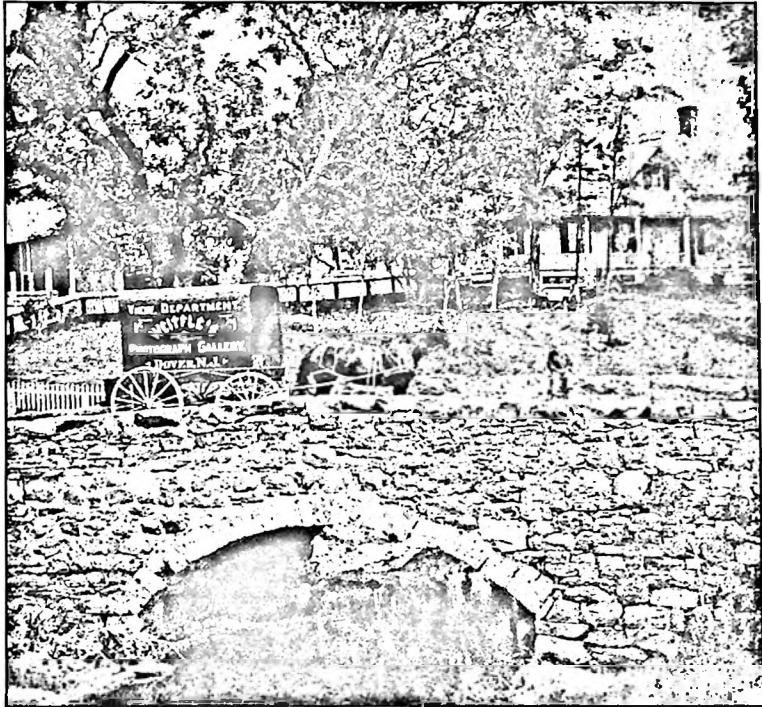




The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

January - February 2013



Bathke Collection

The Photograph Gallery wagon of Charles Weitfle during the 1870s when in Dover, NJ. The house in the background, Golden Corners House, still exists today

Charles Weitfle
Photographic Entrepreneur
By Ed & Nancy Bathke
(Presented October 26, 2011)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

VOL. LXIX NO. 1



January - February 2013

**Our Authors**

The Bathkes have been Colorado residents for 52 years, now residents of Douglas County. Nancy is a collector of spoons, sheet music and souvenir glass of Colorado. Ed collects old photographs, stereoviews, and books of Colorado. They are members of the Ghost Town Clubs of Colorado and Colorado Springs, the Pikes Peak Posse, Boulder and Colorado Corrals, as well as the Denver Posse.

Ed joined the Denver Posse in 1965 and became an Active Posse member in 1970. He served as Sheriff in 1972. Nancy was the second woman elected to membership (1993), and in 2000 was the second woman to serve as Sheriff.

The duo has presented many papers to the Westerners and clubs mentioned above. They have papers published in the *Brand Books* and have helped edit same.

Ed is a mathematician and retired as a computer analyst. Nancy retired as an elementary school teacher.

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Charles Weiffle

Photographic Entrepreneur

By Ed & Nancy Bathke
(Presented October 26, 2011)

Introductory Remarks

Shortly after Nancy and I moved to Colorado in 1960, we developed into avid Colorado history buffs. In doing so, we accumulated memorabilia of our adopted state. For Nancy, this included souvenir spoons and souvenir china. My passion became Colorado books and photographs. We joined the Ghost Town Club of Colorado in February 1961, and there we became acquainted with two members, Francis Rizzari and Dick Ronzio. Their knowledge of Colorado history overwhelmed us, and they became our mentors. Both Francis and Dick were exceptional collectors of books and photographs on Colorado and the American West. They were also Active Posse members of the Denver Westerners, and they acquainted us with this organization as well. So, timidly we began to emulate them. A favorite photographic format of theirs, the stereoview, as well became my favorite.

The inception of photography dates to 1839, with the creation of the daguerreotype, by the Frenchman Daguerre, and at the same time the work of an Englishman, Talbot. The experimental photography of the 1840s became popular in the 1850s, and the value and significance of photographic recording made its vivid impact on the public during the American Civil War. One particular format, the stereoview, or stereograph, appeared about 1850, and this optical technique produced a three-dimensional image for the viewer.

The westward expansion of nineteenth-century United States impacted the Rocky Mountain region to become known as Colorado due to the discovery of gold and the resultant 1859 "Rush to the Rockies." The growth of Colorado, during the 1860s, 70s, and 80s, paralleled the popular period of the stereograph. Pioneer photographers recorded this development, making and selling photos for eager buyers to send to their families and friends back East. The most famous of these photographers was William Henry Jackson. But there were other talented and successful workers in the field, among them William G. Chamberlain, Alexander Martin, Joseph Collier, B. F. Gurnsey, James Thurlow, the Duhem Brothers, and perhaps as many of twenty major photographers in early Colorado, along with a host of lesser participants. One was these enterprising and skilled photographers was a man by the name Charles Weiffle. As stereoview collectors amassed their treasures during the past half-century, this man was overlooked at first, and very little information about him was available. We didn't even know how to pronounce his name. Both Francis and Dick said "Wit-flee", but I claimed that it was a German name, and therefore the first syllable, with the "ei" diphthong, should be pronounced with a long "I", and the second syllable should be elided rather than using a long "e", as if it were "White-ful". So much for my linguistic analysis, since eventual



Grand Fireman's Celebration Parade, May 21, 1878, on fourth anniversary of great Central City fire. On the right side of Main St. are the photo gallery signs for both Weitfle and Collier, Charles maintaining transition with previous operator

contact with the photographer's descendants (but more of that later) would prove Francis and Dick to have the more correct pronunciation. And after all, the family that possesses the name should be the final authority on how to say it.

Francis Rizzari and Dick Ronzio recognized the excellent pioneer photography of Charles Weitfle, and they prized those specimens of his work that they had in their collections. Meanwhile, on the national scene, a collector in Ohio, John Waldsmith, also became aware of the fine photos

of Weitfle, having bought some at a Chicago trade show in 1974. Fellow collectors were not interested in this unknown, so John was able to amass quite a Weitfle collection by studious trading and purchasing. Concurrently John did diligent research on Charles Weitfle, discovering enough information on him to write an article. In 1974 John Waldsmith was one of the founders of an organization, the National Stereoscopic Association, now an international organization of three to four thousand members. The NSA publishes a semi-monthly magazine, the *Stereo World*, which is the premier such publication in its field.

In the Sept.-Oct, 1978 issue (Vol. 5, No. 4), under the authorship of Thomas Waldsmith, John's brother, appeared the article "Charles Weitfle, Colorado Entrepreneur". That article brought the previously overlooked Charles Weitfle to the forefront among Colorado stereographic photographers, and of course immeasurably increased the desirability and value of his work.

But there was so much more about him that was missing. Among collectors, we knew that Weitfle disappeared from Denver at the end of 1883 or beginning of 1884; Western historians lacked any further evidence of him. In a few years that missing piece to the puzzle would fall into place. As a member of the Denver Posse of the Westerners, Francis Rizzari would regularly present historical papers, and these would be published in the monthly magazine,

the *Roundup*. Published in the March 1955 issue (Vol. XI, No. 3) was Francis' article, "Notes on a few Early Day Photographers of Colorado." Francis' notes on Charles Weitfle were indeed "few", amounting to just one full page. But this article was cited as a reference in a later magazine article by a small genealogical society in La Junta, in southeastern Colorado. Then, about 1990 a gentleman in Cincinnati, Ohio, retired from a career with Procter and Gamble. He decided to apply his newfound spare time to researching the genealogy of his family. His research turned up the little Colorado genealogy magazine, and he followed up on its references, writing to Francis Rizzari. In the 1990s Francis was hampered by effects of a stroke, so he looked over the letter, and then passed it on to his wife Freda, saying, "Give this to Ed. He will know what to do with it."

We got the letter on our next visit with Francis and Freda, and I had a few days, contemplating composing a detailed answer to the letter writer. Nancy perceptively told me to stop thinking about any reply, get on the phone, and call the guy. So I did. The next hour consisted of one of the most interesting, valuable, and enjoyable phone calls that I have ever had. The conversant on the other end of the line was Paul L. Weitfle, Jr., the great-grandson of Charles Weitfle. It turned out that we knew absolutely nothing of what had happened to Charles Weitfle or his family after 1884, and Paul, on the other hand,



Arrival of the first passenger train on the Colorado Central Railroad at Central City, May 20, 1878

had no idea that his great-grandfather was a photographer, of considerable renown, and whose work was a present-day valued collectible. In that hour we both feverishly scribbled notes, asked questions, and enthusiastically providing what we knew. That was the beginning of a friendship that has resulted in both of us doing extensive research on Charles Weitfle, and in Paul becoming the premier collector of Weitfle photographs (I think I rank second). We are currently involved in producing a book on the life and works of Charles Weitfle. And with that long-winded introduction, I will proceed to tell you a little about "Charles Weitfle, Photographic Entrepreneur."

Charles Weitfle was one of the millions immigrating to nineteenth-century United States, no doubt seeking a better life in the New World. Charles, christened Carl Jr., was born in Saxony, Germany, on Feb. 15, 1836, to Carl and Elizabeth Weispflug. A younger son, Adolphus, was added to the family before they emigrated to the U.S. in 1850. Elizabeth's older sister Hannah, with her husband, Jacob Reissland, had arrived in Newark, New Jersey, in the early 1840s, and probably Hannah wrote to her sister, extolling the new opportunities. In Newark, Carl Sr. quickly found work as a butcher. His father would have liked Carl Jr. to also be a butcher, and there is evidence that he pursued that occupation, as the 1860-61 Newark City Directory listed his occupation as "restaurant". But, according to the book, *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado* (published in 1880), by 1854, when he was 18, Carl had already shown an interest in photography.

On Oct. 20, 1854, Carl Weispflug signed a Declaration of Intent to become a citizen of the United States. Four years later, on Nov. 2, 1858, Carl became a citizen of the U.S., and at same time, signed another document with the name Charles Weitfle. It was a common procedure for new Americans to Anglicize their names. The German name Weispflug literally meant "white bird" or "dove". How the Weispflug family arrived at the name Weitfle, and how they determined the spelling is unknown. But, henceforth our main character has the name by which we have come to know him, Charles Weitfle.

Documentation of Charles Weitfle's life prior to the Civil War is sketchy. Charles' obituary, years later, would state that he served in the US Navy, being discharged in 1859. Collaborating records for Navy service are sketchy, but apparently he enlisted on the *USS Bainbridge* on Oct. 30, 1855. The *Bainbridge* sailed for Brazil, returning the summer of 1856, and being decommissioned at Norfolk, VA, on Sept. 18, 1856. The history cited previously claims that he introduced the photographic ambrotype to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil between 1856 and 1860. How much of that time span was spent in Brazil is unknown, and any evidence of Weitfle photographic endeavors in that country is thus far undiscovered. Attempts at research in Brazilian sources and with Brazilian historians have been difficult. Certainly time in Brazil had to be very limited, due to the *USS Bainbridge* returning to the United States. We do know that Charles Weitfle left the Navy soon thereafter, probably a medical discharge. We do know that he was in New Jersey in 1858 to sign citizenship and change-of-name papers. The *Bainbridge* was recommissioned in 1858, rejoined the Brazil Squadron, and then served in the Civil War. On Aug. 21, 1863, she capsized during a severe storm off Cape Hatteras, with the loss of all the crew save one. The Masonic Hohenlinden Lodge #56, in Brooklyn, NY, records Charles as joining on Feb. 9, 1859, and lists his occupation as a harness maker. However, his younger brother, Adolphus, was a harness maker, so the recorder may have made an error or mixed his records. Charles was an avid participant in this Masonic Lodge, and



Colorado Central train at the ticket office at the Forks of Clear Creek in 1878. Engine No. 2 arrives from Idaho Springs with a boxcar and two passenger cars, while engine No. 1 in the background switches flatcars at the busy intersection

it was located at the Brooklyn Naval Yard.

By 1860 Charles Weitfle had sufficient presence in New Jersey, to meet and court a neighbor, Margaret "Maggie" Ward. They were married on July 5, 1860, in Essex County, New Jersey. Their first child, Willie Corey Weitfle, was born on June 14, 1861. At first, the newlyweds live with Charles' parents, at the family home, 24 Centre St., Newark. Younger brother Adolph also lived there, until he joined the US

Army in April 1861, at the onset of the Civil War.

There were just implications of photographic activities during the 1850s, but these seeds of activities would soon produce fruit. On August 9, 1862, Adolph was wounded at Slaughter Mountain, and sent to a D. C. Hospital for treatment. Whether Charles had done business previously in the Capitol, Adolph probably alerted his brother to the many photographers in the area, and of the fine opportunities for abundant photographic business. By Oct. 1862 Charles Weitfle and his family had relocated to Washington, D. C., and that month he purchased an eight-month

Class B photography license. The year 1863 was the first of many pivotal years for the Weitfle family. On January 15, their first daughter, Elizabeth Nolan Weitfle was born. Charles opened what may have been his first photo gallery, at 538 7th West, as recorded in the Washington, D. C. City Directory.

Charles Weitfle became a civilian photographer for the Army of the Potomac, working primarily with the 1st and 3rd Divisions of the 6th Army Corp. Many of his photo subjects were soldiers from New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. Charles' brother Adolph was a member of the 1st NJ Cavalry. At one time Adolph was issued a special pass, as Charles' photographic assistant, but the brothers may have



Colorado Central engine Porter-Bell No. 4 waits on the first leg of the switchback to Central City, above the Gregory-Bobtail Mining Company's plants, Black Hawk

st been “working the system” to get together for a little R&R. The brothers developed and shared a close bond during the Civil War era. Charles produced many CdVs of soldiers, and we have seen several surviving examples. His patriotic backdrop of a camp scene with flags is readily recognizable, and aids identifying photos as his even when no maker’s name is on the image. Charles had an assistant named Allen Hall. One 1863 CdV, of the White Oak church, Falmouth, Virginia, bearing a “Weitfle & Hall” label, displays a sign above the door that reads “ambrotypes,” suggesting that the building may have doubled as the photo gallery.

Charles’ second eight-month license expired in January 1864, and with the Civil War business for photographers diminishing in his area, the troops perhaps venturing further afield from the Capitol area, the family departed for Newark. There is some evidence that they may have been back in Newark by the fall of 1863. The 1864 Newark City Directory lists the Weitfle Photo Gallery at 202 Broad St. Weitfle was listed in the 1865 edition of the Newark City Directory as well, but with no verification of address. Eventually the Weitfles moved to Dover, New Jersey. Daughter Nellie

Weitfle was born in 1867, and then on May 3, 1868, Paul Weitfle I was born in Randall Township, Dover, New Jersey. Another son, Charles D. Weitfle III, was also born in Dover, July 1869. The 1870 census listed Charles and Maggie with two sons and two daughters (their first son Willie had died years earlier). On May 15, 1872, Martin Searing Weitfle was born, but, sadly, on July 14, 1873, Martin died. The last of the Weitfle children, Joseph King Weitfle, arrived on May 20, 1874.

The Weitfle photographic business must have prospered. Many stereoviews, CdVs and other images bearing his Dover imprint are extant. Fellow collector Ken Rosen of New

Jersey has an extensive collection of Weitfle New Jersey images, and he has shared copies with us. Paul Weitfle likewise has a sizable accumulation representing this era of Charles' photographic output. One nice stereo image that Charles produced was of his photo wagon positioned on a small stone bridge, and with the logo, "View Department, Weitfle's Photograph Gallery, Dover, N. J." emblazoned on its side. Many mentions of the Weitfle family and the photo gallery were contained on the pages of the *Iron Era* newspaper of Dover. On June 19,



Charles Weitfle records the activity on Larimer Street, Denver, circa 1880

1875, Weitfle's barn and all its contents were destroyed by fire. It was valued at \$1,100, and only \$500 insurance was carried on it. Also in the barn was his fine photograph wagon, valued at \$500, and it too was a total loss. Periodic squibs in the paper touted Charles' fine photo work. But on Oct. 27, 1877, times were changing, with the announcement that Charles Weitfle would be opening a gallery in Newark on January 1.

The change was more drastic than anticipated. In January 1878 the Weitfle family moved to Colorado. In its March 2 issue, an *Iron Era* advertisement stated that the former Weitfle Gallery had been remodeled and was now open for business, operated by E. G. Lacy & Co. The April 13 *Iron Era* reported that "Weitfle, the photographer,

is doing a fine business in Central City, Colorado. The *Black Hawk Post* says he is 'the best artist that ever visited this part of the country.'"

On Feb. 2, 1878, a chattel mortgage from Charles Weitfle to Joseph Collier was filed in the Gilpin County Courthouse. Scotsman Joseph Collier, the same age as Charles, had arrived in Central City in 1871, and maintained a photo gallery in Central until he sold it to Weitfle in 1878. Then he moved to Denver, establishing a gallery in that town, and continued as a photographer until 1901. Collier had established himself as one of the top-flight Colorado photographers of his



Weitfle provided photos across Wyoming and into Utah to the Union Pacific Railroad, and they sold well at many Eastern outlets. Sherman, WY, the highpoint on the railroad, features the UPRR station and the Summit House

ra, and his reputation continues to this day. Two family members authored a book on Joseph in 1983, and Joseph Collier's great-grandson Grant Collier wrote a fine book published a few years ago. Unlike the Weitfle family, of whom we had lost any continuity, the Colliers maintained a presence in Colorado, and we have met them.

Charles Weitfle's photo gallery appeared to be popular from the beginning, and the quality of his photography was readily recognized. Later that year he received an award from the Colorado State Fair for the excellence of his stereographic views. His first views taken, of Central City, are highly prized by collectors today. Charles had a distinctive method of

labeling, and numbering each of his negatives that he printed and mounted. This has been a valuable aid to the modern collector, in identifying and organizing his images. The first numbers portray a lot of the social character of Central City in 1878. He took images of the Fireman's Celebration and Parade, held on the fourth anniversary of the disastrous Central City fire of 1874. As one looks at the firemen marching up the street, his eyes fall on the store signs, a pair of signs reading "C. Weitfle" and also "J. Collier, Photographic Gallery" on the photo shop front. Later that month Charles captured the view of the first railroad train entering Central City. Other views recorded the streets of Central City for posterity.

Charles no doubt rode that Colorado Central train down Clear Creek to Denver many times. One newspaper article on May 31 refers to a "truck" or small railcar he had built to carry his photographic apparatus, that could be attached to the end of the train. He took many scenic views along the railroad, in Clear Creek Canyon, including the rail stops at Beaver Brook Station and the Forks of Clear Creek.

On Nov. 29, 1878 Charles Weitfle traveled to Manitou to "secure views for his studio and for the public." Ever the entrepreneur, Charles was looking for good items that would sell. He no doubt met Manitou's resident photographer, James Thurlow, on his

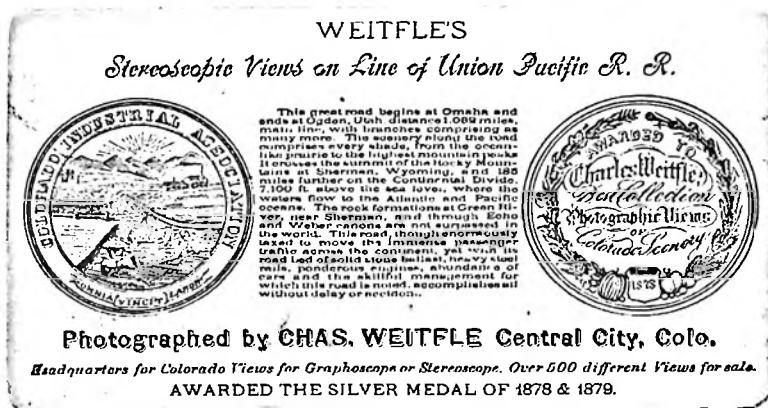
trip. Then, on Christmas Day, 1878, James Thurlow suddenly died. Weiffle contacted Alice Thurlow, James' widow, and in early 1879 he purchased Thurlow's negatives for \$1250. The year 1879 continued to be a busy one. An ad in February reports that he has Collier and Chamberlain views for sale. In April he buys a house lot for \$800 from Saint Paul's Church of Central City. On May 13 he was taking views of Leadville and vicinity. On Sept. 27 he was awarded his second silver medal at the Colorado Industrial Association State Fair. He returned to Leadville on Nov. 3, for photos of the Clarendon Hotel.

Then, in December, Charles and fellow photographer Joseph Collier became embroiled in a spat. Both photographers had submitted competitive entries of photographs in the 1879 Colorado Industrial Exposition. In 1878 Charles had been awarded a silver medal for "Best Collection of Photographic Views of Colorado Scenery." An engraving of the medal was prominently displayed on the backs of the stereoviews that he sold. The *Rocky Mountain News* reported on Sept. 27, 1879 (the fourth day of the annual exposition) that Joseph Collier had been awarded a medal for "best collection of photographic or stereoscopic views of Colorado scenery," and that Charles Weiffle had received a special mention for excellence. The *Central City Daily Register-Call* reported on Sept. 27, and again on Dec. 4, that Charles was awarded the first premium for the best stereoscopic views at the Expo. That report riled Collier, and he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Daily Register-Call*,

that to set the record straight Collier was awarded the medal. There seemed to be a question of semantics involved, as to the terms "award" and "medal," and just how the medals were inscribed. The very next day Charles' response appeared in the "Letters to the Editor" of the *Register-Call*.

He stated, "That I did receive the said medal you are fully aware, and that I was fully entitled to the same none will deny who will take the trouble to examine and compare my views with the old yellow backs of Mr. Collier. The time has gone by when anything in the photo line which this 'wonderful' man produced will sell, hence the *squeal*." One week later, Joseph's retort was published; "When the father of lies quotes scriptures he is supposed to be careful not to quote too much." He continued regarding the quoting of rules for the competition, and the meanings of various ribbons. That brought about a long letter from Weiffle, printed in the Dec. 23 edition, and including correspondence between Charles and Secretary Thomas of the Colorado Industrial Association. It appears that a medal was awarded to J. Collier for "photographic views," and a medal was awarded to C. Weiffle for "stereoscopic views." The wording of reports in the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Central City Daily Register-Call* may have added to the confusion. At any rate, thereafter the hubris seemed to fade.

Charles Weiffle continued to nurture his photographic business in Central City, but must have been active selling his products in Denver as well. In the 1880 US Census, taken in Central City on June 17, Charles, age



Weitfle was justifiably proud of the awards for his photographic work, and the backs of his stereoview cards displayed those accomplishments

43, was listed, along with his son Paul, age 14, and his son Charles, age 10. However the census taken in Denver, dated June 1, listed his wife Margaret, age 33, a book and news dealer, along with her daughter Nellie, age 12, and son Joseph, age 6, living in that city. Daughter Elizabeth, age 19, had married Sam Hall in May, and the Halls also lived with her mother. The listed age of Margaret is suspect, since she was married to Charles in 1860, and her oldest child, Elizabeth, is listed as 19. The 1870 census figures are also a bit out of line, but not as flagrant as these 1880 figures.

Gilpin County records reveal the business activities of Charles. When he bought Joseph Collier's Central City studio in 1878, a mortgage of \$250 was filed on Feb. 2. On April 18, 1879, he bought a lot (and presumably a small house on it) on Lawrence St. in Central City. On May 5, 1879, he signed another mortgage, again for \$250, to the Rocky Mountain National Bank of Central City. This may have been

to pay off Joseph Collier, or to obtain operating capital. On August 3, 1880, he sold the lot on Lawrence St. On Feb. 8, 1881, he signed another chattel mortgage, secured by his business, to the Rocky Mountain National Bank, for \$600. Business seemed to be booming, and the local newspaper often reported sales of dozens of views, but we wonder just how profitable all of Charles' work was.

Meanwhile Weitfle was certainly active. On Sept. 17, 1880, the newspaper reported that he had taken ten stereoviews of the incoming train. Then, on Oct. 7, he left by train for Cheyenne, Wyo., so that he could photograph the Union Pacific Railroad line between Cheyenne and Salt Lake City. By the next February he had received large orders for views from the Union Pacific, as well as other orders from the East. The Central City *Daily Register-Call* regularly reported Charles' activities. On Sept. 16 the public was notified that the gallery would be closed for three days so that

Weitfle could attend the state fair. That fall Charles was taking photos in Black Hawk, and fell into the flume next to the Gregory Workings, dislocating his shoulder. He sued the City of Black Hawk for \$500 but was unable to collect anything.

On Feb. 1, 1882, Denver photographer Ben Hawkins died suddenly at his gallery, 377 Larimer St. Ben was relatively young, in his 40s, but the *Rocky Mountain News* reported that he "of late had been using alcohol as a beverage." Joseph Collier and two others inventoried the assets of the business, the estate administrator petitioned the court on Feb. 9 to sell the assets to Charles Weitfle, and on that date, Charles became the owner of a photographic gallery at 377 Larimer St., Denver. Two days later he signed a mortgage of \$1600 to cover the purchase.

Business seemed to expand. On June 2 Weitfle was in Boulder taking photos. On July 4 he took a large-format photo of the laying of the cornerstone of the Boulder County Courthouse. Supposedly Weitfle was to open a branch gallery in Boulder. Although we have been unable to find evidence of any specific location, Boulder historian Gladden states that he was in partnership with Boulder photographer Frederick Law. We have stereoviews of Boulder Canyon taken by Weitfle, but haven't seen any images of the city of Boulder. A copy of the laying of the cornerstone is in an institutional collection. Business seemed to be good, and photographs were selling. But correspondence to Georgetown druggist E. S. Wright, to whom Charles was selling stereo cards,

mentions that Wright was to pay \$10 to the Merchant National Bank, who held a mortgage on Weitfle, since Charles owed them more than he could pay. The cost of Weitfle's galleries, and of operating the businesses, apparently involved annual refinancing, since on Feb. 7, 1883, a new mortgage of \$1790 was signed, and this was secured by both the Central City and Denver galleries.

The year 1883 would not be a good one for Charles Weitfle. Some time that spring Margaret Weitfle would get a divorce from Charles (persistent research by Paul Weitfle eventually found the documents regarding the divorce). On Jan. 21 the *Rocky Mountain News* reported that he had "abandoned his scheme of a printing business in Central." Ever the entrepreneur, he seemed to be trying many ways to turn a profit. In March photographer Charles Nast was running the Central City studio for a week. On March 11 he concluded arrangements for a new commodious Denver gallery. Sometime in 1883 he moved from 377 Larimer to 448 Larimer St. On July 1, he was in Manitou taking views.

Charles' son, Paul I, was often listed as a photographer, and the teenager assisted his father in the business. However, relations between the two were not amiable. On Sept. 5, son Paul, age 15, filed a petition in Denver to appoint a guardian. On Sept. 25 the Probate Court appointed Charles Nast as guardian of Paul I.

Then, on Oct. 31, Halloween, disaster really struck Charles Weitfle. At 7 o'clock that evening the alarm of fire was caused by the explosion of a lamp left burning in the chemical room of the

photo gallery at 448 Larimer St. Many valuable, and irreplaceable, negatives were destroyed, including the Thurlow collection for which he had paid \$1250, the Hawkins collection which cost him \$500, and \$200-worth of Chamberlain negatives, as well as essentially his entire life's work. The *Rocky Mountain News* declared it to be "perhaps the most extensive and finest collection of mountain views in existence." The insurance of \$3,000 would not begin to cover the loss. Charles was heart-broken over the tragic loss, and today's historians must share his emotions at the great stock of valuable photo history that ceased to exist.

Nevertheless, Weitfle seemed to rebound, as the *Rocky Mountain News* reported his activities in 1884. On Mar. 30 an article detailed how he took an 18x22-inch photo of the Georgetown Loop. Large-format images by Weitfle are extremely rare, and this appears to be one that has not survived. That same day he was also photographing in Idaho Springs, where he lost a part from his camera. Then, on May 18, he closed his Denver business, and opened a branch gallery in Cheyenne, Wyo. It seems that his Central City gallery was still operating. A mortgage of \$344 on July 14 lists both the Central City and Cheyenne galleries. On Oct. 15 the RMN reported that Charles had left Central City for Denver the day before.

After late 1884 the lack of any documentation implies that Weitfle had ceased operating in Colorado. On Oct. 24 the Cheyenne, Wyo., *Democratic Ledger* carried an announcement by Charles of opening a photo gallery on Sixteenth St., near Hill St., adjoining Abney's livery stable. Regular

announcements, ads and all sorts of squibs appeared in the newspaper in the following week. The Cheyenne City Directory, in the 1884-85 and 1886-87 editions, lists the gallery at 386 16th St. On Feb. 20, 1885, a mortgage of \$200 was signed with a Christopher Miller in Central City. The note was secured by items that were in his gallery on Main St., in Central City, and consisting of a printing press with type, a book case and library, a shotgun, a mounted deer head, a mineral case with specimens, and a marble washstand. On April 2 the *Democratic Ledger* extolled the beautiful mineral cabinet that contain one of the finest specimen collections of any private collector in the region. Stereoviews produced by Weitfle at this time listed branch galleries in Central City and Cheyenne on the card backs. Charles' major business in Central City had been taking portraits, and many examples survive. But the Colorado scenery was just too good for photographing to not take advantage of, so much more of this work documents his Colorado business efforts today. On the other hand, we do not have evidence of Weitfle performing scenic photography in Cheyenne.

Charles Weitfle had been close to his younger brother Adolph, as they grew up in New Jersey, and during the Civil War when Adolph was a member of the 1st NJ Cavalry, and Charles was a photographer attached to the 6th Army Corps. Adolph married and raised a family in New Jersey, but about 1875 he left his family. Then, in the winter of 1886-87 Adolph came to Cheyenne to see his brother Charles. Unfortunately, only Charles' daughter Nellie, then 19, and son Joseph, 12, were at home. So,

except for that brief appearance, Adolph was lost to the family.

Very scant evidence exists of another business venture by Weitfle. We have a copy of one cabinet card of a Wyoming waterfall, with the back imprint of "Charles Weitfle, Portrait & Landscape Photographer, Rawlins, Wyo. – Branch Gallery, Central City, Colo." This venture must have been very short-lived, and must have occurred early in his Wyoming residency, since it still referred to a Central City gallery. No other information has been uncovered concerning a gallery in Rawlins.

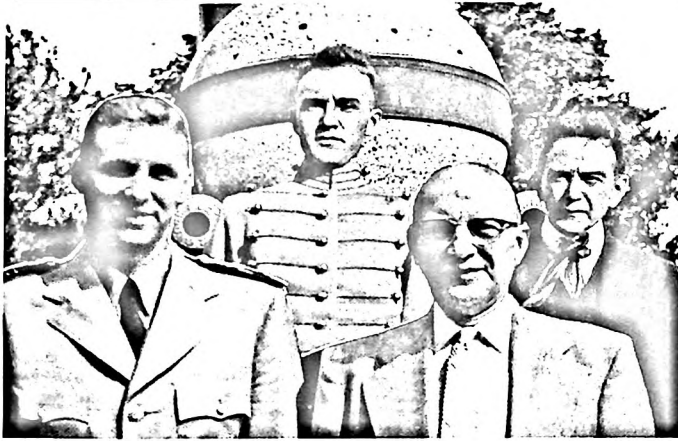
The period of 1886 to 1890 provides far less evidence on the activities of Charles Weitfle than any other periods of his life. In 1887 and 1888 he may have been in Cheyenne, or even in Rawlins. Two photos exist, taken in Jan. 1889, of Shoshone Indians at Pocatello, and of an Idaho sheep ranch. Both images are mounted on card stock that bears the label of galleries in Central City and Cheyenne. However, this may have just been leftover card stock that he was using, just as some of his early Colorado photos were mounted on card stock that he had brought from Dover, NJ. The Cheyenne Sanborn insurance map for 1890 displays the caption "wagon shop, partly burnt" at 118 16th St., which was the address of Charles' Cheyenne gallery. Did fire lead to the termination of a Weitfle gallery for the third time? It seems almost too coincidental, and brings one to recall the pioneer saying of many fires being caused by friction between a mortgage and a match.

But Charles Weitfle continued his never-ending search for business



Ironically, photographs of the photographers themselves are rare. This may be the only photo of Charles, taken after he retired, and obtained from a relative

opportunities. In Granite County, Montana, a mining boom resulted in the town of Granite, and the town peaked with a population of 3,000. Charles moved to Philipsburg, today still the county seat of Granite County, and opened a photo gallery there and also in Granite three miles away. He took many scenic views of the mining town, and published a 5x6-inch book with beautiful lithographs, titled *Views of Granite, Philipsburg and Vicinity*, published by Chas. Weitfle, Granite, Mont. One image is dated June 9, 1891. In 1892 he moves from Philipsburg to Granite. Charles was always very active in the Masonic Order, and he was elected Grand Master of the Granite Lodge. In 1893 the silver panic hits, and Charles moves back to Philipsburg.



Composite photo, the front overlay of Paul L. Weitfle III (Naval Academy, '58) and his father, Paul L. Weitfle II and the background image being Paul L. Weitfle II (West Point Military Academy, '25) and his father, Paul L. Weitfle I.

The Montana State Business Directory of 1893 lists him as a photographer in Philipsburg, and again in the 1896-97 edition. Charles continued activity in the Masonic Order, and in 1897 he again served as Worshipful Master of Ruby Lodge #36 in Granite.

In spite of the evidence of the town and mining photos that Charles Weitfle took in Granite and Philipsburg in 1891, no photographic prints of these have appeared anywhere, in institutions and museums or collections. However, we do have several examples of his portrait work in these towns. Charles also published some fine photos of Indians, with the cabinet portraits being mounted on obsolete card stock bearing the "Central City & Cheyenne" names. Three or four stereoviews of Indians have surfaced in collections, and these images are mounted on plain buff card stock, making their production somewhat of an enigma.

The mining activity in Granite waned. Granite County could no longer support the photo gallery of Charles Weitfle. Today Granite, Montana, is a ghost town, with only a few derelict buildings remaining. Charles had to move on, and in 1899 he moved to a ranch near Idaho Falls, and specialized in bee culture. The 1900

federal census lists him as a 64-year-old farmer, living in Rudy Precinct, Fremont County, Idaho. Beginning on Jan. 15, 1901, he was the postmaster of Rudy, and served in that capacity until Aug. 21, 1903. He continued to be a Mason, although his membership was somewhat sporadic, and in 1902 and 1906 he was dropped for non-payment of dues.

In 1914 the Montana Masons constructed a new home in Helena for retired Masons. Charles was admitted to the Masonic Home on Nov. 14, 1914, perhaps a charter resident of the home. His lodge, Ruby Lodge #36, was moved from Granite, the ghost town, to Drummond, Mont. in 1915. Consequently Charles transferred his membership, and in 1916 he was listed as a member of Lodge #3 in Helena. Masonic archives in Helena show Charles to have been an active member

in the following years. On Jan. 12, just shy of his 85th birthday, Charles passed away. He was buried in the Pioneer Cemetery on Benton Ave., in Helena.

We did research in Granite County, and then in Helena, Montana, tracing the life of Charles Weitfle. We attempted to find his gravesite in the Pioneer Cemetery. The scene of dilapidation, of tall weeds and deteriorating headstones, was enough to bring tears to the eyes of a historian. We returned to the Montana State Archives, seeking information on any other cemeteries in Helena. Our search paid off, when we discovered a large Masonic plot in the major Helena cemetery, Forestvale, and the final resting place of Charles Weitfle was located.

For historians interested in Colorado photographers, this story has an addendum. Charles' son, Paul I, was also a Colorado photographer, first as an assistant to his father at 377 Larimer St., in 1883, and then in 1884 with C. C. Wright, for whom his guardian Charles Nast also worked. In 1895 he operated a photo gallery in Meridian, Miss. Research onsite in Meridian reveals that historians there know very little of Paul Weitfle. But we have uncovered a couple images published by him there. Then, in 1897 Paul comes to Cripple Creek. He is an active portrait photographer in Cripple Creek until 1899. On Feb. 21, 1899, he marries Ida Louise McAllister, age 20.

Like his father, Paul pursues new photo galleries. On Jun. 21, 1899, he purchases the Thomas Curran Gallery in Santa Fe. In 1900 he is listed in the federal census in Albuquerque, and his son, Paul II, is born on Jun.

9 in Albuquerque. On Sept. 17 the Curtis Gallery in El Paso, Texas, is sold to Paul Weitfle. But the family soon moves again. On Oct. 31, 1901, daughter Marguerite is born in Lead, South Dakota. Photos labeled "Weitfle, over Jenkin's Drug Store, Lead, SD" have been found. But the family returns to Cripple Creek.

Cripple Creek City Directories list the Weitfle Studio at 245 E. Bennett Ave., starting in 1904. This continues until 1909, when Louise is granted a divorce from Paul, who was not present. The city directories for 1909 through 1914 list Mrs. L. Weitfle as the proprietor of Weitfle Studio at 245 E. Bennett Ave. Then, in the 1915 city directory, the proprietor is listed as Mrs. L. D. Kunkel, as Louise remarries. On Sept. 23 Ida Louise Kunkel dies, and is buried in the Cripple Creek Cemetery on Mount Pisgah. Paul I apparently went east. A photo of Paul I, and his son, Paul II, was taken in 1920 at West Point, where Paul II was in his plebe year. On May 9, 1921, just months after the death of his father in Helena, Mont., Paul I died in Providence, RI, at the age of 53.

To bring this paper to an end, and to bring us to the present-day, Paul II graduated from West Point, and his son, Paul III, is a graduate of the Naval Academy. Paul III is the individual that I mentioned participating in that telephone conversation that resulted in "the rest of the story."

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 Westerners Ring in 2013 with January Presentations

The Boulder County Corral of Westerners enjoyed the presentation by Catherine Spude, "That Fiend in Hell," based on her recently published book by that title, and telling the story of Soapy Smith in Alaska. As a historical archaeologist for the National Park Service at Skagway, she was able to validate her extensive research on Soapy.

The Colorado Corral heard "The Other Copper Mines – Nevada's Robinson District," by Steve Mehls. The Robinson District of White Pine County, Nevada, evolved from a marginal 19th-century gold mining area to a major Western copper producer of the 20th century. Steve has been a public historian since 1978, primarily in the realm of cultural resource management, a part of the Robinson project team since 1992, and currently employed by Western Cultural Resource Management.

The Fort Collins Corral held its annual auction, with esteemed long-time auctioneer Mike Koury vigorously raising money for Western-history-related projects.

In Colorado Springs, the Pikes Peak Posse program was "Chipeta, Queen of the Utes," by Cynthia S. Becker, an author of seven non-fiction books, including two Chipeta biographies. *Chipeta, Queen of the Utes* was named "Best Biography of 2003" by the Colorado Independent Publisher's Association, and *Chipeta: Ute Peacemaker* was a finalist for the 2009 WILLA Award for children's and young adults' literature.

Denver Westerners mourn loss of Posse member Florence Staadt

Florence Staadt was a native of Ottawa, Kansas. She married Charles Robert (Bob) Staadt in 1941, and in 1951 they came to Colorado, first to Canon City. They were residents in the Denver metro area since 1956. Both Bob and Florence were very active in historical organizations around Denver. They were pioneer members of the Aurora Historical Society, where Florence served as president. Members of the Ghost Town Club of Colorado since 1960, the length of Florence's membership is exceeded by only three members. The Staadts were charter members of the Front Range Antique Power Association.



Florence and Bob Staadt received the Lifetime Achievement Award in 1999

Very soon after women were granted equal footing with the male membership of the Denver Posse, Florence became a corresponding member in 1992, and then was elected to regular posse membership in 1998. She and Bob hosted the annual business meeting of the regular posse for many years, at their spacious ranch house in Aurora. The Staadt place is a veritable museum with machinery they have restored, making the annual gathering and steak fry a memorable and very enjoyable experience for all attendees. The Staadts' varied and long-time valuable contributions to Western history, and especially to the Denver Westerners, were recognized by both receiving the Denver Posse of Westerners 1999 Fred A. Rosenstock Lifetime Achievement Award.

As a very regular but quiet attendee of Westerners meetings, Florence was one who "keep her light under a bushel basket," in that few knew of her many accomplishments: a mother of six (and grandmother and great-grandmother of many), a skilled machinist for over thirty years, who produced machine parts on contract (including one customer for 38 years), plus having the time to practice many hobbies such as glass cutting, crocheting, needlepoint, quilting, leatherwork, Colorado history, and always enjoying the outdoors.

She was considered for nomination for sheriff of the Westerners, but declined as her health had began to fail – again few members realized what a leader and true historian and valued officer she would have been. Even as she coped with many physical problems, she was a cheerful participant with whom socializing at Westerners meetings was a pleasure we will cherish.

Voices of the American West. The Settler and Soldier Interviews of Eli S. Ricker 1903-1919. Volume 2. Richard E. Jensen, Editor. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2005. 470 pages, maps, notes, bibliography, index.

There is something very special about original accounts by people who witnessed the great events of the West. And this collection is a must for anyone interested in first-person recollections of Wounded Knee, the Custer Massacre, Beecher Island, and other experiences of the Old West.

Ricker, who worked for the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C., and was a judge in Nebraska, interviewed the survivors which included soldiers, scouts, civilian employees of Indian agencies, fur traders, ranchers and farmers, et al. He brings a collection of viewpoints that help to clarify sometimes controversial events, especially those that involved Indians. His comments reflect a sympathetic viewpoint, even when the evidence suggests otherwise. This is very much the case with Wounded Knee, where the overwhelming evidence provided shows that Big Foot's band of Teton Sioux were reluctantly rounded up, hid their modern weapons, and fired first. That the military did not intend to attack on that fateful day was demonstrated by the soldiers being lined up opposite one another. This resulted in soldier being killed and wounded by other soldiers.

Dull Knife's raid is well documented by soldiers and scouts who were there. It showed that despite their perilous position, they intended to fight to the death and take as many soldiers with them as they could. Sadly they chose to fight to the death. He also includes accounts of friendly Indians, who saw the wisdom of not fighting the military. Also included are accounts of Sand Creek, the Lightning Creek Incident, the Slim Buttes Fight, the Washita, Horse Creek Fight, the Grattan Fight, Platte Bridge and other battles.

There are accounts of life as a cowboy, the American Fur Trade Company, Wild Bill Hickock, and Buffalo Bill Cody by those who were there. A couple of French Canadians were interviewed including Baptiste Pourier and Magloire Mousseau who provide a different flavor and understanding of life on the frontier. The surprising thing is how many Whites were present in Wyoming, Montana, Colorado and on the Great Plains before the West was settled. These people courted danger as they lived and made their livings in close contact with the unpredictable Cheyenne, Sioux, Kiowa, Commanche, etc., often paying for it with their lives.

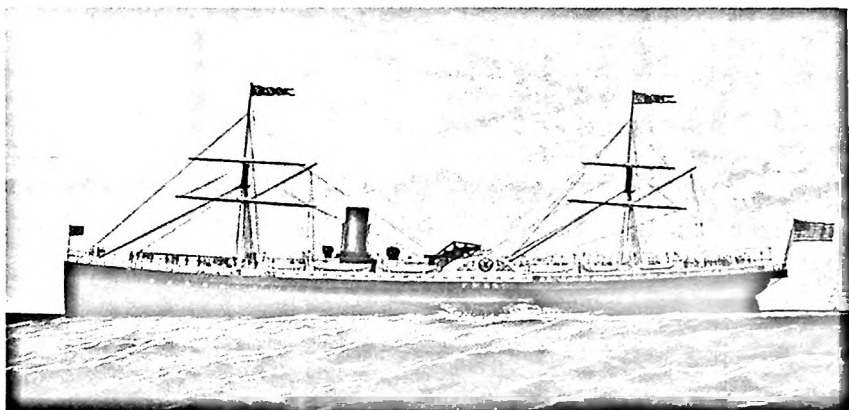
This is an important collection, well edited, and a must for anyone wanting to get an insider's view of life east of the Rockies between the 1840s and 1900.

--Alan Culpin, P.M.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

March - April 2013



Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company's Steamer

C O L O R A D O

Wells Fargo Archives

Colorado Sails the Oceans in the 19th Century

By Bob Lane, P.M.

(Presented January 23, 2013)

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

VOL. LXIX NO. 2



March - April 2013

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**Our Author**

Bob Lane has been a very active member of the Denver Westerners since 1986, and a Posse member since July 1989.

A Denver native and graduate of South High, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy during the Vietnam War. He served fifteen months of his tour out in the middle of the Pacific Ocean on Midway Island, a giant gas station/bird sanctuary.

Bob was the "Keeper of the Possibles Bag" for 10 years, and was both our Deputy Sheriff and Sheriff. He was the recipient of the second Westerner's Service Award presented in 2010.

Bob has presented eight previous papers to the Westerners. Bob is back working as an environmental engineer for the Aurora Mental Health Corporation.

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Colorado Sails the Oceans in the 19th Century

By Bob Lane, P.M.

(Presented January 23, 2013)

Introduction

America's maritime history is one of great strength and activity guiding the destiny of our country. It is a fascinating story of an unbroken thread of understanding laid out by courageous mariners.

If America was going to break the rigid control of trade ensuring profits to the Mother Country she had to develop her own merchant marine fleet. Building and operating private vessels was an enormous challenge. Great European countries like, Great Britain, France, Holland, and Spain dominated the Western Ocean (Atlantic Ocean) during the first two centuries of America's maritime history.

Ship Building

As early as 1624, Plymouth, Massachusetts began building its own coastal vessels, which made pioneering possible and practical on a scale never attempted before. In 1629 the Massachusetts Bay Colony gathered some rigging and sails, and with the help of six carpenters built the first viable vessel weighting thirty tons, named *Blessing of the Bay*, which was launched on July 4, 1631. You could say our independence truly started that day. By 1769 ship yards in New England, New York and Chesapeake Bay produced a total of 389 vessels.

President George Washington's speech addressing both Houses of Congress on December 7, 1796 showed how vital it was to have a strong and efficient merchant marine fleet. President Washington said "it is in our

own experience that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression."

Young boys growing up in sea ports dreamed that they too would set sail someday. These inexperienced boys sailed to strange and exotic places, having to struggle with life threatening conditions such as hurricanes or an unexpected rogue wave slamming against the ship either capsizing or severely damaging the vessel. Shipmates survived deadly tropical diseases like smallpox, black vomit, cholera and yellow fever. As sailors they had to learn to use both tolerance and fair-minded diplomacy dealing with alien races and people. They became as competent, skilled and courageous as their predecessors. The old canvas-back merchant-mariners were common men with a sense that they were of a class once pronounced ignorant and incapable by those who assumed from time immemorial the right to think and act for them. In fact the merchant-marine helped shape civilizations by opening waterways once thought impossible to navigate and helped establish new cities along the major rivers that were navigable.

The rapid increase in coastal packetts such as sloops, brigs, and schooners provided the financial backing founding our first great banks and insurance companies. Profits built our first great foundries, canals,

factories, and helped construct our railroad system from coast to coast.

August 17, 1807 Robert Fulton's first American steamboat, *Clermont* left New York, traveling 150 miles to Albany in thirty-two hours at an average speed of five miles per hour inaugurating the first commercial steamboat service. The first successful sea-going paddle steamer was the *Albany* in 1808. She steamed the Hudson River along the coast to the Delaware River, to relocate her in a new market.

One of the most striking facts about the steam vessel was the remarkable speed in the transformation from a crude wooden vessel that sputtered along, to a stronger craft with a more powerful engine. Within a few years the speed and power of the steamboat doubled Fulton's *Clermont*.

Steam navigation helped develop the interior landscape along America's great rivers, such as the Colorado, Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, and on the West Coast it was the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers. The Great Lakes region was experiencing a boom in steam navigation as well. Steamships helped pay dues towards the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. In many respects it was the strength and vision of the merchant's spirit that the present area of the United States is under one government.

The first decade of the 19th century was a remarkable time for America. The ratification of the Louisiana Purchase on October 20, 1803 opened a vast new unexplored territory. One of the immediate results of the purchase was the development of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys.

Merchant marines now had unrestricted use of the New Orleans port. By 1809 Americas sailing vessels helped increase foreign trade by one-third over the previous year.

Between 1811 and 1835, ship yards launched 684 vessels. Between the years 1840 and 1860 sailing vessels fell into two classes, coastal and trans-Atlantic. More than sixty large tonnage vessels were sailing the Western Ocean and over 500 smaller packet lines traveled up and down the East Coast and intercoastal waterways. In years to come nearly 5,000 privately owned coastal packets lines were operating.

The year 1818 marked the dawn of a new era. Small steamboat packets were sailing the inland-waterways transporting up to 300 tons per trip. The majority of the vessels registered were less than 150 tons. These small steamboats traveled no more than three miles an hour throughout the voyage. Steamships were hauling iron and coal from Pittsburgh, cotton from Tennessee and Arkansas and barreled meats were shipped from Cincinnati, Ohio.

The side-wheel steamer was a transitional ship between wooden sailing vessels and steam-driven ironclads with propellers. Early wooden steamships had limitations due to the length and the strength of the wood determining how much stress and vibration the ship could withstand. Most were prone to breaking up or catching fire. Without the cooperation of the "canvas-backs," steam transportation would have been retarded, and progress on the improvements of the steamship could not have moved forward in speed and technology.

Early naval architects were designing vessels for speed and cargo

space, not for passenger comfort. Those who chose to venture abroad were in for a very unpleasant voyage. The passengers' quarters ranged from somewhat worse to slightly better than those of the Mayflower.

By late 1826, roughly, nine-tenths of the nation's foreign commerce was transported by sailing vessels. The years between 1838 and 1847 marked notable advances in mechanical engineering allowing increasing the size of ships.

The technology to build early iron-hulled steamships was expensive to produce. The iron sheets were full of impurities and in limited quantity. Iron vessels were labor intensive. Each rivet hole was hand drilled before each plate could be riveted together. In 1843 the Great Western Steamship Company built the steamship "Great Britain", 289 feet long, fifty feet wide and 3,270 tons. It was the world's first propeller-driven, iron-hulled ship.

Until the 1840s the side-wheeler was the primary means of propulsion, with sails as a backup. There were some drawbacks to the design of the vessel. When the paddle-wheel was submerged in rough seas it acted as a drag when it rocked from side to side thereby slowing the vessel considerably and causing it to veer leeward. The amount of cargo also affected the performance of the vessel. Too deep a draft put a strain on the paddles and engine. Paddle steamers were more suited for light cargo and passengers sailing up and down the coasts and inland waterways.

How does a ship get its name? Naming a ship in the United States Navy can get complicated and full of "red tape" therefore I shall give you a

condensed version.

On October 13, 1775 the new Continental Congress had its first navy. But the first ships were not named in a strictly categorical manner. Between 1775 and March 3, 1819 ships were named for several reasons. For instance, when we won our freedom from Great Britain we named the first ship of the Continental Navy in honor of Alfred the Great, King of Wessex, who is credited with building the first English naval force. Other ships were named after patriots and heroes. A Revolutionary War Frigate named Bourbon saluted the King of France. Some ships honored American places such as Boston and Virginia.

On March 3, 1819, Act of Congress formally places the responsibility for assigning names to the vessels in the hands of the Secretary of the Navy. All first-class ships shall be called after the States of this Union, second-class ships after rivers, and third-class after principal cities and towns. Destroyers were named for American Naval leaders and heroes. An Act of June 12, 1858 included the word "steamship" in the ship type nomenclature, and defined the "classes" of ships in terms of the number of their guns.

During the Civil War an unprecedented expansion of the United States Navy increased by more than 200 new ships. Another 418 ships were purchased and it was necessary to change the names of the ships. An Act of August 5, 1861 authorized the Secretary of the Navy "to change the names of any vessels purchased for the use of the Navy Department..."

United States Naval Ship Colorado

By the mid-19th century Congress feared it was falling behind Great Britain and France in the arms race. On April 6, 1854 Congress authorized the construction of six first-class steam frigates. One of the six was the *Merrimack* built at the Boston Naval Shipyard and the other five ships were built among the other Government owned shipyards. The first Navy ship named *Colorado* was a *Steam Screw Frigate* displacing 3,425 tons, with a length of 263.8 feet, her beam 52 feet, with a 22.1 foot draft, carrying three masts, with 46 guns, and a crew of 525. The *SS Frigate Colorado* was launched 19 June 1856, at the Norfolk Navy Yard. Commissioned 13 March 1858, Captain W. M. Gardner in command. Note the date of the commission, 1858. Colorado was not a state at the time. The frigate was named after the mighty Colorado River.

The first deployment the *Colorado* was assigned to when she left Boston 12 May 1858 had she bound for Cuban waters to help deter the practice of search by British cruisers. She stayed in the area until the 6th of August when she received new orders.

At the beginning of the Civil War Pensacola Harbor had fallen in to rebel hands. On 3 June 1861 the *SS Frigate Colorado* under Captain Theodorus Bailey set sail to join a Gulf Blockade Squadron lying outside the Harbor.

In September 1861, the Confederate Army contracted the 250 ton two masted *Schooner William H. Judah*, owned by the Le Baron Company of St. John New Brunswick, Canada to carry a load of mercury, lead and tin to the Pensacola, Navy Yard.

Union officers had been secretly watching the rebels outfit the schooner for combat with a 10-inch columbiad and a 12 pound field piece. Commodore Marvine, then commanding the division with his flag on the *Colorado*, could no longer set by and wait for the *Schooner Judah* to be permitted to escape and cause great damage. Commodore Marvin had made his decision. Everyone on board knew it was going to be a perilous mission. On the night of September 13th Lieutenant J. H. Russell commanded the first expedition along with thirty-nine sailors. The second cutter had eighteen sailors; the third cutter, twenty-six sailors; and the fourth cutter had seventeen sailors. In all, one hundred officers, sailors, and marines participated in the operation. It was half past 3 a.m. the next morning when the cutters moved towards the opening of the harbor. Approximately one hundred yards from the schooner the boats were spotted and the sentry gave the alarm by firing his musket. Under heavy fire the oarsmen picked up their speed splitting up to carry out their assignments.

A fierce volley of gun fire in sued as two boats continued towards the dock where another heavy columbiad was mounted. The other two boats rushed alongside the schooner. The attack from the schooner was tremendous. Shots were coming from the deck as well as the tops pouring a destructive fire upon the two boats. Lieutenants Russell and Blake attacked the vessel and engaged in hand-to-hand combat. The crew of the schooner was soon driven off the boat and onto the dock. At the same time Lieutenants Sproston and Midshipman Steece spiked the two guns mounted in the

yard. Gunfire continued as some of the men set fire to the *Schooner Judah* and it was soon engulfed in fire drifting across the harbor to sink near Fort Barrancas. Mission accomplished, the four cutters shoved off and headed back to the *Colorado*. By daylight it was clear the enemy suffered a heavy blow. One-fifth were either killed or wounded. *Colorado* suffered much less in casualties. Marine private, John Smith, first to board the *Judah*, was bayoneted by mistake. He lost his white cap distinguishing him from the crew of the *Judah* and died by a crewmate stabbing him. His death resulted in the first loss of life in Florida during the Civil War. The surprise attack turned out not to be a surprise after all. Earlier nine Marines were sent out for reconnaissance to size up the situation and report back. Instead they deserted to the enemy and informed Confederate Colonel Brown about the upcoming attack.

On the morning of January 23, 1862 the *Colorado* was patrolling off the South West Pass at the mouth of the Mississippi River when she discovered a steamer some five miles distant from the ship. In less than an hour *Colorado* was alongside the vessel. It turned out to be the Confederate *Steamship Calhoun* alias English steamer *Cuba* on fire. The steamer had been bound for New Orleans from Havana. It was unclear why the crew had abandoned the ship, which was loaded with valuable cargo, a large supply of medical stores and firearms, 500 cases of powder and 300 bags of coffee. The *Calhoun* was refitted and used as a gun boat.

By December 1862 *Colorado* had rejoined blockading forces off

Mobile, Alabama. She shared in the capture of the *Schooner Hunter* on May 17, 1863. In October 1864 she joined the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron and cruised off the coast of North Carolina until January 26, 1865.

After *Colorado's* help in the North Atlantic Blockade she was put out of commission between March 25 and the December 2, 1873. On August 27, 1874 she was back in service becoming the flagship of the North Atlantic Squadron. Her final trip was to New York City in 1875 where she was to receive ship at New York Naval Yard. One year later *Colorado* was sold to a private company where the ship was broken up for salvage materials and her copper fastenings melted down. The *SS Frigate Colorado* served a long and proud place in early U. S. Naval history.

The Great Lakes Region

While the East Coast packet companies were shipping tons of freight and passengers to and from Europe the Great Lakes were seeing their own shipping boom. Vessels of all sizes were traveling up and down the St. Lawrence and St. Clair rivers connecting the Great Lakes.

Navigating a large or small vessel on the St. Clair River is a test between the river and the experienced Captain. Hazards like fog or a vessel losing its steering could happen any time. A bend in the river blocking the master's field of vision cuts down his response time needed to respond quickly to a possible collision. The trip between Buffalo, New York and Chicago, Illinois via the St. Clair River is known for its dense fog, reducing visibility making navigation extremely dangerous. Loosening control of the

rudder or running aground during low tide is always a possibility.

The RP36 *Propeller Colorado* was on a trip from Buffalo, New York to Chicago, Illinois, a trip she had sailed before without any trouble. This third trip she was not so lucky; she ran aground on the north bank of the St. Clair River near a bend in the channel about 8 P. M. on the of November 15, 1873. With her stern out slightly in the channel with a distance of 300-600 feet on her starboard side she was clearly out of the main channel. Around 4 A.M. the following morning, the crew on board, were awakened by a sudden jolt. The tug boat *Frank Moffat* was ascending the river towing the *Schooner Sunrise*. The tug struck the *Colorado* along her port side and the *Schooner Sunrise* struck *Colorado's* propeller inflicting serious damage.

In District Court Captain Moffat tried to put the blame on the Captain of the *Colorado* for not displaying any lighting. The Court sided with the owners of the *Colorado*. Captain Frank Moffat was cited for negligence. If he had ported a proper distance between his craft and the *Colorado* a safe passage would have happened. Captain Moffat lost the case.

In another incident on the morning of November 8, 1891 at 9:30 A.M. *Colorado* was coming down the main shipping channel in the lower bay of New York heading out to sea. The weather was clear and the tide was high. When the *Schooner Emilie E. Birdsall*, a 134.8-foot, 398-ton, 33.5 foot beam with three masts was approaching Sandy Hook the wind out of the Northeast died out suddenly, the *Birdsall* lost its steerage and started to drift with the tide. Her master intended

to anchor out of the way of the main channel. Off in the distance the captain of the *Colorado* knew he was on a collision course with the helpless schooner. *Colorado* struck the *Birdsall* along her starboard side between the main and fore rigging causing considerable damage.

Two years later, on December 5, 1893 Amos Birdsall and other owners tried to sue the owners of the *Colorado* in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit for striking the schooner stating that the *Colorado* should have altered her course since the disabled schooner was unable to direct her course. The owners of the *Colorado* in their answer to the charges explained. "The steamer by reason of her draught, and the condition of the tide, was confined to the middle of the channel for safety, and sighted the schooner when there was a good breeze about 10 mph from a southerly direction. She was under command, and had steerageway and knew the steamers necessary courage and passion, which at the time were such that the two vessels would pass each other in safety; but she suddenly changed her course, and ran across the bow of the steamer, who immediately stopped her engines, reversed at full speed, and took all measures to avoid the collision, but it was inevitable..."

Oral testimony of two tug boat captains re-enforced the testimony that there was no wind in the area at the time of the collision. With this new evidence the district court entered a decree for the libellants, taking no further proceedings.

Propeller Colorado U4267

The Propeller Colorado,

U4267 was built in 1867 by the Mason & Bidwell Company for the Commercial Line. With two boilers and a compound engine she weighed 1,470.55 gross tons, and was 254.6 feet long by 35 feet wide. Her home port was Buffalo, New York.

If I were offered a job on this ship I would turn it down. The ship had several mishaps during its life. She ran aground nine times, had three collisions, lost her wheel twice and suffered a boiler explosion.

On May 11, 1869 *Colorado* was navigating on the westerly side of Lake Huron at night in a heavy fog when she collided with the *Barkantine H.P. Bridge*, a 553-ton, 164-foot long, and a 30-foot beam built in 1854 and owned by Elon W. Hudson. The bark was loaded with 30,000 bushels of oats and 65,000 bricks and was bound down from Milwaukee to Buffalo, New York sailing by the wind on the starboard tack. Dense fog was setting in making visibility increasingly harder. The *Colorado* was bound up on a voyage from Buffalo to Chicago carrying one third of a cargo of general merchandise. Moments before the collision the bark turned her wheel hard a starboard. *Colorado* was sailing about north-north-west. Upon sighting a collision was imminent the Captain ordered the helmsmen to steer hard apart, however, the order was countermanded and the wheel was ordered hard astarboard.

The collision occurred between 11 P. M. and midnight. The propeller struck the bark near the mainmast, on the starboard side. The angle of the impact was estimated at forty-five degrees. Prior to the collision the bark had blown her foghorn, and the *Colorado* blew her steam whistle

regularly as required by law. The crew of the bark was taken on board the *Colorado*. The officers and crew of the bark stood by and watched for about an hour as the bark drifted away from view and passed out of sight. It is uncertain what happened to the *Bridge* as it has never been found. The bark and her entire cargo were lost. Damages claimed were \$33,625.

During the court hearing in United States District Court, Judge Longyear decided "that there was such a letting down on the part of the *Colorado*, from that due and reasonable care, caution and diligence above mentioned, as to constitute a gross fault on her part, and on account of which she is responsible for the damages done by the collision complained of." The judge ordered that a decree must be interred in favor of libellant for the full amount of his damages resulting from the collision and referred it to a commission to ascertain and report the same. It was said that a lookout did not understand the indications of the lights, horns and bells demanded by the regulations and was incompetent.

In another collision on May 6, 1877 the *Colorado* collided with the 176.61-ton-gross *Schooner R. J. Gibbs*, The *Gibbs* left Toledo, Ohio with 7,650 bushels of corn for Port Huron. The *Colorado* was heading for Chicago when the collision occurred at the South East Bend, on the St. Clair River. The *Colorado* collided into the *Gibbs* on the starboard side just forward of the main rigging. In less than fifteen minutes the *Schooner Gibbs* sank in deep water. The hull was not insured and was thought it could not be raised. However the tug *Martin*, with divers and wrecking apparatus were able to raise the craft. D.

H. McAllister, captain of the schooner denies he ran across the bow of the *Colorado* and blames the captain of the latter for the accident.

On a trip near Mackinaw Island on April 11, 1880 *Colorado* was within 100 feet of the island when she struck ice in the South Passage. Captain F. L. Pope notified Charles Ensign, Manager of the Commercial Line in Buffalo, New York that the ship had sunk in sixteen feet of water with her bow raised high enough to stop the water from coming in. Her cargo was 45,000 bushels of corn and 500 barrels of lard.

Three years later on Sept. 29, 1883 *Colorado* departed Lackawanna, New York under Captain C. M. Fellows with a crew of twenty-two men bound for Chicago, Illinois. About 8 o'clock a loud explosion was heard six miles out of Buffalo, New York. The starboard side boiler had exploded. The explosion was so great the boiler turned a complete summersault in the air and landed fifty feet to the stern. Captain Mallon, of the tug boat *J.B. Griffin* witnessed the explosion, came about and steamed toward the *Colorado* to assist in any way possible. The tug boat *G.R. Hand* also responded by towing the disabled *Colorado* into the Colt slip. Then the tug boat *R. F. Goodman* helped secure the *Colorado* alongside the old Western Transportation Company wharf. In the meantime the tug *Dorr* was dispatched to notify the police and call for physicians. The scene in the cabin was sickening. Several men were badly charred and blackened exposing the badly scalded flesh. The force of the explosion rose upward, completely demolishing the aft cabin and injuring at least nine men. Two men were never found.

Fireman John Morgan was receiving attention at a local hospital when he was questioned about the explosion. Morgan explained before leaving port they were having considerable trouble with steam escaping from a valve on the starboard boiler. The weight was too light. First Engineer Lovett and his greaser were under the influence of liquor prior to leaving port. Lovett ordered Morgan to rake down the fires, and then freshen the fire in order to get a full head of steam. By this time the boiler was carrying fifty-eight pounds of steam. Lovett and his greaser were above the boiler adjusting a valve that had been leaking. Suddenly the valve exploded with tremendous force. It was remarkable the two men were not instantly killed when they were hurled against the bulkhead. The insurance company estimated the value of the ship between \$50,000 and \$60,000. Four years later on May 9, 1884 the Commercial Line Company sold the *Steamship Colorado* to the Donaldson Brothers & R. Mills & Company for \$11,050.

The Western Ocean

The second decade of the 1800s saw a tremendous upsurge in shipbuilding along the East Coast. After the war of 1812, Great Britain was in an industrial surge needing raw materials from the United States. Prior to 1800 the United Kingdom had seriously depleted her forest of strong timber by building up her naval fleet.

The United States had the timber, cotton and other materials desperately needed. Trans-Atlantic shipping companies had two options, to increase revenues either by offering

First-class passenger accommodations, or increase smaller individual shipments.

The first notice of a regularly scheduled Trans-Atlantic crossing for passengers began Friday, October 24, 1817 from Liverpool, England to New York City. Liverpool had become the leading emigration port in Europe. Thousands of emigrants from the British Isles and mainland Europe departed from Liverpool to America, Canada, and as far away as Australia. The voyage to the United States took about thirty-five days and to Australia ten to seventeen weeks.

By January of the following year ticket agencies were advertising that passengers could depend upon "an uncommonly extensive and commodious" mode of conveyance. "Full or not full," the ship guaranteed to set sail. This advertisement was from a group of New York Quakers who founded the Black Ball Line. The group was a number of merchants in the great whaling industry, which included Isaac Wright & Son, Francis Thompson and Benjamin Marshall. This shipping company lasted only twenty years.

Before 1838, there were slightly over 700 steam vessels sailing in American waters. The number of passengers a steamship could carry under existing rules, in general, since 1819 permitted but two passengers for every five tons register. Few ships in 1838 was allowed to carry more than 250 to 300 passengers. By the end of 1847 several liners had been launched capable of carrying 400 to 500 passengers. This decade saw the greatest increase in tonnage. On December 31, 1847, the grand total of merchant marine and steamships

included just south of 3,000,000 tons.

During the 1840s, there was a boom in small packet lines sailing up and down the East Coast. Many companies sailed for only a short time before they stored their sails in the sail room for the last time leaving a brief moment in maritime history. The Star Line Packet Company had a ship named *Colorado* that operated a coastal line between New York City and Galveston, South Carolina. The company ran from 1840 to 1841 when it was discontinued and no more information is available.

By 1850 money was to be made. The United States Mail Line offered services from New York City to Aspinwall, then known as Colon, and today as Panama City. This route was because of a lucrative mail contract from the United States Government. The conditions onboard the ship were deplorable; passengers were served poor food with cramped conditions. Poor seamanship and maritime disaster caused the United States Mail Line to lose the mail contract at the end of 1859. The company soon went out of business. William Henry Aspinwall acquired the Government contract to carry the mail across the Atlantic. On April 12, 1859 Aspinwall, incorporated the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and took control of the Panama route on November 1, 1859. Once the Pacific Mail Steamship Company took control of the Atlantic route it offered fine service, clean conditions and a sense of honesty to the passengers. Passengers were willing to pay a higher price for the improved conditions.

Charleston Hurricane

The worst economic disasters a merchant can experience are during

winter-time months. Unpredictable weather along the Northeast Coast of the United States can bring northern part of the East Coast to a near standstill during a strong slow moving ice storm. The winter of 1856-57 was a particularly bad season for packet lines. It was generally agreed that it was the coldest winter of the century. In January harbors, bays and rivers as far south as Chesapeake Bay were clogged with ice.

This next *Steamship Colorado* set sail on the morning of October 7, 1893 from Galveston, Texas bound for New York City. Little did Captain Evans and his crew know they were steaming into what would later be known as the "Charleston Hurricane." *Colorado* was three days out of Galveston, steaming northward along the Florida coast right into the hurricane.

The storm was increasing by the hour as the barometric pressure dropped to 28.13. Forty-eight hours elapsed and the storm showed no signs of moderating. Wind speeds were now reaching upwards of 120 miles per hour. Waves were increasing in height and strength. *Colorado* took several large waves broadside nearly tipping the vessel over. Just as quickly another monster swell came crashing into the forward end of the cabin-room superstructure, ripping the cabin-room from its fastenings and dashing it overboard. Now the engine room was exposed and began to flood. The possibility of a boiler explosion could accrue crippling the vessel beyond repair. The pounding waves dislodged the port lifeboat depositing it on top of the exposed compound cylinders causing two piston rods to puncture the lifeboat splintering it into pieces.

The starboard-side lifeboat suffered a similar fate when it broke free and were destroyed. The repeated bashing of waves on the supports for the derrick boom snapped under the stress and was swept away. Now the heavy derrick boom swung wildly back and forth with the pitching and rolling of the crippled vessel.

Each time the ship rocked side to side it put *Colorado's* funnel at sea level, further swamping the ship. As dangerous as the situation was the crew was called aft to secure the derrick boom while loose cargo was sliding across the deck. During this dangerous task, not one crew member was seriously injured. No attempt was made to secure the cargo until the ship was in calmer water.

When the *Colorado* was out of the fury of the hurricane the ocean calmed down enough to allow the Captain to assess damages as the ship limped its way north to New York City. On the morning of October 13 a vessel was sighted flying the distress signals. Capt. Evans was doubtful if a rescue could be successful with the condition his ship was in, still he ordered the helmsmen to steer the *Colorado* towards the distressed vessel. The ship approached from the leeward side for a closer look to assess the damages. It was the *Norwegian Bark Romulus*. She sailed out of Pensacola Harbor October 7 bound for Antwerp. Her bulwarks were smashed in and her cargo of lumber was adrift. Waves were crashing over the forward part of the bark sending debris everywhere. The crew assembled on the poop deck clinging on tight and shouting for help! The bark was 250 miles southeast of Cape Hatteras when it was in the

furry the same hurricane the *Colorado* experienced.

After close scrutiny of the *Bark Romulus*, Captain Evans, decided that he must abandon any rescue attempt. He felt there was no imminent danger of the vessel sinking. The ship was laden with lumber and that would help keep the vessel afloat. The time spent coming to the aide of the *Bark Romulus* put the *Colorado* and its passengers in danger. The steamship was getting low on fuel and still had several hours ahead of her to reach New York Harbor. If she were to run out of fuel the *Colorado* would start to drift at the mercy of the current. As she sailed away the crew on the bark could not understand why the steamer was leaving them behind and quickly hoisted another distress signal reading "we are sinking." Sunday morning the *Steamship Cuba* spotted the floundering *Romulus* and was able to rescue the crew. In a *New York Times* October 18, 1893 article about the two ships the reporter accuses Captain Evans of "an ineffectual effort to render assistance."

When the *Colorado* reached New York City Harbor the last rays of sunlight were fading as she swung her bow to the north and proceeded upon her course to the East River docks. Captain Evans' calculations about the coal supply were right on. The last shovelful was thrown into the grate when the vessel made its final approach to its docking berth.

The Colorado and Denver Packet Lines

While the Union Pacific Railroad was laying track west and the Central Pacific was moving east through the Sierra Nevada, newly-

elected President of the Union Pacific Railroad Thomas C. Durant contracted two side-wheel/excursion packet boats for a two day trip on the Missouri River. The *Colorado* and *Denver Side-Wheeler Steamboats* were part of the 100th Meridian Celebration on October 20, 1866.

The "*Denver*" and "*Colorado*" were the two largest class Missouri River packet side-wheel steamboats on the river at the time. The guests left St. Joseph, Missouri on a 250 mile riverboat trip to Omaha, Nebraska. This was no ordinary fund raiser. Foreign dignitaries such as a Spanish Grandee, a Scottish Earl and a French Marquis mingled with over one hundred Eastern elite and other guests.

As the two side-wheel packets traveled the Missouri River, the guests were entertained with bands playing the most popular songs of the day while dinning on a superb food menu listing over fifty main courses. Choices like chicken gumbo soup or baked pike and oyster sauce. If your taste was more of the meat and potato variety you had a choice of broiled ham, tongue, corned beef and cabbage or leg of mutton with caper sauce. Also on the menu were spare rib of pork, lamb, barbecued and roasted quails on toast, a total of twenty-nine different entrees in all. One of the more peculiar meals was calf's head stuff a-la-royal. After forty-eight hours the two steamers arrived back at Omaha, Nebraska.

In 1869 the *Side-Wheel Colorado* was carrying government and private freight on the Missouri River. In 1871 she was sold to the Memphis & St. Louis Packet Company (Anchor Line). Eight years later she sank at the foot of Island 10, on the Mississippi

River. The owners raised her in October 1879 and two years later the Anchor Line sold the steamer to Captain Peter Manion. On January 2, 1884 it burned beyond repair at the dock on Dorcas Street in St. Louis Missouri.

The *Side-Wheel Denver* packet was built in 1862 at Madison, Indiana for the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railway Company at a total cost of \$60,000.

Home port was St. Louis, Missouri operating between Omaha Nebraska and St. Joseph, Missouri. One morning while docked at the wharf, in St. Joseph, a seaman was heating a pot of tar on the kitchen range when he accidentally upset the tar, burning his fingers. The hull was not badly damaged but was later used in building a center-wheel ferry.

Immigration to America's East Coast was picking up steam. In 1848 two business men in the shipping trade saw a golden opportunity to start a shipping company. John S. Williams and Stephen B. Guion established the New York firm of Williams and Guion, and established the Black Star Line sailing out of Liverpool, England to Queenstown, New York. In 1866 Stephen Guion incorporated the Liverpool and Great Western Steamship Company in Great Britain because American law only allowed U.S.-built ships to be registered in the U.S. Also American shipyards were unable to build ships with iron-hulled screw steamers now being used on the Atlantic route. The Black Star Line was absorbed into the Great Western Steamship Company.

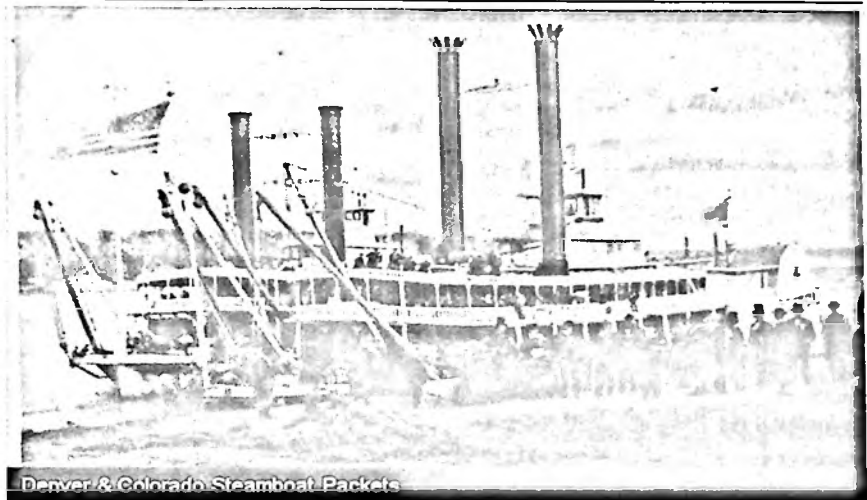
The ticket agency for the Guion Line in Liverpool concentrated on the steerage trade for the Liverpool-to-New York route. The majority of passengers

were Irish. The *Steamship Colorado* was 335 feet long, with a 43-foot beam and 2,927 gross tons. Built in 1868 by the Palmer Brothers & Company at the Jarrow-on-Tyne Ship Yard, it was launched October 30, 1868. Her maiden voyage was January 14, 1868, from Liverpool, England to Queenstown, New York.

Under the watchful command of Master Robert Chas. Cutting, they arrived in Queenstown, New York January 30, 1868. The ship carried 190 passengers; of these there were 163 adults, eighteen of whom were US Citizens returning with eighteen children, nine infants and twenty-seven deaths upon arrival. This trip was overwhelming steerage passengers from Ireland, Germany France, Scotland, Poland, Switzerland and Wales. Only three passengers booked passage in the saloon. The *Colorado* continued this route until early 1872.

On February 2, 1873, *Colorado* collided with the British *Steamship Arabian* on the River Mersey. The collision was great enough to cause six deaths on the *Colorado*. It was believed the ship was unsalvageable. Not all is lost though. The owners believed the ship could be raised with little difficulty. The vessel rested in shallow water near the village of Great Crosby, about ten miles from Liverpool. The steamship was raised, refitted and ready for service as quickly as possible.

The summer of 1886 was a busy time for steamship companies sailing the Trans-Atlantic route. Some of the emigrants were Mormons heading to the "Promise Land." President F. D. Richards on behalf of Brigham Young contracted passage on the *Steamship Colorado*. In a letter



Denver & Colorado Steamboat Packets

to Brigham Young from President Richards, dated Liverpool, July 1, 1886 he informed Brigham Young that two ships were ready to sail. The *Steamship Minnesota* was cleared for sailing down the Mersey River with 534 souls. The *Steamship Colorado* would set sail on July 14, 1886. The Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild lists the number of passengers on the *Colorado* at 600.

Life on a steamer

The term "steerage," was used for any part of a ship allotted for cargo and passengers traveling at the cheapest rate. Steep ladders lead to the half deck where one was introduced to cramped quarters with low ceilings between six and eight feet high. Immigrants in steerage suffered the worst. Sanitary conditions on early steamers were extremely terrible. Unwanted passengers such as lice, fleas and rodents thrived in this environment. Fresh air was a real problem at times. In good weather hatches and port holes were opened allowing fresh air and sun

light to enter. During storms or rough seas hatches and covers were closed leaving the emigrants in pitch-black. Because of a fire hazard, oil lamps could not be used during rough seas. The worst threat to the ships was the "Fire Friend." Wooden ships were prone to spontaneous combustion. Hay for livestock, tons of coal, fuel oil and poor seamanship, all contributed to the sinking of many ships and loss of lives.

When the topsails were finally stowed away many disgruntled passengers found themselves in a damp, ill-ventilated situation. During rough sea voyages many passengers became sick. One started to cough then others joined in and soon several people were coughing. After a while the deck was awash in vomit sliding from side to side. The air became so stale it became unfit to breathe. Far worse than sea sickness, was the outbreak of contagious diseases, such as cholera, measles, chicken pox, typhoid fever and dysentery. In 1837, little could be done to help the very sick. Most deaths

were the very young or the elderly. One remedy that helped relieve seasickness was to serve the passenger a bowl of gruel and keep them on deck in the fresh air and sun light as much as possible.

Toilets on some steamers were either non-existent or in such bad shape as to be of no use. Early plumbing on steamships was so bad the toilets on the leeward side could only be used. During one crossing onboard the *Norde* in 1866 was so deplorable nearly 400 passengers were expected to use just two toilets. The stench between decks was so bad crewmembers hesitated to go below. An unlucky first mate was ordered below to purify the air with a red-hot iron dipped in a pail of tar. The smoke and steam from the bubbling tar temporarily deadened the worst stench. Some ships used a steam combination of chlorine and vinegar pumped throughout the ship to clean the stale air. Some captains insisted that passengers assist with the daily cleaning. Over the years improvements on hygiene and sanitation cut down the sickness and number of deaths.

Early advertisements for Trans-Atlantic crossings were misleading. Passengers soon realized the accommodations were not what the ticket agent advertised. The lack of privacy and clean sleeping conditions were a big concern. Steamship companies advertised extra staterooms to accommodate the growing revenue for transporting passengers. By 1837 packet line advertisements had acquired a reputation on dependability. Owners announced their ships would "Sail in All This Week" or "With Immediate Dispatch." Packet lines started offering passengers "Superior Accommodations"

that sometimes included beds and bedding. The days of dark dusty, stuffy cabins gave way to spacious, airy, well-lighted staterooms and saloons. Steamships followed by offering even grander accommodations such as gilded and costly paneling. The sleazy days of "donkey breakfast," filled sacks for beds had been replaced with soft, luxurious hair-filled mattresses.

Steerage passengers on larger ships like the White Star Lines Steamship *Adriatic*, 5888 tons, had three different categories and accommodations. Single men stayed in the bow compartment, while the middle of the ship was for married couples and families. The aft end was reserved for single women. The logic was to keep the virginity as far away from the young single adventurous men as possible.

Larger ships began to provide better comfort and privacy. Bunks were erected down the center with sheets dividing you from your neighbor. Each bunk could hold from three to six people. These were called "family bunks." Some steamships provided mattresses stuffed with donkey breakfast (straw). Emigrants in steerage had to bring their own pillows, animal hides, blankets and other bedclothes.

It was not until 1882 that United States and British laws provided allotted space to steerage passengers for sleeping purposes of eighteen superficial feet per passenger on the lowest deck, fifteen superficial feet on passenger decks and fifteen and twelve feet respectively on other passenger decks. Also, there was to be allotted five superficial feet of air or promenade space on deck.

Sternwheelers: *Colorado I and II*

The West Coast was seeing an increase in shipping goods by vessels traveling up and down the coast. California's gold rush in 1849 not only set off a mad dash to the gold fields, but Trans-Atlantic sailing increased as well. Steamships sailing between Panama and San Francisco saw a huge increase in passenger service. The territory of Arizona began to see an increase in mining activity. A quicker way of transporting supplies to the gold fields than by mule was needed. The Colorado River held the answer. In fact all the large waterways in the western United States helped open the interiors to settlements and development. Steamboats commonly moved from the Columbia River to the Sacramento River or from the Sacramento to the Colorado River.

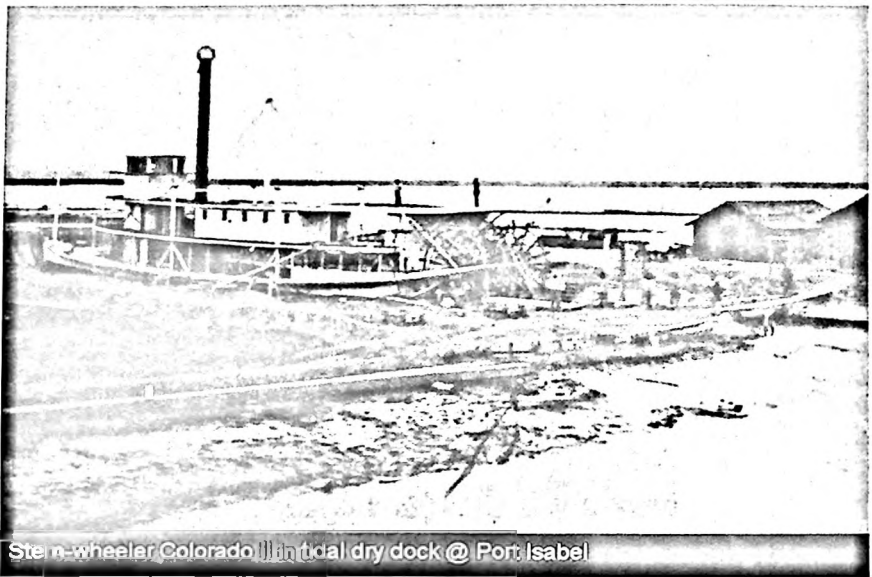
In March 1851 Fort Yuma was established on a low mesa overlooking a ferry crossing. Fort Yuma was a hell hole for military personnel. Blistering hot summers, abominable quarters, boredom and lonesomeness lead to a very difficult place for anyone to live. The fort was so desolate starvation was a grave concern to the commander. A chronically short supply of rations never ended the struggle to alleviate starvation among the troops. Supplies were carried in by wagons and pack mules crossing the desert from San Diego, a distance of 200 miles costing \$500 a ton. During this time it was believed the Colorado River was navigable all the way to its headwaters.

In June 1852 the quartermaster at Fort Yuma opened a new supply contract for the fort. Captain James Turnbull, "an energetic, smooth talking, little fellow," purchased a small steamboat in San Francisco and

had it broken down and shipped to the tidewaters of the Colorado River and reassembled, taking two months. The little tug was christened the *Uncle Sam*. The *Uncle Sam* was a little double-pointed hull 65 feet long, 16 feet at the beam, with a draft of 3.5 feet.

Life along the Colorado River in Arizona was introduced to a most peculiar sound which echoed along the river. A handful of Sonorans, Yankees and Cocopah Indians watched with amusement as mesquite smoke belched from her tiny stack while sparks popped from the firebox. Suddenly the tiny craft shuttered with a straining creak as it churned the muddy water and pulled away from the bank slowly heading up river. Mid-November the era of steam navigation on the Colorado River began. The 20-horsepower locomotive engine struggled against the current. With a crew of two, engineer Phillips and Captain Turnbull, two curious Cocopah chiefs and one Yuma Indian, the boat traveled up stream with thirty-five tons of freight. Several hours each day were spent tied up at the bank while all hands foraged for wood for the boiler. Finally the *Uncle Sam* landed at Fort Yuma early in December to a crowd of soldiers and Indians looking on. The little paddle steamship had taken fifteen days to travel 120 miles. Soon after, the *Uncle Sam* was making the same round trip in twelve days.

Transporting thirty to forty tons of freight to Fort Mohave from Fort Yuma, Arizona was slow and difficult. When the water level was low and the *Sternwheeler General Jessup* was carrying thirty-four tons, causing a deeper draft, the vessel would run aground on sand bars thus having to wait until the river rose again allowing



Stern-wheeler Colorado in tidal dry dock @ Port Isabel

the steamer to free itself. Sometimes the barge could be poled off with the aid of passengers and crew.

A fleet of sternwheelers running more than 600 miles up-stream from the Gulf of California to just below the Grand Canyon became the very lifeline for the people living along the Colorado River, carrying soldiers, merchants, miners and their supplies. Mines extracting gold, silver, lead, and copper needed a quicker way to transport larger, heavier loads to smelters for processing. Paddle steamers were the answer.

Captain L. C. Wilburn started a "line of first class barges," the *El Dorado*, *Vegas* and *Colorado*, all stern-wheelers. These three barges brought driftwood up from Cottonwood Island by a combination of sail and "Mohave-Piute power" to the mouth of the Virgin River, and then returned with salt for the mills.

George A. Johnson & Company operated the first Colorado steamboat and Captain Isaac Polhamus, Jr. was the first captain to pilot the *Sternwheeler Colorado I*. Launched in 1855 she had an 80-hp engine capable of carrying up to sixty tons of cargo while drawing less than two feet.

Captain Polhamus crafted his trade on the waters of the Hudson and Sacramento Rivers. The Colorado River was so different to Captain Polhamus that on his first trip to Fort Mohave he refused to take the *Colorado I* through Mohave Canyon as the water was too low. He tied up the stern-wheeler 60 miles below Fort Mohave and would go no further. When Commander Major Armistead heard the news he ordered Captain Polhamus Jr. to "bring her up or sink her." Captain Polhamus finished the trip. *Colorado I* was contracted to carry freight to both forts from the estuary of the Colorado River to Fort

Yuma. Captain Polhamus, Jr. used a local Native American Indian, Chaleco (Yuma Indian) to stand at the bow and measure the depth of the river as the *Colorado I* traveled up river.

On December 20, 1869 George Johnson, and his two partners Hartshorne and Wilcox, officially incorporated as the Colorado Steam Navigation Company. Issuing \$500,000 in stock and taking on two more partners, a former California Supreme Court Judge, Edward Norton, and Richard D. Chandler, a wealthy coal dealer. By then the company operated four steamers, the *Colorado II*, the *Nina Tilden*, the *Mohave*, and the new *Cocopah II*.

After seven years the stern-wheeler was retired in 1862. The engine was refitted on to the new *Colorado II*. Fearing that she would be captured by Confederate sympathizers, Johnson had the ship built at Arizona City under the watchful guns of Fort Yuma rather than at the estuary like the first one was. This stern-wheeler was slightly larger at 145 feet long, 29-foot beam with an increase in tonnage to 179. Launched in 1867, Captain Isaac Polhamus Jr. piloted this boat also. Captain Polhamus Jr. later became the dean of steamboating on the Colorado River. At the height of shipping supplies from Yuma, Arizona to Ft. Mohave 10,000 tons of freight were delivered.

The decline of packet ships on the Colorado River happened quickly after the spring of 1877, when the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Yuma, Arizona. This broke the back of the Colorado Steam Navigation Company's monopoly on river trade. Shipping up and down the Colorado River came to an abrupt end and river


trade above Yuma, Arizona was reduced to a fraction of what it used to be. Other factors like mining developments and two new types of riverboats were introduced. The gasoline-powered riverboats and massive gold dredging machines put an end to the steam-powered vessels. The last captain to navigate the *Colorado II* was Captain Stephen Thorne until the ship was dismantled in 1881.

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company

While the East Coast was experiencing a robust trade with England the United States was looking to secure a lucrative trade with the Orient, China and Japan, in particular thereby they would dominate the entire Pacific Basin. In 1865 Congress was interested in increasing its trade and authorized to subsidize a steamship company to carry mail.

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company thought it could deliver safe and profitable crossing if it could receive a sizable subsidy from the Federal Government for carrying the US mail. The government authorized this subsidy to carry mail to Yokohama and Hong Kong for twelve round trips a year for \$500,000 starting not later than January 1, 1867. Pacific Mail started right away to lay the keel for four larger ships specifically for that route. They were the *China*, *Japan*, *Great Republic* and *America*; they were some of the greatest side-wheel steamers to navigate the Pacific Ocean. In the meantime the *PMSS Colorado* is a splendid vessel measuring 314 feet long, 45-foot beam and a draft of 31.9 inches, 3,728 tons. *Colorado* was taken off the Panama-to-San Francisco route and was refitted in

THE COSMOPOLITAN



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When you write, please mention "The Cosmopolitan"

San Francisco with a mizzenmast and strengthened around the water line. Her maiden voyage sailed in to Yokohama just under twenty-two days. After a fortnight she arrived in Hong Kong. This maiden voyage carried a thousand barrels of white flour. In theory white flour makes better noodles than rice flour. It must have worked. Later shipments were as much as 10,000 barrels consisting of other staples such as eggs, butter, cheese, flour, lard, sugar, whiskey, and wine. Lesser cargo was plaster, tallow, turpentine, zinc and lamps. Among the passengers in steerage were Chinese immigrants returning home from the gold fields of California. After stopping in Hong

Kong and taking on supplies and passengers, *Colorado's* second voyage to the Orient carried barley, bread, beans, oats flour, apples, dried peaches molasses and olive oil. The rest were such things as candles, hardware, saddles, stoves firearms, and ammunition. Before 1900 the number-one cargo was food followed by shelter items then valuable cargo. Sometimes "treasure," ran in value above \$1 million in the form of coins or bullion. The currency was used for future imports and past debts. On one trip the *Colorado* carried as many as 800 passengers in steerage. After leaving Hong Kong, carrying Chinese immigrants, it was discovered that four of the Chinese passengers were sick with smallpox. Arriving in Yokohama the four passengers were taken off ship and left at a local hospital. Arriving at

San Francisco the Quarantine Officer did not want to risk any citizens to the deadly smallpox so the steamer anchored off Mission Bay while the passengers were off loaded to smaller boats and ferried to shore. The ship was then inspected and fumigated.

The Pacific Ocean presented a new set of challenges for steamships. Although sailing ships, they had been traveling the Pacific Ocean for decades, with stops at such places as the Sandwich Islands and Australia before continuing on to the Orient. But the distance between San Francisco and Hong Kong was twice the distance it was from San Francisco to Panama,



Courtesy of Murphy Library, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse

City or crossing the rough Trans-Atlantic Route. Steamships still used sails as a backup when fuel such as coal or wood was being consumed more quickly than expected. The scarcity of fuel made it impossible to sail a direct route. There were no places to obtain coal on a direct route. The trip, between San Francisco, and Yokohama was 5,200 miles. A ship's bunker held 1,500 tons of coal. The steam ship used forty-five tons per day to maintain an average of twenty-four knots. All early steamships were fully rigged in case of engine problems. Early steamships relied on their sails sometimes two-thirds of the trip. Heavy storms sometimes exhausted their coal supplies sooner than anticipated.

In 1878 *Colorado* was sold and in 1879 scrapped. By 1879 the life of the Trans-Pacific side-wheel steamship was coming to a close. Trans-oceanic steamers were now using screw propellers and their hulls were made of iron. The Trans-continental railroad

had been completed and it was now cheaper to send mail by rail than sail. In 1880 electric power was introduced to the first wooden side-wheel steamship *Columbia*, owned by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.

The end of the twentieth century was approaching and steamship designers and engineers had completed the essentials of their task in 276 years, building larger and more powerful engines, stronger alloys and more efficient lubricating oils capable of carrying more tonnage, improving passenger accommodations and greatly reducing the crossing times. The United States had the strongest naval force the world had ever seen. Sternwheel navigation on the Colorado River came to an end with the completion of the Laguna Dam fourteen miles above Yuma in March 1909. The end of the trans-oceanic routes for the beautiful ornate side-wheel steamships had come to an end.

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Clendenin-Muddy Creek Massacre, July 15, 1763 at Greenbrier, West Virginia

By Bob Lane P. M.

(Presented September 26, 1990)

During the summer of 1761 a band of approximately one-hundred Shawnee warriors penetrated the settlements along the headwaters of the James River in Virginia in order to avoid the fort at the mouth of Looney Creek, which passes through Bowen Gap on Purgatory Mountain. At this point the warriors split into two bands. About sixty strong young Shawnee warriors stopped at the home of Joseph and Hannah Dennis, who had a nearby settler named Thomas Perry visiting at the time. There was no reason to fear the Shawnee because there had been no sign of hostility from the Indians for sometime. The warriors that stopped at Mr. Dennis' home were welcomed with intentions of furthering the peace between the two parties. Suddenly Joseph and Thomas were killed. Hannah and the children were spared, only to be made prisoners.

Taking what provisions were needed, the cabin was then set on fire and all the livestock killed. They then proceeded to the home of Roger Renix, a short distance away. Robert was not home, as he had gone to visit a close neighbor named Thomas Smith, but Mrs. Renix and their five children, William, Robert, Thomas, Joshua and Betsey, were home and quickly captured. As before, the cabin was set afire. Then they proceeded to the home of Thomas Smith were Robert Renix was visiting. The two were shot and scalped. Mrs. Smith and a white servant

girl named Sally Jew were captured and united with the other prisoners. Livestock and provisions were also taken during this atrocity.

George Matthews of Staunton, with two brothers, William and Audley Maxwell, were on their way to the Smith house at the time of the attack. Gunshots were heard as they approached. The warriors spotted the three men coming and some crowded into the house while the rest took the prisoners to the north side of the cabin and concealed themselves under some fallen timber. It was assumed the gunfire was target practice, but when they approached the front of the cabin George spotted two bodies lying in the yard. Sensing danger he turned away. Suddenly the door of the cabin sprang open and the warriors began to fire shots as they ran towards the three men. As George turned to ride away the furl of his cue was cut off. Audley was wounded in the arm; only William escaped injury. The Indians then split into two more parties. Twenty warriors went with the [68] prisoners by way of Jackson River to Oldtown, Ohio. The remainder headed toward Cedar Creek where George and the Maxwells went to warn the settlement about the raid at Mr. Renix's cabin and that they could be next! Panic struck the settlers as they grabbed all the possessions they could carry and quickly moved to Paul's stockade fort, at Big Spring, near Springfield, for more protection.

Audley Maxwell and five other men stayed behind to protect the women and children while George and William with twenty others sat out to confront the Shawnee. Soon after, a severe encounter occurred, but because of the darkness and a continued rainfall

the Shawnee were able to take flight towards Purgatory Creek and escaped. Later the warriors linked up with the others at the mouth of Cow Pasture River. A few days later camp was broken and all headed to Chillicothe Towns, Ohio where the main settlement of the Shawnee lived. Matthew and his men returned the next morning to the field of battle. Nine Indians had been killed along with Thomas Maury, Benjamin Smith and the father of Sally Jew, the white servant of Thomas Smith.

Many prisoners along the trail rebelled against the Shawnee, later to regret their actions. One swift blow of a tomahawk quickly ended the rebellion! Hannah Dennis, the widow of slain Joseph realized her situation was very bleak if she didn't conform to the ways of the Shawnee. She ate, dressed and painted herself as if she was a squaw, accepting the customs and ways of the Shawnee. Due to her knowledge in medicine, she quickly helped gain trust and fame by nursing the sick. She became known as a "necromancer" and was honored for the same power as the "Great Spirit." During the two years of Hannah's captivity she gained the trust of the Indians to wander the hills freely in search of herbs for her medicine. Little did anyone suspect she was plotting her escape to freedom! When she failed to return at the normal time, her whereabouts became of great concern. Some warriors were sent out to track her down and bring her back to the settlement. Hannah knew how skillful the Indians were at tracking game therefore she avoided leaving any traces by crossing the Scioto River three times. On the fourth crossing she was spotted and shots were fired at her.

In her haste she wounded her foot on a sharp stone and was unable to run. The Indians were closing in on her but she was just far enough ahead that she hid in a fallen hollowed sycamore tree. The warriors frequently stepped on the log and unknowingly even camped near the tree that night. Because of her lameness she had to remain in the area for three days to allow the foot to heal enough so she could continue her escape. After the third day of rest she set off floating down the Ohio River clutching to a log till she reached the mouth of the Great Kanawha River. Hannah traveled only in the darkness of night and sustained herself by eating roots, herbs, wild flowers and river shellfish.

More than three-hundred miles from the point of her escape, nearly exhausted with fatigue and hunger, Mrs. Dennis was ready to give up all hope of being rescued as she laid along the bank of the Greenbrier River. Thomas Athol and George See, then eighteen years of age, and one other friend were hunting along the banks of the Greenbrier River when they discovered Mrs. Dennis in a near state of death. The three men took Hannah nearby to a settlement know as the Clendenin or the Big Levels. She remained for a time to recuperate and then was taken on horseback to Fort Young [Covington]. From there she went to the home of relatives. By helping Hannah Dennis, the three young men unknowingly had doomed all the settlers in Greenbrier County.

A few days after Mrs. Dennis left the Big Levels, a party of about sixty Shawnee lead by young Chief Cornstalk appeared in the clearing of the settlement of Muddy Creek. They had come to the settlement with the premeditated plan to murder the

inhabitants, burn their cabins and kill all the livestock. They, with their peace rtakeup on, mislead the settlers of their true intentions. The French and Indian Wars having been terminated by a treaty the previous spring, the settlers had no reason to fear the Indians anymore. A great feast was prepared by Michael See, venison with all the trimmings, for the Indians. Michael also provided beef by killing one of his few cattle, which was really a rare occasion. The night was as joyous as the day's feast. By the following morning the Indians had scattered among the other houses to carry out their hideous plan. At a most unexpected moment the Shawnee tomahawked or gunned nearly every man, woman and child. Those spared became prisoners. One man spared was Samuel Tackett, a simple man with a powerful physique. He had been brought to the settlement by Michael See to live as one of his family. Samuel was possibly spared because the Indians saw that he was simple and of no harm. It was fortunate that Elizabeth Roach (wife of Greenberry Roach, the second daughter of Michael See) was away at the time of the massacre. Some of the settlers along Muddy Creek were Michael Frederick See and family, the Zane family, the Greenberry Roach family, the Felty Yolckham family, Joseph Carroll, and the Brown family. After the massacre at Muddy Creek the warriors proceeded to the Big Levels known as the Clendenin (sometimes spelled Clendenning or Clandenuim) settlement to carry out the same inhuman acts.

Between fifty and one-hundred settlers lived at the Clendenin Settlement, located about two-and-a-half miles west of Lewisburg, West

Virginia. Archibald Clendenin Jr. had just come back from a bountiful hunt with three fat elk. Ann Clendenin had some concern as to the large number of Indians in the settlement and that the Indians were painted differently from the last time she had seen them. Ann expressed her fears to Archibald but he tried to calm her by saying, "no danger." He believed the Indians truly came in peace. Once again, as customary, all were treated to a feast. Ann was worried about how a meal for thirty was going to be enough for about sixty more people. Ann handed the baby to Archibald while she went around the cabin to the scaffold or shed to collect more bones to boil in the large kettle. As Ann turned the corner of the cabin she heard Archibald call "Lord, have mercy on me!" She ran back and saw an Indian shaking the blood from Archibald's scalp. Archibald was killed along with his young son as they tried to scale a rail fence. The shot went through Archibald and into his son. His wife and other infant were carried off to Kearny's Mountain along with other women and children. Just seconds before, an older lady was sitting on the porch of her cabin nursing a sore leg. One warrior tried to enter her cabin but she stopped him and asked if he could help in relieving her of her dreadful pain! The warrior turned to her and nodded as if he understood. At that point he drew his tomahawk and instantly lodged in into her skull as she screamed for help! This single act seemed to be the signal to carry out the massacre of all the inhabitants in the settlement. This inexplicable act infuriated Ann and she went to the Indian and spat in his face to provoke him to kill her also. The shots were

heard from the field where young Dick Pointe, John Ewing and Conrad Yolkham were tending the crops. Usually gunshots were known to be the testing of one's skill before the shooting match in the afternoon. Dick and John tried to convince Conrad to quit and head back to the settlement to join the festivities, but Conrad was suspicious of the unusually large group of Indians and decided to stay in the corn field a while longer. More shots were heard and Conrad's suspicions caused him to flee towards Jackson River, but soon he thought his suspicions were unfounded so he turned his horse and started back to the settlement. As he approached the corner of Archibald's fence he heard several flintlocks misfire (he thinks at least ten) he turned and hastened to Fort Young to warn the settlers. Conrad thought all the inhabitants had been slaughtered. Thinking they may be next, the people of Jackson River retreated before the Shawnee could overtake them.

As soon as Dick and John reached the settlement they were captured. A warrior raised his tomahawk ready to land a single blow to Ann, but John Ewing, Ann's half brother said, "Oh, never mind her, she is a foolish woman!" "Yes," said the Indian, "She damn fool too!" The scalp of her husband was hung from her neck. After the massacre the Indians split up. Half proceeded to Carr Creek (Kerrs Creek) to carry out the same atrocity while the others stayed to watch the prisoners.

Ann was a strong-willed woman; she cursed the Indians and demanded they let them go. A tomahawk was drawn over her head several times with the threat of instant

death if she did not cease! The day they left Keeney Knob all the prisoners were huddled together so they could not be strays. Ann conceived a plan to escape. As the party passed through a laurel thicket, Ann handed her baby to the lady beside her. When the time was right she sneaked up behind a heavily loaded horse led by a warrior with the halter strap wrapped about his wrist. She lifted the horse's tail and pushed a chestnut bur into the rump. The horse bucked and took off running with the Indian being dragged behind and supplies flying everywhere. During the commotion Ann made her getaway. Order was restored soon after, but Ann's baby continued to cry and this drew the attention of the warriors. One Shawnee warrior inquired as to the whereabouts of the mother. No one spoke out which infuriated the Indian. "I will bring the cow to the calf," he said. The baby was grabbed from the woman and held by the heels while its brains were beaten out against a tree. Then the battered corpse was tossed into the path of the remaining horses and trampled. Many more barbaric acts too horrible to mention were committed along the trek.

That night Ann returned to her cabin, a distance of ten miles, to bury her husband and child under some rails and trash, which were scattered about the yard, to keep the wolves from devouring the bodies. When Ann lifted the burnt hand of her husband the charred flesh fell off! After she was finished she walked to a nearby corn field and collapsed in exhaustion. In her present state of shock she thought she saw a man standing over her waiting to kill her. She resumed her flight through the night to the nearest settlement, Fort Young.

One of the horrifying moments at Clendenin's was a black couple trying to escape with their frightened child. The baby cried so loud the mother killed the child herself to quiet him! Thus the two were able to flee to Augusta and inform the people of the horrifying massacre.

Afterwards the cabins were set afire and the cattle killed. The women and children were taken to Muddy Creek and detained there with the other captives until the return of the third party from Kerrs Creek. Thus began a very long and savage trek of over three hundred miles through rough wilderness to the Chillicothe Indian towns in Ohio.

The horrifying details of the trek to Oldtown are recorded in the family history of the See Family of Virginia by John See to his grandson, the Reverend Michael See in 1840 when John See was eighty-one.

Because of the massacres the entire area of Greenbrier country was uninhabited for the next six years.

In the first few days the children began to fall behind or give out from exhaustion. The Shawnee killed them and left the bodies behind where they fell. On the second day little John See began to fall behind but was helped along by his brother George and his mother. Samuel Tackett, the simple-minded person was made into a packhorse. Samuel carried a large copper kettle on his back filled to the top with provisions. Early in the morning of the fourth day Samuel carried little John See on top of the kettle with his feet dangling over Samuel's chest. Because of the weight he carried it was not long before he wore his shoulders raw.

One of the warriors was riding a horse belonging to Catherine See, wife of Michael See. She pleaded with the Indian to let her use the horse but he refused. Catherine became desperate and picked up a pine knot and swung at the Indian knocking him plumb off the horse. Catherine put the two tired children on the horse before the dazed warrior regained his sense. When the warrior recovered he lashed out at her. If not for the interference of the other warriors she would have been killed. The Indians called her a "fighting squaw." She was allowed to keep the horse for her family. The prisoners were very weary when they reached Chillicothe Towns in Ohio. The families were broken up and the children adopted into Indian families. The Browns and Zane children were split up. John See was adopted and began to live the life of a young warrior.

When a treaty of peace was signed two years later, all were returned to Moorefield, with the exception of a few children including little John See. He refused to leave, for fear of being killed by his adopted parents. They told John they had lost a son earlier and they would burn him to death if the white people should get him back. Elizabeth See ended up marrying Chief Cornstalk during her captivity.

Samuel Tackett was set free, but a few years later during the American Revolution the Indians recaptured him and knowing he was simple, again spared his life. He was bound to a large pine tree on the banks of the Kanawha River. A day and night passed before he was found by some men pursuing the same Indians. Up to 1840 this tree was known as "Tackett's Pine" by the river boatmen.

The chronological order of the massacres will never be known unless someday someone else discovers new information that can help establish the true dates of the three tragic events and the names of the other families that perished.

In 1938 a marker was placed at the junction of Mill Creek and Muddy Creek, formerly known as Bakers Mill. A similar marker was placed to commemorate the Clendenin massacre also. The marker is located near the entrance to Shawnee Farms in a cemetery known as the Alex Welch Cemetery. Today Shawnee Farms belongs to the E.M. Johnson family approximately three-and-one-half miles west of Lewisburg, West Virginia on Houfnagle Road.

Discrepancies

It should be noted that there are many conflicting names and data as to when the actual massacres took place. The story told by John See and his mother Catherine set the date of the first massacre at Muddy Creek, on July 17, 1763, on the second massacre at the Big Levels and the third at Kerrs Creek. Very little is known about the Kerrs Creek Massacre.

In the *Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society*, Volume II, Number 2, October, 1967, Dr. Harry H. Handley puts the Clendenin Massacre on July 15, 1763. By all other resources the Clendenin Massacre could not have taken place on July 15. There were three survivors of the Muddy Creek Massacre that dispute this date. George See and his mother Catherine were returned two years later and told their story to their grandson, the Rev. Michael See, and recorded it on the

Records of the See Family of Virginia by T.J.J. See. Catherine kept her family Bible while in captivity and marked the day her husband died. It is not known if young Michael See was killed at Muddy Creek. There is no record of his death or the return from captivity. Little John See stayed with his Indian parents for a few years more until he was brought back to his original family with the help of two traders for an undetermined payment. There is further evidence that the Muddy Creek Massacre was on July 17, 1763 by the family Bible of Jenny McKee, who is listed as killed that same day.

There is still further evidence about the order of the carnage. In the *Annals of Augusta County* by Joseph Addison Waddell, page 111, "Cornstalk came to the settlement on Muddy Creek, one of the only two white settlements in Greenbrier. From Muddy Creek the Indians passed over into the Levels". Alexander S. Withers mentions the same chronology in the *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (page 70). *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume XXII, page 230, also states that the first massacre was at the home of Michael F. See and Felty Yolkham. It should also be noted that Felty's last name is spelled three different ways: Yolkham, Yolkcam and Yolkorn.

If that was not confusing enough, in the *Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society*, "The Clendenin Massacre" by Dr. Harry Handley states little John Clendenin was three years old at the time of the Massacre; Jane Clendenin's age will be discussed later. But there was a third child very young whose name is unknown. This child could have been the one whose brains were bashed out

and the body left to be trampled on.

In same journal, page 11, June 1775, little John was seven years old, but on page 12 Jane's age is sixteen in 1774. On page 10, Ann gives her baby to another lady in order to make her escape. This baby could not have been little Jane, for Jane was returned from captivity in 1774 at the age of sixteen as stated on page 11. If you subtract 1763 from 1774 her age would have been 11 at the time of the abduction and when she was returned two years later her age would be thirteen not sixteen. Still confused? Wait, page 12 states Jane was seven in 1775 therefore she would be minus five at the time she was captured.

On page 7, it states 360 acres were given to George See. This must be wrong because George See is the son of Michael Fredrick See, who was the first of the Sees to secure land with Felty Yolkham along Muddy Creek.

In *Greenbrier Pioneers and Their Homes*, by Ruth Woods Dayton, the date of the Muddy Creek Massacre is June 27, 1763. This must be a misprint.

The following list of names are people either killed or captured and taken to Oldtown, Ohio, and then returned two years later to Pittsburg:

Michael Fredrick See, wife Catherine and daughter Elizabeth age nine or ten, third daughter's name unknown (possibly Catherine), sons George, age eighteen, Michael and John;
Berry family;
Kimor family;
Phenegar Brown family;
Greenberry Roach, wife Elizabeth See, daughter of Michael See (was away at the time of the massacre);
Samuel Tackett spared but later

recaptured and tied to a tree along the Great Kanawha River;
Felty Yolkham;
Brown family;
Zane family;
Archibald Clendenin and family, Ann, wife, son John, age three, killed with father trying to escape, little Jane, age uncertain. Third child's name is unknown and was killed on the west side of Keeney Mountain on the trail to Oldtown, Ohio;

John Ewing, age twelve at the time of capture, later returned to Pittsburg at the age of eighteen.

Conrad Yolkham, son of Felty Yolkham, escaped by working in the cornfield;
Joseph Carol and possibly George Carroll;

In the *Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society* the foreword claims the Clendenin Massacre was on July 15, 1763, two days before the Muddy Creek Massacre took place. Page 7, George See is the son of Michael Fredrick See. Michael was the land owner at the time of the massacre, not George.

According to the See family, the Muddy Creek Massacre was July 17, 1763. No concrete evidence as to the true date can be verified other than the story told by John See and his mother Catherine.

John, at the age of eight-one, told his story to his grandson Rev. Michael See in 1840. Catherine later known as "Aunt Kitty Hardy" also spoke of the terrible ordeal when she returned to live out the rest of her life in the same area where her terrible ordeal took place. When she was captured she marked the date of the massacre in her German Bible and kept it through

the captivity. The Bible has been lost, so the date of the massacre can not be verified.

It is still unclear as to why the terrible slaughter occurred. There are two speculations why Chief Cornstalk was the leader. Chief Cornstalk appeared so soon after Hannah's escape it is believed he was in pursuit of her and in his outrage he destroyed the settlements. The other speculation is that the Indians became enraged at the arrogant behavior of the British officials they dealt with. Chief Cornstalk was ordered to destroy the new settlements living the Greenbrier area.

In 1758 a treaty was signed announcing the county west of the Allegheny was part of the hunting grounds for the Indians. It was clear the Greenbrier settlements were trespassing. A proclamation of the colonial governor decreed the country beyond the Allegheny was not open to new settlements.

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Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society 1963, "Beginnings of the Occupation of the Greenbrier Area by The English," by Harry H. Handley, pp. 5-7.

Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society, Extract form of "Sketches of History Life and Manners in the United States, 1866", by Anne Royall, pp.560.

Memoir of Indian Wars and Other Occurrences, by Colonel John Stuart, reprint 1971, pp. 35 & 56

Morton's History of Monroe County, 1916, pp. 35 & 36.

Greenbrier Pioneers and Their House, by Ruth Dayton, 1916, pp. 1942, pp. 227-231.

Hardesty's History, pp. 166-168

Records of the See Family of Virginia, by See, T. J. J.

Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Volume 10, pp. 254 & 255
Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, Volume I. pp. 39-41, by Jonathan P. Cushing.

Whiter's Chronicles of Border Warfare, by Alexander Scott Withers, 1903, pp. 65-71 and 89-91

William and Mary College Quarterly, Volume 22, pp 230-233

Nine copies of this book were printed. Two books have been located. One is in the collection of the Denver Public Library; the other is in the private collection of Mrs. Char Lewis, a direct descendant of the See family. The location of the other seven books is unknown.

Over the Corral Rail

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

Colorado Posse Presentations and Corral Capers

The Boulder County Corral of Westerners heard "Introducing the Cache la Poudre River National Heritage Area," by Richard Maxfield and Bill Bertschy, both members of the Fort Collins Corral. Check out their impressive web site www.poudreheritage.org. In March member John Hutchins presented "The Man to Match our Mountain: How General Zebulon M. Pike earned his own Fourteener in 1813." Pikes Peak Posse member Mel McFarland journeyed to Boulder in April, and told of "The Railroad Stations of the Pikes Peak Region."

Colorado Corral presentations were: in February, "Helluva Way to Treat a Soldier," documenting grave robbing at Ft. Craig, MN, by Tom Lincoln, professional archeologist; in April, "Preserving Denver Heritage," by Barbara Gibson, of the Denver Landmarks Preservation Commission, and current deputy sheriff of the Denver Posse.

In Colorado Springs in February, John Williams gave his version of Sand Creek. In March Mel McFarland presented "The Railroad Stations in the Pikes Peak Region." In April the Pikes Peak Posse heard Sheriff Doug Clausen in "The Danish-American Wonder, Henry Clausen," being the colorful life of his father.

Denver Posse Doings

In March posse member Nancy Bathke presented the works of Colorado Springs pioneer artist Alice Stewart Hill at the Denver Botanic Garden. Nancy displayed the 1885 original watercolors of Alice Stewart in the book *Procession of Flowers in Colorado*, of great interest to the students of Botanic Garden's renowned School of Botanical Art and Illustration.

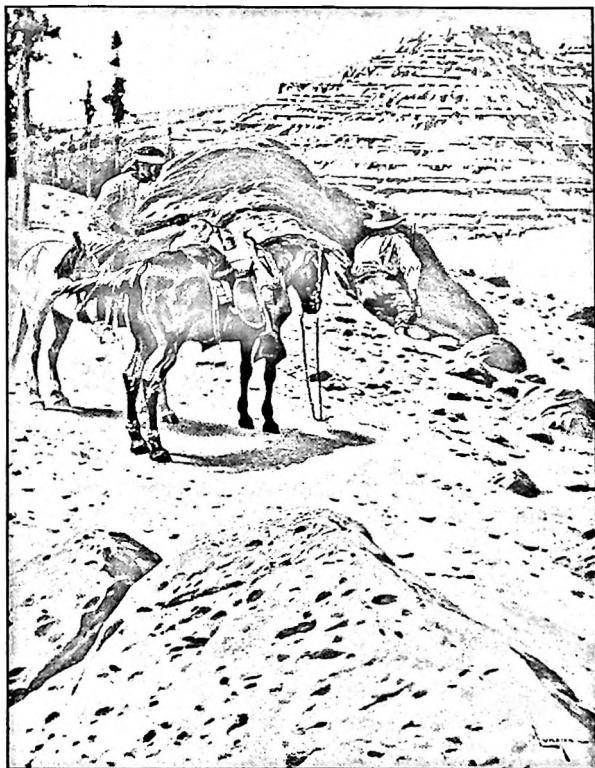
Loss of Posse Member Ray Koernig Mourned

Ray Koernig became a corresponding member of the Denver Posse in 2000, and was elected to Active Posse membership in 2001. A native Nebraskan, he came to Colorado in 1950 to attend the University of Colorado, where he earned his BS. Following army service Ray settled in Littleton, where he was so active as to be termed a "Renaissance Man." A few of the institutions he impacted were: Littleton City Council (councilman and mayor), planning commission, liquor authority, Littleton Chorale, Library and Museum, Rotary, Town Hall Arts Center, and Hudson Gardens. In 1988 local newspapers named him "Citizen of the Year," and "Citizen of the Decade," and then, for his 80th birthday on March 27, 2012, the Littleton City Council proclaimed "Ray Koernig Day." His love of history was shown by not only his participation in the Denver Westerners but also the Friends of the Littleton Library and Museum, where he performed in such roles as Alfred Packer, and wrote and performed in many of the twenty-five annual events. We will dearly miss Ray, and the Posse extends condolences to his wife Mary and family.



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

May - June 2013



Big game hunting in the West, c. 1890

**License to Kill:
The Early History of Colorado State Game Wardens,
1891-1931**

**By John Hutchins, P.M.
(Presented December 19, 2012)**



Our Author

John Hutchins has been a member of Denver Westerners since 1982, joining the Active Posse in 1985. He was sheriff in 1994. John has presented six previous topics to Denver Westerners, ranging from African-American cowboys to Zebulon Pike. He has received the Danielson award from Westerners International three times for presentations to Westerners groups.

John also has presented papers at various symposia and conferences nationwide. John is a retired lawyer. He is married to Dale Hutchins and they have a son, Adam.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

VOL. LXIX NO. 3



May - June 2013

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License to Kill: The Early History of Colorado State Game Wardens, 1891-1931

By John Hutchins, P.M.
(Presented December 19, 2012)

When the Gilded Age slid into the Progressive Era, it was the worst of times and the best of times. Continued industrialization, colonization, and a worldwide arms race were counterbalanced with programs more in keeping with the inherent idealism of modern Western culture. Especially in the United States, the progressive agenda included additional financial and civil rights for both men and women of all colors. But the progressives also looked to the interests of dumb beasts (beyond attempting to reform drunkards in this pre-prohibition era) – especially since there was a recognition that the preservation of nature potentially would benefit the daily life of everyday citizens.

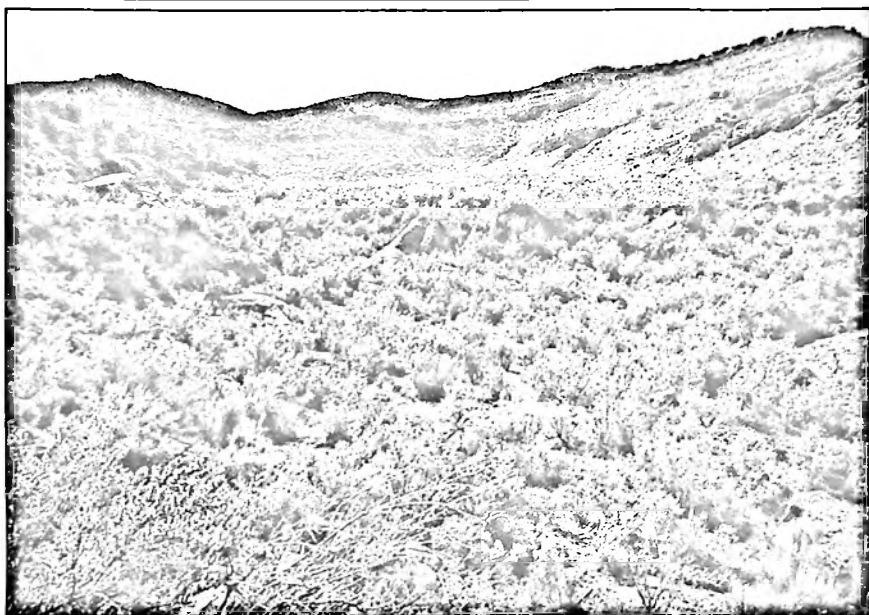
This conservation movement was a nationwide phenomenon, but – as they used to say, “As goes Maine, so goes the nation.” Maine was a relative hunter’s paradise and one of the earliest states to tackle protection of wildlife for the good both of conservationists and of free-spending nimrods visiting from out-of-state. But Maine also saw the problems regarding enforcement which became commonplace elsewhere. Some of the earliest violence against game wardens, who were tasked with enforcing the new order, took place in Maine. In the 1880s a warden’s house and barn were burned down by poachers and two wardens were gunned down by a notorious poacher who later

testified that the dead men were going to shoot his hunting dog.¹

This volatile situation occurred in every state which attempted to conserve game. Consequently, everywhere there developed popular folklore, fueled by anti-environmental and anti-government attitudes. This folklore or oral tradition has led to many tales about the venality and cowardice of game wardens, some of which – despite their entertainment value – obviously are false.² Even conservationists of the era participated in these stories when convenient to their purposes.

Indeed, this hostility against game wardens has continued well into the current times – and the source of such disrespect is not limited to poachers. In 1980s Meeker, Colorado, the resident state wildlife officer, Jeff Madison, acknowledged that he and his wife were pretty much ostracized by the townsfolk and the neighboring ranchers who are dependent on tourist hunters and who also hate being told not to shoot game whenever they want. “People are friendly on the surface,” said Madison to a reporter, “but we’re somewhere below the dogcatcher on the social scale, and there’s no dogcatcher in Meeker.”³

In any event, the young state of Colorado entered the conservation fray at the same time that the issue was sweeping the country. Although there



Gillam Draw - site of 1902 shootout

had been earlier legislation protecting some wildlife – especially fish – in 1891 the Centennial State got seriously involved in protecting the natural resources on the hoof which belonged – not to individuals or even to the federal government – but to the entire state. In that year, the Colorado legislature authorized a State Game and Fish Warden, who had the power to execute search warrants in enforcing the game and fish laws.⁴

In 1891 there did not seem to be any immediate emergency regarding game, at least in northwestern Colorado. A. S. Robinson, who first moved to the area around Craig (then in Routt County, before the formation of Moffat County) in the winter of 1890-1891, recalled, “[I]t is unbelievable the amount of game in Moffat County

at that time. I have seen at least three thousand antelope in one band; one would glance up to find deer and elk watching him in every small clearing . . . Often I would hear a rustling of leaves, and glimpse a mountain lion or a coyote slinking off through the bushes; or perhaps a bear would make for cover with his funny shuffling run.”⁵ Nonetheless, in the post-1890 belief that the true frontier was gone and that the land was filling up, it did not take an exceptional intellect to realize that this hunting paradise could not long endure, especially after witnessing the decimation of the buffalo on the plains.

Colorado conservationists were adamant about protecting native game – whether for the preservation of the various species or for the very lucrative recreational hunters – no matter who

the poachers were. During the first few years of this enforcement of game laws, over a hundred arrests were made, and many of the white professional hunters left the State.⁶

Many of the local ranchers – who did not have that same option to emigrate – objected to these hunting restrictions as well, for they were in the habit of building up their winter meat supply after the permissible fall hunting season, when the game, like the cattle herds, headed to lower altitudes.⁷ In addition, the ranchmen often did not object to the Northern or former White River Utes, and even the Navajos, making hunting trips into northwestern Colorado. As Commissioner W. R. Callicotte reported about the Indians, “They are encouraged by the citizens up there to come, as the killing of deer saves the stockmen’s haystacks.”⁸

Nonetheless, in fits and starts, the early State commitment to regulate the hunting of big game continued, enforced by an irregular force of deputy wardens, county sheriffs, and volunteer citizens. Even after the State suffered the shock of the dramatic fall of silver prices in the Panic of 1893, the legislature in 1897 added the protection of timber to state conservation concerns and established a Department of Forestry, Game and Fish. The new department also was tasked to enforce the addition of elk to the list of protected species, although it was contemplated that there might be future hunting seasons to “attract many persons and much money here that now annually goes to other states.”⁹ However, in the meantime, the situation was not helped by the fact that both unemployed silver miners and rich

Eastern and European “gentlemen” hunters were decimating the wildlife, often through wasteful practices.¹⁰

It was acknowledged, that if the elk, in particular, were to be saved from decline, the laws protecting them had to be enforced.¹¹ Additionally, the Coloradoans could not see how the elk herds could increase enough for tourist hunting if the Utes of northeastern Utah continued their illegal hunts into Colorado. Gordon Land, the Colorado Fish Commissioner, reported in 1896 that, while both “Indians and [white] skin hunters . . . still persist in killing for the profit which the market affords,” he thought the red men to be a greater menace. “The methods of game destruction now employed by the Indians are such as to result in entire destruction of our deer and elk in a very few years if they are permitted to pursue them,” Land reported. He added that the Indians were “by far the worst hide hunters in the state.”¹² A. S. Robinson, one of those settlers not unsympathetic to the plight of the Red Men providing for their families, agreed to this statistical analysis. “These wandering, small bands made great depredations upon the game, sometimes killing thousands of elk and deer. [T]hey never knew when to stop.”¹³

Of course, even while the Native Americans decimated the critters of the forest, the Utes in northern Utah, whether those in the Uintah Basin of Utah or the White River (or Uncompahgre) Utes, like the Bannock and Shoshone of Wyoming, and the Sioux of Pine Ridge, had valid reasons to be unhappy with their lot. They had lost much of their ancestral land in Colorado and had been forcibly

removed to their new location in Utah Territory. Validating this grievance for any fair-minded person, it was known that when the boundary between the State of Colorado and the Territory of Utah was surveyed properly, it was found that some of the most coveted streams and valleys were not in Utah as presumed, but lay within the bonds of Colorado.¹⁴ "When we lived in Colorado, the white man told us that strip of country did not belong to us — was not in our Reservation," the Utes pointed out. "Then, the first thing we knew, the white man snatched those streams and valleys away from us — took them out of our new Reservation, where they had always been, and put them in the old, where they had never been before . . ." they protested.¹⁵

Adding to this was the reality that big game was scarce where the Northern Ute now lived in Utah. "Elk are scarce and hard to find," warned a hunting manual of the late Nineteenth Century. As for antelope, they were found much further south in Utah, and were difficult to hunt in that open country.¹⁶ On the other hand, as noted, northwestern Colorado was a comparative hunter's paradise. According to that same hunting manual, "Routt County [which then bordered Utah] is said to contain the most big game during the hunting season, elk and deer being found there in large numbers during August, September, and October." Antelope, also, were "abundant in the northwestern part of the state."¹⁷ The Utes now residing in Utah, while not reading such hunting manuals, knew that Colorado still seemed to have plenty of deer.¹⁸

This general discontent over

territorial hunting rights resulted in the so-called Colorow's War in 1887, when Utes from the Uintah Reservation headed into the northwestern canyon lands of Colorado to hunt and met up first with a sheriff's posse and later with elements of the Colorado Militia. During the crisis, there were a couple of confrontations. A gun battle near Rangely, Colorado, resulted in a number of deaths, including that of a sheriff, and a lot of publicity. However, although the Utes retreated back to Utah, they hardly were chastened, and the underlying problems were not resolved.¹⁹ The Utes also learned that the Ninth Cavalry troopers sent after them from the agency had their limitations; in 1887 Colorow's band had been back at the Fort Duchesne Reservation for three days when the cavalymen chasing them returned, not having "seen a single Indian," according to a white boy living with the tribe.²⁰

Even after Colorow's War, the locals around Meeker remained generally untroubled by the occasional trips the Utes took back into the northwestern part of the State. Fred Nichols, who was a clerk at the Hugus and Company general store in Meeker during the 1890s, recalled that the Utes would come to Meeker in the winters to trade. "I never had any trouble with the Indians," he recollected, although he sometimes had trouble with the white people.²¹ Similarly, Leona Reynolds Nelson recalled, about the Utes' annual visit to Meeker, "The Indians were very extravagant in the stores, but they wouldn't take anything they didn't pay for." On the other hand, she also remembered that many of the visitors



Ernest and Grace Thompson set on hunting

became raucous after drinking too much “fire water.”²²

But the official Colorado position could not be so understanding about these incursions if hunting was involved. In early 1897, Commissioner J. S. Swan of the Colorado Department of Forestry, Game and Fish, along with the Commissioner of the Utah Game and Fish Department, John Sharp, met with the Indian agent for the Uintah and Uncompahgre Utes, Captain Beck, along with the tribal council, to protest continued hunts off the reservation.²³ While the older Utes at this Fort Duchesne, Utah, conference seemed to

take the warnings seriously, the young men did not, even when Captain Beck told them that he would send troops to bring them back to Utah.²⁴

Not surprisingly, with such a failure to communicate, there was trouble during the following autumn hunting season. In October, the Uintah Utes headed across the border into Routt County, Colorado, while the Uncompahgres or White River Utes, to the south, went hunting in Rio Blanco County. After Swan notified General Otis, troops, assisted by Sheriff Wilber (who was fluent in sign language) and Warden J. T. McLean succeeded in encouraging the White River Utes, whose hunting apparently had not been successful, to go home to Utah.²⁵

However, with the incursion of the Uintahs, it was another matter. Commissioner Swan ordered Warden W. R. Wilcox to arrest the miscreant hunters, who were in Lily Park in the extreme northwestern part of Colorado, taking in their winter meat. Wilcox, aided by ten special game wardens, went to the Ute encampment to either get the hunters to leave or, failing that, to arrest them. Although Swan had advised Wilcox to exercise “extreme patience and forbearance,” and Swan later thought that Wilcox had followed those cautionary instructions, things did not go as planned.²⁶

When the Utes were confronted by Warden Wilcox and his volunteer posse of wardens, they refused to go home. When Wilcox attempted to



Professional hunting guides with
an English hunter, c. 1896

arrest some of the hunters, in order to take them to the county seat of Routt County, Steamboat Springs, the Utes in camp resisted and two Ute men were killed and two Ute females were wounded.²⁷

The Utes fled back to Fort Duchesne.²⁸ According to the much-later recollections of “Queen” Ann Bassett, a well-known (and notorious) resident of Brown’s Park, the game wardens also fled the Lily Park area – hidden under the hay in a rancher’s wagon driven to Craig.²⁹ As for the Indians, a swarm of angry young Ute men came back into Colorado ready

to fight – at the same time that there were extra state wardens sworn in, that the national guard was called up, and that troops arrived from Fort Duchesne. However, amid all of this readiness, there fortunately was no follow-up bloodshed.³⁰

But trouble this year was not limited to red hunters as the wardens attempted to apply the game laws to everyone. Just previous to the trouble in Lily Park, there was a fortunately-erroneous report that Deputy State Game Warden W. B. Wilcox was killed by a party of almost a dozen white hunters.³¹

On the other hand, another warden named Mahoney discovered other white poachers and had significant trouble with some of them. He was posted to western Routt County (later Moffat County) and was treated hospitably as a guest among the locals. When he stayed a week at the FitzPatrick house, Mahoney did not seem to mind that the family had – for their winter meat supply – fifteen dressed buck carcasses hanging in a spare room. However, the warden then moved to the place known as Kelly Lodge – owned by one Kelly. When Kelly and his hunter friends, a week after the season ended, shot some deer, Mahoney had them arrested, taken to Hayden, and fined. The next day, in the town of Craig, Mahoney was jumped and part of the wooden boardwalk was

taken up. Mahoney then was thrown into the opening and the boards were replaced. The next morning a very cold Mahoney was rescued when the boardwalk was again pried off. He did not visit Kelly Lodge again – even though Kelly continued to add out-of-season venison to his lodge's menu.³²

As for the Utes, rather than being chastened in the years following the bloody confrontation at Lily Park, they continued their hunting raids into Colorado's public lands. State officials believed that the Utes were encouraged by their Indian agent, who, whenever notified that his wards had strayed off the reservation, gave the hunters excessive time to report back to Fort Duchesne.³³

In addition, when it came to protests about livestock or game depredations by such hunting parties, the West lacked political clout in the Halls of Washington, even when a sympathetic Teddy Roosevelt was president. "How they all love the homesteader in their speeches," wrote Wyoming sheepman Percy Shallenberger in 1907. "In truth nobody gives a damn for him," he added.³⁴

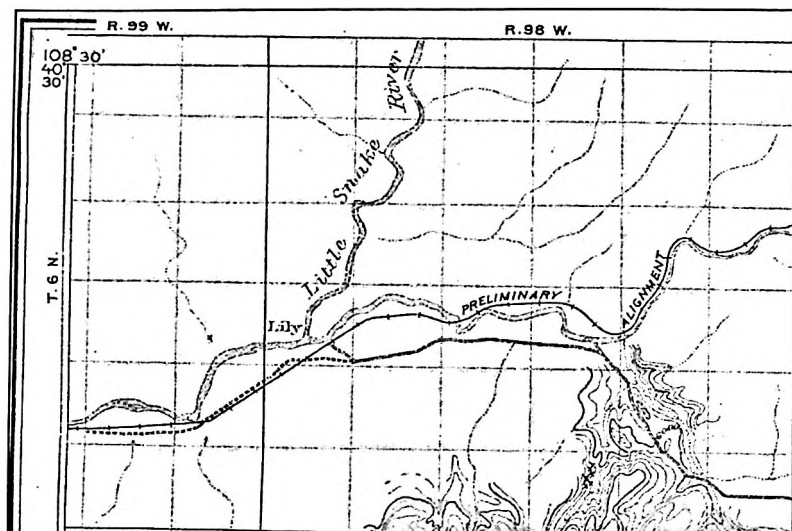
In any event, in the early autumn of 1900, when Colorado Game and Fish Commissioner T. H. Johnson reported that, once again, the Utes were hunting in western Colorado, he complained to the Department of the Interior about it. In response, the agent for the Utah agency denied that any of his charges were absent. When Johnson went to the field to see for himself, he found evidence that the Utes had been there, but that they had decamped. After Johnson left, the Indians reportedly returned and, when Johnson

complained again, he was told that the Indian police were taking their kinsmen back to the reservation. This was all too coincidental for Johnson, and he concluded that "the federal authorities had them in perfect control, and that the Indian agent alone was responsible for their unlawful raids into Colorado." In addition, Johnson was upset when he learned that the Indian police were given ten days to round up the hunters, a job that Johnson knew had been done in the past in forty-eight hours.³⁵

Later, in November 1900, Johnson again heard that the Utes were hunting in Rio Blanco County. Johnson, with his local warden and with the County Sheriff, found evidence that that a Ute hunting encampment of fifty tipis had been there, but they had left. However, Johnson and his party did stop and fine a group of Utah Mormons who were illegally hunting.³⁶ Johnson was distressed to hear from local settlers that Indian Agent Myton himself, in 1899, had illegally hunted in Colorado, escorted by Buffalo Soldiers from Fort Duchesne.³⁷

Federal-State cooperation got even worse when Charles N. Harris was named Commissioner of the Colorado Department of Forestry, Game and Fish in 1901 by Colorado's Democratic Governor Orman. Harris predicted that "a small war is likely to ensue if the Utes try to do as they have been doing in the past."³⁸ For his part, Indian Agent Myton seemingly showed good faith by telling Harris that he should treat Indian poachers the same as white poachers – even if that involved going to jail.³⁹

However, hearing again that the Utes' Indian agent himself was hunting illegally in Colorado, Harris arrested



Lily Park, site of 1897 shootout

the agent and fined him for killing two Colorado deer without a license.⁴⁰ Harris reported that this apprehension proved the insincerity of the agent. In addition, since the Indian agencies saved on rations when hunting parties went out, "money paid out by the state for the protection of deer will have been expended only for the benefit of the agents and the Indians."⁴¹

Harris continued in his strict enforcement of the game laws. In October 1901, shortly after arresting the Indian agent, Harris stopped seven Utes with a wagonload of venison and about 140 deer hides and arrested them.⁴² When one of the Indian hunters started to swing his rifle around, Deputy Warden George Fravert pushed it aside and the Utes were disarmed.⁴³ The Sheriff of Rio Blanco County, Ewin Amick, and a deputy accompanied Harris and Fravert as backup.⁴⁴

However, if Harris was aggressively enforcing the law, assisted by local officers, he found that the White River community, while it might disapprove of the raids, did not want to antagonize the Indians who could not be successfully contained anyway. The hunters and their accompanying family members were taken to Meeker, the county seat, for prosecution. There, the white citizens of Meeker visited the Ute families who were encamped in the open ground by the courthouse, and bought calico for the squaws and toys for a little Ute boy.⁴⁵

Regarding the legal proceeding itself, before the Meeker justice of the peace, the jury of settlers acquitted the seven Utes.⁴⁶ As Colorado Game Warden Otto Peterson commented years later, about an unchanged situation, "[T]here was no justice with a justice of the peace," when it came to enforcing



Trail riders in Lily Park, 2012. Rider on left had an in-law in the 1897 posse

laws against poachers at the local level.⁴⁷

For their successful legal defense at Meeker, the Indian hunters had given their attorney a bear skin, which the judge apparently bought after the acquittal for a souvenir.⁴⁸ But, at least, the confiscated hides were sold for the Colorado game fund, and Indian rifles which were seized were not returned.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, because of the largely unsatisfactory result, and perhaps because the jurisdiction of the justice of the peace was limited to petty offenses or misdemeanors, Harris refused to abide with the judgment and insisted on taking the Utes to Glenwood Springs, a bigger town and the county seat of Garfield County. This was probably to prosecute a felony case under a different statute. Rio Blanco County Sheriff Amick advised against

that course and refused to cooperate with Harris. However, Harris recruited other officers and he started the horseback procession, consisting of the Ute hunters, their families, and the escort, southward to the town of Rifle, where it would be an easy task to get everyone to Glenwood.⁵⁰

The cavalcade never made it. Halfway to Rifle, the Ute hunters changed to fresh horses and, immediately after, they scattered, leaving the government road on both sides. The commissioner and his men were left with the women, the children, and an old man. Although Harris got them all to Glenwood Springs, he had to let them go, since none of them were the guilty hunters. The old man – who reportedly was a member of the reservation police – had enjoyed his stay so well that he did not want to leave the town's hospitality.⁵¹

Of course, the Utes were not without their defenders – especially out-of-state conservationists. Photographer Sumner W. Matteson, in 1901, blamed “hide hunters and market hunters from the Mormon settlements in Utah,” and asserted that “the white man, guilty to the last degree . . . tries to shift the burden of blame to the few survivors of a once numerous [Ute] tribe . . .”⁵²

Be that as it may, there still were plenty of those white poachers to contend with. In fact, during 1901, there occurred the most famous – albeit virtually unknown today – Colorado poaching prosecution of the era.⁵³

This prosecution – occurring as it did in a justice of the peace court “not of record” – must be reconstructed from various sources and necessitates some reasonable speculation, as well as a hearty potion of skepticism.

Even in 1901, Ernest

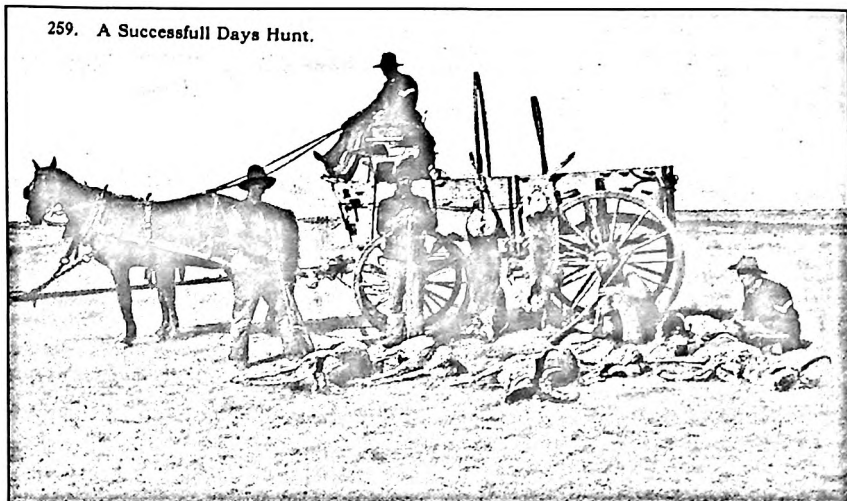
Thompson Seton (then undergoing a name-change from Ernest Seton Thompson) was a nationally-known amateur naturalist and nature artist of note. In the fall of that year, Thompson Seton, along with his outdoorswoman wife, Grace Gallatin Seton, headed from their New York home to northwestern Colorado. By this time of his life, Thompson Seton had determined to give up hunting and use only a camera to capture subjects to use as his wildlife models.⁵⁴ His suffragette wife, however, was determined to prove herself a modern woman, equal to men – even in the backwoods. During this expedition – guided by a well-known guide (John Goff) who had accompanied Teddy Roosevelt on a Colorado hunt – she shot a doe and the doe’s fawn, later claiming that the doe

had been wounded by a mountain lion. As for the fawn, her story was that she thought it was an adult sample of a rare breed of miniature deer.⁵⁵

But these offenses were not what initially tripped up the New York couple while in Colorado. While on patrol, deputy Warden James Bush saw what he believed to be an illegal bear trap, baited with the body of an unweaned fawn. Staying out for three days in the bush, James Bush hid near the trap, which had killed a bear with a particularly fine skin. When the Setons returned to the scene, Bush arrested them.⁵⁶

It appears at this point that Grace Gallatin Seton took advantage of her sex and allowed her husband and Goff gallantly to step forward and accept responsibility for the offenses and to accompany Bush to the nearest justice of the peace court at Meeker. While Gallatin Seton presumably wisely headed out of the jurisdiction, her husband futilely attempted to keep the matter out of the newspapers.⁵⁷

While Thompson Seton’s effort to keep a lid on the publicity backfired, he did have the wisdom to hire a local attorney to handle this relatively minor prosecution for illegally baiting a trap and for using dogs to hunt deer.⁵⁸ Although one Thompson Seton biographer has opined that the jury quickly acquitted Thompson Seton and Goff because of the economic importance of out-of-state hunters,⁵⁹ this story is unlikely. It is more probable that Thompson Seton’s presumably-capable attorney had him and Goff hide behind Gallatin Seton’s skirts, bringing out the fact that she – not either of the chivalrous men – was



Soldiers or ex-Soldiers probably market hunting

the triggerwoman. As for her part, sharp-shooting Gallatin Seton later claimed that the lawyer (as well as the J.P.) was careful to seat as jurors only fellow members of a certain fraternal lodge.⁶⁰

A furious Game Warden Harris complained, "Time and again we bring men into court and prove by reputable citizens they have been guilty of violations of the game laws, yet the court turns them loose." He defended Bush as one of the best deputies, but sent him to another state game jurisdiction.⁶¹ As for Thompson Seton, obviously recognizing the threat to his rising career as a caring environmental artist and knowing that Harris was attempting to get additional – more precise – charges lodged against both him and his wife for their parts in the overall scheme, went on a publicity offensive. He claimed that Colorado Governor Orman was trying to

embarrass President Roosevelt by going after his friends.⁶²

As bad and as embarrassing as 1901 was for Commissioner Harris, the next year got even worse for him. The 1902 trouble undoubtedly was caused, at least in part, by the leniency (or weakness) which the Utes had perceived in 1901.

In the event, in the fall of 1902, Harris stopped one group of invading Ute hunters near Rangely and ordered them back to Utah. However, this band joined up with another band and the Utes then trailed Harris. The Indians, when they caught up with the game commissioner, opened fire on him. Harris returned fire and an unequal running fight ensued that went up Gillam Draw. Harris ended up being shot in the ribs and his horse was killed from under him. Harris took to the bush and eluded his attackers. But, when he was patched up in Rangely, he was

unsuccessful in raising a posse to look for the Indians.⁶³ The locals, using a classic Western turn of phrase, informed the commissioner that they had lost no Indians.⁶⁴

Perhaps the local apathy is understandable. While it was believed, with game becoming scarce, that the Utes did not hesitate to kill and butcher cows, Commissioner Swan had noted, in 1898, that the settlers chose to accept this "personal loss," since, to resist the Utes "would more than likely put them and their families at the mercy of the savage instinct for revenge."⁶⁵ In addition, the Utes were seen as the lesser of two evils by the stockmen. In 1898, it was estimated that there were between 250 and 500 gray or timber wolves in Routt and Rio Blanco, and (unlike Ute hunters), the wolves definitely were known to be "very destructive to stock."⁶⁶

Nonetheless, despite such game-law enforcement setbacks arising from growing apathy (or even fraternization with Indian stockmen), the long-suffering Harris did not give up trying to uphold the game laws and he requested additional wardens to do so. And, in 1906, there was a noticeable decrease in the raids into Colorado.⁶⁷ But it probably was not Harris' request for more wardens that deterred them, for this was the year that the Utes of Utah, generally fed up with their reservation, packed up and headed to South Dakota, where they stayed with the Sioux for a couple of years before returning.

In addition, as another factor going into the mix, the Town of Meeker was becoming a Mecca for white hunters, who began using the

community as a base of their annual excursions during hunting season. "At hunting seasons we really had the crowds," recalled Leona Reynolds Nelson. "To such travelers, we sold bread at ten cents a loaf, garden vegetables, milk at ten cents a quart, butter at twenty-five cents a pound, and eggs at twenty-five cents a dozen."⁶⁸ While not as mercenary, the local ranchers and others out in the Colorado hills also ended up encouraging the tide of white hunters. "I have hunted a good deal over this state, and have never yet come to a ranchman's or miner's cabin where I was not welcome and given the best they had," claimed a sportsman at the end of the Nineteenth Century.⁶⁹

Thus, not only was Meeker and its locale beginning a long tradition of catering to (if not taking advantage of) white hunters from elsewhere, the crowded hills obviously would have been less inviting to Ute hunters from Utah. Indian hunting expeditions simply could no longer count on gathering mounds of carcasses and piles of hides.

However, even with the decrease of significant raids from Utah, the game wardens of Colorado still faced considerable challenges. Even by 1911, there still was "strong feeling of sympathy for the poacher" and some ranchers still saw "no harm in 'getting a piece of meat' whenever they want."⁷⁰ In addition, since civil service was not yet in place, the game wardens got little respect from progressives. "Colorado has too few game wardens by far to watch everybody, and some of them are not over-anxious to see infringements," wrote self-proclaimed expert Dillon Wallace. "Local wardens . . . are frequently appointed through



Ute Agency Police, 1900

the instrumentality of their friends,” and “[t]here are some instances where the wardens themselves are notorious poachers,” he claimed.⁷¹

Other progressives, including outdoorsmen and naturalists, even saw efforts to regulate hunting – rather than prohibiting it outright – as obsolete. Zane Grey, who visited northwestern Colorado in September of about 1911, by then almost had evolved completely from a hunter to the seemingly lesser status of a fisherman. “Hunting is magnificent up to the moment the shot is fired,” the author wrote. “After that it is another matter. It is useless for sportsmen to tell me that they, in particular, hunt right, conserve the game, do not go beyond the limit, and all that sort of thing. I do not believe them, and I never met the guide who did. . . . When a man goes out with [a rifle] he means to kill. He may keep within the law, but that is not the question. [M]en who love to hunt are yielding to and always developing the old primitive instinct to kill.” Then, in a conclusion that would have shocked Teddy Roosevelt (who always did obey

game and other laws), Grey added, “The meaning of the spirit of life is not clear to them.”⁷²

However, Colorado game wardens continued to become more professional in spite of the challenges. In 1918, civil service became part of the State Constitution and resulted in a merit requirement for appointing the Game and Fish Commissioner as well as for the wardens.⁷³ As for practical efforts during the First World War, the Colorado game wardens undoubtedly were affected, since such organizations traditionally saw ranks thinned when men went to war.⁷⁴

Perhaps indicative of the growing professionalism, in 1920, Otto “Ott” Peterson of Cedaredge was appointed as a game warden. He became the model of the incorruptible public servant – never letting personal feelings getting in the way of his duties. During his first dozen years he made arrests in every county of the State of Colorado.⁷⁵

Nonetheless, even in this modern age of automobiles and radios, Peterson proved himself capable of the



An Ohio Game Warden run out of town, c. 1900

old-time demands of the job – including continuing judicial harassment.

Peterson once explained to a local judge, after he had been arrested for knocking out a Colorado poacher's tooth, "He started to pass me for his car and I blocked him. I told him again he was under arrest and to come to my car with me. He struck at me, whereupon I knocked him down."⁷⁶

In addition Peterson was no stranger to remnants of the real Old West. Trouble with the Utes coming into northwestern Colorado to hunt continued into the 1920s and Game Warden Peterson complained, as of old, about the Ute Indians who crossed over from Utah into Colorado to fill wagons with loads of venison. He once proved his point by trailing one band of red

poachers from the Colorado scene of their depredations back to their Utah reservation.⁷⁷

But Peterson certainly did not think red men any worse violators than his own white neighbors. In 1926, Peterson was forced into a near-fatal gun battle with a local white poacher, "Shorty" Edwards, at Black Mesa, Colorado, when the warden was effectuating an arrest.⁷⁸ Even

though Peterson was badly wounded, he accepted Edwards' surrender, saying, "I ought to kill you, but instead I'm taking you to Gunnison to stand trial for shootin' a law officer."⁷⁹

But the Roaring Twenties could not last forever. Once the Great Depression enveloped the nation, environmentalism became secondary to economic redevelopment, although the lessons of the Dust Bowl days brought some attention to reclamation. In addition, with so many men out of work and with families hungry, many headed for the hills to take up marginal mining claims. This, a situation analogous to what occurred after the collapse of the price of silver in 1893, naturally meant that poaching became more attractive.⁸⁰

Throughout his career, Otto Peterson had never, ever failed to prosecute a poacher, whether a friend, a neighbor, or a relative. "My quarry

are the destroyers of the wildlife of Colorado,” told a newspaper in 1926. “In spite of the insults that come my way, I believe that my work is important.”⁸¹ But even Peterson saw that times were different during the dirty thirties.

In about 1931, Peterson searched the cabin of an old man with a large family where the warden found no food other than illegal venison. “The little barefoot kids didn’t even have any shoes. There was nothin’ else for those kids to eat,” he related. “I just turned around and walked off. That was the only feller I ever let go. I just couldn’t arrest him.”⁸²

In 1932, after an apparently hard day, Peterson told a fellow warden, “Well I’m through now.” The next day, Peterson was admitted to a hospital with a gall bladder infection. Soon thereafter, the worn-out warden died, aged 54.⁸³ The early days of the Colorado Game Wardens were over.

Endnotes

1 See Edward D. Ives, *George Magoon and the Down East Game War: History, Folklore, and the Law* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

2 See Ives, *George Magoon and the Down East Game*, 85-89.

3 “In Colorado: Herds and Hostility,” *Time* (Nov. 5, 1984), 15-16. The author, who practiced law in Meeker in 1981, suspects this feeling has softened. When visiting Meeker in September, 2012 for this paper, the author found that the White River Valley now has million-dollar homes and that Meeker even has a twenty-first century coffee shop with *baristas*.

4 Pete Barrows and Judith Holmes, *Colorado’s Wildlife Story* (Denver: Colorado Division of Wildlife, 1990), 27.

5 A. S. Robinson, as told to Mr. and Mrs. James R. Harvey, “Recollections of Craig, Colorado,” *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (Denver: The State Historical Society, March, 1942), 65.

6 George Feltner, *A Look Back: A 65 Year History of the Colorado Game and Fish Department* (Denver: Colorado Game and Fish Department, 1961), 12. This publication was updated and reissued ten years later. See George Feltner, *A Look Back: A 75 Year History of the Colorado Game, Fish and Parks Division* (Denver: Colorado Department of Natural Resources, Division of Game, Fish and Parks, 1972). Citation herein will be to the earlier edition.

7 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 12.

8 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 12-13. The Navajo went up to the Ute Country – even to the Uintah Utes – to trade with them once a year. See W. M. Morrison, editor, *Four Years With the Utes: The Letters of Dan A. Freeman* (Waco, Texas: W. M. Morrison, Publisher, 1962), 4. Certainly, not all of the Colorado cattlemen and settlers along the White River saw the Utes as inoffensive. Some objected to the Utes thereafter leaving Utah and going back into Colorado to hunt. The cattlemen in particular knew that a hungry Indian (just like a hungry white man) would just as soon butcher a cow if no elk were available. See E. E. White, *Experiences of a Special Indian Agent* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 88-88. Colorado Senator Horace Teller, for his part, both as a

- legislator and later as Secretary of the Interior, opposed some takeovers of Indian lands and opposed, at least, not compensating the Utes of Colorado generously for the loss of their tribal lands See Laura Graves, Thomas Varker Kearn: *Indian Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 179.
- 9 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 30-31.
- 10 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 12-13.
- 11 *Where to Hunt American Game* (Lowell, Massachusetts: United States Cartridge Company, 1898), 40.
- 12 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 13-14.
- 13 Robinson, Harvey, and Harvey, "Recollections of Craig, Colorado," 71.
- 14 White, *Experiences of a Special Indian Agent*, 88-89.
- 15 White, *Experiences of a Special Indian Agent*, 89-90.
- 16 *Where to Hunt American Game*, 253.
- 17 *Where to Hunt American Game*, 44.
- 18 Morrison, *Four Years With the Utes*, 3-4.
- 19 See, e.g., Charles S. Marsh, *People of the Shining Mountains: The Utes of Colorado* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1982), 111-112.
- 20 Morrison, Four Years With the Utes, 3.
- 21 Susan and John Bury, editors, *This is What I Remember: By and About the People of White River Country* (Meeker, Colorado: The Rio Blanco County Historical Society, Inc., 1972), 20.
- 22 Bury and Bury, *This is What I Remember*, 138.
- 23 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 33; Feltner, *A Look Back*, 14.
- 24 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 14.
- 25 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 14.
- 26 See Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 33; Feltner, *A Look Back*, 14-15.
- 27 See Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 33; Feltner, *A Look Back*, 14-15. As with many such confrontations, there are other estimates regarding the number of Indian casualties.
- 28 See Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 33; Feltner, *A Look Back*, 15.
- 29 Ann Bassett Willis, "Queen Ann of Brown's Park," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (Denver: The State Historical Society, October, 1952), 295-296. This tale has been accepted by an old-time historian of the region. See Val FitzPatrick, *Red Twilight: The Last Free Days of the Ute Indians*, (Yellow Cat Flats, Utah: Yellow Cat Publishing, 1999), 116. Nonetheless, especially considering the subsequent activity in the area by county and State forces, this recollection by a person who had little love for any type of law enforcement strains credibility.
- 30 See V. S. FitzPatrick, *The Last Frontier*, Vol. II (Steamboat Springs: Published by Steamboat Pilot, 1976), 141-142, 185.
- 31 *The New York Times* (September 5, 1897).
- 32 FitzPatrick, *The Last Frontier*, Vol. II, 97.
- 33 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 34. Obviously, it benefited the Federal government when Indians were off the reservation hunting. It not only supplemented insufficient rations, it undoubtedly was a healthy release of pent-up frustrations.

Nonetheless, as occurred during the Indian Wars, the agents often denied that any of their wards had jumped the reservation.

34 Percy H. Schallenberger and Doug Cooper, editor, *Letters from Lost Cabin: A Candid Glimpse of Wyoming a Century Ago* (Casper, Wyoming: Mountain States Lithographing, 2006), 77.

35 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 16. This is not to imply that the Ute Indian Police were not good at enforcing the law, especially on the Fort Duchesne Reservation itself. See Morrison, *Four Years With the Utes*, 5.

36 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 17.

37 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 17.

38 "War is Promised: The Utes Have Killing Big Game, and Reformed Colorado Hunters are Wroth," *The Denver Post* (October 6, 1901).

39 "To Arrest Indians: Agent Myton Advised Warden Harris to Deal Sternly with Wanderings from Reservation," *The Denver Post* (October 11, 1901).

40 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 34.

41 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 18.

42 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 34. The U.S. Government obligingly provided the Utes with wagons and harnesses for their farm work. See Morrison, *Four Years With the Utes*, 5.

43 "Indians Trapped: Seven Red-Skinned Hunters Captured by Game Warden Harris," *The Dailey Rocky Mountain News* (October 7, 1901).

44 See Bury and Bury, *This is What I Remember*, 28.

45 Bury and Bury, *This is What I Remember*, 20.

46 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's*

Wildlife Story, 34; Feltner, *A Look Back*, 18.

47 Steven B. Hall, "One Man for Wildlife," *Old West*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Stillwater: Western Publications, Fall, 1998), 23.

48 See Bury and Bury, *This is What I Remember*, 28.

49 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 18.

50 Bury and Bury, *This is What I Remember*, 28, 30.

51 Bury and Bury, *This is What I Remember*, 28, 30; "Did Not Want Squaws: Game Warden Frabert [sic] Returns with One Lone Indian," *The Denver Post* (October 15, 1901). This technique of fleeing and leaving their families behind for wardens similarly had occurred during the so-called Jackson Hole Indian War of 1895.

52 Sumner W. Matteson, "Red Man and White Man in Colorado's Game Fields," *Outing*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1 (April, 1901), 32, 34.

53 Curiously, the case goes unmentioned in all of the previously-cited official histories of the Colorado Department of Wildlife.

54 Betty Keller, *Blackwolf: The Life of Ernest Thompson Seton* (Vancouver, B.C.: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 148.

55 Grace Gallatin Seton, *Nimrod's Wife* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907), 194-195. In the imaginative volume, Gallatin Seton – in an obvious attempt to pour pepper over the trail for any curious bloodhounds – claimed that the offenses occurred in Idaho.

56 "Ernest Seton-Thompson is to be Extradited," *The Daily Rocky Mountain News* (January 5, 1902).

57 See Keller, *Blackwolf*, 148; "Bush is Not to be Fired: Warden Harris

- Considers Him Among the Best," *The Denver Post* (October 15, 1901); "Seton-Thompson Will Not be Arrested for Some Time at Least," *The Denver Post* (January 6, 1902).
- 58 See Keller, *Blackwolf*, 148.
- 59 Keller, *Blackwolf*, 148.
- 60 Gallatin Seton, *Nimrod's Wife*, 203.
- 61 "Bush is Not to be Fired: Warden Harris Considers Him Among the Best," *The Denver Post* (October 15, 1901).
- 62 "Seton-Thompson Will Not be Arrested for Some Time at Least," *The Denver Post* (January 6, 1902); "To Swear Out Warrant for E. Thompson-Seton," *The New York Times* (January 5, 1902). The additional charges – for illegally shipping wildlife parts out of state – ultimately were not forthcoming. As for those charges, Thompson Seton claimed that anything he had shipped was for the Smithsonian, not for himself.
- 63 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 4-5. Gillam Draw is the local spelling, but Gillen Draw also has been used.
- 64 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 34.
- 65 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 15.
- 66 *Where to Hunt American Game*, 40. In fact, some of the Utes and the cowmen actually became neighborly – swapping provisions and cooperating in ranching matters of mutual interest. See Cecil V. Gross, *Stories About the White River Valley and Life of Cecil V. Gross* (U.S.A.: Whitmore & de Vroede, 1972), 51-52, 60, 123-126.
- 67 Barrows and Holmes, *Blackwolf*, 34.
- 68 Bury and Bury, *This is What I Remember*, 138.
- 69 *Where to Hunt American Game*, 48.
- 70 Dillon Wallace, *Saddle and Camp in the Rockies: An Expert's Picture of Game Conditions in the Heart of our Hunting Country* (New York: Outing Publishing Company, 1911), 187-188.
- 71 Wallace, *Saddle and Camp in the Rockies*, 188.
- 72 Zane Grey, *Tales of Lonely Trails* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 48.
- 73 Feltner, *A Look Back*, 39.
- 74 See, for example, Terry Hodges, *Sabertooth: The Rip-roaring Adventures of a Legendary Game Warden* (Boulder, Colorado: Paladin Press, 1988), 196.
- 75 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 357.
- 76 Steven B. Hall, "One Man for Wildlife," *Old West*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Stillwater: Western Publications, Fall, 1998), 23.
- 77 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 34; Hall, "One Man for Wildlife," 24.
- 78 Hall, "One Man for Wildlife," 21.
- 79 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 358.
- 80 See, for example, Terry Hodges *Sabertooth: The Rip-roaring Adventures of a Legendary Game Warden* (Boulder, Colorado: Paladin Press, 1988), 61-63.
- 81 Hall, "One Man for Wildlife," 24.
- 82 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 357-358.
- 83 Barrows and Holmes, *Colorado's Wildlife Story*, 358.

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.

May Programs for Westerners along the Front Range

In May the Boulder County Corral of Westerners heard their deputy sheriff, Keith Fessenden, present “Two – No More!” Keith discussed several segments of the National Park system which are no longer part of the National Parks, with primary emphasis on two National Monuments in Colorado which are no longer in existence: Mount of the Holy Cross National Monument, and Wheeler National Monument.

The Colorado Corral of Westerners enjoyed a special program by Rebecca Benes, “Native American Picture Books of Change: the Art of Historic Children’s Edition.” Rebecca authored an award-winning book by the same name in 2004.

In Colorado Springs the head curator of the El Pomar Carriage Museum, Jason Campbell, told the Pikes Peak Posse of the Westerners about the “El Pomar Foundation Carriage Museum, the Past, the Collections, and the Future.”

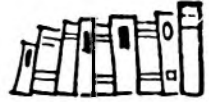
Denver Posse member Sandra Dallas Lassoos Wrangler Award

First presented in 1961, the National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum Western Heritage Awards were established to honor and encourage the legacy of works reflecting the significant stories of the American West. For 2013, in the category of outstanding juvenile books, Sandra Dallas was awarded a “Wrangler” for *The Quilt Walk*, the story of a young girl traveling with her family over the Overland Trail to Golden, Colorado. Sandra had previously received a Wrangler for her nonfiction book, *Sacred Paint*. The award (pictured) makes a nice addition to her two Western Writer of America Spur Awards, for two other of her novels, *The Chili Queen* and *Tall Grass*.





Westerners Bookshelf



The Gold Rush Letters of E. Allen Grosh & Hosea B. Grosh. Ronald M. James and Robert E. Stewart, Editors. University of Nevada Press, Reno and Las Vegas, 2012. 244 pages, Photos, Appendices, Notes, Index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

This is the story of two Pennsylvania brothers, Allen and Hosea Grosh, who joined the Reading Company and headed for the California goldfields. It is based on an extraordinary archive of their letters now in the keeping of the Nevada Historical Society. The brothers were young, 25 and 23, young and eager to make their fortune like so many others. Their letters are full of optimism, with the big strike always just ahead and about to be uncovered. That is very much a theme that runs throughout the eight years of their involvement leading up to their untimely deaths, two months apart in 1857.

The Company sailed from Philadelphia on board the Schooner Newton, on February 28, 1849 and headed to Tampico, Mexico, a less-than-common route. They arrived April 9, and set out across the country heading for Mazatlan and San Blas via San Luis Potosi. They arrived in San Francisco in August with Hosea very sick from what was probably an amoebic dysentery. The Reading Company broke up with some acrimony and the brothers headed to Sacramento where they tried their luck around El Dorado City.

In 1851 tired of working for just a few dollars a day, they headed to Carson City, then a part of Utah. It was here they may have been among the first to find silver on the future site of the Comstock Lode. However, the amalgamations of the ore proved difficult to refine. The brothers were intelligent and learned from others techniques that helped, but did not resolve the problems they faced. The next few years were spent between El Dorado County and the Carson City area, always optimistic, but never quite making a significant discovery.

In September 1857, Hosea Grosh wounded himself in the foot with a pick axe, developed blood poisoning, and dies. His brother records this tragedy in heart-rending fashion. Two months later, he dies as a result of freezing his lower limbs trying to cross the Sierra in a snow storm. In between their arrival and their sad demise, the letters are full of accounts

of the Mormons, politics, their anti-slavery viewpoints, attempts to invent mining machinery and solve the difficulties of refractory ores, and concern for their family back in Pennsylvania.

The letters are very readable and full of the essence of the Gold Rush. They are well-edited, and at times slightly over-edited with unnecessary explanations of items of common knowledge. There are some poorly reproduced photos due to use of ordinary paper. Nevertheless those are minor carpings of this significant addition to accounts of the California Gold Rush, and is the first publication of the letters of the Grosh brothers.

--Alan Culpin, P.M.

Frontier Naturalist Jean Louis Berlandier and the Exploration of Northern Mexico and Texas, by Russell M. Lawson. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 2012. 262 pages. Maps, illustrations, Bibliography, notes, appendices, index. Hardcover, \$45.00

Jean Louis Berlandier grew up at the head of the Rhone Valley and was educated in Geneva. He studied botany at the university under one of the leading botanists of the day, Augustin Pyramus de Candolle. As a result of this association, Berlandier was chosen to go to Mexico including what today is Texas. He caught a ship from Le Havre in 1826, landing at Tampico where he spent the winter.

Somewhat oddly, Dr. Lawson picks an American, Lt. Darius Nash Couch, to introduce the subject of the book. Lt. Couch, who, like Berlandier, had a significant interest in the botany of the area, and who provided samples to the Smithsonian also left a diary, upon which the first chapter is based.

After wintering in Tampico, Berlandier joined the Boundary Commission and proceeded on the first of his many travels through Texas and Mexico. One of the purposes of this commission, headed by General Manuel Mier y Teran, was to investigate suitable defensive positions in the event of attack from a foreign enemy. But Berlandier was mostly interested in the flora and fauna, the geology, and the meteorology of the area. These remained his main pursuits throughout the twenty-five years that he spent in Mexico.

Much of the rest of the book is a summary of the various travels he undertook in his pursuit of new species, which he would then carefully prepare for shipment to his mentor in Switzerland. Unfortunately, in many cases, the climate damaged or destroyed the plants, leaving the scientists in Switzerland very frustrated. He took and recorded meteorological measurements in numerous places, and also noted and described the geology of the areas he passed through. Sometimes he traveled with a military escort,

and other times with just one or two companions. There was frequent risk to these travels from hostile Indians, as well as brigands, disease, weather, and even some animals and snakes.

During the Mexican War, he served the Mexican Army as a doctor, tending to the sick and wounded. He achieved this position as a result of his work in Matamoros in studying and applying pharmaceutical techniques, based on native plants. He learned from the locals and the native populations whenever he could, and amassed a considerable and useful knowledge of natural cures. He was much sought out by locals to cure the various diseases prevalent in Northern Mexico.

Sadly, after making many trips, fording rivers, climbing mountains, dodging snakes and hostiles, Berlandier drowned while crossing the San Fernando in spring. He had a great deal of experience in crossing rivers of all sorts, which knowledge came to nought in 1851. He left numerous diaries and manuscripts of his investigations and travels, most of which survived and are now mostly found in the Gray Herbarium Library at Harvard, the Beinecke at Yale, and the Smithsonian.

The re-telling of such an original and epic experience is a difficult and challenging task. All too often, the reader is left with a list of towns and villages, embellished with names of plants that are even today little known. Unfortunately though there are maps, they are of little use, and are far too small to provide necessary details. Dr. Lawson has enlivened this account with many interesting and varied experiences involving the native populations, dangers and fascinating detail. The book serves as a very good introduction to Berlandier and his expeditions into little-known areas of Mexico in the second quarter of the 19th Century.

--Alan Culpin, P.M.

Colorado Goes to the Fair: World's Columbian Exposition, Cchicago, 1893 by Duane A. Smith, Karen A. Vendl, Mark A. Vendl. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011. 108 pages, Illustrations, Index, Bibliography, 108 p. Hardcover, \$34.95

This book is, in a word, professional. This work with twenty-five pages of photographs is professional in every sense of the word. It is beautifully organized, and filled with solid fact. Yet it humanizes and brings to life a specific period in history, by telling the particular story of an event embedded in a larger one. And it does it with a story-teller's style.

One should start at the beginning, however, not with Chapter 1. The story starts with the two-page preface, and the five-page prologue. The credits and thanks that are normally in those sections are there, but that isn't all. The reader is lifted out of now and taken back to 1893. What has come

to be called the World's Fair of 1893 was not that, then. It was the World's Columbian Exposition, celebrating the "discovery" of America by Christopher Columbus 400 years before. The leaders and shakers of then, had a vision: show the world the wondrous and sparkling new age in all its glory: no longer shackled by its European past and traditions, but opened wide in all its purple-mountain majesty by the magnificence of America and the genius of Americans.

The first two chapters tell how the fair came to Chicago and the magnitude of the undertaking, and are narrated like a novel of suspense. Start with the wrestling contest between New York and the "White City," follow with the Herculean efforts in locating and building the grounds, then fill them with exhibits like nothing you've ever seen, spectacular displayed. Along the shores of Lake Michigan, over 1,000 acres of swamp-and-park land was re-configured into waterways, lagoons, and several huge buildings within which stadiums could easily fit.

Construction began in January 1891, and exhibits were in place on May 1, 1893: start to finish, in two years! After a short speech by President Grover Cleveland, ". . . the president pressed the electric key that started the huge engines in Machinery Hall, opening the exposition. The *Statute of the Republic* was unveiled, cannons roared, flags were unfurled, and fountains erupted. . . . The exposition had begun!" (page 17)

Eleven pages of photographs illustrate the immensity and the marvel of the undertaking. We see the interiors of the Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building and the Mines and Mining Building; five of the 2,000 uniformed Columbian Guard, the police authority; the 264-foot-high Ferris wheel; shots of the waterways bordering the Agricultural Building and the Woman's Building; a movable sidewalk on a pier in Lake Michigan; and more. A photograph of Buffalo Bill's Wild West grandstand is shown. Denied access to the fair, he had his own show on fifteen acres of nearby land. With Annie Oakley, he pulled in millions of fair-goers to the spectacle of the Wild West.

Chapters 3, 4, and 6 are on Colorado, and--though not a repeat performance--the format is the same. The authors go from the general to the specific, with the focus on the many Coloradoans who participated, and their exhibits. Inserted between 4 and 5 are fourteen pages of photographs and plates. Together, they tell the story of how the people in Colorado responded to the fair: what they said about it, their excitement and complaints, how they got there, and their presence.

The Colorado presence was everywhere, not only in its own building, jammed with exhibits. Richard Wetherill was also on display with a replica

of the Cliff Dwellings of Mesa Verde, for which a special admissions price was charged.

And there is much, much more. Chapter 5, titled *Temptations Galore*, is on the exotic, and an epilog wraps it up--except for an appendix (on Colorado exhibits that won awards), an extensive bibliography, and an index: all of which are thorough and sensibly organized. And a nice touch is the pagination. The page number is not on the top or bottom. It's on the side, in the outer margin.

What a great idea. It's so easy to use, like the book.

--Warwick "Wick" Downing, C.M.

Army Life. From a Soldiers Journal. Incidents, Sketches and Record of a Union Soldier's Army Life, in Camp and Field, 1861-1864. A.O. Marshall. Edited and Annotated by Robert G Schultz. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville, 2009. 358 pages, 40 photographs, images and index. Paper, \$29.95.

The author was sworn in to the "Normal Regiment", 33rd Illinois, fresh from college. The Normal Regiment got its name from the Normal Colleges that produced teachers, therefore the name. The author, who spent the war as a private, would go on to graduate from Northwestern University's school of law and become a judge as well as an Illinois state congressman.

Books written by historical participants rather than scholars can be intriguing and give a very personal and human insight to the issues at hand. This is not the typical book on the American Civil War. Marshall carried his journal with him, nearly losing it several times throughout the war and wrote this memoir from that journal in 1884. Given that background the reader realizes that the writer is not the "normal," no pun intended, "grunt." An example, page 68,

"Men are strange beings. Things that move the feelings of men strike a deeper chord than those that only reach their reason. During the World's history, mere sentiment has led to more wars, than matters of substance."

This is a rare volume that not many have read. It takes the author through the Trans-Mississippi Theater from Missouri on down to Vicksburg, the Texas Gulf and the capture of Fort Esperanza. This is what qualifies the book for the Posse of Westerners....many think of the Civil War as being fought in the East, however much of the war was fought in the West.

Throughout the war Marshall was ill as he had contracted ague, similar to malaria in symptoms. Marshall was given quinine by an Army physician, in bulk and therefore self-treated. At several times he became so sick that he had to stay behind and treat his high fever, but did whatever it took to catch up with his unit and forge on.

Marshall talks a lot about his brothers in arms and in particular describes the officers and their various personality traits which made them in his opinion either a good officer or a bad one. There are descriptions of battle scenes, many of which are very colorful, but from behind the tree not up on the high ground from the commander's position but rather from the private's view.

The most interesting portions of the book, for me, are more political in nature. Marshall seems wise beyond his years, (see quote above). Although the book was not written until twenty years after his discharge, three letters contained in this book, were written during the war. These letters concern slavery, the electoral college, and presidential term limits. Many of the issues contained in the letter remain contentious today, depending on whose ox is being gored.

Having read numerous books on the American Civil War I found this book to be one of the most interesting as well as informative.

--Gary Smith, C.M.

“That Fiend in Hell:” Soapy Smith in Legend, by Catherine Holder Spude. University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. 304 pp., 3 maps, 1 table, 38 illustrations, 2 appendices, end notes, bibliography, index. Hardcover, \$29.95.

“When the legend becomes fact, print the legend,” quipped John Ford. That is exactly what happened to the life of Soapy Smith (born Jefferson Randolph Smith). He became a skilled con artist long before he arrived in Colorado in 1879. In Denver he perfected his trick of wrapping a bar of soap in a five-dollar bill, covering it with paper, mixing it with a large number of plain-wrapped soap, then selling the bars of soap at a dollar each. This earned him the sobriquet of Soapy, but unlike soap, the name never washed off.

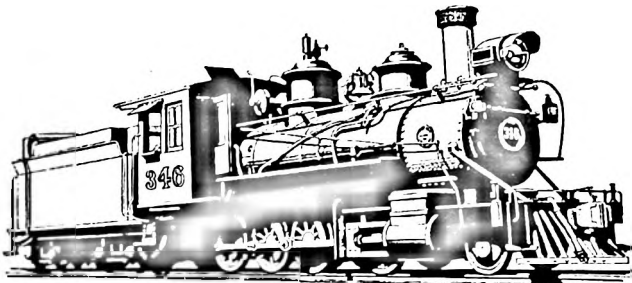
He also had other games for the gullible, such as the pea in a walnut shell and three-card monte. Soapy was a “sure-thing” man who made bets he could not lose. His victims were those too naïve, too trusting, or too greedy to think clearly. Yet Soapy’s “indubitable charm” kept him out of serious trouble. He opened saloons and gambling emporiums, then shifted to bribing police officers and buying votes for corrupt city officials. But in 1893 a reform-minded Denver City Council closed saloons and gambling

dens, and with his source of income lost, Soapy left Colorado, much to the relief of honest citizens. This colorful scoundrel departed with a pocketfull of legends, but this was only the beginning.

Spending little time on Soapy's life in Colorado, the author closely examines his activities in Skagway, Alaska. His roguish allurements and self-promotion painted him as a conscientious civic leader in Skagway and benefactor to widows, children, and dogs rather than the common criminal he was. Early biographers felt no need to authenticate the stories about Soapy and legends about him went unchallenged. Fortunately, author Catherine Spude has finally set his Skagway record straight and produced not just a biography of Soapy's life in Alaska, but an exposé as well. For example, legend states that he was the "uncrowned king" of Skagway by late 1897 while the facts documented by Spude tell that Soapy had not been in town long enough to build a support group or influence politics. Legend tells the story of how Soapy intervened to save a man from being lynched by an angry mob. Using verifiable sources, Spude explains how local authorities, without the help of Soapy, effectively protected the man and made sure he received a fair trial.

After setting the record straight, the author examines how legends evolved for Soapy and other notable Western celebrities. Politics, financial interests, personal biases, competition for tourists, prestige, name dropping, borrowed notoriety, and a host of other motivating forces allowed legends to be born. Talented writers, often more interested in selling books than engaging in objective reporting, promulgated the legends. Spude's scholarly analysis makes this book not only valuable for understanding the truth about a well-known Colorado character, but also for presenting the tools to critically analyze other historical notables that are of particular interest to us. This book is a must for serious historians.

--Rick Barth, P.M.





The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

July - August 2013



**Mormon Colonies in the San Luis Valley:
Struggling to find Zion
By Dana EchoHawk
(Presented May 23, 2012)**

Our Author

Dana EchoHawk recently received her Master of Arts in History from the University of Colorado Denver with a focus on American West and public history. She is the author of several bibliographic resource guides in Colorado history, especially mining and Hispanic history. Her interest in photography and history has resulted in a collection of historical photographs depicting Hispanic history in Colorado and videos related to themes of Native American and Hispanic history. Dana currently serves as Managing Director of the Center for Colorado and the West at Auraria Library and Project Manager for the Colorado Connecting to Collections IMLS grant.

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Mormon Colonies in the San Luis Valley: Struggling to find Zion By Dana EchoHawk (Presented May 23, 2012)

In 1876 an eclectic assemblage of Danish people, Hispanics, and families from Alabama, Georgia and other southern states, assembled in the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado. Within ten years, families from the South Carolina Catawba Indian tribe joined them. Having common desires to settle in a place where they could build homes rooted in an agrarian lifestyle, and away from the discriminating eyes and public skepticism for their religious beliefs, they came to Colorado unified under the banner of Mormonism. Despite their divergent languages, varied cultural backgrounds, and scattered geographic origins, their guiding purpose was the divine concept of Zion as a place they could live harmoniously in line with the principles of their newly acquired and cherished faith. Unaware of one another, each group headed west from different directions, and as their journeys began, their final destinations were singularly vague. Yet, on arriving in the San Luis Valley of Colorado, they were all contently confident they had found a home.

"I saw my dream come true, I dreamed that I was coming to a valley with a little company and that the Valley was so big the eyes couldn't see to the other mountain at the end of the valley."

The San Luis Valley in southern Colorado stretches along the Sierra Blanca Range of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. For eons the

southward-flowing Rio Grande River traced canyons in the valley floors of Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. The landscapes it flowed through all the way to Mexico inspired Western films and novels and etched iconic images of the Wild West into the collective memory of most Americans. Culebra Creek and other waterways also flow through the valley but it was near the Rio Grande and the Conejos River that the Mormons settled. For centuries before, native people were familiar with the area. There are rumors of a battle on a nearby hill between the Kiowa and Navajo and the area was part of Ute homelands until the end of the nineteenth century when they were restricted to reservations. Spain was the first European country to place foreign claim on the region, dictating its laws from across the ocean and in 1694, twenty years after his arrive from Spain, Don Diego de Vargas crossed the area with his troops searching for gold. In 1807, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike built a log stockade where the Mormons would later settle. In erroneous haste he planted the first American flag in the valley and was soon arrested by Spanish soldiers who marched his men under guard to Santa Fe. In 1821, Mexico gained its independence from Spain and Mexican Governor Francisco Sarracino quickly awarded the Conejos or Guadalupe Land Grant as a colony to eighty individuals. But a war with raiding Navajos during those years prevented permanent settlements from prospering.

When the 1846 Treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo ended the Mexican-American War, the valley became part of southwestern United States. This complicated land ownership, but a trickling stream of settlers continued to come to the valley representing a mixture of culture, religion and diverse expectations capitalizing on the lure of great open spaces. "There had grown up following the Civil War a legend that 'everything was possible in the West.'"² The arrival of Mormon colonizers in the spring of 1878 near the town of Los Cerritos in Conejos County, Colorado is one of multiple other groups who followed their dreams to the valley.

Joseph Smith in upstate New York founded the Mormon Church, also known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in 1836. Forty years later, the consequences of Mormon arrival stirred controversy throughout Colorado, sparking distrust and sometimes fear. One Colorado newspaper claimed, "Mormons, recognize neither the laws of God nor man."³ However, opposition encountered by Mormons in Colorado appeared mild in comparison to prior experiences in other parts of the county. Thomas F. O'Dea, a historian of Mormon history, stated, "Even when most at odds with its fellow Americans, it (Mormonism) was to be typically American, but was always to feel and express this combination of typicality and peculiarity."⁴ Coloradans like other Americans shared this view that Mormons were a peculiar people. But, if they were a peculiar people to the outsiders they called gentiles, this heterogeneous group of settlers were also peculiar to one another.

With few supplies or farm

implements between them, Mormon families from southern states were the first to permanently settle in Colorado.⁵ They were deficient in the necessities required to build sustainable communities and, "they were entirely unacquainted with the country, its manner or customs, which was an obstacle of no small magnitude to overcome."⁶ To ease their dilemma, church officials in Salt Lake City, directed Danish families from Utah, who had reputations of agricultural expertise, to relocate in Colorado and assist the struggling families. The *Gazetteer of Utah* reported in 1884 that the Danish made Sanpete Valley known as the granaries of Utah and they were "exceedingly well to do."⁷

Danish assistance was welcomed, but not without some collision. Although dependent on the Dane's knowledge of farm and irrigation methods, southerners viewed them as backward foreigners from Europe who mishandled language syntax, grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary. Although their religion bonded them in spirit there was a semblance of animosity between the groups. Some of the Danish had personal practices their southern brotherhood equated as being abhorrent. Regarding coffee, which Mormons were discouraged from drinking, southerners reported that the Scandinavians "consumed the forbidden drink in copious amounts."⁸ One southerner took time to complain in a letter to a Utah newspaper, "We expected to find a people – all who call themselves Latter-day Saints – purer, more refined, and especially clearer of what are vulgarly called 'cuss words,' than any other people."⁹ As incongruous as the social incompatibility of the southerners and

Danish appeared there is little documentation indicating similar discord between them and members of Hispanics and Catawba decent.

Despite internal quarrels, the arrival a decade later of Catawba Indian people from South Carolina kindled no apparent similar strife. Yet, as a unique group of Mormons themselves, the quiet appearance of Catawba families in southern Colorado left them virtually unacknowledged in the history of the Mormon Church, in historical accounts of the San Luis Valley and in the stories of Colorado.

Heirs to all three groups continue to reside in the area today. Because history is precious to those whose stories we are telling, this article strives to relate with accuracy some of the historic facts and personal stories of those who struggled to find Zion in the San Luis Valley.

Southern States Converts

In 1875 twenty-one missionaries proselyted in the districts of Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Virginia. The war-ravaged South was prime for converting Southerners to a new religion and Mormon missionaries traveled from family to family, preaching wherever they found a group or a congregation that would listen.¹⁰ Missionary James Lisonbee reported in January 1877 that he was quite successful in his missionary work and was traveling so much in the area of Groveoak, Alabama that he "oddly was assessed a road tax which he worked off with the help of two friends".¹¹



*Missionaries John Morgan
and James Lisonbee*

Image source: "Hancock Legacy". <http://www.hancocklegacy.org/families/JamesTLisonbeeSr.htm>. (Accessed October 12, 2012).

After being baptized, a notice posted at the gate of Daniel Rice Sellers likely encouraged his decision to head west. "Mormons were dangerous and delusioned [sic] people, working with the spirit of 'Beelzebub'... we have decided to grant you ten days to leave our country and carry with you as many of your deluded followers as want to go..."¹² The Seller family was in the first southern group west. In all, twelve families, accompanied by missionary John Morgan, made the first trek from the south to Colorado. Traveling by wagon, ferry and trains, the group arrived in Pueblo on the

new Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad on November 24, 1877.¹³ Winter was already in the air and yet their final settlement destination still remained elusive. The previous summer, Brigham Young had written to John Morgan providing the following general instruction.

As Zion is constantly growing, so must we extend our settlements, and we are of the opinion that it would be well for the Saints gathering from Georgia and the other Southern States to locate in some favorable spot in the western portion of Texas or in New Mexico. . . It is very desirable that the spot selected should be a healthy one, with abundant supply of water which can be taken out, at little cost, for irrigation purposes.¹⁴

With so little instruction of where to go, Alexander Cameron Hunt, former Territorial Governor of Colorado, was consulted. Initially the purpose of the meeting was to inquire regarding possible employment for the converts on the extension of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad into the San Luis Valley. Hunt however, also suggested a permanent location for settlement, “. . . certain lands located in the southern end of the San Luis Valley near the Conejos and Antonio Rivers”.¹⁵ Other men had recommended the same general vicinity. Encouraged, James Stewart, who had been sent from Utah to replace Mor-



Daniel R. Sellers & Family
Standing, Left to Right: John, Hugh
Dora. Sitting: Nellie, Mary B. (wife)
Joseph, Daniel R. and Ella.

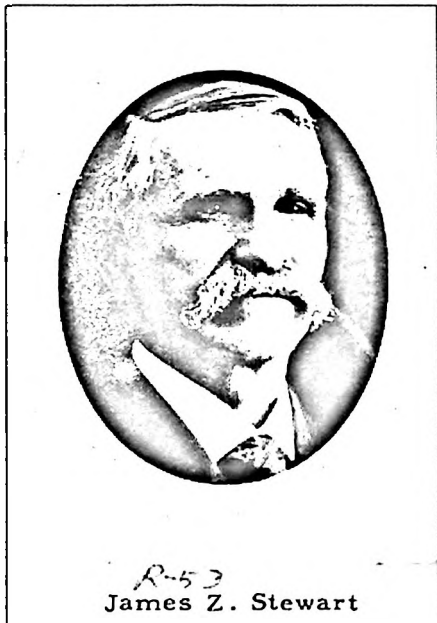
Daniel R. Sellers and family

The Daniel R. Sellers family was with the original company to settle in Manassa, Colorado. Daniel and his wife Mary Bagwell with their children occupied unit #2.

Image Source: Special Collections Dept. J. Willard Marriott Library University of Utah, item #p9605n01_03_24.

gan, decided to investigate. He set out from Pueblo with three men from the group to explore, taking the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad to Fort Garland in the San Luis Valley. From Fort Garland they headed south on foot, carrying provisions, guns and axes. “While on the road we encountered a snow storm and very cold weather,” wrote Stewart, and, “. . . upon reaching the fork of the San

Antonio and Conejos Rivers in the San Luis Valley, we found what I thought to be a suitable place to establish a colony and we set to work cutting trees and making claims."¹⁶



James Z. Stewart

Image source: Special Collections Dept. J. Willard Marriott Library University of Utah, Item #p0605n01_03_23.

Major Lafayette Head resided in the region and like Hunt accepted the prospect of a Mormon colony. He and several local residents offered assistance to promote the Mormon project. Stewart wrote, "I then went to a wealthy Mexican by the name of Archuleta and he let us have as many cows to milk as the colonists needed and furnished some with work."¹⁷

The following spring, on March 28, 1879, a second group of fifty arrived from Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Virginia. Groups of converts from southern states continued to arrive several times a year and, joined by other Danish families from Utah, their population had expanded to approximately 500 by 1880 and continued to increase in the years thereafter.

Danish Mormons

In the 1870 United States census, Danish converts in Utah made up nineteen percent of the entire Danish population in the United States.¹⁸ Many settled in Utah's Sanpete Valley. An English settler in Utah wrote:

I have seen many Scandinavian families come into Manti with no means of support. After a few weeks, the new immigrant would acquire a lot, build himself a small adobe home surround it with a willow woven fence. Soon a few acres of ground were added to his accumulations, every foot of which was utilized.¹⁹

Hans Jensen and Lauritz "Lawrence" Peterson were Danish brothers who helped settled the Colorado colonies. It should be clarified that they were full brothers, yet their surnames

reflect that one kept the Scandinavian naming practice of taking his father's given name, Peter, as his own surname, and the other adopted the Western practice of retaining his father's surname, Jensen. As a side note, with the Scandinavian patronymic naming practice, it was common in southern Utah communities known as "Little Denmark" for multiple Danish men to have the same first and last name, and thus they each had other nicknames to distinguish them. Jensen was also known as Hals, perhaps for where he originated from in Denmark.²⁰ A common bit of humor among Danish immigrants was that in church meetings when the speaker asked Pete Peterson to give the benediction, ten men from the congregation stood up. When the speaker clarified that he meant "Big" Pete Peterson, five of them sat down.

The elder brother Jensen was born in June 1829, in Hals Aalborg, Denmark. After being baptized, Jensen converted his parents, sold their home and embarked for "God's Kingdom in America".²¹ Arriving through the port of New Orleans, Jensen wrote,

*On the 17th of March we could see the land of America. We sailed up the Mississippi River and were filled with joy seeing beautiful forests on both sides, small cities and beautiful places. We saw beautiful farms and livestock, we had great joy seeing them.*²²



Hans Jensen "Hals"

Image Source: Jensen, "The Founding of Mormon Settlements in the San Luis Valley, Colorado", 178.

Jensen and Peterson's parents died in route to Utah and the brothers were separated when Peterson, the youngest, was only eleven years old. "My brother Lauritz was making company with a cowboy from Mexico or Santa Fe who talked him into going with him to my great sorrow. Where they went, we don't know."²³ Jensen later learned his brother was living in New Mexico but, in 1875, twenty-seven years later, they reconnected in Manti, Utah. Peterson, now grown and with his own family, was baptized by an Apostle of the Mormon Church, Erastus Snow.

I baptized L. (Lawrence) M. Peterson and his wife and their Spanish muleteer, in company with many others at Manti, who at that time were renewing their covenants. The three named were visitors from the southern border of Colorado and enquirers after truth. There is

*a bit of romance connected with this man, Peterson, not altogether devoid of interest. He was a Scandinavian by birth, but Spanish-American by education.*²⁴

Returning to northern New Mexico, Peterson converted a group of about forty people to the Mormon Church, many of them of Hispanic descent. Jensen wrote in his diary, "When my brother arrived back home, he immediately started to have meetings and preach."²⁵ And, "...he received a lot of opposition from a Catholic priest and other religions."²⁶ Peterson had previously lived in the area around Los

Cerritos in southern Colorado and was directed to return, along with the family of Juan de Dios Trujillo. His fluency in the Spanish language and knowledge of the area would be beneficial to the new Mormon colonies.

On September 3, 1878 Jensen started out from Utah to join his brother in Colorado. Accompanied by his son and daughter, William A. Cox and the families of Soren C. Berthleson and John Alling, the group had eight additional men with them as "'investigators', and guards to watch for Indians."²⁷ They traveled by way of the Green River to the Gunnison River and then to the "Uncan Pavderi [sic]" River



The Los Cerritos Trujillo Family

This 1906 photo shows members of the Juan de Dios Trujillo. Handwriting on the photo identifies, left to right, Cipriono Trujillo; third, Salvador Chavez; sixth, Great Aunt Lillie, eighth. Notations on the back of the photo are contradictory and identify the people as follows: "3rd boy on left, Cipriano Trujillo. 5th Willie Chavez?, 6th Juan de Dios Trujillo, 8th Abigail, 10th (small girl) Bernice Miliona Trujillo, Los Cerritos Gen'l Store." It's possible that the man in the front next to a woman with a baby in a white gown may be Lawrence M. Peterson. The age would be about right and the three small children standing in front of him could be of Danish heritage. Image source: Private collection of Morgan Trujillo, great-great-granddaughter of Juan de Dios Trujillo.

and up to the Ute Reservation.²⁸ His diary states, "Then we went to talk to the Chief of the Indians, but we didn't find him home."²⁹ On reaching the San Luis Valley, Jensen wrote,

Now here we came to them, and the first place was a Mexican City with a small houses with flat roofs made of straw. We saw a lot of goats and mules and a lot of Mexican things going on.³⁰

The two brothers platted the towns of Manassa and Ephraim and directed many of the early construction projects. Peterson remained in the San Luis Valley the rest of his life, Jensen stayed only one day less than a full year "long enough to plot town sites, oversee building of irrigation ditches and organize the first church meetings."³¹ His colonizing mission was complete and he returned to his plural wives and children in Utah.



Lawrence M. Peterson home

It is not indicated on the photos which San Luis Valley community this home of Lawrence M. Peterson was located in. Image source: Special Collections Dept. J. Willard Marriott Library University of Utah, item #p9605n01_03_24.

Catawba Mormons

Five Catawba families were late arrivals to the Colorado Mormon settlements, yet they were at the time, a substantial percentage, estimated as almost half, of what remained of the entire Catawba nation. Known today as the Western Catawba, they came to the San Luis Valley between 1886 and 1890.³² Their stories weave intriguing texture into the historical tapestry of not only the history of the San Luis Valley, but Mormon history as well. They have a full and interesting history to tell, yet following is only a brief account.

Prior to the appearance of Europeans in South Carolina, the *Cofitachiqui*, or Catawba lands covered most of modern South Carolina, central North Carolina and north to an area around modern Danville, Virginia. In 1701 they were acknowledged as a "powerful nation... and their villages were very thick."³³ In 1840 their numbers had dwindled and the Treaty of Nations Ford, as negotiated with South Carolina, stipulated that the state would pay the Catawbas \$5,000 if they removed themselves from their homelands. Some left to live among the Cherokee, but when South Carolina failed to make the negotiated treaty payment many Catawba tribal members became homeless. Today, the Eastern Catawba have regained their tribal recognition that was lost under the Eisenhower administration and have a 640-acre reservation located at Rock Hill, York County, South Carolina.³⁴ When Mormon missionaries Wiley Cragan, Joseph Willey, Robinson and Bingham came to the area around Rock Hill, South Carolina in 1883, the tribe had little or no centralized leadership;

members worked small cotton growing plots, dependency on employment with nearby Anglos was a necessity and alcoholism and family stability were major concerns.³⁵ Missionaries encouraged converts to abstain from alcohol, live moral lives and respect the institution of marriage.³⁶ Genealogist Judy Canty Martin, a Catawba descendant, describes the relationships between the Catawba people and some of their Anglo neighbors. "This caused the white men great distress, their playground for infidelity on their white wives could come to an end if the Mormon Church succeeded in converting the 'savages.'"³⁷

Charles Hudson further discussed this situation in his examination of social and cultural relationships of the Catawbas compared with an external history of their contact with white populations.

*The whites just didn't want the Mormons to get established. Some Indian women had children by white men. They came in here to find the Indian women because they couldn't get out and ramble. That was the only reason the whites came in here. They soon found that they couldn't keep the Indians from becoming Mormons. I don't think any of the whites around here belong.*³⁸

John Morgan, the same missionary who organized the first groups of southern converts from Georgia and Alabama, was well acquainted with the Catawbas. Referring to them as the powerful Catawba Tribe he wrote:

Among those that the Elders have come in contact with are the

remnants of the once numerous and powerful Catawba Tribe of Indians now numbering only 93 souls. They live on a reservation consisting of 660 acres of land and receive an annuity of \$800 per annum from the State of South Carolina.³⁹ About two-thirds of the tribe embraced the Gospel with very fair prospects of all or nearly all being baptized. They seem earnest and zealous and are endeavoring to make good Latter-Day-Saints.⁴⁰

Pinkney Henry Head, a young Catawba, came to Colorado in 1886 after joining the church and serving as a Mormon missionary among the Cherokees. "Me and Brother Alonzo Canty received a letter from Elder W.E. Bingham stating that our names had been suggested that we was worthy young men to take a mission among the Cherokee Lamintes [sic]."⁴¹ In those days, it was the practice of missionaries to stop at homes along the way for food and shelter. Experiencing dual persecution, Pinkney tells the following story. He was given a place to stay near Yorkville by hired help but the next morning when the owner of the house discovered they were Mormons, he "Bigan to curse and spring about saying that we had to leave his plase or he would mak us go saying the mormans was Bad enough But the Indians was worse so we left."⁴²



Second Marriage Certificate for Pinkney and Martha Head

Pinkney H. Head and Martha Patterson were first married in South Carolina in February 1886. They were married again in Logan, Utah in a Mormon Temple ceremony, sealing them with their two daughters, according to Mormon practice, for time and all eternity. Image source: Descendants of Pinkney Head, Farmington, New Mexico.

After his mission Pinkney raised \$30 and came to Colorado with his wife and her father, the James Patterson family. He wrote in his diary, "I like the place well when I first Saw it."⁴³

James Goodwin Patterson, Pinkney's father-in-law, arrived in Colorado with Pinkney and his wife and the families of John Alonzo Canty and Alexander Tims. Patterson brought only part of family. "The 2 young ones got to go then because they didn't have to pay train fare for them."⁴⁴ He sent for his wife, Elizabeth and their other children after he had established residency in Los Cerritos. All were fairly new converts but were active in Church organization back in South Carolina. Patterson was president of the Catawba branch

of the Church in Spartanburg and Canty was the first Branch President in Rock Hill, South Carolina. Both families still have descendants in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico.

Conclusion

Southerners, Danish, and Catawbas all found some of their dreams of "Zion" in the San Luis Valley. Danish Hans Jensen "... saw my dream come true, I dreamed that I was coming to a valley with a little company..."⁴⁵ Catawba Pinkney Head wrote, "I like the place well when I first Saw it."⁴⁶ Missionary John Morgan led multiple groups of converts from the south leaving them in Pueblo to travel the rest of the way on their own. But when he finally saw the valley first hand, he expressed, "It is one of the finest valleys I have ever seen."⁴⁷

From the onset of the westward movement most American settlers towed along limited belongings, livestock, and children in wagons, on trains and by foot. They built churches, erected crosses and some carved religious Santos, but most often as they trekked west, their religions were unseen. Yet, the unfamiliar West was a bit more comforting if not more secure for them with their beliefs stored neatly beside their Bibles in the trunks of their baggage. Although Mormonism was different in the eyes of many Americans it was the vision of Zion that brought these groups to the San Luis Valley of Colorado. After arriving they were accused of unlawfully selling their votes to the highest bidder, harassed with secretly living in polygamy and rumored to be creating conflict with other de-

nominations in the region. But they are also credited with bringing a new strain of hardy alfalfa to the area, of developing reservoir and irrigation systems and, while they quietly built lives in this remote corner of Colorado with their faith at the core of all they did, they established multiple Colorado communities. Some places are now gone, others remain active and alive. But, the dust has settled since they arrived and their history today is both relevant and deserving of recognition as a significant contribution to Colorado history.



Map, San Luis Valley, southern Colorado.

Early Mormon towns are identified on this map found with the diary of William H. Kirby. Image source: Sanford History Museum, Sanford, Colorado

This article is a summarization of a much longer 2012 Master of Arts History thesis by the author.

Endnotes

1 Jensen, Hans. "Journal of Hans Jensen 1829: One man's Faith." Translated by Jens Hansen. Compiled by Fay Rose Hansen Nickle. December 16, 1867, 137.

2 Morrow, W. W., Brayer, H. O., & Alianza Federal de las Mercedes. 1974. *Spanish and Mexican land grants*. New York: Arno Press, p. 51.

3 *Daily Mining Journal*. April 18, 1866.

4 Thomas F. O'Dea. *The Mormons*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1957, 21.

5 A temporary settlement was established outside of Pueblo in 1847. This group consisted of members of the Mormon Battalion who were unable to continue with General Kearny's Army of the West to California and returned from Santa Fe to winter at the settlement, and a group lead by John Brown who had intended to meet Brigham Young's pioneers on their way to Utah, but had miscalculated the route and established Pueblo settlement as a refuge for the winter.

6 Flower, "Mormon Colonization of the San Luis Valley, Colorado", 31.

7 Mudler, *Homeward to Zion*, 8.

8 Garth N. Jones, Garth N. "James Thompson Lisonbee: San Luis Valley Gathering, 1876-78.", 78.

9 Flower, "Mormon Colonization of the San Luis Valley, Colorado", 68.

10 During the years following the Civil War, and possibly before, there are many references of preachers welcoming missionaries and preachers from other faiths to preach as guests to their

congregations.

- 11 "The Diary of James Thompson Lisonbee (Sr.)." January 30, 1877. Recounted in Jones, "James Thompson Lisonbee's Missionary Labors", 34.
- 12 Jones, "James Thompson Lisonbee's Missionary Labors", 42.
- 13 Jones, "James Thompson Lisonbee's Missionary Labors", 69.
- 14 Brigham Young wrote to John Moran on June 28, 1877. Morgan, "Mormon Colonization in the San Luis Valley", 271.
- 15 Morgan, "Mormon Colonization in the San Luis Valley", 278.
- 16 Stewart, *Settlements in Colorado*, 3.
- 17 Stewart likely referred to Antonio D. Archuleta from Conejos County. The 1899 publication *Portrait and Biographical Record of the State of Colorado* lists Archuleta. "As a stock-raiser Archuleta has been unusually successful, and through his energy and business ability has become well-to-do." (*Portrait and Biographical Record of the State of Colorado*, 1899, 589.)
- 18 Mudler, *Homeward to Zion*, 104.
- 19 Mudler, *Homeward to Zion*, 198
- 20 In the old days in Denmark, or other Scandinavian counties, an individual had only one name and to differentiate between people, a short description of the person, or his origin, was added to the given name. When the practice of adding a second name evolved, it was derived from the paternal ancestor with the addition of a suffix "son", or in the case of a daughter, 'dotter'. Hans Jensen was the son of Peter and under the patronymic naming practice would have been Hans Peterson. However, his father's surname was Jensen and Hans choose to use the Western practice of taking the family name as his surname.
- 21 Jensen, "Journal of Hans Jensen", 4-5.
- 22 Jensen, "Journal of Hans Jensen", 7.
- 23 Jensen, "Journal of Hans Jensen", 8.
- 24 Andrew Jensen. "The Founding of Mormon Settlements in the San Luis Valley, Colorado." *Colorado Magazine* 7, no. 5 (September 1940): 174-180.
- 25 Hans Jensen refers to his brother Lawrence's home in Colorado. The letter must have been received after Lawrence relocated from New Mexico to Los Cerritos with converts from the southern states.
- 26 Jensen, "Journal of Hans Jensen", 133.
- 27 Hans Jensen's party left Manti on September 3, 1878.
- 28 "Uncan Pavderi" was Jensen's spelling of the Uncompahgre River. Source: Jensen, "Journal of Hans Jensen", 136.
- 29 Jensen, "Journal of Hans Jensen", 136.
- 30 Jensen, "Journal of Hans Jensen", 137.
- 31 Anderson. *The Mormons*, 28.
- 32 Watson, Ian. *Catawba Indian Genealogy*. Series, the Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Geneseo, Geneseo: Geneseo Foundation, 1995, xi.
- 33 Lawson, History of Carolina, 1714 and 1860, reprinted at: "Access Genealogy" Catawba Indian Tribe History,

<http://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/tribes/nations/catawba.htm>. (Accessed October 8, 2012).

34 "SCIWAY: South Carolina's Information Highway". <http://www.sciway.net/hist/indians/catawba.html> (accessed October 8, 2012).

35 Martin, Judy Canty. "Genealogy of the Western Catawba: Genealogy of the five families And those who joined them In the West." 1998, Preface.

36 Martin. "Genealogy of the Western Catawba," Preface.

37 Martin. "Genealogy of the Western Catawba," Preface.

38 Charles M. Hudson. *The Catawba Nation* (University of Georgia Monographs). Atlanta, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2007, 79-80.

39 The per annum amount of \$800 was provided to the tribe as a whole and divided among members in varying amounts. In her genealogical publications, Canty provides an accounting of the amounts some of the tribes members received during the 1880s.

40 Arthur M. Richardson and Nicholas G. Morgan. *The Life and Ministry of John Morgan*. N.G. Morgan, 1965. 631, 481.

41 Lamanite refers to a group of Israelites described in the Book of Mormon who left the city of Jerusalem and eventually crossed the ocean in a ship, landing somewhere on the American continent. Mormons often refer to American Indians as Lamanites.

42 Head, "Personal Journal of Pinckney H. Head." 9.

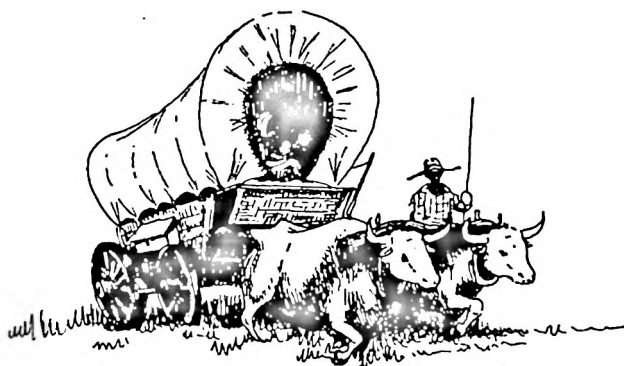
43 Head, "Personal Journal of Pinckney H. Head", 23.

44 Martin, "Genealogy of the Western Catawba", 4.

45 Jensen, "Journal of Hans Jensen", 137.

46 Head, "Personal Journal of Pinckney H. Head", 23.

47 Morgan, "Mormon Colonization in the San Luis Valley", 286.



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.

Active Posse Member Bob Larson's Publications

Denver Westerner Bob Larson has had two books published this summer. The first one, which is co-authored by Bob's late ex-wife Carol C. Larson, is their biography, *Ernest L. Blumenschein: The Life of an American Artist*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press. Featuring some of his best paintings, the book deals with the long and varied career of the famous Paris-trained Taos artist. There are sixteen color reproductions, plus many black-and-white photos of paintings – a beautiful book.

The second book is a reprint of the 1968 study, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood 1846-1912*, published in July by the University of New Mexico Press. Because the book covers the state's long territorial period, it has been regarded as a classic by the State Historical Society of New Mexico, which invited Bob to give the keynote address last year at their Centennial Celebration in Santa Fe.

Kickoff of Fall Season of Westerners Presentations

On Sept. 11 Dr. John Monnett presents "A Cheyenne Woman Remembers the Long Journey Home, 1878-1879," to the Colorado Corral of Westerners. John has been teaching Western and Native American history for almost forty years. Currently he is a professor at Metropolitan State University of Denver. Previously he was professor of history at Cochise College in Arizona. Dr. Monnett is an award-winning author of eight books and numerous journal articles. He was a finalist for the 2009 Colorado Book Award, and winner of the Coke Wood Award from Westerners International. Active in the Denver, Colorado and Boulder Westerners, last year he received the Rosenstock Lifetime Achievement Award from the Denver Westerners.

Monnett won the prestigious Wrangler Award from the American Western Heritage Center for best journal article in 2010 for the story of Susan Iron Teeth, the only woman to leave a reminiscence of the long journey home from Indian Territory as a member of Chief Dull Knife's band of Northern Cheyennes, this being the subject of his Westerners presentation.

WWHA Award for Active Posse Member Jeff Broome

Jeff Broome's article "Wild Bill's Brawl with Two of Custer's Troopers," which appeared in the December 2012 Wild West, is the 2013 winner of the Wild West History Association's Six-Shooter Award for best general Western history article. The feature is about soldiers Jeremiah Lonergan and John Kile, whom Wild Bill Hickok shot in an 1870 salon fight in Hays City, Kan. "Lonergan and Kile annoyed the wrong man," says Broome, "one who knew how to use a six-shooter better than almost anyone and who was prepared to defend himself."

Loss of Active (very active) Posse Member of the Denver Westerners

Nancy Bathke and her husband Ed were on one of their super trips, this one to Machu Picchu (Peru) and the Galapagos Islands (Ecuador). Nancy had wanted to see Machu Picchu ever since viewing the National Geographic ads of the site in its magazine, circa 1960. Three days there were a joy for them, but on exiting the train from Machu Picchu she collapsed and died instantly.

Nancy was a native of Wisconsin, coming to Colorado in 1960 as a new bride and rookie elementary school teacher. A mother of one of her students that first year introduced her to the Ghost Town Club of Colorado. That membership was to become the keystone in building a lifetime hobby in Colorado and Western history.

Ed joined Denver Posse of Westerners in 1965, and Nancy had a participating interest in his activities. When women were finally admitted to membership in the "Posse" of the Westerners in 1992, soon after Nancy was the second woman elected to the Active Posse. In 2001 she became the second woman Sheriff. Besides serving as Deputy Sheriff in 2000, she served on many committees, and in 2013 was active on the Publications and Membership committees, and as Keeper of the Possibles Bag. In 1976, at a meeting in the Bathkes' Manitou Springs den, the Pikes Peak Posse of the Westerners was formed, and both Nancy and Ed have served as Sheriff on two occasions. They were also active in the Colorado Corral and the Boulder County Corral of Westerners, and Nancy had been the Sheriff of the Boulder Corral for the past two years, providing the unique distinction of being Sheriff of three Westerners corrals.

Nancy's great-great-grandfather, living in Central City in 1870, qualified her membership in the Territorial Daughters of Colorado. Colorado history interests also included membership in many historical societies.

In 1972 Ed and Nancy authored *The West in Postage Stamps*, resulting in Nancy being listed in *Who's Who of American Women*, and both of them in *Contemporary Authors*. Since then Nancy had articles in the magazines and books of the Denver Westerners, in the published symposia of the Pikes Peak Library District, as well as in other publications.

Nancy, with Ed, had presented many programs, not only on their Western historical research, but also on their travels – which covered all seven continents, and included Antarctica, a Serengeti safari, and a Uganda gorilla trek in 2013. She completed one of her lifetime goals at Machu Picchu; but then a very active life in historical research, and in travel, abruptly ended. Her loss will be strongly felt in the Westerners monthly meetings.





Westerners Bookshelf



Voices of the American West. The Settler and Soldier Interviews of Eli S. Ricker 1903-1919. Volume 2. Richard E. Jensen, Editor. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2005. 470 pages, maps, notes, bibliography, index, \$55.00.

There is something very special about original accounts by people who witnessed the great events of the West. And this collection is a must for anyone interested in first-person recollections of Wounded Knee, the Custer Massacre, Beecher Island, and other experiences of the Old West.

Ricker, who worked for the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C., and was a judge in Nebraska, interviewed the survivors, who included soldiers, scouts, civilian employees of Indian agencies, fur traders, ranchers and farmers, et al. He brings a collection of viewpoints that help to clarify sometimes controversial events, especially those that involved Indians. His comments reflect a sympathetic viewpoint, even when the evidence suggests otherwise. This is very much the case with Wounded Knee, where the overwhelming evidence provided shows that Big Foot's band of Teton Sioux were reluctantly rounded up, hid their modern weapons, and fired first. That the military did not intend to attack on that fateful day was demonstrated by the soldiers being lined up opposite one another. This resulted in soldiers being killed and wounded by other soldiers.

Dull Knife's raid is well documented by soldiers and scouts who were there. It showed that despite their perilous position, they intended to fight to the death and take as many soldiers with them as they could. Sadly they chose to fight to the death. He also includes accounts of friendly Indians, who saw the wisdom of not fighting the military. Also included are accounts of Sand Creek, the Lightning Creek Incident, the Slim Buttes Fight, the Washita, Horse Creek Fight, the Grattan Fight, Platte Bridge and other battles.

There are accounts of life as a cowboy, the American Fur Trade Company, Wild Bill Hickock, and Buffalo Bill Cody by those who were there. A couple of French Canadians were interviewed, including Baptiste Pourier and Magloire Mousseau who provide a different flavor and understanding of life on the frontier. The surprising thing is how many Whites were present in Wyoming, Montana, Colorado and on the Great Plains before the West was settled. These people courted danger as they lived and made their livings in close contact with the unpredictable Cheyenne, Sioux, Kiowa, Commanche, etc. often paying for it with their lives.

This is an important collection, well edited, and a must for anyone wanting to get an insider's view of life east of the Rockies between the 1840s and 1900.

--Alan Culpin, P.M.

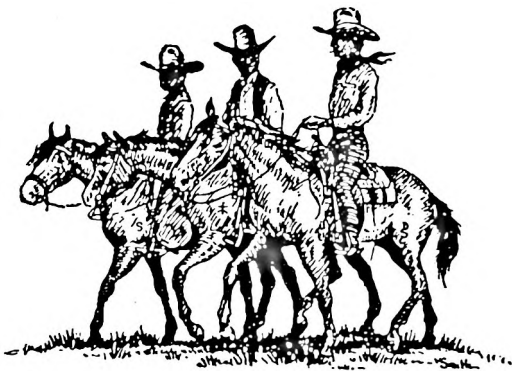
Dakota: The Story of the Northern Plains, by Norman K. Risjord. University of Nebraska Press, 2013. 288 pp. 19 photographs, 9 maps, notes, index. Paperback, \$25.00.

Dakota is an engaging little paperback volume introducing readers to the fascinating history of the historic, huge Dakota Territory and the modern states of North and South Dakota. The book covers the natural ecology of the northern plains environment and the early pre-contact Native inhabitants of the region, their migration routes, inter-tribal wars for buffalo range and dominance, and first contacts with euroamerican explorers.

The author presents vivid accounts of Lewis and Clark's journeys up the Missouri as well as the little-known adventures of French and English explorers of the northern plains. Conflicts with Native Americans and prospectors are detailed as well as the significance of gold on the development of the territory. The enormous struggles of farmers in the region are contrasted with the more successful experiences of cattle ranchers.

Westerners should especially enjoy the chapter, titled, "The Road to Wounded Knee" which details this seminal event in Lakota history and the early and modern reservation experience. The Dakotas were once a hotbed of the political Populist Movement at the turn of the twentieth century and the history of this political upheaval is presented in full, as it was almost as contentious as the Indian Wars. The conception, struggles, and construction of Mount Rushmore and the Crazy Horse monument is explored, complete with contentious views of both in the twenty-first century. Risjord concludes with modern developments in both states and projects a bright future for both. All enthusiasts of Western history should thoroughly enjoy this interesting, concise volume.

--John Monnett, P.M.



Field Man: Life as a Desert Archaeologist by Julian D. Hayden, edited by Bill Broyles and Diane E. Boyer, The University of Arizona Press, 2011, 280 pp. Maps, photos, bibliography, index, people and places list, hardcover, \$75.00.

Field Man, the evocative memoir of archaeologist and desert rat Julian Hayden, harkens back to the golden age of Southwestern archaeology, when digs were expeditions and archaeologists wore jodhpurs, coaxed Model-Ts through a roadless desert, drank too much bourbon and argued long into the night as the campfire dwindled under an endless starry sky. The son of a Harvard-educated archaeologist, Hayden had no degree, but he was an invaluable field man working with such legends as Emil Haury on seminal sites such as Snaketown near Phoenix, Arizona.

Hayden was the quintessential dirt archaeologist. He hired and managed the crews (along with running his own construction business), and could decipher the secrets of the land and the ancient peoples who inhabited it better than many of the PhDs from some of the finest institutions in the East. Hayden never hesitated to share his opinion, and he pulls no punches in this conversational reminiscence that vividly brings to life Depression-era CCC digs, World War II intrigues and possible Nazi spies in the desert near the Yuma Air Field, to his surprising career as a silversmith and ultimately as the leading authority on the prehistory of the Sierra Pinacate in northwestern Mexico. Hayden introduces the reader to his friends, archaeologists who were excavating cave sites containing evidence for some of the earliest human habitation in the Americas. Though the shockingly early dates (nearly 30,000 BCE) put forth by Hayden were scoffed at by the graybeards of archaeology during his lifetime (he died in 1998), advances in radiocarbon dating shows he may well have been right.

This memoir was assembled from a series of recorded interviews conducted by the editors. The narrative reads like an unedited transcript of Hayden's colorful conversation. In fact, it was off-putting when I first began reading *Field Man*. But then on a cold night in front of the fire, Hayden's voice clicked for me. I settled back and listened to him tell his stories, and imagined myself wearing jodhpurs on one of the legendary digs of yore, camping under a sparkling mantle of stars under an endless desert sky.

--Kimberly Field, C.M.

Valentine T. McGillicuddy: Army Surgeon, Agent to the Sioux by Candy Moulton. The Arthur H. Clark Company, an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press, 2011. 267 pp. Map, photos, bibliography, footnotes, index. Hardcover, \$34.95.

As chairman of the committee that selected Moulton's work, the winner of the Denver Public Library Bancroft History Prize for 2012, I can recommend this book highly. Valentine T. McGillicuddy was one of those giants in Western American history who seemed to know everyone and to have been everywhere, at least with respect to the history of the northern plains. Moulton's book is superbly researched, colorfully and well-written. It provides a wealth of insight into the politics and the personalities of Lakota leaders and of reservation life from the mid-1870s to about 1900.

Though trained as a doctor, McGillicuddy began his career as a topographer, cartographer and surveyor. During his work on the northern border surveys with Canada, he met a number of military men, who would figure prominently in his later life. During the Great Sioux War, which saw Custer's demise, McGillicuddy served as a contract surgeon to General Crook's column. He survived the desperate "horse meat" campaign and became a fixture at Fort Robinson and the Red Cloud Agency. He was later appointed Indian Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency.

Using an incredible number of primary sources, Moulton describes the politics surrounding McGillicuddy's battles with Chief Red Cloud for control of the agency. McGillicuddy truly sympathized with and respected the Sioux, but his charge from the American government was to break the Indians' traditions and to push them toward assimilation. He worked diligently to attain this goal, though his high-minded principles seemed to get him into trouble with everyone.

Eventually, McGillicuddy refused to fire a trusted employee to make room for a newly appointed "political hack." This refusal caused him to be removed from office just as things were beginning to heat up with the Ghost Dance fervor that ended in the disaster at Wounded Knee Creek. Whether McGillicuddy could have prevented this disaster will never be known, of course. However, it is interesting to note that even Chief Red Cloud, who had done so much to see him forced out, eventually turned to McGillicuddy for help when it was too late.

--Dennis Hagen, P.M.

Terrible Justice: Sioux Chiefs and U.S. Soldiers on the Upper Missouri, 1854-1868, by Doreen Chaky. University of Nebraska Press, 2012. 360pp. Maps, Photos, bibliography, footnotes, index. Hardcover, \$39.95.

Chaky's *Terrible Justice* presents an exceptional overview of Native-White conflicts and relations on the northern plains from approximately the time of the Grattan Massacre of 1854 to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Though overshadowed by the Great Sioux War of 1876-1877 that saw Custer's demise, the fourteen years covered by this book included some of the largest troop movements and bloodiest engagements of the entire Indian Wars period.

The book is far too detailed to be considered a survey, yet it is basically a very well-detailed overview of the northern plains Indian Wars. Each of the incidents Chaky portrays is treated elsewhere through full, individual volumes that provide substantially more detail. This means that occasionally, the serious Indian Wars scholar may wish for a bit more depth or detail. But this is not the book's primary purpose. Chaky has placed a massive subject into a manageable format through impeccable research and a relatively tight focus. Her bibliography is impressive and includes substantial archival sources.

Chaky initially came to her story as a volunteer archaeologist at Fort Rice, North Dakota, where she sought information for an article about the soldiers who had once lived there. The subject rapidly expanded beyond the bounds of an article, and Chaky realized the story more appropriately centered on the Native American population. While concentrating primarily on the Lakota Nation, Chaky contends that her work is not intended as "a diatribe about white-on-Indian injustice," and she presents a view of the conflict that is "more complicated than many historians have revealed."

Conflict with Whites repeatedly united the complex and divergent elements of the Sioux Nation, only to see them fragment again through internal dissention and tribal politics as leaders attempted to come to grips with the changes that were overwhelming them. In a similar manner, Chaky demonstrates how the power of the American government vacillated between control by war factions and various peace factions. The resulting presentation is very well balanced and incredibly complex.

--Dennis Hagen, P.M.

Weapons of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, by Jim Garry. The Arthur H. Clark Company and University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 2012. 208 pages. Illustrated with photographs and drawings, appendices, footnotes, bibliography, index. Cloth, full-color dustjacket, \$32.95.

To begin with, this slim volume lives up to the reputation of the Arthur H. Clark Company, for it is a beautiful book, beautifully bound, with classic type-face, archival paper, and scholar-friendly footnotes (rather than frustrating “finger-lickin’” endnotes). In addition, it has the relatively new innovation for Clark volumes of an attractive and full-color dust-jacket, this one with a modern relevant illustration of the armed voyagers. (The reviewer suspects that the Clark Company put off jackets so long because of a desire not to hide their excellent old-fashioned binding.) Also, the fact that the volume is anything but bulky invites the reader to dive in and to start consuming the information. With just over 180 pages of actual narrative text, the book is officially a full-fledged book and like Mama Bear’s porridge: just right.

As to the subject matter, part of the seemingly American fascination with firearms, the volume makes a very significant contribution to Lewis and Clark lore. Of course, with the continuing scholarship of students of the expedition and the proliferation of new detailed studies as to all aspects of the voyage, there have been other articles or volumes dealing with the ordnance of the Lewis and Clark. But many of the best of those studies – such as Garavaglia’s and Worman’s *Firearms of the American West, 1803-1865* (University of New Mexico Press, 1984) – have the pertinent data scattered throughout. Not only does this thematic volume by Mr. Garry discuss the various weaponry in turn, he puts to good use his non-classroom experiences “[a]s a former hunting guide.” (Among the author’s previous works are the delightful *This Old Drought Ain’t Broke Us Yet (But We’re All Bent Pretty Bad)* and *The First Liar Never Has a Chance*). In addition, Garry’s writing is excellent – betraying his excellent education despite his homespun reputation and easy-going writing style. The author also evidences a familiarity with military terminology relating to equipment and ordnance.

The chapters individually address each type of weaponry believed to have been taken on the expedition. These detailed discussions include the Model 1795 Springfield musket; personal weapons (Kentucky – or more properly – Pennsylvania rifles); pistols; the much-discussed and cutting-edge air rifle of Lewis; and the heavy ordnance (a swivel gun and a couple of blunderbusses). In addition, the author details the known and likely edged weapons, from the swords of Clark and Lewis to tomahawks and bayonets. Regarding the firearms, Garry also discusses their use against both grizzly bears and Indians.

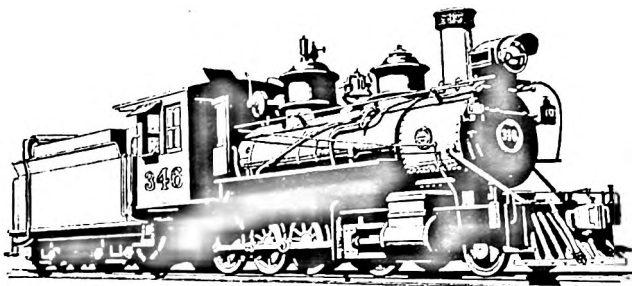
The most important contribution to scholars, however, is Garry’s reasoned discussion about the probable absence of any Harper’s Ferry Model 1803 “short rifles.” While previous scholars (such as William C. Davis’ 2003 *Frontier Skills: The Tactics and Weapons that Won the American West*) have concluded that some

of the men had such recent weaponry, the author here thinks that reference to “short rifles” likely meant 1792 contract rifles – which still were shorter than Pennsylvania rifles. While the reviewer personally wishes that the expedition had the 1803 rifle – one of the most beautiful firearms ever made – Garry’s point is well taken and persuasive.

As a final point, the book – based upon the bibliography – rebuts the current bias of academics that a volume must make use of archival material and unpublished manuscripts to be considered scholarly. While volumes which include such information continue to be important, some books must be appreciated for new analysis and reasoned examination, especially on topics unfamiliar to many. And, with some topics – such as those about voyagers like Coronado, Lewis and Clark, and Pike – the known relevant documents have been published. (Of course, there is always the future joyous occasion for some researcher to publish newly-discovered material.) This book undoubtedly is scholarly, written by a man of important practical experience obtained outside of ivory towers.

This publication is required reading for Lewis and Clark scholars and should be in every library about the expedition. In addition, it has direct relevance in determining the weaponry carried by Zebulon M. Pike and his soldiers on that slightly less famous and more impecunious voyage. Therefore, the volume is *highly* recommended and has information that will please many of those in the Denver Westerners. Get one while you can.

--John M. Hutchins, P.M.





The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

September - October 2013



COL. H. C. MERRIAM, 7th Infantry.
Commanding Ft. Logan.

**Colonel Henry C. Merriam and Fort Logan
1889-1897**

**By Jack Stokes Ballard, P.M.
(Presented October 24, 2012)**



Our Author

While serving in the US Air Force for 27 years, Posse Member Jack Ballard found time to earn his doctorate in history from UCLA.

Following retirement from the Air Force he worked for twelve years at Lockheed Martin Corporation. During his career he periodically taught history as an adjunct instructor at several Colorado universities and authored six books on military history. His most recent book was published in 2013 under the title of *Lowry Air Base* by Arcadia Press. Jack was president of the Littleton School Board and of the Littleton Lions Club.

He currently serves on the Board of Directors of Friends of Historic Fort Logan.

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

ROUNDUP

VOL. LXX NO. 5



September - October 2013

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Colonel Henry C. Merriam and Fort Logan 1889-1897

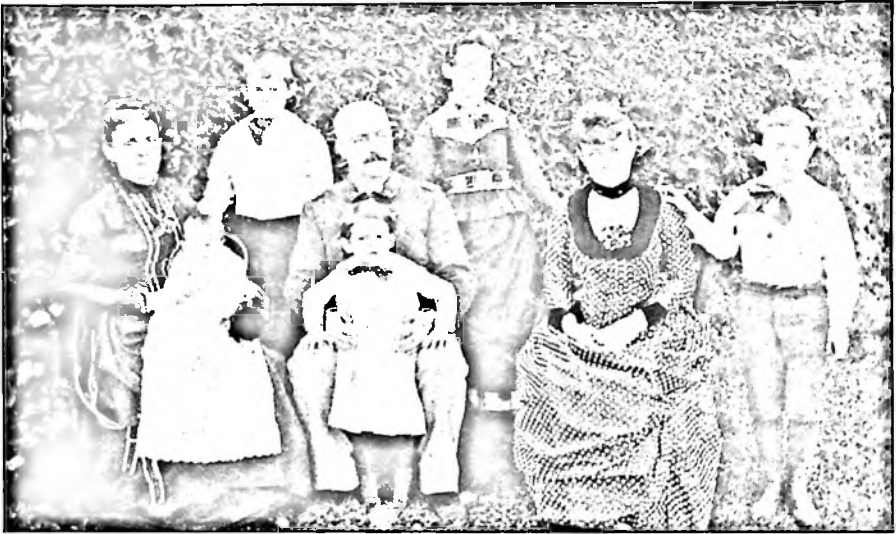
By Jack Stokes Ballard, P.M.
(Presented October 24, 2012)

Colonel Henry C. Merriam, accompanied by his family and several companies and staff members of his famed 7th Infantry Regiment, arrived at the new Denver-area Fort Logan by train on October 19, 1889.¹ This heralded the true beginning of a full Fort Logan garrison. For the next seven years Colonel Merriam would decisively establish his command of Fort Logan, beginning the military routines that would long characterize life at the fort, and eventually creating a name for himself and his family in Denver society. More importantly, however, Merriam's tenure (1889-1897) as Fort Logan commander would highlight major transitions occurring in Western military history toward the end of the nineteenth century.

Colonel Merriam, no ordinary army career officer, had been awarded the Medal of Honor in the Civil War Battle of Fort Blakeley while commanding black troops.² Such an assignment was normally shunned by most army career officers. Merriam especially faced formidable challenges in his leadership of black regiments which were constituted largely by illiterate

ex-slaves and who had limited knowledge of firearms. Merriam with his New England background (born in Houlton, Maine) and classical education at Colby College knew nothing about blacks and had no contact with them. In addition, he began his command in 1863 in New Orleans, a truly strange environment for a New Englander. Merriam's career-long emphasis on discipline, drill, and marksmanship no doubt heavily contributed to his success in command of these men. He was so successful that after the Civil War and until 1876 he still led black troops that were deployed to the Rio Grande border with Mexico. Characteristically, Merriam never avoided such challenges.

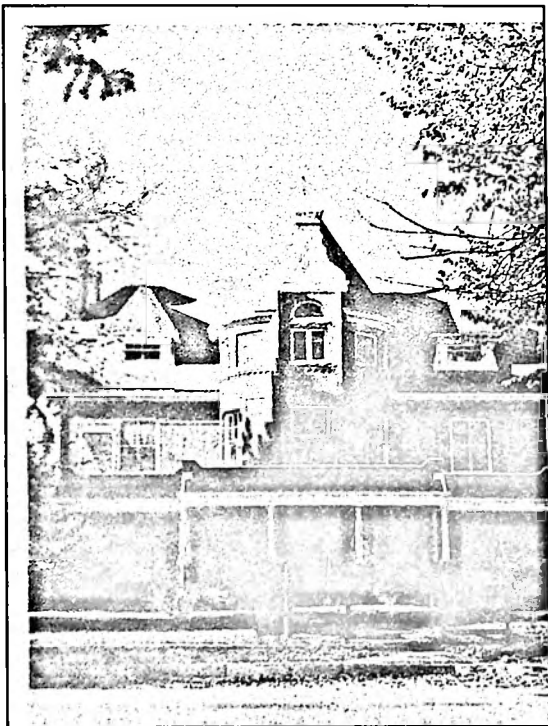
When Merriam departed the Rio Grande (1876) he also left behind the command of black regiments. He and his growing family rejoiced in leaving the hot and primitive conditions of Fort McIntosh at Laredo. Una Merriam wrote, "Laredo, in those days, was a most forlorn, unattractive place."³ During his time in Texas, Merriam had earned a reputation for outstanding command of blacks and various forts and forceful but



Maj. Gen Henry Clay Merriam with his second wife Una and their children

diplomatic dealings with Mexican revolutionaries across river in Nuevo Laredo, but he was glad to end this type of duty.⁴ Merriam barely had time to visit his parents in Maine and introduce his new wife Una when he received orders to the Pacific Northwest. Fears of Indian warfare in that region prompted his assignment to scout the locations for new forts, such as Coeur d' Alene and Fort Spokane, with the idea of keeping Northwest Indians on their reservations and settlers off Indian lands. He effectively dealt with Indian chiefs (such as Chief Moses), Pacific Northern railroad builders, and encroaching settlers. He could rightfully claim that he significantly helped to keep the peace in the far Northwest country.⁵

Just prior to Merriam's coming to Fort Logan he commanded the old, historic 7th Infantry Regiment and the noted trail crossroads post of Fort Laramie. Instead of building forts he now closed one. He became frustrated in continually battling the army's and his headquarters' reluctance to fund Fort improvements.⁶ At Fort Laramie, Merriam faced deteriorating buildings and typhoid epidemics. He came to support the army's economically driven need to close scattered frontier posts, particularly those that lacked rail connections like Fort Laramie. Merriam agreed with the new emerging army strategy of establishing urban-type forts with good rail access allowing



Commanding Officer's Quarters at Ft. Logan, 1891.

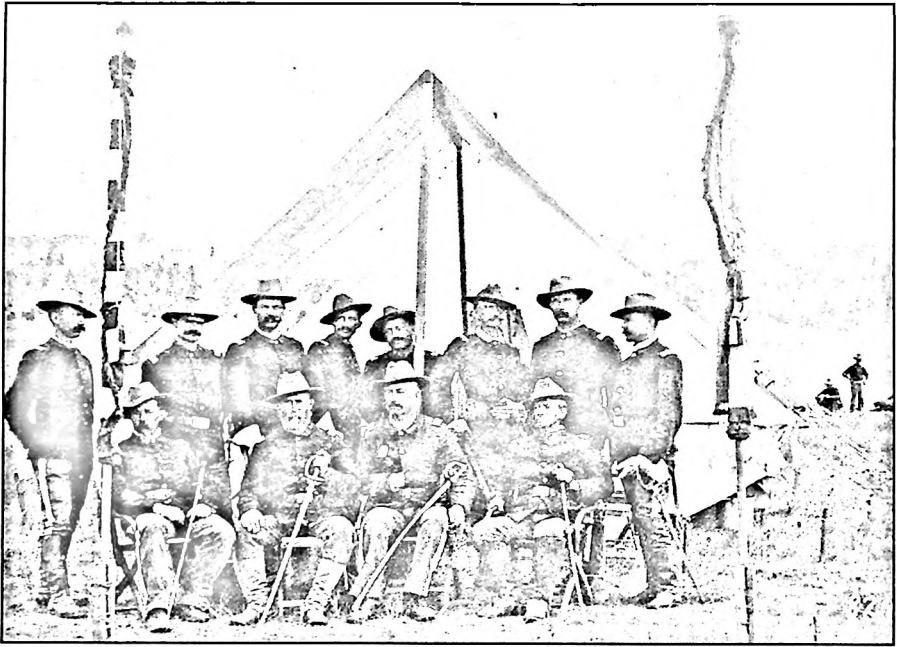
Friends of Historic Ft. Logan photo

troops in the West to move long distances quickly. At the same time, from a strictly personal standpoint, he hoped that a looming assignment to Denver's Fort Logan, then under construction, would forever end his long-endured duties on isolated frontier posts.

When Colonel Merriam, his wife and five children, saw the Fort Logan architect-designed multi-story brick buildings to house officers and men, looped around a

spacious parade field, they believed their dream of a more permanent existence had come true. Of critical importance, besides the new buildings, however, was the fact that a rail spur from the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad had already been constructed to Fort Logan. This meant a link with the main railroad down the South Platte River valley was in place. Earlier General Philip H. Sheridan in selecting the site for Fort Logan had quickly noted rail lines within easy distance both to the north and to the east.⁷

Merriam's family had barely settled into their new quarters when orders came directing Colonel Merriam and his 7th Infantry Regiment to deploy to South Dakota to participate in quelling an expected Sioux uprising in December 1890. The *Denver Republican* newspaper reported that on December 1 "General Merritt to-day gave orders to have the command now stationed at Fort Logan, near Denver, prepare for an immediate move by fast freight to Dakota, there to join the Department of the Platte. They are to be fully equipped for field service, and all preparations are to be made for winter service."⁸ The troops boarded the train, using the spur on



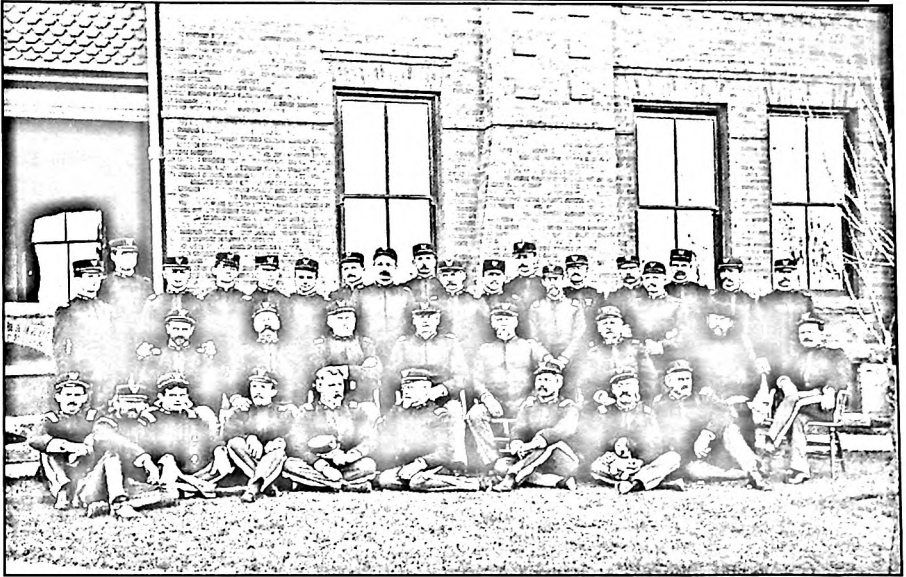
Col. Merriam, seated third from left, in South Dakota at the time of the Sioux Ghost Dance trouble in 1890.

National Archives photo

post, on December 3rd and arrived at the Missouri River near Fort Sully on December 7th. Newspapers stated "Each soldier carried a blanket roll, haversack, canteen, and a big entrenching knife. In his belt were forty-four cartridges; on his shoulder was a forty-five caliber Springfield."⁹ The 7th Infantry took up a position on the southeast portion of the Sioux Cheyenne River Reservation. General Nelson A. Miles, in overall command, ordered Merriam to intercept any Sioux tribal elements moving south toward the Pine Ridge Agency and

to form part of a cordon of troops that hopefully would encircle and contain the Sioux.¹⁰

While Merriam and the 7th Infantry worked closer to Indian camps, two officers, Captain J. H. Hurst and Lt. Harry E. Hale from Fort Bennett, operating under Merriam's command, succeeded in intercepting some Hunkpapa warriors, persuading them to disarm, staying in place, and making them prisoners. However, Big Foot and his Miniconjou band, headed south to Pine Ridge after the murder of



Col. Merriam, fourth from left in second row, with staff and company officers photographed at Ft. Logan

Sitting Bull, eluded containment and reached the Pine Ridge Agency vicinity. This would result in the tragic Wounded Knee massacre on December 29.¹¹ Meanwhile, the 7th Infantry troops with their Sioux prisoners at Fort Sully escaped involvement in the Wounded Knee battle. For his part, Merriam believed he and his troops had accomplished their assigned mission in South Dakota. In addition, Denver newspapers with their reports of the 7th Infantry capturing Sioux prisoners praised Colonel Merriam as an Indian war hero. This would eventually lead to Merriam being celebrated in civic speeches and patriotic parades.

After Wounded Knee, Merriam and most of the 7th Infantry entrained for Fort Logan arriving in January 1891. The *Denver Republican* on January 26, 1891, reported the following: "Four companies of the Seventh regiment, with thirteen of their eighteen officers, arrived home yesterday from the seat of the late Indian War in Dakota and are now safely and comfortably quartered at Fort Logan. The two remaining companies, with Company H of Leavenworth, are detained at Fort Sully, guarding the Sitting Bull prisoners whom the Seventh has the honor of having captured. These three companies are expected to be



A rare photo of Col. Merriam (at right) on a horse at Ft. Logan. Photo was probably his final parade ceremony upon leaving Ft. Logan.

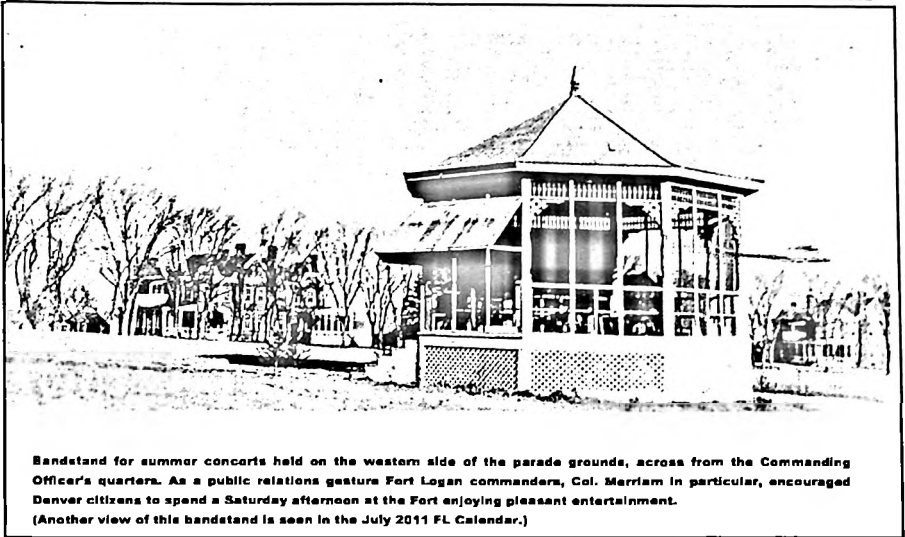
Friends of Historic Ft. Logan photo

home in a few days. The boys all show the result of their long, weary marches and exposure in the very severe weather which they have endured. . ."¹² Merriam apparently polished the heroism of his troops upon their return. The newspaper said "Colonel Merriam was found at his residence and discussed most entertainingly on their two months campaign."¹³ The companies that had remained at Fort Sully to guard prisoners returned on February 10th after being momentarily snowbound at Julesburg. The army's relatively rapid deployment of the 7th Infantry Regiment had seemingly validated the new concept of using rail connections with urban forts to

move troops in the vast West.

In 1891, after the troops had returned to Fort Logan, a serious flu epidemic occurred. Una Merriam received commendations from soldiers, their families, and "by different Soldiers Organizations thanking her for her sympathy and assistance during these trying days."¹⁴ Merriam, as at Fort Laramie, continued to face serious Fort health problems.

The 1893 Silver Panic created hard times for the Merriam family and Fort Logan as well as the nation in general. Numerous Denver bank failures and the



resulting economic depression caused property losses and business closures near the fort.¹⁵ The national depression forced the army to sharply curtail expenditures for all posts. The Fort Logan commander by necessity now became a frugal administrator. Merriam, personally, had experienced losses before in some of his speculative holdings at Spokane and in Colorado he again had failed business interests. Fortunately, Merriam possessed entrepreneurial skills and would never be defeated for long.¹⁶

Several events in the year 1894 proved especially demanding for Colonel Merriam and Fort Logan. First came Denver's City Hall War. On March 15, Colorado governor Davis H. Waite requested Fort Logan troops to backup his

deployed militia around Denver's City Hall in his dispute with some of his own Denver Fire and Police Board appointees. Their refusal to resign received the backing of the sheriff, his deputies, and police. Serious civic bloodshed loomed with armed men pointing loaded rifles out City Hall windows and surrounding militamen aiming Gatling guns and field pieces. Into this crisis Merriam and Fort Logan troops speedily deployed via train to Union Station on the order of Major General Alexander M. McCook, commander of the Department of the Colorado. The *Denver Republican* reported that "within two hours and forty minutes nearly 300 armed troops were landed at Union Station to quell any disturbance."¹⁷ Merriam set up his headquarters in the north end of the station and anticipated

his men would march to the City Hall and all would end peacefully. This view was largely shared by most Denverites. Governor Waite, however, persisted. Alarmed civic leaders and businessmen finally persuaded the governor to refer the dispute to the courts and, fortunately, the army regulars never left the station. The approximately 300 Fort Logan troops returned to the post on March 18.¹⁸

In July 1894, the national Pullman strike reached Colorado with the stoppage of mail-carrying trains at Trinidad, Colorado, and Raton, New Mexico. The army ordered five companies of the 7th Infantry to go by rail to those two cities. The mission of these troops was “to enforce mandates of the U. S. Courts [and to] prevent obstruction of said property and transmission of U. S. Mails.” The next month, Fort Logan’s Company D traveled to New Castle, Colorado, to support militia policing a labor dispute there.¹⁹

Also in 1894, the first cavalry units arrived at Fort Logan. The army closed Fort Bowie in Arizona and sent two troops of the 2nd Cavalry via train to the Fort. There had always been plans for cavalry with large stables included in the early construction at Fort Logan. Merriam never commanded cavalry units and, although an expert

horseman, probably knew cavalry requirements somewhat distantly. Now, however, his command faced all the challenging logistics associated with horses. The railroad spur would facilitate supplying feed and equipment for the cavalry unit’s horses.

In addition, a twenty-four-man Signal Corps balloon detachment from Fort Riley, Kansas, arrived. This was not expected and a large wooden balloon hangar had to be constructed to the west of the officer row houses. A year later the balloon was destroyed by a high wind and a prolonged effort began to build a new one. The second balloon, called “Santiago,” deployed to Cuba in 1898, was shot down, and this ended Fort Logan ballooning.²⁰ Interestingly, Merriam’s papers fail to reveal his thoughts about having a balloon at his Fort.

The significant increases in the Fort Logan garrison and the diversity entailed in the new units, particularly logistical matters with horses, meant Merriam’s command of Fort Logan had become substantially more complex.

A highlight in June 1895 was the visit of the commander of the U. S. Army, Lieutenant General John M. Schofield. This enabled Merriam to impress his high ranking visitor with troop drill proficiency



and rifle marksmanship. Schofield on June 13, 1895, congratulated Merriam on the “excellent condition of your command at the time of his recent visit to Fort Logan and of the great accuracy and promptness with which the military exercises were performed.”²¹

Schofield’s commendation represented a peak in the army’s recognition of Merriam’s long tenure as commander of Fort Logan. However, it was but one more example of his sustained effort to impress visitors with Fort Logan events. Merriam, with a modern eye toward good public relations, actively cultivated close ties with Denverites and surrounding communities. Specifically, he invited civic leaders and ordinary citizens to come, usually by train,

to Fort Logan to hear 7th Infantry Regimental Band concerts, watch parades and ceremonies, and view and participate in various athletic contests. The Bachelor Officers Quarters ballroom hosted dances for troops and guests. At the same time, the Merriam family became involved in Denver society. Una Merriam gave a paper to a Denver womens club and daughter Carry was introduced to Denver society, eventually marrying George Berger, a future vice president of the Colorado National Bank. Carry would become one of what Caroline Bancroft called society’s “Sacred 36.”²²

Merriam’s standing in Colorado and community affairs became evident in many ways, by his letters of recommendation from

high officials, his civic speeches, and the list of attendees at Fort Logan ceremonies. Especially noteworthy was the elaborate retirement ceremony Merriam staged for Major General Frank Wheaton, Department of the Colorado Commander, in May 1897. The *Denver Rocky Mountain News* wrote "It is expected that a large number of citizens of Denver will attend the parade. Special trains will be run from the Union depot to carry the sightseers."²³ Merriam's promotion to Brigadier General and his departure from Fort Logan followed in July 1897. That was an occasion for another major ceremony. The *Army-Navy Register* of July 10, 1897, reported that Merriam was "given the most imposing reception last week at Fort Logan ever given to any military officer in the state..."²⁴

In retrospect, Colonel Henry C. Merriam's nearly eight-year command of Fort Logan, the longest of any commander, proved significant because it embodied these major transitions:

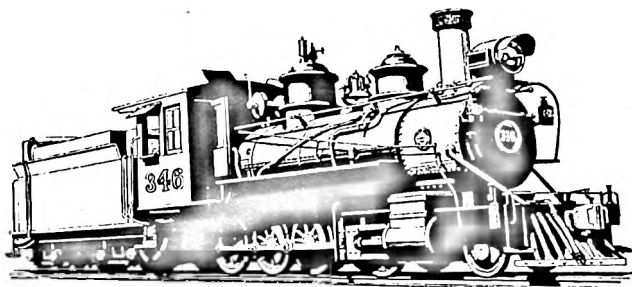
- from Indian wars to balloons
- from frontier posts to urban forts
- from Indian conflict to labor strife
- from routine fort discipline and boredom to scripted public relations

Merriam and Fort Logan had been thrust into a notable period of change, and Colonel Henry C. Merriam put his special stamp on how the changes unfolded.

Endnotes

1. Cyrus L. Merriam, *Captain John Macpherson of Philadelphia* (Brattleboro, VT: Griswold, 1966), 186. This book provides a description of the departure of the Merriam family from Fort Laramie. Since Fort Laramie lacked a rail connection, the family had to travel by wagon to the railhead at Bordeaux. The children enjoyed their time at Fort Laramie and let a roll of twine, attached to a part of the Fort, unwind as the wagons rolled away. This symbolized their sadness at the leaving.
2. *Medals of Honor Circular, 85*, copy in Merriam Papers, Fort Laramie Archives. Also see *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington D. C.: GPO, 1880-1901), ser. 1, 49 (1): 313. Merriam's role in the Battle of Fort Blakeley is best described in his paper, "The Capture of Mobile," presented to the Maine Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, May 3, 1905, and in the Merriam Papers, Fort Laramie Archives.
3. Merriam, *Captain John Macpherson of Philadelphia*, 165-166.
4. Jack Stokes Ballard, *Commander and Builder of Western Forts: The Life and Times of Major General Henry C. Merriam* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 2012), 65-85, tells the story of Merriam's time on the Rio Grande.
5. *Ibid.* 86-110.
6. Merriam's Fort Laramie frustrations are richly detailed, particularly problems with typhoid, in various post reports found in the Fort Laramie Archives.

7. General Sheridan also saw a plateau of open land (only sagebrush originally), available water with Bear Creek and the South Platte, and a suitable distance from the likely sins of metropolitan Denver. Robert Pfanner, "The Genesis of Fort Logan," *Colorado Magazine* 19, No. 2 (March 1942), 43-50.
8. *Denver Republican*, December 2, 1890, 1.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Robert Pfanner, "Highlights in the History of Fort Logan," *Colorado Magazine* 19, No. 3 (May 1942), 89. Also see Robert M. Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963), 132.
11. *Ibid.* Also see the account in Robert M. Utley and Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The American Heritage History of the Indian Wars* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, 1977), 338-341.
12. *Denver Republican*, January 26, 1891, 1.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Merriam, *Captain John Macpherson of Philadelphia*, 188.
15. Louisa Ward Arps, *Denver in Slices* (Athens, OH: Swallow, 1983), 33.
16. Ballard, *Commander and Builder of Western Forts, 144-145.*
17. *Denver Republican*, March 16, 1894, 1-2.
18. Jerome C. Smiley, *History of Denver* (Denver, CO: Denver Times, 1901), 921-925. Arps, *Denver in Slices*, 34 and Pfanner, "Highlights in the History of Fort Logan," *Colorado Magazine*, 89.
19. Earl McCoy, "From Infantry to Air Corps: History of Fort Logan," *Denver Westerners Roundup* (November - December 1986), 9-10.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Lt. Col. J. P. Sanger (for Lt. Gen. J. M. Schofield) to Col. H. C. Merriam, June 13, 1895, Merriam Papers, Fort Laramie Archives.
22. Thomas J. Noel, *Growing Through History with Colorado: The Colorado National Banks* (Denver, CO: The Colorado Banks and the Colorado Studies Center, University of Colorado at Denver, 1987), 53. Caroline Bancroft wrote about the history of Denver society.
23. *Rocky Mountain News*, May 1, 1897, 4.
24. *Army - Navy Register*, July 10, 1897, Special Collections, Colby College Library.



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.

Denver Posse Awarded Danielson Award Again

At the annual meeting of the Western History Association, in Tucson, AZ this October, Westerners International announced the Danielson Award winner for the best Westerners program presentation for 2012. The winner is Denver Active Posse member Dr. Jeff Broome, for "The Soldier who almost killed Wild Bill Hickok: John Kyle, John Kelley, or John Kile?" The program is published in the March-April 2012 issue of the *Roundup*. This continues a long list of Denver Posse winners in recent years, a testament to the high quality of the Posse's monthly presentations.



Colorado Westerner Activities

The fall season for the Boulder County Corral of Westerners has included, for September, "West of Green River, the Bonneville Expedition, 1832-1835," by longtime member Jerry K. Keenan. In his presentation of this early fur trading and exploring episode, Jerry explained why he chose the format of a historical novel, *West of Green River*.

For October, the Boulder Corral heard member Bill Stengel tell of "Boulder County Surveying over the Years," detailing the origins of surveying in Boulder County in the 1850s and the platting of Boulder City, as well as his surveying experiences dating back to the 1940s.

The Colorado Corral's October program was "Let the Women Vote! How Colorado Women Won Suffrage," by Dr. Marcia Goldstein. Marcia specializes in the history of women in the American West. Her dissertation was titled "Meet Me at the Ballot Box: Women's Innovations in Party and Electoral Politics in Post-Suffrage Colorado, 1893-1998." Her presentation marks the 120th anniversary of Colorado women winning the right to vote in 1893.

The Pikes Peak Posse of Westerners has showcased railroads this fall. In September, member David Martinek told of the "History of the Midland Depot at Divide and Recent Renovation." In October, member Tom Van Wormer presented "Eating Houses of the Colorado Midland Railway."



Westerners Bookshelf



Came Men on Horses: The Conquistador Expeditions of Francisco Vazquez de Coronado and Don Juan de Onate, by Stan Hoig. University Press of Colorado, Boulder, 2013. 344 pages. Photographs, drawings, and maps, appendices, chapter endnotes, bibliography, index. Hardback, dustjacket, \$34.95.

The name of Stan Hoig is a respected one among students of the American West. As an author, specializing on nineteenth century Western history and American Indians, he produced arguably the best single volume on Sand Creek. The jacket of this new volume states that he “was a professor emeritus at the University of Central Oklahoma.” Thus, a casual reader might assume that Hoig – like Bob Utley – has retired and decided to produce new volumes within a broader spectrum.

But – unacknowledged anywhere in this book – Stan Hoig died in late 2009. According to the Internet, this new volume took the heroic efforts of Stan’s widow to get it published. However, since the book lacks mention of these details, one might legitimately ask: How complete was Hoig’s manuscript and how much editing went into the finished product?

Posthumously-published volumes are neither rare nor embarrassments. Arthur H. Clark (Oklahoma University Press) recently issued one on Anza in California – but made it clear that author and translator Professor Alan Brown had passed away and that his friends gladly stepped forward to edit the final production. Unfortunately, this product of the University Press of Colorado – lacking such “transparency” – has subtle nuances that Hoig himself was unable to put his manuscript into final form.

Despite this, the volume is a relatively good one and fully able to serve well as a college textbook for students of Western History or Hispanic Studies. While there are better books available on the Coronado Expedition of 1540-1542, this one has the added benefit – especially as a course text – of covering, within one cover, almost a century of Spanish exploration and conquest in the Southwest, from Coronado to Onate. It also, unlike Bolton’s 1949 book on Coronado (and Stewart Udall’s follow-up effort in 1987), does not attempt to sugarcoat the real war crimes occasioned by Spanish forces.

Of course, in discussing Coronado, the volume relies heavily on the recent works of Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint – two historians who have inspired a new generation of Coronado scholarship. While this

reliance is acceptable (and necessary), this reviewer found occasions where the volume took the reasoned speculations of the Flints and their colleagues and stated them as accepted facts. Offsetting this aspect, however, the book makes use of the early Spanish histories of Francisco Lopez de Gomara and Mota Padilla to add details of Coronado's march. While these histories (translated sixty years ago by A. Grove Day) often are cited in Coronado bibliographies, this volume appears to be the first to determine their general reliability and to quote them with good effect.

As for the second half of the book, covering those Spaniards who followed in Coronado's footsteps – especially Juan de Onate – it provides a good narration of those often-bloody efforts. (Those efforts make Onate a controversial figure, especially in El Paso, Texas, where – since 2007 – he is an “unidentified” monumental statue on horseback.)

As for the appendices, they are a plus. They provide detailed discussions on the speculative routes of Conquistador travel and a commentary on trail archaeology.

In summary, this book – with noted reservations – is recommended, especially for those who want their Southwestern history in a big dose. However, for serious students of the “Spanish Borderlands,” they should go to the volumes written or edited by the Flints or those translations of Spanish works that were issued, in the 1940s, in commemoration of Coronado and his follow-up brethren.

--John M. Hutchins, P.M.

Zebulon Pike Thomas Jefferson and the Opening of the American West, by Matthew L. Harris and Jay Buckley, Eds. University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. 256 pages, 14 illus., 2 maps, notes, selected bibliography, index. Hardback, \$29.95.

This fine book is a collection of thought-provoking essays which attempts to rescue Zebulon Pike's undeserved obscurity as an explorer of the American West. The authors place Pike and his actions within a larger context of American imperial ambition of his time. Largely, the essayists are successful.

Pike's accomplishments as an explorer and cartographer have been overshadowed by his alleged involvement in the Aaron Burr-James Wilkinson conspiracy to separate trans-Appalachia from the United States. Although these authors profess to avoid examining the Wilkinson trouble, at times they seemingly cannot resist dabbling with it in their essays. But on the whole this volume moves beyond that controversy to offer new scholarly perspectives on Pike's career and his times and offer a fresh look at an over-

looked figure in the opening of the American West.

All of the essayists are prominent Western historians. John Logan Allen explores Pike's contributions to science and cartography. Pike scholar James P. Rhonda addresses Pike's relationships with Native American peoples while Leo E. Oliva does the same with Pike's interactions with officials of New Spain. Jay H. Buckley chronicles Pike's life and compares and contrasts Pike with other Jeffersonian era explorers of the American West. Jared Orsi then appropriately discusses the impact of Pike's expeditions on the environment; and William E. Folley inevitably examines his role in the Burr conspiracy. Taken together this group of well-written scholarly essays assesses Zebulon Pike's accomplishments as well as his shortcomings as an explorer, empire builder, soldier, and family man.

All persons interested in exploration history of the West will benefit from this extremely well-written and insightful volume.

--John Monnett, P.M.

With Golden Visions Before Them: Trails to the Mining West, 1849-1852, by Will Bagley, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2012. 464 pages. Photographs, drawings, and maps; footnotes, bibliography, index. Hardback, dustjacket, \$45.00 (\$150.00 in leather).

As children, traveling across Nebraska to visit maternal grandparents, the reviewer and his siblings were treated to tales of the "wagons of pioneers crossing the plains," narrated by their father, a native of Pittsburgh (the real gateway to the West, by the way). This volume, telling the story with warts and all, evokes that sense of wonderment, when it seemed half the world was heading toward California and Oregon.

Will Bagley is an experienced author and an historian of the American West and of the Mormon emigrations. If his reputation rested "merely" on this volume – which details the movement of thousands towards golden California (and to the Oregon country) – he could be counted a master historian. This book, relying on probably 500 primary sources, is the most complete history of everything anyone could wish to know about the trails and travails of the California gold-seekers between 1849-1852. Anyone who has attempted to write a book on a broad subject will be impressed by the sheer work – including painstaking organization – that went into this volume.

Although perhaps too exhaustive for the casual reader, this book has it all: starvation, Indian problems, cholera, bloomer girls, crime, deadly shortcuts, wheelbarrow emigrants, and dangerous trail guides (written by armchair travelers). While providing grist for the legends of these nineteenth century argonauts – male and female, saints and scoundrels – Bagley also

exposes a few myths and the tall tales. These exposés include the story of the so-called Bloody Point massacre and the scandalous history of James Denver – for whom the City of Denver is named. (Although the index is good, James Denver did not make it that far, so don't expect to go directly to that biographical tidbit.)

Further, there is no nonsense in this narration. Bagley recognizes the necessity of accepting history as it occurred, without imaginative political-correctness or illogical revisionism. For example, he points out the wrongs done to the land and to the native inhabitants (noting that not all of the California Indians were destroyed), but he condemns neither mining nor the basic fact of this great American movement. As with Detective Joe Friday, Bagley wants just the facts so he can solve his case (and produce an honest book).

A lot more could be said about this handsome, well-written, and superbly-researched tome, but it is enough to say that the volume is very highly recommended. Any college professor or high school history teacher who wanted to get a solid grasp of the Forty-Niners and of gold fever should read and digest this book.

--John M. Hutchins, P.M.

Custer, Cody, and Grand Duke Alexis: Historical Archaeology of the Royal Buffalo Hunt, by Douglas D. Scott, Peter Bleed, and Stephen Damm. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2013. 205 pages. Photographs, drawings, and maps, endnotes, bibliography ("references"), index. Paperback, \$24.95.

Having dug up history at Custer Battlefield, Douglas Scott, along with Professor Peter Bleed and Stephen Damm, now turns his attention to the winter's hunt of 1872, when Phil Sheridan, George Custer, Buffalo Bill Cody, and two companies of the Second U.S. Cavalry (among others) entertained a son of the Tsar of Russia when on an official visit to the United States. This small volume is a discussion of that three-day buffalo hunt on the western plains of Nebraska. As such, it contains an historical narrative as well as a discussion of other sources, including photographs long thought to have been lost and a few tidbits from Russian archives.

However, much of the book documents the archaeological record which was the result on a dig held at the location of the hunting camp for the Sheridan-Alexis party. Of course, unlike the search for camp sites of the Coronado Expedition (for example), the location of this more modern

campsite was no mystery. Although nothing extraordinary was discovered, the discovered artifacts certainly confirmed the known historical record.

While much of the volume reads like a site study for a national historic site – including the use of “scientific” rather than Chicago School notes – the book is a helpful little addition to any “Custer-buff” library with a well-done historical narrative for context. It also would be a good introduction for any students interested in a career in archaeology.

--John M. Hutchins, P.M.

Columns of Vengeance: Soldiers Sioux, and the Punitive Expeditions, 1863-1864, by Paul N. Beck. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2013. 320 pages. Contents, 2 Maps, photos, footnotes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$34.95.

Professor Paul N. Beck has written a very good and interesting book on the two military Punitive Expeditions that came about on the heels of the Minnesota Sioux uprising. The people of Minnesota would find themselves fighting on a two-front war. Not only would they be tasked to help suppress a civil war and raise volunteer troops to send south to fight the Confederacy, but they suddenly had to divert many of those troops to put down the Sioux, some of whom were guilty and others that were innocent of depredations against the whites. As the author explains, both the Dakota War of 1862 and the Civil War would not only have a major impact on the United States and the Sioux on a national level, but would also leave changes on individuals, families, and on communities.

The 1863 expedition was set in motion as a retaliatory offensive for the Minnesota uprising largely against the Santees, but the Lakotas and Yanktonais would find themselves part of it as well. Three major military leaders would be involved in the planning and command of the field operations. They were Generals John Pope (Department Commander), Alfred Sully, and Henry H. Sibley. According to Sibley the main objective of the campaign was the “Chastisement and subjection of the bands of savages on both sides of the Missouri River.” First and foremost, especially for the 1864 Punitive Expedition, the trails which began in Minnesota to the gold regions of Montana and Idaho had to remain open because the North needed the precious metal to defray the high cost of the war in the east. Since all army regular troops were in the east, those units that took part in both expeditions were made up of state volunteer regiments.

Beck puts to good use the letters, dairies, and personal accounts of the enlisted soldiers, many of whom thought they were signing up to fight Con-



The DENVER WESTERNERS
ROUNDUP

November - December 2013



R. Wilkinson. "North America" London, 1804. Shows Louisiana as it was just after the purchase. On this English map, what became the northwest corner of the United States is shown, not surprisingly, as part of British America

Shaping the Trans-Mississippi West
By Christopher W. Lane, C.M.
(Presented June 26, 2012)



Our Author

Christopher Lane has been in the historic map and print business for over thirty years and is co-owner and manager of the Philadelphia Print Shop West in Denver. Using his expertise, Chris authored the book *Panorama of Pittsburgh* which now sells for \$1,144 (new). He has curated map and print exhibitions in the U. S. and abroad and has presented fascinating talks to numerous historical groups and at national conferences and symposiums.

Together with his business partner, Donald Cresswell, Chris has appeared as a print and map appraiser for public television's "Antiques Roadshow."

THE DENVER WESTERNERS

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VOL. LXIX NO. 6



November - December 2013

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Shaping the Trans-Mississippi West

By Christopher W. Lane, C.M.

(Presented June 26, 2012)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the lands west of the United States, across the Mississippi, consisted mostly of either Spanish or French territory. French Louisiana essentially encompassed the area lying between the Mississippi and the continental divide. The lands to the west of the continental divide were primarily Spanish, being the northern part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, though the territory north of the 42nd degree parallel was claimed also by the British.

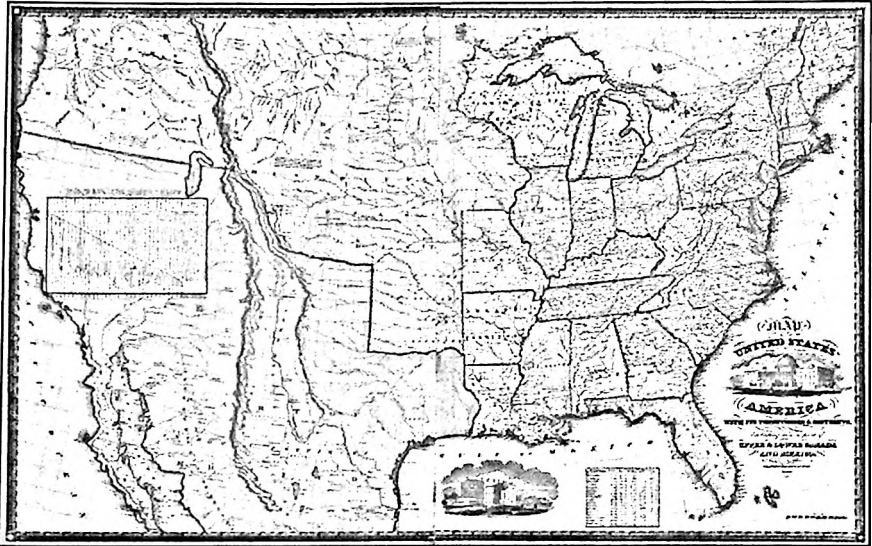
Thus it was that in 1800, what would become the trans-Mississippi United States was divided basically into three political entities, French Louisiana, northern New Spain, and (somewhat disputed) the British Columbia District in the Pacific Northwest. By the end of the century, this was all part of the United States and it was divided into 23 political units. The changing political configurations of the trans-Mississippi West from the beginning of the nineteenth century until its reached its present-day arrangement, just over a hundred years later, is the subject of this paper.

At the start of the nineteenth century, the French territory of Loui-

siana was comprised of those lands in the Mississippi River drainage to the west of the river. Napoleon Bonaparte was involved in considerable conflict and intrigue around the world and he faced significant financial problems. Looking for a quick solution for the latter, in 1803 Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States for 15 million dollars (about 220 million in today's dollars), the equivalent of less than three cents per acre.

With this one transaction, the United States essentially doubled in size. The western boundary of the territory was fairly clear in the northern parts, running along the continental divide, but the exact border in the southwest was open to debate. After several years of conflict and debate, the Adams-Onis Treaty was signed in 1819, establishing the border between New Spain and the United States. Just before, in 1818, the border between the Louisiana Territory and British North America was established at the 49th parallel.

As we look at the development of the trans-Mississippi West in the nineteenth century, several themes will regularly appear, one of which is that initially large ter-



B.B. Barber & A. Willard. "Map of the United States of America." Hartford, 1835. With the two states, Missouri and Louisiana, and one territory, Arkansas, west of the Mississippi. The rest of the original; Louisiana Purchase is Indian territory

ritories were divided into smaller units as their population increased. Citizens would move into part of a large territory and would soon feel a desire for a local government, one which would be more accessible to them and which would take into account the particular needs and wants of that local population.

The first such division of the Louisiana purchase was in 1804, when the lands south of the 33rd parallel became the Territory of Orleans. This was, of course, the area where for years there had been a large and sophisticated population of Spanish, French and now Ameri-

can citizens. These citizens felt little connection with the vast, undeveloped northern parts of Louisiana and they also felt that they warranted their own local government. When Orleans was broken off, the remainder of the purchase became the unorganized District of Louisiana, and a year later it became the Louisiana Territory.

When the initially very large territories were divided into smaller units, the smaller territories could be further divided, or if there was enough density of population and a stable enough political framework, and if Congress could come to an

agreement, the territory would be admitted as a state. In 1812, the Territory of Orleans became the State of Louisiana and what had been the Louisiana Territory was renamed the Missouri Territory.

In this case, statehood for Louisiana had as much to do with the issue of slavery as with the region's development. Since the founding of the nation, there had been a fairly even balance between slave and non-slave states, but this was thrown off-kilter with the admission of the free state Ohio in 1803, as well as by the fact that other non-slave states would soon be carved out of the old Northwest Territory. Southerners were keen to add a new slave state, so Louisiana was admitted less than a decade after Orleans had been created as a separate territory.

At about this time there was a push to create a new state in the area around St. Louis, and if this was done, there would be a gap between this new state and Louisiana. It seemed prudent to organize those lands into a new territory, especially as there was considerable immigration into this region by both Anglo-Americans and Native Americans. So, in 1819, the Territory of Arkansas was established, made up of the lands west of the Mississippi River that lay to the south of the 36°30' parallel, bounded on the south by

Louisiana and Spanish territory, the latter of which also bordered Arkansas on the west.

Thus, at the beginning of the second decade of the nineteenth century, the American trans-Mississippi West consisted of the state of Louisiana, the territory of Arkansas just to the north, and then a vast Missouri Territory, taking up the remainder of the original Louisiana Purchase. In 1820, however, an important political change in the region took place with the passage of one the seminal legislative acts by Congress in the nineteenth century, the Missouri Compromise.

In the early nineteenth century, other than in the well-established state of Louisiana, most early settlement west of the Mississippi was centered on St. Louis and along the rich bottom lands of the lower Missouri River. In 1818, the citizens of this region petitioned Congress for admission as a new state of Missouri.

Slavery had been legal since the founding of the Missouri Territory, so the proposal was for the state of Missouri to come into the Union as a slave state. However, the issue of the expansion of slavery into newly formed territories and states in the American West had become a highly controversial subject and the northerners in Congress were loath

to let in a new slave state west of the Mississippi and so the petition for the new state could not move forward.

This changed in 1820 when a compromise concerning the proposed state of Missouri was reached which was acceptable to both Southerners and Northerners. For a while, the District of Maine, which was part of Massachusetts, had been clamoring to become a state. Since Maine would come in as a free state, the admittance of Missouri as a slave state would be off-set and the balance in Congress between slave and free states would be maintained.

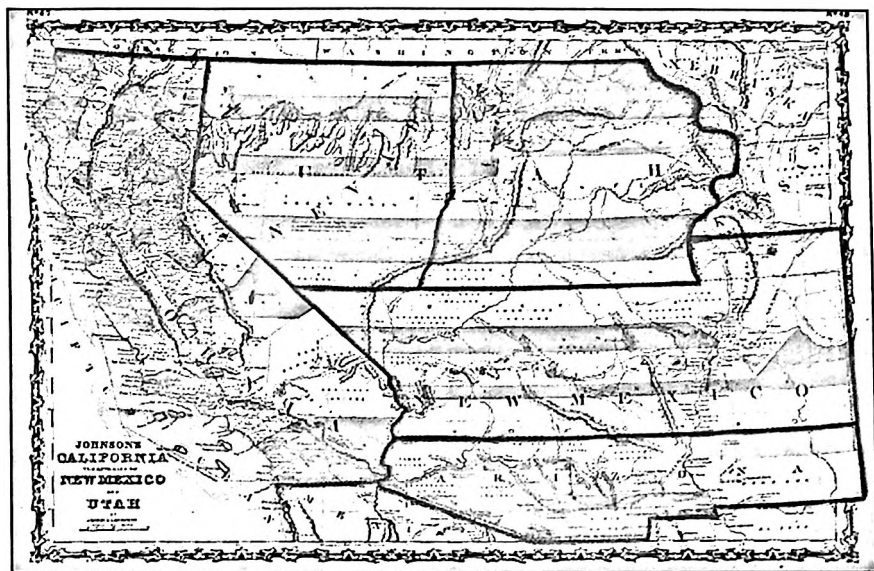
However, the northerners were still adamant against the expansion of slavery into the new lands of the Louisiana Purchase, so as part of the "Missouri Compromise," it was agreed that no new slave states could be carved out of the Louisiana Purchase north of the 36°30' parallel—the line which separated Virginia from North Carolina, Kentucky from Tennessee, and Arkansas from Missouri—with the exception of the new state of Missouri, which was admitted in 1821.

One oddity of the southern border of Missouri was that in the east the state line dropped from the 36°30' parallel to 36° latitude, forming the Missouri "Boot Heel." The reason for this land being assigned

to Missouri and not Arkansas was that a local planter, John Hardeman Walker, convinced Congress that this section had little in common with Arkansas, but rather the economy and settlers who lived there were intimately connected with the rest of Missouri.

There are, however, some interesting legends about how the Boot Heel ended up in Missouri. One story had it that a Missourian who lived there asked the government not to make his land part of Arkansas, because he had heard it was so sickly in Arkansas, "Full of bears and panthers and copperhead snakes, so it ain't safe for civilized people to stay there overnight even." Another story told how a love-struck surveyor ran the Missouri line further south in order to spare the feelings of a widow who lived in the boot heel and just assumed she lived in Missouri.

When the state of Missouri was created in 1821, the rest of the old Missouri Territory officially became unorganized U.S. Territory, essentially undeveloped land settled almost exclusively by various Indian tribes. At this time, the U.S. Government was busy trying to move eastern Indian tribes to lands west of the Mississippi. This involved a number of tribes, including the Choctaw, who by the 1820 Treaty of Doak's Stand were given land in what was



Johnson & Browning. "Johnson's California Territories of New Mexico and Utah." New York, 1860. Note how Nevada is drawn in, but the name of "Utah" stretches across the original, larger territory. One of the few maps to mistakenly show the horizontal Arizona, south of New Mexico

then the western part of Arkansas Territory.

In the early 1820s, Euro-Americans were beginning to settle in the eastern part of the Arkansas Territory, and Congress decided try to separate the Indian lands in western Arkansas from the non-native settlements further to the east. So in 1824, Arkansas was shrunk to about half its former size, and the western part of the old Arkansas Territory reverted to Indian territory.

At that time, the Missouri Territory consisted all of the original

Louisiana Purchase except Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri, and it was essentially populated only by Indian tribes. Some of these Native Americans had been located in the trans-Mississippi West for a long time, but others had been driven west relatively recently by Euro-Americans who were expanding ever westward from their original settlements along the east coast. In 1830, Andrew Jackson pushed the Indian Removal Act through Congress, and this resulted in most eastern Indian tribes being moved west of the Mississippi.

In order to try to protect the Native Americans in their new lands, and of course also to keep them contained therein, the Indian Intercourse Act was passed in 1834, setting aside for the Indians "...all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas...". That is, essentially all of the Missouri Territory.

However, in a sad continuation of the policy which Euro-Americans had followed since they first settled on the continent, for the rest of the century the land set aside for the Indians was repeatedly whittled down in size. For instance, just two years after the Indian Intercourse Act, the Sac and Fox tribes were convinced to give up their lands lying between the original western border of Missouri and the Missouri river, expanding that state considerably at the expense of those tribes.

In 1836, Arkansas was admitted as the twenty-fifth state. It was also the thirteenth slave state, which gave slavery proponents an advantage in Congress, so it was decided that a new, free-soil state of Michigan would be admitted to regain the balance between slave and free states. The Michigan Territory was too large to be admitted as a state, so in the summer of 1836, the western part of the territory (today's

Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa and the eastern parts of Dakota) was broken off to form the Wisconsin Territory. Two years later, Wisconsin was reduced to just those parts east of the Mississippi River with the area west of the Mississippi formed into the Iowa Territory. This new territory encompassed all the lands between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers extending from Missouri to the Canadian border.

By the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, the Louisiana Purchase was not the only area west of the Mississippi claimed by the United States. Since the second decade, the large region lying to the north of Mexico and west of the continental divide was in theory jointly administered by Great Britain and the United States, but by 1840, Americans were thinking that this should really be exclusively part of their country.

An 1818 treaty between Great Britain and the United States had established the northern border of the United States at the 49th parallel. The treaty did not, however, continue the border west of the continental divide, for both sides felt that they had a strong claim to the lands lying between Mexico and Russian America. This area—called by the Americans the Oregon Country and by the British the Columbia District—was the focus of a long

simmering conflict between Great Britain and the United States.

Initially it was agreed that the region would have "joint occupancy" by the two countries. though it should have been obvious that this "solution" would not work in the long run. Initially, it was mostly British fur traders who were in the area, but in the 1830s, missionaries and settlers from the United States began to trickle into Oregon, the emigration reaching a steady stream in the 1840s. This led to strong support by many Americans for annexing the entire Oregon Country, which was countered by British insistence of their control of all the lands north of the Columbia River.

By the middle of the decade, both countries had concerns pressing for their attention elsewhere, so neither wanted to go to war. So, in June 1846 a compromise was reached to establish the border between the countries along the 49th parallel all the way to the Pacific, with the exception of around Vancouver Island, that is, continuing to the west the line that had been agreed back in 1818 for the border east of the continental divide. Thus it was in 1846 that the United States officially gained its northwest corner, encompassing today's states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and those parts of Montana and Wyoming west of the continental divide. This region

was left as unorganized until 1848, when it established as the Oregon Territory, retaining this configuration until 1853.

The year 1846 was important not only for the formal acquisition of the northwest, but also as the year when the process began that led to an even larger expansion of the country, resulting in the acquisition of the vast region making up the current southwestern corner of the country, encompassing today's California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming.

In 1803, the continental divide made up most of the original border between the Louisiana Purchase and New Spain. The northern and southern ends of the boundary, however, were not firmly established until the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819. This set up a zig-zag border following rivers and lines of longitude in the south and limiting Spanish claims in the north to those lands below the 42nd degree of latitude.

In 1821, Mexico achieved independence from Spain. At that time the northern sections of the country was quite sparsely populated, especially in the Mexican state of Texas. The Mexican government did not have the resources nor inclination to assert itself there, so it began to allow Americans to settle in Texas,

hoping they would help provide a buffer from the expansionist United States.

As should have been obvious, this was letting the wolf in to guard the hen house, and by the 1830s, tensions began to escalate significantly between the Mexican government and the Americans in Texas. The political situation in Mexico was turbulent throughout this period and in 1835 General Santa Anna overthrew the Mexican constitution and set up a dictatorship. This was all the Texans needed to go into open revolt, declaring and then winning their independence the following year, forming the Republic of Texas (1836-45).

Texas was able to govern itself in this period, even though Mexico never recognized its independence. Still, there was considerable pressure for Texas to become part of the United States. This was both because of the strong ties between the Anglo-Texans and the United States, and because of the desire of Southerners to add more slave states to the country. At the end of 1845, Texas was officially annexed into the United States as the twenty-eighth state.

This led to increased tensions between Mexico and the United States and in 1846, war was declared. In less than a year and a

half, the Americans had forced the Mexicans to sue for peace. The war was ended with the February 2, 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In exchange for just over \$18 million, the United States received from Mexico acknowledgement of its undisputed control of Texas, and all of what had been Mexican Alta (or Upper) California, the northern part of Sonora, and New Mexico.

Thus the result of the Mexican War was that the United States increased its size immensely. Combined with the official acquisition of the Oregon Territory, the United States had increased its size by a half-again as much between 1846 and 1848. In 1848 the United States thus achieved essentially the overall shape of today's lower forty-eight states, all except for slightly over 29,000 square miles in what is now southern Arizona and New Mexico which would be added with the Gadsden Purchase in the following decade.

The lands of the Mexican Cession, acquired by the United States in 1848, came into the country without a defined, internal political organization. It soon became clear that there was a need to break this vast area into organized political entities. California, which was the most advanced and unified area, applied immediately for admission as a state. However, this could not be



J.H. Colton. "Colton's Rail-Road and Military Map of the United States, Mexico, the West Indies & Co." New York, 1861. Shows the three territories created in 1861: Nevada, Colorado and a very large Dakota Territory. Also shows the "L" shaped Washington Territory.

done easily because it would upset the balance of power between slave and free states. The issue of slavery further complicated the division of the Mexican Cession, because by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, where slavery was prohibited north of the 36°30' parallel, most of this area would be free-soil, a situation unacceptable to many Southerners.

A further problem related to organizing the Mexican Cession was that the Mormons were pressing at

the same time to have a huge section of the newly acquired territory admitted as a state, which would, naturally, be dominated by them. Brigham Young wanted to establish dominion over the vast lands lying between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevada Mountains, from the Oregon Territory in the north to Mexico in the south. Hearing that California was petitioning for statehood, Young sent his representatives to Congress to ask that this region be admitted as the state of Deseret. Congress,

strongly anti-Mormon at the time, refused to accept any such state dominated by Young and his followers.

It was Stephen Douglas who came up with a plan which—in theory—would solve all these problems, the Compromise of 1850, which Congress passed in September of that year. California was admitted as a state, while Texas gave up its claims to the Mexican province of New Mexico, accepting as its northern border the 36°30' parallel. Its border had previously extended much further north, into today's Colorado, but now the entire state would lie below the Missouri Compromise line and so Texas, a slave state, would not contravene the Compromise's slave clause. In return, Texas was relieved of its huge public debt.

The last of the Compromise's stipulations was that the lands of the Mexican Cession outside of California were to be divided into two large territories, separated at the 37° parallel, with Utah to the north and New Mexico to the south.

It was here that the Southerners were paid back for the admittance of the free state of California, for these two new territories were brought in under principle of "popular sovereignty." This meant that the citizens would be able to vote

on whether to allow slavery or not in their own territories. Some of the New Mexico territory and all of the Utah territory was north of the Missouri Compromise line, but as these lands lay outside of the original Louisiana Purchase, it was argued that compromise did not apply to these territories.

Meanwhile, to the north of the old Mexican lands, emigration had led to a steady increase in the population in the Oregon Territory. This territory was very large and those in the northern part—feeling cut off from the territorial government located in Salem, well south of the Columbia River—called for the creation of their own territory. In 1853, that part of the Oregon Territory north of the Columbia River, in the west, and then north of the 46th parallel further east, was created as the Washington Territory.

The following year saw the creation of two more new territories, this time in the middle part of the trans-Mississippi West. These territories were created in a Congressional act which had a profound impact on the subsequent history of the entire country, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. The story of this act began well before, for it had its roots reaching back about two decades earlier.

With the increased emigra-

tion of Americans to the Oregon Country and California beginning in the 1830s, there was concern by the federal government about the need for the development of the lands through which the emigrants would have to pass on their way from the Mississippi River to the Rockies. The need for a military presence for protection, a formal government structure for laws, and new settlements to help feed and house the emigrants, all made it evident that a new, organized territory was needed across the midsection of the vast Indian Territory.

In the 1850s, pressure to create a territory in this region increased with the by-then obvious need for a transcontinental railroad to connect the eastern states with the booming state of California and the territories of Oregon and Washington. Most of the proposed routes for such a railroad had to pass through the large, unorganized section still officially set aside for Native Americans, and in order to build the railroad, this area would need to be politically organized.

Southerners tried to stall the process of creating a territory in this region, for any such territory would, by the Missouri Compromise, be a free territory. The pressure to politically organize this region, however, continued to mount until it was finally discharged in

1854 with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the brainchild of Stephen Douglas.

By this act, the Indian Territory was shrunk so that it extended north of Texas only as far as the 37th parallel. What had been Indian Territory from there north to the Canadian border was now divided into two large territories, Kansas and Nebraska. The delineation of the borders of those two territories was fairly straightforward, but there was considerable controversy over another part of the act. This was the compromise that Douglas worked out in order to get the southern Congressmen to vote for the act, the clause which brought in these two new territories, like Utah and New Mexico before them, under "popular sovereignty."

This meant that the citizens of the Kansas and Nebraska would be able to vote on whether their territories would be free or slave. Since both these territories were part of the original Louisiana Purchase and lay north of 36°30', this clause was in direct contravention to the Missouri Compromise. It was this that infuriated many Northerners, and this not only led to the formation of the Republican Party, but it was one of the primary causes of the Civil War six years later.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act was the climatic event of the 1850s,

but two other political changes did occur in the trans-Mississippi West before the end of the decade. The Iowa Territory had been formed in 1838, encompassing the lands north of Missouri lying between the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. About a decade later, the southeastern part of this territory became the state of Iowa, with the rest becoming the Minnesota Territory, and then in 1858, the eastern part of that territory became the state of Minnesota and the remainder formed as an unorganized territory called Dakota.

The following year a new state was created from one of the territories in the northwestern part of the country. By 1859 settlement in the western part of the Oregon Territory had progressed enough that that section was admitted as the state of Oregon. The eastern part of what had been the Oregon Territory was then attached to the Washington Territory, which took on the shape of a tipped-over "L."

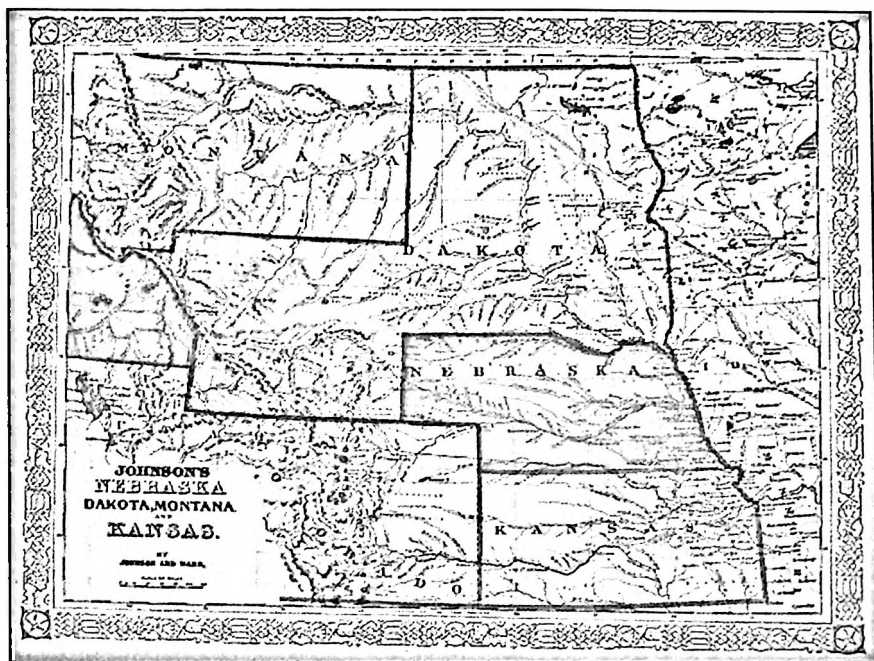
These were the only changes which were effected in the 1850s, but in the later part of the decade there was actually great pressure to create even more new territories. The *New York Times* reported on Jan. 11, 1859 that there were six applications for new territories before Congress, five in the trans-Mississippi region.

Despite these, and other petitions for territorial creation, Congress did not act immediately. The reason was, not surprisingly, the simmering issue of slavery. With a roughly equal balance between the free and slave states, neither side was willing to let in a new territory or state which would lead to one side gaining a significant advantage in Congress.

This political stalemate changed dramatically when, beginning in December 1860, eleven slave states declared that they were seceding from the United States, and their representative left the U.S. Congress. All of a sudden, the Northern representatives totally controlled Congress and could create territories as they wished. Within the first three months of 1861, three new (free-soil) territories were created and Kansas had become a new (free-soil) state.

In the far north, a vast new territory of Dakota was created, combining the original unorganized Dakota with that part of the original Nebraska Territory north of the 43rd parallel. By this, Nebraska lost the majority of its original lands in the north, but at the same it lost a bit of its southwestern corner to another new territory, Colorado.

The gold seekers who had poured into the foothills of the



Johnson & Ward. "Johnson's Nebraska Dakota, Montana and Kansas." New York, 1864. Shows the "butterfly"-shaped Dakota Territory

Rockies as part of the Pikes Peak Gold Rush of 1858-59, settling in Denver City and nearby communities, wanted their own local government, rather than being ruled by the Kansas Territory government far to the east. In 1859, a proposal for a new territory of Colona and then another proposal for a new territory of Jefferson, both centered on the Pikes Peak gold region, failed because of the gridlock in Congress, but with the new northern Congress of 1861, a new territory of Colorado was created out of the western part of Kansas, the southwestern part of Nebraska, the northeastern part of

New Mexico, and a large chunk of eastern Utah.

This was the first in a long series of occasions when the Utah Territory had its size cut down by Congress. Utah was dominated by Mormons and there was definitely an anti-Mormon prejudice in Congress in the 1850s and 60s. There was a general suspicion of the religion and a strong feeling of anti-polygamy in Congress, and this negative attitude was further compounded by the Mormon War of 1857-58. Thus there was little hesitation in taking land away from

Utah whenever it was convenient, as we will see a number more times in the future.

Utah lost not only a large chunk of its eastern lands to Colorado, but also all the land to the west of 116° longitude to the third new territory of 1861, Nevada. About the same time gold was discovered in the Pikes Peak region, the great Comstock silver lode was discovered on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, leading to a huge influx of prospectors into western Utah. Similarly to the Pikes Peakers, those in the Comstock region wanted their own, locally controlled territory. This suited Congress fine, as they could diminish the power of the Mormons in Utah and at the same time gain more direct control of this new mineral wealth, so they happily carved Nevada out of what had been western Utah.

There was one further territory which made its appearance in 1861, at least according to some: Arizona. This territory had its genesis in the vast size and character of the territory of New Mexico as created in the Compromise of 1850. New Mexico had its capital in Santa Fe, which was located in the northeastern part of the territory, a region settled mostly by an Hispanic population. The dominantly-Hispanic character of New Mexico began to change in 1854, when the Gads-

den purchase added almost 30,000 square miles of land in the south of the territory, a region into which moved settlers from Texas and elsewhere in the American south.

The settlers in this southern part of New Mexico—called either “Gadsdonia” or “Arizona”—strongly felt they needed a local government. Not only were they separated from Santa Fe by distance and difficult-to-traverse terrain, but also they were separated by culture and beliefs from the New Mexican government. They petitioned Congress for their own territory first in 1856, and then again in 1860, when they went so far as to set up a provisional territory of Arizona. Congress, embroiled in the slavery issue, was unable to act.

When the Confederacy was created in February 1861, Arizonians saw this as an opportunity create a territory on their own, so they held a convention and voted to secede from the Union and join the Confederate States as the territory of Arizona. The Confederates sent troops to secure their new territory, but with the Battle of Glorieta Pass in March 1862, the Southerners were forced to retreat back into Texas. The Confederacy never again wielded any control within the borders of its purported territory of Arizona, but still the territory continued to be represented in the Confederate

Congress and troops fought under its banner until the end of the Civil War.

Congress, in the meantime, realized that the vast New Mexico territory should be divided, however they were loath to create a territory from its southern half, for this would be a tacit recognition of the Confederate Arizona territory. Furthermore, such a territory would both be inhabited mostly by pro-slave citizens and it would lie below the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ}30'$, and thus could become a slave state. Instead, Arizona was created from the western half of New Mexico, so that the border between the two territories would run North-South, rather than East-West.

Congress's unhappiness with the actions of the Arizonians was matched by their continued animus towards the Mormons. This was demonstrated when a new discovery of silver in western Utah led Congress, in 1863, to move Utah's border one degree further east, putting these new mines within Nevada territory. This bias continued just a few years later, when in 1866 Congress repeated the movement of the border between Nevada and Utah one degree further east, again to place a new mining area within Nevada rather than leave it under the jurisdiction of the Mormons.

Nevada was on a roll in terms of increasing its domain, with the next expansion taking place in 1867, this time towards the south. The citizens of Nevada saw the Colorado River as an important outlet for their state, but it lay to the south of their southern border on the 37^{th} parallel. They petitioned Congress to give them the western part of Arizona, extending down to the river, and because Congress still had a lingering dislike of Arizona, in January 1867 an 18,000-square-mile triangle section of Arizona became attached to Nevada.

Earlier in the decade, in 1863, just two years after Congress created two territories—Colorado and Nevada—as the result of mineral rushes, it created another territory for the same reason. In the early 1860s, gold was discovered in the eastern part of the Washington Territory. The miners in these areas felt isolated from the Washington Territorial government in Olympia, well to the west. When this was combined with the desire of the citizens in the Puget Sound region not to end up being outvoted by all the voting-age miners flooding in to the eastern parts of Washington territory, it was a popular decision all around to create a new territory of Idaho.

Thus in 1863, Washington Territory was trimmed to a width that essentially matched that of

Oregon to the south, with the eastern part of the territory becoming Idaho Territory. However, the new Idaho Territory was created much larger than just that, for Idaho took in also the western half of the Dakota Territory and five degrees off the western part of Nebraska, the new territory's eastern border being set at the 104th meridian, not to mention taking in another bit of land from long suffering Utah, its the northeastern corner being given to Idaho.

This new territory of Idaho was really too large to be sustained, especially as the mining towns east of the Continental Divide, such as Bannack and Virginia City, were separated by the rugged Bitterroot Mountains from the western mining towns and the capital city of Lewiston. Almost as soon as the Idaho territory was created, the settlers to the east of the Bitterroot range began to ask for a new territory, with a seat of government more accessible to them. Thus in 1864, a new territory of Montana was created out of the north-eastern part of Idaho, which was thus reduced in size to close to what had been the eastern part of the original Oregon Territory.

Close to, but not exactly the same. The original Oregon Territory had extended to the continental divide in the east, but about half-way up Idaho's new eastern side, the line stopped following the continental

divide and instead turned west to follow the Bitterroot Mountains, thus giving Montana land to the west of the divide. A popular story says that this was because the survey party had gotten so drunk that they didn't realize they had taken this wrong turn, but the true story is that an influential judge, who was subsequently appointed the first territorial governor of Montana, wanted the fertile Bitterroot Valley for his new territory.

When Idaho was cut down to a manageable size in 1864, the large southeastern part of the old territory—the area now south of Montana and north of Colorado—was attached to the Dakota Territory, giving that territory an odd, butterfly-like shape. This, though, was simply a temporary and impractical configuration which was changed by Congress in 1868, when Dakota was reduced essentially to the large rectangle east of the 104th meridian. The southwestern rectangle to the west of this was reformed as a new territory of Wyoming

Wyoming was created so that it was basically of equal size to its southern neighbor, Colorado. Wyoming's eastern border was a continuation of Montana's eastern border at the 104th meridian, running south until it hit the Colorado line at the 41st parallel. Wyoming's border then ran west to the 111th meridian. This

had the result of taking away territory from Idaho, as well as once again from Utah, for their eastern borders had hitherto been at the 110th meridian.

The perfectly rectangular shape of Wyoming had a rather strange, and unintended effect, viz. the creation of a “thumb” of the Dakota Territory separated from the rest of that territory by Wyoming. When Montana was created in 1864, its southern border ran along the 45th parallel as far as the 111th meridian, then turned south to 44°30' latitude, then west again to the Continental Divide. Idaho's border followed the continental divide in that area, so Montana's border created a small triangle of land, a gore in the western-most part of the Dakota Territory, south of the 44°30' line and northeast of the Idaho border. When Wyoming was created with its western border at the 111th degree longitude, this gore was to the west of that meridian, leaving this thumb still part of the Dakota territory, though over 360 miles separated from the rest of the territory! This remained part of Dakota until 1873, when this area was finally given to Montana.

In contrast to all the changes which took place in the 1860s, the attaching of the Dakota thumb to Montana was the only change in the political borders of the west-

ern United States in the following decade. Indeed, looking at the states and territories of the continental United States in 1870, and ignoring the Dakota thumb, there was only one obvious difference in the borders then from those of today, viz. a very large Dakota Territory.

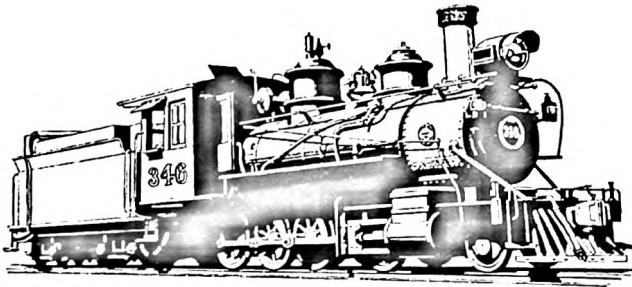
Dakota was the last of the very large western territories to be reduced to a more manageable size, but because the population density of the territory was so low, this didn't happen until 1889, when the territory was divided along the middle to make the new states of North and South Dakota. In order not to create unnecessary jealousy, the legislative documents creating the new states were shuffled so that no one would know which was signed first; by convention, North Dakota is said to be the 39th state, and South Dakota the 40th.

So, in 1889, the map of the United States west of the Mississippi looked like it does today; well almost, for what is today Oklahoma, was not really a single political entity at that time. By 1854, the Indian Territory in the west, which originally had encompassed most of the Louisiana Purchase, had been reduced to essentially the borders of today's Oklahoma. However, because of the Indian tribes support for the Confederacy in the Civil War, land in the western part of that territory was ceded to the United State

government after the war, leading eventually in 1890 to the creation of the Oklahoma Territory out of the western part of what had been the Indian Territory.

When that happened, all that was left the Indian Territory was a small area in what is today eastern Oklahoma. The Indian tribes felt their only recourse to preserve some independence was to have their own state created from their lands, so

in 1905 they petitioned Congress to create a state of Sequoyah. This was, however, refused by Congress, which not only didn't want such a small state, but didn't want a state made up of only Indian lands. Finally in 1907, Congress combined the Indian and Oklahoma territories into the new state of Oklahoma. With this legislation, after slightly over a century of acquisition and development, the western United States took its present shape.



Over the Corral Rail

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

Colorado Corral Meeting features Dick Kreck's New Book

At the December meeting of the Colorado Corral of Westerners, Dick Kreck discussed his latest book, *Hell on Wheels*, the story of the mobile construction crews and the mobile towns they lived in while they built the Union Pacific Railroad in the 1860s.

Posse Member Jeff Broome's new Book, *Cheyenne War*, off the Presses

Soft-cover copies of Jeff's book, *Cheyenne War, Indian Raids on the Roads to Denver, 1864-1869*, were displayed at the November meeting of the Denver Westerners. The hardcover version will be available in December. On Dec. 8 a party hosted by the Logan County Historical Society in Sterling celebrated the release of the book. The Ellis County Historical Society, Hays, Kansas, also hosted a book-signing party.



Posse Member Barbara Gibson Talk at the Ghost Town Club of Colorado Meeting

At the December meeting of the Ghost Town Club, Barbara Gibson spoke on preservation in Colorado.



Westerners Bookshelf



Deliverance From the Little Big Horn: Doctor Henry Porter and Custer's Seventh Cavalry.

By Joan Nabseth Stevenson. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman. 2012. 232 pp., 1 Map, Contents, Photos, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Hardcover \$24.95.

This is the story of one of the unsung heroes of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, Doctor Henry Porter. When the Seventh United States Cavalry engaged Sitting Bull's massive village on June 25, 1876, of the three medical men who rode with them, George E. Lord, James DeWolf, and Henry Porter, only Porter would survive that terrible day.

When twenty-four-year-old Henry Renaldo Porter graduated from Georgetown Medical School in 1872, the future for him and his twenty classmates seemed uncertain. At the time competition for patients was high. Henry even passed up a chance to begin his medical practice with his physician father Henry Norton Porter in central New York State. Like a lot of young men of his time Henry looked to the West for job opportunities. Three months after receiving his degree Henry signed his first contract with the U.S. Army on June 26, 1872 as Acting Assistant Surgeon. Pay was \$125 a month, that included rations, transportation, and accommodations. Porter's duty post was Fort Whipple, Arizona Territory.

It was not long after his arrival to Fort Whipple that Henry began to accompany detachments of the Fifth Cavalry into the field. After fourteen months of rugged service in the General George Crook campaign against the Apaches, Porter filed to end his contract. During that time he took part in two major fights and several skirmishes with the Apaches. Crook said, in a General Order that the A.A.S. "is honorably mentioned for gallantry" in one of the major fights and for "conspicuous services and gallantry" in another. Henry Porter would be proud of the comments made by General Crook for the rest of his life.

Henry found that life with army could be beneficial to his medical career. In October 1873 he was assigned to Camp Hancock, Dakota Territory. Camp Hancock was the quartermaster depot at Bismarck, across the Missouri River from Fort Abraham Lincoln and George Armstrong Custer and the Seventh Cavalry. As the final preparations for the 1876 campaign were

underway Henry wrote "I have this day been assigned to duty with the Expedition against hostile Sioux."

On the day that the Seventh Cavalry would be forever famous for, Henry was assigned to Major Reno's battalion along with James DeWolf. Lord would be with Custer. Following Reno's fight in the valley of the Little Big Horn and the desperate retreat to the bluffs, Porter would have his hands very full doing the best he could for the wounded by improvising a field hospital even while under fire. For two days Acting Assistant Surgeon Henry Porter was in charge of a field hospital that held fifty-nine soldiers. The wounds ranged from slight to severe to mortal. When General Terry's column arrived, Porter's job to transport the wounded to the riverboat *Far West* and Fort Abraham Lincoln began. On July 5, the *Far West* arrived at Bismarck making a record run of 710 miles in fifty-four hours with no mishaps.

On September 30, 1876 Henry Porter ended his contract with the U.S. Army. In the years that followed he had a successful civilian medical and business career. Henry also loved to travel. While in India he became ill and died on March 3, 1903 and was buried in Agra. Henry Renaldo Porter's remains still rest there. He should have been awarded the Medal of Honor.

Joan Nasbeth Stevenson has written a superb account of Doctor Henry Porter's experiences at the Little Big Horn. This book is a must for those interested in the Indian-fighting Army. The author should follow this book with two more: one on George E. Lord and another about James DeWolf.

--Mark E. Hutchins, P.M.

The Indianization of Lewis and Clark by William R. Swagerty. The Arthur H. Clark Company, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman Oklahoma 2012. 836 pp. Photos (11 color & 53 bw). Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Hardcover \$90.00. 2-volume set.

When you read *The Indianization of Lewis and Clark* by William Swagerty do not expect to find the same type of telling of the Corps of Discovery's exploration as was described in Stephen Ambrose's excellent book *Undaunted Courage*. The author's main purpose of this detailed, and this reviewer means very detailed, two-volume study is quite clear. It is to show how the many groups of Native Americans they encountered influenced both Captains Meriweather Lewis and William Clark and the members of the expedition. Indianization is the process in which the Corps of Discovery adapted to its surroundings, while on its journey, through its clothing, what it ate by eating off the land "in the Indian stile", transportation, and camp life. Lewis was even asked by President Thomas Jefferson to take note "what

knolege (sic) you can of the state of morality, religion, & information among them.”

When the Corps of Discovery first started its trek westward it, the soldiers that is, wore their uniforms, but very soon made the transition to wearing articles of frontier, or Indian clothing more suitable to the terrain they moved through. It is thought that the men may have included their military coats to be stored among the items that were cached on the Marias River. Lewis and Clark and the enlisted men quickly took to wearing moccasins and found them to be comfortable and saved wear and tear on leather boots and shoes. However, as a result the moccasins took a toll on the men's feet on slippery wet rocks and walking through cacti or prickly pear. There were some parts of the journey that new moccasins were being made for each man every other day.

Though it took its own food supplies with it, the Corps, as Swagerty explains once it was beyond Fort Mandan, in what is now North Dakota, began to eat off the land. The Corps consumed deer, buffalo, beaver, elk, fish, rabbit, fowl and bear meat. When shown by Sacagawea and other Indians, the Corps also sampled eatable plants and roots. One could say it came, it saw, it tasted. At one point in its journey when game was scarce, plants and roots saved them from it. The author also tells how transportation, technology, sex, diplomacy, and geography, relying on Indian maps, played a part in this great exploration of the American West.

William R. Swagerty presents a major contribution to the long list of accounts of the most momentous expedition in American history. This is certainly a must to have in one's library on the American West.

--Mark E. Hutchins, P.M.

