim Courtright got involved in a shootout over a railroad strike—but Courtright was not one of the casualties in that affray.

The book is not without a possible shortcoming or two. While this reviewer praised Bob Alexander for his old-timey Texian use of vernacular language in his Ranger book (and, certainly, Englishman Jeff Burton cannot be accused of violating the Queen’s English in his Ketchum volume), that same use of informal language might be a little overdone here. While this reviewer also has been known to write in a “breezy” and contemporary style, Selcer’s and Forster’s occasional use of “perps” (for example) to describe murderers might be excessive.

But that informal style certainly will appeal to many, especially to those who want to mix “true crime” with their history. Plus, any overuse of that style is set off by the important lessons in this book about showing how to do historical research. Thus, for example, this book points out the weaknesses of oral tradition, especially when it is passed down through family generations. On the other hand, the authors show how court records (when they exist) are often better than even newspapers.

This book is recommended, both as a tell-it-like-it-is law enforcement history and as a research tool on the shelf. Like other North Texas Press books, this is a definite keeper. We’ll see if the authors can keep their standards as high in the obvious sequel or two.

--John Hutchins, P.M.

On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians and the American Landscape by Jared Farmer. Harvard University Press, 2008. 443 pages, illustrations, photographs, maps, bibliography, index, notes. Paperback, \$29.95.

Jared Farmer's rich tale of the making of the myth, marketing and exploitation of Mount Timpanogos in Central Utah's Wasatch Range is lovingly told in fine and meticulous detail. Combining geography, nature, history and religion, Farmer weaves the story deftly from creation to the modern era.

On Zion's Mount begins with the geological formation of the Great Basin in the West and focuses on the Utah Lake region. The rich land and fertile lake area is at once a destination for the early pioneers moving to the early American West searching for the Promised Land and a vast fish resource for the native people. The lake region in Utah provided an abundant landscape for the Ute tribe, called Lake People, Fish Eaters, or the Timpanogos people, who lived and fished on the shores of Utah Lake and reaped great bounty from the lake and surrounding lush land. The reputation of this bounty drew the Spanish and settlers, among them, a small band of religious refugees, the Latter-Day Saints, the Mormons.

The fascinating creation of the Mormon Zion as a homeland for the settlers and the diminishment of the Timpanogos people from their native land is central to the story and occupies the first third of the book. Farmer describes in excellent and remarkable detail the moving history of the occupation of the Timpanogos Utes by the Mormons. The story is particularly ironic as Mormons had a strong allegiance with and related to the natives; the *Book of Mormon* described an early native people following Christ. The Latter-Day Saints' founding father, Brigham Young, encouraged the early settlers to live a peaceful coexistence with their brethren, but as with other early American settlers, the natives were warily befriended, then used, and finally, displaced entirely by their new neighbors.

After moving the Lake People from their home on the shores of Lake Utah, the history of Utah Lake moves from the Aquarian Age to the Hydraulic Age and development. Utah Lake becomes over-fished and steel mills take over the lakeshore and industry caused pollution. The Mormon settlers move from the lake region into the Utah valley, associating the new land with a new Israel, casting their eyes upward to Mount Timpanogos as their own Mount Zion.

The making of the Indian legend for Mount Timpanogos came after the dispossessed Lake People were literally reinterpreted as mountain Utes. A young BYU president and hiking enthusiast glamorized the mountain by providing a fake tale of a love-sick Indian princess leaping from the peak. Farmer tracks the promotional campaigns in the 1900s to popularize and commercialize the mountain and their ringing success as "Timp" became a popular recreational destination, symbol and landmark. While Farmer also touches on the ecological history, his chief concern is with the stories and people connected with the mountain.

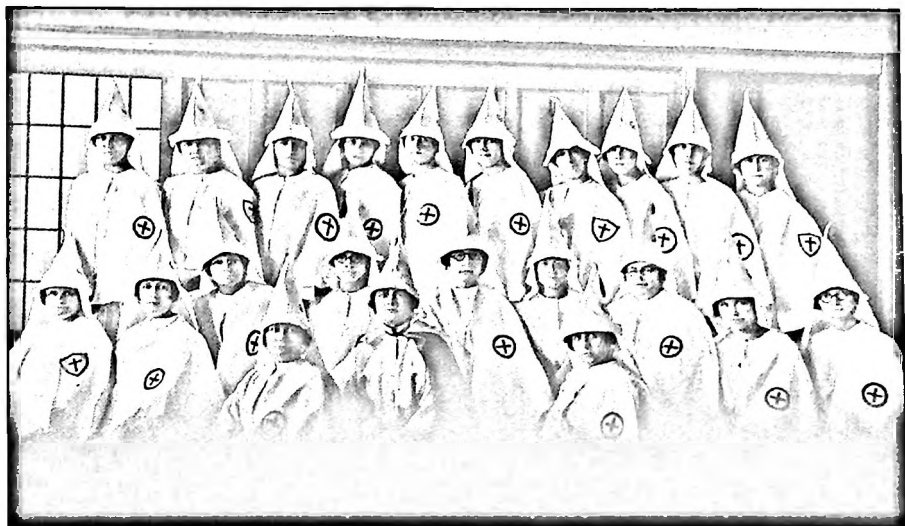
The book is more than the history of a mountain; the author is erudite and deeply philosophical. He believes sincerely in a sense of place and how the landscape affects and is affected by the people who live there and those who came before them.

--Barbara Gibson, P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

May - June 2011



Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Dept.

Group portrait of the Denver Klanswomen around 1924 or 1925.

The Colorado Women of the Ku Klux Klan

by Betty Jo Brenner

(presented March 24, 2010)

Also in this issue...

So You'd Like to Do Research?

**Western History Resources at the Denver Public Library
(Presented December 16, 2009 by Wendel Cox, C.M., Kellen
Cutsforth, P.M., Dennis Hagen, P.M.)**



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THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

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The Colorado Women of the Ku Klux Klan by Betty Jo Brenner (presented March 24, 2010)

Introduction

The Birth of A Nation by D.W. Griffith, filmed in 1915, was the first true feature-length film in America, a cinematic wonder in the world of filmmaking. Ed Guerrero writes in *The African American Image in Film: Framing Blackness*, "It depicted blacks as incompetents and criminals, it sensationalized allusions to the rape or molestation of white women by blacks, and it glorified Klan terrorism."¹ For some in the South, seeing the film was like a religious experience, validating long-held views of the victimization of southern propriety by freed Negro slaves. For others in the country, the film legitimized their fears and awakened prejudices. According to Wyn Craig Wade, author of *The Fiery Cross*, the impact of the film had a great deal to do with reincarnating the Ku Klux Klan.

The second Klan movement was founded by Alabama born William J. Simmons, the son of a Reconstruction-Era Klan officer. The Klan association brought honor to his poor Southern farm family. Simmons was a preacher of small means, who traveled the "circuit" to "eek" out a living. When the time was right, Simons saw his opportunity to resurrect his father's memory. In 1915, Simmons and

fifteen of his followers performed the burning-cross ceremony on the top of Stone Mountain in Piedmont, Georgia, re-establishing what they called the "world's greatest secret, social, patriotic, fraternal, beneficiary order." Simmons' resurrection of the Klan came just ten months after the premier opening of D.W. Griffith's blockbuster film *The Birth of A Nation*.²

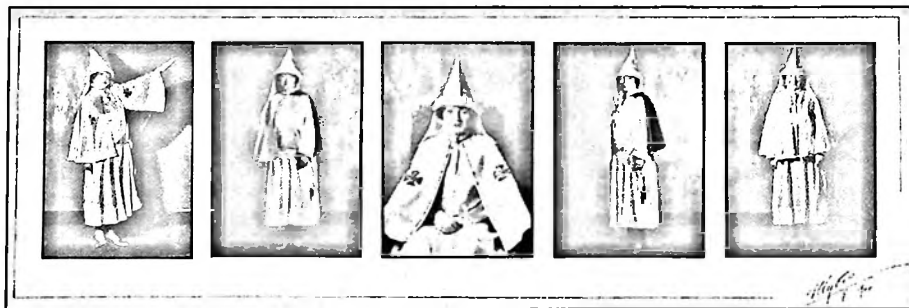
In the 1920s, from Maine to California, in cities and rural communities, large numbers of men and women joined the newly resurrected Ku Klux Klan, started by Simmons on the top of Stone Mountain in Georgia. In Colorado, Klan membership reached as high as 35,000 men and 11,000 women.³ Much has been written about the 1920s Knights of the Ku Klux, but little has been written or known about the women who called themselves Klanswomen. Until 1992, we knew very little about the women's involvement, if we knew anything at all. Women, unlike men, were not open in their later years about their time in the Klan. As Sociologist Kathleen Blee discovered through interviews with former Indiana Klan members, many felt secretly "proud of their Klan membership and were anxious to clarify what they saw as historical

misunderstanding of the order."⁴ Blee was the first to write about women in the Klan in her book, titled *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*. In it, she explores the Indiana women's Klan movement at a time when she could still interview former Klan members. Because she created a level of trust with interviewees as an Indiana native herself, Blee was able to uncover a vast reservoir of information, informing us not only of Indiana Klanswomen, but also of the movement nationwide. This groundbreaking work led historians to other state stories and to revelations about the women who participated. This paper is about this state's story - the women of the Ku Klux Klan in Colorado.⁵

Colorado Women of the Klan and Laurena Senter

The Imperial Commander of the 1920s Women of the Ku Klux Klan in Colorado was Laurena

Senter, a young mother of two who lived in Denver with her husband and who was active in club work. She was the daughter of parents who were fiercely religious, but not church associated. The family moved frequently, often in and out of mining camps, selling enrollments in fraternal insurance plans and training members in the work of ritualistic ceremony.⁶ One of Laurena's fondest memories was when she was six years old (around 1903) enroute to Cripple Creek with her parents where she met Carrie Nation. She writes in her autobiography "Being the only child thereon, she impressed me with the need to work and fight for prohibition. The little hatchet which she gave me as a symbol of the need to 'smash windows of saloons' has been one of my favorite souvenirs."⁷ Laurena married when she was seventeen years old. She was a trained vocalist and sought-after soloist for clubs and churches



Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Dept.

Studio portraits of Laurena Senter, the Imperial Commander of the Colorado Women of the Ku Klux Klan in 1924 and 1925. In later years, when the Colorado Women's Klan broke from the national organization, Mrs. Senter became the Excellent Commander of the Denver chapter.

in Denver. She was well educated for her time and she was no stranger to the theatrics that accompanied her father's life work. Throughout her life, she maintained an uncanny ability to attract followers and admirers. She was a born leader.

Mrs. Senter's husband, Gano Senter, was also a high-ranking member of the Klan. He served as the Great Titan of the Northern

the Radio Café in Denver where many informal Klan meetings were held and where a few women, led by Laurena Senter, first gathered in 1923 to discuss the formation of a Women's Klan.⁹ Because of Laurena's meticulous attention to record keeping and preservation of Klan records, we are able to learn much about the inner workings of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan in Colorado.

The national organization of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan was formed in Little Rock, Arkansas on June 10, 1923. Many Protestant, patriotic women's organizations combined to form the first membership of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK) under the leadership of Lulu Markwell. Markwell, the first Imperial Commander of the WKKK, was an Indiana native living in Arkansas while presiding as president of the Arkansas chapter of the WCTU. Starting with 125,000 members, the WKKK spread quickly to thirty-six states growing its membership to over one-million women nationwide by 1924.¹⁰

The men's and women's Klans grew in much the same way. Women recruiters called "kleagles" were sent out to spread the message of patriotism and Protestantism. Women's historian Kathleen Blee writes that the Klan lured members by professing to defend morality. She writes: "The Klan



Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History/ Genealogy Dept.

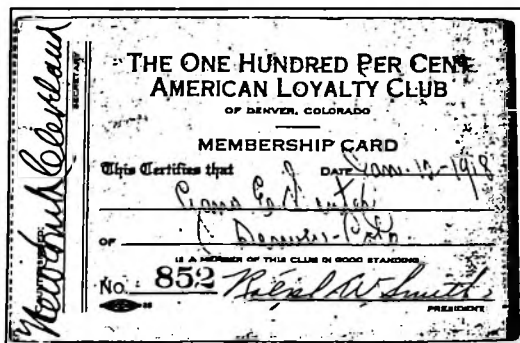
The Senter family – Laurena and Gano Senter, and daughters, the oldest Laurena (Toodie), and Alice. Laurena and Gano were married 70 years until their deaths in 1986 when they were in their 90s.

Province (which meant half of Colorado) of the Colorado Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.⁸ Together, the Senters immersed themselves in the Klan movement. Gano Senter owned a restaurant named

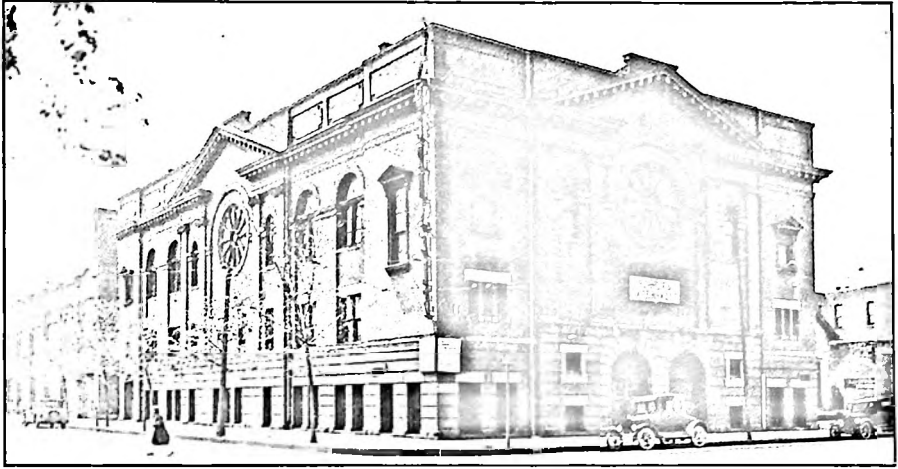
ranted against the victimization of white Protestant women by Jewish businessmen, sexually sadistic Catholic priests, and uncivilized black men."¹¹ Women's Klan chapters often described their mission in self-righteous terms, such as safeguarding public virtues and keeping "the moral standards of the community at a high place."¹²

At first recruiters summoned wives, mothers, daughters and sisters of Klansmen. In time, the recruitment effort expanded to include Protestant women seeking to uphold Christian principles and virtues of "true womanhood." Some of the women's patriotic societies which later folded into the WKKK were: Ladies of the Invisible Eye, Dixie Protestant Women's Political league, Grand League of Protestant Women, White American Protestants (WAP), and Ladies of the Invisible Empire.¹³ From the beginning, the emphasis was on "100% womanhood." They saw themselves as gate keepers for

morality. In this sense, the second Klan movement differed from the first Klan movement. In the first Klan movement, women were not allowed entrance into the male only ritualistic order. At that time, the men saw themselves as the protector of women. In the second Klan movement, women were solicited to join and form their own auxiliaries in order to bolster competing KKK factions seeking power. They were never accepted as equals in the male-dominated organization, but they believed they had a very important role as helpmates to the men. Their role was to provide support for the men and to protect the home and its attendant values. Sometimes that meant chastizing other women who strayed from traditional values.¹⁴ One cause they felt very strongly about was the continuance of free public schools and the destruction of parochial schools, which they believed were corrupting the younger generation and increasing in numbers due to



Gano Senter was a card-carrying member of the 100% American Loyalty Club of Denver in 1918. Being 100% American was a mantra for Klans members, both men and women.



Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Dept.

The Peoples Tabernacle Church at Lawrence and 20th streets where the Denver Klanswomen held weekly meetings in 1924 and 1925.

heavy immigration from Catholic countries. Their goals could be accomplished in part through political power and their newfound voting ability, and in part by establishing Protestant orphanages for Catholic children. They believed Catholic school teachings threatened to mold a young generation away from being patriotic Americans and avowing allegiance to the Pope, a foreign leader.

In the early 1900s, according to historian Nancy F. Cott, the quest for women's suffrage was embraced by most women, uniting women for the first time.¹⁵ Their progressive ideals were closely tied with suffrage, temperance and social work. However, historian Robert Goldberg points out, women's goals could be progressive and

racist at the same time.¹⁶ Such was the case with the women of the Ku Klux Klan. Women's fraternal organizations and clubs came into existence in late nineteenth century same as did men's organizations. Many were formed as auxiliaries to men's organizations.¹⁷

The ceremonial rituals of "klankraft" took place once a week at the People's Tabernacle at 1120 20th Street in Denver. Klan headquarters were located at 219 Central Savings Bank Building. Membership dues of twenty-five cents per week and the \$10.00 initiation fees paid for the office space as well as a stipend of \$150 per year to Mrs. Lillian Baxter for being the Kligrapp, which was the Klan name for secretary. Records indicate that the club was able to



Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Dept.

Photomontage of Ku Klux Klan women as they prepare baskets of food for the needy at Thanksgiving time. The montage shows the Klan's adopted boy known as "baby Richard," dressed in a robe and hood. The year is probably 1924.

amass \$15,000 in Cotton Mills savings bonds designated to build a Protestant boarding school for orphans next to the Cotton Mills stadium.¹⁸ This orphanage was to keep orphan children out of Catholic supported orphanages.¹⁹

Meetings often involved singing "Onward Christian

Soldiers," sometimes Laurena would sing a solo, and members would report on who was ill and needed some help. They collected a small donation from each member for the flower fund at every meeting to send flowers to a member who had lost a loved one or was in the hospital. All business was conducted

in correct parliamentary order, motions were made and carried, minutes were taken, and reports were delivered. Sometimes they invited a guest speaker from the men's organization, or a Pastor from a church, always for the purpose of motivating the membership to fight for their cause.²⁰

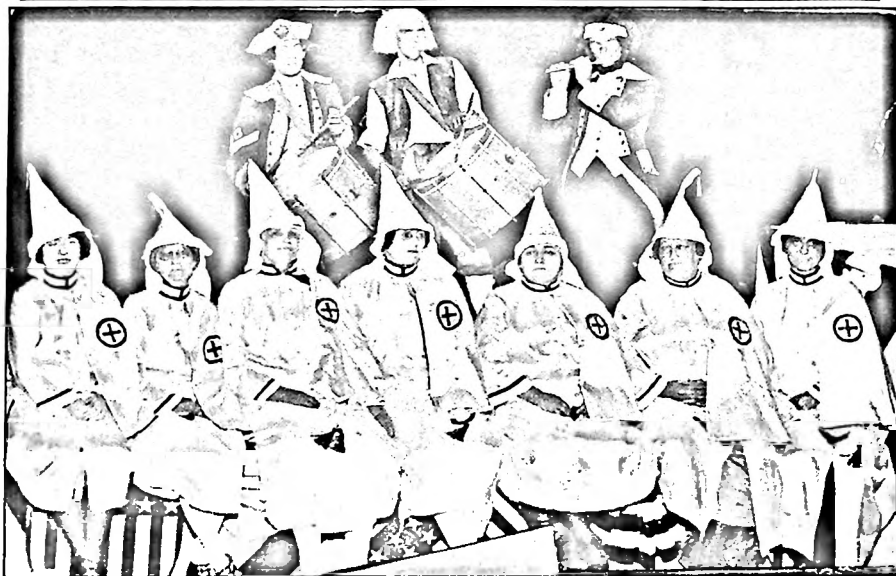
After only a few years, in 1925, legal entanglements were growing for Colorado Klan Grand Dragon John Galen Locke. A joint "klonklave" was called to show support for his leadership. Mrs. Laurena Senter, Imperial Commander of the Colorado Women of the Ku Klux Klan, presided at this joint Klonklave on June 30, 1925 as more than 50,000 Klanswomen and Klansmen gathered at the Cotton Mills Stadium located at Evans and Mariposa to decide the fate of Dr. John Galen Locke.²²

The minutes of June 30, 1925 found in the Senter papers private collection at the Denver Public Library describe the pomp and circumstance frequently played out in the ritualistic order: The bugle call announced the arrival of the Grand Dragon and his party. The audience arose spontaneously to its feet and began to cheer. The most remarkable demonstration ever given to any living person in the state of Colorado followed. It was the cheers of loyal Colorado Protestants voicing their loyalty and devotion to their great leader.²³

Soon after, the Colorado Women of the Ku Klux Klan separated from their national affiliation due to rumored immorality and corruption in the national leadership. At the same time, many of the Klansmen separated from the Knights national organization to form the Minute Men, an organization similar to the Klan and one that did not last.

The Arkansas national women's organization sued the Colorado Women's organization for taxes and fees collected after the break away, but only succeeded in forcing the Colorado Klanswomen to change its name. Settlement of the lawsuit was not delivered until 1929. *The Denver Post* reported on April 18, 1929 that "Federal Judge J. Foster Symes so ordered that the Colorado organization be entitled to retain \$10,000.00, which the women of the Ku Klux Klan of Arkansas had demanded as fees and taxes. Mrs. Senter, Colorado Imperial Commander, said the money will be given to charity."²⁴

According to Laurena Senter's notebook of appointments, there were as many as 35 Klan chapters of the Colorado Corporation of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (Englewood, Colorado Springs, Denver, Julesburg, Fort Morgan, Elizabeth, Longmont, Greeley, Fort Collins, Burlington, Sterling, Canon City, Yuma, Akron, Cheyenne, Idaho Springs, Castle



Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Dept.

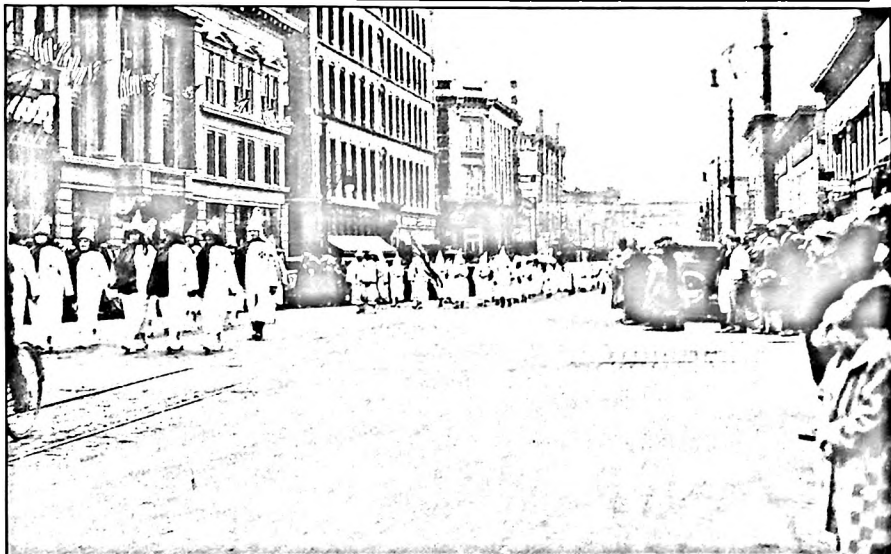
Group portrait of the Minute Men, an offshoot of the KKK, and women in the Colorado Ku Klux Klan. The year is probably 1925. Laurena Senter is seated at the far left.

Rock, Brighton, Vona, Salida, Boulder, Loveland, Grand Junction, Arvada, Golden, Flagler, Limon, Lafayette, Rocky Ford, Walsenburg, Trinidad, Pueblo, Fowler, Edgewater, Durango, Mancos, Cortez, Mesa Verde, Delta, Mesa, Pueblo, and Fairplay). The list indicates a much broader statewide involvement than historians have heretofore believed.²⁵

In 1925, as Imperial Commander, Mrs. Senter traveled the state performing rituals and initiations of membership. During the initiation ceremony, new members were sworn to an oath of allegiance to the sisterhood of Protestant Christian women. Laura

Senter played a major role as President, reminding the members that "the life of the cause depends on the sincerity of each member in the interpretation of the ideal," to exemplify pure womanhood through their good works and actions.²⁶

Women were eager to join the WKKK partially because of the lure of ritual and mystery and partially because joining women's clubs was a form of camaraderie in much the same way that it was for men who joined fraternal organizations. People in rural areas were especially vulnerable to fear of change in the American identity and threats to traditional values. In Pueblo, for example, southern and



Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Dept.

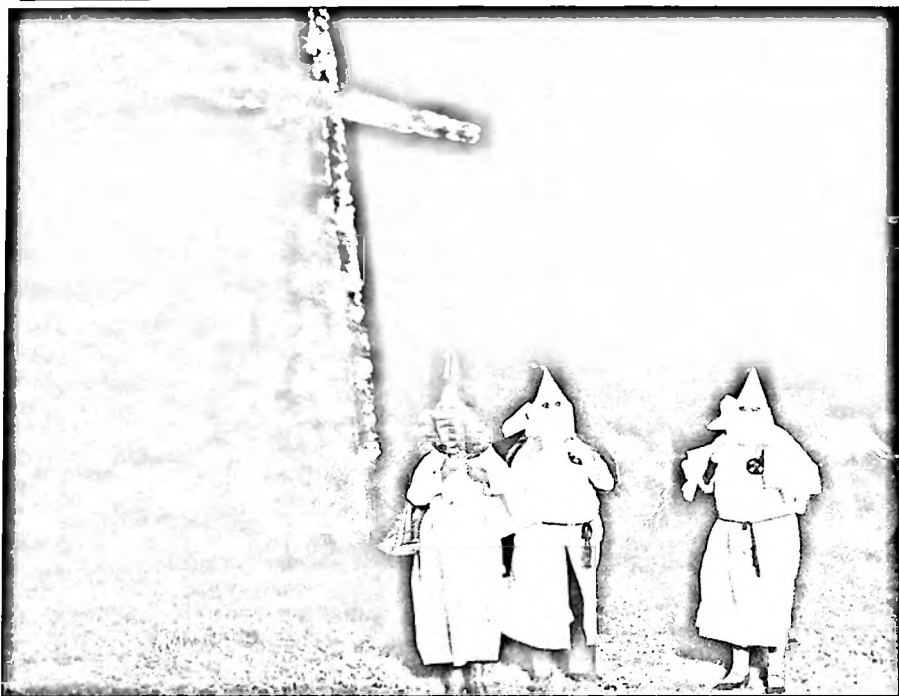
Parades were part of the pomp and circumstance associated with Klan life in Denver. Men and women are marching in downtown Denver to bring attention to their "cause." The date is probably 1925.

eastern European immigration of laborers accounted for the increase in population and the increase in the Catholic population.

In the Denver Public Library collection, there is a hand-written history of the Ku Klux Klan, by Klan Historian Ida Gibbons. Memory can be selective, as Ralph Ellison's poignant comment states: "Nothing in our past, like the question of race in the story of the Civil War and Reconstruction has ever caused Americans to be so notoriously selective in the exercise of historical memory."²⁷ Ida Gibbons writes, "Let us look back across the years and try to find the why of the Ku Klux Klan." She goes

on to say:

"The freed slaves turned to crime, since they had nowhere to go. As a result, the first Klan sprung into action for the safety and protection of the home, the women and children. It came as a necessity for the safety of the southland. In a few years normal conditions prevailed. But, after a few years there arose discord in the country thru labor problems and the I.W.W.'s caused by the foreign element stirring up trouble. The Klan sensed the danger to our nation and began to get busy and organize for the preservation and protection of our homes and Americanism. They rapidly gained in numbers and



Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Dept.

Klan members, one man and two women, participating in the cross burning ceremony in the early 1920s. This location is unknown, but cross burnings occurred at Ruby Hill, Table Mountain and Castle Rock.

became a wonderful power. In the coming campaign there is need for Klansmen and Klanswomen to stand by the high ideals that the Klan stands for and help to put only those in office as rulers of our nation who believe in those ideals and in true Americanism."²⁸

In truth, the Reconstruction-Era Klan was a vigilante, terrorist organization that flogged, raped and killed African Americans in the name of keeping law and order.

The Women of the Ku Klux Klan's stated purpose was not to

inflict physical harm on anyone in the "alien" world, but to present themselves as good, charitable, white Christian American women. Even though their motto was to be good and charitable, their creed was racist:

"To avow the distinction between the races of mankind as decreed by the Creator, and be ever true to the maintenance of White Supremacy and strenuously oppose any compromise thereof."²⁹

They go on to say, in their constitution, that the object of the

order was “to unite white female persons, native-born, Gentile citizens of the United States of America, who owe no allegiance of any nature or degree to any foreign government, nation, institution, sect, ruler, person or people; to shield the sanctity of the home and the chastity of womanhood; to maintain forever white supremacy.”³⁰

Membership cards indicate there were 11,000 members in the WKKK of Colorado in the years 1924 and 1925 under Imperial Commander Laurena Senter. Most of the members lived in Denver and along the Front Range. Membership rosters varied greatly, i.e., in Akron Klan #23 shows 127 names, in Alamosa, the registration indicates 99 members. Small towns had chapters, but Denver Klan #1 was the largest Klavern.³¹

They believed charitable impulses and benevolence to others defined their role. They delivered Thanksgiving baskets to needy Denver families.³² They gave financial support to a member for the adoption of an orphaned child named Richard, and participated in parades in full regalia, often unmasked. On occasion, they joined the men on Ruby Hill and Table Mountain to light the cross and proclaim the ideals of their order ; to keep America for white Protestant Americans. Foreign-born “aliens” were not welcome in the WKKK or in America according to

their bylaws. Ladies were told not to patronize downtown Denver’s Neusteters Department store because it was “run by Jews” who had publicly stated that Klan trade was not welcome there.³³

In February 1926 the women’s organization broke from the national organization to operate independently. For four years, they continued their secret society, meeting at the Pythian Hall on Glenarm and 14th St. and eventually at Crystal Hall at 220 Broadway. In 1929, the name Women of the Ku Klux Klan was changed to Colorado Cycle Club. The national organization no longer permitted the Colorado women to use the name Women of the Ku Klux Klan. Some Colorado chapters drifted back to the national organization but for the most part Denver Klanswomen remained loyal to Mrs. Senter and Denver Klan #1. Even without the name, the women of the Klan in Colorado maintained cordial relations with the men’s organization.

The new WKKK, now known as the Colorado Cycle Club, continued until 1945. Eventually, the membership roster dwindled to twenty ladies who met at Laurena Senter’s home at 1145 South Logan Street. Dropping the white robe and helmet, they dressed instead in white dresses for special occasions. They met for weekly renewal of friendships. At this time,

Laurena pursued her interest in parliamentary procedure and club work.

There should be no mistake about the grounding of the Colorado Cycle Club and its origins. On February 25, 1930, president Laurena Senter reported to the group that a notice about their meeting date had been placed in the social columns of the Sunday newspapers. Because of this notice, two men appeared at their outer door seeking admission to what they thought was a bicycle club. Mrs. Senter then went on to describe the true meaning of their name:

“As Webster defines it, it is a revolution of a certain period of time which recurs again in the same order. Our first cycle was the time of the Revolution of our forefathers standing for liberty, the second cycle was the organization of the Klan in the south, standing for a united government, the third cycle was the Klan as we knew it in 1924-25, and the fourth cycle is the club that we now represent.”³⁴

The bylaws of Denver Cycle #1 describe the ideals and objects of the club:

“It is the purpose of this Club, the Cycle Club, to maintain the teaching of White Supremacy, loyalty to the laws of our country, the United States of America, and to further the cause of Christian Protestantism, by intelligent instruction and charitable acts,

that will reflect credit to ourselves and bring respect from those who do not agree with our purposes, and who are not yet broad enough to appreciate good wherever manifested.”³⁵

In 1929, Laurena Senter wrote an entry in her diary, reflecting on the years past and her association with the Ku Klux Klan. Referring to her years as Imperial Commander of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan as “being in the harness.” Laurena Senter called those years a “cycle of sorrow” where she found only work and heartache for her share in the cause. “The order,” she said, “was one of sorrow, and hatred, with ideals of beauty, but too far above the selfish horde that flocked to its portals, hoping for personal gain and glory. We all followed blindly because the cause and ideals were beautiful, and reflected beauty to leaders who were otherwise entirely of mud.”³⁶

Mrs. Senter was a pillar of the Denver community until her death in 1986. From the 1940s through the 1970s, Mrs. Senter served as the president of numerous clubs and organizations including the Colorado Federation of Women’s Clubs, Colorado State Federation of Garden Clubs, and the Women’s Club of Denver. She was a Certified Professional Parliamentarian who attended the University of Denver and Barnes Business College. From collections acquired from

world wide travels, she created the Senter Friendship Christmas tree with its 1000 lights and 4,000 glass ornaments which was displayed for public tours in her home at Christmas time and later at Kathy's Import Chalet on South Broadway.³⁷ After Klan work, she spent the remainder of her life working as a parliamentarian consultant for women's organizations, teaching and preaching about leadership and charity to those in need. Her role in history as leader of one of Colorado's most racist organizations ever to exist, the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, was never mentioned in the numerous articles written about her or by her in succeeding years.

Historians have concluded that the 1920s Ku Klux Klan was a social movement. What is disturbing is how mainstream the ideology was. Newspaper articles reported on club meetings as if they were news worthy and of interest to everyone. Women paraded unmasked through the streets of Denver, proud to collectively display their unity and stance on patriotism, Protestantism, and purity of race. As Cott says, the quest for women's suffrage was embraced by most women, uniting women for the first time. There were many women's clubs and fraternal orders before the WKKK. Beginning long before the 1920s, women were involved in Eastern Star, WCTU, and many patriotic organizations such as the Daughters

of the American Revolution and Ladies of the Invisible Empire. Most were directed at social work, but some were just about camaraderie. Women held differing political and social beliefs. It is true that the WKKK belief system was in lock step with the men's KKK, but they organized independently while willingly supporting the cause. They executed their objectives in different ways, in keeping with their gender expectations of the time.

In addition to tapping into fear of change, the movement grew in almost every case because of charismatic leaders. Laurena Senter was that leader in Colorado. Even after the Klan disbanded, she never acknowledged her years in the "harness" as she called it. Her deep involvement was not discovered until her death in 1986 and the following years when the family donated the family papers to researchers at the Denver Public Library.

The question still remains, did the women who paraded down the streets of Denver in white robes and pointy hats remain white supremacists their entire lives or did their hearts change? Did they keep the secret to themselves and feel ashamed, or did they feel, as Kathleen Blee reported, "terribly misunderstood?"

End Notes

1. Ed Guerrero, *Framing Blackness: The African American Image in Film* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 17.
2. David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 8,9.
3. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 37. Klan membership totals are inconclusive. The WKKK membership cards found in the Senter collection show 11,000 as the highest number. However, there are missing numbers. In *The Shadow of the Klan*, Phil Goodstein estimates that up to 50,000 men belonged to the men's organization while Robert Goldberg's estimate in *Hooded Empire* is 35,000.
4. Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 5.
5. Ibid. Introduction. Blee's discovery and methodology for interviewing former Klan members can be found in the introduction to her book *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*.
6. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, the Denver Public Library, scope and content.
7. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, the Denver Public Library, Box 40, FF22.
8. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, the Denver, Public Library, scope and content.
9. "Women K.K.K. File Papers for State Charter," *Rocky Mountain News*, December 18, 1923.
10. Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 28,29.
11. Ibid. p. 71.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid. p. 28.
14. Feldman, Glen. "Keepers of the Hearth: Women, the Klan, and Traditional Family Values". In Clayton, B. & John Salmond. *Lives Full of Struggle and Triumph: Southern Women, Their Institutions, and Their Communities*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.) Feldman writes that women were chastised for immoral behavior especially in the South where emphasis was on the protection and preservation of the Southern way of life.
15. Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. (Yale University Press, 1987), p. 59.
16. Robert Alan Goldberg, Book Review, *Women of the Klan*.
17. Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 26.
18. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 36, FF12.
19. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 36, FF10.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.

22. Phil Goodstein writes in *South Denver Saga* that the Cotton Mills Stadium was originally built in the area west of the Platte River in 1890 by entrepreneurs seeking to create an industrial suburb. Three other mills were built along side the cotton mill. The area, called the Manchester area, was a failed adventure because Judge Ben Lindsay exposed the business for using child labor. The mill went into receivership in 1904. The Ku Klux Klan bought the cotton mill in the 1920s for massive rallies and outdoor initiations. When the Klan collapsed, the city gained the property for taxes. The Cotton Mills building still stands today, its smokestack bearing the name CUBUSCO.
23. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library, box 36, FF10. Minutes for the meeting at the Cotton Mills Stadium. June 30, 1925.
24. "Klan Women Win \$10,000 Suit, Must Change Name," *Denver Post*, April 18, 1929.
25. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 44, FF10.
26. Ibid.
27. David Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 128.
28. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 36, FF16.
29. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 36, FF23.
30. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 36, FF23.
31. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 36, FF12.
32. *Denver Post*, November 26, 1925.
33. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Cox 36, FF6.
34. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 36, FF Minutes of CCC meetings, May 1929, 1945.
35. Senter Family Papers, WH988, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Box 36, FF20.
36. Ibid. Box 44, FF8.
37. Ibid. Scope and Content.



So You'd Like to Do Research? Western History Resources at the Denver Public Library (Presented December 16, 2009 by Wendel Cox, C.M., Kellen Cutsforth, P.M., Dennis Hagen, P.M.)

Background

During the 1920s, the Denver Public Library began to assemble a small, special collection comprising books by Colorado authors, Colorado history pamphlets and related publications. As this collection grew in both size and popularity, City Librarian Malcolm Glenn Wyer decided to establish a formal department devoted to Western history. In 1995, the Western History Department merged with the Library's substantially older Genealogy Department to create today's Western History/Genealogy Department, one of the foremost special collections in the Western United States.

Since its creation, the Western History Department has focused on the Trans-Mississippi West, with a particular emphasis on the Rocky Mountain West. As the name "Western history" implies, the collection documents many aspects of the American West of the nineteenth-century. However, as the collection has expanded and matured, it now provides dynamic and vital resources that reflect the economic, political and cultural currents of Western history throughout the twentieth and even into the twenty-first centuries. The Western History collection ex-

hibits particular strengths in mining history, conservation, railroads, photography, and architecture and building history, as well as the histories of Denver and Colorado. Materials include a vast body of photographic and other images, with a substantial portion accessible online in digital form. Also included is a large, varied, and rapidly growing manuscript collection; a comprehensive map and atlas collection; a remarkable range of ephemera, including posters, broadsides, and pamphlets and other promotional materials; prints, paintings, sculpture, and other original Western art; and an extensive library of print materials, including books, periodicals, and newspapers. Unique to the Department is our General Index, a name-and-subject index to *The Rocky Mountain News* (1865-1995), *The Denver Post* (1895-1980), and other Denver newspapers, supplemented with references to other materials. With millions of entries, the General Index directs users to a wealth of otherwise inaccessible information. Following are more in-depth descriptions of various elements of the Denver Public Library's Western history collection.

Manuscripts

Since the Western History Department's creation more than 70 years ago, our librarians and archivists have acquired over 4,000 manuscript collections, making our archival materials a resource of national significance. The Department's collections span the period from 1718 to the present, with the bulk addressing the last one-and-a-half centuries. And the Department continues to actively acquire significant material within the scope of its collecting mission, including an impressive array of personal papers, diaries, journals, ledgers, scrapbooks, organization and business files, club and association papers, natural resource documents and family genealogical records. Collectively, these items bear witness to the history, growth, and development of the city of Denver, the state of Colorado, the Rocky Mountain region, and the Trans-Mississippi West. Our collection includes papers on mining, agriculture and ranching, railroads, architecture, writers, artists, theaters, and organizations and businesses. It also documents the region's ethnic and racial diversity, especially its Native American, Hispanic, and African American communities.

Especially notable personal and family collections include the William S. Jackson Family papers, a chronicle of generations of a prominent Colorado family, including a

Colorado Supreme Court judge; the papers of Denver mayors James Quigg Newton and Benjamin Stapleton; the papers of Polly Baca, a Colorado state senator and Hispanic political leader active on the national political stage; and the papers of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, founder of the Crusade for Justice and advocate for the rights of Mexican Americans in the U.S. Southwest. Regional business is documented with such collections as the records of the Banning-Lewis Ranch, the San Miguel Cattle Company, and the Colorado Ostrich Farm.

The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad collection is substantial, including plans and drawings for railcars, terminal buildings, and rail lines. Our architecture collections contain plans and project documents dating from the 1880s to present, and represent the works of prominent regional architects such as Temple Buell (Paramount Theater), Fisher and Fisher (Phipps Mansion), Burnham Hoyt (Red Rocks Amphitheater), and Victor Hornbein and Edward White, Jr. (Denver Botanic Gardens Conservatory). Denver's major landscape architect and city planner, S.R. DeBoer, is represented by his planting designs and park plans.

William E. Barrett (*The Lilies of the Field*), Leonora Mattingly Weber (young adult fiction writer), and Thomas Hornsby Ferril (Colorado Poet Laureate) are three sig-

nificant authors whose manuscripts are held by the Department. Manuscripts of regional artists include the papers of Muriel Sibell Wolle, George Elbert Burr and Angelo Di Benedetto.

Su Teatro, an important Denver theatrical troupe entertaining and educating around Chicano-Latino themes since the 1970s, is represented. And numerous organizations have arranged for the Library's stewardship of their papers, including the Denver Chamber of Commerce (from the 1860s), the City Club of Denver and the Colorado AIDS Project. Notable businesses such as the Moffat Estate Company, the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, the Swedish Medical Center, and the Denver Tramway Corporation have also donated their extensive records for preservation and access.

Conservation Collection

The Denver Public Library's Conservation Collection was established in 1960 by author and conservationist Arthur H. Carhart in collaboration with John Eastlick, then Denver's City Librarian. Carhart was the first landscape architect hired by the U.S. Forest Service. He spent a lifetime promoting environmental awareness, supporting conservation projects, and working with an extensive network of natural resource activists. The works of these activists, as well as Carhart's own writings, served as the begin-

ning core of today's Conservation Collection.

In subsequent years, organizations such as the Wilderness Society, the Izaak Walton League of America, American Rivers, American Farmland Trust, and the Nature Conservancy designated the Denver Public Library as the official repository for their records. Prominent conservationists, including Ira Gabrielson, first director of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and President of the Wildlife Management Institute; Howard Zahniser, Executive Secretary and Editor of the Wilderness Society; Enos Mills, the author and lecturer now best remembered as the father of the Rocky Mountain National Park; and Velma (Wild Horse Annie) Johnston, advocate for legislation protecting wild horses and burros have also contributed their papers to the Collection.

The Conservation Collection also includes Hal Harrison's ornithological field notes and nature articles, and a draft copy of Aldo Leopold's masterpiece of conservation literature, *A Sand County Almanac*.

10th Mountain Division Resource Center

Since its creation on October 14, 1987, the 10th Mountain Division Resource Center has grown to become perhaps the largest military archives in the country devoted to a single American military unit.

Contributions from over 1,000 individual donors comprised nearly 350 linear feet of manuscripts, approximately 15,000 photographs and a vast array of oral history interviews and video materials.

Each year the Resource Center provides reference services to authors, filmmakers, historians, news organizations, and students, as well as to hundreds of Division descendants and family members. An extensive database provides access to the basic records of more than 32,000 soldiers who served with the Division during World War II. Individual collections of personal papers, including diaries, memoirs, correspondence, scrapbooks, photo albums, oral history interviews and much more provide much more in-depth records of the experiences of more than 1,000 of these men.

The 10th Mountain Division Resource Center also preserves the Division's postwar history by recording the corporate history and the ongoing activities of the National Association of the 10th Mountain Division. Through the personal papers of corporate officers, meeting minutes, reunion planning documents, and records of memorial services, the story of the World War II 10th Mountain Division remains current to the present day.

Genealogy Collection

begun in 1910, the Genealogy Collection offers an extensive

array of resources for researchers. Our collection is the second largest found between the Missouri and the West Coast, and ranks among the best genealogy research centers in the nation. Family history researchers find material spanning dozens of generations and covering a wide range of ethnic communities and geographic locations, including family charts, atlases, 60,000 books, 140,000 pieces of microform, and hundreds of serial titles.

To the lasting benefit of our researchers, earlier generations of librarians decided to place county and state histories for communities east of the Mississippi River in our collection. They also emphasized materials for states through which wave upon wave of migrants passed from the East and the Southwest. These resources, along with those pertaining to Colorado and New Mexico, complement the Western History collection.

Special features of the Genealogy Collection include obituary indexes, 1935 to the present for local Denver newspapers; the Index of Funeral Notices, Obituaries, and News Articles from the *Colorado Statesman* newspaper, 1904 to 1954; an index to Colorado marriages and divorces, 1858 to 1939; Colorado Naturalization Records, 1877-1952; Indian Census Rolls, 1885 to 1940, and the Five Civilized Tribes, 1898 to 1914.

Building and Neighborhood History

Interest in Denver's building and neighborhood history has grown dramatically in recent years. To meet this research need, our librarians have developed a Building and Neighborhood History research area within the Department's Gates Reading Room. Our resources include Denver building permits from 1889 to 1955; real estate atlases and Sanborn insurance maps from 1887 to the 1970s; city and business directories; and a collection of published neighborhood and architectural histories.

The research area also includes walking tours, architectural guides, and other published resources. Other collections held by the Department useful for researchers interested in Denver's built environment include our General Index to newspaper articles; clipping files on Denver neighborhoods, streets, and buildings; select architectural plans from our archival collections; and the large number of images of Denver and Colorado buildings from our Photograph Collection, with many accessible online at <http://photoswest.org/>. Staff members work closely with neighborhood organizations to increase awareness of our resources, and to assist in research for historic landmark and district designations.

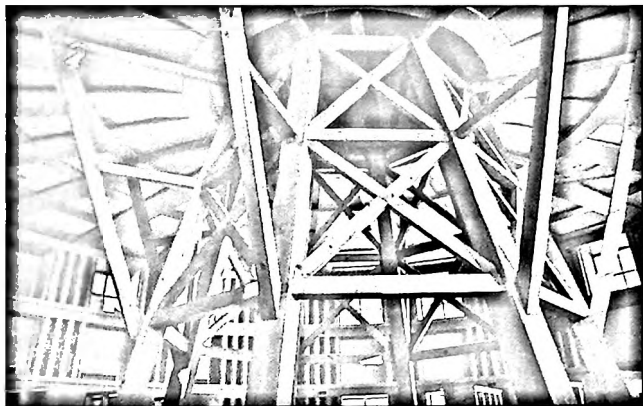
Photography

As with the Department's Art Collection, our Photography Collection chronicles the people, events, and landscapes shaping the settlement and growth of the West. Original items include images of American Indians, immigrant life, mining, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, the city of Denver and other Colorado towns, railroads and more. Images from the Hayden, Powell, King, and Wheeler expeditions are represented, along with the work of William Henry Jackson, and a complete set of the portfolios of Edward S. Curtis photogravures.

Also represented in the collection are works by Horace S. Poley, L. C. McClure, David F. Barry, and Roger Whitacre. A vast collection of images, national in scope, created by the railroaders Otto Perry and Robert W. Richardson, are highlights of a still larger body of railroad photographs. Early twentieth-century Denver is chronicled in the marvelous images of the irreverent newspaper photographer Harry Rhoads, while WPA albums document Colorado projects, including playgrounds, trails, and parks, many of which have now disappeared.

A variety of photographic forms are found among our more than 600,000 images, and these include prints, film negatives, glass negatives, cartes-de-visite, tintypes, photograph albums and stereocards.

Most date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Over 110,000 digitized images, including 20,000 from the Colorado Historical Society, can be found online <http://photoswest.org>, while all original "artifacts" are available for study at the Denver Public Library and may be located by contacting the Department's staff.



Western Art Collection

When Malcolm Glenn Wyer established the Western History collection, his stated goal was to collect "all things Western" and so provide research resources to those interested in the study of the trans-Mississippi West. Accordingly, artwork depicting the West and its peoples was also included in our collection from its inception. Wyer's foresight ensured many works were purchased before art collections became too costly for a public library budget. Therefore, our collection of regional artwork, both historic and contem-

porary, is one of the Department's great strengths.

Our holdings now include original works by Frederic Remington, Charles M. Russell, Thomas Moran, Albert Bierstadt and other major American artists. Wyer also purchased the aquatints of Karl Bodmer, the lithographs of George Catlin, the prints of James Otto Lewis,

and the McKenney-Hall collection, now some of the most frequently viewed works. Through Wyer's initial collecting, generous public donations, and ongoing purchases made with special funds, the Western Art Collection has grown to

include over 1,500 pieces of original artwork and many thousands of fine original prints.

The collection attracts researchers, enthusiasts, artists, and casual viewers, and stands as an asset appreciated by the citizens of Denver and Colorado, as well as visitors from other states and countries.

Collection Access

Access to the Denver Public Library's Western history collection begins at the Denver Public Library's home page, which can be found at denverlibrary.org. Links to



many resources are arranged along the left side of the page, and as you mouse over each one, additional options display.

A substantial number of databases can be found using the link "Research Resources." Under this link, is another link titled "databases A-Z," which includes approximately 100 databases dealing with everything from genealogy and history to grant writing, foreign languages, literature, current events and a host of other topics. Although access to a few of these databases is restricted to computer terminals within the Library, most are available from your home or office simply by entering your library card number.

Descriptions of many of our collections are available through the Western History home page, which is accessible from the Library's main home page under "Western History & Genealogy." Descriptions include information on access, content, library hours and in many cases tips and tools for using the collections. Descriptions are provided the collection's varied topical divisions

including railroads, neighborhood histories, mining, Western art and maps and more.

The Western History home page includes numerous additional resources. For example, under "News, Exhibits and Classes," you will find an extensive schedule of genealogy classes and other offerings. The Department also features a blog, which provides information about new collections, and significant new finds. You can also access descriptions and schedules for exhibits, department photographs and much more.

Access to manuscript collections begins at the Library home page with the CARL catalog. In order to limit a search specifically to original manuscript materials, use the term "MSS" in conjunction with subject terms. For example, to search for original manuscript materials related to Buffalo Bill, type "mss Cody" into the search box. This technique filters out books, serials or other publications and returns only those catalog records that deal with original manuscript materials.

An examination of the catalog record reveals information about the location of the materials, a brief summary of the materials contained within the collection and a number of subject headings that may be useful for additional searching. In most cases, the catalog records contain just enough basic informa-

tion to point you in the right direction. If the collection looks promising, your next step is to request an inventory. Unfortunately, inventories are not available online. However, reference librarians can easily print copies of collection inventories for you at the Library, or they can send you copies of inventories as email attachments for your convenience. In some cases, the inventory may not contain substantially more information than the catalog record but as collections become larger and more complex, an inventory can provide significantly more details regarding a collection's contents.

Perhaps the ultimate tool for collection description is what we call an EAD finding aid. EAD stands for "Encoded Archival Description," and for practical purposes, an EAD finding aid is essentially like an individual webpage devoted to a single manuscript collection.

If you really want to demonstrate competence, slip the phrase "EAD finding aid" into your next conversation with a reference librarian and you may well find yourself regarded as a "leading edge" researcher.

There are at least a couple of ways to access EAD finding aids through the Denver Public Library web site. Within a catalog record, a section called "Arrangement" will show how the organization has been processed or organized. For processed collections, there should be

an additional catalog record section titled "Finding Aid." This section provides a link directly to the online finding aid.

Once you access a finding, you simply need to click on the table of contents in the upper left corner to activate it. Next, click on the introduction. To determine whether or not certain subjects are contained within a finding aid, you might start by entering search terms into the search box provided. It is also possible to scroll through sections of the collection to get a sense of the organization and of the materials the collection contains. An index is provided on the left side of the basic finding aid in order to provide links to the various series into which the collection is organized. Clicking on one of these series links opens a detailed description in the right-hand window.

Another way to access online finding aids is to use the "Archives Finding Aids" link on the DPL home page. This method of accessing finding aids provides a search function that permits searching all collections with a single search. Thus, it is possible to find specific subject references within numerous collections rather than searching each collection individually.

The link to the "Digital Image Catalog," which is also available under "Western History & Genealogy" permits researchers to make use of the digitized portion of the Den-

ver Public Library's extensive photo collection. Additional links, through the "Western History Home" provide access to an index of non-digitized photographs.

Conclusion

One of the most effective ways to learn to access the Denver Public Library's extensive Western History collection is simply to explore the Library's home page at www.denverlibrary.org. Follow various links, try various searches, examine catalog records and peruse online finding aids. Remember, too, that the Western History reference staff stands ready to answer your questions at (720) 865-1821. You may also submit email inquiries to GenHist@denverlibrary.org.

The staff of the Western History/Genealogy Department at the Denver Public Library would be especially pleased to provide tours of our collection and facilities to small groups of Westerners. Feel free to contact Wendel at Wcox@denverlibrary.org, Kellen at Kcutsfor@denverlibrary.org or Dennis at Dhagen@denverlibrary.org to schedule a time.

The authors

Dennis Hagen has been a member of the Denver Posse for approximately ten years, and this is his second presentation. He was born in Minnesota, raised in North Dakota and received his Bachelors Degree in Political Science from the University of North Dakota in 1968.

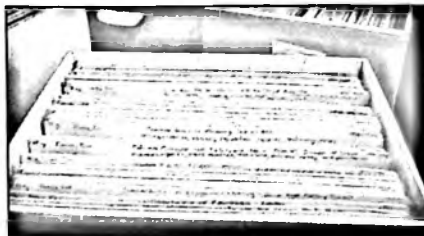
Dennis obtained his Masters Degree in Library and Information Sciences from the University of Denver in 2004, graduating with honors as one of the oldest students in the program, and immediately landed what he considered to be his dream job as an archivist at the Denver Public Library's Western History and Genealogy Department. Currently, Dennis manages the Library's 10th Mountain Division Resource Center, which is one of the largest military archives of its kind in the United States.

J. Wendel Cox is Senior Special Collection Librarian in Western History/Genealogy at the Denver Public Library. Born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, he received his B.A. (Honours) in History from the University of Winnipeg and his Ph.D. in American History from the University of Minnesota. After receiving his doctorate, he worked at Arizona State University and the University of Minnesota Morris (UMM), and subsequently earned a Master of Library and Information Science

from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He joined the Denver Public Library in 2007.

Kellen Cutsforth has worked for the past nine years in the area of history, in particular Western history. Kellen has worked in the photograph and manuscript archive of the Western History and Genealogy Department of the Denver Public Library (DPL) for the last seven years. Kellen is also a long-standing member of Phi Alpha Theta Historical Honors Society.

Kellen worked for over a year in the photograph archive of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in Pueblo, CO where he worked on several projects that included research and reference for the massive photograph archive and has also worked as Curator of the Rocky Ford Historical Museum. He has a degree in History and Library and Museum Studies from Colorado State University at Pueblo.



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.

Welcome new members

The Denver Posse welcomes into membership: Walt Borneman from Estes Park, who was our speaker in April, and Rebecca Watt from Centennial.

Western History Presentations to Other Corrals

The Boulder Corral of Westerners' April presentation featured "Colorado Author Patience Stapleton, and the Inaugural Ride on the Pikes Peak Carriage Road," by member Nancy Bathke. In May, Denver Posse member Dr. Bruce Paton told about the problems of explorers surviving, in his program "Doctors in the Wilderness."

In April the Colorado Corral of Westerners viewed "Colorado Gold Rush Photos featuring the Anthony 'Gold Regions' set of 1868," by Corral members Ed and Nancy Bathke. The May setting for the Colorado Corral meeting was, appropriately, the Byers-Evans House, where a combination of a tour of the house, a presentation, "Anne Evans – A Pioneer in Colorado Cultural History: The Things that Last when Gold is Gone," by Barbara Edwards Sternberg and Evelyn Waldron, plus an onsite catered dinner, made an outstanding evening.

The presentation at the Fort Collins Westerners' April meeting was by Carol Tunner, on "Fort Collins Parks." For May, the Fort Collins Corral learned about "The Fighting Fertigs: Colorado's Mining Engineer Guerilla," in Steve Hart's program.

At the April meeting in Colorado Springs, the Pikes Peak Posse of Westerners heard Phil McDonald's "The Manitou Incline: Then and Now." In May, author and artist, and former police chief of Pueblo, Ruben Archuleta presented the "History of the Penitentes." Ruben's talk was very informative, covering not only the Penitentes, but his experiences and career, as well as Hispanic history of southern Colorado.



Westerners Bookshelf



The Four Hills of Life: Northern Arapaho Knowledge and Life Movement, by Jeffrey D. Anderson. University of Nebraska Press, 2008. 360 pp. Map, figures, tables, bibliography, index. Series: Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians. Paper, \$29.95.

When this work was published, the author was an associate professor of anthropology at Colby College. Presumably, he still is. This work is for the serious student in anthropology, and it is not an easy read. It must be studied. But those who are willing to put forth the effort will be rewarded—not only with a sense of accomplishment—but with insights into the life of a people that will touch and move them.

For one born and raised in our culture, and educated by and in it, the task of acquiring and then providing some kind of a glimmer and understanding into another culture is not an easy one. The investigator must not bring his or her baggage into the mix.

It is very apparent that the author of this work did not make that mistake. Much of the difficulty one has in digesting Anderson's work is generated by his rigorous, even tenacious, separation of the mind-set and world-view provided him by his own education and culture, from the mind-set and world-view of the culture of the Arapaho people. He takes the reader through that process, then seeks to position himself within theirs. It is as though he tries to be born to an Arapaho woman, in order to be raised as one. Then when he gains their understanding of the world, one which is peopled by humans and other-than-humans and an arc of life that travels with the sun from east to west: he is faced with the formidable task of articulating that whole, yet foreign and organic mind-set and world-view, back into his own language. He must translate worlds and words and visions from another time and place into the precise, formal language of the anthropologist.

Along the way, the author shows or at least hints at the way in which the huge land-plains and mountains and parks, sparsely inhabited by humans but filled with an abundance of life and buffalo, formed a culture with its own unique depth and richness. After centuries of inter-action with the buffalo, who in their reality were the first humans, Anderson affords the reader at least a shadow of Arapaho identity. It is a remarkable work.

--Wick Downing, C.M.

Spartan Band: Burnett's 13th Texas Cavalry on the Civil War, by Thomas Reid. Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 1984. 240 pp. Illustrations, 6 tables, 8 maps, 7 B&W photos, bibliography, index. cloth, alk. Paper \$19.95.

The 13th Texas Cavalry was organized in the spring of 1862 from counties in East Texas. Once organized the unit was sent into Arkansas where it was dismounted and continued to operate as infantry for the balance of the war. The regiment continued its training and through the years it developed into one of the best-trained and toughest units deployed in the Trans-Mississippi Department. In all of the engagements the unit was in, it was deployed as part of General Walker's Texas Division. The first years saw the unit marched from one camp site to another and as a result was eventually known as Walker's Greyhound Division. Through this time period the unit suffered most of its casualties through sickness due to the weather and conditions of the camp as well as the sporadic supplies.

The engagements the unit was in included Lake Providence, Fort De Russy, Mansfield, Pleasant Hill, and Jenkins' Ferry. The unit actually covered much more territory in its constant movements but was limited in the number of actual engagements. The 13th Texas Cavalry surrendered in 1865. Most of the officers and men returned to the lives that they had previous to the war. The epilog speaks to where they lived and died after the war. There are also muster records for much of the three-plus years as well as copies of letters and diaries from the various soldiers.

The book was well organized historically and geographically as far as the events timing and the places where they took place. It was interesting to see that the Confederacy leadership was often chosen or elected on popularity and not necessarily of leadership or tactical skills. I believe this was much of the reason for the 13th Texas to do a lot of road marches from place to place with little actual engagements. The time was not a total waste since the men and officers had plenty of time to train and become toughened up as well as fit prior to any major engagements. This is probably why they took few casualties due to actual combat. The author was very detailed on the living conditions and the causes of the majority of the deaths due to illness.

The constant movement with little battle in the beginning of the book makes it a slow read but it improves as the unit begins to get into the battle events. This type of writing and research makes for great regimental histories as well as being good for family genealogy research for the families of the men of the 13th Texas Cavalry.

--Ron Pitcock. C.M.

Steamboats West, The 1859 American Fur Company Missouri River Expedition, by Lawrence H. Larsen and Barbara J. Cottrell. Arthur H. Clark Company, Norman, Oklahoma, 2010. 256 pp., illustrations, photos, 20 B&W illus., 1 map, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$34.95.

Steamboats West is a wonderful look into the American Fur Company who in 1859 established a commercial trade route from St. Louis, Missouri to Fort Benton in present-day Montana by way of the Missouri River. This 6,200-mile trek is the longest steamboat trip in North American history, reaching far into the northwest frontier.

It's an adventure-packed story about navigating steamboats through the rapids of the upper Missouri River which presented a real danger and a testament to the skill of the captains. No two runs were the same.

The steamboats **Spread Eagle** and **Chippewa** come to life through the commentary in the journals of Dr. Elias Marsh and Charles H. Weber. First-hand accounts by Charles P. Chouteau and Capt. William Franklin Reynolds of the day-by-day river journey interject the river's history and portraits of the Native peoples living along the upper Missouri.

I recommend this book to any one interested in how steamboats helped establish commercial water routes in the inland West. It is well written and full of details.

--Bob Lane, P.M.

Westminster - The First 100 Years, by Kimberly Field and Kelly Kordes Anton. The Publishing House, Westminster, Colorado. 184 pp. Illustrations, photos, maps, bibliography, index. Paper, \$39.95.

While there have been books and articles written about Westminster over the years, it wouldn't be until the city's centennial that a book as comprehensive as *Westminster - The First 100 Years* would come along. Authors Kimberly Field and Kelly Kordes Anton have put together a truly wonderful birthday present for the city. The amount of research involved in digging up the facts and old photographs is mind boggling. The book is everything a good history book should be. It presents the readers with new information, it jogs their memory to recall things they may have known but have perhaps forgotten; and it is written in a style that makes it a hard book to put down once you have opened it.

How many people have driven Federal Boulevard and wondered about the castle-like building on Crown Point, or the blue building at 100th Avenue that looks like an airplane hangar? And what is with the Savery Savory

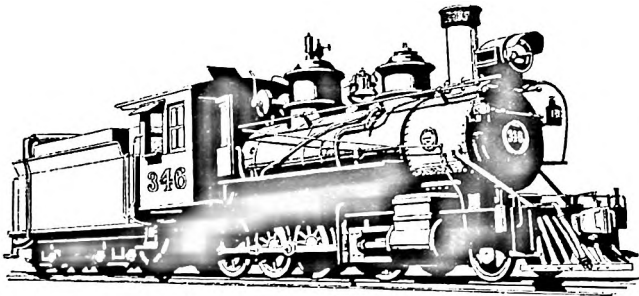
Mushroom water tower at 112th and Federal? This book answers all of those questions and more.

Some history books that deal with towns or counties fall into the trap of presenting a few historic photographs, and then lapse into a sometimes dry and not-too-interesting series of biographical sketches. That is not the case with this book. There are more than enough photographs, both historic and modern, to satisfy even the most demanding reader. And by the time you finish reading about the people who have contributed to the history of Westminster over the years, you almost feel as if you knew them.

My first reaction upon finishing this book was to take the book and grab my camera and head for Westminster to photograph some of the buildings and landmarks about which I hadn't previously known.

It was a most rewarding trip, and the book itself will be a rewarding trip that I would highly recommend to anyone with even the slightest interest in the history of the Denver area.

--Carl Sandberg, C.M.





The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

July - August 2011



Pikes Peak

**How Zebulon Pike and Charles Fremont Survived
Colorado**

by Bruce Paton, P.M.
(presented May 26, 2010)



Our Author

Bruce Paton was born in India where his father was a doctor in the government medical service. He was educated in Scotland, served in World War II in the British Royal Marines, went to medical school in Edinburgh and came to Denver fifty years ago, for one year!

He was Professor and Chief of Cardiac Surgery at the Univ. of Colorado for twenty-one years, then spent seventeen years in private practice at Porter and Swedish Hospitals.

A life-long interest in the outdoors and exploration led him to write *Lewis and Clark: Doctors in the Wilderness*, about the medical aspect of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and *Adventuring with Boldness: the Triumph of the Explorers*, an account of nine different expeditions between 1770 and 1870.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

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How Zebulon Pike and Charles Fremont Survived Colorado

by Bruce Paton, P.M.
(presented May 26, 2010)



**Zebulon Montgomery Pike,
1779-1813**

Zebulon Montgomery Pike, depending on your interpretation, was a hero, a man of unbelievable endurance, a great explorer who commanded the loyalty of the men under him, or was possibly a spy, incompetent, impetuous, self-centered, naïve, a poor leader who led his men into unnecessary disaster. His only true memorial is a magnificent mountain in Colorado, Pikes Peak.

Zebulon Montgomery's father, also Zebulon Pike, was a Captain in the Continental Army and, after Independence farmed in Pennsylvania. Farming was a hard way to make a living and, when the

call came for the militia to fight the Indians, he joined up again.

Captain Pike and his wife were ordered to Cincinnati, along with their three daughters and one son. The commander of the camp was General James Wilkinson.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike, thirteen years old, soon became entranced by his father's flamboyant commanding officer, James Wilkinson, once described as "the most villainous character" in early American history. Zebulon joined the army at age fifteen.

In November 1799 Zeb was promoted to first lieutenant in the First Infantry Regiment, and by 1801 was adjutant at Fort Wilkinsonville where one of his fellow officers was Meriwether Lewis. His duties took him to many military posts, one of which was near Sugar Grove, Kentucky, where he met, and fell in love with, his cousin Clarissa Brown. They eloped and were married in Cincinnati.

Pike was a demanding officer, determined to turn the rough volunteers into competent soldiers. He was conscientious, temperate in his ways, intolerant of drunkenness, a skilled outdoorsman, and an expert marksman. He had great powers of endurance and was indifferent to cold and discomfort. His education

was poor, but he made up for this by teaching himself French, Spanish, and the elements of science. While other officers – probably including Meriwether Lewis – caroused, Pike studied to improve himself.

Pike seems to have been oblivious to the weakness, perfidious nature and treachery of his commanding general, James Wilkinson. The Spanish were paying Wilkinson for information about American military forces and their plans, while, at the same time, Wilkinson was planning an invasion of Spanish territory. Theodore Roosevelt, in his book, *Winning of the West*, said of Wilkinson, "He had no conscience and no scruples; and he had not the slightest idea of the meaning of the word honor."

Why did Wilkinson choose Pike to lead two expeditions, both of which were conceived to benefit himself? Perhaps he recognized in Pike a young officer, intensely loyal, perhaps somewhat naïve, but a man with drive, courage, endurance and persistence enough to complete whatever task he was assigned. On June 24, 1805, Pike received orders to come to St. Louis and leave with all possible speed to explore the upper Mississippi and return before the winter. The expedition left within a month and, against orders, Pike spent the winter trying to find the source of the Mississippi. He found what was then believed to be the source (we now know he did not

find the true source) and returned to St. Louis.

Pike, was then twenty-six years old, a lieutenant in the infantry, returned to St. Louis in 1806 expecting promotion, a rest, perhaps a reward and, certainly, praise. Instead, he received new marching orders.

While Pike had been on the Mississippi Wilkinson had been plotting another voyage of exploration. Two months after returning to St. Louis, Pike received orders to escort a party of Osage Indians back to their village in Kansas, then continue west to find the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red Rivers and return to Natchitoches in the Louisiana Territory.

This expedition would start by crossing American land but would move into territory where the dividing line between American and Spanish control was vague and contested. If he strayed too far to the southwest he would enter territory that was definitely Spanish and would run the risk of being taken prisoner. What Pike did not know was that Wilkinson, the double agent, had informed the Spanish that Pike would be coming their way, hinting – if not actually saying – that he should be captured. Wilkinson may have had another ulterior motive. If Pike were captured he would be taken to Santa Fe, perhaps even farther into Spanish territory, and might then be able to come home

with a detailed report on the Spanish. As circumstances unfolded this plan worked almost perfectly for Wilkinson, perhaps not as perfectly for Pike. When Pike came home in 1807, Wilkinson was taking part in Burr's trial and was *persona non grata*.

The orders Pike received from Wilkinson seemed to have public and private versions. The public orders ran through the usual litany of finding the headwaters of rivers, making observations, keeping records, and bringing back specimens.

The private orders told a different story. If Pike were captured he should, apologetically, pretend to be lost and, perhaps, the Spanish would treat him well. Wilkinson wrote to Pike that he should be careful what he reported to the Secretary of War after he returned. "To me," he wrote, "you may and must write fully and freely, giving a minute detail of everything worthy of note. In regards to your approximation to the Spanish settlements...your conduct must be marked by such circumspection and direction as may prevent alarm or conflict, as you will be held responsible for the consequences. On this subject I refer you to your orders." Were those the public or the private orders? Historians still do not know.

The expedition left on July 15, 1806; a party of eighteen soldiers who had been with Pike up the

Mississippi and two new privates, Lt. James B. Wilkinson, the son of the general and Dr. John H. Robinson, a volunteer doctor who was to play an interesting role in the ensuing adventure, one interpreter. Among the men was Pvt., formerly Sgt., Kennerman who had been demoted during the first expedition and promptly deserted on the second. He disappeared from history. Two boats were loaded with supplies and equipment, and, because Pike did not think he would meet winter conditions, took no winter clothing was taken. There were also fifty-one Osage Indians being escorted back to their village.

As this strange group progressed, the soldiers rowing the boats and the Indians walking on shore, Pike and a couple of hunters were on the prairie killing enough game to supply everyone with food. The party reached the Osage village and delivered the Indians back to their own people. There was much rejoicing, but, when Pike and his men were to leave, the Indians, at first, said they could only supply four horses. After much negotiation the Indians sold them fifteen horses, and provided guides.

While Pike was returning the Osages to their home and starting out across the prairie 600 Spanish dragoons and militia had set out from Santa Fe to arrest Pike and his men. But they were too early for Pike's slow moving group. When



Pike arrived at the Pawnee settlement he was told that the Spanish believed that Pike was spying for Wilkinson, and that his expedition was not an innocent attempt to find the western limits of the Louisiana Purchase.

Pike eventually arrived at the Arkansas River where, as planned, Lt. Wilkinson left the group with four men to make his way back to civilization. Wilkinson's journey was not as easy as anticipated. He set off in a bullboat made from willows and buffalo hides and one canoe. It took him seventy-three days to reach Fort Arkansas, where his four companions immediately deserted.

Pike proceeded north along the Arkansas River with fifteen men. The abundance of game was a source of constant amazement. "I believe that there are buffalo, elk, and deer sufficient on the banks of the Arkansas (sic) alone, if used

without waste, to feed all the savages in the United States one century." But other areas seemed less attractive. "These vast plains of the western hemisphere, may become in time equally celebrated as the sandy deserts (sic) of Africa; for I saw in my route, in various places, tracts of many leagues, where

the wind had thrown up the sand, in all the fanciful forms of the ocean's rolling wave, and on which not a speck of vegetable matter existed." The weather became colder. Some of the men were frostbitten. Horses escaped and men had to spend nights out, looking for them. Snow covered the grass and the horses were fed cottonwood tree bark. Finally Pike called a halt so he could hunt and supply the group with food. Half the horses had died and, because of the lack of winter clothes the men were already feeling the bitter weather.

Somewhere near the present city of Pueblo, Colorado, the group halted and built a stockade. They had already seen the mountains ahead, and Pike thought that, while the men rested, he and a small party could climb the great peak they had spotted "like a small blue cloud" from far out on the prai-

rie. The air was so clear, and Pike, inexperienced at judging distances and heights, thought he could get to the peak in a day. Three days later they had just reached the foot of the mountains. Not Pike. As soon as the storm had finished they pushed north into the mountains, passed the mouth of the Royal Gorge and made their way into the expanse of South Park where they found a stream that they correctly interpreted as a branch of the South Platte River. Pike realized that going farther north was not feasible, so they turned around, heading southeast, crossed the mountains through the Royal Gorge and, to their surprise, found themselves back at the spot from which they had started.

The expedition was collapsing. The men were starving, they had to sleep on the frozen ground without blankets, their feet pointing towards a huge fire. On January 5, 1807 they decided to halt and build another stockade. Two men, with feet frozen so badly that they could not travel were left behind and Pike and the remaining thirteen men turned west through the Sangre de Cristo Mountains into what is now the San Luis Valley. Pike was looking for the origin of the Red River, although he must have known that the way to the Red River was due south and not west. (Humboldt's map, on which he relied, may have deceived him into thinking that the Red River arose farther north.)

The men were near mutiny and one said, "It is more than human nature could bear, to march three days without sustenance through snow three feet deep, to carry burdens fit only for horses." The complaint was probably justified as they had been carrying seventy-pound loads under harsh conditions. Pike turned on the man, accused him of sedition and threatened to shoot him should he ever utter such words again.

It is easy, backed by modern knowledge of the geography, to accuse Pike of stupidity, poor leadership, lack of preparation and bad decisions. Starvation and hypothermia both affect rational thinking and Pike may have been suffering from this deadly combination affecting his ability to make rational decisions.

Traversing the Sangre de Cristos is a long, tough hike, even in summer. It was a near miracle that they were able to make the passage in winter, through thigh-deep snow, in wet cotton clothes, with the wind sucking the heat out of their bodies. Some of the men made the passage three times, going back later to rescue their incapacitated friends and returning to rejoin Pike. When the rescue group made their return across the mountains, the men who had been left behind were still unable to travel and sent Pike bones from their frostbitten feet as a grim reminder of their plight.

Pike did not lack determination. His judgment may not have been good, but he was usually pushing ahead of his men, finding the route, hunting for food and planning the next moves. By the middle of January nine men had frostbitten feet and could go no farther. Fortunately, Pike was still fit and able to shoot a buffalo. Along with Dr. Robinson, he loaded as much meat as he could carry and arrived at camp, dizzy with exhaustion. The meat was a life-saver for the men. Pike wrote in his diary: "I determined never again to march with so little provision."

The group struggled on past the Great Sand Dunes and, from the summit of one of the dunes Pike could see a stream flowing south, about fifteen miles away. He thought this might be the upper reaches of the Red River. They found a suitable place, surrounded by trees, and on February 1, 1806 began to build a stockade. This one was built of cottonwood trunks two feet in diameter, with walls twelve feet high. A water-filled moat, several feet deep, was built outside the wall, and the entrance was a small opening at the bottom of the wall that could only be reached by crawling across a log. This was clearly a defensive stockade, built in anticipation of a visit from Spanish troops. Pike boasted, "Thus fortified I should not have the least hesitation of putting 100 Spanish horse at defiance until the first

or second night and we made our escape under cover of darkness." Pike sent five men to rescue the two frostbitten members of the group, leaving only himself and four men in the stockade. At the same time, Dr. Robinson left to go to Santa Fe. He seemed to know exactly how to get there. He went south along the river, by himself, and was in Santa Fe within a few days. Did he know, and did Pike know that the river beside which they were camping was the Rio Grande and not the Red River?

Pike and his men did not have long to wait before the Spanish appeared. Robinson had obviously told them that there was a small, weak group of Americans in a stockade on the Rio Grande. The first visitors were a Frenchman and an Indian, but four days later 100 dragoons arrived. Pike allowed the Spanish commander into the fort and agreed to go peacefully to Santa Fe if the Spanish would stay and wait for the remaining members of his group who had gone back across the mountains. When asked about his presence, Pike said, "Is not this the Red River?" "No," came the reply, "this is the Rio del Norte." The Governor in Santa Fe found Pike's story contradictory but said they were not prisoners of war. The Spanish treated him with respect and kindness. He dined with the Governor and was allowed the freedom of the city, such as it was. But he was

then sent to Chihuahua to explain his position in greater detail to the Commandant General. Finally, the Spanish authorities decided to allow Pike to return to the Louisiana territory.

The Spanish authorities forbade Pike from taking any notes and they took all his diaries. (The diaries were found in Mexico City in 1907 and returned to the National Archives of the United States in 1910.) Pike, however, was an acute observer with a good memory, and was able to keep notes which he concealed from the Spanish by hiding them in the barrels of his soldier's rifles.

He arrived in Natchitoches on July 1, 1807, roughly eleven months since his departure from St. Louis, and was able to give a detailed report on the Spanish territory through which he had passed, in addition to information about Santa Fe, Taos, Chihuahua and other Mexican cities. His original journal was captured by the Spanish but was eventually returned to the U.S. and published in 1810.

Pike remained in the army and was quickly promoted in the next few years to Captain, Major, Colonel and, finally, Brigadier. He was killed commanding the attack on York (now Toronto) in 1813, a true war hero, and the victor of one of the first American successes of the war of 1812.



**John Charles Frémont,
1813-1890**

“Nothing his explorations required was impossible for him to perform.”

Kit Carson

Anne Beverly Pryor was a young woman living in Richmond, Virginia, who fell in love with a romantic French dancing teacher, Charles Fremont (the name was changed later to Frémont) although she was married to a much older man. She and Charles eloped in a blaze of scandal. Their son, John Charles, was born, out of wedlock, in February 1813 and soon proved to be a bright, inquisitive boy. His father died, leaving Anne to raise him and his sister.

In 1838, through the influence of Secretary of War Joel Poinsett, Frémont was commissioned in the Corps of Topographi-

cal Engineers of the U.S Army. He was assigned to accompany Joseph N. Nicollet, a well-known French scientist, to survey the area between the upper reaches of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

Frémont acquired surveying, scientific and botanical knowledge. He also learned how to interact with Indians, all skills that would hold him in good stead in the coming years. The expedition produced a detailed map of a huge area.

Frémont went with Nicollet for a second voyage, up the Missouri in the steamboat *Antelope*. The party disembarked at Fort Pierre where Frémont had his first exciting experience of hunting buffalo, at full gallop, across the prairie, an experience that left him exhausted and temporarily lost. By the end of this expedition Frémont was an experienced wilderness explorer and surveyor and entranced with the romance of the West.

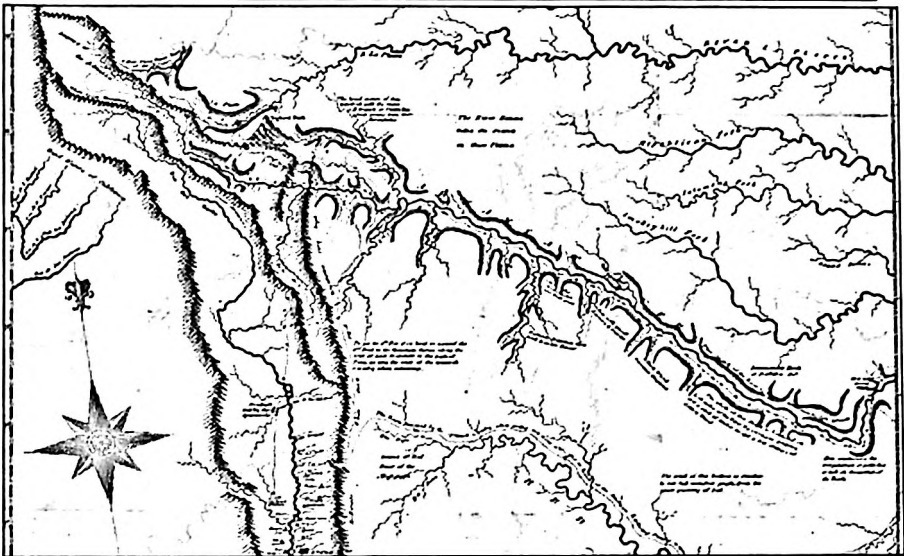
The First Expedition

While Nicollet and Frémont were working on the report of their second voyage, Sen. Thomas Hart Benton, one of the most influential men in Washington, paid them a visit. Benton wanted Congress to support explorations that would find the "Road to India." He invited Frémont to his home and his daughter, Jessie, who was only sixteen, quickly became enamored with handsome visitor and the friendship blossomed

into love.

Sen. Benton and his wife were strongly opposed to a marriage, and had John sent on a mission to the Ohio River while Jessie was sent to a private school. Neither of these tricks worked and they eloped, finding a Catholic priest who agreed to marry them. The Senator was furious and, giving a "never darken these doors again" speech, expelled both of them from his home. But paternal love (combined with admiration for the young Frémont) made him relent, and re-admit the young couple to their home. When Congress, pushed by Benton, decided to send an expedition to take a detailed look at the Oregon Trail, Nicollet was chosen as chief of the project; but he was in bad health and 2nd Lt. John Frémont was appointed in his place.

Frémont only recruited one man to join the group, Charles Preuss, an artist and cartographer who had lived with the Bentons. Preuss was not an experienced traveler, but was a good artist and cartographer, and emigrants to the West used Preuss' maps for many years. When Frémont reached St. Louis he signed on two courtesy members of the expedition: Henry Brant, a nineteen-year-old relative and Randolph Benton, his wife's twelve-year-old brother. He then began, seriously, to collect men to take him west, including Lucien Maxwell, and Basil LaJeunesse who



would become a close and trusted friend. *En route* up the Missouri River, Frémont, almost casually, had a fateful meeting with a fellow passenger, Kit Carson.

Carson was out of a job and was the guide Frémont needed with his quiet composure, and his vast knowledge and experience of the West. Frémont hired Carson on the spot at \$100 per month.

The purpose of the journey was obscure because Americans (quite apart from generations of Indians) had crossed South Pass in 1812 and again in 1824. In the intervening years, un-numbered trappers had used the pass to reach the Green River valley. The first organized emigrant group, led by Dr. Elijah White, was only two or three weeks ahead of Frémont.

Frémont was to bring back

detailed information of value to future emigrants, but he was not ordered to, nor was he expected to make any genuine discoveries. His first orders were to survey the land to the south of the Missouri and Platte Rivers. He thought these orders were too restrictive and tried to get official approval to explore the Rocky Mountains. John James Abert, head of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, was not willing to go that far, despite promptings from Sen. Benton, but did say, informally, that if a reconnaissance of the Rockies did not interfere with the main objectives, Frémont could explore the mountains. Abert did not realize that once Frémont was on his own, he could be a loose cannon. He was likely to make his own plans and would accept the consequences of his actions, knowing that he could

be praised, or be in deep trouble.

The expedition left Chouteau's Landing on June 10: an imposing group, the men on horses followed by eight mule-drawn carts with supplies, and with Kit Carson in the lead. They experienced the usual troubles. A rubber inflatable boat, (Frémont was probably the first person to use an inflatable rubber raft on white water) capsized in the Platte, dumping their supply of coffee in the water: a disaster for the coffee-drinking voyageurs. Fortunately, they soon found another supply.

When they reached the branching of the Platte, Frémont went south and sent the others north to Fort Laramie. Frémont wanted to find sites for future forts to protect the emigrant routes. Within a couple of weeks he rejoined his companions at Fort Laramie, to find them alarmed about rumors of Indian attacks along their proposed route. Having come this far, Frémont was not about to be put off. He gave a rousing speech to his companions, implying that anyone who stayed behind was "chicken." Only one man left the group. For obvious reasons, Frémont left behind the two boys and ordered the older boy to wind the chronometer every day, an unexciting task for a young man dreaming about exploring the West. The expedition left Fort Laramie and, on July 29 ate their first buffalo, the dietary mainstay of trappers

and travelers. Along the trail they saw the scattered detritus of emigration: old clothes, some stained with blood, and pots too heavy to carry. There had been a serious drought and they met Indians seeking new homes because the lack of water and grass had driven away the buffalo and game. The threatened attacks did not occur.

In the spring and summer, South Pass is a benign, wide expanse of sagebrush. To the north, the snow-capped Wind River Mountains come to a mildly declining end, and, to the south, low mesas rise to break the skyline. In between these two landmarks, the gentle rise of the pass, almost twenty miles broad, fills the eye.

The first trappers to traverse the slopes of South Pass were Astorians heading back from the mouth of the Columbia in 1812. In 1824 Jedediah Smith, the next white leader to take a motley band of trappers across the windy pass, had some inkling of its importance, but could never have imagined the flood of pilgrims who would use it, two decades later. When he crossed the divide he did not realize he was heading down to the Pacific until he saw that the creek was running westward. Capt. Benjamin Bonneville hauled the first wagons over the hump in 1832, showing that this was a feasible route to the enticing west. The Sweetwater River runs to the east and Pacific Creek, at times bare-

ly discernible, flows to the west. To the Indians, this was a well-known route through the mountains, but they did not understand the importance of a pass, accessible to wagons and crossing the continental divide. They had no idea that by showing the pass to a white trapper they were ensuring their own displacement, if not their destruction.

South Pass, a few thousand acres of scrub grass, sand and sagebrush, was more important to the opening of the West than any other piece of real estate of similar size and conformation. The dramatic route of Lewis and Clark over Lemhi and Lolo passes is of interest only to tourists and aficionados of the Lewis and Clark heritage. It was never used to expand the West, but more than 400,000 emigrants crossed South Pass.

Abert's orders to Frémont were to explore the route to South Pass, and, return home. By the time his party crossed into the valley of the Green River, his official work was finished. Looking north, he could see the snow-covered peaks of the Wind River Mountains and, setting aside his orders, he turned towards them. The sight of the high peaks gave him the idea to be the first man to climb what he thought was the tallest mountain in America.

Boulder Lake, a short distance east of Pinedale, lay at the foot of the peaks, bright blue in the summer sun, surrounded by trees

that afforded shelter, firewood and grazing for the mules. Frémont, with fourteen men, each mounted on a mule, and with Carson as the guide, made their way through the forest, northeast, to what seemed to be the tallest peak. It looked so close that everyone thought that the summit could be reached within a day, or perhaps two. Like Pike before him, Frémont was deceived by the crystalline clarity of the air into thinking that the climb would be an easy ramble. It did not take them long to realize how wrong they were.

Carson was not used to guiding through the intricacies and unexpected obstructions of a mountain range and Frémont had a splitting headache and vomited so badly that he could not continue. Preuss became separated from the main party, lost his footing, and slid precipitously down a snow slope into a pile of rocks. The precious barometer, with which Frémont was going to measure the altitude at the summit, fell and broke. But, with great ingenuity, it was repaired with glue made from buffalo bones, and deer hide.

It was obvious that they had underestimated the distance to the mountain they called Snow Peak, now called Frémont Peak (13,745 ft.), and they camped on hard granite slabs by the side of a small lake with an island. Thinking that the trip would only take a day, they had not brought enough blankets and food and they spent an uncomfortable

night. Another day was spent in a fruitless search for a route. Preuss climbed higher than anyone else and was surprised to see Frémont and the others below him. He was carrying the barometer and received shouted instructions to take a pressure measurement, although he was not at the summit. Frémont was still sick and sent men back to Boulder Lake to get more food and blankets. The next day, refreshed and after a warmer night, he was ready to climb to the summit. Frémont made sure he was the first to reach the summit, which was so small that only one man could stand on it at a time. The view was fantastic and Frémont, clutching an American flag, thought he was standing on top of the world. The climb was a singular achievement. This was the first time a mountain of this size had been climbed in America (at least, by a white man), and climbed with no other intent than to get to the top. This was a pure ego trip, one that could be described to Jessie in glowing terms, and one that would serve to show Frémont's adventurous spirit. His success would bring praise and adulation. If it had turned out to be a disaster, there would have been hell to pay.

The group headed for the Sweetwater River and the way home. When the party reached the Sweetwater, Frémont inflated the rubber boat. All went well until they hit some rapids and the boat cap-

sized, tipping valuable supplies and instruments into the water, including a book with all the astronomical observations. The boat was abandoned and, walking on bare feet through cactus country, they picked a precarious way towards Fort Laramie. Miraculously, one of the men fished a book out of the river, the astronomical observations, the scientific basis for Frémont's later report to the Topographical Engineers. Forty-two days after setting out, they walked back into Fort Laramie. When Frémont finally reached St. Louis he left almost immediately for Washington, to rejoin his wife who was expecting a child and to report to the authorities and his father-in-law.

The report that Frémont wrote with the help of his wife, Jessie, became a best-seller, opening the eyes of the public to the adventure of Western travel, and providing scientific information about the land between the Missouri and the Rockies. The heroic young explorer with a pretty young wife, an influential father-in-law, and the writer of a best selling government report, was poised for greater adventures.

The Second Colorado Expedition

Frémont's third expedition was to California where he played a major part in the capture of the state from the Mexicans. But he overstepped his authority and was

court-martialed, convicted of insubordination and discharged from the army.

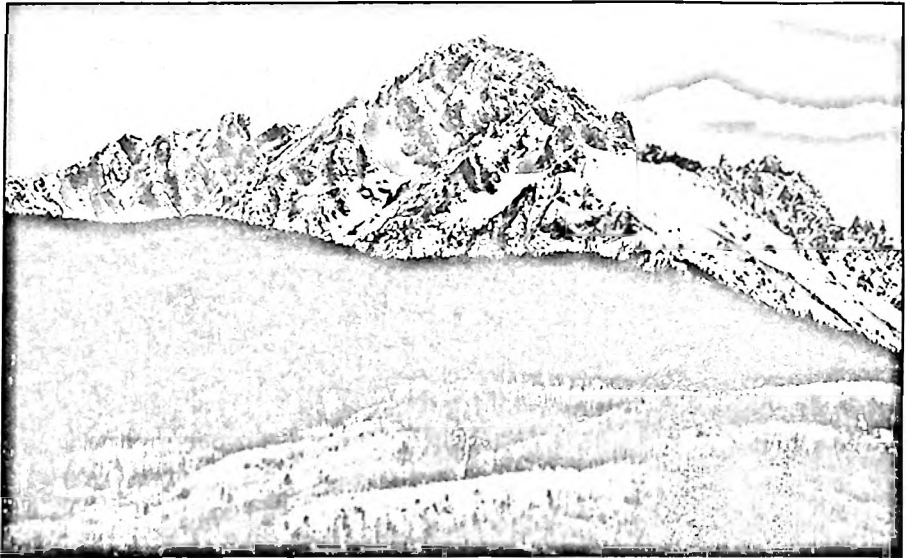
Frémont's court martial in 1848, left him in disgrace. He was only thirty-six and had fallen from the heights of fame to the depths of ignominy in less than a year. He blamed his disgrace on politicians and Army officers out to destroy him. In his mind, his disgrace was certainly not his fault.

Within a few months, under the influence of his father-in-law, another expedition was planned. Sen. Benton had, for a long time dreamed of developing a railroad from coast to coast. First, a route had to be surveyed. The 38th parallel was chosen, partly because it passes close to St. Louis, Benton's home. This was a chance for Frémont to clear his name. Congress, encouraged by Sen. Benton, gave \$30,000 to support the endeavor. Frémont collected a group of men, including some who had traveled with him before, Alexis Godey, Edward Kern and Charles Preuss, and proceeded west.

The weather was already deteriorating when they reached Bent's Fort. The local mountain men tried to dissuade them from starting because of the depth of the snow. Frémont's route would take him through several mountain ranges in the middle of winter, in an area that, year by year, has the heaviest snowfall of the region. The veterans of

the mountains may not have known the snowfall statistics, but they knew the mountains were tough in the summer and impassable in the winter. They might as well have spoken to a wall. Frémont was not about to be put off. The mountains ahead of him could be no worse than those he had conquered before, and the added incentive of mapping out the first route for a railroad could not be resisted.

Frémont did not have a guide. Kit Carson was settling down and would not join the expedition. Instead, Frémont hired "Uncle Dick" Wootton, who soon quit because he thought the journey too hazardous at that time of year. In his place Frémont hired "Old Bill" Williams. Williams was an experienced mountain man and guide, and when Frémont found him, was down on his luck, fond of the bottle and probably very glad to have a chance to earn some money, although what he was promised was not great. He was tall, gaunt and weather-beaten, with a face scarred by smallpox. He had been with Frémont for a short time on the third expedition but had left long before they reached California. Frémont could have followed several safer routes than going straight across the mountains. But his stubborn nature would allow only one way to achieve his purpose—follow the parallel and see if a railroad route opened up.



In November the party moved to Hardscrabble, east of the Sangre de Cristos, where they were able to collect feed for the more than 100 mules that they were going to take to carry supplies for thirty-three men.

By December 3 the party had struggled through the Sangre de Cristos and had reached the Great Sand Dunes, along almost the same route as Zebulon Pike. But, instead of turning south, as Pike had done, Frémont turned northwest across the barrens of the San Luis valley, heading towards the menacing, snow-covered peaks of the San Juans.

At this point Frémont argued with Old Bill. Frémont wanted to head straight west into the San Juans. Old Bill wanted to turn south and bypass the mountains. Even

if he was not as familiar with the mountains as he claimed, he knew them well enough to know that continuing into them would lead into a morass of high, snow-filled passes, deep valleys and impossible peaks. Frémont prevailed.

Within a few days they were in trouble, pushing their way through deep snow. The diaries of the men soon gave clues to the difficulties ahead. Frémont himself wrote very little about this expedition and what is known comes from the men's journals and from Frémont's letters to Jessie. His letters to Jessie were self-serving and blamed others for the disasters and for his decisions, as though both were out of his control.

Snow fell, accompanied by biting cold winds and temperatures

well below zero. Even a modern expedition, equipped with the latest in cold weather gear and riding snowmobiles would have had an extremely difficult task fighting its way across the mountains and dealing with blizzards and drifting snow that was sometimes fifteen to thirty feet deep.

Micajah McGhee wrote that their lips were so stiff from the ice that they could not speak and their long beards and eyelids were frozen. The animals were soon starving. The corn feed was finished and the deep snow made it impossible for the mules to find grass. The men camped in small groves to shelter from the storms and climbed to nearly 12,000 feet, sometimes advancing only a few hundred yards in a day. As the mules died they were butchered and eaten; but they provided very little meat, barely enough to make a soup for the men.

The depth of the snow can be calculated from the remains of the campsites that have been found in modern times. David Roberts, writing in *A Newer World*, visited some of the old campsites in the late 1990s and found rotting tree stumps, some of them cut more than fifteen feet from the ground, stark evidence of the depth of the snow when the trees were felled for firewood.

The snow became deeper, the blizzards more intense. There was no game and the men were reduced to eating tallow candles.

The mules, starving and freezing, cried out in their misery and ate their bridles and saddles and gnawed the tails and manes of other mules. Every day mules dropped at the side of the trail and died.

At Camp Dismal, 12,000 ft., the men huddled under blankets trying to keep warm. In the morning they were often covered by deep snow. Their morale stayed remarkably strong, but cold and starvation took their toll and some men began to despair of ever surviving and reaching civilization.

On December 22 Frémont decided that they could go no farther and would have to turn around and seek lower ground if any of them were to live. He hoped they could reach a New Mexican town, re-supply and take up the search again. His decision to turn back was long overdue.

Frémont sent ahead a small group of the fittest men to find help and return with mules and food. He chose Henry King to be the leader; Old Bill was a member of the group, but not the leader. There was much discussion about how long it would take to reach the New Mexican town of Abiquiu, about 150 miles away. Some men estimated it would take only sixteen days. Considering that they had been traveling only two to three miles a day, this was an unrealistic calculation. The men who were going to make the “dash” for help were already weak and half starved,

they did not know the route and could only carry a small amount of food. They set off on December 26.

Splitting the group reduced its strength and left the weaker members to their own devices. Frémont made them carry telescopes, sextants, surveying equipment, and heavy volumes of legal books that he was determined to preserve. Why would Frémont make the men carry useless instruments? Perhaps he hoped to retrieve them and continue his survey. Starvation and cold affect judgment and may have impaired Frémont's thinking as they may have with Pike. Frémont lost sight of the most important objective, saving the lives of his men. By the time he decided to turn around, many of the men were too weak to survive.

Frémont's later letters to his wife showed that he regarded many of his men as weaklings and responsible for the disaster that overwhelmed them. "The courage of the men failed fast; in fact, I have never seen men so soon discouraged by misfortune as we were on this occasion; but, as you know, the party was not constituted like the former ones." He was failing as a leader and would fail even more before the survivors staggered and crawled to safety.

The rescue group soon needed to be rescued itself. They took three days to reach the Rio Grande River and were out of food

and "hungry as wolves." Their feet were frostbitten and swollen and they were unable to get their boots back on again after they had taken them off. They wrapped their feet in rags and crept along on the bloody soles at a rate of two or three miles a day. They were struggling for their lives.

Walking was easier in the flat of the valley but the weather was bitterly cold and there was no shelter against the screaming wind. Their snow-blind eyes felt as though they were filled with red-hot sand. Half blind, they groped their way south. Almost within sight of the Rio Grande, King announced that he could go no farther and lay down by the trail. The next day, another member of the group went back and found him dead. That night, the man who had found King dreamed—as do all starving men—of a well-filled kitchen and endless food, but woke to a belly cramping for lack of food. The story took a gruesome turn. It is almost certain that a decision was made by the group to eat King's body. Charles Preuss, a meticulous keeper of the facts, later confirmed that the surviving members of the rescue group lived off the body, perhaps for several days. Naturally, some have said that scavenging animals ate King's body, but the accounts by others would tip the balance of evidence the other way. (On Frémont's final expedition the men were made to swear that they would

not resort to cannibalism.)

Back in the mountains, Frémont was pushing his men to their limits. He went ahead with a small group of the fitter men; the others, too weak to continue, set up camps on their own. The group fell apart; it was everyman for himself. The crowning insult came when Frémont told the men staying behind that they would have to speed up because, as soon as he reached a town, he was going to leave for California.

When Frémont overtook the rescue group six days later, they were, he wrote, "the most miserable objects I have ever seen." He told his wife that he arranged for them to be carried on horses, but Breckenridge, one of the survivors, later wrote that they had to crawl on bloody feet for the last forty miles.

Frémont reached Taos and Kit Carson's wife nursed him back

to health. There were men still creeping out of the mountains and Alexis Godey turned around to save them, picking up survivors one by one. Without his efforts many more men would have died. As it was, ten of the original thirty-three men and all the animals perished. Despite Frémont's obvious failings as a leader and his rapid departure for California as soon as the men reached Taos, Godey remained completely loyal to him, praising the leadership and endurance of a man that others regarded as an egotistical scoundrel. Needless to say, the railroad was never built along the line of the fateful 38th parallel.

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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 Activities along the Front Range

Westerners' meetings took a summer vacation, with one exception. In June the Pikes Peak Posse heard "The Gift of Shade: a History of the Colorado Springs Urban Forest." Judith Rice-Jones gave a brief history of Colorado Springs' transition from barren plain to tree-shaded community, from the town founder, General William Jackson Palmer, recognizing the need for canals and trees in envisioning an attractive community, to the present-day efforts in maintaining the precious greenery as a urban treasure.

The Denver Westerners welcomes new members

In May and June, Roger Dudley, of the Denver Public Library, and Susan Trumble of Littleton, joined as Corresponding Posse Members of the Denver Westerners.





Westerners Bookshelf



Captain John R. Hughes, Lone Star Ranger, by Chuck Parsons. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2011. 297 pp. Photos, 2 maps, selected bibliography, index. Cloth, \$29.95.

Introduced by noted Western historian Robert DeArment, this work is the first known full biography of Texas Ranger Captain John R. Hughes, "One of the Four Great Captains." Actually, there were better-known ranger captains earlier in Texas Ranger history such as Jack Hayes, "Rip" Ford, Samuel Walker, Ben McCulloch, "Sul" Ross and L.H. McNelly. However, these four "Great Captains" (John R. Hughes, William McDonald, John Rogers and James Brooks) made the transition from horseback to the early modern era of the automobile.

John Hughes was born in Butler County, Ohio in 1855. Eventually, his family moved to Kansas. When on his own, he lived for a while with the Osage Indians in Indian Territory. After some early adventures trail driving cattle from Texas to Kansas, he and his brother settled down to ranching in southwest Texas. In August 1883, sixteen of their horses were stolen amongst others from neighboring ranches. Using skills he learned from the Indians, Hughes trailed the stolen horses to New Mexico, and recovered all in addition to killing one of the rustlers in doing so. Soon after, he was deputized as a special Texas Ranger to trail suspected murderers and bring them to justice "dead or alive." He only intended to be a temporary ranger, but it became a career lasting from 1885 to 1914.

The author, in writing this biography, used Texas state records called "monthly returns" to track the career of Hughes. He goes into much detail, and in some instances, it is somewhat boring. He also uses some assumptions as to what might have happened, but these are few and do not detract from his narrative. However, he does cover Hughes' career in sequential order.

Because of his good work, Hughes is appointed Corporal to fill a vacated slot caused by the death of a sergeant, and then to 1st Sergeant in 1892 when that position becomes vacant. In 1893, his commander, Captain Frank Jones, is killed, and shortly thereafter, Hughes becomes captain of "D" Company of the Frontier Battalion. All throughout this time, the author gives a good account of all the activities of Hughes and his associates: trailing, scouting and arresting wanted fugitives, rustlers and outlaws on both sides of the Rio Grande. One of the few failings of this book is the lack of sufficient

maps to show where those actions took place. For readers who are not familiar with southwest Texas, it is difficult to get a proper perspective where all this happened, and the distances involved. In July 1901, the Frontier Battalion became the "Ranger Force." All throughout, the Texas Legislature became stingy with funding, and the rangers had to downsize constantly to make ends meet. Another problem with this work, and not the fault of the author, is that much was reported, but in many cases the final outcome is not known.

In 1914, just before Hughes was forced to retire, Texas Governor Colquitt, stated, "The Texas Ranger is a tremendous force to this end (to uphold the law)—he is a capable, sober, courageous man, a good horseman, and a good marksman." A good definition, however, "one riot, one ranger," is a myth.

The rest of this book demonstrates how retired Captain Hughes became a Texas "icon." During this time, Hughes became acquainted with novelist Zane Grey who subsequently wrote a novel titled *Lone Star Ranger*, and supposedly based on his exploits. At the age of ninety-three, in 1947, Hughes died by committing suicide. He is buried at the Texas State Cemetery in Austin, Texas.

In the opinion of this reviewer, the action between the covers of this book almost reads like a novel, and it is tough to put it down.

Hughes was involved in numerous situations, and the reader will experience what it was like to be a Texas Ranger at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. For those individuals who have an interest like I do, in the Texas Rangers, this book is a must!

--Richard A. Cook P.M.

With Anza to California, 1775-1776: The Journal of Pedro Font, O.F.M., Alan K. Brown, translator and editor, The Arthur H. Clark Company (an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press), Norman, 2011. 464 pages. Drawings, maps, charts, and a photograph. Cloth, dustjacket, \$55.00.

To start off, although this volume (a relation of one of the early expeditions to California and the first one to really explore the area around San Francisco Bay) is not for everybody, it is a tremendous and scholarly work by an accomplished academic. As a physical product, it is good proof that A. H. Clark standards have not deteriorated since joining forces with the University of Oklahoma.

The book as a piece of historical literature is tremendous on a number of levels. First, although there have been previous translations of Font's

journal (one of which the reviewer owns), this one includes the earliest field notes that Franciscan Padre Pedro Font transcribed on the expedition from Old Mexico to the coast of California. These have been incorporated into – but clearly distinguished from – the previously published (in English) journals of Font. These newly-discovered notes (from the Franciscan, if not the Vatican, Archives in Rome) provide historical gems such as the descriptions of the touchy relationships between the military men involved in the Spanish settlement of California and the detailed explanations of the geographic discoveries regarding San Francisco Bay. (It was not just the English who hoped to find a river or passage connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific.) And, as students of Zebulon M. Pike (and other explorers) know, when one sees the original notes (or letters) and the published journals, one can make important conclusions about what was left out and why. Those conclusions, when supported, are the real meat of history.

Second, the amount of research and knowledge that went into the introduction and the footnotes is staggering. Clearly, Ohio State Professor of Medieval Languages and Literature Alan K. Brown was a scholar's scholar. (He unfortunately died in 2009.) While one might assume that Brown would have made additions if he had gotten a chance to produce a real final draft, the 57-page introduction (with notes) is easily the most important part of the volume for those who do not need all of the complete day-to-day journal entries and notes.

As for the finalization of the volume, the two editors, Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, deserve much praise. They do not attempt to diminish the luster of the late Professor Brown or to take any credit. Obviously (speaking from the reviewer's experience), they did a lot of work in producing the final-final draft, but, in an area noted for its often bitter competitiveness, their modesty and generosity to a fallen colleague is refreshing.

There are other tidbits in the massive volume, including Professor Brown's criticism (in his preface) of the recent tendency for libraries to deny scholars access to original documents, claiming the resources are available online. While the reviewer is aware of the problems with theft, he agrees with Brown's position that originals sometimes tell more than even digital images.

In addition, the revelations – in the introduction and in the Font writings – about Juan Bautista de Anza are revealing. While Coloradoans know him as the victor over the Comanche at Greenhorn Mountain (Cuerno Verde) in 1779, this book shows a darker side. It also shows that ungenerous professional rivalry among military men was not limited to Custer's Seventh.

As for any shortcomings, those are few. The book is not an easy read and not for everyone – but students of particular voyages of discovery want every day to be set out. Also, the notes (and, again, one must take into account Brown's untimely death) could have contained more information to inform lesser students of things Brown and his colleagues readily would know. Thus, while the introduction tells that a member of the expedition had descendants active in California during and after the Mexican-American War, there is no note informing the reader that it is the Pico brothers who are meant or that it is the Battle of San Pasqual that is vaguely suggested. Also, when the high cliffs at what became Fort Point at San Francisco Bay are discussed, it might help to tell the reader that those cliffs were leveled by the construction of Fort Point (Fort Scott) because of better artillery. Additionally, while the latter part of Anza's career is discussed, this Coloradoan did not see a particular mention of the battles at Greenhorn Mountain. Neither is there any mention of Francis Drake's earlier area visit for the occasional Anglophile reader.

But these points (if they were not just missed by the reviewer) are trivial. This volume, as is the case with many Clark publications, will become a collector's item. It just is a shame that Professor Brown is not here to see the results of his many years of work (and not here to autograph copies).

--John M. Huchins, P.M.

Love and War: The Civil War Letters and Medicinal Book of Augustus V. Ball, Donald S. Frazier and Andrew Hillhouse, editors, Anne Ball Ryals, transcriber, State House Press, Buffalo Gap, Texas, 2010. 523 pages. Illustrated with drawings, maps, and photographs; footnotes; bibliography; index. Cloth, dust jacket, \$59.95.

For about thirty years or so, State House Press, specializing in Texana, has provided important volumes on Texas and Western history. While many of these books have been reprints of important or scarce reminiscences and histories, State House also has published original volumes. This book, which relies mainly on the Civil War letters of August Ball, a then-recent arrival to Texas, is one of those original publications.

Love and War is a significant contribution to the history of the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi Theater. As pointed out by the main editor, Donald Frazier (a Texan and an experienced Civil War historian), the letters (and the accompanying research and narrative provided by Frazier and his university students – making him a Texas version of Tom Noel) provide information on the previously neglected stories of Ball's Twenty-Third Texas

Cavalry and (after his transfer to the artillery) McMahan's Texas Battery. Probably the most important contributions for military historians interested in the blood and thunder are found in Ball's letters about opposing the Red River invasion of Louisiana by the U.S. forces under General Nathaniel Banks. But the complaints Ball made in his letters to Argent, his wife, about his fellow soldiers and his officers add much information as to the rank-and-file perspective regarding the Rebel defense of the Lone Star State.

As Donald Frazier points out, August Ball emigrated to Texas from Georgia in 1861, not to fight Yankees, but to practice his herbal medicine as a college-trained doctor. (This is why the volume contains a 63-page transcription of Doc Ball's medicine recipe book – handled by Andrew Hillhouse.) In fact, in Ball's descriptions, while he criticized drunken and slovenly fellow soldiers, he seemed to be careful not to rant against the war and he does not even noticeably complain about the many Texas Unionists who were present during the war. This leads to the supposition that Ball, in his heart of hearts, probably was not a Secessionist (which puts him in the group that likely included such iconic Texans as Charles Goodnight – later to be the Cattle King).

In addition to war, this volume is about love. The letters of August Ball to his wife on the home front evince a strong love on the part of the citizen-soldier. These also are an important contribution to Texas Civil War social history. (And the afterward contains a sympathetic picture of Argent Ball's struggle to continue life with the couple's son, for her husband did not long survive the war.)

Carlton McCarthy, a former soldier in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, in 1882, produced his *Detailed Minutiae of Soldier Life*. McCarthy wanted to educate the ignorant public by telling them "of the habits and characteristics of the individuals who composed the rank and file of the 'grand armies' of 1861-65." Without intending to do so, Augustus V. Ball, through his letters, has provided a similar window into the past by informing the reader of the minutiae of a much less-grand army of 1862-65.

This volume is recommended. It is well-bound and attractively presented. It would be great for students interested in the Trans-Mississippi Civil War and in the human aspects of the struggle on the part of Southerners who really just wanted the cruel war to be over.

--John M. Hutchins, P.M.

Winchester Warriors: Texas Rangers of Company D, 1874 – 1901, by Bob Alexander. Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 2009. 402 pp. Illustrations, tables, photos. Paper, \$19.95.

The Frontier Battalion, formed in 1874, was the actual birth of the Texas Rangers. They were little more than citizen soldiers who were called to serve the State of Texas to help keep the Indian problems under control. In the early days they were not called to help the civil authorities with any other issues but as time drew on they were forced to become a state peace-keeping force. The State of Texas had already had a failure with a state-police type of organization and due to state politics had terminated the organization. The Indian troubles continued to plague the Texans so the new governor formed the Frontier Battalion. The volunteers of the battalion were young and full of the desire to fight Indians and gain the honor and prestige that their forefathers had.

The Battalion was formed into separate companies with letter designations such as "D Company." Although there were other companies formed and deployed, this book is about "D Company." Initially the company camps were under the stars. The State was miserly with its funds and kept the volunteers underpaid. The volunteers also had to be single, possess a good horse and have a Sharps carbine and .45 caliber side arm. Eventually the Sharps were replaced with the Winchester Repeater and thus the company earned the name of the Winchester Warriors.

As the Battalion moved around the south and west Texas areas, the volunteers learned more about law enforcement and developed many of the early investigation techniques that are still used in a basic form today. The training was difficult since the battalion continued to have a high turnover rate. Many of the volunteers went on to hold other public offices such as County Sheriff in the various counties. Eventually the volunteers earned a status and prestige of a major law enforcement agency in Texas and the various positions in the Battalion became desirable to the volunteers.

Throughout the Companies' history and even that of the Battalion, the volunteers held down their own death rates while accomplishing many arrests as well as traveling thousands of miles. They tried to take the outlaws alive but in many cases it was a "them or us" type of confrontation that caused the "Rangers" to act and take the life of the outlaw.

This book takes the history of the Battalion from the Indian fighter days to the law enforcement days and eventually to the point of the Battalion being shut down in favor of all being called peace officers and becoming the Texas Rangers.

I found the book to be very enjoyable and an easy read. Many of the people mentioned in the book are Texas folk heroes and famous outlaws.

--Ron Pitcock, C.M.

Diary of Almon Harris Thompson: Explorations of the Colorado River of the West and Its Tributaries, 1871-1875 edited by Herbert E. Gregory. Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, Utah State Historical Society, 1939 reprinted 2009. 143 pp. Historic photos, index. Trade paper \$14.95.

This little book details big adventures on big Western rivers. The diarist, Almon Harris Thompson, was a life-long friend and brother-in-law of Major John Wesley Powell. Thompson was an educated man, a naturalist and explorer whose detailed observations of the geology, archaeology and botany in the Green-Colorado canyons of present-day Utah and Arizona are fascinating. He was instrumental in founding the National Geographic Society in 1889 and other 19th century scientific societies. Later, his colleagues remembered him with “affection” and recalled “his many acts of kindness and caring.” The writing and language in *Diary of Almon Harris Thompson: Explorations of the Colorado River of the West and Its Tributaries, 1871-1875* is a bit old-fashioned, using outdated terms such as “Moqui” to characterize the ruins encountered along the way. Because this is a diary, some days and entries are mundane. However, the power of the wild rivers, before colossal dams and water projects sapped their flow, is palpable.

The river trip was made in two stages—Green River, Wyoming to Lees Ferry (May 22 to October 26, 1871) and Lees Ferry to the mouth of Kanab Creek (August 1 to September 7, 1872). While contributing much to the understanding of these wild and beautiful lands, the Thompson expedition has been overshadowed by Powell’s explorations of the Colorado River, as detailed in Powell’s 1875 report, the similarly-titled *Explorations of the Colorado of the West and Its Tributaries*. For reasons never explained, Thompson’s maps, field notes and collections were not attributed in Powell’s report. Powell’s 1869 trip (detailed in his 1875 work) was more of a daring adventure rather than scientific expedition. It was Thompson’s second trip (in 1871 and 1872) that produced topographic maps with detailed geologic and geographical information.

The Thompson diary—the 1939 publication reissued in 2009—provides historians, river enthusiasts and interested readers with easily accessible source materials capturing these early explorations. Almon Harris Thompson’s account of his months on the river is short on self-promotion and long on excitement. This small book gives modern readers a valuable and enjoyable insight into these brave and adventurous pathfinders as well as this magnificent country.

--Kimberly Field, C.M.

Bloody Bill Longley: the Mythology of a Gunfighter by Rick Miller. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2011. 384 pages, 38 B&W photos, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardback, \$29.95.

William Preston Longley 1851-1878 was a despicable product of the unsettled, violent times that characterized post-war Texas. Taking full advantage of ineffective law enforcement while in his teens, Longley drifted from disobedience to drinking, carrying pistols, gambling, and finally murder at the age of seventeen. He escaped to Wyoming and when he returned to Texas he embarked on a decade-long crime spree of theft and murder. Although Longley did some honest work along the way, usually as a farm hand, he consistently returned to outlaw life. His defiance of authority and predilection for violence eventually caught up with him. Longley could trust no one and was constantly on the move under one name or another as he dodged lawmen and bounty hunters. In June 1877 he was finally captured and indicted for killing Wilson Anderson two years earlier.

While in prison he became his own promoter and press agent. He wrote letters and held interviews to explain how he used daring and nerve to confront his enemies, how they begged and pleaded for their lives, and how they groaned as they died from his bullets. He was a skilled and convincing writer, highly favored by reporters who eagerly printed his adventures. But he had been in prison only a few months when John Wesley Hardin was captured. Credited by some as having killed twenty-seven men, Hardin became a more notorious gunman than Longley. Not to be outdone, Longley increased his total to thirty-two.

Although he received a thorough and fair trial, it lasted only one day and the jury needed just two hours to judge him guilty. Longley responded by writing a long letter filled with self-pity to a newspaper. When no one noticed, he tried to redeem himself by characterizing his life as an object lesson for young men. His appeals for sympathy went nowhere as did his appeal for a new trial. On October 11, 1878, 100 guards and about 200 satisfied citizens witnessed his execution and, unknown to them, the birth of his legend as a celebrated gunfighter. Longley finally had what he wanted.

His first biography was published at the start of the twentieth century and it was just as Longley told it. Following a more exhaustive investigation into Longley's letters, interviews, and newspaper articles, a noted Texas biographer wrote a second and more comprehensive biography in 1953. Neither author questioned the words of a man about to die, nor did the readers. It took author Rick Miller, a skilled and determined researcher, many years to piece together the real story. Using hundreds of primary sources, Miller examines Longley's fanciful tales one by one, takes them apart, and shows how most of them could not have happened. Stripped of embellishments, falsehoods, and melodramatic flair, then reduced to the facts, Miller tells the story of a brutal fiend, imbued with no other feeling than a desire to kill. He has produced a page-turning account of how a legend was born and teaches us the valuable lesson to check and re-check our sources.

--Rick Barth, P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

September - October 2011



Buffalo Bill: Saint of the Mythical West
by Steve Friesen, C.M.
(presented December 15, 2010)



Our Author

Author of the recently published *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary*, Steve Friesen has been the director of the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave for the past 15 years. He has worked in museums since receiving his MA in American Folk Culture in 1976. Colorado museums where Steve has worked include the Molly Brown House, the Littleton Historical Museum, and the City of Greeley Museums. He also was director of the 1719 Hans Herr House in Lancaster, Pennsylvania where he published his first book, *A Modest Mennonite Home*.

Like Buffalo Bill, Steve grew up in Kansas where he attended college in Newton, a town once referred to by Buffalo Bill as the wildest and wickedest town in the West.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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Buffalo Bill: Saint of the Mythical West by Steve Friesen, C.M. (presented December 15, 2010)

Buffalo Bill: The Man

William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody was a child of the West. As a youth he encountered nearly every adventure a young man could experience on the American frontier.

When young Will was eight, his family became involved with the abolitionist cause in Kansas. His father was stabbed by a pro-slaver speaking at a rally in Leavenworth, Kansas. The family was harassed for this stand until his father died of fever three years later, something that was probably aggravated by the stab wound he had received. As man of the household, Will herded cattle for a brief time, traveled to Colorado for the gold rush of 1859, trapped beaver and worked on a wagon train from Leavenworth to Salt Lake. He later rode in the Pony Express, served in the Civil War in Kansas, hunted buffalo for the railroad, and scouted for the Army.¹

It was during Cody's work with the railroad that he gained the nickname of Buffalo Bill. Because of his experience on the Great Plains and his hunting ability, Buffalo Bill was hired as a scout for the Army. While scouting, he distinguished himself in several battles, including the Battle of Summit Springs in eastern Colorado. At the age of twenty-six he received the Congressional Medal of Honor. That was during the spring of 1872, by which time his reputation had grown as a frontiersman. A charismatic and likeable person, Cody was comfortable



talking with the press. As a result newspapers carried stories of his exploits, while dime novels exploited his stories. In December of 1872, he built on this reputation by beginning a career on stage.²

Buffalo Bill's career in show business began in a play called "Scouts of the Prairie." He appeared in it with another scout, Texas Jack Omohundro, and the dime novelist Ned Buntline. After the first season Buffalo Bill and Texas Jack began their play "Scouts of the Plains." Their friend Wild Bill Hickok appeared with them in the play for part of the season. After Texas Jack and Wild Bill left the company, Buffalo Bill continued touring until 1883. During this time he appeared

throughout much of the United States. He appeared on stage here in Denver with one of his plays about the frontier from July 21 to 23 in 1879. The play even included a live burro on stage. But there wasn't much room on stage for several actors and a burro.³

There also wasn't room on a stage for Buffalo Bill's ambitions. He later wrote:

Immense success and comparative wealth, attained in the profession of showman, stimulated me to greater exertion and largely increased my ambition for public favor. Accordingly, I conceived the idea of organizing a large company of Indians, cow-boys, Mexican vaqueros, famous riders and expert lasso throwers, with accessories of stage coach, emigrant wagons, bucking horses and a herd of buffaloes, with which to give a realistic entertainment of wild life on the plains.⁴

This idea, Buffalo Bill's Wild West, became a reality in 1883. It was an outdoor exhibition that included wild animals, buffalo, cowboys, Indians, vaqueros, and other people from the West. It featured horsemanship and shooting, with Annie Oakley being one of its best-known markswomen. At its largest, Buffalo Bill's Wild West employed 600 persons. It traveled across the US and Europe for 30 years.

Denver and Buffalo Bill's life were very intertwined. He made numerous visits over the years and owned property here for a while. It was Denver where several significant phases in Buffalo Bill's life ended. His last stage performance was in Denver.

And Denver was also the site of the last performance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West. In 1913 Buffalo Bill borrowed money from *Denver Post* co-owner Harry Tammen. Unfortunately Cody agreed to pay off the debt in mid-season. He probably would have made enough money by the end of the season to pay the debt, but payment was overdue when Buffalo Bill appeared with his Wild West in Denver in July. After the Wild West was seized in Denver and sold at auction to pay the debt to Tammen, Cody was forced to appear with Tammen's Sells Floto Circus for two years. It is probable that Tammen made the loan with this end in mind.

Finally Cody got out of the contract with Tammen's circus in 1916 and appeared for one season with the 101 Ranch Wild West. That winter, he returned to Denver one last time. On January 10, 1917 he died at his sister's home in Denver. While Buffalo Bill's body lay in state in the Colorado capitol building an estimated 25,000 people filed by. One of his last requests had been to be buried on Lookout Mountain, which offered a panoramic view of the mountains and plains which he loved. Attendance at the burial on Lookout Mountain on June 3, 1917 was 20,000 people.⁵

Such attendance at a funeral and burial in America was unprecedented for anyone other than presidents. But it was not surprising. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody was America's first great celebrity.

Buffalo Bill: The Celebrity

Will Cody lived during a time of great geographic and technological

expansion. It was also a time when American mass media became dominant. First it was the newspaper, present in every town and herald of civilization. Then, following the Civil War, dime novels and magazines like *Harper's Weekly* were distributed nationally. Coinciding with this was the perfection of the art of lithography, reproducing images in living color on posters and in publications. And finally, photographs and moving pictures enabled the wholesale and seemingly precise depiction of events. William F. Cody was there at every step, the right person at the right place at the right time. He had the flair, the charisma and the savvy to attract the attention of the mass media and took advantage of each new technology. It was within the factory of the mass media that William F. Cody the man became Buffalo Bill the celebrity and eventually Buffalo Bill the legend.

But, while some historians have approached Buffalo Bill as completely a creature of publicity, his life in the West and his impact on his times were indeed real. While he certainly took advantage of mass media, Buffalo Bill was not the creation of Ned Buntline or the popular media of his time. He was not a humbug or a poser, he was a person who did some pretty important things. He was charismatic, dashing, handsome, and got along well with people. And he had done some pretty remarkable things in the first twenty-five years of his life. It was easy to hold him up as a hero.

As a showman he built on his background in the West and added to his celebrity. People didn't go to Buffalo Bill's Wild West to just see a re-

creation of the West. There were other shows that offered that but were not as popular. They went to see Buffalo Bill.

Buffalo Bill understood that his celebrity was built on authenticity. Not only did he have to be authentic, but he needed to ensure his Wild West was authentic. If people began to perceive his Wild West as less than authentic, then his own authenticity would suffer.

Cody did not like to have Buffalo Bill's Wild West referred to as a show, he considered it an authentic re-creation of life in the Old West. Today's cynical take on his Wild West leads some critics to claim it didn't show how life really existed in the West. But how many of you would pay to see a show that featured U.S. Army soldiers hanging around a fort, bored out of their minds. Or a housewife in a Kansas soddy, isolated from her neighbors and literally going out of her mind. When you tell the story of your life to your children or grandchildren, how much detail do you devote to all of the hours you have spent sitting in front of a television, reading a book, mowing the yard or cleaning house? So Cody isolated those things that he found exciting and adventurous about the West and highlighted them in his shows. And people who had visited the West felt it was authentic. Mark Twain wrote to Cody in 1884:

I have now seen your Wild West show two days in succession, and have enjoyed it thoroughly. It brought back vividly the breezy, wild life of the great plains and the Rocky Mountains and stirred me like a war song. Down to its smallest details the show is genuine - cowboys, vaqueros, Indians,

*stagecoach, costumes and all; it is wholly free from sham and insincerity, and the effects produced upon me by its spectacles were identical with those wrought upon me a long time ago by the same spectacles on the frontier.*⁶

Buffalo Bill took the West he knew, cleaned it up a bit for show business, added a little fiction to spice it up and traveled the United States and Europe, sharing it with millions of people. When Buffalo Bill's Wild West visited England as part of the Golden Jubilee celebration of the reign of Queen Victoria in 1887 it was just one part of the American Exposition. But it quickly became the feature attraction. In fact, after Mark Twain's visit to the Wild West he had urged Cody to go to "the other side of the water," stating it would have the advantage of being the first distinctively American exhibition sent to England. And it carried that advantage. Crowds flocked to the Wild West.⁷

The Wild West continued through Europe, drawing record crowds and making a distinct impression. A report from the Exposition Universelle in Paris stated that "The immense painted posters over the city to advertise Buffalo Bill - his portraits pasted all in a row, many times larger than natural; the cowboys on their wild horses; the Indians, looking very savage - amuse the Parisians immensely. It is something new." Cowboy hats became a fashion rage and the show may even have inspired the great composer Giacomo Puccini to write an opera about the West. These first tours to Europe, followed by another

group of tours between 1902 and 1907, made an indelible imprint upon European thinking about America. That fascination with the American West continues to drive European visitation to the United States.⁸

Buffalo Bill: The Legacy

The continued fascination of Europeans with the American West is just a part of Buffalo Bill's legacy. Buffalo Bill was not only a scout and a showman. He was a visionary.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West was one of the first outdoor shows to use electricity for night performances. Two large "light plants" or generators provided power for lighting in the stands and for spotlighting. The "cowboy's fun" portion of the Wild West, with its races and bucking bronco riding, has been credited with helping originate professional rodeo.

The popularity of Buffalo Bill's Wild West and its imitators influenced the fledgling movie industry to focus on Western themes, making Western movies one of the earliest film genres. Around forty movies have been made that either feature Buffalo Bill or include him as a main character. Buffalo Bill made several movies himself between 1912 and 1914.⁹

Some of Buffalo Bill's other influences on popular culture are less obvious but no less important. His promotion of "The Star Spangled Banner" in his shows helped influence the song's choice as the American national anthem.¹⁰

For nearly five months in late 1884 and early 1885, Buffalo Bill took his Wild West to New Orleans. This visit was rather catastrophic, beginning

with a riverboat accident that left most of his show at the bottom of the Mississippi. Then it rained nearly every day that the Wild West performed in New Orleans, with the result that he lost \$60,000 during those few months. But this disastrous visit to New Orleans had its influence on American popular music. Inspired by Buffalo Bill's Wild West, African Americans in New Orleans began masking as Indians during Mardi Gras.¹¹

The Mardi Gras Indian tribes imitated the clothing and language of the Plains Indians, singing songs like "Iko, Iko" while they marched. Those songs in turn influenced jazz, rhythm and blues, and rock and roll.

Today there are bars throughout the world with Buffalo Bill's name on them, including ones in Zimbabwe, Thailand, and the Republic of Georgia. There's even a microbrewery in Hayward, California named after Buffalo Bill.

Even the criticism that has been leveled at Buffalo Bill, quite incorrectly, for killing all of the buffalo, exploiting the Indians, and generally being the poster child for Westward Expansion, reinforces a legacy that moves from fact to legend. Of all of the characters who were a part of the nineteenth century West, Buffalo Bill stands out the most as a symbol of the American West.

Buffalo Bill: The Legend

Personal charisma and celebrity during his own day, stories of heroism, an ongoing legacy...all of these are the stuff of legend.

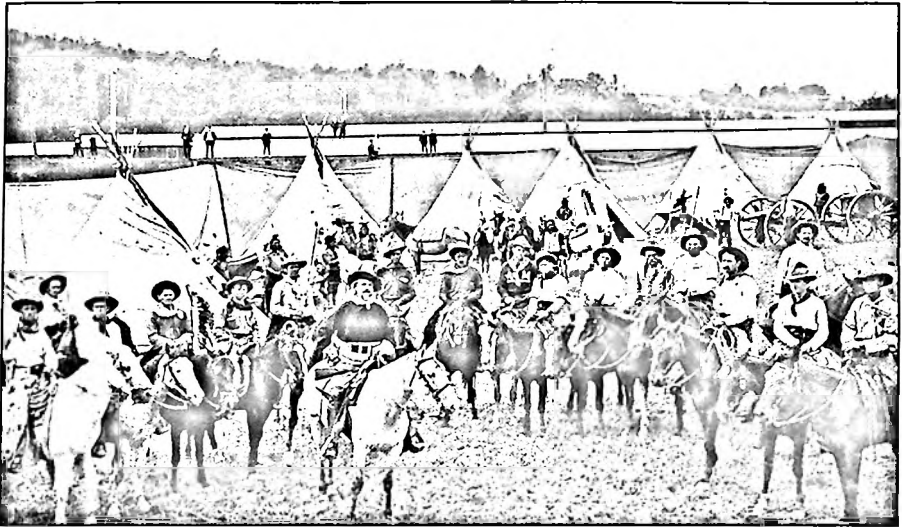
"Wait until the legend becomes fact, then print the legend." That is one of Western movies' most memorable

quotes, from *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*. At the core of nearly every tall tale and of nearly every legend is fact. Jimmy Stewart's character in the movie did not shoot Liberty Valance but he stood up to the villain when no one else would. He was a heroic figure and the legend in the film grew up around that. In the final analysis the specifics of the case really didn't matter because the hero and the legend were necessary. Legend, myth, heroes, heroines, we need them all.

The myth of the West is America's myth. And, more specifically, Westward Expansion is the basis of the myth of the West. Westward Expansion it is a critical part of our national identity and, one could argue, is absolutely essential to our ongoing identity. And, whether or not one likes what happened during Westward Expansion, all Americans are dining on its fruits. It is the period of Westward Expansion that has given America the essential legends and heroes for its identity.

The myth of King Arthur is an essential myth to the British Isles, for example, and has done much to form their national identity. Interestingly enough, people who were involved with our own mythical era of Westward Expansion recognized that. Buffalo Bill knew that he was living in an era that was as important to America as the period of knighthood was to Britain. Thus he was referred to as a Knight of the Plains in one of his early plays as well as in some dime novels.¹²

Popular culture as we know it emerged in the 19th century. Where the stories that once fed into myths and legend were at one time told on



a person-to-person basis, the rise of mass media has added new dimensions to the story telling. In the 19th century the emerging myth of the West was influenced by dime novels, plays and Wild West shows. In the 20th century it was influenced most critically by the movies. One could argue that the earliest and most successful movies were made about the West because of the myth, which they in turn influenced.

And that is one of the reasons Buffalo Bill became a legendary figure in America. He took part in the mythical era of America and then interpreted that era to America. He and his associates were able to take advantage of the emergence of American popular culture, using mass media to "print the legend." It was a legend of the West and at the center was Buffalo Bill, himself

America's obsession with celebrity, driven in large part by the culture's need for heroes and role models, spread as the popular media

spread. And Buffalo Bill was there. Like Kit Carson and Wild Bill Hickok, he had the right credentials from his work on the Western frontier. He had performed amazing and heroic deeds. But unlike them and other potential heroes of Western expansion he was charismatic, personable, opportunistic, and visionary. He knew that the 19th century West was the crucible within which legends would be made, or he wouldn't have embraced early depictions of himself as a knight of the plains. He was conscious of his place in history and was ready to fill it. That is not humbug, it is creation. Buffalo Bill was the right person at the right time.

This is particularly obvious when one looks at Buffalo Bill's contemporaries, as well as people who have come after him. Fellow scouts and stage performers Texas Jack Omohundro and Wild Bill Hickok were already in Buffalo Bill's shadow by the time each died. Like Buffalo

Bill, they had the real background in the West but just weren't very good at show business. Buffalo Bill was both a showman and the real thing. But it wasn't just about show business. If it was, then people like Pawnee Bill and William S. Hart would be legends like Buffalo Bill. The later Western heroes of the 20th century movies didn't have the authenticity of Buffalo Bill and they came just a little too late. It's almost as though that special niche in American culture was already filled by Buffalo Bill. So today many children know about Buffalo Bill but don't recognize the names Roy Rogers, Hopalong Cassidy and Gene Autry. Even John Wayne will never achieve the status in popular culture held by Buffalo Bill.

As annoying as they sometimes are, particularly the issues around Buffalo Bill's burial, the ongoing controversies about Buffalo Bill help keep the Buffalo Bill legend alive. Bottom line, if nobody cared, there wouldn't be any controversy.

Perhaps the biggest controversy today for the general public is where he is really buried and where he wanted to be buried. This seems to be more riveting to non-academics. Interestingly enough, academia hasn't been all that interested in the burial aspect of the Buffalo Bill story (perhaps it doesn't really lend itself to weighty hypothesis and analysis) so the tendency has been to simply rely on secondary sources, repeating what earlier historians have written. The problem is that those earlier historians took the easy way out and simply relied upon stories from people like Gene Fowler, a Colorado writer, whose accounts of the burial were based on his own imagination

or Mary Jester Allen, who mounted a campaign in the 1920s to move Buffalo Bill's body to Cody, Wyoming. So there has been a fair amount of misinformation spread by many of the Buffalo Bill biographies written to date.

But the ongoing controversy over his burial is something that is keeping Buffalo Bill's legend alive. American popular culture has attached its interest to this in a way that it has not done for any other historic figure. Two other persons come close to this. Elvis, not because of his burial site but because of the various sightings of him at 7-Elevens across the South. Then there is Billy the Kid, with an ongoing discussion about his death and burial in Western enthusiast magazines. But neither of them seem to hold the same fascination for the general public as the controversy over Buffalo Bill's burial. It is unfortunate, from a historian's point of view, that so much credence has been given to the stories spread by Gene Fowler and Mary Jester Allen but from a publicist's point of view, the controversy is useful. Every couple of years someone from the Associated Press or other national news media decides to explore the controversy and gives the Buffalo Bill gravesite another bump in publicity and visitation.

There are any number of apocryphal stories circulating about Buffalo Bill which also add to his legend. Once every several years the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave is visited by someone who claims to be the great grandson or granddaughter of Buffalo Bill because of an illicit assignation. In every case research has shown Buffalo Bill was in nowhere near the great grandmother's town during the

year of conception. Given Buffalo Bill's fame, if you looked like Buffalo Bill, you apparently got a lot of action.

Around Denver there are other stories of Buffalo Bill lying in the gutter, broke and drunk. Again, most of those are untrue but add to the legend in their own weird way. Then there are the more contemporary controversies over Cody's part in Westward Expansion. Buffalo Bill has become a lightning rod for attacks from the politically correct, but often historically confused. As annoying as these attacks are, they add to the legend.

Buffalo Bill: Saint of Popular Culture

A common question at the Buffalo Bill Museum is "Is this where Buffalo Bill is really buried? I've heard he's buried in several places." It is not unlike the old story about the time before the Reformation when there were so many bones of St. Peter in different churches that they said you could have rebuilt him several times over. As hard as the museum tries to set people straight about Buffalo Bill's real burial place these questions persist, as do the stories that give rise to the questions. And this is part of Buffalo Bill's legendary status. The legendary Buffalo Bill could be buried anywhere, even if the real William F. Cody is buried on Lookout Mountain.

Long before Buffalo Bill's time, objects associated with saints and other legendary individuals were revered as relics and displayed in "treasuries" at cathedrals throughout Europe. The devout would undertake pilgrimages to see these treasures. These can still be seen at such places as

the Cathedral in Cologne and the chapel built by Charlemagne at Aachen. Today, artifacts associated with legendary or famous persons are treated much the same. In America people travel to George Washington's Mount Vernon, Elvis Presley's Graceland, and Henry Ford's Greenfield Village to see relics from these famous persons. Similarly Denver's Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, the Autry Museum of Western Heritage in Los Angeles and the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody offer relics from William F. Cody and his contemporaries. People make pilgrimages through the West, visiting sites associated with Buffalo Bill.

It was a treasury of sorts that Johnny Baker envisioned when he proposed to open a museum on Lookout Mountain in 1920. Buffalo Bill Cody had been buried on the site less than three years earlier. Baker wrote to a representative of the City of Denver that, as Cody's foster son and a performer in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, he had accumulated many mementoes:

At his death I become (sic) possessed of much of his personal effects such as his silver mounted saddles, bridles, guns, his buckskins he appeared in before the public. I have the Hat he wore at his last public performance, Nov. 11th 1916, also the last cartridge he fired from a gun, a lock of his hair and the receipt for the last money he earned with his show. ...In fact I have a collection that would be of great interest to the visitors to Lookout Mountain, and if it is possible to get a location adjacent to his tomb, I would erect a building to conform to the Architecture of the Mountain



Parks scheme in which to display this collection.¹³

Note that Johnny even uses the term “tomb” rather than “grave,” a sign that he gave the spot more significance than an ordinary burial site. And it was; more than 20,000 people had been in attendance at Buffalo Bill’s burial. And thousands of people had already visited the “tomb” in the three years between the burial and the writing of Johnny’s letter.

The building, named Pahaska Tepee after Cody’s hunting lodge near Yellowstone, opened to the public in May 1921. The Buffalo Bill Memorial Museum, located within the building, was filled with relics that Baker had accumulated during his thirty-four years as protegee, friend, and foster son to Buffalo Bill. Some artifacts had come from Louisa, Cody’s widow, and other family members. Other artifacts had been gifts to Buffalo Bill or Baker

from performers in the Wild West, like Sitting Bull and Short Bull. It was the first museum dedicated to the life and times of William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody.

Today’s museums function as cathedrals of popular culture. In a time when reality has become virtual on the Internet, anything can be reproduced digitally, and bogus claims of authenticity abound, museums are one place where visitors can see “the real thing.” Visitors want to see the real thing and they are wary of anything that might not be. Just as visitors asked “Is this where Buffalo Bill is really buried?” they also ask “is that really Buffalo Bill’s saddle?” Lest they become like the cathedral treasuries before the Reformation, filled with relics of dubious background, it is the job of museums to research and document the provenance of the artifacts in their collections, ensuring that their artifacts are authentic and that

they are not filling their treasuries with bogus relics.

For this reason the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave has devoted a good deal of time over the past fifteen years to authenticating artifacts in the collection. Thus researching the artifacts associated with Buffalo Bill, saint of popular culture, is critical. The result of that work is a new book, *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary*. The book utilizes text and around 200 images to tell the story of Buffalo Bill's life as it is revealed by the artifacts from that life. The museum has based a new exhibit "The Buffalo Bill Story" on the book. The exhibit includes many artifacts from Buffalo Bill as well as new information about his life.

In conclusion, Buffalo Bill is similar to another saint of popular culture. Perhaps the best known and best loved saint of popular culture, this person has his roots within sacred traditions. Interestingly enough, there is a dispute over the final resting place for his remains, just as there is an ongoing dispute over the final resting place for Buffalo Bill's remains. In this particular saint's case, his remains reside in Italy but there is an effort to take them back to Turkey.

That saint is Saint Nicholas. There are parallels between the rise of Saint Nicholas and Buffalo Bill to sainthood within popular culture. The transformation of Saint Nicholas to Santa Claus occurred in the second half of the 19th century at the same time as William F. Cody became Buffalo Bill. And Buffalo Bill's rise to cultural sainthood was linked to Santa Claus. Just before Christmas in 1911 there

was a gathering at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City. According to the account in the Christmas Eve edition of the *New York World* it included Buffalo John Burke, Buffalo Getchell, Buffalo Jones, Buffalo Johnny Baker, and Buffalo Bill Cody. Buffalo Bill was asked about his favorite Christmas. He responded,

It was Christmas Eve, 1874, when I was Chief of Scouts. I was on the trail of a bunch of bad men and had tracked them to Nevada City, Colorado. That's in the mountains. Mining region. There was a little settlement of log cabins up in the mountains above the town and I was snooping around like a regular detective. I listened at one window and heard children's voices."¹⁴

It was the home of a miner's widow and her three children. The children were asking why Santa Claus would not be coming that year. Cody was heartbroken to hear the sad story the widow gave to her children. Buffalo Bill said, "I stopped being Chief of Scouts for a while and resolved to be Santa Claus." He then went down to the town and got donations of food, sweets and two-hundred dollars for the widow. That evening they left the pile at the cabin door so that when the widow opened it in the morning, all of the provisions fell into the cabin, topped off by a figure of Santa Claus one of the town's shopkeepers had donated.

The Christmas after the telling of this tale, Buffalo Bill appeared as Santa Claus in Oracle, Arizona, where he had invested a significant amount of money into several mines. He gave gifts to the children of the miners just as he

had given gifts to the widow's children thirty-eight years earlier.

The story of the miner's widow was eventually set to poetry and published by C.H. Winget under the title "Buffalo Bill as Santa Claus: A True Story Told in Verse." Like a dime novel, the real story pretty much vanished within the manufactured story. The pile now included a sack of "pure virgin gold" and a note reading "Accept this Christmas gift from One who's always near, For God has heard your children, and this is here because it was your darlings' earnest prayer and God sent Santa Claus." Buffalo Bill then stood guard over the treasure through the night.

Clement Moore's famous poem of 1823 "The Night Before Christmas" helped establish the modern Santa Claus. Its famous conclusion reads, "But I heard him declare ere he drove out of sight, 'Happy Christmas to all and to all a good night.'" Winget's poem ends on a similarly positive note, as will this lecture:

And stealthy through the bushes
There moved off one so still
"God bless you little cubs," said he,
Then vanished Buffalo Bill.¹⁵

End Notes

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2) Cody, *The Life of...*, p. 174. Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, (University of Oklahoma

Press, 1960), pp. 133, 138, 147, 160.
"Supplemental Proceedings in the Case of Cody, William F. (Deceased)", Department of the Army Board for Correction of Military Records, Docket Number AC88-10374, May 3, 1989.
3) Steve Friesen, *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary*, (Fulcrum Press, 2010), pp. 26, 32, 44. Sandra K. Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage*, (University of New Mexico Press, 2008), pp. 236, 246.
4) William F. Cody, *Story of the Wild West and Campfire Chats*, (B.F. Johnson and Company, 1888), pp. 691-692.
5) "25,000 Pass Cody's Bier," *New York Times*, January 15, 1917. "Golden Masons Bury Buffalo Bill; Thousands Attend Funeral on Lookout," Colorado Transcript, June 7, 1917."
6) Letter from Mark Twain to Bill Cody, Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkley.
7) Letter from Mark Twain to Bill Cody, Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkley.
8) Nellie Snyder Yost, *Buffalo Bill, His Family, Friends, Fame, Failures, and Fortunes*, (Swallow Press, 1979), p. 224. "At the Great Exhibition Opened," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 3, 1889.
9) Friesen, pp. 136-138.
10) Friesen, pp. 155-156.
11) Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 309-310. Friesen, p. 156.
12) Sagala, pp. 218-220.
13) Letter to Denver Mountain Parks Advisory Committee, Jan. 28, 1920, Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave Archives.
14) "It Certainly Was SOME Breakfast," *The New York World*, Dec. 24, 1911.
15) D.H. Winget, *Buffalo Bill as Santa Claus*, 1925, Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave Archives.

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 Activities along the Front Range

In September, Colorado Westerners presentations including the following: Prof. Alan Davis, CU-Denver, presented "Navajo Mythology" to the Boulder Corral; Lorena Donohue, member of both the Denver Posse and the Colorado Corral, presented "Pivotal Points: the Exploration and Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West" to the Colorado Corral; and Denver Posse member Tom Noel discussed the history of strong beverages, from Zeb's original foray up the Arkansas to today's splendid saloons, with the Pikes Peak Posse.

Programs scheduled for October are: for the Boulder Corral, Posse member John Hutchins on "'The Scouts have always been Loyal': Mutiny at Cibicu, Attack on Fort Apache, and Legal Retribution in 1881 Arizona Territory"; for the Fort Collins Corral, retired New Mexico State Historian Robert Torrez, with "Myth of the Hanging Tree," on both myths and realities of crime and justice in early New Mexico; and for the Pikes Peak Posse, Thom Hatch with "A Combat Veteran Examines the Battle of the Little Bighorn."

The Denver Posse Member Activities

Posse member Vonnie Perkins presented a program titled: "Imperceptible Fences" on Sept. 17, 2011, at the Buena Vista Heritage Museum in Buena Vista, Colo. This was in connection with the Smithsonian's traveling exhibit "Between Fences." The focus was on the Utes, their agents, the treaties, Alfred B. Meacham and the Ute Commission and D. C. Oakes' experiences while surveying the Colorado-Utah Boundary in 1883-84. This involved the Uintah Special Meridian, one of six specific surveys of Indian lands.

Also on Sept. 17, Posse member Jeff Broome spoke at the High Plains Museum in Goodland, Kansas on the Kidder fight of 1867 and then took a group on a tour of the site 15 miles away. The event received extensive coverage in the Goodland newspaper.

Jeff's "The Soldier Who almost Killed Wild Bill Hickok; John Kyle, John Kelley, or John Kile?" presented at the February meeting of the Denver Westerners, and to published in a forthcoming *Roundup*, is receiving interest from many sources: by the English Westerners for their *Brand Book*; by the *Journal of the Wild West History Association*, with a more extensive focus on the 1870 brawl; by *Wild West* (Oct. 2012 issue); by the *Journal of America's Military Past*; and by publishers considering a book-length version.

Congratulations!

On Oct. 15, Active Posse member Norman Meyer will be inducted into the Colorado Aviation Hall of Fame. We salute his achievements in Colorado aviation history.



Westerners Bookshelf



The Johnson-Sims Feud by Bill O'Neal. Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 2010. 208 pp. Map, Illustrations, Photos, Endnotes, Bibliography, Index. Cloth \$24.95.

Two Texas pioneer families, Johnson and Sims, relocated to West Texas and established ranches in Scurry and Kent Counties after the Civil War. Both families did well with their new ranches. Shortly after the turn of the century, Gladys Johnson and Ed Sims from these families married. Both were young, Gladys fourteen, and Ed twenty-one. They were given a ranch to settle on by Billy Sims. The marriage did not go well as both were proud and hot-tempered people. After some time and two daughters, they initiated divorce proceedings.

During this time Gladys met and fell in love with Frank Hamer, a famous Texas Ranger. When Ed had custody rights of their two daughters, Gladys would not cooperate with his visitation rights. At one of the arranged custody visits for Ed with his daughters, Gladys shot Ed as he came to meet his daughters in the Snyder town square. Though her shots were not fatal, Gladys' brother, Sid, then shot Ed fatally with a shotgun.

Both Gladys and Sid were acquitted of Ed's murder.

Here the story takes on the tradition of a blood feud. It is said when the law cannot bring justice to an unlawful act, then the involved parties take on that task, and this is the birth and life of a feud.

Now the Sims family sought their justice for Ed's murder. This type of justice had been a legacy of Texas life since Texas independence because there were many areas where there was no law and the people themselves by necessity became the law. The Sims family made an attempt on Frank Hamer's and Billy Johnson's life. The lawyer, Cullen Higgins, because of his part in acquitting Gladys and Sid, became a casualty of this feud.

Now that a famous person had been killed, the Texas Rangers became involved. They caught one of the three assassins who killed Cullen Higgins, and ended the feud Texas style.

Bill O'Neal has provided many historic photographs of the Johnson and Sims families and other players along with many of the sites where this feud played out. Through his research and interviews in the Johnson-Sims Feud, Bill has taken the reader through a history of the feud, and through this story also shown how feuds happened. Texas history is unique and reading it by an author who also explains the why of Texas history as Bill has done helps us non-Texans understand it better.

--Charlotte Appleman, C.M.

Homefront Arkansas by Velma B. Branscum, Woody and Steven Teske. Butler Center Books, first edition Paperback, 5½ X 8 ½, 102 pages. \$15.00.

Homefront Arkansas is a collaboration of short stories describing the efforts and suffering of nine wars fought by the U.S. forces and the effects on the general populace, as experienced and viewed by Arkansans.

1845-1847, Thirteen-year-old Rebecca Brown finds hidden letters from her brother Robert revealing the trauma endured by the foot soldiers as they fought the war with Mexico. Often this war is referred to as the Mexican-American War or the Mexican War. After Texas' secession from Mexico, it declared its independence in 1836 becoming its own country and became part of the United States in 1845. Mexico's efforts to regain control of Texas lead the United States to declare war on Mexico in the spring of 1846. The war ended after U.S. forces occupied Mexico City in Sept 1847. More deaths in this conflict were contributed to disease and living conditions than battle injures.

1861-1865, The United States Civil War is seen through the eyes of Jesse Hawk, his mother and grandmother who are the remnants of the Cherokee Indians living in Arkansas. They find apathy for a wounded Union black soldier and shelter him until he is healed and able to return to his Union regiment.

1872, Brooks-Baxter War: Democrats were not allowed to run for political office because of their support for the Northern Yankees during the Civil War. Mr. Joseph Brooks and Mr. Elisha Baxter, both Republicans, disputed the outcome of the election for Governor which started a shooting battle. It took President Ulysses S. Grant to squelch the thirty-day shooting war in which 200 were killed plus many more wounded.

1898, Spanish-American War: Cuba was seeking its independence from Spain. An American ship, the *Maine*, was destroyed while harbored in Cuba, which gave cause for Theodore Roosevelt to form the Rough Riders. This story involves Danny Williams running away from his home on the farm to join Teddy's Rough Riders. The war ended in December 1898 when Spain gave up control of Cuba and the Philippines. Danny's Regiment was disbanded releasing Danny, now sixteen years old, to return home to a prodigal son's welcoming feast. In the Spanish-American War, 385 American soldiers died in battle while 2,061 Americans died from of various disease and other illnesses.

1914-1918, World War I: Elisha Borden, a black man drafted into the army to fight for freedom, returns home after the War to find the cruel prejudice of the South threatening his family and home. Hoop Spur, Arkansas where the Elaine Massacre occurred took the lives of many black men and some white men. Peace was restored when the troops from Camp Pike arrived.

1941-1945, World War II: Private Thurlow Branscum shares his memories with the 81st Infantry "Wildcat" Division. Sloshing through rice paddies and knee-deep jungle mud, and moving dead bodies in gunny sacks to mass burials somehow is lightened by an imaginary figure known as "Kilroy was here". Kilroy was found peeking over packing boxes, walls throughout the war zones. This imaginary

figure brought laughter and relief during the war. He brought us the knowledge of Germans, Italians, and Japanese people who were interned in model camps in Arkansas as compared to POW camps in Europe and the Pacific war zones. Private Thurlow's unit was set to be sacrificed in a mass land invasion of Japan but saved by Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings.

1950-1953, Korean conflict: Jin-Ho an orphan saved and adopted by Andy Jenkins with Company B, Sixth Infantry Regiment is the leading heroine. Jin-Ho's life in Arkansas is filled with prejudice from her class mates until her adopted parents show her the value of pride and self-worth. This short story discusses how North and South Korea were created by the 38th Parallel in 1945. During the Korean conflict, 36,574 American soldiers lost their lives in this action.

1954-1975, Vietnam Wa: Charlie Trammell, Gary Lane and their other best friends all age twelve, discover their neighbor Daniel Franklin, a disabled Vietnam Veteran. Through visits and lengthy discussions with him, they find enlightenment of the cost of freedom we enjoy here in the United States. During the Vietnam War, 90,209 Americans gave their lives in service.

1990-to-date, Iraq, 9/11/2001, Afghanistan: Mr. Owens, a homeroom and math teacher brings his students interviews with military veterans who share their thoughts of the current conflicts of the United States. It's hard for the students to understand the need to defend freedoms. However, the class learns what it means to defend freedom as they defend a newly arrived neighbor. They finally understand that freedom must be earned.

This book provides a composite view of wars fought and the involvement of the Arkansas people. It gives brief reviews of wars fought by the United States and the outcome.

--Ed Sobota, C.M.

Child of the Fighting Tenth: On the Frontier with the Buffalo Soldiers
by Forrestine C. Cooper, ed. Steve Wilson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003, pb edition, 2011, 272 pp. Illustrations, photos, index. Paper \$19.95.

Forrestine C. "Birdie" (Cooper) Hooker was the daughter of Lieut., later Capt. Charles Cooper of the 10th Regiment of United States Cavalry. With the exception of some eastern boarding school drudgery Birdie spent most of her childhood and adolescence living on frontier military posts in the Southwest from Indian Territory to Arizona, including Forts, Camp Supply, Sill, Concho, Davis, Grant, and Bowie. A successful novelist in later life, she wrote this childhood memoir during the 1920 but passed away in 1932 before it could be published. Editor Steve Wilson discovered it and published it in 2003. It is probably the only first-hand written account of a child's experience among the Buffalo Soldiers.

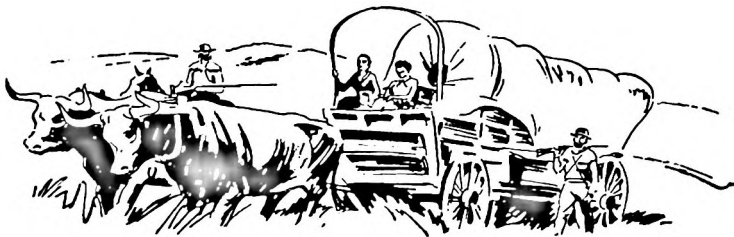
She relates her father's extensive experiences during the Indian wars

interspersed with his personal letters to her over the years. Lieut., then Capt., Cooper was involved in Comanche conflicts of the 1870s and held a command on the infamous march through the waterless Staked Plains of Texas in 1877. He held commands in the Victorio and Geronimo Campaigns of the 1880s. Birdie wrote of the death of Capt. Emmitt Crawford, an officer she hints at having an infatuation with as a child, at the hands of irregulars in Mexico. Capt. Cooper is probably best remembered for accepting the surrender of Chief Mangus in Oct. of 1886 thus bringing the Apache Wars to an end.

Predictably Hooker writes mostly of her friendship with white officers and their children who were her friends. Understandably for the 1920s when she does write about her friendly (condescending) encounters with Black troopers (mostly NCOs) she repeats her accounts of their stories in the vernacular "voices" of Black soldiers of that era as she remembered them. Predictably also, she repeats historical errors based on rumor or conjecture that have long been discredited by credible historians, the foremost inherent danger of taking nineteenth-century original sources as face-value fact and truth, especially if those sources are in regards to Indians. The most glaring example is her telling of the often-repeated tale of the murder of rancher, A. K. Peck's family in Arizona in 1886. The tale describes how Peck was tied to a fence by Apaches and forced to watch his wife and young daughter being slowly tortured to death by Geronimo himself. The tale is preposterous. Peck, in fact, was away from this ranch when the Apaches descended upon it. Mrs. Peck ran in the cabin and emerged with a rifle aimed at a warrior who shot and killed her. The Peck daughter hid under a bed and an Apache warrior was in the act of pulling her out from underneath when Geronimo "himself" entered the cabin and stopped him. Geronimo, according to Peck's own later testimony, put the girl behind him on his own horse and rode off, releasing her a few minutes later within sight of a neighbor's ranch.

These reader warnings aside, Hooker's memoir gives us a vivid account of a child's life on the Western military frontiers as well as the anguish of long waits for her father to return from campaign.

--John H. Monnett, P.M.



Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845-1910 by David M. Emmons. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010. 472 pp. Tables, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$34.95.

A Civil-War-era joke repeated in Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* of December 14, 1864 told of an Irishman who urged his brother to migrate to the United States. "Dear Patrick come: if you can't come in one vessel come in two."

The jab revealed far more about the tale's tellers and their audience than it did about those who were the butt of the joke. Laughing to scare away their fears, Protestant Americans sneered at the Catholic sons and daughters of Erin who were annually arriving by the thousands in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and other seaboard cities. They were in the eyes of old-line Bostonians and main line Philadelphians as much beyond the pale of American civilization as the Catholic Irish had been beyond the boundaries of Protestant British civilization in Ireland.

The anti-Catholic, anti-Irish attitudes that seventeenth-century Englishmen brought from the old world to the new oozed across North America in the nineteenth century creating a complex reaction which David Emmons brilliantly analyzes. Read almost any paragraph in this 200,000-or-so-word opus and you will come away with a head buzzing with questions, ideas, and, depending on your point of view, indignation. On almost every page Emmons raises a point worthy of at least an hour's thinking. A few examples:

"This new hybrid culture, seasoned by the steady arrival of new immigrants from those multiple Irelands, was then passed down in various and altered states to succeeding generations, further mutating it. There was no straight line cultural inheritance from one Irish American generation to the next." (p. 25)

"The location of the West was a function of timing of settlement and the changes over time of the ideas, policies, and cultural values that directed that settlement." (p. 28)

"Protestant first principles were also American first principles, and the West was expected to provide the surety for both." (p. 209)

Emmons prods his readers to ponder large questions. Did Anglo Americans react to the Catholic Irish as they did to Native Americans and African Americans? Did Frederick Jackson Turner's cultural blinders prevent him from seeing the importance of religion in the West? How did the Irish transform the West and how did the West transform the Irish?

Don't buy this book if grand ideas give you migraines or if you want ancestor worshipping vignettes and photographs of Irish politicians and millionaires. Colorado's John Kiernan Mullen rates barely a line and Thomas Walsh of Camp Bird fame is ignored. There are no photographs or illustrations.

On the other hand, if you want to be the first on your block to savor this engagingly written, sophisticated and dense work which will likely prove one of the most influential books written on the West in the first quarter of the twenty-first century, *Beyond the Pale* is for you.

--Stephen J. Leonard

Bloody Bill Longley: the Mythology of a Gunfighter by Rick Miller. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2011. 384 pages, 38 B&W photos, endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardback, \$29.95.

William Preston Longley (1851 to 1878) was a despicable product of the unsettled, violent times that characterized post war Texas. Taking full advantage of ineffective law enforcement while in his teens, Longley drifted from disobedience to drinking, carrying pistols, gambling, and finally murder at the age of seventeen. He escaped to Wyoming and when he returned to Texas he embarked on a decade-long crime spree of theft and murder. Although Longley did some honest work along the way, usually as a farm hand, he consistently returned to outlaw life. His defiance of authority and predilection for violence eventually caught up with him. Longley could trust no one and was constantly on the move under one name or another as he dodged lawmen and bounty hunters. In June 1877 he was finally captured and indicted for killing Wilson Anderson two years earlier.

While in prison he became his own promoter and press agent. He wrote letters and held interviews to explain how he used daring and nerve to confront his enemies, how they begged and pleaded for their lives, and how they groaned as they died from his bullets. He was a skilled and convincing writer, highly favored by reporters who eagerly printed his adventures. But he had been in prison only a few months when John Wesley Hardin was captured. Credited by some as having killed twenty-seven men, Hardin became a more notorious gunman than Longley. Not to be outdone, Longley increased his total to thirty-two.

Although he received a thorough and fair trial, it lasted only one day and the jury needed just two hours to judge him guilty. Longley responded by writing a long letter filled with self-pity to a newspaper. When no one noticed, he tried to redeem himself by characterizing his life as an object lesson for young men. His appeals for sympathy went nowhere as did his appeal for a new trial. On October 11, 1878, 100 guards and about 200 satisfied citizens witnessed his execution and, unknown to them, the birth of his legend as a celebrated gunfighter. Longley finally had what he wanted.

His first biography was published at the start of the twentieth century and it was just as Longley told it. Following a more exhaustive investigation into Longley's letters, interviews, and newspaper articles, a noted Texas biographer wrote a second and more comprehensive biography in 1953. Neither author questioned the words of a man about to die, nor did the readers. It took author Rick Miller, a skilled and determined researcher, many years to piece together the real story. Using hundreds of primary sources, Miller examines Longley's fanciful tales one by one, takes them apart, and shows how most of them could not have happened. Stripped of embellishments, falsehoods, and melodramatic flair, then reduced to the facts, Miller tells the story of a brutal fiend, imbued with no other feeling than a desire to kill. He has produced a page-turning account of how a legend was born and teaches us the valuable lesson to check and re-check our sources.

--Rick Barth, P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

November - December 2011

598 SCENIC INCLINE FROM THE BOTTOM



ROYAL GORGE, COLORADO

1A268

Colorado's First Tourist Railroads
Incline railroads, often they are funicular
by Keith Fessenden, P.M.
(presented November 24, 2010)



THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

VOL. LXVII NO. 6



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He attended Utah State University where he graduated with a BS degree in Agricultural Economics. He is the proud father of two great daughters, a biomedical engineer in Memphis and an aerospace engineering graduate student at the University of Colorado in Boulder. Keith has been a member of the Denver Westerners for over twenty years and is currently a member of several Westerner groups.

Keith has given five talks to the Westerners and he was Sheriff of the Denver Westerners in 1997 and of the Boulder Corral from 2009 through 2011.

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Colorado's First Tourist Railroads

Incline railroads, often they are funicular

by Keith Fessenden, P.M.
(presented November 24, 2010)

Between statehood and 1950, Colorado had eight railroads which were built with the sole purpose of transporting sightseers and tourists. My talk today is about seven of them, the cable inclines, which were usually funicular railroads. I will not be discussing the oldest of them, the Pikes Peak Cog Railway.

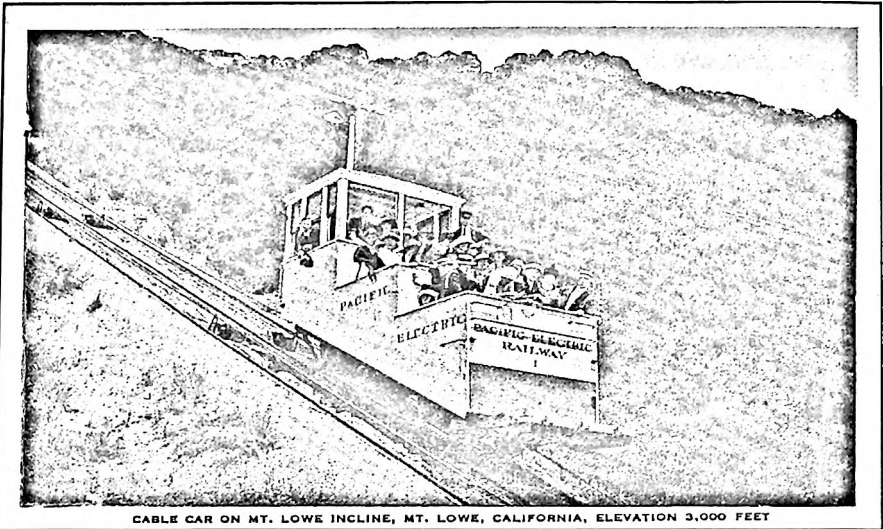
Railroads changed transportation forever. But even the most powerful steam locomotive



Lymouth, England

had its limitations. The Uintah Railway in Western Colorado and Northeastern Utah was considered unusual with its sharp turns and five consecutive miles of extremely steep grades. But even its grades were only 7.5%. For a railroad to surmount grades much steeper than this, adaptations to the conventional railroad needed to be made. One method is to use "cogs" such as in the case of Colorado's Pikes Peak and Manitou Springs Railway. When cogs are added, a railroad is capable of up to a 25% grade. Cable inclines are capable of much greater grades; commonly their grades are in excess of 40%, or even 60%. The Royal Gorge Incline refers to itself as the world's steepest incline railroad with a 45% grade.

Where and when the first incline railroad was built is uncertain. Donald Duke, a fellow Westerner and member of the Los Angeles Corral, states, "Like the steam railroad, the incline railway system was an invention of the British." He places the first incline at Kirkwood Colliery, a coalmine near Airdie, Scotland, in 1724.¹ Obviously, incline railroads were, and are, of great use to businesses in



CABLE CAR ON MT. LOWE INCLINE, MT. LOWE, CALIFORNIA, ELEVATION 3,000 FEET

surmounting elevation issues. With a relatively small vertical footprint and comparative low cost, incline railroads are capable of surmounting steep heights and their use spread.

My father, a retired mining engineer, tells me some mines where he has worked used three or four inclines underground. Inclines are found all over the world.

The incline railroads in the United States were located primarily in the eastern half of the country, where the bulk of the population and industry was. The first North American incline railway was the Niagara Portage Incline Plane Rail Road at Lewistown, New York, near the Canadian border. Pennsylvania with its mines and hilly country had many of these incline railroads. Like England, initially their primary use was in coalmines. It did not take long though and their use spread.

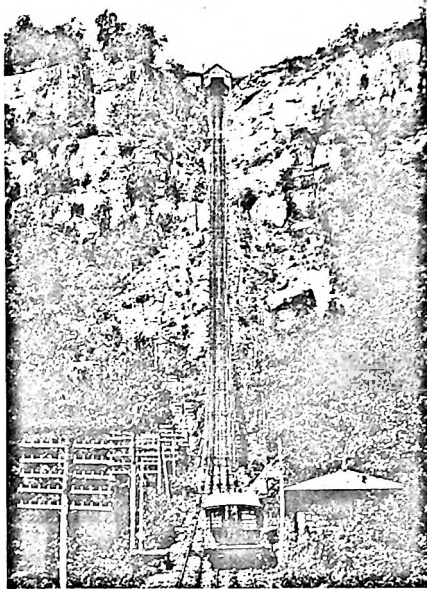
Pittsburgh and its surrounding area had twenty inclines. Two of them, the Duquesne Heights and the Monongahela are still in use.

Inclines were everywhere, in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, Iowa, Oregon, Montana, and California, to name a few of the states with inclines.

Inclines were very popular in cities with hills: I've already mentioned Pittsburgh, Duluth, Cincinnati had five, and Los Angeles.

Still a major tourist attraction in Tennessee is the incline railroad near Chattanooga which goes up Lookout Mountain.

Here in Colorado the incline railroad quickly caught on due to our steep slopes in the mountains. Often the incline railroad began where the regular railroad ended. Other



Lookout Mountain, Tenn.

times the incline railroad served to link mine and mill, surmounting steep grades easily. To give you an idea of the scope of these business and industry inclines in Colorado let me mention a few. There was an incline above the Blackhawk Company's Mill in Blackhawk, Gilpin County, one at the London Mine in Park County connecting mills, one in Eagle County at the base of the Eagle Mine on Battle Mountain connecting town and railroad, the Sheridan Incline by the

Pandora Mill in San Miguel County, another at the Ramey Coal Mine in Las Animas County, and even in specialty mines, such as the Strauss Marble Quarry in Gunnison County.

Around the late 1800s tourism became the mainstay of incline railroads. A website maintained by the Metropolitan Postcard Club of New York City, <http://www.metropostcard.com/topicalsi.html>, states this rather well,

“Incline Railroads - As interest in natural tourism increased in the 1890s so did the attempts of businessmen to find new attractions the public would pay for. The view from mountaintops had long made them popular destinations but was usually only accessible to the hardiest of travelers. Incline or small gauge railroads



The Strauss Marble Quarry's funicular in Gunnison County

solved this problem allowing the feeblest of tourists to enjoy a grand view for a price. Summit houses offering rooms, meals, or other amenities increased their popularity. These railroads were difficult to maintain due to the difficult terrain they were built on and most disappeared over the years.”²

Now let’s talk about the Colorado tourist inclines.

The Mount Manitou Park Incline Railway

Manitou Springs, Colorado, 1908 – 1990

The Mount Manitou Park Incline Railway, aka Mt. Manitou Incline Railway, aka Mount Manitou Scenic Incline, located in Manitou Springs, Colorado was the first of the tourist incline railroads built in Colorado and so far, it has had the longest life span of any of these tourist inclines, approximately eighty-two years, from 1908 to 1990.

An article in the *Colorado Springs Gazette*, November 4, 1907, “Precipitous Road to Climb Mt. Manitou,” states, “Down the face of Mt. Manitou there runs a perpendicular scar. It is four yards wide and a mile long, and is visible almost as far as the Front Range



itself. It is along this cut, up and down a grade of 44 per cent, that strong cables and well built cars will carry hundreds of passengers the coming summer, unfolding to them unrivaled scenic beauties.”

I should point out the Mount Manitou incline is actually on Rocky Mountain. Mount Manitou is a mountain top away.³

The Hydro Electric Company in 1904 created this approximately mile-and-a-half long “scar” while building part of the water system of Colorado Springs. The scar was the site of an incline railroad built to haul sections of pipe up Mount Manitou for a pipeline from Ruxton Park to the top of Mount Manitou whence it headed down the mountain to the generating plant of the Pike’s Peak Hydro Electric Company near the base of the Pikes Peak cog road. The “Hydro’s” construction cars ran up and down the incline taking 45 men to work and hauling half a million pounds of steel pipe up the slope.⁴

Charles W. Stiff of Colorado

Springs looked at this scar and got the idea to convert the pipe hauling incline into a tourist-carrying cable incline. He interested several others, including a Denver dentist formerly of Colorado Springs, and a civil engineer, Claude McKesson. In October 1907, the Manitou Incline Railway Company was incorporated at \$220,000 to build a new scenic incline railway upon the bed of the old. N. N. Brumbach of Denver was president; Charles W. Stiff, Colorado Springs, vice president; E. L. Whitney, Colorado Springs, secretary; N. T. Brumbach, Denver, Treasurer; and Claude L. McKesson, Colorado Springs, superintendent.⁵

By November 1907, more than 3,000 feet of the old railway had been pulled and regraded. Twelve hundred feet of new track had been laid. Claude McKesson, superintendent, was confident the incline would be operating by June 1908.

The Manitou Incline began operation with its own power plant at the top of the Mt. Manitou. The plant generated sufficient electricity to operate the railroad. Initially the railroad was designed using a two-cable design with the strain equally divided between them. Each cable was capable of raising and lowering the cars by itself. Later, when the *Engineering News*, mentioned the railroad this had changed. The railway now used a single 114-wire cable with a test load of 90,000

pounds to raise and lower the two thirty-passenger cars. The cars had a maximum weight of 9,000 pounds. There were also two fixed safety cables, which passed through automatic grips and clutches on each car.⁶ The railroad was initially designed to use two tracks on the upper half and one track on the lower half.⁷

Claude McKesson's prediction back in November 1907 came true; on June 28, 1908, the incline began operation. The fare was initially a dollar, but business started out slowly. The fare was lowered to \$.50 and the railroad did a brisk business on the Fourth of July weekend.

The original cars were open to the elements so each car held waterproof ponchos, one per seat; later cars corrected this with rainproof curtains. Initially each seat held three adults, with the cars capable of holding thirty-three passengers including the conductor.

The Incline proved to have a strong draw even in the off season. The Brumbachs continued as officers for several years. N. N. Brumbach was the president and manager and C. T. Brumbach was the treasurer into 1914, W. L. Whitney was the secretary until 1912 when N. T. Brumbach took over until 1914. In 1915 and 1916, E. A. Sunderlin was the president and general manager and N. L. Drew was the traffic manager. In

1917, J. J. Cogan became general manager.

In 1920, some steadiness appeared and Frederick C. Mathews became traffic manager, a post he still held in 1932.*

For years, just prior to reaching the top, the upward car was stopped and a photograph taken of the passengers. This photograph was then sold in postcard-size prints for \$.25 as a souvenir to the passengers.

To make your personalized postcard special, the Mt Manitou Incline had its own postmark. "Summit Mt Manitou, Manitou Incline RY, Aug. 11, 1912"

One of the most popular selling postcard views of passengers at the upper station was one which reflected 22 governors in the car at the top of the incline during a meeting in Colorado.

What was at the top of the Mount Manitou Incline? At the top the passengers found trails, burros to ride, a lunch room and picnic tables, the photo shop, scenic wonders, and wonderful views of both Pikes Peak and Colorado Springs and the Eastern Plains.

Why did people go to the top? Perhaps this as good a reason as any, the view from the top.

The Manitou Springs Incline



4011 Halfway Point on Mt. Manitou Park Incline RY., Manitou, Colorado.

ran until 1990 when a mudslide wiped out a portion of the incline. The owners decided to not rebuild.

Facts: The elevation at the base was 6,590 feet, at the summit 8,600 feet, with an elevation gain of 2,100 feet. The length of the incline was approximately 1.5 miles. The average grade was 45%, with a 13% minimum grade, and a maximum grade of 65%. There was one foot of rise for every 2.2 feet of distance.

Mt. Morrison Cable Incline

Morrison, Colorado, 1909 – 1915 (1919?)

"A speck of white shining on the distant mountain top, a slender almost imperceptible thread stretching straight up the mountain side – that is the first view you get of the Mount Morrison railway as you sit upon the broad veranda of the Mount Morrison hotel ...

That is the first impression – but the wonders of the mountain pictures, unfurling with the changes and splendor of a moving panorama

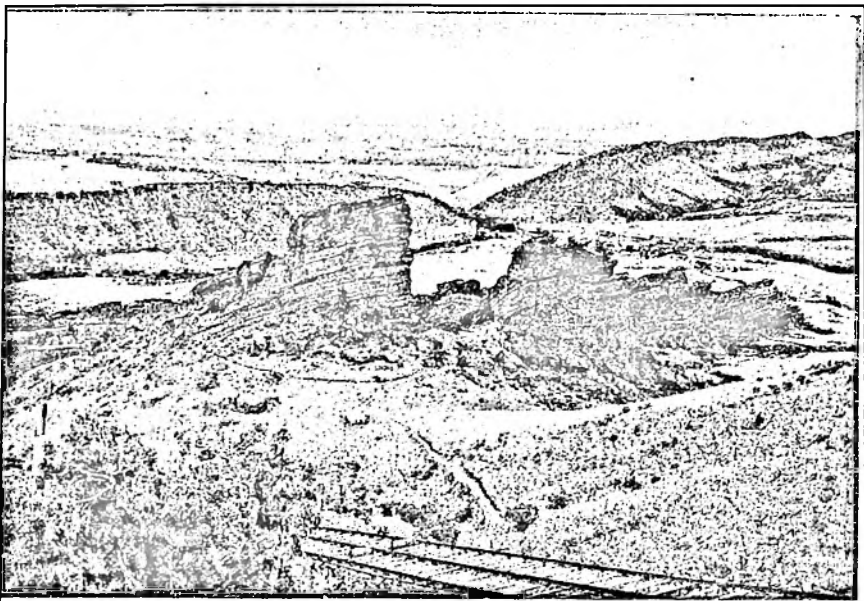
as you make that wonderful ascent up – up into the air, clinging involuntarily with that moving car to the mountain side, make you gasp at the daring that has placed this wonderful incline railway with its powerful and intricate machinery in the very midst of rugged and primeval nature...”⁹ From John Brisbane Walker’s circa-1909 promotional brochure.

The Mount Morrison Cable Incline was the brainchild of John Brisbane Walker. A Colorado and Southern Railroad brochure stated, “Nearly two years were required for the construction of this little railway up the steep cliffs of this mountain.”¹⁰ John Brisbane Walker, of the Mt. Falcon Western White House fame, is an individual who needs little introduction to those interested in Colorado’s history. He established a company, “Colorado Power, Water, Railway, and Resort Company” to manage the Garden of the Titans, and related properties, the Mount Morrison Hotel and Casino, and the funicular railroad.

“Over 25 men are now employed on the Mt. Morrison Incline Railroad and work is being rapidly pushed towards completion. About 1,000 feet of the road grade is complete, ready for rails and ties, and a few feet of the tracks have already been laid” according to the June 30, 1908, *Jefferson County Graphic*.

Construction on the incline

began in 1908. The *Golden Globe* of August 22, 1908, stated, “The last of the machinery for the Mount Morrison Incline R.R. arrived last week. There were three car loads of the heavy machinery in the last shipment, and this has been preceded by half a dozen car loads.”¹¹ Then on June 19, 1909, “The cars of the Mt. Morrison Incline Railroad arrived here Tuesday. They were especially designed for the Mt. Morrison I.R.R. with many new improvements over all others now in use. Each car has a seating capacity for eighty passengers and the seats are so arranged that they swing on pivots from the middle so that they adjust themselves to a level, no matter what the grade may be. They are pure white in color, and trimmed with delicate shades of yellow and black. In making the ascent of the mountain, passengers will ride backward so that the grand panorama of scenery will be spread before them at every point of the journey. The cars are provided with the latest improved safety clutches, which insure perfect safety to the passenger. The ascent of the heavy grade from the base to the summit of Mount Morrison will be made very slowly, the trip each way requiring twenty minutes. The grade is now completed to the summit, and this week will see the rails laid to the terminus of the road. Little remains to be done except to install the



Gateway and Park, Mount Morrison, from Incline Railway

lower plant, which will be located on the summit. Barring unforeseen delay, the road will be in operation soon after July 1st. ... It possesses an advantage over the Pikes Peak R.R. inasmuch as the view presented is far more grand, and also because one can reach the road from Denver in an hour at a cost of 35 (cents), and the Mount Morrison trip can be made for a cost of \$1.00 against \$5.00 for the Pikes Peak trip.¹²

A September 11, 1909, article gave details on the September 5th opening, "The Mount Morrison Incline Railroad was opened to the public Sunday. The first car carrying passengers, left the base of the mountain at 12:53 o'clock, and the

summit was reached 25 minutes later. Unfortunately, the weather was very unfavorable, and a very dense fog enveloped the mountain. Nevertheless the trip was a very delightful one, as the car ascended through the clouds, and emerged in the sunlight of a clear sunlit sky 2000 feet above the starting point."¹³

The Mount Morrison Incline was a mile-long funicular railroad, with a five-foot four-inch gauge to be better able to handle cars with 100 passengers.¹⁴ It was reported to be the longest incline in the world when built. The cars use two 1.25-inch cables raised and lowered by a pair of 14 x 20 reversing hoisting engines.¹⁵

One description of the trip states, "Starting from beneath Creation Rock, the views constantly grow in interest as the car ascends. First, the Great Plains come in sight as the car rises above the Great Dyke, then Denver, then the Mount Morrison Valley to the south.

When the car finally stops at the summit, the view covers a range of more than two-hundred miles of scenery so wonderful that the eye never tires. Yet the summit is but 8,000 feet above sea level – not enough to give any uncomfortable appreciate of attitude to even the most sensitive."¹⁶

The rider of the Mount Morrison Incline Railroad went from the wonders of the Garden of the Titans to the views of Mt. Morrison in twenty-five minutes.

I have not yet determined when the incline carried its last passenger. One source gives 1915 for the last run of the Mt. Morrison Incline.¹⁷ Another article states in 1919 one of the cars was wrecked on the incline and as a result the City and County of Denver began to dismantle the incline in April 1919.¹⁸ However, Denver did not own the park in 1919. The City and County of Denver began to acquire the land now known as Red Rocks Park in 1927 from the Red Rocks Corporation. The purchase was finalized in a condemnation proceeding in August 1928. The final transaction in clearing title to

land within the Park's boundaries was not completed until 1937.¹⁹

The Red Rocks Corporation acquired the park between 1918 and 1925 as John Brisbane Walker's businesses began to fail.

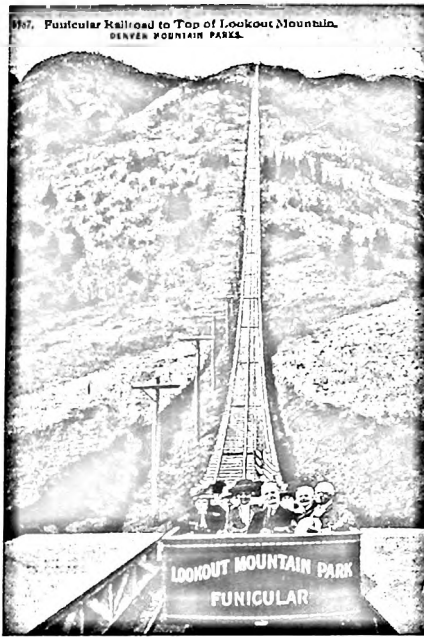
An article in the *Rocky Mountain News*, April 6, 1929, titled "Denver Stuck With Railroad," states, "The City of Denver owns a railroad. It doesn't particularly want it. ... The railroad, about a mile in length, is the old funicular steam road up Mount Morrison, acquired by the city with its purchase of the Park of the Red Rocks a year or so ago. The property includes 6,900 feet of 60 pound rail, 7,900 feet of 40 pound rail, two steam hoists and a boiler. ...

Wrecking the old railroad, a show attraction for the horseless carriage age of twenty-five years ago, is preliminary to improving the park this season." The highest bid for all of the incline railroads physical remains was \$570.00.²⁰

Lookout Mountain Funicular aka Lookout Mountain Park Funicular

Golden, Colorado, 1912 – 1916

Around the turn of the century, Rees C. Vidler, a mining millionaire from Georgetown, purchased approximately 2,000 acres on Lookout Mountain above Golden, Colorado, for \$50,000.²¹ He created the Lookout Mountain Park Development Company



to develop the property and in 1909 issued a prospectus, which described the company's intention to build a funicular road from the mountain's base near Golden to its top, a distance of three-quarters of a mile. The company incorporated August 3, 1909, with a capitalization of \$500,000. Rees Vidler was the president, L. F. Kimball, general manager, and W. W. Borst, secretary and treasurer. In the company's prospectus, they anticipated annual "Funicular Road Earnings" of \$75,000.²² This is a goal I do not believe was ever met.

This railroad was to be the first electrically operated funicular west of the Mississippi River. In 1911, after the company purchased

a narrow strip of land from the top of Lookout Mountain to its base, student surveyors from the Colorado School of Mines surveyed a route up Lookout Mountain for the funicular²³ and the Fulow Construction Company began construction in early April of that year. In August 1912, the funicular was described as having a grade of from 36 to 54 degrees and a total length of half a mile. Operation was predicted to begin on October 1, 1911. The article stated there will be two cars in operation and the seats will be arranged at an angle that will permit passengers to enjoy the trips to the summit without discomfort.

On August 26 progress was proceeding as the grading was completed and the ties were being distributed. Operation was predicted to begin in October 2011.²⁴

After two delays, the Lookout Mountain Funicular was opened officially on July 27, 1912. In attendance were Colorado's Governor Shafroth and Denver's Mayor Arnold who drove the last spike.²⁵

The August 26, 1911, article described the cars as each having a capacity of seventy-five passengers. The cars are described in various sources as having a capacity of 100, 75, 32, and 23. The latter two numbers appear to be the most probable.

In the summer, the cars ran every thirty minutes. There were

refreshment stands on the summit. The first was run by Henry Koch where you could have a Koch's beer and bowl. This stand was sold in 1925 to Andrew Allen well after the funicular ceased operation. In May 1914, another refreshment stand was opened by William Wagenbach. A year later, he added a dance pavilion.²⁶

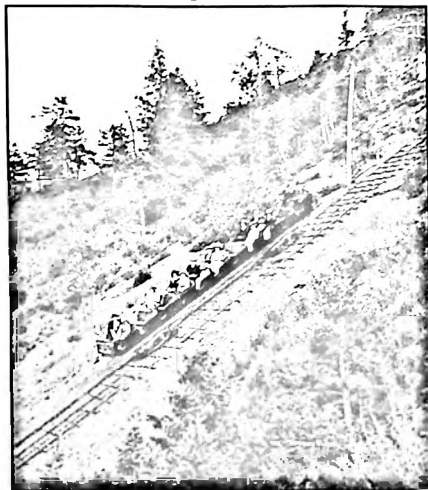
Although some state the incline operated until 1919, most sources place the final run in the fall of 1916. The Lookout Mountain Funicular could not compete with the Lariat Trail, which was completed in 1915.

In 1919, all of the property of the Lookout Mountain Park Development Company was sold at a Sheriff's sale. The railroad was dismantled in July 1930 when the rails were removed. The last of the ties were slid down the mountain in July 1955.²⁷

Red Mountain Incline

Manitou Springs, Colorado, 1912 – 1917 (or earlier)

Around 1910 two entrepreneurs, J. H. Griffith, the operator of a curio store in Manitou Springs, and B. M. Starks, general manager of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, headquartered in Louisville, Kentucky, conceived the idea of building an incline on Red Mountain at Manitou Springs, Colorado, to compete with the Mount Manitou Incline. The



development of the incline moved slowly. But by sometime in 1911, they and other promoters, including Manitou banker D. H. Rupp, son-in-law of Jerome Wheeler of Aspen fame, had hired local real estate men to buy up the property along the right away they'd not yet acquired. When the real estate agents advised the promoters that in order for them to get the desired right of way, the real estate men were requiring 51% of the stock in the new company, Mr. Starks left the company. The others proceeded to sell \$15,000 of stock to local residents and since the purchase of the property they wanted was blocked, they moved the site of the lower terminal westward a few hundred feet and used a different route.

In 1912, when Mr. Rupp was the company's president, the annual passes for the incline listed,

The Scenic Railway Company (Red Mountain Incline). By 1913, the company was in receivership. It is not clear if the incline operated at all until 1919 when the Red Mountain Scenic Railway Company was incorporated by Arthur D. Kenyon, W. F. and P. J. E. Robertson at \$50,000. It appears they built a restaurant, complete with music and dancing, at the top. Even this attraction failed to draw crowds. Business was no better than before. The Red Mountain Scenic Railway appeared in the Manitou Springs City Directory annually from 1913 through 1916 when it disappeared until 1920 when it was listed under a new name.

On October 2, 1920, the business was sold twice with the ultimate buyer being Maurice Mandell of Denver. For \$25,000, he received the incline railroad, the buildings, land, and a number of lots near the incline's tracks. He transferred these assets to the Red Peak Scenic Railway Company.

The Red Peak Scenic Railway Company operated the incline for two more years, and then ceased operation. In 1925, creditors obtained a \$25,000 judgment and one source states the line was scrapped in 1927.²⁸ However, Manitou Springs City Directories list the Red Peak Scenic Railway from 1920 through 1931. In 1920, A. D. Kenyon was the company representative at 201 Exchange

Building. Then from 1921 through 1926, the offices were located at 201 Ruxton Avenue. In 1927, they moved to 191 Ruxton Avenue where they remained until 1931.

The Red Mountain Incline believed in advertising. See the large letters above Manitou Springs? During its relatively short life this tourist incline struggled constantly even with advertising like the huge "Red Mtn Incline" sign above Manitou Springs.

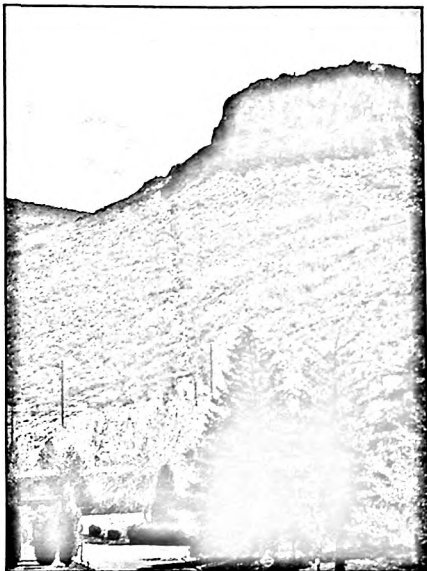
Why did it struggle?

- It appears to have consistently been under capitalized,
- Its summit was 7,375 feet, 625 feet less than the competing Mt. Manitou Incline whose summit could be looked up to from the summit of Red Mountain,
- And its primary competitor, the Mt. Manitou Incline, was located next to the Cog Railroad's base. They shared parking.

Castle Mountain Scenic Railroad Castle Rock Scenic Mountain Railway and Park

Golden, Colorado
1913 – 1915 (1927?)

In early 1908 Charles F. Quaintance a Golden, Colorado, businessman, photographer, and city councilman, leased the pavilion Clyde Ashworth had built on the



summit of Castle Rock on South Table Mountain above Golden 1906. He then ran burro trains from the depot in Golden to the pavilion every thirty minutes.²⁹ Observing the success of Rees Vidler's funicular up Lookout Mountain he decided to build a tourist railroad also.

An article in the March 1, 1913, *Golden Globe*, read, "Although the minor details of the building of the Castle Rock scenic railway have not all been provided for, the contract for building and equipping the road has been let and the construction will begin at once.

...contractor Kenyon is under a heavy bond to have the road in operation before May 1st and the grading will begin as soon as the frost is out of the ground.

With plenty of rock close at

hand the road bed will be extra well ballasted and the steel rails will be much heavier than is usually put to such roads. With every safety device known to modern science being installed to provide against accidents. The double cables will each one stand many times the strain to be put upon them and the automatic clutches makes an accident absolutely impossible.

There will be two cars and the one descending will all but pull up the ascending car so that the electric motor at the top will have but little work to do except regulate the speed of both cars. The line will start at 13th and East Streets and pass directly up the face of the mountain at a grade of less than 50%, and passing to the north of the great perpendicular wall will land

the passengers on the top of Castle Rock.”

Each car held thirty-twopassengers and had two safety brakes to grip the rails.³⁰ This incline used thirty pound rails, a one inch cable with a breaking strain of thirty tons, and a working strain of eight tons.

“At the lower end of the line will be erected handsome depot in plain view of the Denver and Inter-Mountain cars which pass only two blocks to the westward, and in plain view of the Tramway cars which pass only one block to the north. The commodious depot at the top will contain an up-to-date café.

The Castle Rock Scenic Railway will not in the least detract from Vidler’s Funicular built on Lookout Mountain last year.”³¹

Work progressed rapidly as the *Globe* reported on Saturday, March 22, 1913, “Sub-contactor Lewis, Monday began grading for the Castle Rock Incline Railway and has contracted to have the road bed finished and ready for the cars on or before April 15th.”

Then on Saturday, May 17, 1913, the *Globe* stated, “It gives us pleasure to announce that the new Castle Rock Scenic Railway will be ready for business tomorrow and that arrangements have been made for handling a big crowd provided that the weather is fine. Last Sunday the first cars were run over the road and it surely was an interesting

sight to see the big yellow cars going back and forth, ... Wednesday afternoon (May 14th) Chas. F. Quaintance, manager of the new road, put men to work on a large depot at the lower terminal...” The article advised that Mr. Quaintance planned to build a large dancing pavilion with a large tower where he intends to install three telescopes and a thirty-inch searchlight. It was stated the searchlight will throw a beam of light on the Daniels & Fisher tower in Denver which will make the tower as light as day. There were plans to light the entire rock and railway and to put up a six-foot heavy wire fence around the rock so that there will be no danger of people falling off.³²

The official opening of the railway was on July 3, 1913, when “Miss Maud McGregor, the ‘Queen of Light’, waved her magic wand and lit Castle Rock.” Business was reportedly helped by conductors on the interurban who were quoted as chanting, “You folks from Denver didn’t come to Golden to look down on your home town, did you? Didn’t you want to see that magnificent range of mountains over there?” With aa pause with a westward wave to the Castle Rock Scenic Railway, “This is the line that lets you see the mountains.”³³

Once passengers reached the top, they climbed a few steps to the dance pavilion and casino on top of Castle Rock. The ride was described

in a 1920s brochure by the Tourist Bureau of Convention Association, *Denver and Colorado Mountain Parks and Resorts*, as follows,

“At Golden is Castle Rock – a beautiful eminence, the trip up which is happily termed ‘Denver’s Mountain Wonder Trip.’ An enterprising Company has built a first class ‘Safety First’ scenic incline railway up Castle Rock Mountain, the summit of which is reached in less than ten minutes ride from the bottom. At the top of Castle Rock Mountain have been built a restaurant, refreshment stands, and a dance pavilion. When lighted at night, Castle Rock is a gem of beauty, and the lights of Denver gleam like myriad fireflies fifteen miles eastward in beautiful effect. The cost of this trip to the summit of Castle Rock from Denver and return by diverse trolley trip is \$1.”³⁴

This incline had two advantages over Vidler’s Lookout Mountain Funicular. First, it was closer to the rail lines from Denver, especially after 1914 when the Denver Tramway ran its line to Golden. Second, the summit of Castle Rock, and its pavilion, wasn’t on a popular auto route.

It is not clear when the Castle Rock Scenic Railway ceased operation. The latest date I have found is August 7, 1927, when the pavilion burned down while it was under the control of the

KKK. Another source states, “... the Quaintance brothers tore their Castle Rock Scenic Railway up in November 1915.”³⁵ Yet another source states the Castle Rock Scenic line only operated until 1918.³⁶

Royal Gorge Incline Railroad Royal Gorge, Canon City, Colorado 1931 to present

When the bridge across the Royal Gorge was completed in November 1929 the same engineering and construction crew moved on to build the Royal Gorge Incline Railroad. Construction began on the incline railroad late in 1930 and was completed in 1931. The incline formally opened for use on June 14, 1931, over eight months



after the beginning of construction.

The incline was located in Telephone Gulch just west of the suspension bridge. Approximately 400 feet at the top of this gorge had to be widened. Workmen hung from the canyon rim prying loose rocks and crumbling ledges from the walls of the gulch. Concrete abutments were poured, steel girders were lowered into place upon them and then rails placed as construction moved from the top of Telephone Gulch to the bottom of the Royal Gorge. Using these concrete abutments and girders allowed the construction of an incline with a constant 45% grade, unlike the other inclines which followed the contours of the ground.

In the Royal Gorge's advertising, they call the incline one of the most difficult structures ever built. The 4,500-pound cars move at either 2.5 or 3 miles per hour and are capable of a maximum speed of 11.4 miles per hour. The cars are raised and lowered by two 3/4-inch hoist cables fastened to each car, as is a 1 3/4-inch safety cable. Each cable is capable of individually supporting a car.

A postcard folder from 1954 describes this incline as being "1,725 feet in length with a 100% grade." Like the rest of us, this incline has grown shorter over time. Currently it is stated, the entire 1,550 feet of the incline railroad from the canyon's rim to the bottom

of the canyon is a 45-degree angle or 100% grade. It takes five-and-one half minutes to travel the length of the railroad. It is called the world's steepest incline railway.

Otis Elevator employees installed the hoist equipment, a completely automatic SCR drive system with a standby emergency diesel engine. The advertising for the Royal Gorge mentions for safety the railroad has nineteen manually operated stopping devices and is also equipped with automatic governor to stop each car.³⁷

You can take a ride on this incline railroad for the price of admission to the Royal Gorge Park, \$24 for an adult in 2008.

The Eagle Nest Incline Railroad,
1948 - 1984
Seven Falls, Colorado Springs,
Colorado

If you have ever visited Seven Falls, you know what a climb these stairs can be. It is readily apparent this incline was built in 1948 to allow those who either did not want to, or could not, hike the 224 stairs to the Eagles Nest overview, to ride up.

The back of the card reads, "The Eagle Nest Observation Point and Incline Railway at Seven Falls in South Cheyenne Canyon, Colorado Springs, Colorado. By climbing or riding to this vantage point the visitor obtains a magnificent view of the whole



(seven) falls.”

The incline ceased being used to transport tourists to the top in 1984. In 1992, a “mountain elevator” opened. This mountain elevator, which was blasted fourteen stories straight up through solid granite safely transports those who would rather not climb the stairs to the Eagles Nest observation platform.³⁸

Postscript

After the presentation to the Denver Westerners in November 2010 I was approached by a member who mentioned he thought there was also a cable incline in Eldorado Canyon. I was unaware of one at that time but I have since confirmed the existence of this

incline. The incline ran from the bottom of Eldorado Canyon to the Crag’s Mountain Resort Hotel which was located on the south side of Eldorado Canyon a little below the Denver & Salt Lake Railway grade. The base of this incline was located across the creek from the current Eldorado Canyon State Park visitor center picnic area. In a senior moment I have forgotten who gave me this lead but I would like to say “thank you.”

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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 Activities along the Front Range

November offerings by Front Range Westerners are as follows. The Boulder Corral program is “‘How I Found the Fabulous Camp Bird Mine, and made and spent Millions,’ by Thomas F. Walsh,” an historical re-enactment by John C. Stewart, Denver Posse member. Denver Posse member and Director of the Buffalo Bill Museum Steve Friesen presents “Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary” to the Colorado Corral. The Pikes Peak Posse program is “Pioneer Gold Coins of Colorado,” by Tom Hallenbeck, owner of Hallenbeck Coin Gallery, Colorado Springs, and President of the American Numismatic Association.

Denver Posse welcomes a new Corresponding Member

We welcome two new corresponding members, Dan Martel of Lakewood, and Thom Nicholson, of Highlands Ranch. Thom is an old hand on the range, being a former member of the Chicago Corral.

New Active Posse Member of the Denver Westerners

The Posse has elected Marie-Louise Metzdorf to Active Posse membership. Marie-Louise has a Bachelor’s degree in American History from the University of Wisconsin, and a Master’s degree in Library Science. As a librarian, she teaches children how to do research and to become excited about history. She is currently studying the Western American treatment of the Chinese in the 19th century and the Japanese in the 20th century. We welcome her to Active Posse membership.



Loss of Active Posse Member Richard A. Cook

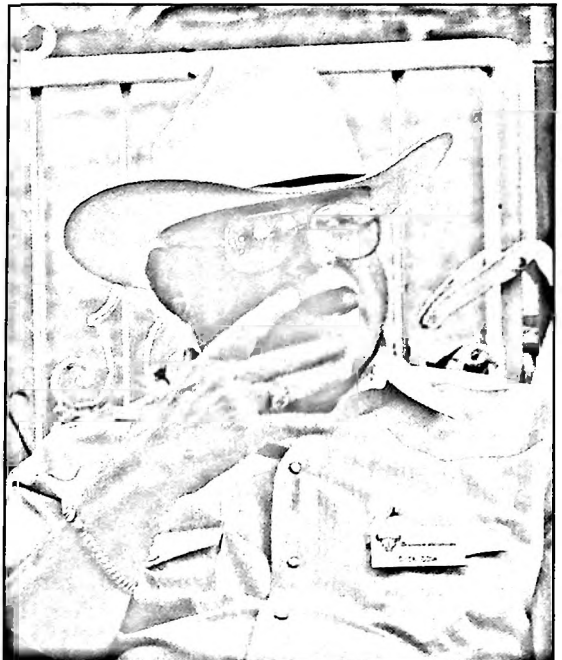
Longtime member of the Denver Westerners, Dick Cook passed away on October 28. Dick joined the Denver Westerners as a Corresponding member in 1978, was elected to the Active Posse in 1981, and served as the Sheriff of the Posse in 1983. His presentations to the Posse are published in three *Roundups*, as well as in the 1995 and 2005 *Brand Books*. His strong interest in Western history is indicated by membership in the Boulder Corral of Westerners, the Wild West History Association, and the Order of the Indian Wars.

An avid horseman, Dick displayed his riding skills as an extra in the movie "Centennial." He was an enthusiastic collector in a wide variety of topics.

Richard Cook was a Mason for over thirty years, and again his drive and enthusiasm showed in his becoming the Grand Master of his lodge, in Golden. He was elected to be the 2012 High Priest for the Colorado Masonic Order. The respect and high regard that his Masonic brothers had for Dick, was shown at his Scottish Rites service, at which he was posthumously conferred with the title of Grand High Priest.

Military service was prominent in his family. His father being in the Navy, Richard Cook was born in Long Beach, California in 1934, and graduated from high school in Yokohama, Japan. Dick's career in the US Army spanned over 21 years, and he retired in 1977 as a Lt. Colonel. He has maintained his career interests by membership in several military-related organizations. The family tradition continues as his daughter is also a retired Lt. Colonel of the US Army, and his son is a retired command sergeant major, US Army.

Dick exhibited a strong interest in Western history, and pursued it with the dedication and accomplishment mirrored by all his endeavors. The Denver Posse will deeply miss him.





Westerners Bookshelf



Great Sioux War Orders of Battle, How the United States Army Waged War on the Northern Plains 1876-7, by Paul Hedren. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, The Arthur Clark Company, 2011. 178 pp. One large map, bibliography, and appendices. Cloth, \$39.95.

Most individuals think of the "Great Sioux War of 1876-7" as the Battle of the Little Big Horn and "Custer's Last Stand," but there was a whole lot more than that particular tragedy. This work is the most comprehensive compilation of that war that this reviewer has ever seen. It is not a narrative history in the conventional sense, but assumes the reader is familiar with that particular war. It is written in three parts. First is the background of the time, status and tactics of the U.S. Army in the latter half of the 19th Century. Secondly is a short history of each of the twenty-eight separate deployments of troops during that war, and lastly, an analysis of what went right for the Army, and what went wrong in those two years. The term "order of battle" refers to the make-up of units in the deployment of troops which is listed at the end of each account. Included are the names of the officers involved. The author also indicates that generally, the war experience of these officers was good as most were Civil War veterans, and some had an Indian fighting background.

It is extremely evident that the author did meticulous research in preparing for this book. Included is one large fold-out map with all the points of interest indicated on it. The one problem this reader had was with the twenty-eight listed deployments. While they were well written in the narrative form, the time factor wasn't in continuity. In other words, a deployment of troops might not be in sync with others in front or behind it. The reader has to be constantly aware of the dates involved to put it into perspective. That is the only glitch to this superb work in this reviewer's opinion. The last part gives the reader an overall view on how it all came out. There are also seven appendices that show a comprehensive listing of army units involved, names of staff and field grade officers, medical personnel, battles and casualties incurred, officers killed and wounded, and other general information.

For those interested in the "Great Sioux War of 1876-7", this is the book to end all accounts of what happened by whom to whom. It is a "must have" for those inclined. It should be the center piece of every collection.

--Richard A. Cook, P.M.

Bitter Water, Dine' Oral Histories of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute. Edited and translated by Malcolm D. Benally. University of Arizona Press, 2011. 102 pages. Softbound, \$19.95.

Navajo and Hopi have for centuries been allies, foes, neighbors and cohabitants of what we call the Four Corners Region.

As the Navajo returned from their Bosque Redondo exile in 1868, they re-occupied the lands they were forced off of by Kit Carson and the US Army in 1864. This area was by consensus and by law considered their reservation. The Hopi occupied some of the same territory. This caused friction from about 1882 onward, and in 1974 the "Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act" passed Congress and was signed into law. The effect was to force relocation of some Navajos from lands long farmed, ranched, and lived on.

This book is accounts by four Navajo matriarchs of their struggles against relocation from the Black Mesa area. It gives insight into their traditions, outlook, and way of life. There is also a chapter, "Sheep is Life" which further explores and lays out traditions, spiritual, and practical views. All chapters are written first in Navajo then in English.

An interesting and revealing look at an ancient but ongoing struggle, this book would be of interest to not only the historian of the southwest, but human rights watchers as well.

--Stan Moore, P.M.

From Cochise To Geronimo, The Chiricahua Apaches, 1874 – 1886 by Edwin R. Sweeney. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2010. 706 pp. Photos, maps, abbreviations, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Cloth, \$39.95.

The third and final volume of Sweeney's Chiricahua Apache history covers the 1870s and 1880s period through deportation of the Chiricahua Apaches to Florida. In this volume the reader follows the Apaches who fled to Mexico, how they conducted warfare, the U.S. and Mexican Armies pursuit of them and their ultimate surrender.

Americans had occupied the Apaches' territory and they now faced the reality of learning to co-exist with them.

The U.S. Government's decision to move all Apaches to the San Carlos Reservation, a location with bad water, malaria, infertile land and very hot climate, created much unrest for the Apaches. The reservation agents were largely political appointees who used their appointment to better their lives through embezzlement and graft of the Apaches' government subsidy, not caring to help them adjust to a new life on the reservation.

A large part of the Chiricahua tribe refused to live at the San Carlos

Reservation and found refuge in the Sierra Madre Mountains in Mexico. They survived by raiding settlements for food, stock, clothing and weapons in Mexico, Arizona and New Mexico. The U.S. Army was then called into service to protect the American citizens in these areas. The Chiricahua rebels always returned to the safety of the mountains in Mexico after their raids. The U.S. Army under General George Crook decided the only way to stop their raiding and killing was to invade their mountain stongholds.

Viewing the war from all sides, Apache, Mexican, U.S. Army, and U.S. Government, Sweeney gives the reader a clear understanding of the causes of the Apache reservation outbreaks; the decisions of the Apache leaders; and the U.S. Army, and the U.S. Government's ultimate decision to send them far from their homeland.

The Apache scouts' loyalty is well documented here and it was only with their courageous assistance the U.S. Army was able to get the Apaches' surrender out of the Sierra Madre. Until their mountain strongholds were infiltrated, they resided there in safety, leaving to raid in Mexico, Arizona and New Mexico and returning without ever being caught.

Chatto, a Chiricahua scout for the U.S. Army, respected by both sides in this tragic conflict, gives his experience of the rebel pursuit in the Sierra Madre.

"Any general, or officer, or soldier of that time knows what hardship it was to campaign after hostiles at that time. In summer time the heat is fearful. In winter the cold is severe . . . I carried a double cartridge belt with forty-five to fifty rounds of ammunition. The belt was as rough as cowhide. It rubbed the skin from my back as I led men over the small ridges and in different parts of the country. My gun was loaded and my hand was on the trigger, following fresh trails of the hostiles, not knowing what moment a bullet might go through my forehead or breast if we were ambushed."

The author skillfully provides a balanced history as he shares the viewpoints of the Apache, Mexican Army and citizens, U.S. Army, and United States Government. A drama of historical literature unfolds that includes an unbiased look at the causes and outcomes of the Apache War. There are clear full-page maps, photographs and notes that offer a skillful addition to this masterful work. This is an excellent resource on the Apaches history of 1874-1886.

--Charlotte Appleman, C.M. and Daniel Martinez



The Elk Creek Chronicles from Shaffers Crossing to Pine Grove, by David P. Nelson. Copyright 2011 by Vista Publishing, LLC. First Edition: March, 2011. 202 pages. Prologue, conclusion, epilogue, photo gallery, bibliography, acknowledgements, plus simple map illustrations of the Area. Paperback, \$18.95.

What caught my eye when I first saw this book beckoning to me at a **Denver Posse of the Westerners** meeting was not only the title, but the sub-title, which mentioned locations with colorful names that brought back memories of family camping trips at Kelsey Campground between Buffalo Creek and Deckers.

As I flipped through the pages (kind of like the ritual of kicking the tires when shopping for a used car), I discovered other sources of memories, as well as heretofore undiscovered bits of information that sparked my curiosity:

- Who were these people living alongside the twisting, narrow South Elk Creek Road, and why did they want to live in this seemingly inconvenient valley carved by Elk Creek?
- Why did Dr. Bob Shattuck and his wife, Alberta Iliff Shattuck, tolerate these conditions for many years commuting daily from their home on Shattuck Gulch to his office in Denver in all sorts of weather?
- Why did a small group of families want to live (or at least summer) in a “commune” (legally an “*Association*”) named Glenelk, just a short distance downstream from Shaffer’s Crossing?

Note: At the end of the Prologue, author David Nelson indicated his own motivational curiosity by listing his strikingly similar questions.

At this point in my contemplation of the answers to these questions, I suspect that there is something in their make-up that they have in common with the original “Mountain Men” of the 1800s, who braved hardships to live a solitary, but challenging, life in the mountains surrounded by solitude.

The book appropriately begins with a chapter on Samuel Shaffer enhanced with background information from the 1840s. An update in Chapter Seven titled “Census of 2010” sheds light on more current times and residents. An extensive bibliography reveals the enormous amount of research done to gather, verify, and organize this publishing effort---the stuff of a true historian. I particularly appreciated the Gallery with its excellent collection of historic and current photos. The information gathered and conveyed throughout by author David P. Nelson validates his statement in the *Conclusion* chapter that “*Elk Creek has drawn a broad swath of humanity to its banks.*”

Perhaps the greatest benefit of my reading *The Elk Creek Chronicles* was that it reminded me of the probability that behind the door of every cabin along these Colorado mountain streams is a story. Similarly, beneath every tombstone in the untended cemeteries sprinkled around the mountain sides, there is an untold tale waiting to be discovered. The majority of those stories may not be really exciting, but they may reveal at least a clue about the answers to the questions that sparked the author’s (and the reviewer’s) original curiosity---that haunting curiosity that

motivates authors, as well as their “history buff” readers.

Besides being informed of the background facts involved, the reviewer came away from this reading experience with a new perspective including broader horizons and heightened curiosity. David Nelson exposes the reader to the essence of this hardy life style and encourages a greater appreciation for the spiritual aspects of mountain living and its challenges.

Author Nelson praises Mark Twain in the Epilogue with this statement: “*By looking into the lives of ordinary people, he discovered a people at their core.*” I believe Nelson accomplished the same goal with this collection of vignettes of the “*broad swath of humanity*” that live, or have lived, along South Elk Creek Road--- past and present.

--William J. (Bill) Leeper, P.M.

Shaping the West: American Sculptors of the 19th Century. Western Passages, an ongoing series published by the Petrie Institute of Western American Art, Denver Art Museum. Distributed by the University of Oklahoma Press, 2010. 96 pages with numerous photographs and bibliographies of the authors. The book is written in five parts by four authors: Thayer Tolles; Peter Hassrick (2 sections); Andrew Walker and Sarah Boehme. Softbound, \$10.95.

This 6th edition of Western Passages focuses on the history of five of the West’s greatest sculptors, Augustus Saint-Gaudens; Solon Borglum; Hermon Atkins MacNeil; Frederick Remington and Charles Marion Russell. If you enjoy Western American sculpture this is the book for you. Although short it is packed with colorful and powerful analyses of the artists and their works. The “book” is aesthetically very pleasing and of quality material.

The large 8 ½-by-11-inch format is well utilized in presenting the excellent photographs several are full page. Many of the photos are period shots of which some were taken at the site of the large-scale works, including the Oliver and Oakes Ames Monument, Sherman, Wy.; the Paris Exposition; Grand Army Plaza NYC; St. Louis World’s Fair; Chicago’s World’s Columbian Exposition; Panama Pacific International Exposition and of course Denver’s own Civic Center Park within which are displayed works of Alexander Phimster Proctor.

Although there isn’t a separate section in the book regarding Proctor he and his works are discussed in detail throughout the book. Several of Proctor’s sculptures, as well as those of the other artists, are on display at the DAM.

These artists worked in the late 19th and early 20th centuries at the time of the perceived closing of the West, credited to the 1890 census and quoted from Theodore Roosevelt. These works concentrate on the American Indians and cowboys of the period that followed the American Civil War. The time of the great cattle drives and the need for cowboys and the times the Native Americans reigned as masters of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains were over.

Artists were looking to the exciting and dangerous times of the American West as a source to explore for their inspiration. Individuals had more wealth and could afford art on a mass basis. Public viewing of the large pieces brought attention to the smaller bronze, plaster and wax statues that were then made available.

The five sections of the book not only cover the artists for whom the chapters are dedicated but others as well. The authors discuss the relationships between the artists and their influences on each other. Remington, for example, had a strong influence on Proctor and vice versa and challenged Charles Russell. Gauden's influence was felt by all.

Borglum ultimately developed a style that was more or less impressionistic leaving details to the imagination of the viewer. Borglum was indeed a true cowboy growing up and working on a Nebraska ranch. Proctor lived and worked in Colorado. Their knowledge of the anatomy of horses and the predicaments one could get into while on one is quite interesting. Remington and Russell travelled to the West and learned from visiting with Native Americans and working cowboys about what it was like in "the old days". Russell traveled to Yellowstone National Park where he rode with Superintendent George Anderson in search of poachers, giving him much material for his work.

The ethnology of the American Indians as well as their assimilation into the White American way of life is told in works such as Mc Neil's, *The Sun Vow* and Borglum's *Indian Advising His Child*. Many of the pieces are representative of idealized allegory, especially McNeil's *Physical Liberty* and James Earl Frasers' *End of the Trail*.

The last section is titled Charles Marion Russell Waxing Creative. The author, Sarah Boehme, concentrates on Russell's works in wax, which are extremely fragile and as one would expect subject to changes in temperature. A substantial number of these unique statues are housed at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wy. The book contains many color photos and some radiographs which divulge the mode of support given to the statues. Several of the pieces required restoration due to wear and tear as well as the fact that they were used to attempt bronze copies.

All in all this is one of the best books in the field of art and art history that I have read and it is available at the DAM along with the other books of the Western Passages series.

--Gary Smith, C.M.

